Time perspective and identity

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ART (CLINICAL/COUNSELLING
PSYCHOLOGY)
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA
BY
MANFRED JANIK

NOVEMBER 2001

Supervisors: Prof. I.E. Plattner (UNAM)
Prof. V. Van Deventer (UNISA)
Abstract

Time perspective is the subjective perception a person holds about his/her past, present and future. Past, present and future are regarded as the dimensions of time perspective. All experiences/events are sorted into the dimensions and are called "contentss" of time perspective. The events/experiences of the different dimensions of time perspective are connected to each other, which provides the person with a perception of continuity over the life span. A perception of continuity over the life span is crucial for identity formation. However, certain factors can prevent the connection between the dimensions of time perspective. A person then "freezes" within one dimension. It was anticipated that past, political circumstances and poverty might "freeze" many Namibians in one dimension of time perspective, which would affect the collective Namibian identity as well. Therefor, the objective of this study was to investigate the contents of time perspectives of Namibians and then draw conclusions about the relevance of time perspective for a collective Namibian identity. The research question was: what contents of time perspectives can be found in Namibia, how can that contents be characterized and does this contents indicate a subjective sense of life continuity? A qualitative study was conducted. Four middle-age interviewees from four different socio-economic classes were selected. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in English with these interviewees. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed according to the transcription rules of Mayring (1997). The interviews were analyzed with the Summarizing Qualitative Contents...
Analysis of Mayring (1997). An investigation of the time perspectives of four Namibians from different socio-economic classes showed that all four interviewees experienced an interplay between their past, present and future dimensions. Therefore, the interviewees experienced their own lives as a continuity. From these findings of the time perspectives of the four interviewees, hypotheses can be drawn as to the relevance of time perspective for a collective Namibian identity.
Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction and Chapter Outline 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Chapter Outline 7

Chapter 2: The Concept "Time Perspective" 9
2.1 Time Perspective: A Subjective and Social Conceptualization of Time 10
2.2 Past, Present and Future: Dimensions of Time Perspective 13
   2.2.1 The past as dimensions of time perspective 13
   2.2.2 The present as dimension of time perspective 15
   2.2.3 The future as dimension of time perspective 21
   2.2.4 The crucial role of the interrelationship between the past, the present and the future 24
2.3 Personal and Social Time Perspectives 27
2.4 Contents of Time Perspective 30
2.5 Research Studies concerning Time Perspective 33

Chapter 3: Time Perspective and the Concepts Identity and Culture 48
3.1 The Concept "Identity" 49
   3.1.1 Identity and identity development 49
      3.1.1.1 The processes of differentiation and integration 52
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1.2</td>
<td>Life span development and fluid identity</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1.3</td>
<td>Life span construct and the perception of fluid identity</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2</td>
<td>The relationship between time perspective and identity</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2.1</td>
<td>Time perspective, identity and the life cycle developmental approach</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3</td>
<td>Time perspective as related to identity and self narrative</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.4</td>
<td>Individual identity as related to collective identity</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>The Concept &quot;Culture&quot;</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1</td>
<td>What is culture?</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>The relationship between time perspective and culture</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3</td>
<td>Time perspective in African culture</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4</td>
<td>Issues regarding time perspective of Namibians as part of Africa (and the world)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 4: Empirical Conceptualization of the Study**

4.1 Research Methodology and Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsection</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td>Research methodology</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2</td>
<td>Research methods</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2.1</td>
<td>Data gathering</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>History of interviewing</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>Advantages of the interview as a data gathering technique</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iii. Disadvantages of the interview as a data gathering technique
iv. Structured interviews
v. Unstructured interviews
vi. Semi-structured interviews

4.1.2.2 The interview and process of operationalization
4.1.2.3 Sample and selection of interviewees
4.1.2.4 Data evaluation

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1 The Interviewees
5.2 Analysis of the Contents of the Four Interviewees' Time Perspectives Individually:
   Past, Present, Future
   5.2.1 Association with past
   5.2.2 Association with present
   5.2.3 Association with future
   5.2.4 Experience of past
   5.2.5 Experience of present
   5.2.6 Experience of future
   5.2.7 Meaning of past
   5.2.8 Meaning of present
   5.2.9 Meaning of future

5.3 Analysis of the Contents of the Four Interviewees' Time Perspectives Together:
   Past, Present, Future
   5.3.1 Past
      5.3.1.1 Association with past
      5.3.1.2 Experience of past
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1.3</td>
<td>Meaning of past</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.1</td>
<td>Association with present</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.2</td>
<td>Experience of present</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2.3</td>
<td>Meaning of present</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.1</td>
<td>Association with future</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.2</td>
<td>Experience of future</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.3</td>
<td>Meaning of future</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 6: Discussion: Time Perspective and its Relevance for a Collective Namibian Identity**

255

**Chapter 7: Conclusion**

275

References

278
Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the following people and institutions who have provided help, guidance and useful suggestions during the preparation of this study. Therefore I need to acknowledge the following:

- Professor I.E. Plattner, my supervisor during the course of this study, who had to read and provide help during the past years.
- Dr. G. Kober, who also formed the basis of my Psychology studies the past seven years.
- Ina De Lange, for voluntarily reading and discussing my work, making valuable suggestions and providing so much assistance.
- Dr. H.A. Raath, for the patient ear and moral support, especially during my stay at Okonguarri.
- Okonguarri, for in its "silent energy" great parts of this work came into being.
- Carolin, Carmen and Anke, for their patience and support.
- Bubi, Ushi, Hein, Karin, Gisela, Henk, Whitey, Amanda for being there and unknowingly contributing towards my identity, without which I would not involve in this study.
- The Lord's grace, for providing me with strength and endurance to complete this enormous task.
To Carolin, Carmen and Anke Janik.
Declarations

- I, Manfred Janik, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or a part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

- No part of this thesis/dissertation may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by any means (e.g., electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the author, or the University of Namibia in that behalf.

- I, Manfred Janik, grant the University of Namibia the right to reproduce this thesis in whole or in part, in any manner or format which the University may deem fit, for any person or institution requiring it for study and research; provided that the University shall waive this right if the whole thesis has been or is being published in a manner satisfactory to the University.
Chapter 1: Introduction and Chapter Outline

1.1 Introduction

The philosopher Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) felt that time is an integral part of the basic structure of human beings. The task of the definition of time is regarded as arduous, if not impossible, if one takes the classical quote of St. Augustine into consideration who asked centuries ago: “What, then, is time? If no one asks me, I know. If I wish to explain it to someone who asks, I know not” (in Plattner, 1996:15).

Today many people regard clock time as the ultimate form of time although the mechanical clock does not encompass the definition of time. Time is a much wider concept within which clock time, just as time perspective, is a subcategory. Levine emphasizes that clock time is not the sole and ultimate form of time and that “there are drastic differences (on time) on every level: from culture to culture, from city to city, and from neighbour to neighbour” Levine (1997:xvi). Especially Western culture uses the clock for the coordination of activities, therefore time as such also gets the notion of
an “organizing principle” (Adam, 1994). Many people organize their daily activities according to clock time.

Over the last 600 years, a certain consciousness of time developed, with an emphasis on strict time limits and an orientation towards the future (cf. Elias, 1987; Plattner, 1996). This changed human beings in their thinking and action by being oriented to time. This also brought with it a linear conceptualization of time, which replaced the cyclical concept of time. In the cyclical understanding of time, time is understood as something that repeats itself in a certain rhythm, like in seasons or the phases of the moon (Wendorff, 1989). In this concept life is a rhythm, and the rhythm of life thus also applies to human beings. Our hearts beat in rhythm, we breathe in rhythm, we sleep and wake up in rhythm, the days, weeks, months and years follow in rhythm. Kaspar (1997) comes to the conclusion that humans are rhythmic organisms. And all these rhythms of life represent cycles of repetition. However, Kaspar (1997) feels that the modern human being tries to live the ideal of linear life.

In the linear conceptualization, time is regarded as something, which moves forward. We always look to the front from the position of the present, and behind us lies the past. It is as if time flows past us like a stream of water always in the same direction according to this linear conceptualization of time. One cannot stop the flow of time. Time always flows the same speed, and time is perceived as irreversible.
Linear time line is like an endless line – we cannot see the start and end. Time is thus very open and without any restrictions. Wendorff (1988) states that the linear conceptualization of time gives the illusion of extreme lots of future, which always includes the opportunity of something new.

Both cyclic and linear time have a type of directedness inherent to them. With linear time, the directedness continuous without any end. With cyclic time, the directedness finds its target and just restarts within another cycle. Both a cyclic conceptualization of time and a linear conceptualization of time are valid perceptions.

According to Kaspar (1997:27) “we are what we were, we are what we will be; and we are what we are” (translated by M. Janik). From this quote one can extract that human beings are connected to time. Lewin (1969, in Plattner, 1990) emphasized that in the individual’s consciousness, certain events that occurred in the person’s past, that take place in the present and that he/she expects from the future are related to each other. This relatedness brings with it that the person perceives his/her own life as a continuity. The perception of the past, present and future is a subjective one and is called time perspective (Plattner, 1990; Frank, 1939). The term “time perspective” was introduced by Frank (1939) who defined it as the subjective, conscious knowledge people hold about their past, present and future. The past, the present and the future are regarded as the dimensions of the time perspective (Plattner, 1990).
The time perspective fits within the cyclical concept of time as well as within the linear. A person with a cyclic conception of time might value the past highly and can use examples of the past to overcome problems in present. In this sense, the future does not matter so much as the past is used to overcome the hurdle of repetition. The future is just repetition of the past. The person with the linear conception of time might value the future more.

Frank (1939) valued the interplay between past, present and future dimensions of human beings, which he believed contributed to a healthy personality. Plattner (1990) asserts that the psychological relevance of the time perspective can be found in the contentss of the past, present and future dimensions and their interplay which provides the person with a certain self-esteem and directs life into a certain direction. According to Bühler and Massarik (1969) the perception of the continuity of related events in the individual’s life, is important for guaranteeing an own identity (cf. also Whitbourne, 1985).

Bühler showed that not all people experience their life as a continuity. Some people reduce their lives in their subjective perception to isolated periods (Bühler & Massarik, 1969). People who are living under very poor circumstances are often preoccupied with the “now” in order to survive. The fight for daily bread prevents the formation of expectations and ideas about the future. This is the reason why this study wants to investigate time perspective in Namibia.
According to the Population and Housing Census of Namibia (1991) at least 30% of the adult population is unemployed. One can assume that a great deal of them is extremely poor. With regard to Bühler’s work one could further assume that a relatively high percentage of the Namibian population emphasizes more the present as a result of poverty. If an interplay between the three dimensions of the time perspective is interrupted, this might affect poverty stricken Namibians in their perception of their life as a continuity. The question arises whether this affects their identity as well (Bühler & Massarik, 1969).

It is the objective of this study to investigate the nature of the contents of time perspectives in Namibia and to come up with possible conclusions about the relevance of time perspective for a collective Namibian identity. A mutual relationship between time perspective and identity can be assumed (Plattner, 1990). On the one hand time perspective contributes, with its conscious knowledge about the remembered events of the past, the present experiences and the expected future to identity (Kaspar, 1997). On the other hand, the identity of a person might also determine how the person experiences and perceives past, present and future events/experiences.

Applying this mutuality between time perspective and identity on the Namibian environment would link to the formation of a Namibian identity. The country’s past comprises of a history of racial discrimination, racial segregation, unequal opportunities, war and hatred. It is possible to hypothesize that, although circumstances in general changed rapidly in the
country since independence, the effects of the ills of colonialism and Apartheid will still exercise a severe effect on the people’s identity for many years to come. The Namibian nation comprises of a number of ethnic groups with different historical backgrounds, which ‘one would assume’ need to form a collective Namibian identity to live up to the standards of a united nation. The Namibian Government actively promotes the forming of a collective Namibian identity, in its seventh basic statement of the National Preamble, by stating that: “We want to strengthen the dignity, unity and integrity of the Namibian nation” (Constitution of the Namibian Government since independence - underlining made by M. Janik). It would be interesting to investigate whether and how far Namibians’ individual time perspectives shape a post-independent Namibian identity and which identity developments can be expected. In an attempt to ensure a “healthy” Namibian identity, the interaction between the individuals past, present and future dimension of their time perspectives will play an important role (Whitbourne, 1985). An interplay between the dimensions of the time perspective which provides a continuous perception of life, is important for identity development.

Therefor the research question will be: What is the nature of the contents of time perspectives that can be found in Namibia, how can that contents be characterized and does this contents allow a sense of life continuity?
1.2 Chapter Outline

Chapter two deals with the concept "time perspective" and the dimensions of the time perspective. In this chapter it will be shown that time perspective applies to the individual as well as any society i.e. individual time perspectives and social time perspectives. Research already conducted on time perspective will also be reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter three views time perspective in relation to identity. It will be argued that time perspective and identity are in a mutual relationship with each other. The influence of culture on time perspective will also be reviewed. In this latter regard time perspective, as it appears in Africa, will be discussed.

Chapter four contains the empirical conceptualization of the study. Thus the research methodology and the research methods of this study will be featured in this chapter. As part of the research methods this chapter will provide a view on interviewing as a data gathering technique. Still as a part of the research methods, the process of operationalization, the sample and selection of interviewees and the method of data evaluation will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five begins with a short introduction on the four interviewees of this study. Thereafter the data analysis will follow. Firstly, the interviewees' contents of time perspective will be analyzed in an individual fashion.
Thereafter the four interviewees contents of time perspective will be presented and analyzed also together in order to be able to see a "global" picture of contents of all four interviewees.

Chapter six contains a discussion on the data analysis as well as general issues pertaining to individual time perspective, collective time perspective and identity.

Chapter seven is a conclusion on this study.
Chapter 2: The Concept “Time Perspective”

This chapter deals with the concept “time perspective”. In order to be able to understand this concept with all its implications, an in depth review of “time perspective” will be undertaken.

This in depth view first of all includes showing the reader that time perspective is a subjective and social conceptualization of time. There-after, the three dimensions of the time perspective (past, present, future) will be discussed separately as well as in relation to one another.

The chapter will end with a review of studies already conducted on time perspective and an outline on the characteristics of the concrete contents of the dimensions of the time perspective. These characteristics are deemed crucial for the operationalization of time perspective for the empirical part of this study, which follows in Chapter 4.
2.1 Time Perspective: A Subjective and Social Conceptualization of Time

Time can be regarded as an objective, alone-standing phenomenon in the subject of physics. However, as soon as we view time in relationship with human beings, time becomes a very complex subjective and social issue. In this regard Elias (1992:05) states:

"...time is represented as a fact of nature, in one case an 'objective' fact existing independently of human beings and in the other as a merely 'subjective' notion rooted in human nature."

Every human being has a subjective conceptualization of time (Levine, 1997). How one person experiences time might differ vastly from the experience another person holds of time. This means that every human being "colors" his/her time differently. In this way people experience and construct their past, present and future differently. The past, present and future are the dimensions of the time perspective. Time perspective is one of the many forms of time, like clock time, calendar time, event time and biological time. Therefore time perspective is the subjective conceptualization of time. In this regard Adam (1994:05) states that our subjective conceptualizations of time and the way we utilize our time in our lives is important as to:
"...our social construction of the future, our relationship to death, our identity, our daily living, our participation in social life and our interaction with all that we have created."

In other words, the way we view time (the shade we select for our time) and utilize it, influences the way we construct our present and future and how we view our past. Thus, time perspective is the subjective conceptualization of time.

Although all individuals do hold subjective conceptualizations about their past, present and future, time perspective can also be regarded as a social conceptualization of time. *The way we view our time perspective* is on the one hand a social given, but on the other hand a personal contribution towards the society we live in, because human beings influence the society in which they are living *but are also influenced by their societies*. Therefore, whole societies can share corresponding subjective conceptualizations about past, present and future. In this sense, for instance, history (collective past) is constructed for a certain society by that society (Friedman, 1994). Jonathan Friedman (1994:118) states in this regard:

"*Making history (constructing stories) is a way of producing identity insofar as it produces a relation between what has supposedly occurred in the past on the one hand and the present state of affairs on the other. The construction of a history (subjective*
conceptualization of passed time) is the construction of a meaningful universe of events and narratives for an individual or collectively defined subject. And since the motivation of this process of construction emanates from a subject inhabiting a specific social world, we may say that history is an imprinting of the present onto the past. In this sense, all history is mythology."

In the same trend Mc Intyre (1988:66) asserts:

"It would be correct to say that we share our experiences in story and, in so doing, create a shared history and a possible shared future."

This means that all individuals in a society share a common perception of past, present and future, which are dimensions of the time perspective (Frank, 1939). Therefore one can also talk about a collective time perspective. Thus, time perspective is a subjective and social conceptualization of time.
2.2 Past, Present and Future: Dimensions of Time Perspective

As already mentioned above, according to Frank (1939), time perspective is a psychological construct, which entails the subjective knowledge people hold about their past, present and future.

*The past, present and future are regarded as dimensions of the time perspective.* These dimensions are relatively easy to define when they are viewed separately. Each of these dimensions will be discussed in the following. Out of these discussions it will become clear that every dimension has an important contribution towards the total time perspective. Bollnow (1972, in Plattner, 1990) presents the past as rigid, frozen and not being able to change. According to Bollnow, the present is regarded as the “now” and future is the open sphere, not wholly formed yet. However, in interrelationship the dimensions of the time perspective are very complex. Different views exist as to how this interrelationship functions.

2.2.1 The past as dimension of time perspective

Hornby and Cowie (1981) regard the concept “past” as the time before present. Bollnow (1972, in Plattner, 1990) defines the past as that which already happened and which can therefore not be changed anymore. Kober
(1997) shows how the past can become burdensome. She states that some people feel in connection with their past dimension they "owe" something to the past as they rely heavily on the past for a current identity. Kober then claims that sometimes people perceive themselves without a past. These people tend to start a "search" for a past. A preoccupation with the past in general becomes the result. Stuckness follows. There is just no space for nourishment of the future in such a person's life. In such a case, discourses of blame can often be detected as the subject regards him/herself as a victim of the past. Kober (1997: 51) states:

"At least since the advent of psychoanalysis 'the past' has figured prominently in discourses of identity."

Concentration on the past, especially with a "negative eye", might lead to pessimistic feelings about the future. A sense of dysphoria and hopelessness might then become the cause of psychopathological symptoms (cf. Yufit & Benzies, 1979). According to Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) the past's main characteristic lies in the pressure it exercises over the present as it limits the present and directs it in a certain way. Thus, the past seems to exert a powerful role in the interrelationship between the three dimensions of the time perspective.

Frank (1939) who emphasizes the value of the past dimension also promotes this view. According to Frank, the individual, in his/her future orientation, is in the present as a result of the past. This means also we
come to know the future through the past. Lasch (1985, in Kober 1997) also maintains that humans who have no roots in past, have no vision of their future. Thus, the values of the past build the values of the future. Therefore past experiences determine what will be expected to happen or not in future. And so, human beings (with the past in mind) behave in a certain way in the present in order to reach future goals. This would mean that positive or negative experiences in the past could call for the same future expectations. These positive or negative future expectations lay the basis for our present behavior. Our conduct/behavior and how we handle present events will again dictate how the past will be interpreted. This interpretation of the past will bring the same kind of future expectations and goals or fears to the fore. For example, one of the interviewees of this study experienced a car accident recently. This accident has an influence on how he feels when he drives a car presently.

2.2.2 The present as dimension of time perspective

Kaspar (1997) furnishes us with the history of the word "praesens". Before the 18th century, the word "praesens" (present) just occupied the meaning of being present at a certain venue. During the 18th century, the Latin word praesens (to be present at a certain venture) was also used to mean "now" (the moment between past and future) and present (gift).

Present takes a prominent role between the dimensions of the time perspective, because it is from the present that the past and future is
reviewed. Any version of the past and future is a version constructed in the present. Accordingly, the situation of the present will practice an influence on the current version of the past and future. In this regard Jonathan Friedman (1994:141) states:

"...the past is always practiced in the present, not because the past imposes itself, but because subjects in the present fashion the past in the practice of their social identity. Thus the organization of the current situation in the terms of a past can only occur in the present. The past that affects the present is a past constructed and/or reproduced in the present."

However, an emphasized focus on the present may demotivate people to better possible difficult, current circumstances. In this regard Bandura (1989) found, if people are able to think (in present) of their far-off lying goals as being nearer, it leads to greater personal self-efficacy. Thus not being able to render the future reachable, leads to lower self-efficacy and negative mood (Kavanagh, 1986; Kavanagh & Wilson, 1989). From the present, one thinks/plans into the future and thinks into/about the past. The extend to which a person thinks/plans into the future and harks back to the past is called one’s temporal extension (Lennings, 1994). According to Hulbert and Lens (1988, in Lennings and Burns, 1998) temporal extension functions as the primary indicator for time perspective as temporal extension is highly related to goal setting and motivation. Reductions in temporal extension may prevent people from developing strategies to deal
with current difficulties. Such reductions in time perspective can be viewed as cognitive inflexibility (cf. Lerner & Clum, 1990).

Because temporal extension is "measured" as from the "location" of present, one can say that temporal extension renders present as a crucial dimension. However, what do we understand under the concept present? The present, as a dimension of the time perspective, is assigned a very special role by the concept of temporal extension. According to Block (1990: 05):

"If an event or a sequence of events lasts for more than a few seconds, people experience what most theorists call the psychological present, or a conscious present."

Alfred Gell (1992) introduces the views of the introspective psychologist and proto-phenomenologist Brentano and his student Husserl on the human experience of present as being embedded between past and future. According to Gell (1992), Brentano felt it a contradiction that present is experienced as a never-ending continuity, where, in relation to past and future, present is a "knife-edge" moment. Brentano (in Gell, 1992) listened to a *continuous* 5-second tone on the oboe. He then showed on the fact that by the 4th second of the tone, the 1st second of the tone cannot be heard anymore. However, the total 5-second-tone is experienced as a continuous present. Brentano (in Gell, 1992) solved the phenomenon of a continuous present by saying that we hear only the now-present tone, which we enrich with the short-term-memory of the tone that filled the other passed seconds.
Thus, the memory of the tone in the passed seconds together with the now-present-tone, forms the experience of continuous present. Therefor, according to Brentano, our short-term memory provides us with the possibility of experiencing continuous present. Although Husserl (in Gell, 1992) agreed with Brentano's concept of the continuous present, he did not fully agree with Brentano's explanation for this phenomenon. He highlighted that Brentano's theory of short-term memory which feeds forward to connect with the present moment, would lead to the experience of a range of many present moments, rather than a continuous present. Therefor Husserl (in Gell, 1992) developed the concepts of retention, protention and reproduction. According to Husserl, a retention is the already happened part of the continuous now-moment. A protention would entail that which is still expected, in other words the next expected few seconds of the now-moment. Husserl (in Gell, 1992) then developed a model for the continuous present:
From the diagram, A-D could represent the 4-second-tone on the oboe. (B) represents the now-tone. (A) represents the already expired 1st second of the tone. (C) and (D) represent the still coming 2 seconds of the tone. According to Husserl, when one experiences the 2nd second of the tone (B), the 1st second of the tone (A) already started to "sank" to the past and becomes the retention A'. The expectation one holds from the next second, will be the protention C'. One can thus speak of the temporal field of (B), which all represents the continuous present. Gell (1992:221) reminds us of the "function" of present of supplying the experience of continuity by discussing the views of Brentano and Husserl and stating:
"Through every waking moment we sense the passage of time, and our daily lives are lived within a set of temporal 'horizons' which shift continually, like the landscape viewed from the windows of a moving train, while always retaining their underlying continuity and uniformity of structure."

Husserl (in Gell, 1992) however also developed the concept of reproduction. According to Husserl (in Gell, 1992), with the process of reproduction issues of the past can be recalled by human memory, thus they can be reformed to become present. Husserl (1928, in Plattner, 1990) shows that the present becomes the past as soon as the "next now-moment" comes into being. The now-moment that passed becomes a memory, which Husserl called the primary memory. However, the primary memory can be recalled (like when you remember a melody) and this recalled past into the present is then the secondary memory. The secondary memory is always dressed in the mood of the present. How we subjectively experience the recalled memory depends on how we view the past from the present moment. Husserl (1928, in Plattner, 1990) felt that we view the past according to our subjective experiences and perceptions, thus the past can be differently reviewed and interpreted when recalled at different moments. How we will view the past and expect the future to be depends on the actual "now". Thus, present takes a very crucial role between past and future.

2.2.3 The future as dimension of time perspective
The future dimension of time perspective was defined by Gjesme (1983:452) as: "a general capacity to anticipate, shed light on and structure the future". Gjesme (1983) regards the future dimension of time perspective as a "searchlight" with which the future is illuminated. Future is here regarded in terms of anticipated future events. Depending on the strength of the "searchlight" the person has the ability to anticipate the future. Thus, if the future can be anticipated far ahead and clear, the individual is better able to plan and structure his/her future and take precautions against possible future disasters.

Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) emphasizes that human beings are primarily future oriented. This is very important as the human being is primarily an active being who constantly tries to achieve goals and thus lives "ahead-of-itselfalready-being-in-the-world" (cf. Heidegger, 1992). According to Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) the idea that human beings are primarily "ahead-of-themselves" is a fundamental characteristic of human life. The future dimension, which provides expectations to human beings, makes it possible for human beings to grasp and live their "potentiality-for-being" (Heidegger, 1992). However, Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) regards the future also in an existential overview as the locus for sorrows as a result of the knowledge of oncoming death. Therefor Heidegger (1992:376) states:

"The primary meaning of existentiality is future."
Thus, the human being can be seen as "living to die". Because death can come at any moment, humans are mainly driven through everyday life by the worry about death (Heidegger, 1963, in Plattner, 1990). Heidegger then outlines that this specific, existential notion of the future puts a burden on the present, because the present as the lived and experienced moment gets a colour of threat through the future which entails our relationship to death.

Quite contrary to the existential view of Heidegger about future, Bollnow (1941, in Plattner, 1990) emphasizes that future (like past) does not always project pressure onto present. According to Bollnow, when human beings experience happy and satisfying moments, the future (and past) each develop independent powers, which are not regarded as pressurizing anymore. The past becomes a condition of calmness and sureness, where-as the future extends into an endless horizon. Thus, according to Bollnow (1941, in Plattner, 1990), in a condition of present happiness, future (and past) is experienced as supportive and safe.

However, when Bollnow outlines the condition of future in a happy moment, one should surely not forget the condition of future in an unhappy moment. Baumeister (1990) indicates for instance that people might hold a negative picture of the future on the ground of different, present reasons like economic burdens or unfortunate political circumstances. Such a negative future scope can truncate a person, which can lead to a feeling of a need to escape. Suicide might become a reality for such a person.
According to Plattner (1990:36) one could highlight the following from the theories of Heidegger and Husserl on the nature of the future (and past) dimension (s):

- "The future (and past) grabs into the present and plays a role in what the present looks like."
- "The future (and past) has both a pressurizing and relieving effect on present and can have an influence on the experience in present."
- "The subjective experiences and mood of present can have an influence on the qualitative colouring of the expected/future (and remembered/past)."

(Translated by M. Janik)
2.2.4 The crucial role of the interrelationship between the past, the present and the future

Heidegger (1992) who regards the dimensions of the time perspective (past, present and future) as "integral time" or "subjective time" does not value the characteristic of chronology with the dimensions. According to Heidegger both past and future can be found in present. In other words, the past can become alive and changed through present memories, whilst present always is a moment of preparation, within which future is contained. Heidegger thus emphasizes the enmeshedness of the dimensions of time perspective. Plattner (1990:37) also describes the enmeshedness of past, present and future when she states that the experience of the present is colored:

"...by past experiences and also by future expectations, goals and hopes. The contents of future is never loosened from the past. The contents of past and future will always be possible to change according to changes in the present" (translated by M. Janik).

However, although the interrelationship between the dimensions of time perspective can be described as enmeshed, Frank (1939) emphasizes the equal importance of all three the dimensions in their interrelationship. According to Frank (1939) it is not only the present that "decides" about the "character" of past and future. The past also projects itself onto the future. For example, two of the interviewees in this study told how a near-
drowning experience in their childhood severely influenced their thoughts about water and swimming for future purposes. Therefore, according to Frank (1939) past experiences do play a role in what is expected from the future, which again calls for a certain conduct in present. From the present, however, one can interpret the past differently, which can lead to a total redefinition of the picture of past, present and future. For example, one interviewee told how she made sure her child took swimming lessons when he was still very young as a result of her near-drowning experience. In this way she is not so much concerned about him drowning. Thus, presently this interviewee is not afraid of water, because she and her child learned to swim.

Although different views exist as to the interrelationship of past, present and future, it is clear that present takes midstage, from where past and future can be reviewed, constructed and reconstructed. According to Plattner (1990:37), "this perspective onlook on the past and/or the future from the present is the time perspective" (translated by M. Janik).

Regardless of how past, present and future interrelate, such an interrelationship "produces" the experience of continuity over the own life in human beings. Hausser (1983, in Plattner, 1990) regards such a feeling of continuity over the own life as playing an important role in identity development.
Although the interplay between the three dimensions of the time perspective do play a crucial role in identity formation, this seems to be culturally bound. Certain cultures simply don't ascribe to the interplay between the three dimensions of the time perspective, as they don’t value certain dimensions. According to Arieti (1947) certain cultures do not value the future dimension because of their increased emphasis on past and present experiencing (cf. Mbiti 1969, see time perspective and culture, chapter 3). Entire cultures thus may differ in respect to their temporal emphasis.

Plattner (1990) writes that temporal extension and the applicability of past, present and future in the individual's life is culturally bounded; the aborigines of Australia for example live in a "timeless" present as time is experienced as the contrast between "now" and "not-now". The cultural orientation towards past, present and future, should be kept in mind when one attempts to make generalizations with regard to time perspective and identity (see also chapter 3 on time perspective and identity and culture).

It is not only culture that has an influence on the interplay of the three dimensions of the time perspective. Socio-economic class differences are also related to time orientation and its subsequent effect on personality development (cf. Albrecht, 1951; Lewin, 1942). Le Shan (1952) found in research conducted that middle class children were significantly ($P \Omega .001$) more future orientated than lower class children were.
2.3 Personal and Social Time Perspectives

As already mentioned, when time is viewed in relation to human beings, time becomes a \textit{subjective} and \textit{social} phenomenon. In this way time perspective (which relates only to human beings) can be seen as the subjective and social conceptualization of time. Therefore one could derive that time perspective can be viewed as both a personal/individual (subjective) construct as well as a social construct. In this regard Thor (1962) differentiates between personal- and social time perspectives. The personal time perspective delineates the time perspective of the individual. The modernist view of individual as the isolated being (cf. Sarup, 1994) comes into mind here. According to Nuttin and Lens (1985), the personal time perspective is more useful and relevant when trying to understand human behaviour than the social time perspective.

The social time perspective is applicable to a community or group of people. In this regard Dempsey (1971) talks of a cultural time perspective. Thor believes that the time perspective the individual holds (personal time perspective) is an additional one to that of the society in which the person makes a living.

It thus seems as if Thor differentiates between individual and society. In psychology the dichotomy between individual and social has seen for
heated debates (and will be extensively discussed in chapter three as related to individual and collective identity). Wilhelm Wundt (in Burkitt, 1995), a psychologist from the start of the twentieth century, differentiated between a collective- and an individual psychology. A psychologist like Wundt would thus most possibly also strongly differentiate between a personal- and social time perspective.

However, academics like the American philosopher and social psychologist Mead (1863-1931) started to break down the dualism between individual and social (cf. Burkitt, 1995). Mead (in Burkitt, 1995:29), for example, stated in this regard:

"The communication between individuals in the collectivity is a precondition for what takes place in individual consciousness."

Thus, according to Mead (in Burkitt, 1995), there is a natural relationship between personal and social. This means that what is portrayed as individual subjectivity versus that which is regarded as the social, are mutually dependent on each other. Burkitt (1995:29) shows how individual subjectivity is in a way also the product of the social when he says "personality develops within discourse", meaning there-with that "individuality" is the product of society. Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd (1999:140) also underline the fact that "time perspective is a fundamental process, a pervasive way of relating to people and events, which we learn at an early age through our culture, religion, social class, education and family
influences”. In addition, the contents of the dimensions of the time perspective is also often the product of social interaction. For example, in this study, interviewees mentioned important life events like "marriage" which add to the contentss of the time perspective but which is also a social institution. However, it is also clear that the social cannot exist if "individuals" don't form it.

Therefor, in this study, both personal time perspective as well as social time perspective are regarded as existing and are regarded as mutually influencing each other. This is important to this study which is interested in how far (if at all) individual/personal time perspectives contribute towards a collective Namibian identity.
2.4 Contents of Time Perspective

The dimensions of time perspective (past, present and future) are embodied through events and experiences human beings had, are having and expect to have. These events and experiences are regarded as the concrete contents of the time perspective. Accordingly, the life course of an individual and his/her time perspective are densely intermingled with each other, as the life course contains the events and experiences (concrete contents) a person had, has and expects to have. One can also derive that the older a person becomes and as the life course extends with age, the time perspective of that person also increases with age.

However, as human beings hold certain subjective views over their life, the concrete contents a person allows in his/her dimensions, depends on this subjective view. The subjective view over life continuously changes as new events are experienced. Therefor, the contents included in the time perspective changes continuously.

Certain events of the past do relate to those in present and with the expectations about the future, which renders a feeling of continuity to the individual's life. Here the constant interplay between the dimensions of time perspective is again underlined.

According to Plattner (1990) on a concrete and cognitive level, the time perspective will entail perceptions, thoughts and interpretations of past,
present and future events/experiences. Therefore, to be able to extract findings on time perspective, one will have to study the individual's and/or group's relationship to his/her/their concrete contents of past, present and future.

Plattner (1990) then lists the following characteristics of the concrete contents of the dimensions of the time perspective as structuring the time perspective:

- **Qualitative shading of the concrete contents:** this characteristic depicts in how far a certain mentioned event/experience (concrete contents) directs subjective experiencing of the individual positive or negative.

- **The link of the concrete contents with past, present or future:** this characteristic indicates to which dimension a certain mentioned event/experience (concrete contents) links either to the past, present and/or future. Such information can give an indication as to the interrelationship of past, present and/or future in the life of the individual.

- **Temporal extension (range) of the concrete contents:** this characteristic indicates where in the dimension of the time perspective the event/experience (concrete contents) can be placed.
For instance, far future, near future. In this way one gets information as to the extend of a person’s total time perspective.

- *Density of the concrete contents*: this characteristic is an indication of the number of events/ experiences/future plans/memories (concrete contents) the person mentions.

- *Degree of concreteness of the concrete contents*: this characteristic serves as an indication of how concrete a person’s remembered events/plans/dreams/goals are. For instance, one will be able to extract whether this person holds clear and concrete perceptions of his/her goal(s), or only vague perceptions.

- *Realizing possibility of the concrete contents*: with this characteristic an indication can be provided as to how far a person expects or holds it for possible that a certain goal will be reached. (This dimension refers to the future perspective only).

- *Weighting of the concrete contents*: this characteristic provides an indication as to which one of the three dimensions carries the most weight in a person’s life. For instance, does a person primarily live in the past, present or future?
Certain of these characteristics of the contents of time perspective will be applied in the analysis of the interview material of this study and will be discussed further in Chapter 4 under the operationalization of the variables.

### 2.5 Research Studies concerning Time Perspective

Many studies were conducted on time perspective, as "time perspective has been related to a host of psychological and sociological phenomena and constructs (Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999:149). A number of general issues pertaining to research on time perspective include the following:

- The research results of the same question on time perspective are often vastly different. Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) for example found that research conducted on how time perspective of adults changes as they become older, produced contradictory results. Some researchers found that most individuals do think of their future dimension (Kastenbaum, 1963 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Other research findings again indicate that older adults concentrate more on past than on any of the other two dimensions of time perspective (Thomae, 1981, in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Another research study found that older adults concentrate more on both their future and past dimensions as they age (Eson and Greenfield, 1962 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Again another study showed that both past and future dimensions decreased in importance for older adults (Kornfeld and Marshall, 1987...
in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Seijts (1998) ascribes this diversity of results to the variability of definitions on the construct "time perspective" and its dimensions (past, present, future) as well as the variability of the measurement instruments used (cf. Keough et al. 1999).

- Researchers often equate time perspective with the future dimension of the time perspective (Plattner, 1990). The past and present dimensions are thus not researched as often as the future dimension. Frank (1939) who developed the concept "time perspective" emphasized the importance of all three the dimensions in order to avoid misleading research outcomes. Keough et al. (1999) also emphasize the interplay between past, present and future as crucial. According to these authors, as soon as one dimension becomes either more or less prominent, certain patterns of behavior can develop. For example, a strong present orientation intensifies satisfaction of the moment, but might lead to problems regarding delay of gratification, or difficulties in planning a life path for the future. People with strong present orientations may also not consider future consequences of current actions (Keough et al. 1999). People who are future oriented show an ability to plan and care about the future and the setting and achieving of goals. These people are very concerned about the consequences of present behavior for future purposes. However, these people tend to neglect personal and social relationships due to their ambitions (Keough et al. 1999). A strong past orientation leads people to value tradition and history. They can use
memories of past to make "correct" decisions in present, but they also tend to have problems with change, and the effort endlessly to maintain the status quo (Keough, et al. 1999).

- The research that is conducted on the future dimension of the time perspective concentrates on temporal extension and neglects contents (Plattner, 1990).

The following is a brief review of some of the studies conducted on time perspective, which are regarded as relevant also to this study in one or other way.

1. Having mentioned above that the future dimension receives the most attention in research on time perspective, this study of Karin Fingerman and Marion Perlmutter (1995) is a good example. These researchers conducted a study on the future dimension of time perspective. The purpose of the study was:

- to examine the nature of the future dimension of time perspective in young adults as well as older adults;
- to find out whether and what differences exist concerning the future dimension of time perspective between young adults and older adults;
- to investigate the relationship between future dimension of time perspective and significant life events, as Fraisse (1981 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995:95) states that "time and life events are
intrinsically linked; it is because of life events that one has a sense of time. Therefore one can also assume time perspective and life events are linked. Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) looked at the relationship between future dimension and life events. They expected that a stressful present life event would shorten future temporal extension. Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) also anticipated differences in the nature of the relationship between life events and future dimension with regard to young adults and older adults.

The Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) study assessed the age differences between the future dimension of younger and older adults, as well as the age differences in the relationship between future dimension and important life events in a number of ways of which few are mentioned here:

- Time Reference Inventory: younger and older adults had to assign past, present or future labels to a variety of life events (Strumpf, 1987 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995);
- Metaphorical method: younger and older adults had to select three circles of differing size and assign to them the labels past, present and future. These circles had to be arranged in a certain order of own choice. Through this arrangement the researcher could see the nature of the relationship of the three dimensions of the time perspective in the participant's life (Beiser, 1987 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995);
- Story completion tasks and thematic apperception (TAT) methods (Kornfeld and Marshall, 1987 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995);
• Requesting younger and older adults to list possible upcoming events they expected to still experience during their lives (Lessing, 1968 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995);

Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) selected 23 women and 15 men between the ages 20 and 37 years old for this study (young adult group). They also included 31 women and 19 men between the ages 60 and 81 years old (older adult group). The sample was selected through local community groups, so that active, young and aged participants could be found. All participants were highly educated.

Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) presented the following results. No significant differences in age were found as to how far the participants thought into the future (future temporal extension) on a day-to-day basis. Twenty-one older adults and 19 younger adults selected the choice "the next few months" as the time period in future they thought most of. When asked to assign ratings to different future time periods according to how often participants thought about that future time period, participants in general rated closer future time periods higher than distant future time periods. Although participants in general rated "tomorrow" and "the next few weeks" high, younger adults in comparison to older adults more frequently indicated thoughts about the current year, the next year and ten years after the current year. Younger adults also reported more distant future images of themselves than older adults. The younger adults concentrated on more remote future periods when they mentioned what they still wanted to
achieve in life. Younger adults were also keener to identify themselves as future thinkers, than were older adults. However, no differences concerning gender were found as to distant future images. It was further found that younger adults held the belief that they had greater control and more choice over future life events, than did older adults feel. Younger adults tended more regularly to list life events that required greater role change and discontinuity than the life events mentioned by older adults. This study also indicated that individuals who expected changes to take place in the next two years, thought more frequently about the future.

According to Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995), speculations that older adults don’t think very often about the future could not be found. Rather, it was found that healthy, well-educated adults of all ages did think about the near future i.e the next few months. Furthermore, this study showed that young adults think more often about the far future than older adults. For both younger and older adults, the experience of positive, recent life events did correlate with an increase in thoughts about the more distant future.

Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) also found that if participants perceived themselves to be in control of expected events, they thought more often about distant future. When the participants felt they had no control about upcoming events, they tended to think less about the future.

The Fingerman and Perlmutter (1995) study is relevant to the current study as it generally investigated the link between time perspective and life
events, which is also one of the tasks of the current study. Specifically, these researchers looked at the impact of critical life events on future temporal extension.

2. In another study, Manabu Tsuzuki (2000) investigated the relationship between job-hunting behavior and time perspective in Japanese undergraduates. Tsuzuki asked whether actual job-hunting behavior affects time perspective positively or negatively and vice versa. According to Tsuzuki, time perspective and actual behavior stand in a certain relationship to each other. Time perspective also plays a crucial role in personality development. Career choice is an important developmental task. Currently 40% of Japanese graduates have difficulty finding jobs. Therefore, these students start job-hunting behavior in their third year already. Tsuzuki thus asks: how does this premature job-hunting behavior influence time perspective and thus personality development in young people?

For the purpose of Tsuzuki's study, 65 undergraduate students each completed six questionnaires. These questionnaires were:

- Desired career choice after graduating from university;
- Job-hunting behavior;
- Self-efficacy Scale for career choice (Tsuzuki, 2000);
- Time Attitude Scale (Tsuzuki, 2000);
- Goal List Questionnaire (Tsuzuki, 2000);
- Goal Consciousness Scale (Tsuzuki, 2000).

Tsuzuki (2000) divided participants in two groups:

- Those who already started job-hunting (starter-group)
- Those who did not involve in job-hunting yet (non-starter group)

No significant difference was found between the two groups as to self-efficacy or motivation to find a job. For time perspective scales, the starter group had significantly higher scores for having future goals, good time management skills, planning abilities, a general positive image of past, present and future, and more future goals than the non-starter group.

From his study Tsuzuki (2000) derives that all undergraduate students are highly motivated to reach future goals in life. However, those students who already started with job-hunting behavior displayed better skills for planning for the future and time management. This group could set realistic goals, which could well be achieved as compared to the group that did not involve already in job-hunting behavior. Tsuzuki thus found a positive correlation between job-hunting and time perspective.

