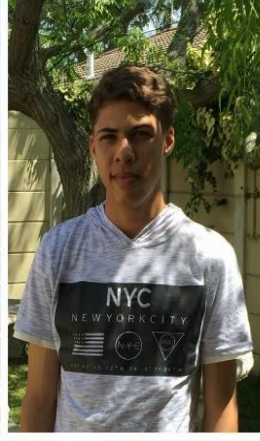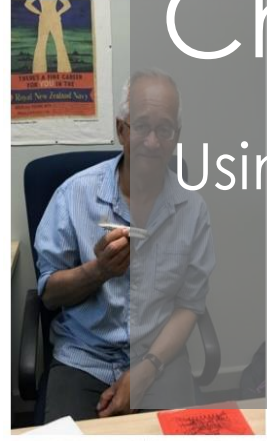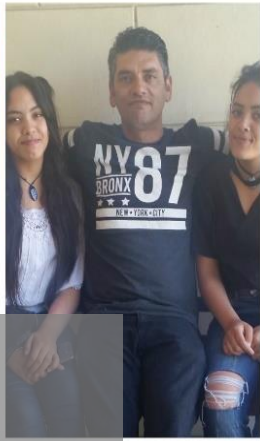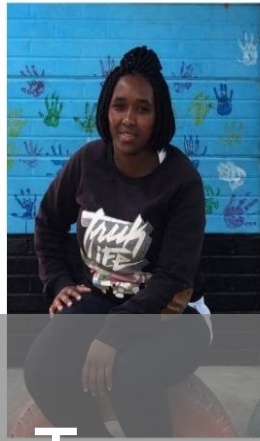# Children of Cape Town:

Using narratives to celebrate childhood
in Cape Town, South Africa

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An Interactive Qualifying Project
submitted to the faculty of
WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
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degree of Bachelor of Science

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Report submitted to:

Eric Atmore and Sarah Atmore
**Centre for Early Childhood Development**

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Abstract

In an effort to celebrate childhood as an important life stage, the Centre for Early Childhood Development is opening the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. To assist in the museum's development, this project collected childhood narratives from people in the Western Cape province for a museum display. Generational (n=4), photo-prompted (n=14), digital (n=5), and unstructured (n=3) interviews were conducted. Themes of race, education, economic hardship, family dynamics, lack of freedom, and safety concerns emerged from the narratives. We developed an online Digital Story Toolkit to continue to collect stories from people in South Africa. In addition, we proposed different display options for the narratives collected, guided by observations of museums and consultations with museum technicians.
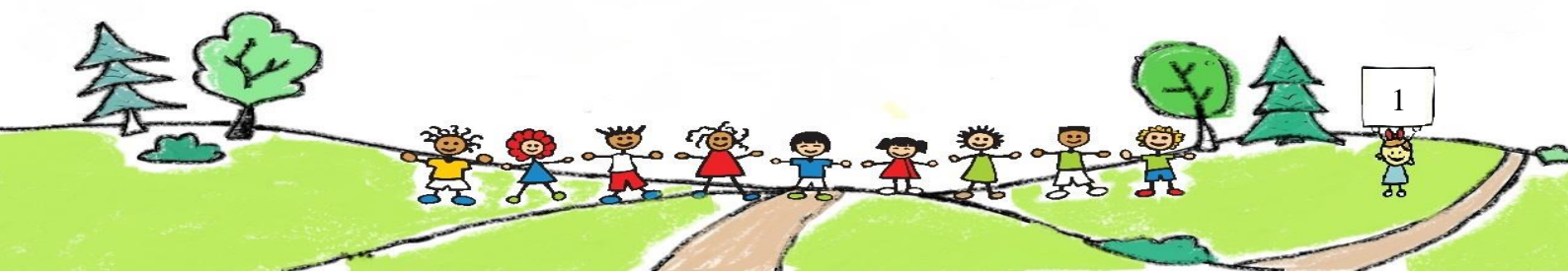
Executive Summary

Childhood, the state of being under the age of 18 (G. A. Res. 44/25, 1989), is important to an individual's growth, making childhood development a key factor in the success of an individual (UNICEF, 2005). The modern world emphasizes good education as a human right and a primary factor in a supportive childhood that leads to a successful future. However, education for all has not always been prioritized in South Africa. The apartheid and colonial governments, were more concerned with retaining their power over the black majority population (Clark & Worger, 2004). Consequently, childhood experiences in South Africa have been affected by a shared, but unequally experienced, history of political, economic, and social inequities. Since the first democratic elections in South Africa, multiple state-level initiatives have been established to address continued inequalities, including the development of formal early childhood development (ECD) efforts, with the goal of providing the best possible start for the children of South Africa.

The Centre for Early Childhood Development (CECD) is a non-profit organization working to improve the quality of ECD centers and programs in South Africa. CECD's newest project is the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. This museum will celebrate childhood and highlight the importance of this life stage (CECD, 2017c). This project assisted the CECD in creating a display of narratives collected from a diverse group of Western Cape residents for the museum. A catalogue of display ideas for incorporating the narratives in the museum and its website was developed.

In order to accomplish this goal, we followed an iterative design approach. We began by forming a panel of CECD staff to provide us with feedback on our narrative collection methods and catalogue ideas. After conducting a pilot round of narrative collection and getting the panel's feedback on the results, we conducted four generational interviews, fourteen photo-prompted interviews, five digital storytelling interviews, and three unstructured interviews. In addition, visits to the Holocaust, District 6, and Hout Bay museums provided ideas for successful display options. Observations of the museum displays combined with advice from exhibits technicians guided the creation of a catalogue of display options for the gathered childhood narratives.

Analysis of collected narrative transcripts revealed themes of racial inequity, inequality in the availability and quality of education, economic inequality, and the effect of

inequalities on family dynamics. Although some interviewees were unwilling to speak in detail about the hardships of their childhood, many of them did allude to the influence of race on the experience of social inequalities. Many interviewees talked about their education with some interviewees struggling to get any form of education and other interviewees accrediting their later successes in life to their educational experiences. Some interviewees also wished their schooling offered more opportunities that would have helped them progress in life. Interviewees discussed the financial struggles their families faced as they were growing up. They described that their parents often traveled long distances or spent time away from their children in order to find work. Interviewees noted that this limited the availability of role models throughout their childhood. In addition to the themes of inequity, many interviewees discussed their perception of freedom during their childhood in comparison to the freedom children have today. Some interviewees viewed their childhood as a time of freedom to experience the world without worry of responsibilities or personal safety. Others thought younger generations experience more freedom due to increased opportunities available to them. A last theme that emerged from the interviews was the sense of safety, or lack thereof, one felt when growing up. Many interviewees perceived a decrease in the level of safety experienced by children today due to increased gangsterism.

Although themes of inequality emerged in nearly all of the interviews conducted, all interviewees defined childhood using positive and hopeful language. Many interviewees reminisced on the carefree nature they had during their childhoods and how they would enjoy playing and having fun on a regular basis. They were also vocal about how essential this stage of life is for personal growth.

To get advice on how to create a successful display, interviews were conducted with exhibit technicians from the District 6 and Hout Bay Museums. These exhibit technicians indicated that displays should present information in layers as a way to accommodate for visitors with different levels of interest. The information presented on the first layer provides an overview for all visitors, with greater detail provided on subsequent layers. Observations of other museum displays revealed that showcasing quotes throughout an exhibit is an effective approach to help visitors gain an understanding of the meaning behind the exhibit. In addition, utilizing various forms of media can be an effective and engaging technique for visitors of all ages, as well as mixing media in a single display such as text, visuals (photos and art), audio, and interactive components (touch screens and toys). Finally, the exhibit

technicians suggested that displays contain both technical and non-technical components to expand accessibility to varied audiences. These recommendations served as guidelines in the development of display ideas, detailed in the *Cape Town Museum of Childhood Catalogue*. The catalogue provides the CECD with multiple options for displaying the collected narratives that can be considered when designing the entrance, story room, and website for the museum. The catalogue also contains information on how to best categorize the narratives in a way that will engage and resonate with the museum visitors.

Acknowledgements

      We would like to thank our sponsors Eric Atmore and Sarah Atmore for going above and beyond to make our project and Cape Town experience incredible and inspiring. We are so grateful to have gotten the opportunity to meet so many amazing people throughout the work we did together. Thank you for entrusting us with this little piece of your museum vision.

      We would especially like to thank our panel of CECD staff for taking the time to meet with us, and for giving us valuable feedback on all the stages of our project. We would also like to thank the entire CECD staff for recommending people to interview, for welcoming us, and for taking the time out of their busy schedules to answer our questions and help us get in contact with our interviewees. We appreciate all your help and kindness.

      Thanks to all those we interviewed for welcoming us into their homes and workplaces and for sharing their childhood stories with our team. We hold your stories dear to our hearts and will keep them in our memories forever.

      Thank you to the experts at the District 6 and Hout Bay museums for taking the time to share your insights on display design and creation with us.

      Thank you to everyone we got "childhood is…" responses from, especially the staff at Oblivion and Bootleggers, where we spent many hours doing work and drinking coffee/tea.

      We would like to thank our friend, François, for bringing us to work and home again every day, and for the great conversations we had along the way.