Tsuzuki's study is a clear indication of the mutual influence between time perspective and behavior (in this case specifically job-hunting behavior). This links to the mutual influence between time perspective and identity as
discussed in chapter 3. This study of Tsuzuki is another example of the wide field of research which is/was conducted on time perspective.

3. In another study, Wills, Sandy and Yaeger (2001) investigated time perspective in relation to early-onset substance (tobacco, alcohol, marijuana) use. The sample consisted of 454 elementary school children with a mean age of 11.8 years. The Zimbardo Perspective Inventory (Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999 in Wills et al., 2001) was administered on the participants.

In this study, Wills et al. (2001) found that both present and future orientations of the participants had an effect on substance use. However, the relationship between time perspective and substance use was indirect and rather guided by behavior coping and anger coping.

Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd (1999) also conducted two studies in order to investigate any relationship between time perspective and substance use behavior in human beings. According to these authors, the use and abuse of alcohol, drugs and tobacco poses great health problems. Currently 77 million Americans report to have used drugs some time in their lives.

In study one, 2627 participants in 15 separate samples participated. The majority of these participants were college students of differing age, gender, ethnicity and geographic regions. However, some of the participants also came from High School, the California Youth Authority and from an
offender traffic school of Northern California. A number of questionnaires were applied to these people, always in group settings. These questionnaires were:

- Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory (Zimbardo et al. 1997, in Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999)
- Health and Risk Questionnaire (Keough et al. 1999)
- Drinking Habits Questionnaire (Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley, 1969 in Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999)

The results indicated that across all samples, men were more present oriented where-as women tended to be more future oriented. Furthermore, a significant correlation was found between high past dimension scores (thus more past oriented) and alcohol, drug and tabacco use. People who reported high past dimension scores also reported drinking increased volumes of alcohol on a single occasion and having consumed more alcohol during the past month than usual. An examination of gender effects showed that males reported higher past dimension scores than females.

In study two, 206 participants of the middle working class were selected. Of these participants, 65% were female and 35% were male. The ages of participants ranged between 16 and 62 years. These participants completed many questionnaires of which some are listed here:

- Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory (Zimbardo et al. 1997 in Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999)
- Consideration of future consequences (Strathman, Gleicher, Boninger and Edwards, 1994 in Keough, Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999)

The results showed that participants who reported higher past dimension scores also rated higher on substance use. Participants who scored high on the future dimension, reported less substance use. It was furthermore found by this study that high scores on the following variables correlated with increased substance use:

- High past dimension scores in combination with high aggression scores
- High past dimension scores in combination with high depression scores
- High past dimension scores in combination with high consistency of behavior scores
- High past dimension scores in combination with high sensation seeking scores

The main result of this study was found to be that increased past dimension scores related strongly to increased substance use. The researchers come to the conclusion at the end of this study that time perspective most definitely has an effect on a wide range of human behaviors, like substance use. In the light of this conclusion of the researchers, one can also say that, if time perspective plays a role in human behaviour, time perspective will also influence identity. A study on the effect of time perspective on identity should thus be a relevant study. This study of Keough et al. (1999) also
shows that an increased concentration on one of the dimensions of time perspective (here the past dimension) causes the interplay between the dimensions to be unequal. This might have a negative effect on human beings, like increased substance use.

4. Lennings (1994) conducted a study on the effects of agency and time perspective variables on career maturity. According to Lennings (1994:243) "career maturity involves notions of temporal planning and time/life management skills necessary for successful entry into and progression through the workforce". Lennings cites Das (1991) who emphasized the importance of regarding time perspective as having a major impact on work performance. According to Das (1991, in Lennings, 1994) reduced temporal extension is strongly related to limited planning horizons, which leads to limited periods in which action can take place. Battman (1988 in Lennings, 1994) also emphasized that temporal extension, and thus time perspective, plays a crucial role in life-planning decisions like occupational decisions.

Two samples were selected for this study which included 160 senior high school learners and 235 first year university students. Each participant completed the following assessments:

- Attitude subscale of the Career Maturity Inventory (Crites, 1983 in Lennings, 1994);
• Generalized Self-Efficacy Scale (Tipton and Worthington's, 1984 in Lennings, 1994);
• Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966 in Lennings, 1994);
• Temporal extension measure (Lennings, 1991 in Lennings, 1994);
• Temporal attitude scale (Yonge, 1975 in Lennings, 1994).

The results of the study indicated that positive attitude towards time and internal locus of control were the main variables that played a role in career maturity. There was a strong association between future attitude and career attitude. Furthermore this study found that moderate temporal extension and highly positive temporal attitude relates strongly to career maturity. This finding suggests some usefulness of time perspective as a predictor of future behavior.

5. Peetsma (2000) conducted a study on future time perspective as a predictor of how much input learners invest in school. The researcher regarded the students' future time perspective as the predictor of their degree of investment in school. The degree of investment in school is regarded as the behavior to be explained.

Peetsma (2000:11) formulated the following research questions for the study:

1. Do students with positive perspectives on their school and professional career in the short and long term work harder at school than students with negative future time perspectives?
2. Do students with positive time perspectives in general (on all four objects in the research, school and professional career, social relations, personal development and leisure time) work harder at school than students whose future time perspectives on the above-mentioned items are negative?

3. To what degree is the relationship between future time perspectives and school investment influenced by school type, grade, gender, socio-economic status, locus of control and fear of failure?

| A sample of 606 (270 boys/ 327 girls) students was selected from 21 schools in the Netherlands. The participants' age ranged between 11-20 years. |

| The instruments used in this study were questionnaires. The Future time perspective questionnaire (Peetsma, 2000) and the School investment questionnaire (Peetsma, 2000) were applied to all participants. With both these questionnaires, the participants had to conduct a Likert rating from 1-5 on the different items. The use of school grades, fear of failure, locus of control and biographical data also gathered data on the participant. |

| The following was found by this study: |

| • There was a strong positive correlation between school investment and future time perspective regarding school career. In other words, when learners indicated a longer future temporal perspective, they also were more keen to "invest" in school work. |

| • Participants' future time perspectives related strongly to a particular object (like school and professional career, social relations, personal development and leisure time). |
• A strong relationship was found between short- and long term perspectives.
• An object (or life domain) played a stronger role in the students' future time perspective than one moment or period of time.

These studies show the diversity of research already conducted on time perspective.
Chapter 3: Time perspective and the concepts identity and culture

In this chapter, the main focus will be on the concepts time perspective, identity, culture and the interrelationship between these concepts. It will be argued that time perspective and identity are in a mutual relationship, and how culture can influence not only this relationship, but also each of the concepts time perspective and identity.

It will further be shown that there are definite cultural differences in the conceptualization of time (cf. Levine, 1997) and thus time perspective. Therefore, in this chapter, the role of culture will also be reviewed when discussing the relationship between identity and time perspective.

Any enquiry into the contribution of time perspective towards identity, like in this study, will have to elaborate on certain issues pertaining to identity in general. The aim of this thesis is to enquire about the effect of time perspective on individual identity and the effect of individual identity on collective identity. Glynis Breakwell (1986:11) gives an indication of the complexity of the process of dealing with a diverse term like identity when she states:
"Theorizing about identity is like traversing a battlefield. Though strewn only with the debris of unconsolidated thought rather than unexploded shells, it is no less deadly."

However, it is not the intention of this study to clarify finer and complex issues pertaining to identity either, or to deal with different views available on this complex concept. The accent will rather lie on the relationship between the contents of the time perspective and identity.

3.1 The Concept "Identity"

3.1.1 Identity and identity development

According to Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979), identity, then, is the answer to the question: "Who am I?" Thus, one can see identity as the qualities a person believes do exist in him/herself. Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979:09) define identity as: "… the individual's self-attribute of numerous personal and interpersonal qualities." According to these authors, identity can be seen as a self-definition, in other words a perception of the self the person holds. Where personality would include characteristics of the person as they appear to others, identity would entail how the person perceives him/herself. The accent with identity thus lies within the self-attributed qualities. Therefore one could say that identity is a subjective phenomenon. In this way people differ from each other because they attribute different qualities to the self. The qualities that form identity
can be physical appearance, abilities, desires, motives, goals, social beliefs, attitudes and values. They will also include roles people are expected to carry out within the home, at work and in society at large.

Sarup (1994) indicates that the qualities that make up identity change continuously. Everyone experiences many physical and psychological changes. Sometimes these changes occur rapidly as a result of a major life event such as marriage, a new job, birth of a child, a new home, new friends, loss of loved ones, which is an indication of the tremendous impact of life events on the identity of the individual. At other times, the change is a gradual process. For example, the adult's self perception changes as he/she grows older. Whether change is gradual or sudden, it is a major component of life and with that, one can say identity is fluid throughout life, not fixed. According to Madan Sarup's understanding of identity (which will apply to this study) there is a move away from the static and essentialized self, inherent in the concept of the free and self-determining individual. One now finds the historically constituted and shifting self. Jonathan Friedman (1994:141) emphasizes in this regard:

"The construction of identity is an elaborate and deadly serious game of mirrors. It is a complex temporal interaction of multiple practices of identification external and internal to a subject or population."
According to Erikson (1963), throughout life human beings experience major life events. During these major life events, human beings are confronted with certain critical issues. When having worked through these issues, identity becomes refined and reworked. Identity therefor changes continuously through life. This continuous change of identity is the result of everyday experiences the person encounters, which constantly influences identity.

According to Withbourne and Weinstock (1979) change in human behavior is the result of the types of events and experiences a person has or had and how he/she deals with these events. Thus, the specific way in which a person decides to handle a certain event might change his/her self-perception. For example, one of the interviewees in this study told how his parent's divorce made him not to believe in marriage. However, after he got married, he perceived not only marriage as a good institution, but also learned to perceive himself as a good husband and father.

Authors like Bertens (1995) and Kvale (1992) regard identity as a story, which the individual has to develop for him/herself. Identity can therefor not be regarded as a given which one can take for granted. Identity is a psychological state to be achieved. Kvale furthermore emphasizes the important contribution of the subjective experience of past, present and future, which are the dimensions of the time perspective, towards identity formation when he comes to the conclusion that in order to know who you are and where you are heading, you need to know where you have come
from (history) to be able to own your origins. This forms a link between identity and time perspective (refer to par. 3.1.2).

3.1.1.1 The processes of differentiation and integration

Werner (1948, in Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1979) attributes continuous developmental change over the human life span to two processes: differentiation and integration. According to Werner, the process of differentiation entails the dissembling of an entity to smaller parts. This process can for instance be witnessed after conception when the single egg cell starts to break down into numerous new cells. Werner holds it that the process of differentiation continuous to play a crucial role in human physical and psychological development throughout life. Such psychological development through differentiation can for instance be the refining of the personal and social skills of adolescents.

However, Werner shows on the fact that the process of differentiation alone would cause chaos if the differentiation would not occur in an organized way. Therefor the process of integration exists. Integration can be seen as the organizing process of the differentiation process. As cells become differentiated, it is through integration that they become the "building blocks" of organs. Otherwise one would find numerous non-important cells in the body which would not be able to function. According to Werner, it is through the process of integration that human beings can organize the
numerous experiences they encounter in meaningful units that render to human life the perception of continuity over the own life.

Thus, according to Werner (1948, in Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1979) identity changes continuously as a result of the process of differentiation. A person holds at a specific time a certain view of the world around him/her, or he/she has certain believes, values and roles. Through differentiation, these views, believes and roles are refined and become more complex. This is how abstract reasoning for example develops. These believes, goals and values are "building blocks" of identity. As these "building blocks" become more refined and complex, they also become more internally consistent with the individual. However, if the differentiation would just continue, the individual would get a feeling of disintegration. Therefor the overall structure of identity provides an integrative function, which renders to the individual the feeling of consistency, continuity and containment. Thus, while parts of identity are changing through differentiation, integration gives the person the knowledge that these changes are occurring to him/her, and still feels intact. Werner shows that identity is fluid, but that a person still finds personal meaning in the change as a result of integration, which provides the individual with a perception of continuity over life. According to Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979:02):

"Without this continuity to life, a person would feel fragmented in approaching each new ... experience."
Human beings continuously encounter experiences and events. Often these events and experiences, which people encounter, clash with their identities (person's perceived believes, values, motives, and roles). When a person perceives a discrepancy between an experience and his/her identity and the person interprets the event/experience as necessitating change, the process of differentiation is triggered, whereby identity might be altered. Thus, the fact that the event/experience clashes with the person's identity, is not a prerequisite for identity change. Any change in human beings relies on that person's perceptions (subjectivity) and interpretations of experience instead of the actual objective nature of these experiences. The specific meaning a person assigns to an experience or the way the person perceives the experience is a given of that person's existing identity. One can therefore derive that the process of identity change/development is a cyclic one. With the current identity, a person experiences and interprets experiences/events. If these experiences/events contradict the person's identity, the person adapts his/her identity through differentiation. Encountered experiences or critical life events play a major role here.

The fluidity of identity becomes so much more underlined if one takes into consideration that there is a mutual relationship between identity and experiencing, with each influencing the other. In order to be able to elucidate on this mutual relationship, Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) derived two kinds of differentiation, namely deductive differentiation and inductive differentiation. With deductive differentiation the person's identity forms the blueprint for experiencing. Thus, the individual will
perceive an experience in a certain way as a result of his/her specific identity at that point of time. Inductive differentiation occurs when an experience, which the person encounters - like a critical life event - effects the person in such a way that it leads to a change in that person's identity. In the event of inductive differentiation, the motives, believes and roles that constitute the person's identity become refined and clarified as a result of the exposure to the specific experience/event. The processes of deductive and inductive differentiation accentuate the fluidity and stability of identity in that identity either directs subjective experiencing, or experiencing directs (changes) identity. Both types of differentiation are responsible for changes in the components of identity, which again underline the fluidity of identity throughout a human life. Throughout these changes the process of integration provides the sense of overall consistency.

When accepting the model of deductive and inductive differentiation of Whitbourne and Weinstock, one also has to assume that an individual's personal identity is flexible enough to be open to change but integrated enough to maintain consistency over time, so that identity is not “lost” in individual experiences.

### 3.1.1.2 Life span development and fluid identity

Considering the Life Span Developmental Psychological perspective of life long development as important, Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979) feel that the popular saying "people become more alike as they grow old" is a false
conception of development and identity attainment. These authors found that people become more different, more multifaceted, more complex and more individual as they grow older. The reason here-for is the increasing range of experiences to which people are exposed the longer they live. Thus according to Life Span Developmental theory of human development, identity remains a highly fluid process throughout life (refer to par. 3.1.2.2).

3.1.1.3 Life span construct and the perception of fluid identity

Withbourne (1985) shows how her concept of the Life Span Construct explains the theory of a fluid identity. According to Whitbourne, the individual constructs an identity from significant past and present experiences as well as of experiences still expected to happen in future. She then calls all these experiences that co-construct identity the Life Span Construct. With the Life Span Construct one sees a clear link between time perspective (past, present, future experiences) and identity (refer to par. 3.1.2). Whitbourne divides the Life Span Construct into the Scenario and the Life Story.

According to Whitbourne (1985), the Scenario is a person's expected picture of his/her future. Therefor, the Scenario would include expectations and plans about the future. For example one of the interviewees in this study included "further education" and "career development" in her Scenario. One can then derive that the Scenario contributes towards a
person's identity as the nature of a person's expectations and plans also tells one something of that person's identity. However, a person is not born with a certain set of future expectations and plans. Whitbourne (1985) shows on the fact that as a person grows older, his/her interests change, which are reflected in future expectations and plans. Thus, age norms do play a crucial role in the contents of the Scenario. The Scenario is thus constantly reworked and changing as a result of either planned life changes or also as a result of unexpected events during different ages. However, as the Scenario and identity are in a relationship, a continuous rewriting of the Scenario leads to a continuously changing identity.

At the same time a person reworks the Scenario, he/she also arranges certain subjectively chosen past events/experiences in such a way, that a feeling of continuity over the own life is perceived. Whitbourne calls this collection of past events/experiences which a person (in present) regards as important, the Life Story. The contents of the Life Story (just as that of the Scenario) changes constantly, depending either on how the person views these past events/experiences from present or which past events/experiences the person "decides" to include in the Life Story from the stance of the present. The constant changes in the Life Story also contribute to continuous changes in identity (refer to par. 3.1.3).

All human beings are in constant contact with the external world. This contact with the external world sees for the constant change in the person's Life Span Construct as the person continuously adapts to his/her external
surroundings. As the Life Span Construct changes, identity also changes. Thus, Whitbourne explains how a human being, on a cognitive level, reviews and adapts past experiences and future expectations from the standpoint of present. In this way the Life Span Construct renders to the individual the ability to perceive the own life as a continuity from past, over present to future. Thus, according to Whitbourne, the changes in the Life Span Construct are regarded as changes of the person's relation to his/her past, present and future in the time perspective, which impact on identity. These changes are also of meaning for the way the person handles difficult events. Identity, according to Whitbourne (1985), thus either influences our experience of events, or these events contribute to the change of identity. Whitbourne's theory of the Life Span Construct renders identity as a life long fluid process.

Whitbourne's Life Span Construct holds it that a feeling of continuity of the own life is crucial in the process of identity formation. The scenario and the life story are constantly reworked to maintain the feeling of continuity of the individual life over time as the person experiences critical life- and other events that impact on the person. Because of this constant reworking of the scenario and the life story, identity also changes as to "adapt" to the experiences the person encounters.

The theory of fluid identity is a corner stone of this study (refer to chapter 5). If it can be assumed that identity as a fluid process throughout life is the result of the human being continuously struggling to establish a feeling of
continuity in his/her life over time, one can derive that a direct link exists between the contents of the time perspective and identity. It is the contents of the dimensions of the time perspective that form and reform identity, as described by the Life Span Construct of Susan Krauss Whitbourne (refer to the relationship between time perspective and identity in par. 3.1.2). In other words, identity is a fluid process in the struggle to adapt to the contents of the person’s time perspective. In this way the individual's need to experience his/her life as continuous over past, present and future is satisfied. This is a mutual process as authors show that a person's perception of continuity over the own life impacts on the forming of identity (cf. Plattner, 1990).

Lewin (1969, in Plattner) calls all the conscious and subjective past, present and future contents of the individual his/her Psychological Life Space. According to Lewin, the contents of the Psychological Life Space changes continuously, depending on changes in the psychological state of the individual. In this way the individual ensures he/she perceives life as a continuous process. Lewin thus also sees identity as continuously changing.

One might regard the theory of fluid identity as a drawback in this project which studies time perspective and identity. The question can be posed: how will it be possible to study the impact of the time perspective on identity, if identity changes continuously? In addition there is the collective with whom one has to deal, which is also a highly fluid component. In other words, with identity and collective identity (for collective identity, refer to
par. 3.1.4), there is so much fluidity that it might be regarded as impossible
to draw conclusions about “certain kinds of identity” as is the motive of this
project (refer to chapters 4 and 5). However, one should take processes like
differentiation and integration (refer to par. 3.1.1.1) into account which
provide a perception of continuity over the life span.

3.1.2 The relationship between time perspective and
identity

Plattner (1990) states that the connection between identity and time
perspective should be seen as a mutual one (refer to introduction). On the
one hand all the events the individual experienced, currently experiences
and expects to experience (contents of the time perspective) contribute
towards identity formation. For instance, having experienced a traumatic
car accident one of the interviewees in this study mentions how he changed
especially events/experiences that are regarded by the individual as a crisis,
to have the ability of changing identity (cf. Whitbourne and Weinstock,
1979). With this “changed” identity (identity development) the person will
most probably change his/her view of past, present and future. Having
attained a different view of past, present and future, the importance of the
contents (events/stories) of these dimensions will also change. The change
in identity might even cause a change in the importance of the different
dimensions of the time perspective for a person. For example, one of the
interviewees in this study, who experienced his childhood as traumatic due
to his parent's divorce, could leave the past behind (past dimension became less important) after he experienced his own marriage as positive. He could therefore concentrate more on present and future. Bühler (in Bühler and Massarik, 1969) found that there is an inter-individual difference in how people relate towards their past, present and future (see introduction). On the other hand the consciousness of identity influences how the person subjectively perceives past, present and future events, and which events are regarded as important at a certain point in time. For example, a person might have a feeling of being able to deal with any crisis on the grounds of having been able to manage through previous tough experiences.

Time perspective and identity are also related in another way. As already stated earlier, a perception of continuity over the life span contributes towards identity formation. This perception of continuity is only possible if the individual is able to arrange past, present and expected future experiences in a line. Cottle (1977) mentions that in any case, it seems as if humans naturally seek to find the relationship between the past and the future and in doing so become aware of the connection between the past and the future. If a person is not able to arrange his/her experiences in this way, identity formation will be influenced. In this regard Chandler and Ball (1987) explain their continuity warrant theory, which states that in general individuals are used to locate themselves on a continuum in present that includes both their past and future. This theory has it that although individuals are on different locations on the time continuum, thus relating with different degrees of intensity to their past, present and future, it is
crucial that this continuum includes the person's whole time perspective for a contribution towards identity formation. For example, Chandler and Ball found that suicidal people are discontinuous in time, frozen in the present. They fail to see that they have a future and hold a negative view of their immediate past. The individual does not experience a sense of continuity from past over present to future over the own life, which might contribute towards identity problems. Thus, the unique relationship of the individual to the dimensions of his/her time perspective influences his/her identity (cf. Adam, 1994). Whitbourne and Weinstock (1979:08) also state:

"For the individual it (identity) is responsible for the maintenance of a sense of continuity across situations and over time."

Time perspective and identity influence each other.

3.1.2.1 Time perspective, identity and the life cycle developmental approach

Having shown in the previous paragraphs that concurrent change (throughout the life span) in experiencing, influences identity development and vice versa, a discussion on traditional phase theories and Life Span Developmental Psychology will now follow.

According to a traditional phase theory approach in early psychology, human beings develop rapidly until the onset of early adulthood, thereafter
no significant changes occur to the person as his/her identity is more or less “completed”. In these phase theories very little room is left for continuous identity changes which occur as a result of past, present and expected future experiencing. As already shown, identity and time perspective mutually influence each other (refer to par. 3.1.2). If the phase theories postulate a "fixed identity" for human beings after adolescence, the contents of the dimensions of the time perspective should remain the same for people from early adulthood until life end. However, this cannot be the case as one knows from personal experience that subjective conceptualizations of past, present and future do change continuously throughout life, a view that is underlined by the Life Cycle Developmental approach (Santrock, 1997).

Klinger and Laubscher (1997, in De La Rey, Duncan, Laubscher, Shefer and Van Niekerk, 1997) refer to Sigmund Freud who, with his psychoanalytic theory, emphasized childhood to be the main phase of "development" in human beings. Freud saw adulthood as a stable phase with minimal change. It is that which occurred in childhood (past) that predicted the outcome of the adulthood phase. Freud thus valued childhood as the past and thus as the major "cause" of the present and the future, and he emphasized the relevance of the past in any human life. Present and future as well as identity remain "fixed" as a result of the past.

In contrast to this view of Freud, Bernice Neugarten (1977) remarked that adulthood also comprises of “development” and that some of these developments in adulthood have no precursors in childhood. She mentions
also that in some cases, there is an actual reversal of earlier developmental issues. So, for example, the time perspective towards life changes in mid-life from a time-since-birth perspective to a time-to-live perspective. In Neugarten's terms one can see a change in time focus with human beings from a present-past orientation to a present-future orientation from midlife onwards. Pressey and Kuhlen (1957) again found that the young adolescent and young adult sees the future as lying ahead, whereas the middle-aged person feels the future to be upon him/her. More research shows that adolescents’ orientation towards the future increases as they approach adulthood and possess a greater ability to make realistic decisions about life choices, goals and plans (Cottle & Klineberg, 1974; Greene, 1986; Poole & Cooney, 1987). According to Pressey and Kuhlen, the older person uses to glance backwards in search for the future. Regardless of all these research findings one can say that the fact remains that the time perspective changes continuously and together with it, identity also fluctuates. This means that “development” also occurs in adults and the elderly and is not only restricted to pre-adolescence and adolescence.

Carl G. Jung and Erik Erikson were among the first to say that adulthood was still full of vibrant development and change. Both these psychologists dealt with identity formation and human psychological development under the umbrella of time, if one considers stages in life also as time.

Erikson (1963) felt that adolescence is the period in life, which is crucial in the development of identity. The development of a sense of the past implied
continuity, and the development of a future time perspective provided the opportunity to shape one's destiny.

Jung (1961, in McLynn, 1996) introduced the process of **individuation** where unique personality traits and complexes are differentiated into distinctive patterns for each individual. Individuation follows a predictable path through four broad stages, which Jung identified as childhood, youth, middle age, and old age. The first two stages, childhood and youth, comprise of the first half of life, when developmental tasks are essentially directed towards "outward reality". This means that the individual has to adapt to the environment and will engage in activities that promote this outward adaptation. These include learning amongst others the behavioral norms from parents, later fitting into an adolescent group, and settling down to marriage and a career. The first stage of individuation deals with the forming of a "rough" identity on the grounds of adaptation to the outward world. It is clear that in Jungian terms the first stage of individuation would deal primarily with the social, meaning that the community concerned will have a great impact on the individual. The general history, the present condition and the future perspective of society will play a great roll in shaping the individual and his/her identity. The social influences the individual. According to Jung (1961, in McLynn, 1996) the second half of life, which includes middle- and old age is directed towards "inner reality". This is when the individual turns inwards to find a clearer sense of self and come to an understanding of his or her unconscious and spiritual parts. The "inner sense of self is a refinement process for the already achieved identity.
One could postulate that Jung would agree that the individual, subjective sense of past, present and future would serve a great deal of impact on identity refinement in this second stage of individuation. Crucial from Jung’s theory of identity development is the influence of the community on the forming of identity of the individual. Collective identity has an impact on individual identity (refer to par. 3.1.4).

Significant of these trends of Jung and Erikson, is that they make provision for one stage of development to follow in a certain order the other stage of development in life. Erikson (1963) for example, postulates 8 stages through which humans live their lives. In each of these 8 stages one has to work through a crisis, which, if not resolved successfully, one couldn't proceed to the next stage. It seems as if these stage theories provide to the person the opportunity to experience continuity in life, in that the stages accentuate the different periods of life like childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. This perception of continuity over the own life affirms identity development (cf. Bühler, 1969 in Bühler and Massarik, 1969).

Roughly since Jung and Erikson, adulthood was not seen anymore as a stagnant phase in life from where people used to either grab back to the past or searched in vain for a pessimistic future, as the time after adolescence was often regarded as passive in terms of human “development”. Recent literature also indicates that the idea of lifelong development holds water. De La Rey et al. (1997) state in this regard:
"...we assume that the development of the self is a lifelong process."

Thus, the theory that a person's subjective perceptions of past, present and future has a cardinal impact on identity throughout life, holds water with Life Span Developmental Psychology. This branch of Psychology believes in the human being as being an extremely dynamic, amoeba-like unit, with the ability to continuously change and adapt throughout life. The notion of life-long development compliments the theory of the time perspective as the continuous changing view of the individual’s past, present and future, which would also mean continuous change in identity within the process of life-long development.

3.1.3 Time perspective as related to identity and self narrative

"...the friend of wisdom is also a friend of myth...”

Aristotle (in Bettelheim, 1991:35)

Time perspective, identity and self narrative of the individual are interrelated. Klinger and Laubscher (1997, in De La Rey et al., 1997:67) explain the nature of this interrelationship when they state:
"We contend that all people are story tellers and create a particular story about themselves that defines who they are, that captures their essential and evolving self. We say that people make meaning about their place and purpose in the world by forming stories that explain the events of their lives in a continuous manner. These stories are important not only because they provide a window into the individual's self, but also because they are part of the picture people have of themselves."

Thus, the life narrative is a subjective version of the relationship between a person's past, present and future. The nature of this relationship has an impact on identity formation. As the individual is a subjective being, his/her sense of personal history, present and anticipated future can be regarded as a certain type of narrative to be told. Therefore, information which the subject exerts about his/her life in an interview concerning the contents of his/her time perspective can be regarded as part of the life narrative. The life narrative of the subject, which will be developed from an interview in an attempt to extract concrete contents from the time perspectives of individuals, gives away a sense of identity the person owns of him/herself. Identity is a story one has to develop for oneself (cf. Bertens, 1995; Kvale, 1992). Identity can thus be "extracted" from a subjectively formed story. Because this story is subjectively formed, it can also be regarded as a myth. McAdams (1993: 34) says on the definition of the myth:
"One definition of myth implies something that is not true. However, the older meaning of myth is a story that explains natural and historical events, often using religious, magical or supernatural ideas to do so. A personal myth delineates as identity, illuminating the values of an individual life."

It is thus not farfetched to contend that human beings live by stories and have storied lives formed by their subjectively formed versions of past, present and future (time perspective) from which one can "extract" that person's identity. Therefore some authors (Napier, 1993; Schafer, 1982) state that through psychotherapy, people rewrite their deviant and destructive life narratives into "healthier" versions. In this way a person finds a perception of continuity between the contents of his/her past, present and future contents and gets a new sense of life's coherence and continuity, which contributes towards identity formation. De La Rey et al. (1997:74) feel that:

"An understanding of the own individual myth or story, holds a mirror up to ourselves in respect of who we are."

Therefore one can conclude that the personal myth (which is formed from the contents of the time perspective) constructs identity.

3.1.4 Individual identity as related to collective identity
In the relationship between individual and collective identity, the question is whether one could say that individuals "add-up" to form the collective? If this would be true, can individual identities in the society be "added-up" to arrive at a collective identity? This thesis is based on the relationship between individual and collective. A discussion on this relationship is necessary in order to see how, if in any way, individual time perspectives (and therefor individual identity) influence collective identity. The work of Norbert Elias (1987) addresses the complex and problematic relationship between individual and society (collective) intensively, and will therefor be relied on in this discussion.

As already shown, individual identity is, amongst others, a product of time perspective. Therefor individual identity is a subjective perception of the self (cf. Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1979). Individuals, however, do belong to society(s) and therefor one also finds that such a society has a certain identity i.e. collective identity. How, then, does individual identity relate to collective identity?

Alberto Melucci (1989: 34-35) defined collective identity as:

"...an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their actions as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action take place...collective identity formation is a delicate process and requires continual investment."
Thus, according to Melucci, individuals in interaction do "produce" collective identity. Therefor one could derive that individual identities do contribute towards collective identity. However, the formation of collective identity seems to be a much too complex process than to simply state that the sum of individual identities "adds-up" to form collective identity. For example Elias (1987) refers to Aristotle who, more than two thousand years ago, addressed the relationship between individual and society. Aristotle felt that individuals in their single capacity couldn't represent society. He explained his standpoint by referring to bricks that form a house. When one takes the characteristics of one brick (individual) and work out its average, one will not come to the house (collective) as the answer. This is the same view of Gestalt psychology, which believes that the whole is more than the sum of the parts (cf. Papalia and Olds, 1986).

Therefor Norbert Elias sees the relationship between individual and society (collective) as complex. Elias (1987) shows that the problematic of "individual - collective" lies in its contradicting nature: on the one hand it is not so simple just to say that individuals together form a society; on the other hand Elias (1987: 6) says:

"No one can be in doubt that individuals form a society or that each society is a society of individuals."
One way to look into the relationship between individual and collective identity is to look at the values attached to "individual" and "social" in earlier societies. Elias (1987) states that in the earlier, closer communities, individual behavior was the result of the present of other people in the community. These communities took decisions together and acted primarily from the "we-standpoint". According to Elias (1987) the word "individual" as we know it today, just did not exist, most possibly because participation in society was naturally occurring. Elias uses the Greeks of the Classic Age as an example who called people who did not want to partake in public affairs, "idiotes". Today we connect "foolishness" to the same term. Elias furthermore shows that although the term "persona" did exist in Latin, it solely referred to the masks of actors, which showed on the character the person acted out. In classical Latin, the term "individuum" as it is applied today, simply did not exist. Elias presents the Romans as people who understood very well that members of their society were different. They for instance knew how Brutus was different from Ceasar. However, there was no need to highlight individual differences, because social participation was highly valued and more the rule of the time. The group identity of the single person was of extreme value. However, according to Elias, during the Renaissance people started rising into key positions of their societies. Certain people gained more status in this way, and the way for individualism was paved. From there the idea of individualism developed to the current situation where the terms "individual" and "society" are used as opposites. Today, individuals in the industrialized and heavily populated societies have a need to be alone and independent. Independence is marked
as "freedom" which carries in current society a certain status. The "I" is the more important point from where to view life. Human beings become conscious of "self-actualization".

Mead (1934, in Breakwell, 1986) presents an enmeshed relationship between individual and collective when presenting the theory of "I" and "me". Mead saw individual identity as being constituted by "I" and "me". According to Mead, the "I" represents the unorganized and resembles the id of Freud. The "me" develops out of the "I" as the "I" is 'taught' by society about what is acceptable. Thus, the "me" is a constitution of the refined "I". In this sense the distinction between social and personal identity becomes clear, as the social only influences the "I", and not totally develops it from scratch.

A "struggle" thus developed between the "I" and "me" as to which one is the more important in the relationship. Elias (1987) then shows that on the one hand one could say that many stones (individuals) together construct the house (society). In this case the final product is emphasized which is the house (society). On the other hand, one could postulate that the house (society) could not exist without the stones (individuals). In this case, the individual is valued higher than society. One can thus derive that individual and society are sharing equal status in interrelationship.

Weigert (1981) also discusses the relationship between individual and society. According to Weigert, human beings do go through certain phases
as prescribed by society. These would include for instance schooling and marriage. Therefor a natural link exists between individual and society. Weigert then explains that especially in the early years of human life, identity is a given to the individual from society, which is the result of the natural interaction between individual and society. Thus, according to Weigert, one can view the early development of individual identity as ruled by society. In later life, however, identity is developed stronger and can therefor "dictate" the interaction between individual and society. Thus, Weigert shows how collective identity contributes to early, individual identity development and how this process is then reversed in later life when individual identity contributes towards shaping collective identity. With his theory of identity, Weigert thus demonstrates the intertwined relationship between individual and social (collective).

From this discussion it flows that individual (identity) and collective (identity) are influencing each other mutually. It seems that both individual (identity) and collective (identity) are dependent on the other to ensure their existence. Elias (1987:22) states in this regard:

"...the special shaping and differentiation of mental functions that we refer to as individuality is only possible for a person who grows up in a group, a society."

Elias (1987) explains the concept of society by saying that invisible chains tie people together who pass each other as "apparently unconnected
strangers in the street". Since birth we are embedded by relationships. We form long kinds of chains of functions, which we have to exercise so that the system can flourish. In this way every individual is committed to certain phenomena, like professions and jobs to be executed for the wellbeing of society. Elias mentions in this regard that dances only make sense because of the relationships the dancers act towards each other. In this sense collective identity is the product of the relationships between individuals.

Individual identities in relationship thus form collective identity. As a result of this relationship one could say, if time perspective contributes towards individual identity formation, it also impacts on collective identity formation. Therefor, alike the way past, present and future contribute towards individual identity formation, these dimensions of time perspective also contribute towards collective identity formation. This means that what a society as a whole believes to be its past, present and future, contributes towards this society's subjective perception of itself. For example, a society that experienced extremely good or bad times in the past, might still concentrate mainly on their past dimension, which might characterize such a society as stuck thus "living in the past" (cf. Kober, 1997).

3.2 The Concept "Culture"
In the foregoing discussion on the relationship between individual and collective identity as co-constructed by time perspective, the conclusion was drawn that individuals in interrelationship form the collective. Therefore, one can derive that time perspectives of individual citizens of a country all contribute towards a collective time perspective and thus a collective (national) identity. However, when claiming that individuals in relationship form the collective, an issue such as multi-culturedness comes to mind which leads to the question: what impact (if any) do cultural differences of individuals in a society exercise on the collective time perspective and thus collective (national) identity? The discussion on culture is thus deemed crucial in the study of time perspective and identity. In addition, this study is conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa, where cultural differences were highlighted by the political systems, especially, during the course of the previous century. Thus, a study that values the individual-collective relationship should not exclude issues of culture.

### 3.2.1 What is culture?

From an anthropological viewpoint, Cole and Scribner (1974) regard any definition of the concept "culture" as nearly impossible. Bodley (1994) states that only in the field of anthropology alone, at least 160 definitions of the concept of culture do exist. It seems that problems with the definition of the concept culture arise the moment you ask the question: “What features of a specific culture’s live makes us aware that there is such a specific culture?” Some of these features seem to be obvious at first. These would
include language, dress and beliefs. The question, however, remains, which of these are really necessary in order to define culture? For example, we can speak of an African culture in spite of large variations in language, dress and beliefs among the people on the continent.

According to Miraglia (1999), culture is the basic product of people's thoughts, deeds and material products they produce. Miraglia also concludes that culture is learned and not biologically inherited.

The following is a table as presented by Bodley (1994:02) which indicates the diversity of the anthropological concept of culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topical:</th>
<th>Culture consists of everything on a list of topics, or categories, Such as social organization, religion or economy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical:</td>
<td>Culture is social heritage or tradition, that is passed on to future generations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral:</td>
<td>Culture is shared, learned human behaviour, a way of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative:</td>
<td>Culture is ideals, values, or rules for living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional:</td>
<td>Culture is the way humans solve problems of adapting to the environment or living together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental:</td>
<td>Culture is a complex of ideas, or learned habits, that inhibit impulses and Distinguish people from animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural:</td>
<td>Culture consists of patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols or behaviours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic:</td>
<td>Culture is based on arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a Society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bodley (1994:02)

All these definitions of culture do carry directly or indirectly the notion of the group or the social and collective. Culture is a collectively defined phenomenon.
3.2.2. The relationship between time perspective and culture

If one talks of the relationship between time perspective and culture, it boils down to the relationship between time perspective and collective identity, as culture embodies the collective.

There are many differences between cultures in their conceptualization of time.

“Every culture has its own unique set of temporal fingerprints. To know a people is to know the time values they live by” (Jeremy Rifkin, 1987).

We find cultures who don’t value the notion of time as flowing without end in one direction. These cultures will for instance value the idea that life is consisting of a cycle of constant repetition of the same life events over and over. In this notion of time, nothing can be held back for a moment. Other cultures conceptualize time in a way so that every hour of life is a once-off chance. The net of time that is indicated by the mechanical/electronic clock reminds us of the end of existence.

The differences in the conceptualization of time between cultures naturally have an impact on the time perspective. As already stated, the time
perspective is the individual’s subjective, conscious knowledge of his/her past, present and future. Certain cultures, however, don’t value all three the dimensions of the time perspective equally. According to Mbiti (1969) many African cultures don’t regard the future dimension as important.

Culture is a social/collective phenomenon, which participates in individual identity formation as the individual belongs to a shared culture. Jonathan Friedman (1994:117) shows on the fact that "self definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined."

One thus defines yourself on the grounds of the already defined world (the world of collective culture) in which one lives. Friedman furthermore mentions that the individual constructs the past by selectively organizing events in such a way that the own life can be viewed as a continuity (cf. Bühler in Bühler & Massarik, 1969). In this sense a life is created up to the present which goes hand in hand with the person's sense of his/her identity. A balance is reached between the events of the past, the way they were handled and the self-identity which was attained in a social world (culture). Human beings thus "choose" the episodes of their past which are needed to fit their (collectively defined) identity. One can thus say that the people without history in this view are the people who have been prevented from identifying themselves with others. The collective, in a way, constructs our history. Samoan author, Albert Wendt (in Friedman, 1994: 142) maintains:
"A society is what it remembers; we are what we remember: I am what I remember: the self is a trick of memory."

It thus seems as if the way the individual sees the history and the past of his/her society subjectively will strongly influence his/her way of aligning past, present and future. This again will have a strong effect on the personal contribution towards the collective identity of the society in which the individual lives. There is thus a link between time perspective and culture.

3.2.3 Time perspective in African culture

It seems that no literature exists as to time perspective in Africa. However, taking into account that time perspective is an issue of time, a review of the traditional African conceptualizations of time could provide information about the nature of time perspective in Africa.

It remains an impossible project to make generalizations about any phenomenon in Africa, including time perspective. Africa is a huge continent with vast differences. Namibia alone represents 12 main different cultures (as differentiated by language; 1991 Population and Housing Census, Namibia). However, different authors (Mbiti, 1969; Wendorff, 1989; Leistner, 1998) reflect on "traditional African perceptions of time" which should be reviewed in order to form thoughts about time perspective in Africa (especially Sub-Saharan Africa).
Taking into account that time perspective is the subjective view a person holds about personal past, present and future, Leistner (1998:36) states that in African thinking:

"...the future dimension of time traditionally plays only an insignificant role and is very much overshadowed by the past."

Mbiti (1969) studied two Kenyan Bantu languages. Mbiti found that in these languages the future can be expressed at the most between six months and two years. Therefore Mbiti refers in traditional Africa rather to an extended present than to a future dimension. Zahan (1970, in Leistner, 1998) also found that past and present are extended and emphasized in traditional African terms. According to Zahan, in the traditional African way, present is the product of past. Past is regarded as the most important dimension of the time perspective.

However, in many cases one cannot regard Africa as "traditional" anymore (cf. Wendorff, 1989; Leistner, 1998). Leistner (1998) mentions that education alone had a great impact on perceptions of time. With education one has to adhere to time schedules. Also teachings of history emphasize a linear perception of time. According to Leistner, the teachings of Christianity and Islam introduced traditional Africa to linear time with an extended focus on the future dimension. Industrialization and modernization are familiar phenomena in Sub-Saharan Africa, which also emphasize the linear time perception. The process of globalization also
ensures that the linear perception of time popularizes itself in the whole world.

Out of this discussion, the following is relevant as to time perspective in Africa:

❖ Although traditional Africa does not value a long stretching future dimension, one still has the three dimensions of the time perspective available. As already stated, intra- and interindividual differences on temporal extension do exist throughout the world, also in the West. In this way "African" and "Western" time perspectives are of identical nature, although conceptualizations of time are regarded as different for Africa and the West.

❖ In the face of globalization, decolonization and democracy which all have a grip on great parts of the world, including especially Sub-Saharan Africa, one cannot speak of "traditional" Africa anymore. One should rather think in terms of modern Africa. Modern Africans, like individuals in the rest of the modern world all share subjective perceptions about their past, present and future.

❖ The limited future perspective which authors like Wendorff, Mbiti and Leistner associate with Africans, could be the result of other phenomena than culture alone. For example, it was found that extreme poverty shrinks the individual's future dimension (Baumeister, 1990). Also
preoccupation with a very negative past (like Apartheid) leads to a shrunked future perspective (Yufit & Benzies, 1979).