      Finally, we'd like to thank our advisors, Nicola Bulled and Jeanine Skorinko, for pushing us to become better writers and to think critically about everything we have done, for their continued support and belief in us throughout the process, and for teaching us how to let loose.
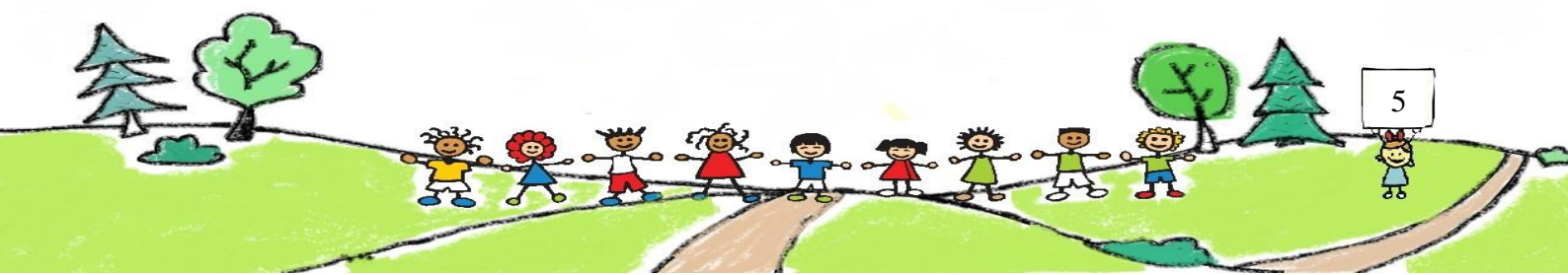
Authorship

All members of the IQP team contributed to the drafting, editing, and formatting of this report. The team followed a process where drafting was divided among each group member. After each member finished writing, Carley Dykstra, Ayushka Shrestha, and Sylvia van der Weide acted as the primary editors for the final drafts of each revision. This process was followed for all drafts, including the final submission, to create a report with a unified team voice.
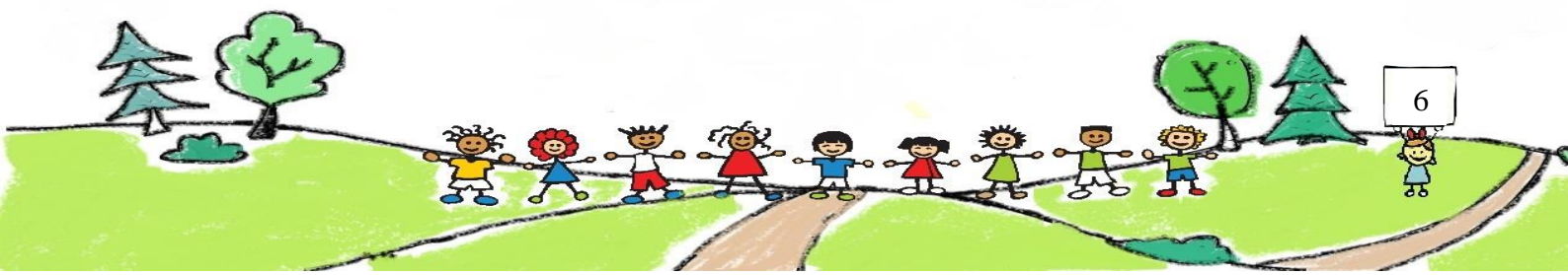
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Introduction

Childhood, the state of being under the age of 18 (G.A. Res. 44/25, 1989), is an important phase in life. Childhood development has been recognized as a key factor in the future successes of any individual (UNICEF, 2005). Ideally, every child should have the opportunities necessary to "be fully prepared to live an individual life in society" (G.A. Res. 44/25, 1989, Preamble).

Childhood experiences in South Africa have historically been affected by social inequities, including a racially segregated and underfunded Bantu Education System (Hirson, 1979; Christie & Collins, 1982; Frankental & Sichone, 2005; Duff, 2011), and an economy based on low-skilled labor in highly concentrated areas with forced segregation of families (Townsend et al. 2006; Smit, 2001). While efforts have been made to address the social, economic, and political inequities established by colonial and apartheid governments, the lasting effects have significantly shaped childhood experiences of South Africans over generations.

Since the fall of the apartheid government in South Africa, there has been progression in the field of early childhood development, which aims to continuously improve childhood experiences for children all over the country (Atmore, 2013). One approach is to raise awareness of the realities of these experiences by using narratives as a tool for sharing the different experiences of childhood. Using personal stories has been shown to allow an individual's experiences to be better understood by a listener or reader (Rejnö, Berg, & Danielson, 2014). Researchers have found that people share their stories because they want to create meaning for other people through their thoughts, feelings, and the events of their life. Furthermore, sharing stories helps an individual cope with and better understand past experiences (Matthews, 2014). Each individual story "gives the teller the voice" allowing others to "really listen to and engage" with their story (Matthews, 2014, p. 28).

The Centre for Early Childhood Development (CECD) is an established non-profit organization dedicated to addressing inequities in childhood development in South Africa. They are incorporating childhood stories within the Cape Town Museum of Childhood to celebrate and acknowledge experiences of childhood as an important facet in life. The purpose of this project was to assist the CECD to create a display for this museum. To accomplish this, we collected childhood narratives from people in the Western Cape province

and developed a catalogue of suggestions for displaying the narratives in the museum. By gathering childhood narratives, the stories of the people in the Western Cape province may be preserved and shared in an effort to acknowledge the existence of varied experiences of childhood.
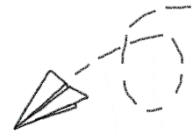
The lasting effect of social, economic, and political inequities on childhood in South Africa

White settlement in South Africa began on the Cape in 1652. The subsequent years saw several major wars, the discovery and mining of gold and diamonds, and a continuation of European colonial expansion. In 1910, the Union of South Africa became a single country under the dominion of the British Empire. From the end of the Second World War in 1948 to its fall in 1990, South Africa was controlled by an apartheid government. Policies under the apartheid government further formalized and expanded the discriminatory patterns that had characterized European colonialism. The first democratic elections in South Africa were held in 1994; however, political, economic, and social inequities of South Africa's colonial and apartheid past continue to exist today. While these inequities remain evident, the youth of South Africa are experiencing the advantages of a post-apartheid, democratic state. South Africa's transformative constitution offers greater access to education, housing, health, and employment (The Bill of Rights, 1996). Most notably, the important developmental phase of childhood has been both legislatively and socially redefined, with extensive policies dedicated to early childhood development (South African Department of Education, 2001).

Childhood has only recently become a commonly understood concept with a global definition. The United Nations defines childhood as the phase of life from birth to age 18 (G.A. Res. 44/25, 1989), although the definition has varied throughout time and place, often in response to the adult world. The modern, Western desire for a child to be educated in order to "be fully prepared to live an individual life in society" (G.A. Res. 44/25, 1989, Preamble) has not always been possible. For most of history, education has been unavailable to the majority of people, as many children were required to work alongside their parents or in apprenticeships instead of going to school. As they worked, children learned the skills they needed, and slowly took on more responsibilities until they were working at an adult level, often reaching that point around the age of 12 (Heywood, 2010). The shift towards the ideals that form the basis of modern childhood has been attributed to the Industrial Revolution (Heywood, 2010; Muirhead & Swart, 2015). As agricultural societies became less common, children were no longer able to help with adult work, and "industrial patterns, like mass schooling" took its place (Stearns, 2006, p. 6). The image of childhood innocence and vulnerability became popular among the upper-classes, focusing their philanthropic efforts on

making children of the working class fit that mold. This led to changes in child labor laws, which along with compulsory mass schooling changed the role of children in society (Muirhead & Swart, 2015). With children forced to attend school and no longer allowed to work, they "turned from being … economic assets, to becoming absolute economic liabilities" (Stearns, 2006, p. 74). Economic pressure and lower childhood mortality rates led to a shift in family dynamics. Couples started having fewer children and developed a greater "emotional investment" in each child (Stearns, 2006, p. 76). The modern, industrialized world with smaller families, lower child mortality, and a clearer delineation between the roles of children and adults, has placed an enormous emphasis on good education as a human right and a primary factor in a supportive childhood that leads to a successful future.

Good education as a human right has not always been a goal of the government in South Africa. Before 1990, a major concern of the white minority ruling class was that the black majority would become too educated and obtain the resources to overthrow the government and gain power (Clark & Worger, 2004). To ensure that blacks knew their place as laborers in the white-ruled areas, apartheid formalized racial discrimination and segregation as state action and formal policy (Clark & Worger, 2004). In the process of creating a legally segregated society, the government defined three racial classifications: black, white, and coloured[1] (Act No. 30 of 1950). Even 22 years after the end of apartheid, the physical barriers, such as areas of empty land which separated these communities, still exist (Miller, 2016).

These racial divisions have shaped the inequity in educational opportunities in South Africa since the first schools were built in the Cape Colony in the 1600's. However, in the mid-1800s, many schools, especially those established by Christian missionary groups, were not formally segregated and the classes were a mix of black and poorer white children (Hirson, 1979; Bickford-Smith, 1995). The children who were able to attend school were a privileged minority. They were a "tiny proportion of the total number of [black] and coloured children of school-going age" (Duff, 2011). Although only five percent of black and coloured people reported that they could read and write, there was growing concern among the white population that black and coloured people were becoming too well educated (Duff, 2011).

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[1] Trevor Noah, a comedian born and raised in South Africa, describes his childhood experience of the separation of races during the apartheid. He explains that in South Africa, someone of mixed race is categorized as 'coloured', unlike in America, where people of mixed race are considered to be black (Noah, 2016).

This led to increased pressure for segregation within the education system from the country's upper class white minority residents.

By the beginning of the 1900's, segregation within education was formalized. In order to provide the required basic education for all children and maintain a superior quality of education for white children, there had to be an inequitable distribution of resources. This ensured that "the schooling offered to whites [was] upgraded relative to that provided for blacks" (Hirson, 1979, p. 18). Education became a distinguishing factor between white, black, and coloured children, and therefore it was of great importance to the state that all white children were properly educated so that they could become good upstanding citizens (Duff, 2011). During the apartheid, white students were educated in the Christian-Nationalist ideologies so they were properly "molded for the 'future republic'" (Hirson, 1979, p. 41). For the black population, the government created the Bantu Education System with the intention of limiting the aspirations of black and coloured South Africans and prepare them for semi-skilled work, such as factory and mining labor (Christie & Collins, 1982; Frankental & Sichone, 2005). All of this culminates in what Dr. Christie, a professor at the University of Cape Town, calls "the greatest piece of ideological manipulation of the young since Hitler" (1982, p. 60).

Another method of segregation was removing black South African children from missionaries and private mission schools. These schools had been educating all children using the Western European education system, which encouraged and empowered children to speak out against a racist society and government (Bassey, 1999). This freedom of thought created too much fear of rebellion, which made the mission schools a threat to the apartheid government. Therefore, under the Bantu Education System, the government took over mission schools and set up state schools for blacks. These schools were overcrowded, underfunded, and only capable of providing very basic education that was completely tailored to the apartheid ideology (Frankental & Sichone, 2005). In 1969, the government spent R46,000,000[2] to educate 2,400,000 black students, while spending R241,600,000 to educate only 810,490 white students (Hirson, 1979, p. 13). The education system for each group was designed to prepare its students for the roles they were intended to fill within the apartheid

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[2] The government spent about $3.25 million to educate black students and about $17 million to educate white students, given the conversion rate of R1.00 = $0.073 or $1.00 = R14.14, as of November 2017.

system. Even after the fall of apartheid, white South Africans continue to benefit from "the enduring legacy of past discrimination, especially in public education" (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006, p. 300). As of the year 2000, the average household expenditure for public schooling ranged from R170.95 for black students to R818.92 for white students (Pillay, 2017). This shows that, on average, black families still have less money to spend on education, which likely correlates to a lower quality education.

In addition to policies that directly influenced education, many other unequal social and economic policies have influenced childhood experiences throughout South African history. Since the arrival of the white colonists, the black population was seen only as a valuable source of cheap labor. The process of colonization stripped indigenous populations of a number of critical resources, including land and livestock, leaving them with nothing to support themselves but their labor (Frankental & Sichone, 2005; Ndlovu & Makoni, 2014). This labor was used to cheaply support several sectors of the economy including mining and agriculture (Saul & Bond, 2014). The black population was forced into smaller areas of low-quality land on which they could not grow sufficient food. This prevented them from subsistence farming, producing a surplus of labor that was exploited by the white commercial agriculture sector (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006). The apartheid government also used this low-paid workforce to support the nation's economy. In order to maintain control of the black labor force, government policies imposed racially differentiated taxes, made it difficult for blacks to own land, limited access to education, and reserved skilled jobs for whites (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006). Many of these strategies were a continuation of pre-apartheid policies, aimed at maintaining the racial hierarchy through the wealth divide.

The government's attempts to disenfranchise blacks South Africans created inequities that caused instability in family structure and home environments. Family instability, resulting from problems with housing conditions, family dynamics, and health, is negatively associated with a child's well-being (Goldberg, 2013). Children are "vulnerable, and are the first to suffer whenever … adults get things wrong" (Bray et al., 2010, p. 22). Poverty from unemployment or low-paying jobs forced families to relocate to find better opportunities. Under apartheid, black South Africans employed by the white elite were forced to live in shelters outside of cities and not allowed access without proper documentation. Many ended up living in 'squatter' camps, pop-up shacks with little accommodations and services, such as no sanitation or running water (Clark & Worger, 2004). "The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of

1923 and the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 … prevented African people from owning land and/or buying a house in an urban area," keeping the black South Africans confined to the city outskirts (Smit, 2001, p. 535). In 1995, the South African housing shortage was estimated at 1.5 million units (Smit, 2001). This housing shortage shows that escaping the poor conditions that black South Africans were forced into is a challenging, almost impossible, task. In some families, the only work available for men was in mines, factories, or commercial farms. These jobs required that the men live on-site, returning home only when the contract expired. This kept these men, many of whom were fathers, away from their families for extended periods of time, preventing them from being role models for their children and active participants in their children's lives (Smit, 2001). This disconnect within the family can have a negative effect on a child's life (Townsend et al., 2006).

Inequalities in economics, family life, and education can all be tied to racial inequities, each with the potential of influencing the development of a child. Racial inequities reduce the quality and types of jobs available to certain populations creating economic inequality (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006) and influencing family dynamics (Goldberg, 2013). Race and economics also influence educational opportunities (Fiske & Ladd, 2004), and conversely education then influences economic opportunities (Christie & Collins, 1982). Now, efforts are being made to create more equality in South Africa by providing improved educational opportunities for all children.

Shifting childhood experiences in a new South Africa

The National Department of Education in South Africa has come to recognize the importance of the Early Childhood Development (ECD) sector on the development of children and the effect it can have to overcome the history of inequities (van Niekerk et al., 2017a). The ECD sector is comprised of the government and ECD service providers, such as ECD centers and programs, non-profit organizations, and primary schools (Malgas, 2013). The government manages the ECD sector by grouping children based on their age and development level (Atmore, van Niekerk, & Ashley-Cooper, 2012). The Department of Social Development focuses on making sure social skills are taught to children at birth to age four so that they grow to become contributing members of society (Chisholm, 2004). The Department of Education establishes and maintains the structure behind a formal education plan for children ages five to nine (UNICEF, 2005). These departments work together to

provide necessary developmental foundations for children through their stages of growth. Formalized ECD programs and centers encompass "a set of policies and services addressing family planning, prenatal and postnatal care, birth registration, parental support, preparedness, and access to quality formal education" (van Niekerk et al., 2017a, p. 9). Supporters of formalized ECD programs argue that access to education is not the only factor in determining success. Children also need access to food and care to remain healthy, perform well in school, and participate in society (UNICEF, 2005; UNICEF, 2013, p. 12). Eric Atmore, a professor at the University of Cape Town and director of the Center for Early Childhood Development (2013), argues that ECD centers and programs are needed to meet the needs of many of South African children. The ECD programs in South Africa are modeled after other successful programs globally (van Niekerk et al., 2017a).

One program that has served as a model for ECD programs in South Africa is the Head Start Early Childhood Learning & Knowledge Center, a United States federal preschool program initiated to address poverty (Ebrahim, 2012; Bauer & Schanzenbach, 2016). Initiated in the summer of 1965 with around 560,000 children across the United States, Head Start continues to provide services for early childhood education, nutrition, health, and parental involvement to low-income children and their families. Head Start supports child development by preparing children for school, connecting their families with necessary health care services, and supporting parent-child engagement by increasing the parents' knowledge of childhood development (Head Start Programs, 2017). The aim of compensatory education, such as Head Start, is to provide supplemental programs and services that assist at-risk children to increase their level of formal education.

A similar program, Teaching for Change, has successfully helped young children by providing them with more comprehensive education during their early years. The non-profit organization was initiated in the 1980's as a coalition of teacher committees aiming to build literacy and community for immigrant students in the United States (Teaching for Change, 2017). The organization has succeeded in aiding underachieving school communities by increasing family involvement, creating more positive and supportive learning environments, and consequently improving academic achievements among the students. Dr. Marito Garcia (2008, p. 272), a human development economist, argues that, "[programs] need to be available not only to the child's parents, if they are present, but also to anyone in the

community who can or does have an impact on the child's life." Having the local adults organize and participate helps create a better sense of community and respect.

In South Africa, multiple plans have been established by the government to address the inequalities that children face and to organize ECD efforts, such as the UNICEF-backed National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy (NIECDP), proposed and implemented in 2015. The goal of this program is to provide the best possible start for the children of South Africa to ensure the long-term prosperity of the country and development of its citizens. The plan serves to create a comprehensive package of early childhood development services and support, with essential components identified. In addition, the plan hopes to identify the relevant people and their roles and responsibilities for the provision of the various components of early childhood development services (UNICEF 2015, pg. 2). Most notably, the proposal establishes that programs catered to children from birth to age four are of the highest priority, specifically those programs targeted towards improving their general social skills. Dr. James Heckman (2007, p. 1), professor at the University of Chicago, argues that, "As a society, we cannot afford to postpone investing in children until they become adults … [We need to] invest in the very young and improve basic learning and socialization skills." The NIECDP supports Heckman's assertion, focusing the plan on vulnerable children. In light of this claim, UNICEF (2005, p. 14) defines ECD as:

> an environment and opportunities where all children have access to a range of safe, accessible and high quality ECD programs that include a developmentally appropriate curriculum, knowledgeable and well-trained program staff and educators and comprehensive services that support their health, nutrition, and social well-being in an environment that respects and supports diversity.

This definition encompasses many of the previously stated goals for ECD in South Africa, and lays out the high-level tasks that can be used to achieve those goals.

Along with the NIECDP, welfare programs, such as the Child Support Grant and services within the Department of Health also contribute to bettering the lives of children in South Africa. The Child Support Grant provides financial support for children whose parents are too poor to do so themselves (Atmore, 2012). The Department of Health aims "to deliver cost efficient services to all South Africans" (National Department of Health, 2017, p. 1). The advancements in early childhood development can be measured by three major components: education, poverty, and health (Atmore, 2013). The progress in education can be seen in the

greater enrollment in the schooling system and improvements in formalized early childhood development, which establish a better foundation for academic and economic success (Atmore 2012). In 2009, 78 percent of five-year-olds were enrolled in Grade R (the equivalent to US "kindergarten"), with 99 percent of children aged 7-13 enrolled in primary school in 2009, as shown in Figure 1 (Jamieson et al., 2011).
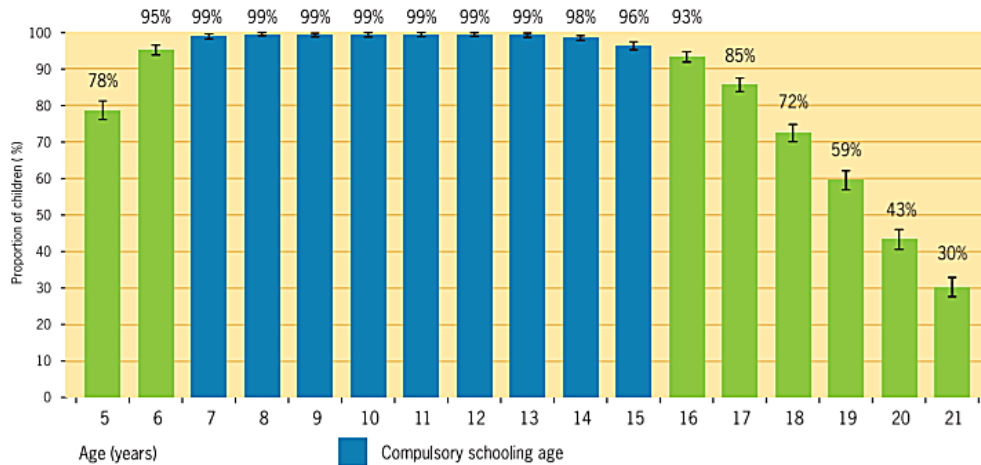
Source: Statistics South Africa (2010) *General Household Survey 2009*. Pretoria: StatsSA.
Analysis by Katharine Hall and Rutendo Murambiwa, Children's Institute, UCT

Figure 1. *Reported attendance at an educational institution by age, 2009 (Jamieson 2011, p. 99)*

Reductions in high rates of poverty in South Africa correlate with an increase in the number of children with child support (Atmore, 2013). An increase in child support accessibility can create more opportunities for a child. By April 2011, 10.5 million children under the age of 16 had accessed the Child Support Grant making it the largest child poverty alleviation program in South Africa (Atmore, 2013). As shown in Figure 2, there was a 13 percent decrease in the number of children living in poverty in South Africa between 2003 (blue) and 2009 (green). Figure 3 shows the increase in the number of children who received the Child Support Grant from 2005 to 2010 (Jamieson et al., 2011).