Therefor, time perspective in African culture can be regarded the same as time perspective elsewhere in the world, despite references to a different conceptualization of time in Africa than in the rest of the world. A study on time perspective in Africa is thus as relevant as it would be in any other part of the world.
3.2.4 Issues regarding time perspective of Namibians as part of Africa (and the world)

Authors like John Mbiti’s (1969) findings on African experience of time are relevant to this study in the sense that cultural differences should be considered (like in any study). However, a mere generalization like the one that Africans (and therefor also Namibians) perceive time as cyclic and without a future dimension (cf. Mbiti, 1969; Wendorff, 1989) cannot be seen as valid anymore. This conclusion can be drawn if one considers the fact that for many Africans (thus also Namibians) life is also based on future oriented goals and life style. Leistner (1994) for example wrote extensively on the symbiosis of African and Western cultures, which he believes is not only possible, but also already busy to become reality. This is a process whereby beneficial practices from the West are integrated with those of Africa. In this regard Dreyer (1989) found that in South-Africa 71,7% of the modern African elite who have fully internalized the modern Western value system, still honor the spirits of their forefathers in the form of offerings. One can assume that this finding also applies to Namibia as Namibia was a colony of South-Africa for many years. Dreyer thus shows how in Africa (including Namibia) people integrate traditional and Western ways of living successfully. Leistner (1994:223) also states:
"Industrialization, urbanization and resistance to racial domination and discrimination have greatly diminished the significance of ethnic groups."

Malan (1993:207) quotes the current Prime Minister of Namibia, Mr. Geingob, as having said:

"...the need to belong to a culture is not in contradiction with the need to belong to a nation. Thus, you can be a Herero and Namibian, or Owambo and Namibian...this requires that we have a national identity that supersedes all other identities."

In the same way, Namibians in their diversity also subscribe to an African and world identity. Therefor, in the modern world, Namibians can also be seen as valuing past, present and future in their life review, whilst adapting to the modern world. One most possibly can assume that especially after the Apartheid years, Namibians are much more oriented towards a better future (hope, freedom, prosperity) with the "one eye" fixed on the past (unequal opportunities, oppression, racial hatred). And Namibia's past definitely remains a conscious fact for most, if not all, Namibians.

The work of Alfred Moleah (1983), "Namibia: the struggle for liberation", provides a detailed account of the Namibian history and circumstances in the country before independence.
According to Moleah, white settlers entered the country in the south through the Orange river and called it "Transgarieb", which means "on the other side of the Orange river". In August 1884 Germans entered the country at Lüderitz (west coast) and called it German South West Africa. By the end of World War I, Namibia was given as a mandate to the Union of South Africa and was named South West Africa. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) renamed the country Namibia (the land of the Namib) which, when the country became independent in 1990, became the official name.

Since the year 1889, when German soldiers arrived in Namibia, a culture of war and oppression evolved (cf. SWAPO of Namibia, 1987). African leaders and communities were forced to succumb to the ways and wishes of the intruders. Moleah (1983: 20) writes about the German period in Namibian history that "German colonialism not only denuded Africans of their humanity, but reduced them simply and only to units of labor."

In September 1919, Namibia became the mandate of South Africa. Although at first Africans were optimistic about this change, Moleah explains how settler colonialism is the worst form of colonialism. At that stage South Africa was also governed by settlers. Thus, German settlers from the German colonial period and Afrikaner and British settlers from South Africa joined forces in Namibia as a White regime. The nature of settler colonizers is explained by Moleah (1983:42) as follows:
"...this form of colonialism not only entails economic exploitation and political oppression, but it also entails super-exploitation and brutal political oppression...persistently instilling the same, or even greater, fear in the native...the white settler-colonialist is boss and will brook no opposition. This fear in the natives is instilled and maintained by incessant acts of subjugation and repression, i.e., brutality."

In 1947, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa proclaimed Namibia as an integral part of the Union. South African rule over Namibia included the policy of "Apartheid" or segregation, which was proclaimed as a law in 1948. According to this policy, all different cultural groups were strictly separated and divided. This policy of segregation was not applied to White people, therefore no segregation was found between Afrikaans, German, English and other Whites. The policy of segregation between the different cultures had as a main aim to position the White minority in the country as the superior group. Thus, all the people of Namibia who were regarded as "Non-white" carried the label of inferiority in relation to the White minority. The result of the policy of segregation was the development of hatred between the segregated groups (especially between White and Non-white people). Unequal opportunities and unequal division of state funding between the segregated groups saw for the development of an advantaged White class, and disadvantaged "Non-white" class (Moleah, 1983). Under these circumstances many Namibians went into exile, which
in itself can be a very alienating and terrifying experience (cf. Bernstein, 1994).

Under these harsh circumstances, resistance became the answer. The resistance against White rule in Namibia became especially fierce when the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) launched its armed struggle in 1966. It is indeed this armed struggle together with the resistance of the international community against South African rule over Namibia, that brought independence to Namibia in 1990.

From about the year 1884 until 1990, Namibian communities were subjected to extreme negative practices like oppression, discrimination, racism, unequal opportunities, segregation, severe poverty and war, amongst other. Today, even if the country is independent since 1990, one can assume that this harsh past still exercises an effect on present (and most possibly on future?). For example, racist practices are still a harsh reality in Namibia (cf. S. Whittaker, The Namibian, 14 February 2001). Unequal opportunities of the past still see for an advantaged minority group and a greater disadvantaged group in present. Because the majority of Namibians did not have opportunities for good education, unemployment and severe poverty are common appearances in the country. The report of Lipinge and Le Beau concerning "Women in development: Southern Africa Awareness" named Beyond inequalities: Women in Namibia (1997) quotes this paragraph in an attempt to show low earnings of domestic workers in Namibia:
"In the northern Oshana region, domestic workers tend to average about 25 years old and have a grade eight education, while their counterparts in Keetmanshoop and Windhoek tend to be older, more experienced and less educated. Payment for domestic work ranges from N$30-a-month in the Oshana region to N$700 per month in the Khomas region. Most women who work for such low wages do not complain for fear of dismissal" (From: Legal assistance Centre, 1997: 26-27, 38).

These conditions most possibly do practice an effect on time perspective of Namibians. For example, Breytenbach (in Bernstein, 1994) recaptures the fragmented time perspective of those who went into exile when he writes:

"'Before' does not exist for 'them', the 'others', those who stayed behind. For 'them' it was all continuity, for you it was a fugue of disruptions. The thread is lost. The telling has shaped the story. You made your own history at the cost of not sharing theirs. The eyes, having seen so many different things, now see differently."

Siballi E.I. ("Padda-Padda") Kgobetsi (2000: introduction) wrote a poem in which he depicts the Namibian people as ending the long "journey" in the light. However, "broken cultural artefacts" and "broken bones of bodies" of the past still seem to influence the intensity of the "light" of present.
The Hand

The hand that protects and heals
Broken cultural artefacts
Broken bones of bodies
Of people taken on a journey
From slavery to freedom and dignity
Into the light
Chapter 4: Empirical Conceptualization of the Study

4.1 Research Methodology and Methods

4.1.1 Research methodology

This study was conducted within the qualitative research paradigm. Therefore a few main characteristics of the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms will be contrasted and highlighted. Following these characteristics will be a short discussion of why a qualitative approach was chosen for this study.

A qualitative research paradigm became established in the Social Sciences during the 1960's (Mouton & Marais, 1996; Silverman, 1995), which is also of value in Psychology. Nowadays, research psychologists are to an increasing extend interested in what people have to say instead of just observing or assessing behavior in an experimental setting. A qualitative study assumes that systematic inquiry must occur in a natural setting rather than an artificially constrained one such as an experiment. When involving in qualitative research, procedures are not strictly formalized, while the scope of such research is more likely to be undefined. A more philosophical mode of operation will be adopted with a qualitative study.
Often, qualitative research is conducted without the present of a clear hypothesis. Only a general research goal is kept in mind. Frequently, in qualitative research, the hypothesis emerges from the development of the investigation. According to Hammersley (1992), with qualitative research, there is a preference for inductive hypothesis generating research rather than hypothesis-testing. Qualitative research tends to deal with highly complex problems. It would therefore be unfair to expect that investigations of this nature would include simplistic empirically-based hypotheses.

When collecting data in the qualitative research paradigm, the researcher’s point of view is that the phenomenon should “speak for itself”, or that the phenomenon as it exists should reveal itself so that the researcher can register it. According to Bryman (1988) qualitative research emphasizes seeing the world through the eyes of the subject or taking the subject’s perspective. Everyday settings are described rather than experimental conditions. There is an attempt to understand actions and meanings in their social context. The qualitative researcher becomes more involved with the phenomenon and does not keep a distance from it. The qualitative paradigm thus attempts to view phenomena or human beings as they are in everyday life (Silverman, 1995). A qualitative study of people is thus a process of discovery, as the researcher has to find out what is happening in those people's terms (Marais & Mouton, 1996).
Qualitative approaches are open and broad in the way they tackle problems where-as quantitative studies approach problems in terms of certain formulas. Open and relatively unstructured research designs are favored. Concepts and theories are avoided at an early stage. Qualitative research intends to understand. The aim of qualitative research is to explore new domains of knowledge and would pose questions like ‘if you think of your past, what comes into your mind?’ Thus, the qualitative method is mostly suitable where extensive research was not conducted already on that topic. A qualitative study with the aim of generating hypotheses can always be followed-up by quantitative hypotheses-testing research.

According to Mouton and Marais (1996) the **quantitative research paradigm** in the Social Sciences calls for highly formalized and explicitly controlled designs. In terms of methods used, the quantitative paradigm is relatively close to the Physical Sciences.

Quantitative researchers are more concerned with ensuring that a hypothesis has been formulated before the investigation is embarked on. To a large extend, the whole study revolves around the hypothesis. Furthermore, with quantitative research, the researcher attempts to transpose a certain structure or system onto a phenomenon. Quantitative researchers also tend to study a phenomenon as an outsider. They assume that if they would become part of the investigation process, they would become too involved in the “object” of the study. Thus a structured, objective, standardized observation technique will be used. The quantitative paradigm is comfortable with
aggregating large numbers of people without communicating with them face to face. Quantitative research is mainly interested in numbers and correlations and would like to ask questions like ‘how many people regard present as negative?’ Thus, quantitative research usually intends to explain.

The qualitative paradigm seems mostly suited for this study for the following reasons:

- This study is conducted within the Social Science field (Psychology), which lends itself well to the qualitative paradigm. Quantitative research is relatively close to the Physical Sciences in terms of methods used, although much research in Psychology is conducted within the quantitative paradigm.

- Having been interested in Namibian’s time perspectives, this study was interested in what people have to say about their past, present and future. In fact, time perspective cannot be observed or assessed through behavior like with a quantitative paradigm.

- The quantitative approach would be too highly formalized as well as more explicitly controlled, which would not fit the purpose of this study. It was rather the intent of this study to let people freely speak about their past, present and future.
• This study attempted to find out the possible effect of individual time perspectives on a collective Namibian identity. There were no such (or similar) research projects conducted in Namibia before. Mouton and Marais (1996) state that a qualitative paradigm would be mostly suited when conducting “pioneer studies” as this paradigm allows for inductive hypotheses-generating research. Therefore this study is conducted within the qualitative approach. A quantitative approach revolves around the hypothesis and hypothesis-testing and would thus not fit the purpose of this study.

• It was deemed crucial that the participants speak for themselves, thus reveal themselves as they are. In this way the researcher had the opportunity to see the world through the eyes of the subjects. The researcher thus became part of the phenomenon being studied and did not deem it necessary to keep a distance. In quantitative research on the contrary, distance and objectivity of the researcher is crucial.

• In this study, one of the main aims was to understand how people view the dimensions of their time perspectives (in this case the phenomenon). This can well be done within the qualitative paradigm which is mostly suited for such an understanding. A quantitative approach would be more involved with measurement and explanation, which could not be applied to the diversity of natural settings.
The approach to this study was broad and open. The qualitative paradigm lends itself well to such an approach. Quantitative research is more formal where the researcher attempts to transpose a certain structure or system onto the phenomenon, which would reduce the diversity of natural settings.

### 4.1.2 Research methods

#### 4.1.2.1 Data gathering

For this study, data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews. Therefore the nature of interviews will be shortly discussed in the following paragraphs.

1. **History of interviewing**

The interview has been with humankind for a very long time. Babbie (1992) shows how the ancient Egyptians conducted censuses of their population by interviews. Nowadays, in Psychology, interviews are mainly used for two reasons. On the one hand interviews are used for clinical diagnosis and counseling and on the other hand (since World War I) for psychological testing with an emphasis on measurement (Maccoby and Maccoby, 1954 in Fontana & Frey, 1994). Converse (1987, in Fontana & Frey, 1994) states Charles Booth to be the first person to develop a social survey relying on
interviewing in 1886. This study was conducted in London, but soon also in other cities in England and later in the USA.

Another form of interviewing was opinion polling. Opinion polling became popular in 1935 with the establishment of the American Institute of Public Opinion by George Gallup (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

During the 1960’s interviewing lost its flavor and qualitative accent. What became relevant was the use of interviewing as a tool to quantify data. This was, amongst others, the result of World War II, when more than half a million American soldiers were interviewed to examine mental and emotional conditions (Young, 1966 in Fontana & Frey, 1994). What was important in the use of interviewing as a tool to quantify data, was that quantitative survey research was to move into academia and came to dominate sociology for the next three decades. The methodological dominance of survey research continued unabated through the 1970’s and 1980’s and into the 1990’s although other methods began to erode the prominence of survey research (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Recently qualitative interviewing became prominent again, especially in the Social Sciences. However, postmodernist ethnographers have concerned themselves with some of the assumptions and moral problems present in interviewing and the controlling role of the interviewer. These concerns have led to new directions in qualitative interviewing, focusing on increased attention on the voices and feelings of the respondents and the interviewer-respondent relation (Crapanzano, 1980).
The interview is the favorite methodological tool of the qualitative researcher. According to De Wet, Monteith, Venter and Steyn (1981) the interview is one of the most frequently used methods of data gathering. According to Fontana and Frey (1994), the interview is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening. The interview is not a neutral tool as the interviewer creates the reality of the interview situation. In this situation, answers are given. Thus the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes. This method is influenced by the personal characteristics of the interviewer, including race, class, ethnicity and gender. However, as mentioned earlier, in qualitative research, the researcher becomes part of the research process.

ii. Advantages of the interview as a data-gathering technique

As a data-gathering technique, the interview has certain characteristics, which other objective tests, scales and methods do not have, in order to observe behavior. In general, interviews have several advantages. They are quickly adaptable to different situations. Where questions are not understood, they can be addressed and explained immediately. The interview lends the researcher the opportunity to explore answers and responses immediately with additional questioning. By establishing rapport, an atmosphere of trust and warmth is build between researcher and
participant, and the participant will more readily offer confidential data about him/herself (De Wet et al., 1981).

iii. Disadvantages of the interview as a data-gathering technique

Some problems with interviewing in general will include that it is difficult to determine validity and reliability of interviews. Interviewing produces a lot of data, which is usually complex and difficult to analyze. Questions must be planned well, which is time- and energy consuming. Interviewers must be trained well. Interviewing is time-consuming and not economic when many interviews are required and done (De Wet et al., 1981).

Different kinds of interviews would be the structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews.

iv. Structured interviews

De Landsheere (1973) defines the structured interview as an oral questionnaire. Structured interviewing refers to a situation in which an interviewer asks each respondent a series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories. With structured interviews, the questions are planned before the interview takes place. A certain order for the questions to be addressed is established. The questions will thus be posed in exactly the same word order and question order to all the
participants. A reformulation of a question that a participant does not understand can only be allowed if strict rules exist as to how such a reformulation can be done. The interviewer controls the pace of the interview by treating the questionnaire as if it were a theatrical script to be followed in a standardized and straightforward manner. The **advantage** of these interviews is that they are standardized. Standardized interviews usually make use of standardized questionnaires, which were developed to render certain information to the researcher. The responses can be easily classified and analyzed (Kerlinger, 1975). With the structured interview the assumption is that if questions are phrased correctly, the respondent will answer them truthfully. A **disadvantage** of such an interviewing style often elicits rational responses, but it overlooks or inadequately assesses the emotional dimension. It seems suitable to fit a quantitative paradigm.

v. Unstructured interviews

The **unstructured interview** is more adaptable and informal as the structured interview. This interview can be adapted to the respondent and the circumstances in which the interview is conducted. The respondent can freely elicit his/her responses and ideas as he/she wishes. The unstructured interview can be seen as an open technique in contrast to the structured interview, which is a closed technique. The unstructured interview provides a greater breadth than other types of interviews, given its qualitative nature. An **advantage** of the unstructured interview is that it is used in an attempt to understand the complex behavior of members of a society without
imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry (De Wet et al., 1981). A **disadvantage** of the unstructured interview is that it produces a lot of data, which becomes difficult to analyze. Because of the lack of “boundaries” in the unstructured interview, the interviewee might feel vulnerable and unsafe when being interviewed. A relationship of warmth and congruence, which is needed between interviewer and interviewee, might therefore not exist (De Wet et al., 1981).

vi. Semi-structured interviews

As already stated, semi-structured interviews were used in this study for data-gathering. Fontana and Frey (1994) state that **semi-structured interviews** are conducted in open systems where focussed two-way communication can take place. They can be used both to give and receive information. Thus, in order to be able to get from interviewees personal information, a relationship of trust has to be established. This relationship of trust is easiest achieved by conversational two-way communication, which still allows for a sense of structure. This sense of structure during the interview is important as it limits the possibility of gathering huge amounts of unnecessary data. For example, the interviewees of this study had to talk freely about their past, present and future. Semi-structured interviewing prevented that they get "carried away" in their stories, which can happen so easily with such a broad topic.
Unlike the structured interview where detailed questions are formulated ahead of time, semi-structured interviewing starts with more general questions or topics. Relevant topics and the possible relationship between these topics are initially identified. Certain questions don’t need to be prepared in advance. For example in the interview of this study, to find out which issues were surfacing for the interviewee about the past, was to introduce the past as a topic in general. In this way the interviewee could start anywhere he/she wanted. However, the interviewer had a number of “checks” available in the form of additional questions for lending a certain sense of structure to the interview. These “checks” were also used by the interviewer to extract necessary information, which the interviewee did not talk about in the interview him/herself.

Thus, in the semi-structured interview, not all questions are designed and phrased ahead of time. Usually the majority of questions are created during the interview, allowing both the interviewer and the person being interviewed the flexibility to probe for details or discuss issues (cf. Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1995). Semi-structured interviewing is structured in the sense that some form of interview guide provides the framework for the interview.

The purpose of the semi-structured interview (like with any other kind of interview) is primarily to collect data about a certain topic/issue from a sample of a certain population. With the semi-structured interview both qualitative and quantitative data can be gathered. It is also the purpose of
the semi-structured interview to probe for the unknown. As the interviewee provides the interviewer with information, the interviewer can pick up certain trends which leads to insights as to certain issues (D'Arcy, 1990).

The semi-structured interview has **major benefits**. As this type of interviewing leaves room for two-way communication between interviewer and interviewee, the interviewee experiences the interview process as less intrusive. For example, the interviewee is also allowed to pose questions to the interviewer, which lends the interviewee with the perception that the focus is not solely on him/her. As the interviewee feels less focussed-upon, he/she feels more at ease talking about and revealing information regarding sensitive issues. As the interviewer is allowed to probe in a semi-structured way, questions are not only answered, but reasons for answers are also often provided. The two-way communication between interviewer and interviewee allows for the establishment of a relationship of trust and warmth that enhances the process of data gathering (D'Arcy, 1990).

Semi-structured interviews also have **disadvantages**. As this type of interviewing allows for relative "open" responses from the interviewees, a lot of unnecessary data may be elicited. It is therefore crucial that interviewers reach a fine balance between open-ended and focussed interviewing as both these skills are essential in semi-structured interviewing. Thus, extra costs are usually involved to train interviewees as to obtain these skills. As semi-structured interviewing allows the interviewer to probe for wanted information, it is crucial that the
interviewee is assured of confidentiality of his/her responses, as well as anonymity of his/her identity. Common problems that are listed concerning interviewers who involve in semi-structured interviewing are: failure to listen closely, repeating questions that have already been asked, failure to probe when necessary, failure to judge the answers, and asking vague or insensitive questions (D'Arcy, 1990).

4.1.2.2 The interview and process of operationalization

According to Mouton and Marais (1996:64) operationalization entails:

"the development of a measuring instrument by means of which it is possible to obtain accurate data about specific phenomena."

These authors emphasize that it is essential that the central concept (in this study the concept time perspective) can be evaluated/assessed. A discussion will thus follow as to how time perspective was rendered assessable in this qualitative study.

Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted which were audiotaped. Only the last four interviews were transcribed as the four interviews, which were conducted firstly were regarded as “practice/proof interviews”. The interviewer found the first four “practice interviews” enriching. During these interviews many practical obstacles in interviewing were experienced.
Amongst the problems which were experienced during these “practice interviews” (which could thus be prevented during the last four interviews) were for instance:

- The interviewer quickly learned that it was better to memorize the interview guideline as interviewer and interviewees got easily “carried away” in the told life stories. It was then experienced as an interruption when the interviewer stopped the interview to look on the written interview guideline. After having memorized the guideline, it was relatively easy to guide the enthusiastic interviewee more to the point and extract information necessary for the study.

- By memorizing the interview guide, it was possible for the interviewer to let the interviewee take the lead in the interview. In other words, the interviewee would “jump around” over the three dimensions of the time perspective and at the end the interviewee just had to ask few questions about that which the interviewee did not talk.

- During the first practice/proof interview, the interviewer did not know the audio recorder well. Therefore the volume was never adjusted at the start of the interview, which produced a very unclear recording. Therefore, the interviewer learned to talk a test sentence and listen to it before starting with the actual interview.
• The interviewer learned to guide the interviewee where necessary. During one of the practice interviews with a member of the high socio-economic class, the lady mentioned that she was glad to talk to a “psychologist” and then continued her story for nearly four hours. The interviewer learned that a certain sense of structure was necessary in order to prevent interviews to become too long.

• For two of the practice interviews the interviewer never confirmed with the interviewee his/her age and citizenship, which are important criteria for the sample. Only after an extensive time within the interview did the interviewer discover that the participant was not suitable for the study.

These “barriers” could thus be limited during the last four final interviews. The realization and identification of these problems on the one hand acted as guidelines for conducting the final interviews and on the other hand were regarded as essential for increasing the validity of the final interviews. The “practice/proof interviews” also rendered the interviewer more calm and self-confident during the final interviews.

The transcription of the last four interviews was done according to the transcription rules of Mayring (1997), which included the following rules:

• The transcription was done word by word. Repetitions were omitted.
• The contents was regarded as crucial, thus remarks like “ihhh” were omitted.

• Unclear speech was indicated with dots together with the word “inaudible”.

• Pauses in speech were indicated by (-). Longer pauses were indicated with more than one (-) depending on the length of the pause.

• The questions, which were asked, were indicated with “Q” and the answers with “A”.

The interview guideline, which was used, was taken from Plattner (1990). According to Plattner, an interview on time perspective should include “open” questions like: “If you think of your past/present/future, what comes to mind?” By posing such “open” questions, the interviewee is invited to report about his/her concrete contents of his/her past/present and future. Should the answers of the interviewee have no significant contents in connection with the dimensions of the time perspective, additional questions can be asked like: “what meaning does this event have for you today?” (see interview guideline in Appendix 1).

In order to investigate and make sense of the time perspective of a person, variables and subvariables were extracted from the interview material. According to Mouton and Marais (1996), a variable is an abbreviated form
of “characteristics that are variable”. The variables in this study on the time perspective are:

- past
- present
- future

These variables were extracted as the total time perspective of the person depends on the contents of his/her past, present and future. These are also the dimensions of the time perspective.

However, subvariables were also selected as the variables are very brought categories. The subvariables will provide focus points within the broad categories of the variables. The subvariables will be:

- association with past/present/future,
- experience of past/present/future
- meaning of past/present/future.

The researcher analyzed the interview data with the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring (1997). During the analysis, the researcher concentrated on the mentioned variables and subvariables. Thus, the product of the data analysis is that every interviewee presented some contents about his/her association with, experience of and meaning of his/her past/present/future as shown in the following diagram:
This information about every interviewee’s past, present and future is regarded as the **concrete contents** of the dimensions of his/her time perspective, which will then be further **interpreted** according to the structural characteristics of the time perspective as presented by Plattner (1990). These structural characteristics were already mentioned and defined in paragraph 2.4. and will now be presented again together with a definition of each of their variables (for interpretation of data) as taken from Plattner (1990: 136-143).

- Qualitative shading:
  - **Positive**: the event/concrete contents mentioned by the interviewee is experienced as positive, good, relaxed, calm, with joy.
  - **Negative**: the event/concrete contents mentioned by the interviewee is experienced as negative, with anxiety, not good.
  - **Ambivalent**: the event/concrete contents mentioned by the interviewee is experienced as positive and negative.
**Irrelevant**: the event/concrete contents mentioned by the interviewee is experienced as neither positive, nor negative – this event has no subjective meaning.

- Temporal extension

  **Near future**: the part of expected life in future which is quite clear to the interviewee and which can also be clearly distinguished from more vague and further in future lying events.

  **Far future**: the part of expected life in future, which is quite far, vague and still unclear. The person is also not sure whether this will realize.

  **Present**: this includes events and experiences from the immediate past and immediate future with which the person keeps him/herself actively busy.

  **Near past**: this includes events and experiences that already happened but of which their “start” is the result of circumstances that are still currently experienced. The interviewee still holds very concrete memories of these events/experiences.
Far past: past life experiences and events that lie back further than the immediate past and of which the person holds less concrete memories.

- Link to the past

  **Strong link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents can be strongly linked to the same kinds of past events/experiences.

  **Weak link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents can be partly linked to a near similar kind of experience/event in the past.

  **No link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents cannot be linked to the past experiences/events in any way.

- Link to present

  **Strong link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents can be strongly linked to the same kinds of present events/experiences. The mentioned event is the result of other present events.

  **Weak link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents can be partly linked to a near similar kind of experience/event in the present. The mentioned event is not only the result of other present events.
No link: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents cannot be linked to present experiences/events in any way.

- Link with future

**Strong link**: the mentioned experience/event or concrete contents is solely and clearly the result of expectations the person holds about the future.

**Weak link**: the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents can only be linked partly to the expectations the person holds about the future.

No link: the mentioned experience/event or concrete contents shows no link to the expectations the person holds about the future.

- Degree of concreteness of events

**Concrete picture**: the mentioned experience/event or concrete contents is accompanied with absolutely clear pictures of what the situation will be.

**Vague picture**: the mentioned experience/event or concrete contents is only partly accompanied by clear pictures. The situation, which will accompany the mentioned event/experience, is not absolutely clear.
No picture: the mentioned experience/event or concrete contents is accompanied with absolutely no picture(s) of the situation. Only a possible future goal is anticipated.

- Realization possibilities

  High expectation: the person is quite assured of the realization of the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents.

  Low expectation: the person is regards the realization of the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents as a possibility but is definitely not assured that it will happen.

  No expectation: the realization of the mentioned event/experience or concrete contents is not at all expected like in the case of dreams and utopia.

- Weighting

  Primarily past oriented: according to the interviewee, his/her life depends more on the past.

  Primarily present oriented: according to the interviewee, his/her life depends more on the present.

  Primarily future oriented: according to the interviewee, his/her life depends more on the future.
Having generated and interpreted the **concrete contents** of every interviewee’s past, present and future from the semi-structured interview, the researcher will be able to:

- Produce information about whether the interviewees perceive their own life’s as continues over past, present and future as opposing to the notion of being “stuck” in one dimension, not perceiving the other dimensions.

- Evaluate the concrete contents of the interviewee’s past, present and future dimensions, thus getting a view on the contents of their time perspective in order to be able to say more about the interviewees’ identity.

As already discussed in the literature review, both the above standing points will render the researcher able to generate hypothesis as to the contents of Namibians’ personal identities and how these possibly contribute towards a collective Namibian identity, if in any way.
4.1.2.3 Sample and selection of interviewees

Because the present study is qualitative with the aim to generate hypotheses, the number of interviewees will be limited to four. The interviewees will be Namibian citizens who were born and raised during the Apartheid period. These interviewees had to be fluent in English, as this would prevent the time-consuming translation of interviews into English. Based on Bühler's work who accentuates that socio-economic status has an impact on establishing a sense of continuity between past, present and future, which again practices a severe effect on identity, one interviewee will be chosen from each of four socio-economic classes. These socio-economic classes will be:

- Unemployed (Zero formal income)
- Low socio-economic class (N$ 100.00-N$3000.00 per month)
- Middle socio-economic class (N$ 3001.00-N$10 000.00 per month)
- High socio-economic class (N$ 10 001.00 + per month)

Another aspect that had to be considered in a study of time perspective, was age. Developmental psychological studies on the time perspective are diverse, but in general conclude that children are orientated to the present with a future dimension that develops with an increase in age (Plattner, 1990). Santrock (1997) mentions that Adolescence is a time of finding out who one is, what one is all about, and where one is headed in life. In other words, adolescents are generally concerned with the present and future
perspectives (cf. Burns & Lennings, 1989). Plattner (1997) and Kastenbaum (1963) found research to indicate that the aged live more in the past and have a limited future perspective. According to Daniel Levinson (1978, in Santrock, 1997), by the age of 40 years, the individual has reached a stable location in his/her career and has outgrown the earlier attempts at learning to become an adult. The past, present and future are continuously reviewed as these participants reached "midlife". De La Rey et al (1997:72) state in this regard: "It is our contention that the mature self-defining myth can only occur in adulthood. Making life into myth is, indeed, what adulthood is all about." Nuttin and Grommen (1975, in Plattner, 1990) found the longest stretching future perspective with adults between the ages 36 and 45 years. The sample of this study will thus consist of participants between the ages 35 and 45 because mentioned research findings show that these individuals are mostly suited to reflect equally on past, present and future, as they will be in their "midlife". Therefor, the sample consists of four middle-aged interviewees who were taken from four different socio-economic classes.

The researcher selected the interviewees by thinking in terms of type of job and remuneration. The following jobs were then selected in terms of their income:

- General medical practitioner – High socio-economic class
- Qualified teacher – Middle socio-economic class
- Gas filling station attendant – Low socio-economic class
- An unemployed person
The researcher then approached people in these positions who were not known to him and verified whether they fit the criteria of the sample. Four willing candidates were then selected. These interviewees were then allowed to choose the place where they would like to conduct the interview. The high-socio-economic class candidate invited the researcher to his luxurious home. The teacher and the unemployed person both selected the local school within the community as venue for the interview to take place. The low socio-economic class candidate preferred to conduct the interview at the home of the interviewee.

All four the interviewees were assured of the confidential handling of the interview material by the researcher. Therefore all the names, which are mentioned in this study, were either changed or erased.

4.1.2.4 Data evaluation

Any good evaluation method in research (qualitative or quantitative) has to meet the basic scientific criteria of objectivity, reliability and validity in order to produce scientifically sound results. The evaluation of verbal material (like with data which is extracted from a semi-structured interview) is very complex due to, amongst others, its unstructuredness. A number of methods were developed to evaluate verbal data scientifically. The method used in this study is the Qualitative Contents Analysis as developed by Phillip Mayring in the 1980's (Mayring, 1997). Different steps within the
procedure of the analysis allow for a cross-checking of findings and consider the common research criteria of objectivity, reliability and validity. One of the main characteristics of this method is that it refers to the contents of communication. According to Plattner (2001:04) the Qualitative Contents Analysis "…wants to find out 'what do people say about something?''

Mayring developed three techniques between which the researcher can choose when evaluating verbal data with the Qualitative Contents Analysis.

- **Summarizing Contents Analysis** (which aims at reducing extensive text material to core contents only)
- **Explication** (which aims at extending text material with relevant additions in order to render the material more explicable)
- **Structuring Contents Analysis** (which, like with the Summarizing Contents Analysis, aims at producing core contents from the text material, but then allows for a quantitative evaluation of the qualitative data)

In this study the Summarizing Contents Analysis was applied. As the evaluation process according to Mayring's Qualitative Contents Analysis is very systematic a short description will now follow as to basic steps which have to be followed in order to be able to conduct any technique within the Qualitative Contents Analysis. Thereafter a description about the steps to be used in the Summarizing Contents Analysis will follow.
Identification of the relevant parts of the text material which is deemed necessary for evaluation. In this study, information regarding association, experience and meaning of past/present/future was deemed crucial.

A description of the situation in which the material was produced in order to understand the material to be evaluated. For this study, this information was already given in the sample (4.2.2.3).

A description of the formal characteristics of the material to be evaluated, in other words the form in which the material appears. In this study the interview material is available in the form of a written text, based on audio tape records which were transcribed according to the rules of transcription as produced by Mayring (1997).

A description of the theoretical approach in terms of which the material should be evaluated and interpreted. In this study, the research on the time perspective was directed by a Life Span Developmental Psychology approach. As a theory for analyzing the data, Whitbourne’s Life Span Construct and Bühler’s work on the time perspective (as discussed in the literature review) was used.

Deciding which technique(s) to use for the evaluation of the text material. In this study, the Summarizing Contents Analysis was used. As a result one will then produce a system of categories.
As a last step it is important to see whether the categories that were extracted do reflect the original interview material and whether these categories relate to the theoretical framework. Only then, the interpretation of the results can start.

Having decided to use the Summarizing Contents Analysis to evaluate the interview material, a short outline on this method will now follow.

The Summarizing Contents Analysis allows for seven steps in the evaluation process. The end result of the seven steps will be a system of categories that should reflect the total text material. These seven steps are the following:

1. The determination of units of analysis. These units of analysis should be relevant to the research question. In this study the units of analysis were chosen to be association with, experience of and meaning of past/present and future. The relevant text material was then divided into these units of analysis by using different colours for the different units of analysis. These colours were:
   ♦ Association with past - orange
   ♦ Association with present - red
   ♦ Association with future - green
   ♦ Experience of past - blue
   ♦ Experience of present - brown
- Experience of future - black
- Meaning of past - green
- Meaning of present - purple
- Meaning of future - yellow

2. The text parts that are indicated by the units of analysis are paraphrased and written down. Paraphrasing is the process through which the core contents is extracted from the interview material. Mayring (1997: 62) suggests S1-rules according to which the paraphrasing can be done, which were also followed in this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1.1</td>
<td>Delete all those parts of text, which do not carry contents (or carry less contents) such as elaborations, repetitive or emphasizing phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1.2</td>
<td>Transform those parts of the text, which carry contents to the same level of language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1.3</td>
<td>Transform them into a short grammatical version.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Freely translated by Plattner (2001: 08)

3. Generalization of paraphrases. During this step, the paraphrases are written in a general abstract form. Mayring (1997: 62) suggests S2-rules according to which the generalization can be done, which were also followed in this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S2.1</td>
<td>Generalize the contentss of the paraphrases onto the chosen level of abstraction in such a way that the original contents is still implied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2.2 Generalize the expression of the sentences (predicates) in the same way.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2.3 Leave those paraphrases, which are above the intended level of abstraction in place.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2.4 In case of doubt get help from theoretical assumptions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Freely translated by Plattner (2001: 08)

4. After the generalization of the paraphrases, a first reduction takes place according to which contents of the generalized material can be selected to form a category with a common theme. Mayring (1997: 62) suggests S3-rules according to which the first reduction can be done, which were also followed in this study:

| S3.1 Delete those generalizations, which have similar meaning. |
| S3.2 Delete those generalizations, which on the new level of abstraction are regarded as unimportant or meaningless. |
| S3.3 Take over those generalizations whose contents can further be regarded as important. |
| S3.4 In case of doubt get help from theoretical assumptions. |

Freely translated by Plattner (2001: 08)

5. A second reduction can be done if the result of the first reduction is still too comprehensive. Mayring (1997: 62) suggests S4-rules according to which the second reduction can be done, which were also followed in this study:
S4.1 Summarize those contentss, which are similar or have similar predicate (i.e. everything in a sentence apart from the subject).
S4.2 Summarize those contentss, which are similar and have different predicates (construction/integration).
S4.3 In cases of doubt get help from theoretical assumptions.

Freely translated by Plattner (2001: 08)

6. After the second reduction (if any) was completed a system of categories can be built.

7. The last step will be a "check" as to whether the different systems of categories represent the original text material.

After the seventh step is completed, the data can be interpreted.

There are several advantages in the use of the Qualitative Contents Analysis. It is a scientific method as a certain process is followed, with specific steps to be completed. These steps render the Qualitative Contents Analysis systematic which in turn leads to high interrater reliability if evaluators are trained well. Being conducted against a specific theoretical framework, the Qualitative Contents Analysis is also a method that shows high validity, i.e. construct validity. In addition, this method also allows for quantitative steps to be followed when required, thus limiting the possibility to be labeled as "unscientific" by so-called hard-core scientists.
Chapter 5: Data Analysis

With the presentation and analysis of the generated data, it should be kept in mind that this study aims at looking into Namibians' individual time perspectives in an attempt to be able to generate information about these individuals' identities. Only thereafter, certain questions will be posed as to the future whereabouts of a collective Namibian identity, based on the arguments of Schlesinger (1994) who contends that National identity (which is the product of the relationships of different individual identities within that nationality) is a collective identity. The contents of a person’s time perspective can provide a sense of that person’s identity (cf. Lennings and Burns, 1998). Available literature indicates that time perspective is of psychological relevance because significant, subjective contents of the individual’s past, present and future dimensions and their interrelationship can lead to a feeling of self-worth, essence and mission of the individual life, which again leads to a positive outlook on life (Adam, 1995; Kaspar, 1997; Plattner, 1990). The time perspective and its contents thus contribute a great deal to what we term as a “psychologically healthy being”. Therefore the contents of the time perspective or the kinds of events/issues interviewees brought up in the interviews are important and are of main interest in this study. In this data analysis, the contents of interviewees' past, present and future will be featured and analyzed.

Four persons in their midage were interviewed. Two of them are male and two female. The mean age of these interviewees is 40 years. As already
indicated, the four interviewees were selected from four different socio-economic classes of high (HSC), middle (MSC), low (LSC) and unemployed (UC) as Bühler (in Bühler and Massarik, 1969) found a connection between socio-economic class and time perspective. As already indicated, a relationship can be assumed between time perspective and identity.

The different socio-economic class interviewees will be indicated as depicted in Diagram 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic class</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High socio-economic class</td>
<td>HSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle socio-economic class</td>
<td>MSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low socio-economic class</td>
<td>LSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>UC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1 The Interviewees

The HSC interviewee is a male figure, in the medical profession and living in a rural town in Namibia. Having a very active practice, the interviewer had to ask the interviewee's wife about the possibility of doing the interview with her husband. The interviewee seemed during the interview grateful for the "listening ear". He became emotional at a certain point in the interview, but not very openly so. This person is married and has two teenage girls.
His wife is a very active woman. The interview took place at the home of the interviewee. The HSC interviewee earns at least N$500 000.00 per year.

The MSC interviewee is a female figure and a teacher at a secondary school in the same rural town as the HSC candidate. She teaches Science and English. A few years ago, she was a headmistress at a primary school at another rural town in Namibia. This person displays an extrovert character. She became tense and emotional during the interview especially with issues regarding her childhood. When contacting her for the interview, she hesitated and was quite suspicious about the interviewer's intention for selecting her for the interview. She also wanted to conduct the interview as soon as possible and the interviewer had to arrange immediately a place and time for the interview. Therefore, the interview took place directly after school, at the school premises. The interviewee is married. However, both she and her husband have children out of wedlock. The interviewee grew up as an orphan, as her parents passed away when she was a small child. Currently the interviewee and her husband stay together with the two children at their own house. The MSC interviewee earns at least N$80 000.00 per year.

The LSC interviewee is a male figure. He works at a service station as a fuel attendant in a rural town in Namibia. He uses to boast about the fact that he is able to attract people. Therefore, he has many friends. However, he does not appear to be extrovert. This interviewee also agreed immediately when asked whether he would come for the interview. This interview we conducted at the interviewer's home, as the interviewee preferred it that
way. The interviewee is married. He has two children, who are still very small. The wife and the children stay in the Northern part of the country at a village. He visits them about once a month. The interviewee also manages a small shop in the North. The wife sees to the business. The LSC interviewee earns at least N$12 000.00 per year.

The UC interviewee is a female figure. She does not have formal employment, but she tries to generate an income by buying and selling African sculptures. The interviewer announced to the learners at a local school that he looks for a suitable person to conduct an interview. Thereupon this woman contacted the interviewer. She seemed very eager to conduct the interview. However, as soon as the interview started, she did not talk comprehensively like the other interviewees. This was also the only interview where the interviewer did not have to limit the interviewee in talking. The interviewee is married. Her husband travels a lot, as he is also involved in buying and selling of African art. However, he does not support his wife and children well. The interviewee did not give a clear sense of the number of children she cares for, as she lives within an extended family. A few days after the interview, this lady presented a bottle of wine to the interviewer. The UC interviewee does not earn a steady amount of money and therefor the amount varies considerably.

The data analysis provides data about the time perspective and the contents there-of, of four Namibian interviewees. (These interviewees were selected from four different socio-economic backgrounds.) The data analysis will
proceed firstly on an individual basis and then in a "collective" fashion. The individual presentation of interviewee contents has as its aim to find out whether socio-economic class impacts on contents of time perspective. If socio-economic class plays a major role in contents of time perspective, in what way does it influence the interrelationship between the dimensions of the interviewees, if in any way? Interrelationship between the dimensions of the time perspective is important as it leads to a perception of continuity over the own life (Frank, 1939). The available data will be presented in detail and briefly analyzed in this part of the study. A thorough discussion on the data will follow on the data analysis (see 4.3). The process of the data analysis can be diagrammatically presented as follows:
The contents of the time perspectives of the four interviewees will now be presented diagrammatically. In each of these tables the interviewees contributions can be seen individually.

5.2 Analysis of the Contents of the Four Interviewees' Time Perspectives Individually: Past, Present, Future

The analysis of the interviewees' association with past, present and future will firstly be presented. Thereafter the interviewees' experience of past, present and future will follow. The analysis of the four interviewees' time perspectives on an individual basis will be concluded with the analysis of their meaning of past, present and future.