	EC	FS	GP	KZN	LP	MP	NW	NC	WC	SA
2003	84.2%	78.2%	51.7%	78.5%	88.1%	77.9%	76.1%	72.5%	45.6%	73.1%
	2,688,000	843,000	1,350,000	3,004,000	2,346,000	1,028,000	1,123,000	245,000	696,000	13,185,000
2009	77.3%	60.9%	36.2%	68.1%	78.7%	65.2%	63.0%	67.2%	28.4%	60.5%
	2,135,000	649,000	1,173,000	2,914,000	1,821,000	962,000	805,000	293,000	500,000	11,252,000
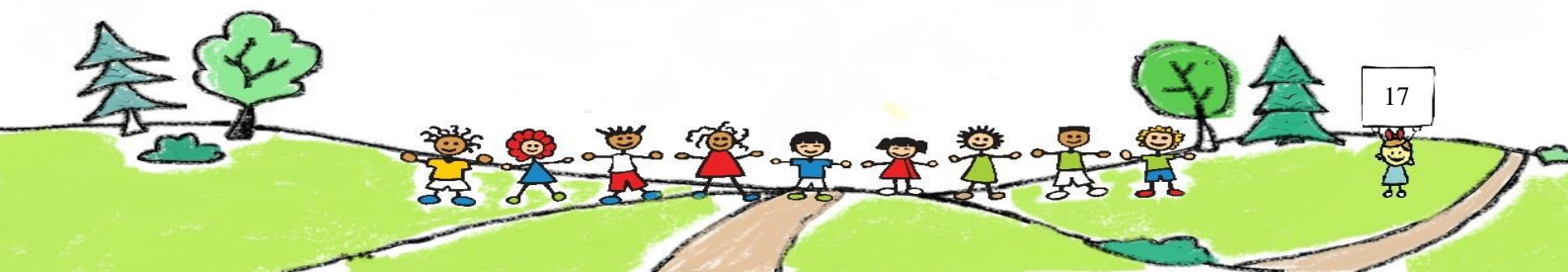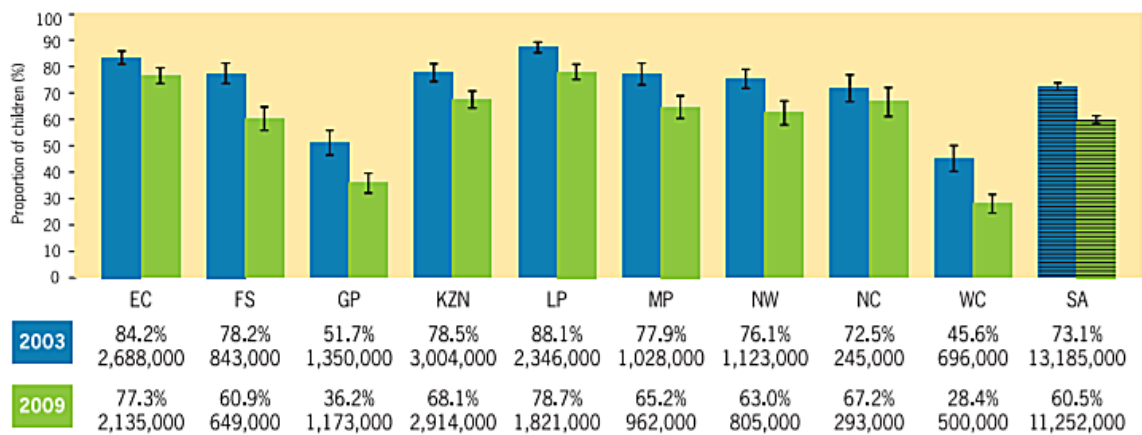
Sources: Statistics South Africa (2004; 2010) *General Household Survey 2003; General Household Survey 2009*. Pretoria: Stats SA.
Analysis by Katharine Hall & Matt Chennells, Children's Institute, UCT.

Notes: ① Children are defined as people aged 0 – 17 years. ② Population numbers are rounded off to the nearest thousand. ③ The real value of the lower poverty line is R552 per person per month in 2009. ④ Income includes all earnings from formal and informal sector activity, and income from social grants. ⑤ Strengths and limitations of the data are described on pp. 104 – 106. ⑥ The confidence intervals, shown on the graph as a vertical line at the top of each bar, represent the range into which the true value may fall. See p. 77 for more details on confidence intervals. ⑦ See www.childrencount.ci.org.za for more information.

Figure 2. *Number and proportion of children living in income poverty, 2003 & 2009 (Jamieson et al., 2011, p. 85)*

Province	Number of child beneficiaries					
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Eastern Cape	1,078,442	1,413,830	1,497,736	1,491,223	1,605,479	1,707,445
Free State	361,318	417,076	441,397	457,169	494,433	547,694
Gauteng	723,432	862,346	926,179	969,267	1,067,729	1,207,344
KwaZulu-Natal	1,338,045	1,746,944	1,963,944	2,128,967	2,344,413	2,512,787
Limpopo	990,194	1,200,185	1,253,794	1,278,711	1,392,140	1,493,705
Mpumalanga	489,663	613,008	645,565	662,316	717,075	771,326
North West	465,242	604,525	613,002	637,557	682,991	742,699
Northern Cape	101,728	121,332	175,250	184,183	209,818	232,355
Western Cape	365,655	431,514	458,980	480,394	557,784	666,577
South Africa	5,913,719	7,410,760	7,975,847	8,289,787	9,071,862	9,881,932
CSG amount	R 180	R 190	R 200	R 220	R 240	R 250

Source: South African Social Security Agency (2005 – 2010) SOCPEN database – special request. Pretoria: SASSA.

Notes: ① SOCPEN figures are taken from mid-year to coincide with data collection for the annual General Household Survey. ② For the years 2005 to 2008, the CSG was only available to children aged 0 – 13 years (under-14s). In 2009, the grant was extended to include children aged 14 years (under-15s), and in 2010 to children aged 15 years (under-16s). ③ Strengths and limitations of the data are described on pp. 104 – 106. ④ See www.childrencount.ci.org.za for more information. Social grant statistics are updated each month.

Figure 3. *Number of children receiving the Child Support Grant, 2005 - 2010 (Jamieson et al., 2011, p. 88)*

Infant and child mortality rates are used as a gauge for measuring health status. Infant mortality rate estimates declined from 52 deaths to 34 per 1,000 live births between 2000 and
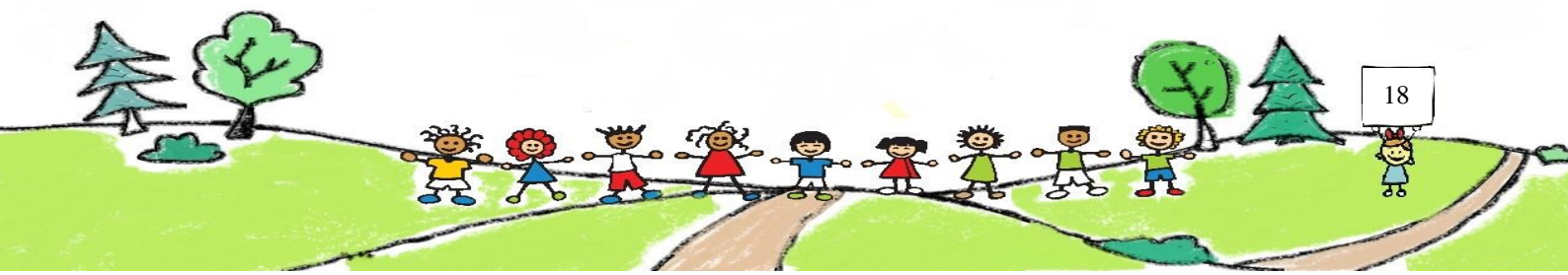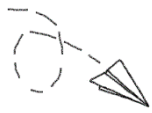
2010 (Jamieson et al., 2011). A decrease in the mortality rate indicates, among other things, major improvements in health care accessibility provided for children.

An audit conducted in 2000, found that in South Africa there are 23,482 ECD facilities encompassing a mixture of school based, community-based, and home-based centers. These centers consist of more than 1,000,000 enrolled children (Atmore, 2013). These ECD centers and programs help in the improvements of education, poverty, and health of the children of South Africa.

The Centre for Early Childhood Development's efforts to influence childhood in South Africa

One organization working to improve the quality of ECD centers and related programs in South Africa is the Centre for Early Childhood Development (CECD). The CECD is a national non-profit organization that was established in 1994. Its mission is to increase the ability of organizations and individuals to foster and sustain services and programs that support development of young children (Centre for Early Childhood Development [CECD], 2017a). Led by Professor Eric Atmore, the CECD works with individuals and organizations to provide necessary training, resources, and support for early childhood development in South Africa (CECD, 2017a).

The CECD is involved in a variety of programs and projects, including skills training and development, infrastructure upgrades, and family outreach. The CECD creates and maintains integrated ECD programs involving skills development, literacy, numeracy, and life skills trainings for organizations, teachers, parents, and community members in South Africa (CECD, 2016). One of its main ECD support services is an infrastructure upgrade program involving the improvement of existing ECD centers and the building of new centers. The infrastructure upgrade program also teaches principals and other faculty how to sustain the center on a long-term basis (van Niekerk, Ashley-Cooper, & Atmore, 2017b). CECD also assists with the registration of ECD centers, which allows the facilities to receive government funding. Over the past 23 years, the CECD has upgraded 1,163 centers and built six new centers. The new centers alone reach more than 500 children (CECD, 2017b). It has also successfully trained over 5,000 ECD professionals on managing ECD centers, ECD policies, and technologies in the classroom (CECD, 2017b). Through its new family outreach project, the CECD is supporting caregivers in 73 families to better foster childhood development. The

techniques taught to the caregivers range from encouraging them to enroll their children in center-based ECD programs and improving education at home, to providing caregivers with nutritional education and positive disciplining strategies (CECD, 2014). The CECD has been working to enhance individual and organizational capacity to foster childhood development, and develop diverse resources in the ECD sector to give every child an equal opportunity. Through its efforts, the CECD has reached over 345,000 children and over 1 million families to date (CECD, 2017b).

Celebrating Childhood: A new project of the Centre for Early Childhood Development

CECD's newest project is the Cape Town Museum of Childhood, set to open in 2018. The museum aims to celebrate the childhood experiences of people in Cape Town (CECD, 2017c). The celebration of childhood is meant to recognize the importance of this stage in life when beliefs, values, and interests are developed (S. Atmore, personal communication, November 14, 2017). The museum will not only present childhood as a stage in life, but it will also showcase the importance of overcoming inequalities in society (Cape Town Museum of Childhood, 2017). In addition, the museum will display the heritage of South Africa's children in a series of interactive exhibits (CECD, 2017c). The exhibits will include informative topics such as children's rights, the importance of education in childhood development, and diversity in relation to childhood (CECD, 2016; The Centre for Early Childhood Development, 2017). The museum aims to inform a diverse audience about the history of childhood, the different realities experienced during childhood, and how childhood experiences vary, all to acknowledge the importance of childhood (Cape Town Museum of Childhood, 2017; S. Atmore, personal communication, September 7, 2017). In the words of Eric Atmore, CECD Director, "[This museum is] aimed for children [ages] 2-102" (E. Atmore, personal communication, September 7, 2017).

The CECD is incorporating childhood stories within the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. The CECD envisions the entryway to the museum as an introduction to different perspectives on what childhood means to people. The CECD also wants to elaborate on these different perspectives of childhood by having a different section of the museum dedicated to personal childhood stories. One method for showcasing various childhood experiences is to use narratives. Narratives have been shown to be a useful tool to share different perspectives because they allow personal experiences to be better understood by a listener or reader
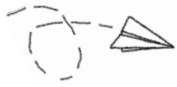
(Rejnö, Berg, & Danielson, 2014). Narratives also provide a voice for the individual sharing their story, and can help an individual cope with and better understand past experiences; "the use of stories gives the teller the voice, empowering and enabling vulnerable individuals, and offering the professional an ideal vehicle with which to really listen to and engage" (Matthews, 2014, p. 28). Researchers also found that people share their stories because they want their thoughts, feelings, and information to create meaning for other people (Matthews, 2014). Showcasing the narratives in the Museum of Childhood also provides an opportunity for the museum visitors to feel a sense of connection to the people around them, as "our life stories connect us to our roots, give us direction, validate our own experience, and restore value to our lives" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 225).

The effectiveness of using the narrative collection approach can be seen in the successes of the Humans of New York (HONY) blog. HONY is a photo blog, created by Brandon Stanton, that captures the thoughts, struggles, and stories of ordinary people from all over the world. Stanton states that the "popularity of HONY may stem from emotional resonance that each post invokes from readers, such as happiness, sadness, and fear" (Wang et al., 2017). Each post on the photo blog is accompanied by a personal narrative, allowing readers to learn about a moment in the person's life in the form of a short story. HONY has become increasingly popular since its start in 2010. It began as a small photography project that aimed to collect photos of 10,000 people in New York. As the project continued, Stanton began collecting the stories of his subjects along with their photos. A compilation of stories collected in this format was made into a book called *Humans of New York,* which became a #1 New York Times bestseller. Stanton now travels all over the world collecting stories from people and has a following of more than 20 million people on social media sites, such as Facebook and Instagram (Stanton, 2017a). The popularity of Stanton's book and photo blog show the effectiveness of personal stories in capturing the attention of others around the world.

Narratives can also be used to help people understand tragedies. A professor in the Department of Psychology at the American University of Paris discussed the importance of narrative collection by using Holocaust stories. He gives examples of the experiences of some survivors and says that these stories can invoke emotion in the readers. In the late 1970s, researchers and the general public became increasingly interested in the memories of the Holocaust survivors rather than the "psychiatric image of survivors as broken individuals"

(Schiff, Noy, & Cohler, p. 162, 2001). Different organizations began to gather stories from survivors in order to create a collection of oral testimonies to be used as an educational tool. They wanted to hear the memories in the words of the Holocaust survivors (Schiff, Noy, & Cohler, 2001). This format helped others understand the emotion and trauma of experiencing the Holocaust first hand. Much like personal Holocaust stories, childhood narratives can evoke emotion from people while also showing the importance of a topic, in this case, childhood.
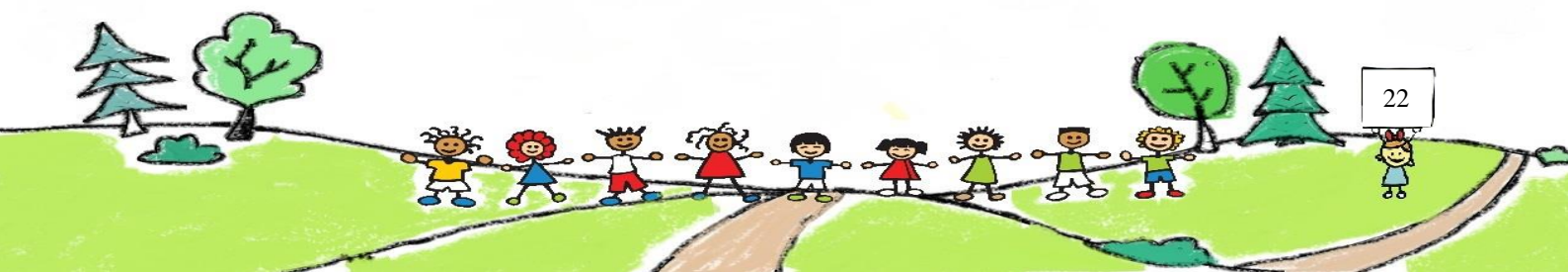
The purpose of this project was to assist the Centre for Early Childhood Development (CECD) to create a display for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. The goal of the display is to celebrate childhood in Cape Town, South Africa. To accomplish this, we collected childhood narratives from people in the Western Cape province and developed a catalogue of display ideas that incorporated the narratives in the museum and its website.

Iterative Design Process

We used an iterative design process to collect childhood narratives. The iterative design process allowed us to efficiently manage the limited time we had. Throughout this process, a product goes through multiple cycles of testing and refinement in order to address mistakes early, helping to reach the goal in a structured manner (Herder & Weijnen, 1998; Adams & Atman, 1999). Refinement requires repetitive engagement with a panel. This panel structure provided useful insights from those involved with the development or implementation of the product. See Figure 5 for an overview of our implementation of this process.
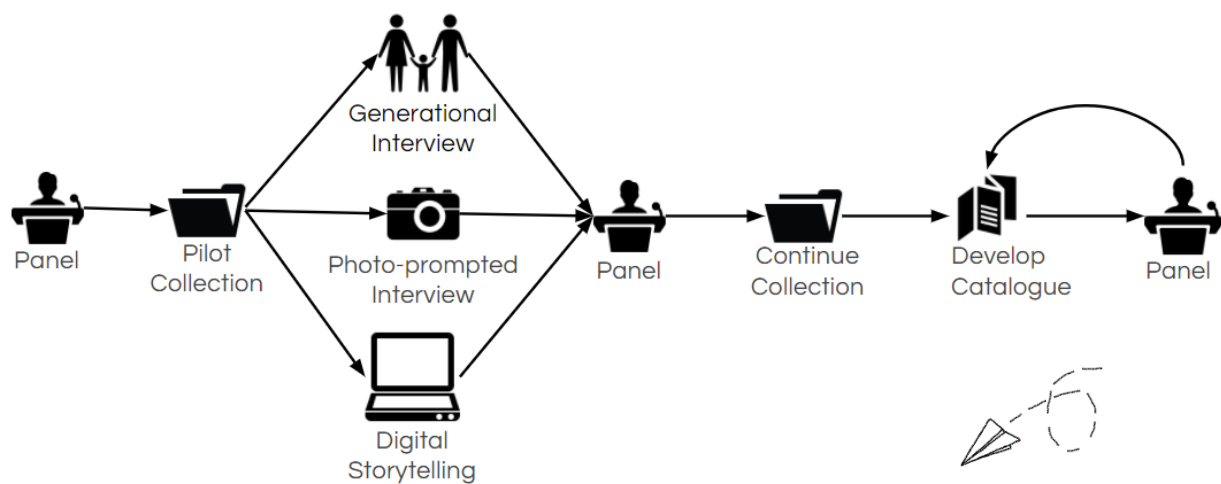

Figure 5. Iterative design flowchart, including panel establishment, piloting, narrative collection, and display catalogue development.

Step 1: Establish a Panel.