5.2.1 Association with past

The following table represents the four interviewees' association(s) with the past individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1 Childhood</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place of birth</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>1980s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>holidays</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>incidents during school years</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hardships</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>joyous moments</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>community life in general</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>higher moral standards than today</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A2 Academic Progress</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A3 Family life</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role of own parents in life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constitution of own family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A4 Important life events</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car accident</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death of parents</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near drowning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birth of child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorce of parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A5 Career Development</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>job hunting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A6 School life</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no problems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheap, not as expensive as today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free books at school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebelliousness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assistance from teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forced to leave school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A7 Colonialism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it appears that the interviewees shared their association with the past with some identical categories like "Childhood", "School life", "Career development" and "Important life events". The differences between the four interviewees came in with the categories "Academic progress", "Family life" and "Colonialism".

The interviewees associated the past with a different number of events/issues:

- HSC - 21
- MSC - 23
- LSC - 16
- UC - 12

HSC and MSC firstly associated their past with moments in their childhood:

**Childhood/Place of birth**

HSC: "I was born in W, South-Africa - it is a small town, much smaller than O" (HSC, p.1).

MSC: "I didn't want to grow up without parents, that's one thing I will never ever want to have anybody to experience" (MSC, p.1).
Both HSC and MSC linked their first sentences about childhood with the present. Other association with the past of HSC and MSC during childhood were:

**Holidays**

_HSC:_ "When I was standard nine I went overseas with my mom" (HSC, p.7). "Matric, I went hunting with my dad in Zimbabwe" (HSC, p.8).

**Incidents during school years**

_HSC:_ "When I was in Highschool in Pretoria, I was a real washout, I drank, I smoked..." (HSC, p.8).

_MSC:_ "My teacher, I belief that I took him as a father..." (MSC, p.1).

**Hardships**

_MSC:_ "The people with whom I was staying, they didn't worry (about me)" (MSC, p.1).

_HSC:_ "When I was seven years old, my father left..." (HSC, p.7).

**Joyous moments**
HSC: "I shot my first Buffalo, Rhinosorus, Kudus, Bushbucks..." (HSC, p.2).

Community life in general

MSC: "...the community in which I grew up was that kind of community where if I am a child and I swear now..." (MSC, p.9).

LSC and UC start off with comparisons between past and present. LSC says as his very first words:

LSC: "When I see on this time - it comes like better than past time..." (LSC, p1).

UC starts the interview off with:

UC: "I don't think in the old days we had problems with schools. Currently we have to care. I'm comparing the past and now" (UC, p.1).

UC mentioned in a sense something about her childhood by referring to the school, however the accent seems to lie on a comparison between circumstances during the past compared to those in present.
HSC and MSC also link their past association to present by comparing the
town of birth to the current town of residence (HSC) and the current wish
that no-one should grow up without parents (MSC). However, these two
interviewees do not directly compare the past and the present with each
other. One might say that they rather draw a continuous line from the past
through to the present in order to establish a feeling of relation between the
"then" and the "now".

LSC and UC clearly also show a connection between their past and present,
but they do emphasize the "now" while they were asked to say more about
the past (refer to interview guideline, appendix 1).

Furthermore, UC mentions two associations with the past which one could
group under the heading "childhood". However, both these associations are
products of comparisons with present:

**UC**: "Ja, I can mention about the old days, we youngsters we were
not abusing alcohol like the youngsters do today" *(UC, p.3)* *(higher
moral standards than today)*. "In the community we lived, we used to live as
one big family. When my parents are not around she could give me
over to one of the friends or neighbours and I could stay there" *(UC,
p.5)*. "...even my neighbour was able to beat me if I was wrong -
nowadays you can't beat your neighbour's kid even if he does
something wrong, 'cause the world has changed" *(UC, p.3)* *(community
life in general)*. "Those days you have to know, even if you are in
boarding school or you are schooling from home, you knew which time you have to be in. This youngsters of today..." (UC, p.3) (higher moral standards than today).

It seems as if UC regards the past as favorable in comparison with the present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UC interviewee: Past better</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>childhood: higher moral standards than today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school life: no problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school life: cheap, not as expensive as today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school life: free books at school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HSC, MSC and LSC associate their past under the heading "childhood" with numerous examples which only concerns their past childhood associations:

_HSC: "When I was standerd nine I went overseas with my mom..." (HSC, p.1)._  
_LSC: "When I was younger I was with my parents at the village..." (LSC, p.1)._  
_MSC: "The people with whom I was staying, they didn't worry..." (MSC, p.1)._
Other associations with the past lie in:

**Academic progress** (educational background, when the person left school, tertiary education)

*HSC: "I got my degree in '82" (HSC, p.1).
MSC: "During February they allowed me to begin with B.ed" (MSC, p.16).

**Family life** (relationships with family members, divorce of parents, birth of own children)

*LSC: "When I was younger I was with my parents at the village" (LSC, p.1).

**Important life events** (car accident, graduation, nearly drowning event, passing of final exams)

HSC: "The day I qualified, got my degree" (HSC, p.5).
MSC: "When I was in grade 8, I almost drowned" (MSC, p.5).

**Career development** (jobhunting, starting own business)
School life (circumstances in schools in the past)

**UC:** "Old days the schools were cheap. Kids were getting books at school" *(UC, p.1).*

In the association with the past under the heading "academic progress", HSC and MSC had a fair deal of background to associate with, whereas LSC could mention very few associations and UC no associations. HSC mentioned issues of matriculation (p.1) and graduation (p.1) whereas MSC also mentioned her matriculation (p. 16), completion of college (p. 15), and graduation (p. 16). LSC only mentions his completion of grades 1 and 2 before leaving school to herd the family's cattle (p. 1). UC quite often mentions about circumstances in schools when she attended school, however, she never attributes her schooling to a past association of achieving academic progress. Again it rather seems that UC draws comparisons about circumstances of schools in the past and present:

**UC:** "Old days the schools were cheap. Kids were getting books at school even myself I never paid for my books. Which I can remember, we at school were beaten. So the kids of today, they don't get punished at the school" *(UC, p. 1).*
Thus UC mentions that she attended school, but she puts more accent on the school life as it was then compared to the present school situation and never really associates her past with academic progress when mentioning schooling. Although all the other interviewees also mention issues about their school life, they all do mention how far they progressed academically.

HSC and LSC do mention quite a number of issues of their family life in association with the past. Family life would include here the near family like the father, mother, siblings during childhood, but more in the sense of the concept of a nuclear family. In this regard LSC and UC did not mention significant issues about family life, which one could connect to a personal association of the past. These two interviewees did mention, however, issues of village and community life.

All four the interviewees mentioned important life events, which they associated with the past during the interviews. However, there are significant differences between the kind of events and between the number of the events:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A4 Important life events</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>car accident</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death of parents</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near drowning</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birth of child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorce of parents</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The HSC interviewee mentioned three negative ("car accident", "death of parents" and "divorce of parents") issues and two positive ("graduation" and "marriage") issues. The MSC interviewee mentioned two positive ("birth of child" and "marriage") and two negative ("near drowning" and "death of parents") issues. The LSC interviewee mentioned only one negative ("near drowning") issue. The UC also recalled only one negative ("theft") important life event of the past.

When UC was asked during the interview: "If it would be possible for you to change your past, how would you have liked it to be?", her answer was:

"My past, I don't have a problem with my past."

All three the other interviewees had contents of the past, which they would like to rewrite if they had the chance.

5.2.2 Association with present

The following table represents the four interviewees' association(s) with present individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D1 Personal</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues/events</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven years</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hobbies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changed personal values</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislikes</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>better</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-image</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial situation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendships</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care for children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regard village life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as outdated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard of life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everyday life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human beings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2 National</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues/events</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decline of value of money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degenerating condition of youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problems in education system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government not good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aids</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drought</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country goes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low pension pay-outs of elderly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3 Thoughts</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improve relation-ships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get closer to God</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>save money for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overseas trip</td>
<td>have no immediate plans</td>
<td>about children's future</td>
<td>emigration</td>
<td>what type of person will son marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that all four the interviewees associated present with "Personal issues" and "National issues". The HSC-, MSC- and LSC-candidates also associated present with "Thoughts about future". The personal issues/events, which HSC brought up can be regarded as typical for mid-live, including family, hobbies, dislikes. This interviewee mentions ten personal issues. The MSC interviewee mentions four personal issues, which basically centre around family, like: "seven years marriage", "family" and "care for children". In comparison with HSC, the LSC interviewee seems to associate present with bargaining for a better future when he brings up issues like "residence", "own business", "self-image" and "present better than past". LSC mentions 10 personal issues. The UC interviewee associates present with "family", "financial situation" and "everyday live". She mentions three personal issues.

The only category under personal themes with which all four interviewees associated their present, was "family". LSC associates the present with such nature, that he sees a good future in Namibia for his children:
LSC: "But nowadays the children are very lucky. Their future will be better and better" (LSC, p.4).

In contrast, HSC is presently concerned about what the future in Namibia holds for his children:

HSC: "I worry about my children's future" (HSC, p.18).

LSC associates the present with better opportunities than in the past:

LSC: "When I see on this time, it comes better than past time - one can see the country goes ahead" (LSC, p.1).

HSC mentions that currently he has no immediate plans for the future:

HSC: "I have no immediate plans, just get on as is" (HSC, p.16).

Other categories under personal themes associated with the present were for instance:

Hobbies (hunting, touring, enjoy history, reading and own "koekashop")

Self-image

HSC: "So, overall I'm feeling fine" (HSC, p.9).
LSC: "I'm feeling very, very good because I'm not an educated person - I am happy because I got my job, so I helped myself and I am the one in the whole company that has a lot of friends" (LSC, p.8). "In this present I would like to keep myself like this" (LSC, p.11). "...and my head like it is, is good..." (LSC, p.12).

Work situation

LSC: "I work with people everyday, it's my work" (p.4 LSC), "We are working the night shift...that's (trouble from people) always happening in night shifts but only if you are working on weekends..." (LSC, p.9).

Financial situation

HSC: "...financially it's going fine..." (HSC, p.9).
LSC: "...'cause here it's so very, very expensive for us, our people who are uneducated" (LSC, p.13).
UC: "...we don't have enough money..." (UC, p.1).

Friendships

MSC: "I've some very good friends" (MSC, p.12).
HSC: "...we've got no friends..." (HSC, p.9).
The interviewees also associated national concerns with their present like issues about government, and the disasters brought along by drought and AIDS.

**Government**

MSC: "...the people who make decisions (about Namibia) can't think..." (MSC, p.20).

LSC: "So one can see the country goes ahead" (LSC, p.1).

**Drought**

LSC: "But nowadays there is no rain" (LSC, p.15).

**Aids**

HSC: "At that time the word AIDS hasn't even existed yet, now every second word is AIDS or HIV" (HSC, p.6).

LSC is the only interviewee that associates present with a positive National issue (country goes ahead). All the other National issues that are associated with present, are negative.
HSC associates present with five thoughts about future, where-as MSC mentions four thoughts and LSC one thought about future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Association with future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HSC: &quot;...to improve the relationship with my wife and children...get closer to God&quot; (HSC, p.17).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC: &quot;...there are some money of which my husband doesn't know which I put away for that (overseas trip)&quot; (MSC, p.18).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</td>
<td>HSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G1 Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issues about future</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future looking bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will only change future life if it brings better opportunities</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal life span</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concerned about future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future is far away</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future is deteriorating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future is improving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past and present experiences to be experienced in future</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G2 Collective</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issues about the future</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definition of African identity</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hope for peace on earth</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aids</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concern with moral standards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>need for improved national education system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G3 Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preferences for future</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>touring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherit farm</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retirement</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continue with life as is</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that the four interviewees' association with future differs significantly. They shared three of the six categories of association with future, namely: "Personal issues about future", "Personal preferences for future" and "Collective issues about the future". Some of the interviewees also associated the future with: "Issues related to future relationships", "Providing for family" and "To always overthink consequences before taking action".

Some of the interviewees associated their future with certain personal issues about the future. LSC, for example, mentioned that he takes joy in the fact of a bright future for Namibia, but he also expressed concern about his
personal life span, which he wanted to be stretched as far as possible, possibly to be able to enjoy the expected bright future of the country:

\[ LSC: \text{"I want to be old like my father. I want to survive...I don't want to die on this time" (LSC, p.15).}\]

MSC also associates the future with her own life span, but in a quite different direction than case B, when she says:

\[ MSC: \text{"...I would love to live until I have seen my first grandchild but then I don't want to die when I can't even wash myself. I still want to be a person who can do things for myself. I wouldn't like to be old and lying in bed. I will be old enough to - as they say - die on the palms of my feet" (MSC, p.18).}\]

It seems that HSC, on the contrary, takes a neutral stand between a joy and a concern about the future when he says:

\[ HSC: \text{"If I could get them (his children) something better, a more better opportunity, then I would change, but otherwise not for myself" (HSC, p.13).}\]

The interviewees also associated the future with collective issues, in other words issues that are of importance on national, continental and/or global
levels, but which touch the very core of every individual. HSC associates the future in this regard with peace on earth:

**HSC:** "There is also something good in the future. Maybe peace will suffice on earth. Everything will just stop. It's like Garden of Eden, just peaceful..." (HSC, p.18).

This person also associates the future with a continental identity crisis when he asks:

**HSC:** "But do we belong to Africa" (HSC, p.18).

Like HSC, LSC also associates the future with the global dilemma of AIDS. LSC also sees the future as a time of continuous change:

**LSC:** "Ja, the future and the world will change everyday and everyday" (LSC, p.4).

UC associates the future with a decline in the moral standard of the youth:

**UC:** "I would like to change only the youngsters respect for the elders" (UC, p.7).

She also mentions an improved national education system for the future:
UC: "It can be better in schools, they can build more schools" (UC, p.9).

The interviewees also associated the future with a whole range of personal preferences and wishes like: touring, inheriting a farm, not retiring, expanding business, spiritual growth, self-growth.

The future was furthermore associated with being able to see after the family or to be able to provide for the family. This would then not only include the financial implications which are associated with the future, but also the drawing on different resources in order to keep the family going in future:

LSC: "So, I have to think about what I am going to do with the children for when they grow up. They need to go to school. So I have to make a big plan for them" (LSC, p.2). "...I have to look after my parents and family...also help the people, other people...I have to do everything for my family and for to help for the other people also in the village. That is my wish if it was possible to do" (LSC, p.12).

HSC: "Every decent father and mother - that will be their own big problem about children, we brought them in this life, we have to provide for them and put them on the correct road and financially, emotionally and religiously do the best for them" (HSC, p.18).
The two male interviewees, both fathers, directly associate the future with providing and making plans for their children's future.

HSC also associates the future with always overthinking consequences of actions before acting, which is a result of several lessons he learnt in the past when he irrationally took decisions and acted without thoroughly overthinking the consequences of such actions.

The number of issues/events presented by the interviewees concerning association with future can be presented as:

- HSC - 22
- MSC - 13
- LSC - 14
- UC - 9

### 5.2.4 Experience of past

The following table represents the four interviewees' experience of past individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Experience of past</th>
<th>Categories with</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>issue(s)/event(s)</td>
<td>HSC</td>
<td>MSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B1 Events that caused negative experience of past</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school life</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incidents during school years</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorce of parents</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience of community</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car accident</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death of parents</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forced to leave school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near drowning event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childhood hard-ships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B2 Events that caused positive experience of the past</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incidents during school years</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic progress</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role of own parents in life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constitution of own family</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience of community</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>job hunting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher moral standards than today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childhood joyous moments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table shows two main categories of information of the four interviewees as to experience of past namely, "Events that caused negative experience of past" and "Events that caused positive experience of past". All four the interviewees indicated positive and negative experiences of the past. It is significant that the interviewees shared few negative experiences ("school life", "incidents during school years" and "childhood hardships") but no positive experiences of the past.

The HSC-, MSC- and LSC- candidates mentioned basically the same number of positive and negative experiences of the past, where-as the UC-candidate expressed significantly more negative than positive experiences of the past.

These experiences were mainly the result of certain events or situations that took place somewhere during the interviewees' past, which left them with certain feelings about the past.

Events that caused negative past experiences were for instance:

**Incidents during school years**

| birth of child | * |

HSC: "In Highschool in Pretoria I nearly got expelled from school two times" (HSC, p.8).

UC: (after beating me) I felt so harsh towards my teacher" (UC, p. 2).
Divorce of parents

_HSC_: "_I never had a dad, except when I went first hunting_" (HSC, p.8). "_I had to stand in court when was a young boy - divorce...the judge asked me to whom do you want to go? I told the judge I don't know. He said, right, I decide - you're going to your mother..._" (HSC, p.11).

Experience of community during childhood

_HSC_: "..._the community had a bad influence on you, had bad friends, wrong friends..._" (HSC, p.9).

MSC, LSC and UC had overall good experiences in their communities, but also mentioned some negative aspects. LSC experienced his community negative in the sense that it lived very isolated which meant that the people in the village were not aware of other cultures:

_LSC_: "_I didn't see any other tradition or place_" (LSC, p.2). "_We didn't know there was another tradition_" (LSC, p.4).

_MSC_: "..._at the beginning I couldn't cope with the fact that in the community where I grew up it was absolutely out of hell that I get a child..._" (MSC, p.10).

Car accident
HSC: "It (car accident) was terrifying" (HSC, p.15).

Colonialism

LSC: "(during colonial times) ...so I was lucky because I was beaten sometimes in my life. My parents was beaten more and more and more (by South-African soldiers)" (LSC, p.4).

Other past situations and/or events that caused negative past experiences were: childhood hardships, theft of private articles and a near drowning event.

Two of the incidents/situations (Incidents during school years and Experience of community) caused negative past experiences for some of the interviewees while the same incidents/issues caused positive past experiences for other interviewees. Some interviewees could also mention both negative and positive experiences about a certain incident/issue. For example, HSC recalls negative and positive school experiences:

HSC: "...we used to go bare-foot to school - I will never forget that we used to take two hours to get home from school 'cause we were playing along the way" (HSC, p.1). "...had big fights with the big guys at the school...had bad friends, wrong friends....I got nearly expelled" (HSC, p.9).
MSC commends on a positive school experience when she remembers how a teacher cared empathetically for her:

MSC: "...Mr. Y, he didn't come to me like this broad shoulder. He bend and I belief that everything in him spelled out caring" (MSC, p.3).

UC reports negative past school experiences with:

UC: "Ja, my first year in High School I was beaten severe. I spent one day in hospital. I was really beaten" (UC, p.2).

HSC experienced the community as negative because wrong friends had a bad influence on him:

HSC: "...the community has no interest on you...had a bad influence on you...the community didn't play much role in my life" (HSC, p.9).

LSC, MSC, and UC do report positive feelings about their communities in which they grew up, mainly because all the adults had authority over the whole community's children. That created a safe environment for children. For example:

MSC: "...you never ever tried to do something which you knew that was wrong in front of any adult because in Rehoboth all the children were the property of all adults..." (MSC, p.9).
As mentioned earlier, LSC, MSC and UC also had negative experiences with their communities.

Issues/events that caused positive experiences of the past were for instance:

**Holidays**

_HSC:_ "I went overseas with my mom, just the two of us with a tour group, it was fun...the hunting trip (in Zimbabwe) was quite an experience..." (HSC, p.1,2).

**Academic progress**

_HSC:_ "...with the graduation ceremony itself proud, very proud of myself" (HSC, p.6). "...from my primary school years I know, I never studied, I never learned and I got 100%, 80-90%...from my primary school years I know we were just playing, played rugby on a ploughed field without grass..." (HSC, p.8).

**Role of parents in own life**

_LSC:_ "I was so happy to be with my parents" (LSC, p.1).

**Marriage and child birth**
MSC: "...I got married, it was very nice, I believe it was - except from having my son - it was the best thing" (MSC, p.10).

HSC, MSC and LSC mention positive and negative experiences about events/situations in the past, where-as UC only mentions one positive experience (higher moral standards than today) and more negative experiences:

UC: "...we at school were beaten" (UC, p.1). "It (theft) was serious like a shock to me" (UC, p.6).

However, as earlier mentioned, when asking UC whether there is something about the past she would like to have changed, she answers:

"My past, I don't have any problem with my past" (UC, p.4).

5.2.5 Experience of present

The following table represents the four interviewees' experience of present individually.

<p>| Present Experience of present | Categories with | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>E1 Events/issues that cause negative experience of present</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-image</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everyday life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regard village life as outdated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decline of value of money</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degenerating condition of youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problems in education system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government not good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aids</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drought</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low pension</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay-outs of elderly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what type of person will son marry</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future of Namibia</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children's future</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E2 Events/issues that cause positive experience of present</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven years marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hobbies</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residence</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own business</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>everyday life</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changed personal values</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present better than past</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-image</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it is clear that more negative and issues were mentioned with regard to experience of present than with experience of past. All four the interviewees mentioned both positive and negative experiences of present. However, from all the experiences mentioned, the interviewees shared only one negative issue ("family") and no positive issues/events.

The HSC - candidate mentioned some more positive than negative experiences of present where-as the LSC - candidate mentioned the same number of positive and negative experiences. Both the MSC- and UC - candidates mentioned more negative than positive experiences of present.

Positive experiences concerning the present included:

**Hobbies**
HSC: "...when hunting, the outing is still magic..." (HSC, p.3).

Everyday life experiences

LSC: "All people around me, they are good. They are always supporting me in my mind" (LSC, p.12).
MSC: "...every time when I look at those photo's (wedding) I feel in love with my husband again" (MSC, p.10).

Self-image

HSC: "...I'm feeling magic, I am smiling, just want to smile and work" (HSC, p.10). "I'm happy" (HSC, p.11). "I feel so young" (HSC, p.14).
LSC: "I am a good guy and I am not a drunk man" (LSC, p.10).

Work situation

HSC: "I still enjoy my work..." (HSC, p.7).

Negative present experiences about the present included:

Everyday life experiences
HSC: "...it sounds funny but sometimes I really feel I had enough of people...sometimes it gets too much..." (HSC, p.4).

MSC: "...the things that my stepson does...I get very cross" (MSC, p.4).

UC: "Nowadays kids, they don't accept even if he's wrong. They run to human abuse center's, so you are not supposed even to beat your own child in the home" (UC, p.4).

**Self-image**

HSC: "I am not a very clever guy" (HSC, p.7). "I'm not a very good husband. I'm very insensitive to my wife's views..." (HSC, p.17).

**Work situation**

LSC: "So, people walk around in the night, so they come and quarrel with you (at the workplace/service station)" (LSC, p.9).

HSC: "If I knew about Aids, I would never become a doctor" (HSC, p.7).

MSC: "...you can work better with children that are more motivated because we are struggling here at school..." (MSC, p.17).

**Government**
**HSC:** "...I used to work at the state. I resigned two months ago. I'm not doing any state work anymore. I saw it going down the drain, the state medical services. I see people dying because there is no medicine available. I see people dying because there is no Garage...willing to give the petrol for the ambulance, because the Ministry is not paying the garage" (HSC, p.18,19).

**MSC:** "They (government) told us that Namibia would be free from war and now we have war on both sides...that is worrying me - the fact that we are living in a country who are busy with two wars...at this stage the people who make the decision can't think, I belief they don't know what the word 'think' means, honestly, that's my honest feeling" (MSC, p.20).

### 5.2.6 Experience of future

The following table represents the four interviewees' experience of future individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1 Past and present Experiences to be experienced in future</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continue with life</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table shows that three of the interviewees (HSC, MSC, LSC) expected their past and present experiences to be continued in future. However, all four the interviewees currently indicate that they experience the future in different ways like "far away", "deteriorating", "dynamic" or "improving".

All four the interviewees mentioned the one or other "experience of future" when the interviews were conducted.

The interviewees came up with different views of how they experience the future. One of the interviewees wanted to experience the future as it is in the present:

\[
HSC: "Carry on as is, 'cause we are enjoying it (life)" (HSC, p.14).
\]

This kind of continuity of experience throughout the past, present and future was mentioned also by some other interviewees:

\[
HSC: "We still will relive it (car accident) for years..." (HSC, p.16).
\]
MSC: "I believe there will come more children in my life before I'm going to stay at home not teaching anymore, but it won't take me away having contact with children" (MSC, p.5, a teacher of profession for several years).

Some interviewees definitely want to experience a better future:

UC: "I wish it to be better" (UC, p.9).
MSC: "How do I think about the future, at this stage the only thing that will help us to be positive is to pray..." (MSC, p.20).

Another interviewee experiences his future (because of his past) not to be as good as that of his children, however he still experiences the future as a continuously changing and improving one:

LSC: "So, I think my children's future will be better than my future. So, I can't say their future will be like mine because this is a developing world and it goes ahead everyday" (LSC, p.4).

5.2.7 Meaning of past

The following table represents all four the interviewees' meaning of past individually.
## Past
Meaning of past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>C1 Directed life</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed education to get specialized job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>found job and income to sustain family</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beating in school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher showed way for future</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past shapes present and future</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past community life plays role in life today</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C2 Past let us learn lessons</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorce harms children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be sensitive with children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not to rush into situations without considering consequences</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low education causes hardships and financial limitations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you have to work for what you want</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C3 Gives opportunity for Comparison Between past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it can be derived that all four the interviewees regarded the meaning of past as "Directed life" and "Past let us learn lessons". Although the meaning of the past was also depicted as "Gives opportunity for comparison between past and present" and "Past as place of memories", all four the interviewees did not share these meanings.

Three of the interviewees (HSC, MSC, LSC) mentioned the same number of issues/events regarding meaning of past. The UC-candidate mentioned significantly less issues/events regarding meaning of past, than the other three interviewees.

With "meaning of the past" a line of continuity from the past to the present is reflected in the different categories. Especially the first category (the past directed life further) indicates the past as paving the way for the present and future. HSC mentions for example that because of graduation at university in the past, he is able to sustain his current life style:
HSC: "So that day getting my degree put me on the road where I am now...it helped me to be what I am, where I am today" (HSC, p.7).

HSC also mentions the teacher who, during his school years, guided him in a certain way in order to become the successful person he is today:

HSC: "...she (mathematics teacher) taught me something very useful, thank God for that, otherwise I would have been not here now...." (HSC, p.9).

UC argues very much in the same way when mentioning that the beatings she endured at school helped her to obtain a certain educational standard:

UC: "...I think if I would repeat not doing my homework I am not supposed to be where I am. If I was not beaten because of my homework, I was not supposed to speak English at this moment" (UC, p.3).

MSC says her past routed her present when she mentions:

MSC: "I believe that the past, the things that happened to me in the past, the influence of those things are so strong that I believe that anything that I do...now...it definitely has some connection with the past because the fact that I want to go further in life, is because I
struggled in the past. The fact that I care for, try to work with other people's children the way I would like to work with my child, is because of my past..." (MSC, p.21).

MSC also shows how the meaning of the past is deposited in being able to direct a life through it's time perspective from past to present to future when she says:

MSC: "...early in my life I realized that if you want something then make sure is it in line with what you are now..." (MSC, p.18).

LSC mentions that his low education caused him to find a job in the low income group:

LSC: "So, and you know, the problem is we are uneducated. If you get a job, you get a very, very small salary" (LSC, p.3).

It is interesting that all four the interviewees reported that their past communities in which they grew up, had an influence on them, whether it is regarded as a good influence or not:

HSC: "...in a city...the community...had a bad influence on you...had bad friends, wrong friends and luckily this maths teacher had gone to my life..." (HSC, p.9).
LSC: "...at out village I was helped by a lot of people, so I keep it up...so because we grew up this way you have to respect not only your father and mother, but everyone you find to respect him. I keep it until now. When I go to the village the people come and greet me one by one, to come and see me, so I keep it and it's good for me" (LSC, p.7).

MSC: "(whether community shaped her in any sense when grew up) definitely, because the community in which I grew up was that kind of community where if I am a child where I swear now or I am busy smoking, a lady whom I know from no side from whatsoever - maybe she was from a farm which I never heard of - should take me and give me a very good hiding..." (MSC, p.9).

UC: "In the community we lived, we used to live - we lived as one big family. When my parents are not around she could give me over to one of the friends or neighbours and I could stay there. Where I am I am supposed to do what the other kids are doing. I'm a visitor and just quiet. What they do, I do also. What they eat, I eat also. So in those days we used to live as one big community" (UC, p.5).

One can thus come to the conclusion that the communities in which one grew up, laid a crucial foundation for a life's direction towards the present and the future, because the influences of that community laid a certain kind of blueprint for values and morals which one uses during life further-on. Out of these examples it becomes evident that all four the interviewees across socio-economic income groups did show in a certain way that the
past had consequences for their present and in many instances for the future.

The interviewees also vested the meaning of the past in the "lessons they learned" from incidents and experiences they had in the past:

**HSC: "Death is one step away" (HSC, p.15).**

HSC also learned about the devastating effects of divorce on the family and especially on children, when his own parents divorced. This person attributes the fact that he has problems in disciplining his children to his experiences he endured when his parents divorced, because he is afraid now of hurting his own children in the way he was hurt by his parents through the divorce:

**HSC: "...that's like ten years ago. I smacked one of their (children's) bottoms and I felt sick for a week after that" (HSC, p.12).**

HSC and MSC both mention in another instance how they rushed into situations in the past without considering the consequences of their actions. HSC wrote a letter to the court about being unhappy with the custody case in which he was assigned to his mother's care. The letter gave way to a second custody hearing, which he experienced as traumatic:
HSC: "I wrote that letter without thinking about the consequences" (HSC, p.11).

He also describes other such hasty actions:

HSC: "Also I said that I don't want to get married without thinking about the consequences..." (HSC, p.11). "We rushed into this thing (buying a farm) before we sat down and discussed it..." (HSC, p.10).

HSC derives from these past incidents:

HSC: "This will never happen in my life again" (HSC, p.10).

MSC learned from her hasty past actions:

MSC: "I realized then that to care for someone in the wrong way or to care without thinking when you are doing something, can't be positive, honestly, it definitely can't be positive" (MSC, p.6).

LSC also mentions an incident at work where he was harassed by clients and although he became very angry, he did not react as he firstly considered the consequences of his anger, as this might have led to these people attacking him physically:
LSC: "I learned something, because why I say I learned something, it is my mind that when I said no I don’t give you fifty dollars, I would be beaten and in the hospital. So I don't want to be beaten, so I have to do what he says. So then, tomorrow, I would solve the problem and so on…" (LSC, p.10).

MSC also learned from her past when she experienced the impact of a teacher's empathy on herself, that she will always try to be empathic towards children:

MSC: "...that (teacher's empathy) made me decide that whenever I'm going to work with children I will want to know and give attention to them. Every time I come across a child with a problem, it takes me immediately back to that day" (MSC, p.2).

MSC furthermore mentions that she learned from the past that one should work very hard for what you want out of the experience of inheriting only a teaspoon from her parents:

MSC: "I promised myself, the fact that I couldn't inherit anything from my parents, I will show these people that I will come somewhere, that I will have a lot of things which they will want again and that happened (MSC, p.14)."
She furthermore takes this lesson she learned from the past and invests it in the present of the children she teaches:

MSC: "...the children to tell them, people you can't tell me that your parents are not wealthy, or you can't do this; I've worked for everything I have, so don't tell me that you can't do this or you can't do that" (MSC, p.17).

The meaning of the past can also be found in its provision of a previous standard for measuring current standards against. In this regard interviewees mentioned several issues which are either "better" or "worse" currently than in the past:

MSC: "I just can't stand this story that there at school the learners will, if you don't step aside - they will definitely walk over you - now that type of thing never ever happened (in the past)" (MSC, p.9).  
UC: "I can mention about the old day, we youngsters we were not abusing alcohol like the youngsters do today. Those days you have to know, even if you are in boarding school or you are schooling from home, you knew which time you have to be in. The youngsters of today...even my sister, my younger sister, has the same problem. She has a kid. If something is wrong, he beats her...In those days even my neighbour was able to beat me if I was wrong - nowadays you can't beat your neighbour's kid even if he does something wrong, 'cause the world has changed" (UC, p.3).
It seems out of the interviews that the meaning of the past lies also in memories, as these memories are either cherished in order to provide escape routes away from current problems, or these past memories prohibit the repetition of past mistakes:

*HSC: "...I never thought hunting would realize. It was like a schoolboy's dream..." (HSC, p.3).

*LSC: "(nearly drowned)...but I was lucky one guy was coming to pick me up out of the water. My stomach was big, so I was near to die. And this was my first and last time to swim" (LSC, p.8).

### 5.2.8 Meaning of present

The following table represents the four interviewees' meaning of present individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>F1 Development</strong></td>
<td>* continuous change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F2 Freedom</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F3 Negative government output</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acts without considering consequences</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>does not want to be held responsible for its mistakes</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waste taxpayer money</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not interested in necessities like health and education</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F4 Kinds of interpersonal relating</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passiveness</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaped by community</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can't be true self</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no friends</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F5 Education is valued</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F6 Stress</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F7 Space for evaluating past present and future</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present should be used to change life and past</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't want anything of current life style to change</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present is good compared to past</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present orientates life</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from present, make thoughts about future</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F8 Uneducated and poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F9 Children suffer</strong></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it can be seen that a high number of main categories (9) concerning meaning of present were mentioned. It is significant that not one of these main categories were shared by all four the interviewees.

It is furthermore significant that the UC-candidate mentioned only one issue regarding meaning of present namely "Children suffer".

The interviewees saw the meaning of the present in different ways. Some felt that the present is a time of continuous change because of continuous development. LSC mentions in this regard:

\begin{quote}
LSC: "So in the development I can see the time has changed" (LSC, p.17). "Ja, the future and the world will change everyday and everyday" (LSC, p.4).
HSC: "...'cause everything changes, medicine and science and everything changes...every year - it's every six months it's new things, new things, new things" (HSC, p. 6 case A). "...your views changes..." (HSC, p.17).
\end{quote}

The present also means people relating differently to each other than in the past. LSC mentions in this regard:

\begin{quote}
LSC: "I was a friend for every-one (in the village in the past). Not like nowadays, because this time for money and running where if you are poor nobody can be your friend...nowadays this - sometimes it is
\end{quote}
not good for me because some-one else comes and passes you without saying hallo to and so on but the whole past time it was good" (LSC, p.8).

HSC does not feel himself when relating to the community:

\[HSC: \ "...try to be myself for a while, it's not so easy, cause you have to, in town you have to have an image, but it's not always, I think it's not always what you are. You put up a front" \ (HSC, p.4).\]

HSC also felt that the community in which he lives attaches meaning to his present as they shape him in a sense. The present in terms of relationships with other, means for this person to be caught up in the will of the community from which he just can't escape:

\[HSC: \ "And it (the community) shaped me...Now I am what I am...If you don't accept me, bad luck...But not really, you still have to be like some-one else. I smoke but I cannot walk in town with a cigarette in my hand. That's things that you just don't do" \ (HSC, p.14).\]

In addition MSC holds that part of the meaning of the present lies within our relations with children in present which are of such nature that children struggle:
MSC: "...people let children struggle without reason. Unnecessarily. Children are suffering" (MSC, p.2).

There was also talk that the meaning of the present lies in serving as a point in time to which one can orientate oneself and from that point evaluate past and/or future. LSC uses the present as a point in time from where he makes evaluations of the past and future when he says:

LSC: "When I see on this time - it comes like better than past time - my life, cause we can see a lot of things that's happen now. It was not happening in the past time. So one can see the country goes ahead" (LSC, p.1). "So when I think back, if it was this time then, I would not be on this standing you know. If this time was the past time, I had to go to school and develop my village, but now it doesn't help, because you can't afford it" (LSC, p.7).

This interviewee furthermore mentions that in the present one should be able to change, both yourself and the past. It comes over as if he uses the present to evaluate himself and his circumstances where-after he uses the results of this evaluation to change not only his present state, but also his past:

LSC: "But it is good to change your life, as well as the past time" (LSC, p.7).
HSC also gives meaning to his present by using his past:

_HSC: "...I am here, I have here now, accumulate what I have in material things, in wealth in whatever because of that (graduation), so if you have now - I can say - because of that (graduation) I've got this (material wealth)..." (HSC, p.7)._

One might speculate that HSC already evaluated his present against his past (his unhappy childhood) when he comes to the conclusion that:

_HSC: "I really don't want to change anything" (HSC, p.12)._

Therefor, most possibly, he asserts:

_HSC: "Now, I'm at this stage in the present, present is orientating now my life...Ja, the present I think is more important for the taking off, it's got a lot more influence on my life now, it's the present...The past, it was before, but I put it behind me, it's not so easy sometimes. You still think about it" (HSC, p. 19). "So at this stage I have no immediate plans for the future" (HSC, p.14)._

Thus, one might conclude that the meaning of the present, amongst others, is a point from where human beings organize and evaluate the past, the present and the future.
The interviewees also saw the meaning of the present as to be vested in the attained level of education. Present is marked by poverty, unemployment or employment with low income if the person either did not receive formal education or only has a low level of education:

**UC:** "I would like them (my children) to have more education. More than me" (UC, p.5). "I wish my future will be better than now, I want to be a step (education) forward" (UC, p.8).

Present means financial independence and even affluence if the person is well educated:

**HSC:** "So that day getting my degree put me on the road where I am now... (HSC, p.7). "I'm happy, happy married, two beautiful children, I enjoy my work...nice job, financially it's going fine" (HSC, p. 9).

Furthermore it seems that the present means stress to some of the interviewees:

**HSC:** "...get out of town, away from the telephone, get away from people...but sometimes it gets too much..." (HSC, p.4).

**LSC:** "...because this time for money and running..." (LSC, p.8).

**MSC:** "...each of us have our own work, now we are away, we are giving attention to our work and none of us interfere in each other's work - so there isn't really communication..." (MSC, p.8).
It seems as if people who don't work very hard don't achieve anything in life:

**MSC:** "This community...I would say two thirds of them are still in that kind of thing of sitting and stretching out their bare hands, waiting for other people to put something in and I belief that as long as they are that, they will stay behind" (MSC, p.17).

For some interviewees the government gives meaning to the present, in that it either gives hope for the future or rather installs anxiety about the future. The hope or the anxiety are present feelings, thus the point that the government gives meaning to the present of individuals. MSC mentions in this regard (MSC, p.20-21):

- the government acts without considering consequences
- the government does not want to be held responsible for its mistakes
- the government wastes the taxpayer's money
- the government is not interested in necessities like health and education

LSC mentions again:

**LSC:** "...one can see the country goes ahead" (LSC, p.1).

The present also means freedom to LSC:
LSC: "We feel free. There is no problem for the people" (LSC, p.5).

5.2.9 Meaning of future

The following table represents the four interviewees' meaning of future individually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>HSC</th>
<th>MSC</th>
<th>LSC</th>
<th>UC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Categories with issue(s)/event(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I1 Meaning of future lies in/ is result of present action</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important life events of present and past realization of dreams</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patterns of rain and drought sharing of experience redefinition of African identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2 Meaning of future is dark when considering Aids end of world human mortality</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3 Personal meaning of</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it can be seen that the interviewees regarded the meaning of future in quite different ways. The LSC-candidate presented significantly more issues regarding meaning of future than the other three interviewees.

In some instances the interviewees made it quite clear what the meaning of the future entails for them:

**Closer family relationships**

*HSC:* "So, the future at this stage means to me being together with my family because we nearly lost one another..." (HSC, p.15).

**Self-growth**

*LSC:* "Ja, I think I would like to go to school. That is a way to change your life you know. Or I would like to go everywhere to see the other
countries and different cultures. So, to see the different cultures, the different villages, the more you are changing your life..." (LSC, p.7).

Development of business

LSC: "But in the future I would like to make my business. Help myself, you know" (LSC, p.13).

So, for these interviewees the meaning of the future would lie in closer family relationships, self-growth and development of own business.

For some of the interviewees the meaning of the future lies in a present action or in important life events of the past and present:

HSC: "It told me not to rush into things; this will never happen in my life again" (HSC, p.10).

LSC: "...I learned that for my future it (war in Namibia before independence) is important because I still can't forget it. So I have to keep it, I was in it" (LSC, p.6).

LSC saw the meaning of the future in the realization of dreams:

LSC: "I hope that if I am lucky one of the days I will be in the upper position like them (business people)" (LSC, p.12). "...it must be true
dreams - so I have to struggle until I see that my dream have come true" (LSC, p.15).

LSC also saw the meaning of the future as being vested in the patterns of rain and drought in the country:

LSC: "I think if there is no rain I have to be afraid because our everything is going to die. People will be hungry. The goats and the animals will die because if there is no rain, no-one can survive. The animals cannot survive" (LSC, p.15).

MSC mentioned that the meaning of the future lies in sharing experience with one another:

MSC: "I belief that if I am talking to other people about what happened to me, maybe even if I talk to twenty of them, maybe or even if it is only two or one that will take me serious, I belief that I have helped a lot of children because a lot of children will come in the life of that one person" (MSC, p.5).

Some interviewees drew dark pictures of the future and thus felt that the meaning of the future is death and destruction when considering the phenomena of:

Aids
MSC: "...if I think of this AIDS story, you know, that is something that - and they - children - they just don't realize what we are talking about" (MSC, p.19).

End of the world

UC: "Yes, there is something of course (about the future which causes anxiety) because people were saying the new millennium will bring the end of the world, so we don't know" (UC, p.9).

Human mortality

LSC: "There is a time when we are going to make the external factor - that is when the gods come" (LSC, p.17).

LSC regards the youth to be the sole meaning of the future as they will care for the older generation:

LSC: "I think they (youth/children) are going to help us when they get a good future" (LSC, p.8).

A short summary follows as to the four interviewees’ contents of their time perspective as extracted from the interviews that were analyzed above. This
summary will already contain certain assumptions as to the contents of the interviewees' time perspectives.

The high socio-economic interviewee (HSC)

HSC associates the past with a time span from birth to recently. He arranges issues/events from childhood, school life, academic progress up to career development. One finds definite developmental stages that are associated with the past. In other words, HSC presents the past in such a way that the reader gets the feeling of "organizedness" and "the way people should develop". HSC regards the past as positive and negative, but indicated more positive issues than negative issues. The negative issues of the past can be regarded as "normal", like divorce of parents, car accident, death of parents. HSC furthermore felt that the past directed his current life. From the past, HSC also learned valuable skills. The past holds many memories for HSC. The picture of HSC's past does not show major disruptions. It can be regarded as "a normal flow of live", with "ups" and "downs".

HSC associates present with "age-related issues". HSC is in his midlife and has a good education and good financial income. Present, therefor, centers around family, hobbies, friendships. Issues that affect HSC to feel negative about present, are especially those that might influence his life style negatively like decline of value of money, future of Namibia, future of children. It is as if HSC has the present task of maintaining his current life
style. He also associates more positive than negative issues with present. HSC also makes it clear that he reaches to past and future from present.