The chosen panel was important to help facilitate and guide the direction of the project. The purpose of the panel was to provide insight on how to refine our methods to

collect the most compelling stories and to give feedback on the catalogue of display ideas for the museum and its website. Ideally, the panel would have consisted of people that represent the citizens of Cape Town, specifically potential museum visitors, so that we could get relevant feedback on display ideas. However, we acknowledged that it would not be feasible to organize recurring, structured meetings with a diverse panel of community members on a regular basis. Therefore, we created a panel of CECD staff who have experience with formalized early childhood development and work with diverse communities in the Western Cape province. We worked closely with this panel throughout the project to continually refine our methods of collecting narratives and create the museum display catalogue. Seven CECD staff members volunteered to be a part of the panel and attended weekly meetings. Their names and positions are:

      Eric Atmore - CECD Director

      Sarah Atmore - Program Manager

      Jessica Blom - Project Manager

      Chanel Fredericks - Museum Liaison

      Thembesile Xwazi-Mgushelo - Development Worker

      Boniswa Gquma - Administrator

      Thembisa Nkohla - Trainer

The panel was at the center of our iterative design approach. Initially, the panel provided feedback on the interview methods. For example, an issue was raised about potential language barriers and the need to have a translator to understand an interviewee's full story. To address this, the panel suggested that we record the interviewees in their language of choice and then ask a CECD representative to translate and transcribe the narrative for us. Another issue raised was that our accents might be difficult for interviewees to understand. To address this, we discussed ways to increase understandability, such as speaking slowly and avoiding research terminology. The panel, along with the other CECD staff, provided recommendations and contact information of people they thought would be good candidates for our interviews. This enabled us to reach out and schedule interviews more quickly than if we had to search for all individuals on our own. Consultation with the panel also provided feedback on the narratives collected. For instance, some ECD center directors' narratives focused on their center rather than their own childhood. The panel encouraged us to be extremely clear with the ECD center directors that we wanted to hear

about their childhood experiences, not their ECD center, and provided suggestions on how to redirect the conversation if they started to talk about their centers. The panel's feedback confirmed that the collected narratives represented the diverse experiences of childhood that the CECD wanted to showcase.

Step 2: Incorporate topics to broaden selected themes.

In our initial background research, we recognized four major themes relevant to the history of childhood in South Africa. The themes included racial inequality, inequality in the amount and quality of education, economic inequality, and the effect of inequalities on family dynamics. We started the iterative design process by bringing these themes to our panel of CECD staff to ask for their feedback. One major criticism was that the themes had a negative connotation and could limit the scope of interviewee responses and/or make them less willing to open up. Instead, we brainstormed a list of topics with the panel that encompassed, but went beyond, our predetermined themes. The topics were: your childhood (ages 0-18), the importance of childhood, childhood education, and childhood inequalities. These topics were presented to interviewees prior to the interview to help them think of the kinds of stories we were looking for. The predetermined themes were instead used in the analysis of the narratives to create potential thematic groupings for displaying narratives which are included in the catalogue.

Step 3: Collection of Narratives.

To collect narratives, we carefully formulated the structure of our interviews to gain the interviewee's trust. Gaining trust from an interviewee is imperative for collecting high quality data. Trust is built over time and interviewers should attempt to build that trust from the moment they meet their interviewee (Harvey, 2011). We recognized that having our team of five interviewing one or two people would be intimidating and would hinder our ability to gain the trust needed to collect useful information. Conducting interviews in pairs not only created a more comfortable environment for the interviewee, but also enabled us to conduct and transcribe more interviews in our allotted time. To make a connection with the interviewees and help the interviewee feel more comfortable with the team, we had an initial social interaction before conducting the interview. This interaction consisted of the team introducing ourselves, the project, and the purpose of the interview in person, via email, or

via WhatsApp. An example of what was discussed with our interviewees before each interview can be found in Appendix A, B, and C, for generational interviews, photo-prompted interviews, and digital storytelling, respectively. After discussing the project, we scheduled a time for the interview. Conducting the interview after presenting the goal and purpose of the project gave the interviewee time to think about which stories they want to share during the interview.
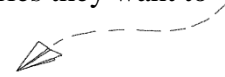
During the interview, we reiterated the purpose of the interview and how the interviewee's information could potentially be used for the museum display or website. We implemented a verbal consent process at the beginning of every interview to obtain permission to conduct and audio record the interview. During each interview, a voice recorder was used to capture all of the information so that it could later be transcribed. One of the interviewers focused on taking detailed handwritten notes while the other(s) directed conversation during the interviews. We then took photographs of the interviewee, with their permission. After the interview, a written consent form was presented so the interviewee could indicate their consent for their narrative, photograph, and/or audio recording to be part of the museum or museum website. The interviewee could also request to have the story that was constructed from their transcript sent to them.

Our intention was to prepare all of our interviewees for one of our three interview methods. There were three instances where the interviewees were not prepared for the recommended interview method. In these instances, we conducted unstructured interviews instead, asking questions about their childhood and attempting to guide the interviewee towards telling us a story. These unstructured interviews still produced interesting stories.

Generational Interviews.

The generational interview method was inspired by StoryCorps, an organization that collects, shares, and preserves people's life stories. Generational interviews have family members interview each other to help strengthen and build the connections between each other (NPR, 2017). The act of having family members interview each other helped create a comfortable environment and encouraged the participants to learn more about each other. We worked with one member of the family to develop thoughtful questions to prompt the other family member. We wanted to ensure that the family members controlled the conversation during the interview. Therefore, preparation was necessary to make sure the family members fully understood how the interview would be conducted. If this preparation was not done

correctly, the interviewees relied too heavily on us for discussion prompts. With proper preparation, generational interviews were successful in creating a relaxed environment. Once they had been prepared, participants were then asked to converse with each other. We observed that the interviewees engaged in conversation more easily when a family member asked them questions. Having family members listen to each other's childhood stories first-hand also provides these family members with an opportunity to "gain insights into childhood and to learn about childhood heritage," a goal of the Cape Town Museum of Childhood (Cape Town Museum of Childhood, 2017). This method was successful in producing interesting childhood stories because family members were able to ask each other more in-depth questions in an attempt to reveal stories they already knew about or information they were curious about.

Generational interviews were the most difficult to schedule compared to our other interview methods. We were only able to conduct four interviews using this method. Our list of contacts recommended by the CECD mainly consisted of individual interviewees because the CECD staff was often not acquainted with multiple people within the same family. It was also difficult because multiple members of a family had to be present and willing to participate in the interview. In some cases, family members preferred not to participate or had scheduling conflicts that prevented them from participating. As we conducted other interviews, we would sometimes ask if the interviewee had any family members willing to participate in a generational interview. For example, one interviewee recommended having his wife and daughter participate in a generational interview, which was later conducted.

Photo-prompted Interviews.

We used photo-prompted discussion as another method for conducting interviews. For this, the interviewee brought in a meaningful photo(s) that reminded them of their childhood. We used this method as a means of gathering visual data and providing a starting point for conversation. If the interviewee did not have a picture that was applicable, we asked them to bring a meaningful object from their childhood to the interview to be discussed and photographed. This method helped focus the beginning of the interview on understanding the story behind the photo that the interviewee brought. Benefits of this strategy are that it "reduces fatigue in longer, non-photo based interviews and often evokes more substantive and comprehensive material from the informant" (Vaccaro, Smith & Aswani, 2010).

The effectiveness of this photo-prompted technique is shown by the Respect All People (RAP) Project organized in New Zealand in 2010 (Foggin, 2010). The RAP project consisted of four workshops available to children ages 8-18 within a small community with the intention of answering the question: "Is my school a safe place?" At each workshop, children were asked to bring in pictures they took that relate back to the theme presented at the initial workshop. The workshops concluded with the children creating presentations explaining the meaning of each picture and how they are important to answering the overall question proposed by the RAP project. Lisa Foggin, who facilitated the project says that "Photovoice projects are an invaluable research method … [that] has proved to … gain a deeper insight and understanding of the issues, concerns, experiences and realities of [a] community" (Foggin, 2010, para. 18). All our photo-prompted interview techniques revolved around the concept of a photo or object as the center of conversation. This was intended to stimulate conversation so that we could gather compelling childhood stories in a comfortable environment (BetterEvaluation, 2016)

The photo-prompted interview method was the most accessible of our three interview methods due to limited preparation time required from the interviewee. This allowed us to complete 14 interviews using this method. Many of the CECD's contacts were university professors or ECD center principals who would agree to participate in an interview, but comment that they were very busy. Because of this, we would organize a photo-prompted interview to accommodate for their limited availability.

Digital Storytelling.

Along with using the interview methods described above, we also proposed the idea of digital storytelling to the panel. Daniel Meadows, a British photographer, educator, and author, describes digital stories as "short, personal multimedia tales told from the heart," and says that "the beauty of this form of digital expression … is that these stories can be created by people everywhere, on any subject, and shared electronically all over the world" (Bernard, 2017, para. 4). Digital storytelling encompasses a range of topics from personal stories to recalling historical events (Bernard, 2017). As shown through this description, digital storytelling can be a powerful technique in illustrating a personal story in the narrator's own voice.

In order to collect digital stories, we gave participants instructions on how to write a script to tell their childhood story in their own words. We also provided an example of a
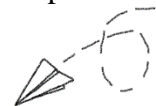
childhood story that a member of our group[3] wrote, linking components of the instructions to the example story so that the interviewee knew what type of information we were requesting. Both the instructions and example story are included in Appendix D. We then met with the interviewee to record them reading the script. This allowed their emotions to show through in their inflections and tone of voice, which can be very powerful when trying to understand the meaning and feelings behind individual stories (B. Hersh, personal communication, September 28, 2017).

On average, the interviews for this method lasted about 15 minutes, however, interviewees spent additional time, writing their story in preparation for the interview. Many of the contacts we tried to schedule for this type of interview expressed interest, but also had limited time to meet. If an interviewee expressed limited availability, out of courtesy, we scheduled another interviewing technique with this person. Still, this method resulted in the most concise and thought out stories since the interviewees had the opportunity to gather and organize their thoughts. Since the interviewees had instructions on what to include in their stories, including a time limit, it is possible that these instructions may have been limited the type and amount of content shared compared to the other methods. However, the five stories we collected using this method yielded informative and interesting childhood stories, which was the intention of this interview method.

In order to continue the collection of the digital storytelling narratives beyond the time frame of this project, we developed an online narrative toolkit for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. This toolkit provided instructions on how to write a script, how to record the story, and how to share the audio recording via the museum website. We proposed that the museum website contain a page with directions on how to use available software on a computer or smartphone to capture a childhood story in a digital format. These stories could then be submitted to the museum for use in displays, making the museum a collection station for childhood stories. The audio files could also be available on the museum website in order to inspire people to visit the museum and learn more about childhood and its realities in South Africa. Our main purpose for developing this toolkit was to give people across South Africa the opportunity to share their stories.

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[3] The example digital story was written by Carlos Pacheco.

Pilot Narrative Collection.

We conducted a pilot interview for each interviewing method. The pilot interviews gave us the opportunity to become comfortable with and receive feedback from the panel on each interview method. Overall, the panel believed that the pilot narratives were on the right track and requested that we continue using all three of our interview methods as we continued collecting stories.

Documenting Childhood Narratives.

As the childhood narratives were collected, they were documented as qualitative data for the CECD. Every interview was recorded and subsequently transcribed so that all aspects of the interview were captured in audio and writing for the future use of the CECD. We utilized a mode of transcription known as denaturalism. This is a mode in which idiosyncrasies during verbal communication, such as stutters and pauses, are removed. Researchers suggest that using denaturalized transcripts allows the analyst to learn about different aspects of the interviewee's life by focusing on the meaning and perceptions behind the content of the interview (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). We conducted and transcribed 26 interviews. Each transcript was also analyzed so that each narrative could be grouped by theme for the organization of the museum display. Suggestions for incorporating components of these transcriptions and corresponding voice recordings into the museum display were included in the catalogue for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood.

We condensed each photo-prompted and generational interview transcript to create a narrative suitable for the display. The digital storytelling narratives were not revised because they were intended to be told in the interviewee's own words. Every interview was presented as a formal narrative using Brandon Stanton's Humans of New York (HONY) as a model. This format was used so that the narratives could capture a large audience and invoke emotion, just like the photo blog does, allowing more people to acknowledge the importance of childhood. The HONY format consists of a visual, which can either be a photograph or a short video, accompanied by a reflective and captivating caption. The visuals show the individual(s) in a natural setting and the captions describe a moment in their lives through a story given in a direct quote, as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7. A post by Brandon Stanton on the Humans of New York Instagram page (Stanton, 2017b)

By using an approach similar to HONY, we created a collection of childhood narratives, which we named Children of Cape Town. This, along with the Cape Town Museum of Childhood Catalogue and the recordings and transcripts of the interviews, were provided to our sponsor at the conclusion of the project.

Step 4: Create a Catalogue of Suggestions for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood.

Once we obtained a sufficient collection of stories we began creating a catalogue containing suggestions for the museum display. The purpose of this catalogue was to provide the CECD with feasible and well researched ideas for displays to guide the development of their museum. Three sections were incorporated into the catalogue to accommodate for the different display components the CECD desired. The first section provided suggestions on how the entryway of the museum could introduce childhood in a unique way. The second section described ideas that could be incorporated within the story room of the museum, where the CECD aims to showcase stories from different people. The third section consisted of a prototype for a digital storytelling toolkit that can be incorporated within the museum website to continue the collection of stories digitally.

Ideally, we would have created physical prototypes of the display for the museum. The prototyping process is a key step in the development of an exhibit (E. Zago, personal communication, September 16, 2017). It is important because it allows the museum to rapidly

develop various design iterations in a cost-efficient manner (Worcester EcoTarium, 2017). However, the complete process of prototyping can take up to a year while the process of developing an entire exhibit can take up to three years (E. Zago, personal communication, September 16, 2017). For this reason, we had to limit the scope of our project by creating a catalogue of suggestions for the display rather than designing physical prototypes.

We visited museums to observe exhibits and, in some cases, interview exhibit technicians, to gain a better understanding of the exhibit-making process. We visited museums that had specific themes and that conveyed similar messages to that of the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. Our museum observations were limited by convenience. We visited the Holocaust Museum, District 6 Museum, and Hout Bay Museum. We observed various aspects of the museums, considering how they balanced a variety of media, such as reading, artistic, listening, and interactive components. Each of these museums incorporated stories into their exhibits, and this provided information on how the childhood narratives could be effectively displayed. We interviewed an exhibitions manager, Tina Smith, at the District 6 Museum and three experts, Jonty Dreyer, Douw Briers, and Petrus Johann van Zyl at the Hout Bay Museum. Through these interviews, we gathered advice on how to effectively showcase narratives and how to keep visitors of all ages engaged. Our observations and the information we received from the interviews allowed us to formulate exhibit ideas in the catalogue that would incorporate characteristics of successful and already established museums.

In the process of creating the catalogue, we returned to the panel to receive feedback on the feasibility of the suggested ideas along with any aspects that required further explanation or simplification. The panel responded positively, suggesting only minor changes. The catalogue was then revised according to the panel's critiques and presented to them again. Overall, the members of the panel believed that the catalogue contained feasible display suggestions that were presented clearly. The catalogue was finalized and presented to the CECD.

Findings

The predetermined themes of racial inequity, inequality in the amount and quality of education, economic inequality, and the effect of inequalities on family dynamics were all prevalent within the collected narratives. The approximate age distribution of the interviewees by gender and interview method is shown in Table 1. Not all of the interviewees shared their age with us, so we estimated the ages of those interviewees. Although we collected 48 "Childhood is…" responses, six wanted to remain confidential, and so are not included in the table. We categorized interviewees as "younger" if they were between the ages of 15-34 and "older," if they were between 35-79.
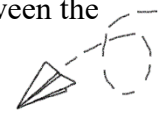
	Generational		Photo-prompted		Digital		Unstructured		Childhood is	
	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
Male	0	3	1	4	0	2	0	2	5	13
Female	3	4	4	5	3	0	1	0	12	12

Table 1. *Distribution of people interviewed by interview type, age range and gender*

Many of the interviewees alluded to the inequalities they had faced due to the color of their skin. One interviewee, Gloria Marinus, recalled how the differences in the color of her parents' skin divided her family. She said, "My mommy's an African and my daddy's a coloured… [my father's family doubted] my mommy being pregnant by my daddy… . I've heard [the stories] while I was growing up, … what they did to my mommy and all that." The divide within her family due to differences in race went on to negatively affect her childhood by complicating her relationship with her father's side of the family. Another interviewee, Terry Lester, also commented on issues of race when he spoke about his aunt's experience in a mixed race family under the Group Areas Act:

> [My aunt], because she had married a black man, had to move to where black people could live. He then decided he was taking her to Zimbabwe, otherwise they would've had to move to a black township, so my cousins would've been raised in a black township and he didn't want that for his children. … the amenities were hardly anything, and the schools were pathetic, because those weren't considered priorities for black people.

For these interviewees, differences in race did not break family ties, but it did divide the family, separating them instead by physical location. While the racial divisions in the country affected Gloria's and Terry's families differently, both felt the effects of race in their childhoods. These interviews show the trend from our interviews that racial tension in South Africa could be attributed as a major cause for the struggles faced throughout childhood - even if the interviewee did not explicitly acknowledge it.

Many interviewees talked about the educational opportunities presented to them during their childhood. Some interviewees had positive educational experiences and enjoyed going to school. For instance, Ndangwa Noyoo, a professor at the University of Cape Town, had the opportunity to move further with his education past high school. He accredited his successful career in education to the happiness he experienced growing up, and mentioned how important education was to his family:

> Those days we have big families, like eight of us. Good number of us went to school and got educated, got post high school type of education. So, you could say our parents really really emphasized our education. And so that is a type of experience one had in growing up in the 70s and early 80s. So, it was a good life.

However, not all interviewees had positive educational experiences. Some interviewees, such as Felicia Esau, expressed how schooling did not offer opportunities to experience different career paths. Esau explained that in her community, "kids are not exposed to stuff like becoming a doctor. They know about it, but we're not exposed to that stuff." Other interviewees highlighted the sacrifices that were made by parents and/or themselves in order for them to obtain an education. For example, Catherine Manuel shared, "When our father was sick, [my mother] had to go to work. And she had to see to us. She put us all through school. She said to us that she can't give us money but she'd get us education." Catherine continued to describe the everyday routine her and her siblings followed to attend school:

> Me and my older sister, we had to see to [my brother], three-month old baby and take him to a creche… And at that time, there was only one creche and it was 4 miles away from where we stayed. So, my mother used to give my sister, the elder sister, bus fare to take him every morning, and I had to take my case and her case to school. Walk to school, which was another 4 miles to where we went to school. And then she would
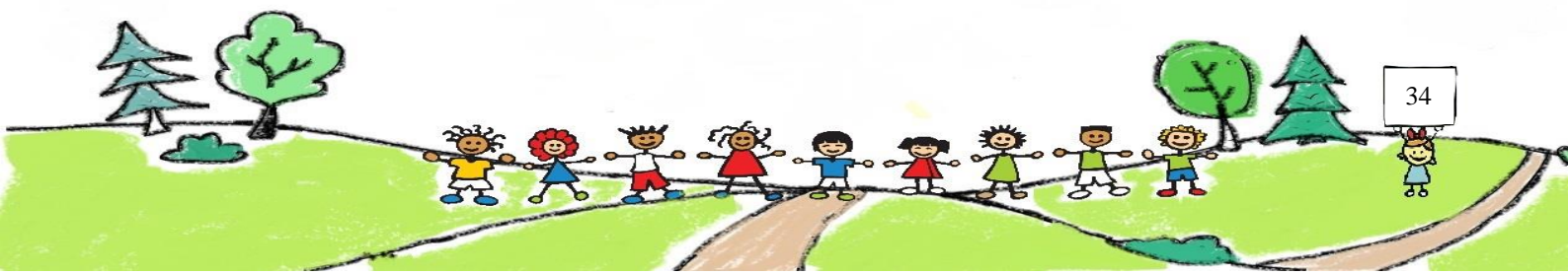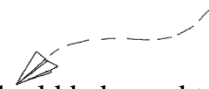
take him to the creche and leave him there and in the afternoon, same thing, go fetch him and I would see to the two cases.