HSC creates the impression that he is confused in his thoughts about future. He mentions contrasting associations with future like "future looking bright" and "future is deteriorating". HSC furthermore mentions that he is unsure about his identity in Africa for the future. HSC otherwise associates the future with touring, retirement, spiritual growth. Thus, for HSC, the future depends on his policy pay-outs and retirement. HSC foresees that his future will look alike his present. Because the future means ageing for him, he sees the future as "far away". HSC mentions that he still feels young. It is as if HSC experiences future in the existential terms of Heidegger, where future is associated with oncoming death.

HSC rather looks from present to past and future. He regards past as directing his life through present into future. HSC regards himself as being present oriented, although he mentions that a short while ago he was more past oriented.

The middle socio-economic class interviewee (MSC)

MSC associates the past with issues from her childhood until career development. She, like HSC, touches on most of the developmental phases which are regarded as normal: childhood, family life, academic progress, career development. MSC also, in an indirect way, touches on colonialism
when she mentions teacher strikes and the SWAPO political party. MSC associates slightly more negative experiences with past, than positive experiences. The positive experiences that MSC had, were the product of her making, like academic progress, constitution of own family, marriage and birth of child. The negative experiences were mostly related to the death of her parents, like school life, incidents during school years, experience of community, forced to leave school and other childhood hardships. MSC regarded the past as paving the way for present and future. For example, her education helped her to get a specialized job. She furthermore regarded certain past experiences as important, as the past sets the standard for evaluation of present. Furthermore, MSC regards the past as keeping memories safe. MSC volunteered a lot of information on the past.

MSC associates present more with issues of people around her, like family, children, government, elderly. She also associates present with more negative issues like low pension pay-outs of the elderly, dislikes, what type of person son will marry, worries about future of Namibia. MSC also associates present with significantly less issues than she associated the past with. MSC is the only interviewee that mentions emigration. She emphasizes that she is unhappy with the current government of Namibia. She regards Namibians in general to be passive. Present means stress to MSC. She also feels that Namibian children, in general, suffer. MSC presents a significant contrast: on the one hand she eagerly betters her education whereas on the other hand, she regards present to be very
negative. MSC associates present with significantly less issues than LSC and HSC.

MSC associates the future with less negative issues than with present. MSC associates future with how long she will still be alive. She is also concerned about future, especially in the light of Aids. She regards the future as deteriorating. However, MSC holds to positive plans and goals for the future, like spiritual growth, self growth, improved family relations and improved work relations. As such, MSC experiences future as an extended present. For MSC, it will become increasingly important that people take hands and share experiences, especially in the light of issues like Aids. She also regards the youth as being the meaning of future.

MSC regards past as directing present and future. MSC feels that her life is past oriented.

The low socio-economic class interviewee (LSC)

LSC associated the past also, like HSC and MSC, with issues in the different developmental phases of childhood, academic progress, family life, school life, career development. However, he adds colonialism to the association with past and volunteers a lot of information on the colonial war in the northern parts of Namibia during the Apartheid struggle. LSC mentioned an equal number of positive and negative issues of the past. LSC associated the past, in general, with his life in his childhood community in
the northern part of Namibia. However, LSC also connects the past to his experiences of job-hunting, thus career development. According to LSC, past directed his life to his present. Furthermore, LSC feels that his past provided him with the capacity to handle present and to evaluate present. Past is also a "place" of memories for LSC. This interviewee associated significantly less issues with past, than HSC and MSC.

LSC associated present mostly with "issues of becoming". LSC thus presently is occupied with generating financial means in order to be able to provide education for his children, and caring for his family. LSC leaves the impression of being realistic in his association with present. Because of his low education level, he has a low-paid job, which he perceives as very negative. The low wages make everyday live difficult. However, financial difficulties in present do not cause him to construct an utopia out of the past. For example, he mentions that he regards village life as having shut him off the world. LSC still regards present better as past and feels the country goes ahead. LSC regards present as continuously changing. He associates freedom with present. LSC mentions furthermore that his low educational status and limited financial situation causes him to have less friends than he wanted. Present also means stress to LSC. He furthermore feels that present is the space from where past and future are evaluated.

LSC associates the future only with positive issues. He regards future as looking bright, improving, continuously changing. In this expectation of a good future, LSC sees his role also as positive, like expanding business, self
growth, improved family relations. LSC also has high expectations about his financial situation when he mentions buying a car and continuously providing for family in future. It is, however, significant that LSC also associates his life span with future. According to LSC, the important life events of past and present hold the meaning of future. He also regards the youth as holding the meaning of future. LSC felt that his life is present oriented.

The unemployed interviewee (UC)

UC associates the past with childhood- and school issues. She also mentions a fairly recent incident of theft at her home. UC perceives most of her associations with past as negative experiences. The only positive point that she mentioned about past, was that moral standards were higher then, than today. According to UC, the past directed her life with incidents like school beatings. She also learned from the past that low education causes hardships. Although UC portrays the meaning of past as valuable to her, the issues that she mentions are negative (low education, beatings). Thus, past is today regarded as valuable, but then it was bitter and negative.

LSC associates present with mostly negative issues like family, degenerating condition of youth and problems in the education system. It is significant that she does not mention her finances or financial position. However, she regards her hobby (selling African craft) as positive. It is also this hobby that provides her with a means of existence. UC does not
experience present in terms of thoughts about future, like HSC, MSC and LSC do. According to UC, children suffer in present. However, she does not attach any specific meaning to present.

UC associates future with deterioration and a concern with moral standards. In general, UC feels concerned about future. UC mentions that she would like for the future an improved national education system, self growth and selling African craft overseas. UC thus associates the future with goals also. She experiences the future also as improving. However, UC regards the future of the world as dark when considering the end of the world. UC regards herself as future oriented.

The following issues were regarded as differences between the interviewees' contents of time perspective on the ground of socio-economic status. These interviewees are not representative of the Namibian nation's socio-economic classes. However, their contents of time perspective can be used to hypothesize about the possible scenario of time perspectives of different socio-economic classes in Namibia, and how (if in any way) that impacts on the collective Namibian identity.

High socio-economic class

- General feeling of being "on time" with life goals
- Midlife has as its main aim to maintain achieved life style
- Worried/afraid/uneasy that achieved life style might be lost
- In midlife, start to plan for retirement
- High education level

Middle socio-economic class
- Person in midage might regard present in Namibia as negative, most possibly due to limited economic condition of country
- Possible dreams about better conditions in other countries - therefor ideas about emigration
- Anything achieved or which can be regarded as positive can only be the result of extreme hard work - "nothing comes for free"
- Increased awareness of people around us, a need for more community with people
- Relatively high education level

Low socio-economic class
- Low-income job
- Poor circumstances are constant reminder of colonialism
- If positively attuned, vigor to make most of life left
- Very low, or no education

Unemployed
- Very low or no education
- Having difficulty recalling issues of past, present, future
- Fatalistic future view (end of the world is near)
- Past was better

Thus, definite differences in the contents of time perspectives can be found between the four different socio-economic class interviewees.
5.3 Analysis of the Contents of the Four Interviewees' Time Perspectives Together: Past, Present, Future

For the purpose of data analysis the categories with which the interviewees associated the past, present and future, were analyzed according to the structural characteristics of time perspective as provided by Plattner (1990) and already discussed earlier. As to the association with past, present and future, the interview material was reduced according to the Summarizing Qualitative Contents Analysis of Mayring (1997) so that main categories of information were formed. These categories, however, could be subdivided in a number of issues/events. For example as with the "association with the past":

| A1 Childhood                | Place of birth               |
|                            | Holidays                     |
|                            | Incidents during school years|
|                            | Hardships                    |
|                            | Joyous moments               |
|                            | Experience of community      |
|                            | Higher moral standards than today |

In this diagram, "childhood" is the main category, where-as "place of birth" and "holidays" are examples of issues/events.
5.3.1 Past

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewees were asked: "If you think of your past, what comes to your mind?" (cf. interview guideline in appendix). The interviewees had to revert to their past and from the stories they had to tell, the researcher looked for information pertaining to "associations with past", "experience of past" and "meaning of past". The subvariable "association with past" provided the actual contents of the past dimension of the interviewees. The other two subvariables "experience of" and "meaning of" provided additional information on the past dimension of the interviewees, so that a comprehensive picture could be formed as to the contents of the interviewees' past dimension.

5.3.1.1 Association with past

The researcher classified under "association with the past" any description, talk or mentioning of the interviewee in which the interviewee supplied subjective contents that would define the concept "past" for that specific interviewee. The interviewee would thus indicate what he/she connects to the word "past" when hearing it. In other words, with what does the interviewee associate the word "past"?

Diagram 1 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees
concerning their association(s) with the past. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

**Past**

**Association with past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1 Childhood</th>
<th>A4 Important life events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td>Car accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>Death of parent(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidents during school years</td>
<td>Near drowning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardships</td>
<td>Graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyous moments</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of community</td>
<td>Birth of child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher moral standards than today</td>
<td>Divorce of parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2 Academic progress</th>
<th>A6 School life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of own parents in life</td>
<td>Hardships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of own family</td>
<td>Cheap-not expensive as today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free books at school</td>
<td>Rebelliousness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A3 Family life</th>
<th>A5 Career development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job hunting</td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance from teacher</td>
<td>Forced to leave school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A8 Colonialism</th>
<th>Beaten by soldiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never was a Swapo member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diagram 1**

From the above diagram it seems as if the interviewees associated the past mostly with their younger years. All four the interviewees mentioned in their first view sentences of the interview issues about their childhood. They associated their past with, amongst others, these childhood issues. For example:

*HSC: "I think it is my child years, I was born..." (p.1).*
MSC: "If I think of my past the very first thing that I get into my mind is that I didn't want to grow up without parents" (p.1).

LSC: "Something that was important for me is that when I was younger I was with my parents at the village..." (p.1).

UC: "What comes in my mind is about schools. I don't think in the old days we had problems with schools" (p.1).

Childhood, family life, school life, academic progress, and career development are all categories, which the interviewees mentioned. These can be regarded as chronologically building up till mid-age. Some interviewees associated the past with "family life" or the lack there-of:

LSC: "...and I was so happy to be with my parents" (p.1).

MSC: "...I don't know how it is to have a father..." (p.3).

HSC: "...when I was seven years old, he (father) left..." (p7).

Another association with the past was "academic progress":

HSC: "...matriculated in 1975...I got my degree in '82..." (p.1).

MSC: "...had to leave school with grade 10...send me to college..." (p.15).

"...I finished my grade 12 and then I started BA..." (p.16).
LSC: "So in the school I have been to grade 1 and grade 2 only" (p.9).

The past was also associated with "career development":

LSC: "...when I decided to go and look for a job, it was in 1999...1998" (p.1).

HSC: "...I knew I would become a doctor..." (p.9).
"...opened up a clothing shop next to surgery..." (p.17).

LSC: "I started in '89 to sell these sweets and soap. Small business..." (p.13).

The following interviewees associated the past with "important life events":

HSC: "That (car accident) was probably one of the most important events in my life in the last couple of years" (p.14).

LSC: "...it (nearly drowning) was in 1983..." (p.7).

MSC: "When I was in grade 8...I almost drowned..." (p.6).

Especially the LSC candidate associated the past also with "colonialism" when he states:
The past time was the colonial time in this country. So I was beaten during the whole war in Namibia" (p.4).

The information which was provided by the interviewees as to their association with the past will now be analyzed according to the structural characteristics of time perspective as provided by Plattner (1990) (see chapter 2).

**Association with past** (analyzed according to the structural characteristics of the time perspective: Plattner, 1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal extension</td>
<td>Far past</td>
<td>Near past</td>
<td>Far past</td>
<td>Near past</td>
<td>Near past</td>
<td>Far past</td>
<td>Near past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link to present</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link to future</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of issues</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

From Table 1, the following can be derived:

Most of the categories, which the interviewees associated with the past, were shaded qualitatively ambivalent, in other words both positive and negative. The characteristic "ambivalent" was assigned to a category if it
was not clear that all the events/issues within that category were either clearly negative or clearly positive. The characteristic "ambivalent" was also applied when any of the issues within the specific category could not be regarded as either positive or negative. For example, the LSC-candidate adds negative and positive feelings to one category ("family life") when he says:

**LSC: "...when I was younger, I was with my parents at the village and I was happy to be with my parents. But there was no time - it was no good for me. There was no time to go to school" (p.1).**

One category ("career development") was regarded as exclusively positive. For example:

**LSC: "I was not educated but I was very lucky. I got some kind of job. So I helped myself" (p.1).**

One category ("colonialism") was regarded as exclusively negative.

**LSC: "The past time was the colonial time in this country. So I was beaten during the whole war in Namibia" (p.4).**

Therefor, as only one association with the past was regarded as ultimately negative ("colonization"), one can assume that the interviewees reflected a well-balanced (positive and negative) view of their past, even more positive than negative.
Three of the categories associated with the past can be regarded as mainly "far past" in terms of temporal extension ("childhood", "family life", "school life"). This is clear due to the fact that the interviewees are all in their middle age. With "family life" is meant the family in which the interviewees grew up.

The other five categories associated with the past can be regarded as mainly "near past" as these already happened, but "their 'start' is the result of circumstances that are still currently experienced" (Plattner, 1990). These are: "academic progress", "important life events", "career development", "no problems with the past", "colonialism". Therefore these categories can also be seen as extending temporally to present.

From the analysis of the temporal extension of the past contents one can thus assume that the interviewees are not preoccupied with issues from the far past. More of the issues are mentioned that are concerned with the near past. One could say it is quite normal for people to grab to their childhood, family life and school life when asked to talk about their past. Therefore the interviewees mention these categories of their far past.

All eight of the categories associated with the past do show a strong link to present. For example "academic progress":
HSC: "...I am here, I have here now, accumulate what I have in material things, in wealth, in whatever, because of that (studies), so if you have now, I can say because of that I've got this. I've got my holidays in Zimbabwe, I've got my car and this, because of what I gain out of it. I studied hard. I am not a very clever guy. I failed my second year. Then I decided I must sit on my bum and study. So that day getting my degree put me on the road where I am now. To put it this way, its all I can say, 'cause I'm not so sure. But it helped me to be what I am where I am today" (p.7).

Three of the categories associated with the far past do show a strong link to present ("childhood", "family life", "school life") for example:

MSC: "When Mr. Y asked me what's wrong X - he always called me X - I was very small, I started to cry because I felt ill since that previous night and nobody gave attention, so at that stage, I can even feel that tense feeling now" (p.2).

Five of the categories associated with the "near past" do show a strong link to present ("important life events", "career development", "no problems with past", "colonialism"). For example "important life events":

HSC: "I still experience it (car accident) weekly, and my wife as well. We still fear this whole thing. We relive it all over and over again sometimes, everything, every detail, every moment" (p.15).
As all of the issues associated with the past do show a strong link to present, one can assume that the interviewees do have a sense of interplay between past and present. This is underlined by the fact that all of the issues associated with the past do show a strong link with present.

Five of the categories associated with the past do show a strong link to future ("childhood", "family life", "important life events", "career development", "colonialism"). For example "colonialism":

*LSC: "Ja, I learned that for my future it(colonialism) is important - because I still can't forget it. So I have to keep it because I was in it" (p.6).*

"Academic progress" and "no problems with past" were not linked directly to the future by the interviewees.

The interviewees did not link their "school life" to the future.

As most of the issues that were associated with the past were linked to the future (weak or strong), one can assume that the interviewees do have a perception of an interplay between past and future.

The number of issues that the interviewees brought up during the interview and that were sorted by the researcher under the different categories of information (see A1-A7) were counted. These numbers show that the
interviewees associated the following categories mostly with the past: "childhood" (7) and "important life events" (7).

It thus seems that, as pertaining to the number of issues mentioned within a category, the interviewees associated the past mostly with childhood issues, and other important life events.

5.3.1.2 Experience of past

The researcher classified under "experience of past" out of the interviews a combination of an event and/or situation together with the expression of the accompanying feeling or experience the person had at the time, or has today about that specific event or situation in the past. If the researcher found an answer on the question "how did the event/situation let the interviewee experience the past?" out of the interview, that material was classified as belonging to "experience of past".

Diagram 2 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning their experience of the past. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.
### Past Experience of past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1 Events that caused negative experience of the past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidents during school years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce of parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to leave school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near drowning event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood hardships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B2 Events that caused positive experience of the past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents during school years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of own parents in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of own family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher moral standards than today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood joyous moments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above diagram one can see that the information that the interviewees provided as to their experience with the past could be summarized in two categories (B1 negative, B2 positive). "Incidents during school years" and "experience of community" were experienced by
different interviewees as both positive and negative. Therefor these issues were featured in both categories. For example:

*Incidents during school years*

**HSC:** "...I got nearly expelled..." (p.9).

"...I never studied, I never learned and I got like 100%, 80-90%, we were just playing..." (p.8).

**MSC:** "...I was in grade 8, and that morning I didn't feel well...the people with whom I was staying, they didn't worry..." (p.1).

**LSC:** "...the school was very far from our village. We were walking 15km from our village to the school and come back. So it was 30km per day" (p.1).

**UC:** "Old days the schools were cheap" (p.1).

*Experience of community*

**HSC:** "...so I think the community didn't play much role in my life, bad rolls so..." (p.9).

**MSC:** "...the community in which I grew up was that kind of community where if I am a child and I swear now or I am busy smoking, a lady
whom I know from no side from whatsoever - maybe she was from a farm which I never heard of - should take me and give me a very good hiding...in Rehoboth all the children were the property of all the adults..." (p.9).

LSC: "... on the past time it was good because there at our village you grow up with any parents. Not only your parents and your mother, but every big person. So when you made a mistake so your father's friend can tell you this is a mistake and so on and so on” (p.7).

UC: "In the community we live, we used to live, we lived as one big family. When my parents are not around she could give me over to one of the friends or neighbours and I could stay there. Where I am, I am supposed to do what the other kids are doing...so in those days we used to live as one big community" (p.5).

It seems that the interviewees experienced the past as both positive and negative. Certain experiences they encountered in the past shaded the past negative ("theft", "colonialism"). Other experiences shaded the past positive ("education", "marriage").

By reviewing the issues that caused a negative experience of the past in terms of far past and near past, one sees that more negative issues were connected with the far past than the near past.
B1. Issues that caused negative experience of past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far past</th>
<th>Near past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents during school years</td>
<td>Colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce of parents</td>
<td>Car accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of community</td>
<td>Theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to leave school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near drowning event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood hardships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same analysis of positive issues also indicates more of these for the far past than the near past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far Past</th>
<th>Near Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents during school years</td>
<td>Academic progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic progress</td>
<td>Holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of own parents in life</td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of own family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience of community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job hunting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher moral standards than today</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood joyous moments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A count of the negative(11) and positive(13) experiences of the past indicates more positively shaded events/issues.

Therefore it can be derived that more positive experiences surfaced for the interviewees of the past, or that the intensity of the positive experiences
were higher so that they relied more on issues that reflected a positive experience of the past. It is, however, significant that only few positive and negative feelings are evident for events/issues of the near past. The most negative and positive feelings are related to issues of far past.

5.3.1.3 Meaning of past

The researcher classified under "meaning of the past" any meaning or value which the interviewee attributed to events/situations that occurred in the past, in other words, anything the person perceives him/herself as having learned in/from the past.

Diagram 3 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning the meaning they attach to their past. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Meaning of past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1 Directed life</td>
<td>Completed education to get specialized job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Found job and income to sustain family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beating in school ensured education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher showed way for future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past shapes present and future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past community life plays role in life today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Divorce harms children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To be sensitive with children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C2 Past let us learn lessons
- Not to rush into situations without considering consequences
- Low education causes hardships and financial limitations
- You have to work for what you want

### C3 Gives opportunity for comparison
Between past and present
- Children showed respect to adults in past
- Community learned children to respect everyone in past

### C4 Past is "place" of memories
- Car accident
- Hunting trip
- Divorce
- Nearly drowned

**Diagram 3**

From the diagram it can be seen that the interviewees regard the past as directing life (C1), learning them lessons (C2), gives opportunity for comparison between past and present (G3), and provides human beings with a "place" of memories (C4).

The interviewees regarded past as "directing life" in different ways, for example:

**HSC:** "So that day getting my degree put me on the road where I am now, to put it this way its all I can say, cause I am not so sure. But it helped me to be what I am today" (p.7).

**MSC:** "...the moment that teacher entered the classroom he asked me what's wrong X, and that made me decide that whenever I'm going to work with children I will want to know and give attention to them" (p.1).
"...those things, even if you are very small things that happens or that happened in your past it will have a definitely, a very certain line in what you are going to feel and what you are going to do in future" (p.5).

LSC: ":...so because we grew up this way, you have to respect not only your father and mother but everyone you find to respect him. I keep it until now. When I go to the village, the people come and greet me one by one..." (p.7).

UC: " If I was not beaten because of my homework, I was not supposed to speak English at this moment" (p.3).

The interviewees saw the meaning of past also as "learning lessons":

HSC: ":...I don't want to get married because I will get divorced, why do that, you gonna get troubles, you cannot put your children through all this miserable misery..." (p.12).

" We rushed into this whole thing (buying farm) before we sat, before I sat down and worked it out" (p.10).

MSC: ":...and that made me - that made me decide that whenever I am going to work with children, I will want to know and give attention to them" (p.1).
**LSC**: "So, and you know, the problem is we are uneducated. If you get a job, you get a small, a very, very small salary" (p.3).

The interviewees regarded the meaning of the past as providing the opportunity to compare past and present.

**LSC**: "...if you don't step aside they will definitely walk over you. Now that type of thing never ever happened. You never passed an adult without greeting..." (p.9).

**UC**: "...we youngsters, we were not abusing alcohol like youngsters do today" (p.3).

When reviewing the following categories of meaning of past one can see that the interviewees derived positive meaning only from their past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1 Directed life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C2 Past let us learn lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 Gives opportunity for comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between past and present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 Past as &quot;place&quot; of memories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This included that even from negative experiences in the past (C1 Directed life: beating in school ensured education), the interviewees extracted meaning and rendered these events positive.
The only negative issues can be found under the category "past as place of memories", namely "car accident", "divorce" and "nearly drowned". No other category was exclusively negative.

Thus, the interviewees regarded the meaning of the past more positive than negative.

The interviewees derived meaning of the past from the far ("beating in school ensured education") and near ("not to rush into situations without considering consequences") past.

Thus, both far and near past provided the interviewees with a sense of meaning of the past.

Concerning the number of issues mentioned, the interviewees brought most issues up under the category "directed life".
Thus, the interviewees spontaneously talked more about past as directing life (in present and future) under the category "meaning of the past".

From the analysis of the past, the following conclusions can be made as to the contents of the past dimension of all four interviewees, as provided by the analyzed interview material:

- The past is regarded as positive and negative by the interviewees, even a bit more positive than negative.

- It is significant that the interviewees linked the most positive as well as negative issues to the far past, rather than to the near past.

- Both the near and far past forms part of the picture of past of the interviewees. Issues of present and near future were also indicated when discussing past.

- The interviewees linked the past to present and future, thus showing that they perceive the past as pushing itself to the fore. Therefor they regarded the meaning of the past especially as "directed life".

- The interviewees most intensively associated the past with childhood issues and other important life events. They experienced the past slightly more in terms of positive issues. The meaning of past was most intensively felt as "directed life".
5.3.2 Present

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewees were asked: "If you think of your present, what comes to your mind" (cf. interview guideline in appendix). The interviewees had to review their present and from the issues they brought up one could differentiate between "association with present", "experience of present" and "meaning of present". The subvariable "association with present" provided the actual contents of the present dimension of the interviewees. The other two subvariables "experience of" and "meaning of" provided additional information on the present dimension of the interviewees, so that a comprehensive picture could be formed as to the contents of the interviewees' present dimension.

5.3.2.1 Association with present

The researcher classified under "association with present" any description, talk or mentioning of the interviewee in which the interviewee supplies subjective contents that would connect with the concept "present" for that specific interviewee. To what do the interviewees connect/join their present?

Diagram 4 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees
concerning their association(s) with present. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Present</strong></th>
<th>Association with present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D1 Personal issues</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven years marriage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed personal values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present better than past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care for children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regard village life as outdated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard of life style</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human beings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D2 National issues</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline of value of money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degenerating condition of youth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems in education system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government not good</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aids</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country goes ahead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low pension pay-outs of elderly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D3 Present thoughts about future</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get closer to God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save money for overseas trip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no immediate plans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About children's future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What type of person will son marry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future of Namibia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diagram 4**
The above diagram depicts three categories of the interviewees' association with present namely "personal issues", "national issues" and "present thoughts about future".

The interviewees mentioned different "personal issues" that they associated with the present, for example:

**HSC**: "...I still enjoy the outing (hunting), its still magic...(p.3) - hobby.

"I'm happy, happy married, two beautiful children..." (p.9) - family.

"I am happy with my job" (p.12) - work situation.

"We love travel, meeting new people, seeing new places"(p.13)-hobby.

**MSC**: "I always try to my utmost best to work with children..." (p.3) - work situation/ care for children.

"I have a son" (p.10) - family.

**LSC**: "...the village is so, we are very, very behind" (p.12) - regard village life as outdated.

"But I stay in Okahandja...where I am staying I am just renting and just on my own" (p.3) - residence.

"When I see on this time, it comes like better than past time..."(p.1) - present better than past.
UC: "I have a difficult son" (p.2) - family.

"My husband is a foreigner" (p.5) - family.

The interviewees also associated present with a number of national issues:

HSC: "...that stage my dad paid R300.00 for two buffaloes, four kudus, two bushbucks...now you can't even buy a springbuck for R300.00" (p.2).

"...at that time the word AIDS hasn't even existed yet. Now every second word is AIDS or HIV" (p.6).

MSC: "...and our elderly people must be satisfied with one hundred and sixty dollar" (p.21).

LSC: "But nowadays the children are very lucky. Their future will be better and better" (p.4).

"...our young people are not so fit. More people, they are unfit. So, lot are sick" (p.12).

"Because here its so very, very expensive for us, our people who are uneducated" (p.13).

" But nowadays, there is no rain" (p.15).

UC: "...in these days we are, there are problems with the school. The kids, they are not getting places in the schools. We don't have enough money. The government does not build schools" (p.1).
"So, the kids of today, they don't get punished at the school. They just get a profile and then they feel they can repeat the misbehaviour" (p.2).

The interviewees also associated the present with their thoughts about the future:

**HSC:** "I have no immediate plans" (p.16).

"Try to improve the relationship with my wife and children...to get closer to God" (p.17).

"I worry about my children's future" (p.18).

**MSC:** "...there are some money of which X doesn't know, which I put away for that (overseas trip)" (p.18).

The information which was provided by the interviewees as to their association with present will now be analyzed according to the structural characteristics of time perspective as provided by Plattner (1990) (see chapter 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Association with present</th>
<th>Qualitative shading</th>
<th>Temporal extension</th>
<th>D1. Personal issues</th>
<th>D2. National issues</th>
<th>D3. Present thoughts about future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Near past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(analyzed according to the structural characteristics of the time perspective: Plattner, 1990)
From Table 2 the following can be derived:

An analysis of the qualitative shading of the interviewees' association with present shows that all three the derived categories of information ("personal issues", "national issues", " present thoughts about future") can be regarded as having an ambivalent character. Not one of these categories can thus be labeled exclusively positive or negative. It is, however, significant that the categories "personal issues" and "present thoughts about future" do contain more positively shaded issues. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal issues:</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven years marriage</td>
<td>&quot;...I am seven years married now...&quot; (p.10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>&quot;...now its (hunting) like providing...enjoy the day out...&quot;(p.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>&quot;I've got my holidays in Zimbabwe...&quot;(p.7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business</td>
<td>&quot;...lucky enough I've got a small koeka-shop almost now...&quot;(p.13).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present better than past</td>
<td>&quot;When I see on this time - it comes like better than past time...&quot;(p.1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present thoughts about future</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improve relationships</td>
<td>&quot;...try to improve the relationship with my wife and children...&quot;(p.17).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save money for overseas trip</td>
<td>&quot;...there are some money of which my husband doesn't know which I put away for that...&quot;(p.18).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The category "national issues" on the other hand, contains more negative issues. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National issues</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decline of value of money</strong></td>
<td>HSC: &quot;...that stage my dad paid R300 for two buffalo's... Now you can't even buy a Springbuck for R300&quot; (p.2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Degenerating condition of youth</strong></td>
<td>UC: &quot;So the kids of today, they don't get punished at the school. They just get a profile and then they feel they can repeat the misbehaviour&quot; (p.1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSC: &quot;...on this nowadays so...our young people...we are not so fit. More people they are unfit&quot; (p.12).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government not good</strong></td>
<td>MSC: &quot;...the people who make decisions (government) can't think...&quot; (p.20).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the interviewees were ambivalent as to their association with the present, the "national issues" which they mentioned were more negative than the other issues with which they associated present.

In terms of temporal extension, the information that the interviewees provided as to their association with present centered strongly around "present". Even the "present thoughts about future" category contains these thoughts as strong present thoughts about the future.

Thus, the temporal extension of the interviewees' association with present centered around present, although some issues also indicated near past and near future.
Certain of the "personal issues" and "national issues" show a link to the past. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal issues - link to past</th>
<th>National issues - link to past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;seven years marriage&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;decline of value of money&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;changed personal values&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;degenerating condition of youth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;present better than past&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;country goes ahead&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;regard village life as outdated&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for "seven years marriage", all these issues as shown above can be regarded as conclusions with which the interviewees associate present. The interviewees would not be able to come to these conclusions if they did not have a "link" to, or memories of the past. However, as most of the issues under the categories "personal issues" and "national issues" do not show a direct link to the past, these categories were marked as having a weak link to past. The category "present thoughts about future" can be regarded as having no link to past, as it is preoccupied with future.

Thus the interviewees do, in an indirect way, link their association with the present to the past.

The category "personal issues" has no reference to future. However the category "national issues" contains the issue "country goes ahead" which hints to the future:

*LSC: "...cause we can see a lot of things that's happen now. It was not happening in the past. So one can see the country goes ahead" (p.1).*
The category "national issues" can thus be regarded as having a weak link to the future. The category "present thoughts about future" has a strong link with the future as it mostly contains issues that will only be completed in future:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present thoughts about future - link with future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*improve relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*get closer to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*save money for overseas trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*have no immediate plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*about children's future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*emigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*what type of person will son marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*future of Namibia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, one can say that the interviewees linked their association with present to future.

The interviewees associated the present more with personal issues (18) than national issues (9). In their association with present they held one eye already on the future with thoughts about the future (8).

Thus the interviewees associated the present more with personal issues.
5.3.2.2 Experience of present

The researcher classified under "experience of present" out of the interviews a combination of an event and/or situation together with the expression of the accompanying feeling or experience the person has at the time. If the researcher found an answer on the question "how does the event/situation let the interviewee experience the present?" out of the interview, that material was classified as belonging to "experience of present".

Diagram 5 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning their experience of present. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experience of present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regard village life as outdated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline of value of money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degenerating condition of youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems in education system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low pension pay-outs of elderly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviewees brought a number of positive and negative issues to the fore. As the interviewees clearly indicated whether they experienced the present as positive or negative through certain issues, two main categories of information were labeled "positive" and "negative". Certain issues seemed to be positive for one interviewee and negative for the other, or the same interviewee experienced the same issue as both positive and negative. For example, "everyday life":

**Diagram 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E2 Events/issues that cause positive experience of present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What type of person will son marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future of Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven years marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed personal values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present better than past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country goes ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get closer to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save money for overseas trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human beings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Self-image" was another issue that HSC felt positive as well as negative about:

HSC: "...overall I'm happy, I'm lucky...so overall I'm feeling fine" (p.9).
"I am not a very clever guy" (p.7).

Another issue that coloured the experience of present both positive and negative for the interviewees was "work situation":

HSC: "But if I knew about AIDS, I would never become a doctor" (p.7).
"...I still enjoy my work..." (p.7).

LSC: "And sometimes you think about leaving the job but then if you are going to leave you will suffer. So you have to stay like that (p.9).

The interviewees also experienced present in terms of wishes for past and future. Wishes for the past included that certain interviewees long for
having grown up with families, which presently lends a negative experience to the issue "family":

**HSC:** "...if my mom and dad didn't divorce, I would have enjoyed it too much. I would have preferred it..." (p.7).

**MSC:** "...I didn't want to grow up without parents" (p.1).

Wishes for the future as part of experiencing present included for instance ideas about emigration, which could be seen as colouring the experience of present as positive, as this interviewee is able to dream about the future:

**MSC:** "If I could do what I wanted to do, I would definitely not live in Namibia. I've heard so many stories about Australia..." (p.15).

Some interviewees also experience present in terms of worries, like "what type of person will son marry" and "future of Namibia", which colours the experience of present negative:

**MSC:** "...I believe that each and every parent have that same feeling because maybe he can look after himself but we never know what type of person he or she is going to get married to" (p.19).

"...something that is worrying me, the fact that we are living in a country who are busy with two wars...that honestly, honestly
When reviewing the number of issues mentioned by the interviewees as to experience of present, a near to equal distribution of issues can be seen with "positive" (19) and "negative" (17) experience of the present.

Thus, as to the number of issues mentioned, the interviewees experienced the present as positive and negative, even a bit more positive than negative.

**5.3.2.3 Meaning of present**

The researcher classified under "meaning of the present" any meaning or value (negative or positive) which the interviewee mentioned concerning events/situations that occur in present, in other words, any meaning(s) the person gained in/from the present in general or because of the events as mentioned. Signifies/entails. Possibly results in.

Diagram 6 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees.
concerning their meaning of present. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Meaning of present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>Development/continuous change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>Negative government output</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acts without considering consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Does not want to be held responsible for its mistakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waste taxpayer money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not interested in necessities like health and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>Kinds of interpersonal relating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shaped by community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can't be true self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>Education is valued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F6</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Present should be used to change life and past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Don't want anything of current life style to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Present is good compared to past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Present orientates life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*From present, make thoughts about future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
<td>Space for evaluating past, present, future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8</td>
<td>Uneducated and poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F9</td>
<td>Children suffer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above diagram it can be seen that the meaning of present is diverse for the interviewees. For example, present means "development and continuous change":

HSC: "...cause everything changes, medicine and science and everything..."
changes...every year it is every six months it is new things, new things, new things" (p.6).

LSC: "So the development is very high..." (p.8).
"So in the development I can see that the time has changed..." (p.17).

Present also means "freedom":

LSC: "We feel free. There is no problem for the people. If they are beaten it's a big problem but if you are staying free doesn't matter what happens, nobody can cry as no-one can beat you. So it's all right. Because nobody can come and touch you. Everything is going well" (p.5).

The interviewees saw the meaning of present in a host of other issues, like "negative government output", "kinds of interpersonal relating", "education is valued" and "stress". The meaning of present was also depicted as being a "space for evaluating past, present and future":

LSC: "But it is good to change your life as well as the past time" (p.7).

Some of the categories under meaning of present can be shaded exclusively negative. For example:

| Negative government output | MSC: "They (government) do things without thinking when we (Namibia) are in trouble..."(p.20). MSC: "...they (government) are telling us that we can't blame them for the trouble they are in now..."(p21). |
MSC: "...they (government) waste the money of this country. Its unthinkable what they use the money of the taxpayer of..." (p.21).
MSC: "Necessary things like health and education, all these things they are not interested in" (p.21).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stress</th>
<th>LSC: &quot;Not like nowadays, because this time for money and running...&quot; (p.8).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated and poor</td>
<td>LSC: &quot;So, and you know, the problem is we are uneducated. If you get a job you get a small, a very, very small salary. And that is the way it works&quot; (p.3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children suffer</td>
<td>MSC: &quot;People let children struggle without reason. Unnecessarily. Children are suffering...&quot; (p.2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the categories of meaning of present ("freedom", "education is valued", "space for evaluating past, present and future") can be shaded exclusively positive. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freedom</th>
<th>LSC: &quot;We feel free. There is no problem for the people. If they are beaten it's a big problem, but if you are staying free, doesn't matter what happens, nobody can cry as nobody can beat you&quot; (p.5).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Two categories ("development/continuous change", "kinds of interpersonal relating") can be regarded as shaded ambivalent as they are not clearly positive or negative.

Therefore it seems as if the meaning of present is for the interviewees both positive and negative.
The number of issues which the interviewees mentioned with regard to meaning of present show that they were focussed especially on "space for evaluating past, present, future".

Therefore, the focus for meaning of present centered around the idea that present is the space from where human beings evaluate and compare their past, present and future.

Having analyzed the interview material of the interviewees regarding their present dimension, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Present is regarded as equally positive and negative by the interviewees.

- The categories and issues concerning present were mainly present oriented, although certain issues did refer to near past and near future.

- Certain of the categories and issues mentioned with regard to present showed a weak link to past - but not all the issues.

- Certain of the categories and issues mentioned with regard to present showed a weak link to future - but not all the issues.

- The interviewees most intensively associated present with personal issues. They experienced present most intensively in terms of positive
and negative experiences of present. The meaning of present was most intensively felt as being the space for evaluating past, present and future.

5.3.3 Future

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewees were asked: "If you think of your future, what comes to your mind" (cf. interview guideline in appendix). The interviewees had to think about their conceptualizations of "future" and from their reports about the future, one could differentiate between "association(s) with the future", "experience with the future" and "meaning of the future". The subvariable "association with future" provided the actual contents of the future dimension of the interviewees. The other two subvariables "experience of" and "meaning of" provided additional information on the future dimension of the interviewees, so that a comprehensive picture could be formed as to the contents of the interviewees' future dimension.

5.3.3.1 Association with future

The researcher classified under "association with future" any description, talk or mentioning of the interviewee in which the interviewee supplies subjective contents that would define the concept "future" for that specific interviewee. It would thus mean a personal comprehension by the interviewee of what he/she identifies with the future. Join/ connect.
Diagram 7 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning their association(s) with future. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Association with future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future is far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future looking bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Will only change future life if it brings better opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past and present experiences to be experienced in future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future is improving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal life span</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concerned about future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future is deteriorating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future is dynamic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G1 Personal issues about future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definition of African identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope for peace on earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern with moral standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for improved national education system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G2 Collective issues about the future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Touring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherit farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue with life as is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G3 Personal preferences for future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improved family relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved work relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G4 Issues related to future relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance and policy pay-outs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G5 Providing for family</th>
<th>Financial control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance and policy pay-outs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviewees associated the future with personal issues, like for example that the future is looking bright:

**UC**: "It (the future of the country) is not right. I wish it to be better" (p.9).

**LSC**: "Ja, the future and the world will change everyday and everyday. So, I think my children's future will be better than my future" (p.4).

**HSC**: "...the future is looking bright..." (p.9).

The interviewees also associated the future with collective issues like "hope for peace on earth":

**HSC**: "Maybe, peace will suffice on earth. Everything will just stop. Its like Garden of Eden, just peaceful. I hope so" (p.18).

**UC**: "For the future, I wish for peace for Namibia, that's all" (p.8).

The interviewees also associated their future with a host of personal preferences for the future, amongst other, "touring", "spiritual growth", "self growth", "buying a car", for example:

**HSC**: "...were going get this year in August three weeks camping, touring.." (p.4).
"I would like to travel, I would like to tour, travel, travel, travel. I want to see the world" (p.13).

"I wish I could inherit a farm" (p.13).

"We plan to retire at the coast, maybe Swakop, Hentiesbaai..." (p.14).

"...opened up a clothing shop next to the surgery, expanding that..." (p.17).

MSC: "...I will work very hard to get well educated...Before I die I will have two degrees at least and I will definitely be computer literate" (p.17).

"...I wold love to go and see places" (p.17).

"My goals for the future is to be a better teacher, to be a very good wife to my husband, and to be a mother to look up to my children" (p.18).

"I would love to grow in my spirituality" (p.19).

LSC: "I buy me my car" (p.11).
"I have to change my place where I can stay" (p.11).

"...so I have to keep money and I am going to build my small business in the village" (p.13).

"I plan it already and to building my other shop..." (p.14).

UC: "I would like to study" (p.7).

"...to go and sell my curious in Germany" (p.8).

The interviewees furthermore associated the future with "issues related to future relationships", "providing for family" and "to always overthink consequences before taking actions":

MSC: "I've promised him (son) that one day I will take him to meet his Father..." (p.13).

HSC: "Get my family closer and closer..."(p.16).

"Every decent father and mother, that will be their own big problem about children. We brought them in this life. We have to provide for them and put them on the correct road and financially, emotionally and religiously do the best for them" (p.18).
The information which was provided by the interviewees as to their association with the future will now be analyzed according to the structural characteristics of time perspective as provided by Plattner (1990) (see chapter 2).

**Association with future** (analyzed according to the structural characteristics of the time perspective: Plattner, 1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualitative shading</th>
<th>G1 Personal issues about future</th>
<th>G2 Collective issues about future</th>
<th>G3 Personal preferences for future</th>
<th>G4 Issues related to future relationships</th>
<th>G5 Providing for family</th>
<th>G6 To always overthink issues about future consequences before taking actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
<td>Near past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far future</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>Far future</td>
<td>Present Far future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>No link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Link to past</th>
<th>No link</th>
<th>No link</th>
<th>No link</th>
<th>No link</th>
<th>No link</th>
<th>Weak link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Link to present</th>
<th>Weak link</th>
<th>Weak link</th>
<th>Weak link</th>
<th>Weak link</th>
<th>Strong link</th>
<th>Strong link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Weak link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
<td>Strong link</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Number of issues    | 4                               | 6                                | 8                                | 2                                       | 2                      | 1                                                |

Table 3

The following can be derived from Table 3:

Not one of the categories of information which the interviewees provided as to their association with the future were exclusively negative. One category
"personal preferences for future" was exclusively positive as shown with the following examples from the category:

| Personal preferences for future (Positive) | HSC: "...we're going get this year in August three weeks camping, touring -camping, my friend and his wife, me and my kids, my wife" (p.4). (touring)  
HSC: "I would like to travel, I would like to tour, travel, travel" (p.13). (touring)  
HSC: "I wish I could inherit a farm" (p.13). (inherit farm)  
HSC: "I will not retire here. We plan to retire at the coast, maybe Swakop,  
Hentiesbaai" (p.14). (retirement)  
HSC: "...just get on (with life) as is..." (p.16). (continue with life as is)  
LSC: "I plan it already and to building my other shop, because I got a little profit.  
I started to have to building a bit bigger shop than this one I have" (p.14). (expanding business)  
LSC: "So when I decided to go and stay at my business I feel that I have to make a course.  
So that I can get new experience, so maybe I will try it" (p.13). (self-growth)  
LSC: "I buy me my car..." (p.11). (buy car)  
UC: "I would like to study" (p.7). (self-growth)  
MSC: "The only thing that will help us to be positive is to pray" (p.20). (spiritual growth) |

The other categories can be shaded qualitatively ambivalent either because they contain both negative and positive issues or because it is impossible to state whether the issues provided by the interviewees were either positive or negative. The following are examples of ambivalent associations with future in some other categories:

| Personal issues about future (Ambivalent) | HSC: "If I could get then something better, a more better opportunity, then I would Change, but otherwise not for me myself" (p.13). (will only change future life if it brings better opportunities)  
MSC: "I would love to live until I have seen my first grandchild. I don't want to die  
When I can't even wash myself. I still want to be a person who can do things for myself. I wouldn't like to be old and lying in bed. I will be old enough to - as they say - die on the palms of my feet" (p.18). (personal life span)  
LSC: "I want to be old like my father. I want to survive" (p.15). (personal life span) |

| Collective issues | HSC: "But we belong to Africa..." (p.18). (definition of African identity)  
HSC: "Maybe peace will suffice on earth. Everything will just stop. It's like  
Garden of Eden, just peaceful, I hope so" (p.18). (hope for peace on earth) |
Thus, it seems as if the interviewees' association with the future is not negative rather centers around a positive feeling and ambivalence.

As to the temporal extension of the interviewees' association with the future it seems that mentioned issues have reference on present, near future and far future. It seems as if all the categories of association with future do have their basis in present as they are current thoughts, but that they are then also current issues of near and far future, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal issues about Future</th>
<th>HSC: “I’m scared for my children for the future. Not for me. I still got a lot of years ahead of me, but something happens to me, that’s ok” (p.18).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(temporal extension: current concern about future = present, near future, far future)</td>
<td>(concerned about future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the category "to always overthink consequences before taking actions", it is noteworthy that this association with the future is based on an event in the past. Therefor the temporal extension will include near past, present and near/far future. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To always overthink consequences before taking actions</th>
<th>HSC: “I was going to buy a farm, will this payment work out, will it be feasible, financially be feasible…” (p.9).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(temporal extension: past experience give rise to idea about present, near future, far future)</td>
<td>“Ja, it told me not to rush into things. This will</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Therefor, as to temporal extension of association with future, it seems that the interviewees' issues ranged from near past to far future. Future is thus co-directed by past and especially present.

The interviewees' association with future did not show a significant link to the past. The one category "to always overthink consequences before taking actions" that shows a weak link to past, did also not contain a lot of additional issues.

Thus, as there is a weak link to past in one category of association with future, one can say that the past plays a role in association with future, although a limited role.

As already indicated through temporal extension, all the categories that were formed from the interviewees' association with future, do link with present. It is especially the categories "providing for family" and "to always overthink consequences before taking actions" that show a strong link with present, as both these categories are already effective in present. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Providing for family (association with future: strong link to present)</th>
<th>HSC: “I'll be working for another twelve years then all my insurance and policies will pay out when I'm fifty-five” (p.14).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSC: “So I have to think about what I am going to do with the children when they grow up. They need to go to school so I have to make a big plan for them” (p.2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the interviewees' association with future links significantly to present.

Under the category "personal preferences for future" the interviewees mentioned most issues which they associated with the future. It is significant that all four the interviewees contributed towards this category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal preferences for future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*touring (HSC, MSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*inherit farm (HSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*retirement (HSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*continue with life as is (HSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*expanding business (HSC, LSC, UC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*spiritual growth (HSC, MSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*self growth (MSC, LSC, UC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*buy car (LSC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, "personal preferences for the future" was the most popular category for the interviewees as to association with future.

### 5.3.3.2 Experience of future

The researcher classified under "experience of future" out of the interviews a certain experience or feeling which already is experienced by the interviewee for an anticipated event or situation in the future. The experience of the future might also be a presently anticipated feeling and/or experience for an anticipated event and/or situation. The "experience of future" would also include statements of the interviewees in which they tell
how they experience the future in its whole at the time of the interview. If the researcher found an answer on the question "how will the anticipated event/situation let the interviewee experience the future?" out of the interview, that material was classified as belonging to "experience of future".

Diagram 8 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning their experience of future. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Experience with future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H1 Past and present experiences to be experienced in future</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continue with life as is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H2 Currently experiencing future as</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deteriorating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With "experience of future" it was found that the interviewees mentioned certain issues which could be summarized as "past and present experiences to be experienced in future", "currently experiencing future as" and "interrelationship of present and future". For example:

*Past and present experiences to be experienced in future:*
HSC: "Carry on as is, cause we are enjoying it" (p.14).

LSC: "...when I am going on this way, it will be better..." (p.10).

MSC: "...I don't think that I will stop learning until Parkinson's disease or whatever" (p.17).

Currently experiencing future as:

HSC: "I'm sorry, I don't have a lot of optimism for the future of this country" (p.19).

LSC: "So I can't say their (children) future will be like mine because this is a developing world and it goes ahead everyday. Their future will be better and better" (p.4).

"...the future come all right...because we can see that we were without work, so more young people didn't have any work. But on this future I can see that the government make a plan for giving the job" (p.12).

UC: " We had been a peaceful nation up to today, so I think that can be Achieved" (p.8).
As to the interviewees' experience of the future, it seems that both the categories can be shaded qualitatively ambivalent. The reason is that it is difficult to derive with certain issues whether they are positive or negative. In some instances positive and negative issues are contained in one category, which leaves the category as such ambivalent.

| Past and present experiences to be experienced in future (Ambivalent) | HSC: "...carry on as is, cause we are enjoying it...",(p.14). (positive or negative)  
HSC: "We still will relive it (car accident) for years..." (p.16). (negative)  
MSC: "I believe that there will come more children in my life before I'm going to stay at home not teaching anymore, but it won't take me away having contact with children" (p.5). (positive)  
LSC: "...when I'm going on this way, it will be better than others who are using alcohol and so on" (p.10). (positive) |
|---|---|
| Currently experiencing future as (Ambivalent) | HSC: "...and it is not that far away in the future, but it feels far away in the future" (p.14). Positive or negative: "far away"  
HSC: "I'm sorry, I don't have a lot of optimism for the future of this country. I hope I'm wrong, but I don't think so" (p.19). Negative: "deteriorating"  
UC: "It's not right (future of country), I wish it to be better" (p.9). Negative: "deteriorating"  
LSC: "...the future come alright. Because we can see that we were without work, so more young people didn't have any work but on this future I can see that the government make a plan for giving the job" (p.12). Positive: "improving"  
UC: "...we had been a peaceful nation up to today, so I think that (maintaining peace in future) can be achieved" (p.8). Positive: "improving" |

Thus one can say that the interviewees' experience of future is positive and negative.

As to the number of issues that the interviewees mentioned with regard to their experience of future, most issues were mentioned under the categories "currently experiencing future as". 
Therefore one could derive that the interviewees' experience of future centered around the way how they experienced the future ("currently experiencing future as").

5.3.3.3 Meaning of future

The researcher classified under "meaning of future" any meaning or value, which the interviewee attached to his/her future or to certain parts of that future. This would also include the value or meaning which the interviewee attach to either an anticipated event or to an event or situation which already occurred but the meaning there-of is either still awaited in future or it will simply still be experienced into the future. "Meaning of future" will also include all those views in the interviews about what will represent "the future" for the interviewees.

Diagram 9 is a summary (according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring, 1997) of the responses that were elicited by the interviewees concerning their meaning of future. This diagram displays the combination of the responses of all four the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Meaning of future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A present action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Important life event of present and past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Realization of dreams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four categories were identified under meaning of future namely: "meaning of future lies in/is result of", "meaning of future is dark when considering", "personal meaning of future lies in" and "youth as being meaning of future".

The interviewees made during the interview remarks that were distributed between these categories. For example:

Meaning of future lies in/is result of:

**HSC:** "The future in Africa. We are called Europeans and we must be in Europe…but do we belong to Africa..." (p.18).

**MSC:** "...I believe that if I am talking to other people about what happened to me, maybe even if I talk to twenty of them, maybe, or even if it is only two or one that will take me (inaudible) I believe that I have helped a lot of children because a lot of children will come in the
"life of that one person" (p.5).

LSC: "I think that if there is no rain I have to be afraid because our
Everything is going to die. People will be hungry..."(p.16).

Meaning of future is dark when considering:

MSC: "...if I think of this AIDS story, you know that is something that
and the children they just don't realize what we are talking about.
Its not that they are really bad people..."(p.19).

LSC: "There is a time when we are going to make the external factor -
that is when the gods come" (p.15).

UC: "...because people were saying the new millennium will bring the end
of the world, so we don't know..."(p.9).

Personal meaning of future lies in:

HSC: "So, the future at this stage means to me being together with my
family..." (p.15).

Youth as being meaning of future:

LSC: "I think they (children) are going to help us when they get a good
future" (p.4).
Two of the four categories of information concerning the meaning of the future are exclusively positive namely, "personal meaning of future lies in" and "youth as being meaning of future". Examples from the interviews show the positive qualitative shading as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal meaning of future lies in (positive)</td>
<td>HSC: &quot;So, the future at this stage means to me being together with my family, because we nearly lost one another&quot; (p.15). (close family relationships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HSC: &quot;So, just being together as long as we can, whether it is here or whether it's where-ever&quot; (p.15). (close family relationships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HSC: &quot;...I just want to be with my family, because we nearly lost one another...&quot; (p.15). (close family relationships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSC: &quot;...I think I would like to go to school. That is a way to change your life you know&quot; (p.7). (self-growth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSC: &quot;Or I would like to go everywhere to see the other countries and different cultures. So, to see the different cultures, the different villages - the more you are changing your life - so because there are some villages by doing better than your village. There are some schools they are giving better education than your school...&quot; (p.7) (self-growth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSC: &quot;But in the future I would like to make my business. Help myself you know. That's my hope&quot; (p.13). (development of business)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Youth as being meaning of future (positive)   | LSC: "I think they are going to help us when they get a good future" (p.4). (younger generation as caring for older one) |

One category concerning the meaning of future is exclusively negative, namely "meaning of future is dark when considering":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of future is dark when considering (negative)</td>
<td>MSC: &quot;...If I think of this AIDS story, you know that is something that and they children they just don't realize what we are talking about...I believe that our teenagers are in very big danger definitely&quot; (p.19). (AIDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UC: &quot;Yes there is something of course (about the future that makes her afraid) because people were saying the new millennium will bring the end of the world, so we don't know&quot; (p.9). (end of world)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The category "meaning of future lies in/is result of" was marked as ambivalent, because it contains positive and negative issues, or it is simply not clear whether the issues are negative or positive. For example:

| Meaning of future lies in/is result of | HSC: "It (acting without thinking) told me not to rush into things: this will never happen in my life again" (p.10). Negative or positive: (a present action)  
| | LSC: "Ja, I learned that for my future it (war and colonialism) is important because I still can't forget it. So I have to keep it because I was in it" (p.6). Negative or positive: (meaning of future lies in important life events of present and past) |

Thus, it seems that the meaning of future is regarded as mostly positive by the interviewees, although they also mention negative issues.

As for the number of issues discussed under every category of information concerning meaning of future, the interviewees brought a lot of issues under "meaning of future lies in/is result of". Under this category a variety of issues sufficed:

| Meaning of future lies in/is result of | HSC: "It (acting without thinking) told me not to rush into things: this will never happen in my life again" (p.10). Negative or positive: (a present action)  
| Important life event of present and past: LSC: "Ja, I learned that for my future it (war and colonialism) is important, because I still can't forget it. So I have to keep it because I was in it" (p.6). Negative or positive: (meaning of future lies in important life events of present and past)  
| Patterns of rain and drought: LSC: "I think that if there is no rain I have to be afraid because our everything is going to die. People will be hungry. The goats and the animals will die because there |

*a present action:  
*important life event of present and past:  
*patterns of rain and drought:
is no rain. No-one can survive. The animals cannot survive” (p.15).

*realization of dreams: LSC: “I hope that if I am lucky one of the days I will be on the upper position like them” (p.12).

*sharing of experience: MSC: “I belief that if I am talking to other people about what happened to me, maybe even if I talk to twenty of them maybe, or even if its only two or one that will take me serious, I belief that I have helped a lot of children because a lot of children will come in the life of that one person...” (p.5).

*redefinition of African identity: HSC: “The future in Africa. We are called Europeans and we, we must be in Europe, we come from Europe. We should be hoping this (Europe) is the best place to be at this stage. I'm sorry, I'm not so sure it is the best place to be, its more decadent than here...” (p.18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Thus, the meaning of the future lies for the interviewees in a wide variety of issues, which are not clearly positive or negative.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having analyzed the interview material of the interviewees regarding the contents of their future dimension, the following conclusions can be drawn:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The interviewees showed mainly positive feelings about the future, although they also mentioned a few negative thoughts about the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The interviewees' temporal extension regarding issues of the future range from near past to far future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The interviewees definitely linked issues of future with the past.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• The interviewees definitely linked issues of future with present.

• Future issues that were important to the interviewees included personal preferences for the future (which were all very positively oriented), how they currently experienced the future (positive and negative) and a wide variety of issues with which they connected meaning to future.
Chapter 6: Discussion: Time Perspective and its Relevance for a Collective Namibian Identity

"Those who wish to create a future may not loose sight of the past. Therefor look into the past for all that is to be discovered there which is good and beautiful. Form your ideals accordingly, and try to realize those ideals in the future."

(Paul Kruger, 29 June 1904, in Parsons, 1994:v)

It was the objective of this study to investigate the nature of the contents of time perspectives in Namibia and to come up with possible conclusions about the relevance of time perspective for a collective Namibian identity. The research question was: What is the nature of the contents of time perspectives that can be found in Namibia, how can that contents be characterized and does this contents allow a sense of life continuity? The outcomes of the qualitative investigation of time perspective of four Namibians with different socio-economic backgrounds have shown that their time perspectives are formed by a variety of contentss related to their past experiences, their present life situation and their future expectations.

According to Bühler (in Bühler and Massarik, 1969) it could have been that socio-economic status might have an influence on the interrelationship between the past, present and future dimensions of the time perspective i.e.
those interviewees of lower income could have been expected to focus their time perspective more on the present dimension than on the past and future orientation. This could, according to Bühler, lead to an interruption of a perceived continuity of the personal life course. Contrary to such expectations, however, it was found in this study that the time perspectives of all four the interviewees contained past, present and future oriented contents. It became quite clear from the data analysis that the past, present and future oriented contents of time perspective of the four interviewees contributed to a sense of continuity concerning their life course.

The question arises in how far time perspective might play a role in the identity formation of these four interviewees. As already described in 3.1.1.3, Whitbourne (1985) through her concept of life span construct explains how the individual's identity is formed from significant past, present and expected future experiences. The perception of these experiences, however, may change, depending on current circumstances. UC (unemployed interviewee), for example, presently regards a severe beating at the school as having had positive results in her life. She however states that at the time the beating took place, she did not regard it in any way as positive. But as long as the past, present and future experiences are perceived as interdependent, and therefor as a continuity, the person can maintain his/her identity (according to Whitbourne; cf. also Whitbourne and Weinstock, 1979). This would, however, also mean that identity might change over time.
With regard to the objective of the present thesis, the relevance of time perspective should not only be seen in the light of individual identity development, but also with regard to a collective identity development, more specific in the case of this thesis to a "collective Namibian identity". One reason why time perspectives of individuals might give indications about the constellation of a collective identity might be the fact that individuals in interaction form the "collective" (Elias, 1987); this would also include the interaction of their time perspectives which together can form a "social time perspective" (Thor, 1962). Another reason, why individual time perspective might provide insight into a collective identity has to do with the fact that individuals of more or less the same generation (as in the case of the four interviewees in this study) go together through the same "historical times" (Elder, 1994). With regard to the Namibian context this means that the generation of the four interviewees went through the historical time of the "Apartheid" era, the historical event of independence and they live currently in the era of post independence.

Heidegger (1963, in Plattner, 1990) maintained that the main characteristic of the past is that it puts pressure on present and directs it. Frank (1939) also valued the past as playing an important role in the time perspective. He stated that people are future oriented from the stance of present, but are in present as a result of the past. Therefor Frank maintained that past also grabs into future. It can be assumed that not only the specifically individual experiences of past shape present and future but also that the collectively experienced past shapes present as well as the future expectations of
individuals. This became actually quite clear from the outcomes of the four interviews. To understand this better, one has to take a closer look into the history of Namibia and its "Apartheid" era.

The policy of "Apartheid" is part of the past dimension of all Namibians and can be assumed to still practice an influence on Namibians' present and future. "Apartheid" means segregation. For at least forty years, all Namibians were instructed by law to live segregated (O'Callaghan, 1999). Although many cultural groups were identified and segregated within the country (e.g. Namas, Basters, Hereros, Owambos, San,), this segregation was especially enforced between "White" and "Non-White" Namibians. Namibians were physically segregated by introducing different living spaces for different groups, also establishing different school buildings for different groups. Shops, hotels, hospitals and other public facilities had different entrances for different groups. Besides the strict and physical segregated live styles, "White" Namibians were regarded as superior and were constantly reminded of their superiority through schooling, political meetings, and the government. "Non-White" Namibians were regarded as inferior and could not ascribe to the same opportunities as their "White" counterparts in terms of job opportunities, quality education and financial income. Thus, during the "Apartheid" years, racism was practiced and advanced by law.

Since 1990, Namibia is independent. A democratic government took over and the first mission of this government was to abolish all laws that dealt
with segregation. However, the concrete process of Namibia becoming independent, could not abolish all the issues that were "created" through the policy of "Apartheid". Racism is still a reality in the present Namibia (Whittaker, 2001). It can also be assumed that after forty years of "Apartheid" many "White" Namibians still regard "Non-White" Namibians as inferior to them. In many instances "Non-White" Namibians might still feel inferior to "White" Namibians either, or "Non-White" Namibians might still hate "White" Namibians for their privileged position during the "Apartheid" years. And of course, privileges or the lack there-of, of the past still influence present and future. For example, having had opportunity to involve in quality education is definitely a factor that led HSC to the high income group. LSC and UC did not have an opportunity to receive quality education. Then again "White" Namibians might be unsure about their African identity, like the high socio-economic interviewee (HSC) indicated. Often "White" Namibians are reminded that their ancestors were colonists that intruded the country, started wars in Namibia and took away land and possessions of Namibians. One can also assume that many Coloured and Baster people in Namibia do question their identity as Namibians and thus also as Africans. During the "Apartheid" years, Coloured and Baster people had more privileges than other "Non-White" Namibians (Kotze and Lang, 1993). One might in a sense then assume that especially many "White" Namibians, but also many Coloured and Baster Namibians are afraid of being discriminated at by the subsequent laws of affirmative action and other equality laws. In this regard, for example, HSC ("White" interviewee) mentions his concerns about the future of Namibia. In the same way, MSC
(Baster interviewee) is critical of the current government and also talks of her wish to emigrate to another country. One can thus assume that some Namibians fear "reversed discrimination" i.e. discrimination towards those who were previously advantaged in the country. Thus, some members of certain cultures within Namibia might feel that they are solely blamed for the problems of the past, present and future.

One can thus assume that the effects of "Apartheid" still have an influence on a great part (if not all) of Namibians. More so, "Apartheid" accentuated difference within the boundaries of Namibia. In this regard Parsons (1994:v) states: "Segregated peoples have segregated histories". However, besides all these differences, individuals in interrelationship form the collective (Elias, 1987; Melucci, 1989). "Apartheid" was part of historical time for Namibians and shaped the past of all Namibians independent of socio-economic status.

Going back to the assumption that time perspective shapes identity, the question arises whether the different individuals within Namibia, who were affected in vastly different ways by "Apartheid" can form a collective Namibian identity? What would such a collective Namibian identity look like in the face of the still prevailing negative effects of "Apartheid"? Could such a collective Namibian identity become a reality if one takes into account that for at least forty years Namibians were "taught" by law to live segregated from other cultural groups within the country? A contents of past experience of collective Namibian time perspectives includes the
policy of "Apartheid". Thus the question is: how will the "demons" of "Apartheid" influence a present collective Namibian time perspective?

In addition, "Non-White" Namibians were "taught" that they were inferior to "White" Namibians. One of the aims of this practice of the "Apartheid" government of South Africa was to disempower "Non-White" Namibians (Moleah, 1983). In a way the "voices" of "Non-White" Namibians were taken away. One can assume that today, eleven years after independence, many Namibians still suffer from an "inferiority complex". In this study, the unemployed interviewee (UC) did not talk much during the interview. Could one assume that feelings of inferiority played a role in this interviewee's "voice"? If this would be the case, then one could presume that still prevailing feelings of inferiority and superiority that were created during the "Apartheid" years (past) also still influence a collective Namibian time perspective and thus a collective Namibian identity.

The two male interviewees (HSC, LSC) volunteered the most information during the interviews. Namibia has a long history of male dominance (Iipinge and LeBeau, 1997). It could be that Namibian males feel that they have more control over their situation, regardless of their socio-economic income level. It might just be that "maleness" also provides a sense of superiority in Namibia. "Maleness" would thus provide "voice" to males in Namibia. It would be interesting to investigate gender differences of time perspectives in Namibia and how gender different time perspectives influence the nature of a collective Namibian identity. Namibian women
and men were often segregated during the "Apartheid" years. For example, the contract labor system led young Owambo males from the northern parts of Namibia to the central parts (Parsons, 1994). Young, "White" Namibian men were forced by the South-African government to enroll for two years in the military service during the liberation struggle. In this way, men and women had vastly different experiences of the past. These experiences, one can assume, will still affect present and future perspectives. Gender might thus play a role in the nature of the contents of Namibian time perspectives, which might also impact on a collective Namibian identity.

Forced segregation of the past (which is a contents of the collective Namibian time perspective) could be seen as having contributed to the forming of tribalism within the boundaries of Namibia. Thus in present there is a strong emphasis on the differences between the different cultures of Namibia (Malan, 1993). From the data analysis the differences between the four interviewees became clear in their different contents of time perspective presented. For example, LSC who comes from the northern parts of Namibia, where the war of liberation was fought physically, is the only interviewee that mentions the liberation struggle in terms of a war. The four interviewees in this study are, in a sense, a good representation of the Namibian situation as they are different in culture and socio-economic class. There are thus a lot of differences between Namibians. According to the Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought (1988) tribalism concerns people who form a group on the ground of a common ethnic identity. For example, recently the people of the Caprivi claimed independence from the
rest of Namibia. In addition, many of the headmen of tribes in Namibia do not want to accept the authority of the central government. Besides tribalism, there is a strong emphasis on cultures within the country to keep their different identities. Cultural variety is thus promoted. Cultural variety emphasizes difference. Therefore one can assume that besides differences in individual time perspectives in Namibia, also different collective time perspectives exist for different cultures within the Namibian society, due to cultural variety. This leads to the question as to how different collective time perspectives in Namibia contribute towards a collective Namibian identity. For example, the annual Red Flag marches of the Herero people through the streets of the Namibian town of Okahandja, through which the Herero people commemorate their collective past, already grew to a popular tourist attraction. One can assume that tourists regard this event as a colorful Namibian event. Thus, the Herero culture's contents of past and present dimension of collective time perspective (commemorating the past) contributes towards collective Namibian identity.

Huge gaps in financial income is another fact which shaped and still shapes Namibians' lives. Before independence the majority of the Namibian population did not have access to the high profile job market. A lack of proper education opportunities for the greater part of the population further limited chances for a better live style. With great effort MSC completed her schooling and tertiary education. She mentions that the difficulties to involve in proper education during the past currently serves as her encouragement for continued tertiary education. LSC and UC did not have
opportunity towards proper education. The then privileged "White" population of Namibia had access to good jobs and education. HSC completed six years of tertiary education after he completed grade 12. Today, the circumstances of the past still impact on the financial well-being of the Namibian population. Affirmative action makes it difficult for the "White" Namibian to find a job in Namibia. The previously disadvantaged part of the population cannot find well-paid jobs as they had no access to thorough education and thus lack the necessary skills for specific jobs. LSC could only find employment as a service station attendant. In addition, the poor global economic circumstances also impact on Namibia. Job creation is nearly impossible in these circumstances. Therefor unemployment remains high in the country. The evidence of the high unemployment rate in Namibia became visible by the many people that sit on street corners, hoping that someone might need them for a job. Many people from the rural areas migrate to the capital city, Windhoek, where they hope their chances are better to find a job. Both the low socio-economic and unemployed interviewees in this study migrated from the northern part of Namibia to the central part in order to find employment. And often economists in the country speak about a widening gap between rich and poor. Only a small part of the Namibian nation belongs to the high socio-economic class. Bühler (in Bühler and Massarik, 1969) stated that poverty "freezes" people in present who do have to struggle to make living possible. The question would be how poverty or affluence will influence past, present and future perspectives of different Namibians. High expectations were created amongst disadvantaged Namibians as to higher socio-economic
living standards that would follow after Namibian independence. However, the global economic recession makes this economic goal difficult to reach. The question is how financial frustrations influence past, present and future perspectives of Namibians. For example, MSC mentions that the current government of Namibia did not fulfill the promises they made before independence. This gives her less hope about the future so that she wishes to emigrate. One thus wonders to which extend Namibians' expectations about a better financial future are currently frustrated and what effect that has on past, present and future perceptions. However, from the data analysis it became clear that especially the low socio-economic status interviewee (LSC) feels positive about his financial future. He talked about plans for extending his business and buying a car in future. This might be an indication that the previously disadvantaged Namibians feel that they "cannot lose anything" whereas the previously advantaged have a feeling that they "can lose everything" if the economy of the country does not improve. And of course, financial issues will impact on time perspective, especially on temporal extension i.e. how far one thinks back to past and plans into the future. Thus, the gap between rich and poor as well as expectations about the financial future of Namibia influences Namibians' time perspectives differently. Therefore financial issues will also have an impact on individual identity and thus also on a collective Namibian identity.

It is only since the independence of Namibia that all educational institutions are accessible to all Namibians in theory. In practice there are not enough
schools to accommodate all Namibian learners in local schools. Therefor
government school intakes are maximized, which works negative on the
quality of education provided as too many learners are allocated to one
teacher. Expensive private schools are only an option to the higher socio-
economic income groups. Before independence (the past) quality education
was provided and compulsory only to "White" Namibians. Of these
Namibians who had access to quality education, only a small percentage
attended tertiary education. Therefor, the Namibian nation comprises
(presently) of a relatively small percentage of "expertise knowledge". A
rather big percentage of Namibians thus have to take low-paid jobs as they
lack the skills for better-paid jobs. The human resources of this country thus
need to be developed. However, financial means in order to promote human
resources in Namibia are short. UC talks of her wish to further her
education, but obviously she does not have the financial means to reach to
her dream. Presently, numerous highly educated people from foreign
countries are brought to Namibia to perform highly skilled and highly paid
jobs. The question would thus be what impact the low education level of a
great part of the nation exercises on collective time perspective. For
example both HSC and MSC mention emigration as a possibility for their
future. Both these interviewees are well educated and will most possibly
find jobs in other countries with their academic qualifications. Thus higher
education levels can lead to more opportunities and thus extended hope for
the future. All four the interviewees also felt that education leads to a more
affluent life style, because all hope for good education for their children.
Thus, one can say that level of education influences time perspective. In this
study interviewees felt that higher education levels lead to better life styles and more hope for the future. The question is thus how will differences in education levels impact on a collective Namibian time perspective. Also, how does the influx of skilled and highly educated foreigners into Namibia affect the collective time perspective of Namibians?

When the first German colonists arrived in Namibia at the turn of the 19th century, they already started taking land away from Namibians. Since then, the taking of land from Namibians escalated. This not only impoverished Namibians, but also led to a loss of a part of their identity as farmers and land owners. These colonists, later also from South Africa, remained on these farm for generations, and thus became Namibians. The farms became these Namibians’ means of existence and even their sense of identity as farmers. Currently in Namibia, as in the rest of southern Africa, there is an outcry by formerly dispossessed Namibians for the return of land of their ancestors. Thus, current Namibian farmers do live in fear that their farms might be dispossessed, whereas other Namibians do hope to get back the land that was taken away from them many years ago. For example, HSC mentions that he wanted to buy a farm recently, but that in the end he did not buy the farm. This decision of not buying the farm might have been influenced by the sensitive, current land ownership issue. The question would be how the current land issue in Namibia will influence future orientation as part of a collective time perspective.
Namibia's economy was shaped, since the arrival of the first German colonists, by a Western capitalist system. However, as a result of "Apartheid" only a small part of the nation could participate in this economic system as they were well-educated and well remunerated. Together with the Western capitalist system, many ideas and ways of living from the West entered the country. Some of these would be European languages, educational systems, technology, food and dress (traditional Herero women dress developed during the German colonial period). These Western ideas and ways of living were/are regarded by Namibian laymen as "modern" practices. However, Namibia is a vast area with a relatively small population. These "modern" Western ideas that, with time, became the norm in Namibia did not always reach all the corners of this vast country. Therefor, today, many Namibians cannot communicate in the official language, English. For example, it was difficult to find a middle-aged, English speaking, unemployed Namibian to participate in this study. Many of these Namibians never had the opportunity to drive in a motor car, work on a computer, or visit the capital city, Windhoek. These Namibians do not have contact with modern technology, like the internet. The question would be how Namibians that did not have contact with a "modern" life style would view the past, experience present and expect the future to be.

This study also provided a view on the impact of socio-economic status on the contents of time perspectives. However, many other factors also influence the contents of time perspective. One of these would be cultural differences. The Namibian nation consists of many different cultures. Each
of these cultures do have their own way of living. The Namibian nation thus comprises of many differences in terms of rituals, dress and other uses. One of the crucial cultural differences is the one of nuclear and extended families. It is difficult for Namibians who grew up in the closed boundaries of the nuclear family to understand the mechanism of the extended family and vice versa. HSC who grew up in a nuclear family does not value the community in which he grew up as having contributed positively to his upbringing and identity. MSC, LSC and UC all grew up in extended families and all valued their past communities as having played an important role in their upbringing and identity formation. It is possible that UC and LSC did not "freeze" in present (cf. Bühler, 1969) as a result of the help of their extended families in difficult times. One can thus assume that cultural differences in Namibia impact on a collective time perspective for Namibians.

Each of the four interviewees in this study regarded their lives as being oriented to one of the dimensions of the time perspective. In the same way different Namibians of different ages and cultures will regard different dimensions as more important than the other. Here one might especially think of aged people that might have a limited future perspective (Kornfeld and Marshall, 1987 in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Younger people might again have a more extended future perspective (Thomae, 1981, in Fingerman and Perlmutter, 1995). Some previously advantaged Namibians might value the past higher due to more opportunities than in present. Previously disadvantaged Namibians might value present and future more
due to the abolishment of "Apartheid" and all its discriminating laws. In this regard one thinks of the Herero culture which claims huge amounts of money from the present German government for the German occupation of Namibian land during the German colonial period. It is as if the Herero people hark back to the past in order to ensure a better future. Chandler and Ball (1987) state that the position on the temporal continuum between past and future does not matter very much. According to these authors it remains crucial that an interplay between the dimensions is evident, regardless to which dimension the person (society) is oriented. The question would thus be to which dimension the Namibian nation is oriented, and how that affects collective identity.

A huge gap exists between older and younger Namibians in terms of the experiences that "Apartheid" brought over the country. It can be assumed that older Namibians, who grew up under the "Apartheid" policy, are much more aware of racial differences than the younger generation of Namibians. One can say that Namibian children, who did not experience "Apartheid", "live in another world" than those Namibians who experienced "Apartheid". LSC says in this regard that his children will have it much more easier in life than he had it. For example, it would be difficult for children today to imagine that they cannot attend any school of their choice. Adults who were children of the "Apartheid" years again regarded it as "normal" to have limited choice in schooling due to the colour of their skin or race. Namibians of different ages will thus definitely have different time perspectives.
Since independence, all Namibians are entitled to participate in the political process of the country. During the "Apartheid" years, only "White" Namibians were allowed to participate in the political process. During the data analysis, it seemed as if the low socio-economic interviewee (LSC) regarded present and future as bright, especially for his children. LSC is a member of the ruling party in Namibia. The high socio-economic (HSC) and the middle socio-economic (MSC) interviewees not only criticized the current ruling party of Namibia, but also expressed their fears about the future of this country. It also seemed as if HSC does not ascribe to an extended future perspective, most possibly due to his concern about the future of the country. It thus seems as if political affiliation has an impact on temporal extension and also how people view past, present and future.

The interviewees in this study did not refer to "Apartheid" directly during the interviews. Both the middle socio-economic class and the low socio-economic class interviewees only mentioned "Apartheid" indirectly by referring to colonialism and political strikes. The unemployed interviewee, who in a sense is a victim of the "Apartheid" system by being unemployed, states that she has no problem with the past. The author of this work, also a Namibian citizen, did not mention "Apartheid" in this discussion, until his supervisor, a German citizen, showed him on that. This brought up the question whether Namibians don't want to talk about the past? Are Namibians ignorant of the past? Especially in the light of the liberation struggle which developed into a full scale war in the northern part of
Namibia, it can be assumed that many Namibians still feel the effects of that war. Having had a war in Namibia for many years, it can also be assumed that many Namibians suffer of post traumatic stress symptoms. This would be the same for the many Namibians that lived in exile in foreign countries for so many years. One can thus ask what would be the effect of this silence about the past on a collective Namibian time perspective?

According to the work of Bühler (in Bühler and Massarik, 1969) it was anticipated at the start of this study that poverty might "freeze" a great part of the Namibian nation in the present as they struggle to make a living. Furthermore it was anticipated that if a greater part of the nation is "stuck" in one of the dimensions of the time perspective, collective identity might be affected negatively. From the analysis of the data of the four interviewees from four different socio-economic classes, it was seen that also the low socio-economic (LSC) and the unemployed (UC) interviewees experienced an interplay between the dimensions of their time perspectives. A lack of economic means did not influence these interviewees to become "frozen" in a specific dimension. There can be different reasons why this was the case. One of these reasons could be that both these interviewees (LSC, UC) are part of extended families who might provide them with necessities for living. One cannot generalize the findings on four participants to the Namibian population. However, these four interviewees can, in a sense, be seen as a typical representation of the Namibian nation in terms of financial income. Therefor one can speculate that, if these findings also apply to the general Namibian nation, how would it influence
collective identity? In other words, if Namibians in general experience within their variety, a continuity between past, present and future, what will such a collective time perspective look like and how would it influence a collective Namibian identity?

All the issues mentioned in this discussion are relevant past, present and future issues that are currently popular with the Namibian nation e.g. the issues of equal opportunity towards education, financial income, present and future consequences of the past "Apartheid" system, Western and traditional African live styles combined in one country, land distribution. All these issues were either directly or indirectly implied by the four Namibian interviewees in this study. The four interviewees are not a true representation of the whole Namibian nation. However, current popular Namibian media reports and discussions of Namibian politics do center largely on these issues. One can thus say that this study showed that at least some of the contents of time perspective of the four individual Namibian interviewees corresponds with popular collective contents of a collective Namibian time perspective. Therefore one can assume that individual time perspectives in Namibia do, in their interplay, contribute towards a collective Namibian time perspective. In addition one could say that all these collective issues (contents of a collective time perspective) as presented in this discussion do show a continuous line from past to present to future. For example, it has been showed how the "Apartheid" system of the past contributes towards many issues in present and future. Another example would be the lack of education for many Namibians in the past,
which will certainly influence the present as well as the future. However, as Bühler (1969) states, as long as past, present and future contents of time perspective do present a perception of continuity i.e. the contents of past, present and future is somehow connected to each other, a collective identity of Namibians can be maintained. Therefore it is crucial that Namibian rewrite their history so that the history of all the cultures in this country is represented. However, with the vast differences in the country one might prefer to rather talk of several collective time perspectives and several collective Namibian identities in Namibia.

"We were taught, sometimes in a very positive way, to despise ourselves and our ways of life. We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of. The past, so far as we were concerned, was just a blank and nothing more. Only the present mattered and we had very little control over it...

It should now be our intention to try and retrieve what we can of our past. We should write our own history books, to prove that we did have a past; and that it was a past that was just as worth writing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul."

(Seretse Khama, 19 May 1970, in Parsons, 1994:v)
Chapter 7: Conclusion

It was the objective of this study to investigate the contents of the dimensions of Namibian time perspectives and to draw conclusions about its relevance for a collective Namibian identity. With "contents" is meant all the experiences, issues, events a person remembers of past, experiences in present and anticipates for future.

The concept time perspective with its three dimensions of past, present and future orientation in this study was understood, investigated and interpreted against the background of Bühler's and Whitbourne's work. Charlotte Bühler focused already in the 1930's on the psychological meaning of the subjective perception of life and its relevance for identity formation. Susan Krauss Whitbourne's "life span construct" argues for a continuous remaking of conscious past, present and future material, in an intensively subjective way. Frank (1939), Whitbourne (1985) and Bühler (1969) emphasized the following theoretical issues of time perspective:

- Time perspective is the subjective perception people hold of their past, present and future.
- Every experience of human beings from birth to death is "sorted" into the compartments of past, present and future
and is called *contents of time perspective*. These are also the dimensions of time perspective.

- The contents of the dimensions of the time perspective is subjective and thus changes continuously.
- The contents in the different dimensions is linked to each other as a result of the interplay between the dimensions.
- The interplay between the dimensions causes a subjective feeling of continuity over the own life.
- A perception of continuity over the own life is crucial for identity formation.

Many factors influence the contents of the time perspective, so that an interplay between the dimensions of time perspective becomes difficult. One such factor is socio-economic status. For example, Bühler (1969) states that poverty can "freeze" people in present as they do involve themselves in a present struggle to find food to exist. In this regard the Namibian census statistics of 1991 (the latest census statistics available) indicate that thirty percent of the Namibian population is unemployed and thus assumed to be poor. This led to the question whether thirty percent of the Namibia population does not perceive their past, present and future in a continuous way. Time perspective and identity are interrelated and mutually influence each other. Therefor this qualitatively oriented study looked at individual the contents of Namibian time perspectives in order to see whether their contents is relevant for a collective Namibian identity.
In this study four midage Namibians from different socio-economic classes (high, middle, low, unemployed) were selected for the sample. A semi-structured interview was conducted with every interviewee in order to investigate the contents of the interviewees' past, present and future perspectives. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed according to the transcription rules of Mayring (1997) and then analyzed according to the Summarizing Contents Analysis of Mayring (1997).

From the interview material it was found that socio-economic class had an effect on the nature of the contents of the time perspective. However, despite the contents differences, all four the interviewees across social classes were able to link their past, present and future contents in the one or other way together. Thus it was found that all four the interviewees experienced an interplay between past, present and future, which provided them with a perception of continuity over the own life. The low socio-economic and the unemployed interviewees did not show a disruption in the interplay between their past, present and future dimensions as it was expected at the hand of the work of Charlotte Bühler. However, the findings of this study cannot be representative of the whole Namibian population. The contents of the time perspectives of the four interviewees, however, can be used to develop follow-up studies on Namibian time perspectives.
References


Miraglia, E. 1999. What is culture? Internet article: www.wsu.edu:8001/vcwsu/commons/topics/culture/culture-index.html


Table of contents

Appendix 1: Interview guideline

Appendix 2: Interviews

  Interview with high socio-economic status interviewee

  Interview with middle socio-economic status interviewee

  Interview with low socio-economic status interviewee

  Interview with unemployed interviewee
Appendix 1: Interview guideline

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE – TIME PERSPECTIVE

- ‘open question’
✓ ‘alternative question’
♦ ‘check’
* ‘dimensions of time perspective’

The following prerequisites should be checked with the candidate before the interview starts:

Ξ Whether the person understands and talks the English/Afrikaans language well.
Ξ The person should be between 35 and 45 years old.
Ξ The person should not have left the country for a period of longer than three months at once before.

*PAST

1. - If you think of your past, what comes to your mind?

✓ Were there any events in the past, which were of importance to you?
✓ Are there any other past events, which you would like to mention which, had an impression on you?
✓ Would you like to tell me about this event?

a) How long ago did this happen?
b) How long ago does it feel for you, did this happen?
c) How did you experience that event then; how do you experience it now?

d) How well can you remember the event you told me now about; how clear is the picture of that event still?
e) What meaning does this event have for you today?
f) Does this event still play a role in your life today? (How?)
g) Does this event have any meaning for you future?

Are there any other past events, which you would like to mention which, had an impression on you?

2. - If it would be possible for you to change your past, how would you have liked it to be?
3. - Do you think that the past of your community has shaped you in any sense? Tell me more.

- Concrete content
- Qualitative shading
- Degree of concreteness
- Density
- Range
- Link to presence
- Link to future

*PRESENT

1. - If you think of your presence, what comes to your mind?

Is there anything in your life now that is of special meaning to you?

a) Would you like to tell me about that?
b) How do you experience this event?

c) Do you believe that this event has meaning for your future?
d) Did you ever have such an experience before?
e) Does this experience still influence you in any way?

Is there anything else? (repeat questions a-e for every event mentioned by the person)
2. - If you could change your presence, how would you like to do that?
3. - If you had no limitations imposed on your life, if you could do what you wanted to do, what would you like do?
4. - Would you say that the community in which you live has shaped you on who you are now? Tell me more.
   ♦ Concrete content
   ♦ Qualitative shading
   ♦ Degree of concreteness
   ♦ Density
   ♦ Link to future
   ♦ Link to past

---

*FUTURE*

1. - If you think of your future, what comes to your mind?

☒ What do you belief, how does your future look like?

a) Do you have any plans for your future?
b) Could you tell me about them?
☒ How concrete are they?
c) Is there something else? (repeat b and alternative)

d) Can you tell me about your goals?
e) Do you think this goal can be realized?
☒ How sure are you that this goal can be realized?
f) Is there any other goal? (repeat (e) and alternative)

g) Do you have dreams for the future? Tell me more.
h) What else?
i) Is there something about/in the future that makes you anxious/afraid? Tell me more.
j) What else?
k) How do you think about the future of the country?
   ♦ Concrete content
   ♦ Qualitative shading
- What role does past, present and future play in the constitution of your life?

Would you say that you are more oriented towards the past, present, future? How so?

INFORMATIVE SECTION

a) If you think of your mother language, does it provide for words that indicate the future?
b) If so, how do you describe past/present/future?
c) How do you cope without tenses?
Appendix 2: Interviews

Interview with high socio-economic status interviewee

Q: If you think of your past, what comes to your mind first?
A: I think its my child years, I was born in Wolmaranstad, South-Africa, it is like a small town, much smaller than Okahandja, small place, we used to go bare-foot to school I will never forget that we used to take two hours to get home from school cause we were playing along the way. My past and then further on my school years in Pretoria in school, matriculated in 1975 then to Bloemfontein Kvosies for my studies then to Namibie it’s a variety, I've been all over southern Africa at this stage.

Q: Were there any events in the past, specific events you can mention which are significant to you?
A: Ja, there are a couple of events I will think. One was when I was standard nine I went overseas with my mom just the two of us with a tour group, it was fun, matric, I went hunting for the first time with my dad in Zimbabwe, that time it was still Rhodesia, and a we had to be taken out by helicopter because the as they are called terrorists, now they are called freedom fighters coming up to the our camp, when I qualified, when I got my degree in 82 and when I met my wife and married her in 83, so nothing (inaudible)

Q: The event of the hunting trip: how long ago was that?
A: This was when I was in matric, it was in ninety eighty...two July holidays, at that stage Transvaal had only three quarters, not four as they changed back to now, as we have in Namibie, and we drove, my dad was still staying he was staying at Vryburg at that time so we drove up by Landrover Vryburg, Pretoria Northern Transvaal, Van Wyk bridge up to the North in the Zambesi valley at this next to the Zimbabwe border. We were there for about two and a half weeks (inaudible) and the second week the choppers came and they flew us out back to Bulawayo cause the (inaudible) stage, but hunting was good, I shot my fist Buffalo and only one at that stage I shot a Rhinosorus at that stage, and kudus and gemsbokke bushbucks as they call those, which I ain't do anymore.

Q: And how long ago does it feel to you, this experience?
A: Like yesterday, I didn't have a license at that stage, a car license, my dad let me drive all the way from Vryburg up right through to the Zambesi valley without a license cause he said I was going to drive it was a landy it could do only eighty kilometers an hour so it didn't matter, it was an old one.

Q: How did you experience the hunting trip then?
A: It was a quite experience. I was the first time hunting, never shot a guinea fowl before that and my dad put this big rifle in my hand says go shoot your first buck I thought he was crazy but the game warder took me to a shooting range to let me shoot with a 45, it was quite a big caliber, I nearly broke my shoulder it was hurting about four days, after that it was fine it was, I know the (inaudible) the scenery was fantastic then I learnt hunting costs money cause that stage my dad paid R300 for two buffalos
four kudus two bushbucks for R300. Now you can't even buy a Springbok for R300 for $300. But it feels like yesterday. Cause I still see my dad let me drive up to the border post I want to stop before the towns, he says no-no let us drive, up to the border post, then he carry on into the border post and then he just let me go on again, I think its …doesn't matter, I will never forget that.

Q: If you think now back about the hunting, how do you experience it now?
A: Lets say it was a novice, it was something totally new, I think now for seventeen years, eighteen years and that stage it was just for killing I want to kill something I tell my friends at school, I killed a buck, I shot a Kudu, now its all like if my wife A says, B we need meat I go out shoot a Kudu bring it back make boerewors, biltong steaks mince I still enjoy the outing its still magic, I take my daughters with me especially the young one, C she likes going outside hunting D the bigger one is more like a lady she doesn't like hunting, but anyway now its like providing now get self, enjoy the day out get out of town get away from the telephone which is very important to me and shoot a buck, bring it home use every bit of it give my maids and servants some bones (inaudible) so at this stage I still enjoy the hunting just, more the outing than the hunting as such so I go out to bring something home to use for eat that’s the difference at this stage.

Q: But if you think back about the experience of that trip to Zimbabwe, how do you experience that now?
A: I never thought it would realize, I never though hunting would realize, It was like a schoolboys dream reading in a book about Tarzan and Condor and all these old picture books Tarka and go to the bush (inaudible) went
hunting I will never forget that its quite a while ago at nights I couldn't sleep, not because I was scared just, my mind was just running around, I was just thinking about this nice trip this everything was so nice this veld and this forest and trees and grass this animals, I'm a big boy now but now its actually quite similar but its more likely now to provide for the house.

Q: How well do you remember it?
A: Every moment of it, I can still remember walking in the veld stepping on a pofadders tale, we were swimming in the kloofs with the rifle, the rifle is on the edge its ice cold, the water is freezing cold with a leopard lying on a rock looking at us I can still remember every detail. When we got to (inaudible) the custom guy was saying jinne you brought (inaudible) seven rifles and our game warder was a guy studying at UPE at this stage so he lived in Rhodesia then studying in UPE its also his school holidays ag his university holidays so holidays he works for the parksboard so he took us under his wing and he helped us quite a lot. Everything I could, well my memory is not that good but that trip I can remember it in small details I still got the pictures to proof it and I even ate grasshoppers and mopanie worms for the first time in my life and the last time on that trip.

Q: What meaning does the hunting trip have for you today?
A: Today, as I said previously I just want to get closer to nature get out of town get away from the telephone get away from people it sounds funny but sometimes I really feel I had enough of people, I work with people everyday, its my work but sometimes it gets too much and to take my family along even if they don't go hunting get self on the bakkie they can still go and sit at the lodge or at the house or sit at the side of the fire, its
more like a relaxing thing get away from everything be closer to nature and try to be myself for a while, its not so easy, cause you have to, in town you have to have an image, but its not always, I think its not always what you are, you put up a front, but in the veld you are what you are. That’s what hunting is, its more like getting out, getting away, (inaudible) previously did was for killing and showing off, but lately, the last 10-15 years getting away from people getting away getting closer to nature with your family getting closer to your family spending time with my family, my wife, my kids and be more like that, like a family.

Q: And this specific hunting trip in Zimbabwe, does that have any meaning for your future?
A: It had, because I've been now to Zimbabwe seven times, touring, not hunting, touring, and, were going get this year in August three weeks camping, touring camping, my friend E and his wife, me and my kids, my wife, we were there last year, three times last year, I love Zimbabwe, it’s a beautiful country the people is magnificent. I’ve always wanted to go back there since I have been the prev…the first year in nineteen eighty ….two, when I was in standard, matric 82. Always wanted to go back there, needed the time, and the money, but the last year we were going back there, I always like to go back to Zimbabwe and enjoy their cosmo-hospitality, its unbelievable, especially in the North, the South is something else but the North is beautiful.

Q: You mentioned just now a lot of events of the past which lie near to you, is there one of those which you want to tell me about?
A: I think the day that I qualified, got my degree, sorry, the day I heard I passed the exams. You have to sit with your…close to the telephone, then the class captain would phone you and tell you, you can come to the faculty or you cannot come to the faculty. Because if you can go there, it means you have passed, if he doesn't…if you cannot come, you failed. So I was sitting glued to my telephone at the residence, I was in the hostel for seven years and I never had an own flat, the three friends sitting in my room, drinking beer, waiting for this phone call and nobody phoned, cause one of my other friends pulled out the plug. At five o clock we went to the faculty not knowing whether we passed or failed. Look for the class captain. And he said, why you guys are late? Said we didn't knew we passed. I will never forget that day. Then we gonna get my degree with this, wear all these terrible things, togas all those things. My mom was there, my fiancée, my girlfriend Annette, she's now my wife, she was already working in Outjo as a teacher, nee in Tsumeb as a teacher. Those two days I'll probably……I don't know, there's lot of other moments as well, but I think those two days were probably the most, not important, but ja, very important days in my life up to now.

Q: How long ago was the graduation ceremony?
A: Tenth,…second December nineteen…..eighty two, eighty two.

Q: And how long ago does it feel to you today?
A: That feels quite a while ago. Because every sometimes I dream at night I write the final exams. I'll wake up and, I fail the exams, and wake up and say, ahh that was a dream, so, no that feels years ago, that does feel years ago, cause everything changes, medicine and science and everything
changes that’s I think why it feels so long ago cause every year's its every six months its new things new things, new things, new things. At that time the word AIDS hasn't even existed yet, now every second word is AIDS or HIV, so that’s why it feels so long ago. That really feels very long ago.
Q: Then with the ceremony itself, how did you experience it ?
A: To be honest, proud, very proud of myself. Scared, nervous, nervous, and ja proud, I was proud of myself.
Q: And if you think back, how do you experience it now, if you think back?
A: Now, .....put it this way, if I have to write exam now again, my final exams, I don't think I will pass again. Because they teach you then and they teach you red canaries. In the private practice you see common things, common things (inaudible). I don't think it will be the same. I think that is something specific, something really unique that time of my life, cause I was twenty-five, but to go back there now, it would mean a bit, but not as much as then. It still means something but not as much as it meant to me at that stage.
Q: And how well do you remember the ceremony?
A: No. I was too nervous. I sat in the second row because my surname is (……..) it means I was quite up front in the class to the alphabet, so I went up got slapped on my head or whatever and they gave me a roll of paper, my degree, then I was off. We had a big party after this (inaudible)
Q: What meaning does the event have for you today, your graduation ceremony, or graduation?
A: I'm not sure, I am here, I have here now, accumulate what I have in material things, in wealth in whatever because of that so, if you have now I
can say because of that I've got this. I've got my holidays in Zimbabwe, I've got my car and this, because of what I gain out of it. I studied hard. I am not a very clever guy. I failed my second year. Then I decided I must sit on my bum and study. So that day getting my degree put me on the road where I am now, to put it this way its all I can say, cause I'm not so sure But it helped me to be what I am where I am today.

Q: And, what meaning does it have for your future?
A: .....I'm a docter, because I want to be a docter, my father was a dentist, my sister is a pediatrician, always wanted to be a docter, and I still want to be a docter. But, if I knew about AIDS, I would never become a docter. And I asked this question to my friends in Windhoek, docter friends, all said (inaudible) the risk is too great, but I am one, I decided you made up your bed, you must sleep in it. I still enjoy my work. Got a nice town, nice patients, so I'm getting all of that, I'm glad I am what I am, glad for what I…

Q: If it would be possible for you to change your past how would you actually liked it to be?
A: Ai, partly if I can I want to change, not as such my life itself, ja, also, but more my family's past. I miss my dad, when I was seven years old he left, never I never had a dad except when I went first hunting in 1982. That was from grade two to standerd ten, that’s how many years, eight, nine years, no twelve years, if my mom and dad didn't divorce I would have enjoyed it too much, I would have preferred it, ihm that’s my (inaudible). When I was in high school in Pretoria I was a real washout, I drank, I smoke, nearly got expelled from school, two times, Luckily had this maths
teacher, Juffrou F, she pulled me together, all I say, I never (inaudible) what I did or I'll never regret it, I'm just sorry that I did it sometimes. Ihhm, I think the most important thing was that I wish I had a father to grow up with that’s why I at this stage if I go somewhere (inaudible) I take my children and my wife with me (inaudible). I never go away for the weekend all by myself with the boys (inaudible). If I can't go away with my family I'll never go cause I never had a dad, I had a father, in name I had a father but not physically present in the house, if I could change not sort of my more like my families past I wish I could have that because there were so many terrible things that happened between my father and mother, they still loved each other till the day my father died they were too proud to both of them they were too proud to say it. They told me, I love your dad, he told me I love your mom, but never told one another, away from another for, my dad died in 1983…1993, and they still love another, each other all this years but they never got together which is so its sad, so (inaudible) if you ask that question, I wish I could change that like having a father when I needed one.

Q: Would you say that the community in which you grew up that they have shaped you in any sense?

A: I grew up in two communities, first a rural area like Wolmaranstad then an urban one like Pretoria which is hell of a difference, 100% a difference. Like the plaasboetjie going to a stadsjapie, and a I cannot remember a lot from my primary school years in Wolmaranstad, I know, I never studied, I never learned and I got like 100%, 80-90%, we were just playing, played rugby on a ploughed field without grass. The community then, I was too small they didn't shape me in any way, I new I would become a docter, at
that stage, I used to catch frogs and inject them with formalin to make them all stiff and cut up frogs and got to Pretoria in standard five in 1978 had big fights with the big guys in the school at that stage and I was never short, I was a tall guy so I could stand my own way up to matric, I told you the community, no, Pretoria like in a city, you know you don't have, you got acquaintances the community has no interest on you because, Ok, you had a bad influence on you as I told you, had bad friends, wrong friends and luckily this maths teacher had gone to my life and I got nearly expelled and she taught me something very useful thank God for that otherwise I would have been not here now, so I think the community didn't play much role in my life bad rolls so but for my future, I grew up in a doctors family, my father was a dentist, we grew up in a medicine family, and my sister wanted to study medicine, she's now also a child specialist we always been that well, I want to become a doctor, that's all I can say.

Q: If you think of your presence, what comes to your mind?
A: I'm happy, happy married, two beautiful children, I enjoy my work, sometimes not so much as other days. We've got no friends, (inaudible) E and G, my kids, at school they are doing good at school but they always being pestered, envied, you're the doctor's children, taken advantage of, people taking advantage of me, trying to, but, overall I'm happy, I'm lucky, happy family, I love my family, nice job, financially its going fine the future is looking bright so overall I'm feeling fine.

Q: Is there now a special event in the presence which is of significance to you?
A: Its funny you're asking me that. Up to yesterday at quarter past two, I was going to buy a farm. Quarter past two my wife and were sitting down and discussed it and we figured it out and worked it out its not feasible. So this stage now I'm I got this load off my shoulders, that’s why I stood up this morning at quarter past five helping my wife with the bed and breakfast this morning, quarter past five, I never does it, this morning I did it, so up to yesterday, the last couple of weeks I couldn't sleep, will this payment work out, will it be feasible, financially be feasible, so now we decided we are not going to do it so I'm feeling quite related today.

Q: How do you experience this issue now?

A: Now I'm feeling magic, I am smiling, just want to smile and work and work is ihh, I was working, I never work in, I hate working in the garden, because my mom just forced me when I was a kid, but the first thing this morning I was cutting the trimming the trees this morning, quarter to six, so I'm feeling really related today because this load is off my shoulders, so I'm feeling quite magic today, to be honest.

Q: Do you think this experience that you had now has any meaning for your future?

A: Ja, it told me not to rush into things. We rushed into this whole thing before we sat before I sat down and worked it out. This is the monthly installment, this is this, this I can afford, this is what I'm gonna get out of this farm this not, this not. We rushed into this thing before we sat down and discussed it and actually analyzed it, scrutinized, analyzed, cut it into pieces and put it back again. This will never happen in my life again.

Q: Did you ever have such an experience before?
A: Ja, its funny, because of my father and mom's divorce and all this hate between and all this fighting between them I had to stand in court when I was a young boy (inaudible) divorce, my mother standing this side of the court my father that side of the court and the judge asked me: Na wie toe wil jy gaan? To whom do you want to go? My mother was crying, my father also, I told the judge, I don't know. He said, right I decide: you're going to your mother. And...I had to go with her, it was a custody case. But I always wanted to go to my dad and I wrote a letter (inaudible) and my mother doesn't want me to go to him. That was a big thing, because ag it was a court case again; I wrote the letter before I thought what would be the consequences, OK I was a child, I was standard five, so as I said now I nearly did, when you this, this farm thing, without thinking, I wrote that letter without thinking about the consequences. I should never done it, but that was years ago, I was a child I was not thinking. I was too young. And then I told myself, I will never ever marry. Will never marry. I met Annette in 19... 28February 1981. And, we really got serious after a couple of months and I told her I will never marry, but she stayed with me. We got engaged in the beginning of 83. She wanted to break the engagement because she said, why do we have to be engaged if you don't want to get married. Then I changed my views because I loved her too much. Also I said that I don't want to get married without thinking about the consequences and I changed that. We (inaudible) it, discussing it, analyzing it. What would marriage endow to me, what would it do to me, what would it, how would it keep me locked up, how would it put ropes or fences around me and I am glad I changed my idea so I'm happy.
Q: The issue which you mentioned in the courtroom, does it still influence you today in a sense?
A: A lot, a lot, a lot, not daily, but weekly. I think about it a lot. My wife doesn't know about it, my children doesn't know about it, if my daughters does something wrong and I have to "klop" them, I know its wrong, but I feel I can't. I didn't get love, ok, I got love but it didn't felt me like that it didn't felt me like love it felt like pudding (inaudible) like a tug of war between parents and, the person in this family who dishes out the punishment or be the strict one is my wife, cause, maybe I'm to scared to punish my children. I do punish them sometimes, I do it to them, I do that’s like ten years ago I smacked one of their bottoms and I felt sick for a week after that. It did have a hell of a influence on my life that specific day in that courtroom. That’s one of the reasons why I told B I don't want to get married. I didn't want to put my children through that if I divorce. Which is negative thinking. Now I know it is negative thinking but at that stage it was totally positive, it is totally it is just this way it is I don't want to get married because I will get divorced, why do that, you gonna get troubles, you cannot put your children through all this miserable misery: I decided no ways. (inaudible) Now its gone, now its not that bad, when I think about it now I know I could, my children are bigger now I can talk to them and they understand me they listen to me they are very, very, very obedient children but it had a tremendous effect on my life. It nearly cost me a happy wife and a happy family.
Q: If you could change your present, presence, how would you like to do that?
A: Well, as I told you previously, I am happy with my job, I am happy with my family, I've got a lovely family, beautiful wife and beautiful children, I am happy. I really don't want to change anything. About three years ago, I put my house in the market, I had a practice in Nieu-Zeeland which I could go to, making much more money. Then we decided that’s not really what we want. Ok, I wish I could be in a place similar to Okahandja where my two children had better opportunities for their future. As I said, I don't want to change my future. If I want something else now it will be just for, not for me and my wife, I'm fourty three, B is fourty-one, I'm not old, I feel like twenty-four, twenty-five, If I wanted to change something now it would just be for my children not for me not for our, just for my children. If I could get them something better a more better opportunity, then I would change, but otherwise not for me myself.

Q: If you had no limitations imposed on your life, what would you like to do?

A: I would like to travel, I would like to tour, travel, travel, travel. I want to see the world. I toured Namibie. There isn't a place I have not been, Damaraland, Kaokoland, Bushmanland, (inaudible) I've been (inaudible) this country, because I told B you must first know your own country before you go overseas. We love travel, meeting new people, seeing new places. If I had no limitations I buy a big camper and just travel. If I can afford it.

Q: Something else maybe?

A: I wish I could inherit a farm. I don't want to buy one any-more. I wish I could inherit a farm. Ag, but travelling with my family, not alone, with my family, which is impossible, they have to be at school. Being somewhere
else, not anymore. For my children's sake, yes, to get better opportunities for them. But for me and B, no, we just love Namibie.

Q: Would you say that the community in which you live now is shaping you in a way?

A: Ja, definitely, my job in the community shapes you, as I said earlier, you must put up a front. In my position you must put up a front, not a front. But at home you can be like this, but at the surgery you must involve professionalism. More reserved, except with you and your wife, and with some friends you can be what you are. And it shaped me (inaudible). I came here in 87. And how long is it, ten years ago, I'm here twelve years now. Now I am what I am. If you don't except me, bad luck. But not really. You still have to be like some-one else. I smoke but I cannot walk in town with a cigarette in my hand. That’s things that you just don't do. They tried to shape me for five years, they did but now I am what I am, if they don't accept me. I've got more than enough friends or patients, not friends, we don't have any good friends, we got acquaintances. But shaping me, they used to up to a point when I decided no, when I got to change my life to (inaudible) just to fit other people, so I am what I am.

Q: If you think of your future, what comes to your mind?

A: As I told you, I am happy what I am, I enjoy my job, I don't plan to leave here. I will not retire here. I don't know, I really don't know. I'm not sure. The future is and I'm still so young, I feel so young. We don't want to go away from Okahandja. We plan to retire at the coast, maybe Swakop, Hentiesbaai my wife refuses to go to, because there is no place for shopping
and no coffee shops and tearooms. So at this stage I have no immediate plans for the future. Carry on as is, cause we are enjoying it.

Q: So you wouldn't be able to tell me how you think your future will look like?

A: Ok, I'll be working for another twelve years then all my insurances and policies will pay out when I'm fifty-five. But I will never stop working. Maybe get a half day job, I don't know. I really haven't thought about that and its not that far away in the future but it feels far away in the future, because I still feel so young. I don't feel like jene I wan't to die now and getting old now. Ok, after this accident I had, last year when we overturned a car on 26 of November, a lot of things, I forgot to that is one of the most important events in my life. I forgot to tell you about it. That was probably one of the most important events in my life in the last couple of years. It brought me very, very close to God. I can tell you that. We should have been dead. So, the future at this stage means to me being together with my family because we nearly lost one another, or I lost B, or C of I lost D, so just being together as long as we can, whether its here or whether its where-ever. I guess that doesn't matter, I just want to be with my family because we nearly lost one another or we really lost all of us or two of us. So,

Q: How long ago does it feel to you that it happened?

A: Ag, yesterday, ag every second third night I lie in bed and I still (inaudible). You just see the whole thing in your, you just going in your head…all this way, down that way, blood all over the show, glass, broken things, ag we see that, I see that two times a week I still experience the whole thing in slow motion.
Q: How did you experience that then?
A: I cannot explain. It was terrifying. It was... I was not thinking of myself for one second. So with B, I was not thinking about her, I was thinking about the children, and she says no, she was not thinking about me, she was thinking about the children. I've had half a life, if God takes me away now, its not that bad. But, jene, they are thirteen and eleven. They got their whole life ahead of them. I still experience it weekly, and my wife as well. We still fear this whole thing, we relive it all over and over again sometimes, everything, every detail, every moment.
Q: What meaning does that accident have for you now?
A: As I told you, it brought me closer to my God. To our God. I call myself a Christian or a believer. That day it taught me, that day taught me that death is one step away. I work with people dying, with people terminal sick patients, but its always far away, its them, its not me and my family, its not you or your children. Its, I jinne, you know, uncle H has got cancer, shame, you really feel sorry, but its not close, its not, it doesn't affect you personally. Death is one step away. I can stand here now and fall down and I'm dead, gone. It taught me life is (inaudible). It taught me that, or it proofed me again or reassured me that there is a higher power, there is something, some-one which decides for me. I want to tel you something now, not because of this tape recorder, I'm going to tell you something now, I just told it to two people. As we were slipping across the tar road, I saw this black hole in front of me. (inaudible) A black hole pulling me. I'm going into this tube, I'm going into this black tube. And I said to myself: A you are going to die. And suddenly it get white, suddenly this bright white
light and the next moment we stopped. I know what happened. I was given a last chance. He was taking me. He decided, no, go back to earth. Kry jou sake in orde. Get your stuff in order. This is the truth. This black hole pulling me, just like a tube, I'm going to this tube now, its coming closer and closer. I'm not into it yet, its over there but its coming closer, closer: so then there is that bright white light. Then we stopped, I was…everybody orraait? So, that day, 26 November, the day the schools closes, nearly three months. I will never forget that. I will never, ever forget that. I can talk about this for hours and repeat everything. I know what I felt, it was not fun. But we still relive it weekly. We still will relive it for years, my children wake up screaming in bed, nightmares. We get them in our bed.

Q: Do you have any plans for the future?

A: No specific. I had a plan up to yesterday. Buying a farm. But now, work, I am happy with my work. Expanding. The bed and breakfast my wife has. I have no immediate plans, just get on as is. Get my family closer and closer and B opened up a clothing shop next to the surgery, expanding that, and just carrying on with life as is.

Q: Goals?

A: Not really much, I have goals. Making the best of it. Try to be a better father, try to be a better husband. I'm not a very good husband. I'm very insensitive to B views and I'm very sensitive to my views. Try to improve the relationship with my wife and children which is good at this state but try to still improve it. To get closer to God.

Q: You can make these goals concrete?

A: Definitely.
Q: Maybe dreams? About the future?
A: As I told you, we love travelling. I would love to travel. Having a big nice Mercedes diesel camper. Touring the whole world. That’s a dream. Its still gonna realize. I'm sure of that. If God will, its possible. When I retire, to buy this camper, start touring if this Africa pulls its case together without its fighting and everything. Cause I love to travel Africa for instance. I've been overseas to Europe with my mom when I was standard nine, but that, to be honest, we were just looking at playboys. Not looking at cathedrals. So now its something totally, it differs, your view changes, you're getting more to see like history. I'm crazy about, I'm mad about history. Reading up about, all these Egypt books, tourism I'm crazy about, I love reading it and, but I think a dream for me is getting on a camper with my wife and just touring the whole world, driving, stop. That is one of my dreams.

Q: Is there something about the future that makes you anxious?
A: Ja, my children. What to come? What's gonna happen to my children? Where are they going to go, where to study? Who will they marry, Ive got two daughters, who will they marry? Will the guy look after, will it be a decent person? Not so such me, my own personal and my wife's, more about my children. Every decent father and mother that will be their own big problem about children, we brought them in this life, we have to provide for them and put them on the correct road and financially, emotionally and religiously do the best for them. I hope I did, I'm trying my best. The future in Africa. We are called Europeans and we, we must be in Europe, we come from Europe. We should be hoping this is the best place to be at this stage, I'm sorry, I'm not so sure it is the best place to be, its
more decadent than here. But do we belong to Africa, I'm not so sure, it
does, sometimes I see statements in papers, over the news, over the
telephone, radio or the TV. I worry about my children's future. Not about
mine. I worry about my children's future. It is the most, the only thing that
makes me anxious about the future, what about them? There is also
something good in the future. Maybe, peace will suffice on earth.
Everything will just stop. Its like, garden of Eden, just peaceful, I hope so.
I'm scared for my children for the future. Not for me. I had my life. I still
got a lot of years ahead of me, but something happens to me, that’s ok. I
had my life. God gave me fourty two, I nearly said excellent years, he gave
me a bad childhood which I don't wanna have back, I suppose I can't change
that, but he gave me intelligence, health, family (inaudible).
Q: What do you think about the future of the country?
A: I'm worried about (inaudible) I worry about a lot of things. I cannot
change it. I don't want to be the president, please, I never wanted his job for
ten billion dollars. My stupid opinion. I am not a politician, but what I
think, I used to work at the state. I resigned two months ago. I'm not doing
any state work anymore. I saw it going down the drain, the state medical
services. I see people dying because there is not medicine available. I see
people dying because there is no garage in Okahandja willing to give the
petrol for the ambulance because the Ministry is not paying the garage. I
feel I love this country. I'm a citizen, I was not born here, but I took up
citizenship because I married A who was born here in South-West as it was
called at that stage. I'm sorry, I don't have a lot of optimism for the future of
this country. I hope I'm wrong, really, I hope I'm totally wrong. But I don't think so. I don't think there's…

Q: Would you say you are more orientated towards your past, your present or your future?

A: Ok, this is quite difficult for me to answer. Two years ago I was totally orientated to the past. My family life, mom and dad's divorce, it nearly ruined my life. Now I'm, at this stage, in the present, presence is orientating now my life. I worry about the future. I try to plan for the future which we have to. I said I worry about my children for the future. But the presence is more orientating my life at the presence. Can I afford to buy a farm now, no, I can't. Can I go overseas, no. So, I think the presence is orientating me at this stage. What's happening now, what we are doing now. But I'm planning for the future. Ja, the present I think is more important for the taking off, its got a lot more influence on my life now, it’s the presence. The past, it was before, but I put it behind me, its not so easy sometimes. You still think about it. Well the past, the accident will always be with me. Cause nobody can blame me, nobody can say it will not be. Id someone says it will not be, he is lying, but I think the presence at this stage. It influences my life the most.

Thank you, we are finished.
Interview with middle socio-economic status interviewee

Q: Ok X, I can call you X..
A: Ja
Q: If its fine with you..if you think of your past what comes to your mind first?
A: If I think of my past the very first thing that I get into my mind is that I didn't want to grow up without parents.
Q: Ok
A: That's one thing that I will never ever want to have anybody to experience.
Q: Ok.
Q: Maybe - let me rephrase, were there any events in the past, any events in the past, which were important to you?
A: Events in the past, ok - Mr. Y, primary (inaudible) I was in grade eight, and that morning I didn't feel well - the people with whom I was staying, they didn't worry and as - the moment that teacher entered the classroom he asked me what's wrong X - and that made me - that made me decide that whenever I'm going to work with children I will want to know - and give attention to them.
Q: Ok, how long ago did this happen?
A: I was in grade six. I was (inaudible) how many years was that -yesterday - dit was, ek het op senior sub A - hoe oud is mens as jy graad - agt jaar dan's ek vyftien. I was fifteen years old. I am fourty eight now so that is thirty three, four years (inaudible).
Q: Years ago. How long ago does it feel to you. Does it also feel -
A: Every time when I come across a child with a problem it takes me immediately back to that day because this child this morning with whom I came here to the office -
Q: Ok.
A: I felt terrible. I felt terrible because this is not the child's fault that he is sitting two weeks without taking any notes now and then he can take a note because some of the children gave him a piece of paper. But I belief that if you really want to make something easier for a child she can even go to the people with whom she is working and ask them for money. Even if she can buy only one book in which he can write all his subjects. He can divide the book in those many parts.
Q: Ja.
A: So it this morning I got that same feeling again. People let children struggle without any reason.
Q: Mmmm.
A: Unnecessarily.
Q: Ja.
A: Children are suffering.
Q: Ja. The event with Mr. Y (A: jaa) how did you experience it then?
A: When Mr. Y asked me what's wrong X - he always called me X, I was very small - I started to cry because I felt ill since that previous night and nobody gave attention so at that stage. I can even feel that tense feeling now.
Q: Ok, how do you experience it now?
A: Whenever I think of Mr. Y, I believe that I took him as a father - and when was it - that year - the year when all the teachers decided to stop teaching and all of them came together, the coloured teachers - it was the first time that I after that, that I met him again and it was like seeing - what I think - I don't know how it is to have a father but I got that feeling that maybe this is how one feels when you see your father.

Q: Mmm.

A: That is and still today I have that very much appreciation for what he did - so if I do a mistake with a child, because I didn't give attention to what he was actually telling - children never tell you exactly what their problem is, they will go around the problem I experience that for the years I'm - you will have to listen at the back what they are actually telling you and when I get home, sometimes when I get home something bothers me and I think and I realize that there I've made a terrible mistake. I go back to that child because I know that if you are doing wrong (inaudible) that child (inaudible)

Q: Mmm, Ja.

A: So if you can correct something I'm, I belief you can it’s the best thing to do as I say (inaudible) a.s.a.p (she laughs).

Q: How well do you remember this event which took place?

A: How well do I remember -

Q: Ja, is it that clear the picture still?

A: It's very clear because Mr. Y he didn't come to me like this broad shoulder. He bend and I belief that everything in him spelled out caring.

Q: Ja.
A: I think that is why it made such a very big
Q: Impression?
A: Impression ja.
Q: Ok. What meaning does this event have for you today?
A: I always try to my utmost best to work with children and although I, I'll never let them come away with nonsense. They will always know that I'm caring. They will always know that I am caring because they that day I realized that maybe the other people with whom I stayed maybe they also cared. Maybe they just didn't see it but at that stage I felt that they didn't care. In fact sometimes up to now I still ff, have the feeling that jisee I was staying with people who didn't even care and that’s not a nice feeling. I feel that is not a nice feeling because it I experience that has something that made me feel unsafe. I experienced that (inaudible) honestly its not something nice and that’s why I realize that I can't while I have the opportunity to make B go from sc from home to school from home now this year for the first time in how many years. He was grade five, grade four, grade six, standard four when he last went to school from home because I didn't stay in the same place where he was going to school. And then I realized that he's only attending classes on Mondays and Wednesday nights from six up to eight - twenty thirty so I decided then I can go take him down to Windhoek and bring him back so that he must know that he belongs. I feel that is important although he is ihm he finished grade twelve last year but I know that that it takes more than twelve years of schooling to become that type of person that will be able to cope (inaudible) emotionally.
Q: Ja. Definitely ja.
A: (inaudible)
Q: Ja. The event with Mr. Y - showing back to that - does that still play a roll in your life today?
A: Ja. I've, I have D in my home. C's child.
Q: Ja.
A: I am the - I am caring for him now (inaudible) due to problems with alcohol, but sometimes because he's so (inaudible) and I am working with elder children than him. I am used to a person of the age of X now and sometimes the things that he does sometimes it amused me but sometimes I get very cross. But then I realise ahh-ahh, he's only a small child. It helps me to cope with him and my house now. And all the years he called me auntie X and he went to his mother during the holiday, the December holidays and when he came back he told me he has decided that he's going to call me mamma X. So that showed me that there must be something which helped me to achieve that because I do feel that is an achievement so it definitely those things even if you are very small things that happens or that happened in your past it will have a definitely a very certain line in what you are going to feel and what you are going to do in future. I feel that is everything.
Q: And how would you say does this event with Mr. Y mean for your future, what meaning does that have for your future?
A: I belief that there will come a more children in my life before I'm going to stay at home (inaudible) not teaching anymore, but it won't take me away ahh having contact with children and I believe that if I am talking to other
people about what happened to me maybe even if I talk to twenty of them maybe or even if it is only two or one that will take me (inaudible) I believe that I have helped a lot of children because a lot of children will come in the life of that one person. I believe that when I feel that communication is very important because with communication you learn a lot and with communication you can pick up a (inaudible) and with communication you can build yourself in order to help (inaudible)

Q: Ok. Are there any other events which you would like to mention of the past which had an impression on you?

A: Oh jissee, the other day Ms. E told me about two brothers who drowned in Hardap dam and it took me when I was back at home it took me back. When I was in Grade 8 and in the same year than I was in the class of Mr. Y and Z was in Grade 10 and non of us could swim and we were at the dam. It was a long weekend and that day somebody threw her in the water and I got so frightened because Z and me was the only two who we were together all the time. All the time me and Z were together. My brothers and sisters they were working they were bigger and they were working some in Windhoek some in Walvis Bay. So the contact between us after my parents' death that it it wasn't as it was supposed to be. I, that day F almost drowned and before I could think I jumped in. I couldn't swim also so I realized then that ahh to care for someone in the wrong way or to care without thinking when you are doing something can't be positive honestly it definitely can't be positive when you care for somebody at that stage. I didn't think I just jumped in (inaudible) I almost drowned and the other day I told her I call her (inaudible) I told her Z whenever you are going to drown again I'm not
going to jump in (laughter) because now I know that I will threw in something but I'm going to stand. I, I'm not going to jump in again

Q: How long, how long ago did this happen?
A: Aa many, many years ago was it what thirty something.
Q: Years ago.
A: Ja
Q: How long ago does it feel to you?
A: That day? When Ms. E talked about those two boys it came very much to the front again because that night I phoned F again and told her about those (inaudible) bly op die wal.
Q: How did you experience this event?
A: Event…hooh it was the most frightening event than I can think of. No honestly I belief that was the day when I felt terrible because I knew if F is going to drown now there is no-one who can (inaudible). I felt as if I was - someone was putting my hands against my breast and pressing them so that I can't brief properly so tightened was that a feeling of a danger.
Q: If today you think of the event how, do you experience it today?
A: I belief that I made a joke and I told F that I'm definitely won't jump in but honestly today I know that I musn't jump in but if it will happen again that she is going to be in danger I can't promise anyone that I will do. What I know is right to think before I do something because we still have to (inaudible).
Q: This drowning event, how clear is the picture to you still?
A: The other day we were talking so it - how shall I say it on that event - I'm, its very clear to me definitely now but I belief more clear because we
talked about it recently and so but definitely, definitely it is something that
one of the things that I (inaudible) definitely
Q: What meaning does it have for you today?
A: The meaning that it has for me today is that I made sure that B can swim.
I made very sure that I took him for swimming lessons. He's a better
swimmer than me because I knew that if I don't do that something like this
that, that day with me can easily happen again.
Q: Ja and does it still play a roll in your life today?
A: Yes, I - it definitely still plays a roll because if I come to a place where
there is a swimming pool and to my beliefs that swimming pool is not safe
enough to keep toddlers out the adults can sit and talk and relax. Although I
don't have a toddler anymore I will be around that swimming pool the
whole day and the other day I realized that this is nonsense. The mothers
are sitting but then I realized - hii ihhh - what will happen if there is a child
drowning? Now so you better be here - it definitely - you never really forget
those type of things. They have - as I said - an influence in future and they
is so strong that at the moment the at recent times it also has a very big
influence on what to do or what to say.
Q: So you feel it also plays a roll for your future?
A: It plays a roll for my future because the other day B told me that when
everything is financially going right we are going to have a swimming pool
and I told him ohh-ohh I think we must leave that out. I think we can spend
the money better because immediately I thought again of that stress I will
have when people are coming to visit ihh ihh I don't want to have a
swimming pool although I belief that with this illnesses going around you
must have your own private pool but as soon as I think of that a house where somebody else's child or grandchild of mine (inaudible) drowned.

Q: Ja, X if it were possible for you to change your past how would you like it to be?

A: If it was possible for me to change my past, definitely, definitely would want my parents alive even if it was until I completed high school. I would ask the heavenly Father to give me that privilege to have parents and then I would love to be to grow up in a home where I don't want lots of money but where the necessities can be every day and everything would be fine. My parents and my sisters must be there, also my brothers too. I would love to have a - to experience a shall I say complete family life that's why sometimes a my husband is telling me that I am selfish I don't want other people to interfere or to come and be in our home but I told him hi ihh, its not that its only that I want certain times of the week or certain times of the day I want my family to be together alone so that we can give each other attention that ihh running past each other all the day ahh ihh are not I don't want that because each of us have our own work now we are away we are giving attention to our work and none of us interfere in each others work so there isn't really communication there and I belief that the more you spend time with (inaudible) because if they see that warmth and safety ihh ihh is in my my home it will keep them away from the streets.

Q: Ja, definitely, would you say the community in which you grew up in the past, that it shaped you in a sense?

A: (inaudible) definitely because the community in which I grew up was that kind of community where if I am a child and I swear now or I am busy
smoking a lady whom I know from no side from whatsoever maybe she was from a farm which I never heard of should take me and give me a very good hiding because I am busy with something that is how I grew up and you never ever tried to do something that you which you knew that was wrong in front of any adult because in Rehoboth all the children were the property of all adults so you were giving a nice hiding and that same adult would take you to your home and a second one was waiting second nice hiding that is how I grew up that is why that’s why I just can't stand this story that here at school the learners will if you don't ih ih ih step aside they will definitely walk over you now that type of thing never ever happened you never passed an adult without greeting that is how we (inaudible) and that is why I've I have problems with the teenagers they just can't stand, understand that I'm telling them why don't you greet when I'm in town therefor most of them greet me be I I stop even if it is twenty five past three and the bank is going to close I'm tell him hey you must greet you can't just walk around as if walk past me as if you don't know me you must greet a person its just good manners.

Q: If you think of your present your presence now, what comes to mind immediately?
A: Any event now, let me think, I would say my marriage.
Q: Jaa?
A: I got married when I was old already I am seven years married now and I'm fourty eight so I was fourty-one when I got married and I belief until the time when I met X I belief that there is nothing that I need (inaudible) anymore, I have a son B, I was twenty eight years old when I got pregnant
he was an when he got a month old I got twenty nine so at the beginning I couldn't cope with the fact that in in the community where I grew up it was something ab-so-lu-te-ly out of the out of hell that I get a child because I was old enough according to them to know what is right and what is wrong and then he B was everything I had a toy which could cry and it was nice having a baby and I then I ihh ihh there was no need for anything else in my life at one stage I got over B's father and then aag the I didn't need money I didn't need a car I didn't need a home I didn't need a child because I (inaudible) and I was working and I was healthy (inaudible) and then I realised when I met C but things ihh ain't right ihh I need ih someone with whom I can be every day of my life trus trust that person and love him care for him getting care from that person also and then I got married on the twelth of December 1980 1992 I got married, and 1980 B was born (inaudible) it was a very nice (inaudible) I belief it was except from having B it was the best thing.

Q: How long ago did this happen?
A: 1992 seven years.
Q: Seven years and it feels long ago?
A: Ohh every time when I look at those photos I feel in love with my husband again.
Q: OK and how did you experience it then the marriage part the event?
A: The event itself, I was so excited I had to watch the television to see that that video on that television to remember some of the things I don't think that any person who gets married will can be able to tell you anything in
detail it’s a there I think (inaudible) you I don't know what some of the things just go past.

Q: Past ja, and today how do you experience it?
A: How do I experience the marriage or my wedding..the marriage?
Q: The wedding.
A: The wedding it was nice it was nice somebody whom with whom I was teaching she had a nasty thing to say about ihh old people who getting married they do get breakfast dinner supper and dinner dinner and supper and I said ihh so what my par my parents its my sister and my brother (inaudible) we had a early morning wedding so there were a a a lot of my guests who came from other places and they were staying in bungalows so we had to see to them for breakfast and of course I got married at 10oclock the morning so they had their food and then that night we also made sure that they had some something to eat because we had a braai and because we looked after our guests someone said (inaudible) but that was ok.

Q: Ahhm, the marriage itself Y, how do you experience it today?
A: At the beginning it was it was something I loved my husband but this thing with a person almost three quarters of the bed and that type of thing and when you come to the bathroom the the dirty wash basin or the dirty bath those things honestly they really they were terrible at the beginning and as the years go by he learned that ek beter die tandepaste van onder gebruik Y word kwaad then things got better (laughter) and I started to realize but Y he is another person on his on his own so you can't change him try and (laughter) except him as he is.

Q: Ihm, does does your marriage have meaning for you?
A: Definitely definitely, I believe that if the safe environment of a marriage is necessary for an adult I believe so and the fact that you can quarrel and the next (inaudible) you are going to be cross with him for the rest of seven weeks or seven months and the next moment you realize but hey I still wanted to tell him this and when you were busy talking to him then you realize but I wasn't supposed to talk I was supposed to be cross that is nice that is nice.

Q: Did you have ever such an experience something that you could compare to this

A: To marriage

Q: to marriage

A: Hi ihh there was no there was no certainty in my relationship with G, B's father no certainty because I deep down in myself I felt guilty because of this relationship and then on the other hand I I never really to be honest I never really trusted him and that fears were I ah I realized I mean it was shown when he started having other girlfriends so it it was not that ihh I had no grounds I belief that I should have listened to those hazards and I didn't hurts nice of getting wiser there are guys that you can be sure whenever you have a relationship and things won't work out there are hazards its just that we don't want to see that and we don't want to hear that. (end of tape)

Definitely my work and some I've some very good friends (inaudible) I believe that I've a lot of people whom I know but I have a few friends and those few friends I want to care for to the utmost I I never sit there and look at them or see them going downwards and..
Q: Jaa?
A: My work my marriage my children and my friends (inaudible) get into trouble if I can stop it.
Q: Ok, is there maybe an incident at the moment which is at the fore of your life?
A: I, at this moment the incident which is at the fore of my life is the fact that my child the career that he has chosen makes me feel at ease I …belief that that ihh uncertainty I had when he was ihh when he was still busy with that thought of being an electrical engineer I knew at that stage he just want to be an electrical engineer because his father is an electrical engineer I couldn't tell him that I had to guide him away from that he is at that stage where he is almost two times my length and as the teenagers are he is trying to to to say things and I must do the following he is actually trying to be the leader in our relationship at this stage and I belief he has leadership in him but there ar things and times that you must allow other people to guide and at this stage I feel I am the one to guide not he.
Q: How do you experience the fact that he changed now?
A: Oh I I I'm I'm (inaudible) I've promised him that one day I will take him to meet his (inaudible) father, I've promised him because I know that the fact that I can't sat and think Oh this is how my mother looked, this is how my father looked it it there's a gap in my life and I don't want to keep(inaudible).
Q: And and this event now with your son does it has have meaning for your future?
A: It has meaning for my future because I know that when I die he he will inherit my what belongs to me so he has some sort of security but I don't want him to be that type of person who can only have something because of what he had inherited I want him to have things which he worked for very hard because everything that he is going to inherit from me are things which I worked hard for I nothing I have one teaspoon which those people left for me to inherit from my parents they had a farm they had goats sheep everything they had a home they had furniture everything and my aunts and their husbands they took everything when my mother died first my father died when I was four then my mother died (inaudible) so they took everything is my suster s'n is my skoonsuster s'n they just (inaudible) I've only one teaspoon but on the other hand I promised myself the fact that I couldn't inherit anything from my parents I will show these people that I will come somewhere that I will have a lot of things which they will want again and that happened.

Q: If you could change your presence how would you like to do that?

A: If I could change my presence I would love to have B not as a child out of marriage but a child in marriage (inaudible) because a child who is who is born out of marriage ihh ihh not out of wedlock that the people sometimes have the ihh they sometimes say things to that child and I belief that is not the fault of the child that he does not have parents which are married Those who are to be blamed are the father and the mother and sometimes people are saying things to children who have only a father only a mother which isn't nice so people never tried that with X because I would have acted like a tigress I told the people from the beginning I belief that
you said that they have a very very filthy word that they call children like X children who have no fathers which mothers ain't married and I told all the people that I know that if one day I hear anyone saying that word I will do something very terrible because if they want to say something which is not nice they must give it to me I am the one being responsible for his being there…and and if I could have changed my past I would have wanted not not with X father but with M I would have wanted me and M to be married and that X could have been his child. That is what I would have liked to change.

Q: If you had no limitations imposed on your life, no limitations if you could do what you wanted to do what would you like to do?
A: If I could do what I wanted to do I would definitely not live in Namibie I've heard so many stories about Australia that that is the place for people who want to study people who want to who want to be shall I say built on until until their limit I'm definitely (inaudible) I I had to leave school with grade 10 10, they forced me to leave school I went out of school and I started to work I bought myself some clothes and my sister told me that X as soon as she had to leave school at grade 10 also so she left school and she got a bursary from the Rehoboth government that stage at that stage and she go to Sonia training college and she got her two years there and she came back she started teaching then she said and in the meantime I was working got enough money and then I she send me to college when I was in my second year Mr. H - he was my music teacher he asked me whether I would like to do a third year and I told him yes of course but I don't have money its my sister who is paying for my studies and then of course the
bursary but the bursary is only enough for for the college and she had to pay something for for my staying in the hostel also pocket money everything I didn't need clothes at that time because I've worked for clothes previously before I went to college. Then he asked me to write a letter to F to and ask her. F gave me permission to do my third year so I did my third year and when I came back I started teaching and I had as they say in Afrikaans 'n ereskul to pay so I started, I didn't give her money because she didn't want any money but I would take her say for instance to Truworths and then I would see to it that I have nothing on the account then she could buy herself things she liked to the the credit which was (inaudible) That is how I started to help her and then I started to help her with her children at school and that is how we still (inaudible) She made she finished her Grade 10 I finished my Grade 12 and then I started BA then the people told me that I have study leave but they can't give me a bursary so I had to go back with five subjects for the BA and start teaching and then the people of Azalia said that they are excepting me like that five modules for my first year but five modules for my first year third year to start doing my BA and then I must do a fourth year which I am going to Saturday not this Saturday to come the one after that I write the last subject (inaudible) During February they allowed me to begin or to start with B.ed while I still (inaudible) one subject. So, I am on my way. Why I'm telling you this Mr. H is because if I had no limits financially or whatever I wouldn't have been like I mean so low educated as I am now definitely not, not me.

Q: Would you say that the community in which you live now shapes you in any way?
A: Shames me?
Q: Shape.
A: Ooo, ooo, the community, I don't have much to do with the community that I'm living in because I don't go for the (inaudible) in people's arms as as I have been this morning I belief that one has to be careful not to make things more difficult for the child when you can when it is in your power to help him to get education more easily. This community I belief they they the the mens of this community some of them you can work with I belief you can walk the mile with them but most of them, I would say two thirds are still in that that kind of thing of sitting and stretching out their bare hands ihh waiting for other people to put something in and I belief that as long as they are that they will stay behind I I think that is the problem with the community here and at this stage they influence me by making my task a bit more heavier you can work better with children that are more motivated because we are struggling here at school to (inaudible) the children to tell them people you can't tell me that your parents are not wealthy or you can't do this, I've worked for everything I have so don't tell me that you can't do this or you can't do that. I was in grade six and I went to school barefooted I was in grade seven still barefooted in grade nine in grade nine yes in grade nine somewhere in grade nine I got my first ihh ihh pair of shoes for this (inaudible) So I I told them I went to Highschool barefeet barefooted so they can do better, all of them are wearing shoes all of them are wearing clothes (inaudible).
Q: If you think of your future, what comes to your mind?
A: If I think of my future I believe that I will work very hard to get well educated and then I want to have my days when I am old not for sitting next to my husband on the stoep I would love to go and see places. I would love to see places and I don't think that I will stop learning until Parkinsons disease or whatever.

Q: Comes in.
A: Ja, (laughter).

Q: Do you have any plans for your future?
A: Before I die I will have two degrees at least and I will definitely be computer literate.

Q: How concrete are these plans how concrete are they actually?
A: They are, in fact I am busy with both of them I am busy with helping myself with computer as soon as we start with that computer story here I will be there and then as you know I am busy with my B.ed.

Q: Is there something else?
A: Something else that I would love to do is I would love to tour some place not one place only I would love to see some places overseas definitely because I was overseas for the past 48 years and I never ever go there and that is one of my dreams and I want to realize it.

Q: How concrete is that plan?
A: How concrete is that there are some money of which X doesn't know which I put away for that (laughter) I believe that if you are going to set a goal it must be something that can do and it it I I early in my life I realized that if you want something then make sure is it in line with what you are now with what you have now so the (inaudible)
Q: Can you tell me about your goals for the future?
A: My goals for the future is to be a better teacher to be a very good wife to my husband and to be a mother to look up to my children.
Q: And these goals can be realized?
A: Definitely.
Q: Is there any other goal?
A: The other one that I have is the I would love to live until I have seen my first grandchild but then I don't want to die when I can't even wash myself I still want to be a person who can do things for myself I wouldn't like to be old and lying in bed I will be old enough to as they say die on the palms of my feet. And that one thing that I still have is to give my husband enough support to become a more stronger person in church a person who visit the church more times because at this stage its some sort of amper dankie se as hy kerk toe gaan. But his mother was one of the people (inaudible) but then on the other hand they are two different people I would love to to to grow in my Christianity if it is possible because at this stage I am so full of robbings that I don't know (laughter).
Q: And this specific goal especially for you husband can it be realized?
A: Yes, it can be, it can be because everything that he he plans to do he always come to me first and say Y jy moet bid vir daai ding Y ek wil dit doen, bid vir my so it shows me that he he knows where he must go to (inaudible).
Q: Y, do you have dreams for the future?
A: My dreams are my goals.
Q: Ok, oraait, that’s good. Ihhm, is there something in the future that makes you anxious?
A: Something, ohhh, most definitely, I, you know what N sometimes I sit at home I think Here wees tog my kind genadig if I think of this aids story you know that is something that and the children they just don't realize what we are talking about its not that they are really bad people I take it for myself its not that I was a bad person that’s why I got X out of wedlock it is just that thing people are talking to you but that thing of which they are talking about you really don't know what it is and that that I belief that our teenagers are in very big danger definitely I I honestly I am getting so scared if I think that what must I do if that is the thing that God wants me for my piece of hardship here on earth to work with my child on these things (inaudible) and I belief that each and every parent have that same feeling because maybe he can look after himself but we never know what type of person he or she is going to get married to
Q: Ja.
A: It’s a feeling that is very it is definitely very strong in my life it is very strong because you will try and and and bring up your child with Christianity but what about what about that mate or partner that he or she is going to get married to what about the upbringing of that person what kind of person will our children get to one day get married to that is definitely something in future that is (inaudible) if your'e going to (inaudible) you won't be able to sleep. It’s a fear that is very very (inaudible).
Q: Is there something else about the future that makes you afraid?
A: Our government, our government, and here I am absolutely honest I belief that those people I was never ever SWAPO in my life but I belief that those people who voted SWAPO at the beginning didn't mean to have war in another country They told us that Namibie will be free from war and now we have war on both sides places where we have to take a airolane to go to and our our neighbour country and look what happened to the people in the North they were feeded for those people to be killed no no honestly that is something that is worrying me the fact that we are we are living in a country who are busy with two wars wars which we had nothing to do with unnecessarily people forced us into it and what something that honestly, honestly worries me a lot about this future of this country is the fact that there was a few months ago that the president talked about that military thing of getting the people from the country and force them to go into the army he he talked about that and I don't want my child to become a soldier for heavens sake I don't want that A soldier to go to other people's countries and kill them there people who did us nothing and I'm worried (inaudible) Q: How do you think about the future of this country? A: How do I think about the future, at this stage the only thing that will help us to be positive is to pray because at this stage the people who make the decisions can't think they, I belief they don't know what the word think means honestly that’s my honest feeling. They do things without thinking and when we are in trouble they are telling us that we can't blame them for the trouble they are in now. They are looking for trouble, they are forcing to get trouble in our country and they they waste the money of this country its unthinkable what they use the money of the taxpayer of. Necessary things
like health and education all these things they they are not interested in. I saw that picture in the Republikein of was it yesterday the people are standing with bags full of money because they are going to get that money now their so-called pension or whatever and our elderly people must be satisfied with onehundred and sixty dollar. I belief that if you are going to take the Republikein of yesterday Mr. H it 800 000 and that kind of money we are speaking about.

Q: What what role does the past present and future play in the constitution of your life?

A: What role, I belief that the role that the past, present I I belief that they definitely shape me make me a little bit more the role that it plays is very strong I think I belief its very strong because I wouldn't have been that kind of person who tries to do things and think I think I wouldn't have been that type of people who wold care for other peoples children the way I do now definitely not it helped me to become a more caring person.

Q: Ok, would you say that you are more oriented toward the past, present or future?

A: I belief that the past the things that happened to me in the past the influence of those things are so strong that I belief that anything that I do I'm busy with everything that I will do that I am busy with now it definitely has some connection with the past because the fact that I want to go further in life is because I struggled in the past. The fact that I care for, try to work with other people's children the way I would like to work with my child is because of my past so I think my past is (inaudible) and it could have been negative because a lot of my friends who had in fact a little bit softer
childhood they couldn't come anywhere and they grew up with parents both of them so I would say that the prayers of my parents and the prayers of my grandparents although they had me for a very short time maybe it was that. Q: Y thanks a lot this is the end of the interview.
Interview with low socio-economic status interviewee

Q: If you think of your past, what comes to your mind. Anything.
A: Just my past time. When I see on this time - it comes like better than past time - my life, cause we can see a lot of things that's happen now. It was not happening in the past time. So one can see the country goes ahead.

Q: Was there something in the past - any event which was important to you, something that happened to you which was important to you?
A: Something that was important for me is that when I was younger I was with my parents at the village and I was so happy to be with my parents. But there was no time - it was no good for me. There was no time to go to school. It was a lot of things and the school was very far from our village. We were walking 15km from our village to the school and come back. So it was 30km per day. That is really true, I can tell you. And then I decided that I can't afford it because it's very, very far and then I returned to look after my parent's cattle and animals.

Q: And how long ago was this, that you stayed there in the village?
A: Since I was born in the village. I grew up there. And I became a little very - when I was 18 I decided to go and look for some job to help myself and my parents.

Q: And if you think back, does it feel long ago? How does it feel, does it feel long ago?
A: Ah, it's not so long ago. Since it was when I decided to go and look for a job, it was in 199 - 1998. So it's not long ago. I was not educated but I was very lucky. I got some kind of job. So I helped myself.
Q: When you were staying in the village, how did you experience it?
A: Ja, I haven't got many experiences at our village, because I just had to
look after the cattle, goats, help giving them water. Well, at our village if
there was no rain that year we had to move our cattle to another village,
staying for three or four months and then coming back.
Q: And it was good? It was nice for you?
A: Ja. It was very good for me, because I was broad up in that way that’s
why I say it was very good for me. I didn't see any other tradition or place.
Q: And today you stay in Okahandja. But if you think back to those days
you stayed in the village, you still feel it was good?
A: Ja, it's ok. Like now I'm here in Okahandja but I'm always thinking of
my village when I want to go ahead, seeing my parents and my family you
know.
Q: If you think back to your child days at the village. Is it still very clear in
your head, or do you forget it already?
A: Ja, my childhood is clear for some time, but when I think of my children
I accept of nowadays, but it's not good for my children because the
development is a little bit too far for them. So I have to think about what I
am going to do with the children for when they grow up. They need to go to
school. So I have to make a big plan for them. So because the village is so -
we are very, very behind. We are not the same as in town. I am thankful to
the government for building the school, but the teachers are not enough. So,
I have to make a big plan. When they are small it is ok, but when they grow
up we will be in a problem for the school. We have to think where they will
go to school and so.
Q: Your child days in the village. Does that have a meaning today for you? Does that mean something to you?
A: I liked to stay with my family, my children. But I stay in Okahandja because there is no place to stay with my family. So, where I am staying, I am just renting and just on my own. But I have to make a plan. So, and you know, the problem is we are uneducated. If you get a job you get a small, a very, very small salary. And that is the way it works. You can't afford to build a house and so on. So, might be when I got a hostel for my children, they will come and going to school here. I can see them everyday. Because now you left the children for three, almost four months and to see them you are so happy. But it's no good. They would like to be with you always. Like when you are going back to Okahandja they are crying about you. They want to go with you. But there's no way.
Q: If you think back to the days when you were in the village and you take yourself today that you are in Okahandja, do you think you learned very much in those days which helps you today. Or did you not learn very much then?
A: At the village?
Q: Ja.
A: Ja, ag, I learned so many, many things. Except for my wife and my parents it is better to go to the village because you can see most people are suffering. They are still suffering, so I have to say I'm lucky to get some bread. Because if you are going to the village that's where you are going to see people they are suffering. There you will find some people who have no
family who can bring anything to them. And they are struggling. So I have to say I am lucky in the family.

Q: For the future, the way you were brought up, the way you were in your childhood days at the village. Does that contribute towards a future for you?
A: Ja, the future and the world will change everyday and everyday. So, I think my children's future will be better than my future. So I can't say their future will be like mine because this is a developing world and it goes ahead everyday. They see many things. In the old time we didn't see anything. We didn't know there was another tradition. We were staying in the bush. But nowadays, the children are very lucky. Their future will be better and better. I think they are going to help us when they get a good future.

Q: Ok, can you maybe tell me something that happened to you in the past. Anything that happened to you which was important to you. Any event.
A: Something that was important to me for the past time is that what I was staying with my parents. I was good and I was a firstborn for them. So I was very, very good to them. Something very much important for me again is when I was going to look after cattle in the other village.

Q: Anything good or anything bad that you experienced.
A: The past time was the colonial time in this country. So I was beaten during the whole war in Namibia. So I was lucky also because I was beaten sometimes in my life. My parents was beaten more and more and more and more.

Q: Did that happen to you also personally?
A: Ja that happened to me as a person.

Q: Would you like to tell me about that?
A: It was very, very bad for me because I was always afraid when I hear that the car drew somewhere and you had to be like a child or whatever. And the one day in the field it was happening to me. When I was beaten by a South-African soldier. And the next day they would come and I run away in the bush. They follow you with a Casper and a helicopter. But I was lucky because the man driving the helicopter was seeing that I was a young boy you know, we can't kill him and so on. They followed me the whole day to get me, since the after - I mean since I was running since 8 o clock in the morning until 7o clock that's the time they get me. And I was tired. I was crying. Because I was afraid to be beaten again. That’s the bad thing that was happening to me. And that is true. And, one day we went to town, to Enyana, we want to go swimming water. There at the our place there were no boreholes. So when I went swimming I didn't know how to swim. I swim and then I want to go down. And someone helped me that day. So I was also lucky that day.

Q: If I can come back to the beating of the soldiers, how long ago did that happen? How many years ago?
A: Og, that is now almost 15 years ago. Ja 15 years.

Q: But does it feel like so long ago, or does it feel just like yesterday?
A: Ja, one can't forget. If you think about it, it feels like yesterday. The beating you can't forget. It's when you think about it, it feels like yesterday.

Q: And then, when it happened, how did you feel then? At that stage?
A: Oh, I was feeling so like crying. I didn't know where to hide from this people. Anything could happen to me. And you are still young, you can't leave your parents alone. So you had to stay.
Q: And today if you think back, how do you feel today?
A: Today I am feeling really very happy, because there is no problem. We feel free. There is no problem for the people. If they are beaten, it's a big problem but if you are staying free doesn't matter what happens, nobody can cry as no-one can beat you. So its all right. Because nobody can come and touch you. Everything is going well. So I am feeling happy for that.
Q: And the time that the soldiers came there and they beat you, does that have a meaning today for you? Does that still have meaning for you?
A: Ja, it has meaning for me because you know they would just come and ask the words: did you see them? This PLAN fighters. When you answer them - and that’s the days there was - that was ok. Because I was still young. The PLAN fighters will pass during midnight and I didn't hear them. So my mother was seeing them. It was unfortunately a Sunday so early in the morning my mother went to the church and after eight they come to ask me. I told them I didn't see any-anything. Because they were also asking a lot of things: Did you hear the dog bark? Where did the dog - and I said, no, I can't say. When the dog barks I can't stand up that minute to see whether the dog barks this side or that side. And also I didn't see anything. So they were saying I was lying. So, after my mother came she told me that the PLAN fighters were passing during the midnight, so they were all right. But me, I was still - because I didn't see anything. So when I think about that it was very, very bad because you were beaten for something you don't know.
Q: Did you learn out of that something which you - is for your future important?
A: Ja, I learned that for my future it is important - because I still can't forget it. So I have to keep it because I was in it.
Q: If it would be possible for you to change your past, how would you have liked it to be?
A: In my culture or what do you mean?
Q: In the past, just the past. Would you like the past to be just as it was or if you could change something what would you like to change?
A: So if I - if I would like to change something - like, maybe you can give me the introduction like in -
Q: Maybe you would say for instance that if I could change my past I would have liked to rather grow up in the South -
A: Ja, I think I would like to go to school. That is a way to change your life you know. Or I would like to go everywhere to see the other countries and different cultures. So, to see the different cultures, the different villages - the more you are changing your life - so because there are some villages by doing better than your village. There are some schools they are giving better education than your school. So when I think back if it was this time then, I would not be on this standing you know. If this time was the past time I had to go to school and develop my village, but now it doesn't help, because you can't afford it. But it is good to change your life as well as the past time.
Q: When you grew up in the village, did the people also help you to be the person you are today or did you grow up very alone?
A: Ja, that's a good question. Nee, on the past time it was good because there at our village you grow up with any parents. Not only your parents and your mother, but every big person. So when you made a mistake so
your father's friend can tell you this is a mistake and so on and so on. I was helped by a lot of people, so I keep it up. I respected any - so because we grew up this way you have to respect not only your father and mother but everyone you find to respect him. I keep it until now. When I go to the village, the people come and greet me one by one to come and see me, so I keep it. And it's good for me.

Q: You just now told me about the day you nearly drowned, in that water. How long ago did that happen?

A: Ahh, very, very long ago because it was 1983, so it was also some trouble because I was going to find my - that time we were calling it the kopkaart you know. So my age was not enough because I was not eighteen so I was almost under seventeen. Ja, it was 1983. Cause I was - Ja I can say that, ja 1983. And when the soldiers are travelling they always come and ask the kopkaart then my parents send me to Enyani village so that I can go and find my kopkaart. So you know, when I meet with the other young guys and we were going to play in the water. So it was a long, long time. It was happening in 1983. Oh, but I was lucky one guy was coming to pick me up out of the water. My stomach was big, so I was near to die. And this was my first and last time to swim.

Q: How did you feel then just after this happened when they get you out of the water?

A: I was filled, my stomach was big like this. After that I was afraid. Afraid ja. I think - oh, I was very, very afraid after that.

Q: And today if you think back, how do you feel now about it?
A: That - on our young, I was young, it was good for me. I was a friend for every-one. Not like nowadays, because this time for money and running where if you are poor nobody can be your friend. So the development is very high and when I think of the past time that time we didn't think anything, you know, we just meet and make friends with some-one else. But nowadays this - sometimes it is not good for me because some-one comes and passes you without saying hallo to and so on, but the whole time past time it was good. We were very, very respectful to everybody. It was very good for me but nowadays this is good for the future. It is good that we are free. The culture we were brought up in is a little bit different. There is a big, big difference.

Q: If you think of now, the present, that you are staying here in Okahandja is there anything that happened now in these days with you which made you angry or which was important to you?

A: This time when I am staying in Okahandja is - there is a lot of things that can happen to me. Some are good, but I am feeling very, very good because - I am not an educated person and - I am happy because I got my job so I helped myself and I am the one in the whole company that has a lot of friends. I am like someone who is educated - so when I talk to the people they can't belief that I have never been to school. So in the school I have been to grade 1 and grade 2 only. Something bad that happened to me is this one on our job. We are working the night shift. One weekend - so people walk around in the night so they come and quarrel with you. So when they are doing this they are not caring about you, they are just quarreling with you. So that's the things that happened to me. And sometimes you think
about leaving the job but then if you are going to leave you will suffer. So you have to stay like that.

Q: Was there especially a night when you were on a shift that someone came to you and looked for trouble with you?
A: Ja, that's always happening in the night shifts but only if you are working on weekends from Friday to Sunday. In the week it is ok and in the day it is also better than the night.

Q: Maybe you can tell me something more about one case where someone came to you to quarrel with you.
A: Ja, so I met, it was last year, so some guys with a truck come asking me to fill - to put fifty dollars diesel. So I felt that the guy was drunk, and after that he gave me hundred. I went to get the fifty dollar change and after that he turned to me and asked 100. And I asked him why he was asking hundred if you know that you filled for - if you put your car petrol for fifty dollars and the change must be fifty dollars. And the man wanted to beat me so I had to leave. I went back to the machine and give him another fifty dollar. And I report him to the police. That's the way I was going because he wanted to beat me and I can't afford that when I'm alone and I reported this to my boss. My boss told me to report it to the police. So after three days the police arrested him because luckily I got the car number. I was confused, because the man asks for fifty dollar diesel and after that he gives me hundred and when I give him the change of fifty dollar he again asks for hundred dollar, where is my hundred dollar. So it was very, very funny.

Q: Does that have any meaning for you, this drunk man who wants the hundred dollars back. Did you learn something out of that?
A: Ja, I learned something because why I say I learned something it is my mind that when I said no I don't give you fifty dollars, I would be beaten and in the hospital. So I don't want to be beaten so I have to do what he says. So, then tomorrow I would solve the problem and so on and so on.

Q: And did this happen before also?

A: Ja this is happening but this one was a big cry you know.

Q: After this happened now, are you then afraid that it will happen again?

A: Ja, I'm always - when I am working on a weekend so I have to be afraid something will be happening to me so that is always happening when we are working on weekends. It doesn't matter you are afraid or not you have to realise that something might happen to you today or tomorrow. But if you finish the duty you say you are lucky because you worked the whole weekend and nothing happened. Then again your friend works in the weekend and again you will hear that he was beaten or quarreling with somebody again, so that’s happening because of this alcohol.

Q: Is there anything else in the present which is important or bothering you or -

A: Ja this present, there are many things which are important to me. Because I am a good guy and I am not a drunk man. I can see this is the - when I am going on this way it will be better than others who are using alcohol and so on. In this presence I would like to keep myself like this. So I have to tell those who are using alcohol and so on who quarrel with somebody else they don't know, so they have to stop it. Then you are all right because nobody can come and quarrel with you and you are ok. But if
we are using alcohol and so on many, many things and so we will be always bad. But at this present I am happy.

Q: If you could change your presence now, if something you can change now in your life, would you like to do that? Somewhere?
A: Something I would like to change in my life like maybe you can give an introduction?

Q: Maybe you would like now to change a car, another car or anything which you can change now, anything?
A: In my life I would like to change that - on my life I got something good. I have to change my place where I can stay. I have to change to get a change of mind to keep my money well so that they can build something very much important for me. Or I buy me my car. So when I would change something, I would like it to be my mind. The way I saw more ways is ok for me and the only problem is the place where I am staying. So I have to change my mind so that I can stay with my family in the North. Except if I am here, they have to come to me. But what can I do?

Q: So, you would like now that your family comes to you?
A: Ja. So that when I go to visit the parents, they can go with me and come back again. That is my hope. I would like to be with my family. Because the time has changed now.

Q: If nothing stopped you, if you had no limitations on your life, and you could do whatever you wanted to do, if it was possible that you can do anything, what would you like to do the most?
A: If it was not a problem - if I was good to do anything in my life I have to look my place where I can stay with my family. Second I have to look after
my parents and family. So, and I have to change to also help the people, other people. But if you can't afford it. Some people come and ask something and you want to help them but I can't afford anything so -- as you know, if you can't afford a thing you can't help. So always remember that because you see yourself you can't afford it. So, if you can't buy a car, you cannot always look in the garage at it. But if it was possible to buy a car and build a house - I have to do everything for my family and for to help for the other people also in the village. That is my wish if it was possible to do.

Q: The people around you here in Okahandja, do they have an influence on the person you are?
A: Og no, I can't talk something that is not true. All people around me they are friendly to me. They are good. It show me that I also want to go ahead to be on the right road. So I hope that if I am lucky one of the days I will be on the upper position like them. They are always supporting me in my mind. So I have to stay and my head like it is, is good. So the people have a good influence on me.

Q: If you think of the future what is coming up?
A: Ag, ja, the future come all right. It's on the other party. Because we can see that we were without work so more young people didn't have any work but on this future I can see that the government make a plan for giving the job. But we are unlucky you know with this, this nowadays is not good for the other party cause when I think about the past time it was the parents they were fit and so on but on this nowadays so except this young people our young people we are not so fit. More people they are unfit. So lot are sick. You are always afraid and we don't know if we are going to see the
future of this country for more and more. But it help if you keep you well you can effort and go ahead and to see what is the future in this country. If you are not keeping yourself well, so you are going to die.

Q: Do you have any plans for the future?
A: Ja, so I have a big plan. Except when my - because you know, I can see myself on this job I have, so I have to make a big plan. If you didn't get any other job so I have to keep money and I am going to build my small business in the village. Because in the village we are staying so to build free. So when you make a small business it will be better than. Cause here it's so very, very expensive for us, our people who are uneducated. You are so - your payment will be more out with more and more things. The work is paying 800 dollar and the place I am staying is 300 dollar and I'm going to send to the family. So, we are suffering. But in the future I would like to make my business. Help myself, you know. That's my hope. I think that I have to do it so that I can help myself and the family.

Q: Did you already make plans about how to get the business?
A: Ja, very lucky enough I've got a small Koeka-shop almost now - I started in '89 to sell these sweeties and soap. Small business, but now I can see that it's big - I sell for more and more all the more things. The problem is the transport, when I get the transport it will become bigger. I got a little bit experience of business. I didn't attend any course. So when I decided to go and stay at my business I feel that I have to make a course. So that I can get new experience, so maybe I will try it.

Q: And you buy the sweets and thing here and you take it up there?
A: Ja, I have to buy everything here because where we stay is very, very far from Ondangua where we are going to buy things. It's almost hundred and fifty km. So you have to buy the things once when you go home then you go and stay there so you can't go home and come back. It's a lot of money, so you buy everything here.

Q: Do you have goals?
A: Ja.

Q: Can you tell me about them?
A: The goals, ja I have.

Q: Except for the shop now? Ja, maybe you have already to say that by end of September you want to go for the business or so, do you have something like that?
A: Ja, since that in the plan is this, I have to - I plan it already and to building my other shop, because I got a little profit. I started to have to building a bit bigger shop than this one I have. So that’s what I call a little bit ahead. I think that when I built it I will get more customers. So the more you build a nice thing, the more you get the customers. There is no electricity and so on, we have to suffer. If you want to sell this beer and cold drink - it was difficult for us because there is no electricity. So I am lucky enough because I have a fridge for the gas. So the people like to come and buy cold drinks. Doesn't matter we stay in the bush, people like to drink a cold thing. As the development.

Q: Did you already start building on the shop or do you still plan to?
A: I plan it for the next year. After December I have to make a plan. I am busy to buy the material and by next year I will start to build. But first I
have to buy cement and after that I will go to look for somebody to make the bricks and after that I have to start to build. So lucky enough I can go to my brothers who got a certificate for building. They can do it then.

Q: If you dream about the future, sometimes we have dreams about things, would you like to tell me about them?

A: Ja, I - my dream is that when I am dreaming always I dream to get some more - and I dream that I would like to be in a good place with my family and so, but I hope - so, because I am always dreaming I've got money, that I build my house. So now, I dream to be with my family. So my dream - you will not miss one of my dream - it must be true dreams - so I have to struggle until I see that my dream have come true.

Q: Is there anything about the future that makes you afraid?

A: Ja. What's it on the future, what it make me afraid is this nowadays. As I told you that - the - this nowadays is not good for us anymore. So I am always afraid because I don't know when I reach to be an old man like the past time. Like our father. Because on this now, we are dying when we are fifteen, sixteen, seventeen. When you be on 45, you say I am big. So, I am always afraid.

Q: You are afraid for getting older?

A: No, I have - I want - I want to be old like my father. I want to survive.

Q: Oh, you don't want to die?

A: I don't want to die on this time - I can't say I don't want to die, because that’s different now. There is a time when we are going to make the external factor - that is when the gods come. And this sickness I don't like. I don't want to die with aids. I have to keep it quiet and so on. I almost try to
be honest. I am always afraid of this. I don't know if we will reach to be old like our fathers and mothers.

Q: Is there anything else which makes you afraid about the future?
A: Ja, like this nowadays what makes me afraid is that as you see that the past time it was also raining. But nowadays there is no rain. So, like our people who stay in the village - we will grow up ourself and make our own food - so that is in my future. I think that if there is no rain I have to be afraid because our everything is going to die. People will be hungry. The goats and the animals will die because if there is no rain, no-one can survive. The animals cannot survive.

Q: How do you think about the future of Namibia?
A: The future of our country. So, I think they have to look also on the village - the whole country. Because, people who are staying on the village are the people who are suffering of colonialism. More and more they are still suffering. So, if they don't change this to go and look on our village - there are no roads, there is no water, there is no electricity. So, for example at our village there is a big school. The government build a good school. But there is no water, there is no electricity, there is no place where the teacher can come and stay. So, for example this beginning of January they are coming - two ladies and one man from the University. They just came sleeping for one day and then they said: no, we can't stay on like this. So, after that the children stand, there are no teachers. They said there is no clean water, there is no electricity, there is no place where we can stay. So I think they have to build a school and put clean water and electricity. So, the teacher can come look themselves they have accommodation and go ahead.
And they haven't changed it. If they go ahead like this, the village people will suffer - they will suffer. When the developed people come and see this - so they don't want to stay with them as there is no development. So it will help if we get a little bit development like clean water and electricity everywhere at the school. So they will come and stay with us and they will bring the development.

Q: The way you are living, what is more important to you, the past, or the present now or do you live more for the future?

A: So, the way I am living now - it is good for me because I get to see development. I always say to myself to get to develop myself. The way that I am staying now - if I see on the past time, then the way I am staying now is ok. So in the development I can see that the time has changed. The time has changed. I use to see many, many things now. When I was young, we were only in the bush. You didn't see any development but the moment you start to travel you see the - so I have to say the development and the way I develop, I am going ahead. The way I see the many things happen.

END OF INTERVIEW.
Interview with unemployed interviewee

Q: OK, maybe at the start I would just say that what we talk on the tape is just confidential, just we will you will hear it and I will hear it afterwards when I work with the tape and then maybe someone at the university might see it, but nowhere your name will appear so no one will know that this is an interview with you.

Q: If you think of your past, what comes to your mind?

A: What comes in my mind is about the schools. I don't think in the old days we had problems with schools. Currently we have to care. I don't, I'm comparing the past and now. Old days the schools were cheap. Kids were getting books at school even including myself I never paid for my books. I was never buying books for school. So I think in these days we are, there are problems with the school, the kids they are not getting places in the schools, we don't have enough money. The government does not build schools. The parents have to contribute to build schools.

Q: Were there any events in the past which were of importance to you?

A: (laughter)

Q: Anything in the past which happened to you that was important to you?

A: About the schools or..?

Q: Anything.

Q: Maybe something happened, any event which was significant to you in the past. It can be far away in your childhood or something that you can remember very well.
A: Which I can remember, we at school were beaten. That was a good lesson for us. If you did something wrong you remember, tomorrow I will never repeat it because today I do my homework or I will get punished. So the kids of today, they don't get punished at the school. They just get a profile and then they feel they can repeat the misbehaviour.

Q: Can you remember such a case where you were specifically beaten?
A: Ja, my first year in highschool. I was beaten severe. I spent one day in hospital. I was really beaten.

Q: How long ago was that?
A: That was in 1986.

Q: 1986. And how long ago does it feel to you did this happen?
A: It feels, I use to remember it always. But I think it helped me to always do my homework. I do remember it always.

Q: And then, when this beating happened, how did you experience it?
A: First of all, I felt so harsh towards my teacher but later on he explained to me why I was beaten so I accepted it.

Q: And today if you think about it, how do you feel about it?
A: It was to me a good lesson, because I never repeated the same mistake again.

Q: The event you just told me about, how clear is that picture?
A: Up in my mind?

Q: Ja.
A: Its not so clear anymore because I used to think of that when I was a kid.

Q: Ok, do you remember it well?
A: I remember it well.
Q: Does this have a meaning for you today? That event.
A: Ja, because I have a difficult son. And when always I talk to him I do even explain to him I was beaten because not doing homework. So I use to repeat it daily if he doesn't do homework.
Q: If you think of this event, does this event have any meaning for your future?
A: Yes, because I think if I would repeat not doing my homework I am not supposed to be where I am. If I was not beaten because of my homework, I was not supposed to speak English at this moment.
Q: Is there maybe something else you can think about in the past which you would like to mention which made an impression on you?
A: Ja, I can mention about the old days, we youngsters we were not abusing alcohol like the youngsters do today. Those days you have to know, even if you are in boarding school or you are schooling from home, you knew which time you have to be in. And really you have to. You will be in by that time. This youngsters of today since the government started with this child abuse they call, even my sister, my younger sister has the same problem. She has a kid. If something is wrong, he beats her (inaudible) In those days even my neighbour was able to beat me if I was wrong nowadays you can't beat your neighbour's kid even if he does something wrong cause the world has changed.
Q: Did it happen that the neighbour beat you once?
A: Ja, many times.
Q: Ja, can you recall one such case?
A: I can recall one such case. Me, I lied to my mother that there was a film in the school hall. But there was no film, we were just going our ways. And the mother of my neighbour she came at home and she was not present when she came home and she asked where is the kids. And my mother said they went to the film they went to the there is something at the school. And this mother of my friend she went to find out and she find that there is nothing at the school. So when she went to find us she beat us from that point up to home and when we reached home we were even beaten again.

Q: How long ago did this happen?
A: That was also my first year in Secondary.
Q: Which year was that?
A: It was eighty six.
Q: How long ago does it feel to you?
A: It doesn't feel so long. I remember my childhood.
Q: How did you experience it then?
A: That was a good experience to me. When I compare it today, it was very good.
Q: So when the beating took place, you felt it was good?
A: Yes, we were wrong. Nowadays kids they don't accept even if he's wrong. They run to human abuse centre's so you are not supposed even to beat your own kid in the home (inaudible)
Q: And today if you think of it?
A: That was a good example in our place. Today even you can talk to a kid on the street which is insulting or something he can answer you rude.
Q: How clear is that still to you today?
A: (inaudible)
Q: And that what you told me about just now, does it have any meaning for your future?
A: To me not, but I could transfer it if it was to my kids.
Q: If it would be possible for you to change your past, how would you have liked it to be?
A: My past, I don't have any problem with my past.
Q: You would just keep it?
A: Yes.
Q: Do you think that the community in which you grew up that they in a way have shaped you? To the person who you are today.
A: Yes.
Q: Could you maybe explain?
A: In the community we live, we used to live we lived as one big family. When my parents are not around she could give me over to one of the friends or neighbours and I could stay there. Where I am I am supposed to do what the other kids are doing. I'm a visitor and just quiet. What they do, I do also. What they eat, I eat also. So in those days we used to live as one big community.
Q: If you think of your presence now, what comes to your mind? At the moment, is there anything in your life that is of special meaning to you?
A: Which is of special meaning to me is my children. I would like them to have more education. More than me.
Q: Maybe there is something at the moment, right now, which worries you or which took place in this time, that you might share with me.
A: In the community or just…
Q: Of you yourself.
A: Of me myself. At home?
Q: Ja, anything.
A: Ja, there is one event which happened at home. My husband is a foreigner. So once we were not at home. There came a friend of him at home and tells he was send for the TV. So the kids, while they know this person they just accepted. He took the TV and off he went to Zambia. I reported the matter to the police. Nothing happened. I took my money out of my pocket and I went to Zambia. And for sure the Zambian police were so good. They traced this person. He sold the TV. He was supposed to return it. Up to now he didn't.
Q: When did this happen?
A: It is now one year. Last year, March of last year.
Q: How do you experience this?
A: It was a serious like a shock to me. Somebody visit your home and do such…and there was also such events in December in Zambia. There was also a sudden friend of my husband. I know my husband really owed him money and I really didn't know about it. So he just came with the police when the rest of us were sleeping. He collect our luggage with the Zambian police. So I went to fetch the luggage at the police station and said no this belongs to me it does not belong to my husband. They say your husband owes this person money this things remain here until your husband.. I said my husband is in Namibia, I need my stuff, I need to go to Namibia. So I just left the things and came back. When I came back the same person
came, with also curious, this cut ones, carrying the same things from Zambia, we are not seeing him, just went to sold the things. But I went to the market. I saw he is selling the things and I say no, these things you are selling are not yours and although my husband is owing you money these things are mine they don't belong to my husband. I took off to the police and explain the case to the police. While he have sold most of it the police are telling me, no, that case have happened in Zambia there is nothing we can do about it. When he took your things it was in Zambia. I said, no, they took my TV here and take it to Zambia but I went to the Zambian police and they helped me why can't you help me. They said no, that happened in Zambia and those from Zambia and this, we are different. What happened? I lost my things.

Q: And how do you experience this?
A: I can't explain it.

Q: Do you think this means something for your future?
A: I learned here a lesson. (inaudible) it’s a lesson to me.

Q: And for the future it is also something you have now?
A: Ja.

Q: Did you ever have such an experience before, like this one in Zambia?
A: It was only for the TV and this one.

Q: And does it influence you in any way still?
A: No, (inaudible)

Q: Is there anything else which you at the moment which you can tell me about which is of importance to you?
A: oh, no, I have some-one who doesn't do his homework.
Q: How do you experience that?
A: For me, it's difficult, it this moment he is not at home. He took his books, I don't know whether he went studying, I don't know where he is. When he have come at home he went to study but he never did his homework.
Q: Does that have a meaning for your future?
A: My wish is for him to finish school.
Q: If you could change your presence how would you like to do that?
A: The future time or now?
Q: Now.
A: I would like to change only the youngsters respect for the elders.
Q: Something else?
A: No.
Q: If you had no limitations imposed on you, if you could do just what you wanted to do, what would you like to do?
A: I would like to study.
Q: Anything else?
A: No, that's all.
Q: Would you say that the community in which you live at the moment shapes you in a way?
A: No.
Q: If you think of your future, what comes to your mind?
A: When I think about my future, I like my children to be educated (inaudible)
Q: Do you have any plans for the future?
A: Yes, my plans for the future is (inaudible) to go and sell my curious in Germany.

Q: How concrete is this plan. Would you be able to achieve this?
A: Yes.

Q: Can you tell me more?
A: Because this moment my husband is in Paris where he is going to sell. So, we discussed that for the years to come I will go to Germany.

Q: Maybe something else? About the future which comes to your mind?
A: For the future I wish for peace for Namibia, that’s all.

Q: Do you think that can be achieved?
A: Yes, we had been a peaceful nation up to today so I think that can be achieved.

Q: What do you believe, how does your future look like?
A: I wish my future will be better than now, I want to be a step forward.

Q: Ihhm, in what sense?
A: My living, my kids education.

Q: Can you tell me more about your goals? Any goals which you have for the future?
A: My main goal is only to go to Germany. If I can I will study further.

Q: This study, is that possible to do that for you?
A: Yes (inaudible)

Q: And dreams for the future?
A: laughter.

Q: Is there something about the future which makes you afraid?
A: Yes there is something of course, because people were saying the new millennium will bring the end of the world so we don't know (laughter)
Q: Anything else:
A: Anything else, I use to think what will happen to my kids if I passed away before they finished their education.
Q: Something more?
A: No.
Q: How do you think about the future of the country?
A: It is not right. It wish it to be better.
Q: If you say better, what do you mean?
A: It can be better in schools, they can build more schools for us.
Q: What role does the past and the present and the future play in the constitution of your life?
A: It played on my side I think it was only education.
Q: OK, how did, would you say that the past and the present, your past and your present and your future; how do they make your life? Would you say that they play a role in your life?
A: No, in any sense or,
Q: Just in general, does the past influence your presence?
A: (Laughter)
Q: Would you say you are more oriented towards the past or more to the present or do you think more about the future?
A: I think more about the future.
Q: OK, maybe you can tell me more?
A: Because I think my goals I want to achieve lie in the future.
Q: If you think of your mother language, does it provide for words that indicate the future?

A: Because I am not so good in my mother language, it will be difficult to say.

Q: Ja, that’s all, thank you very much for coming.