Along with Catherine, many other interviewees also mentioned the distance they had to travel to attend school. Overall, these interviews show the differences in educational opportunities that children can have, along with the struggles that some individuals faced in order to obtain education.

Interviewees openly spoke about the economic hardships they faced growing up, but relative wealth was never directly mentioned. Several interviewees discussed the financial struggles that their families endured during childhood. For instance, Michael Wilhelm, an interviewee who grew up in District 6, mentioned how, as a child, he was young and carefree, but later realized that his family was undergoing economic struggles throughout his early years. He described this experience by saying:

Even though we were poverty stricken, it was thrilling, it was fantastic. I was oblivious to the fact that we didn't have this and we didn't have that. There were times when we had to eat dry bread and drink black coffee for two or three nights in succession. But that was all that my parents could put on the table. But it was something.

Despite the poverty experienced by his family, he was able to experience innocence and absence of worry in childhood.

Many interviewees who experienced financial hardships as children also discussed how one of their goals was to protect their children from those same types of hardships. For instance, Michael Wilhelm described how hard he and his wife worked to make sure their three children grew up without experiencing financial burdens. Michael's wife, Pamela, who was interviewed separately, compared the financial stability of her daughter's childhood to the poverty in her own experience:

During my kid's time, they grew up in luxury compared to my time. They don't really know about struggling. We would eat from a pot of food for three days but they don't want to eat yesterday's food. We had to walk with broken shoes. If they wear shoes for too long then they don't want to wear it anymore because it's old shoes.

We noticed that in our interviews those who did not face economic hardships during their childhoods did not directly mention the financial status of their families. However, their relative wealth appears more subtly in their childhood experiences. For example, Anthony Ryan said, "When I was four, my sister was born. … she was profoundly brain-damaged …

she required most of my mom's attention, so my parents employed a nanny for me." The fact that his family had the resources to employ outside help indicates that they had some wealth. Similarly, Moegamat Noor Davids, another interviewee, referred subtly to his family's resources, saying "We grew up in one big house. … We grew up having our own chickens." Although he does not directly mention money, it was clear in his interview that his family did not struggle with shelter or food.

Thus, we noticed that those who experienced economic hardships during childhood tended to talk about how this influenced their daily lives as children. However, those who did not experience economic hardships were less likely to talk about how their financial situation influenced their childhoods.

Interviewees were vocal about the theme of family inequity. Many of our interviewees explained that their fathers and/or mothers were frequently not around during their childhood because they were working elsewhere to support their family. For instance, Thembeka Rumbu's father left their family to find work and shortly after her mother left as well. She described, "I was in secondary school … my father went to Eastern Cape and left us behind…. My mommy went to Eastern Cape to check for my father. Then after that, we stayed with my grandmother. . .. We stayed so long there." Many interviewees stated that not having one or both parents consistently at home was a contributing factor to children getting involved in the wrong activities during their childhood, such as the misuse of drugs and alcohol. Reese, an interviewee from Athlone, explained:

> When I think of our community, realistically most kids don't have fathers or mothers to look up to…. Not having someone there as a source of guidance, love and support, most youths are left at their disposition and often get mixed up in the wrong things causing fatal damage.

This concern about having proper role models was shared by Simoné Matroos, a teacher at an ECD center in Wallenstein. She believes the lack of role models in a household contributes to the lack of motivation from the children in her community:

> Children of today don't have role models…. Today children get pregnant at 13-14 years old… [they're] fighting and smoking and drinking. At that age, I blame the parents. Because what are you teaching your child at home? What are they being exposed to? So, we as parents have to start from a small age to educate our children not to be like that.

Many interviewees commented on the prevalence of one or both parents leaving the family in search of work and the effects this had on children as they develop. In addition, several interviewees, including Reese and Simone, firmly believed that the absence of parents and role models in the household were having negative effects on children.

In addition to the themes of inequity, many interviewees discussed the idea of freedom, or lack thereof, during their childhood years. During our interviews, a common sentiment that emerged was the newfound opportunities and freedom that younger South African children can experience due to the end of the South African apartheid government. Many interviewees talked about their hopes for the future generations of children in the Western Cape province. For instance, Edith Mekhuto-Lekhetha, an ECD center director, voiced her happiness regarding the opportunities children in Cape Town have today by stating that "The children in this ECD center have a different childhood than mine because there's freedom now." Similarly, Moegamat Noor Davids added to this thought by describing what being a child meant to him, "I think childhood is the best time because you're free." The idea of freedom was frequently described as positive and important during our interviews.

However, not all interviewees believed that there was more freedom for younger generations. One of the interviewees, Anthony Ryan, expressed concerns related to freedom and safety for the younger generations. He stated, "If I have a regret about living in South Africa in 2017, it's that the sort of carefree, stress-free, *free* childhood I had, is not something that is available to my grandchildren now. We're overprotective, we're over concerned." Although there are certainly more opportunities available, in terms of education and jobs, to South African children today due to the end of apartheid, Ryan argues that the unique freedom associated with childhood has been lost over time due to increasing safety concerns in Cape Town.

Overall, many interviewees commented on the idea of freedom during their interviews. Some interviewees believed that the younger generations were able to have a freer childhood due to changes in the South African government and policies. However, other interviewees believed that the younger generations have limited freedom due to overprotective parental figures and safety concerns.

Another theme that emerged from many interviews was concerns around safety. We noticed a trend in that our older interviewees expressed that they felt significantly safer when they were growing up in comparison to the children of today, mainly due to the spread

and popularity of "gangsterism." For example, Moegamat Noor Davids touched on the differences he has seen in regards to children's safety growing up:

> It's also more dangerous now. It was much safer playing outside back then. Now, people are getting harmed. Children are getting abused and abducted easily. Back then you didn't hear of that kind of stuff. The only people who would carry around guns were the police.

Younger interviewees, especially those growing up in more dangerous neighborhoods, also agree that safety was a major concern of their childhood. For instance, Nazley Salie, a younger interviewee who grew up in Kewtown and moved to Manenberg, now one of the more dangerous neighborhoods in greater Cape Town, confirmed Noor's claim by saying, "My childhood … wasn't that nice. It was nice, but, not that nice because I grew up in an area where there were a lot of gangsters. So, my grandparents were very overprotective."

Most responses to the "Childhood is. . ." prompt highlighted childhood in a positive light. Across the 48 responses to the "Childhood is. . ." prompt, we found that two key themes emerged, those of personal growth and being carefree. Interviewees of all ages made comments suggesting that childhood was essential to healthy development and personal growth. For instance, when one person was asked to complete the prompt, they responded "Childhood is precious. It must not be hurried along, ridiculed, or forgotten. It is a time of wonder, exploration and growth, and the time of getting to know who you are." Other respondents commented on how important childhood is to moral development. For instance, one of the younger people commented that "Childhood is important. Childhood molds the person that you will be and your values and your morals."

The carefree nature of being a child was prevalent in the responses as well. One of the older respondents noted that "Childhood is fun, carelessness, freedom, innocence." A younger respondent described it as "Childhood is being barefoot. Never being tired. Never having enough holiday. Playing sports in the street. Getting away with mischief. Always wanting to be older." These collected responses not only highlight childhood in a positive manner, but also stress the importance of this time in a person's life as a period of play, fun, and imagination.

Preparing and researching for the development of the *Cape Town Museum of Childhood Catalogue*

The narrative analysis was the first step in creating displays for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood because it helped group the narratives based on the themes that emerged. The team also visited the Cape Town Museum of Childhood to observe the layout of the building and brainstorm ways to display the collected narratives. During the visit, we learned how the CECD is envisioning using different spaces within the museum. For the entrance to the museum, the CECD wants to introduce what childhood is from the perspectives of different people. In addition, the CECD wants to create a storytelling room, which is where the childhood narratives will be showcased. Along with presenting the collected stories, the goal of this room is to encourage visitors to spend time reading books and writing their own stories. When creating the catalogue of display ideas, key findings from our museum visits and interviews with exhibit technicians were used as guidelines to creatively display the collected narratives. The *Cape Town Museum of Childhood Catalogue* can be found as an extension to this document.

Multiple layers of information should be incorporated into the display to accommodate for the interests of all museum visitors. Based on our interviews with exhibit technicians, we learned that it is important to take into consideration the different interest levels that visitors will have when creating a display. Considering the question "What is the ultimate experience we want people to get out of this exhibit?" allows us to try to make sure that all visitors, understand the main message of the exhibit (T. Smith, personal communication, November 16, 2017). This can be accomplished by incorporating layers of information within displays, as suggested by the exhibitions manager from the District 6 Museum, Tina Smith, in our interview on November 16, 2017, and by experts at the Hout Bay Museum, Jonty Dreyer, Douw Briers, Petrus Johann van Zyl, in our interview on November 23, 2017. For example, some visitors cannot read, or do not want to read a lot of text, so the first layer of information needs to convey the overarching theme of the exhibit. Secondary layers should then be available for visitors who want to learn more (T. Smith). The Holocaust Museum used this technique in combination with a digital touch screen panel. The first layer proposed a question about what happened to Jewish individuals in Latvia and Lithuania. Interacting with the touch screen revealed more information about the situations

faced by Jews in Latvia. This technique enabled museum visitors to learn as much or as little as they liked at this exhibit.

Displaying quotes throughout an exhibit is a powerful approach that helps the visitor gain a deeper understanding of the meaning behind the exhibit. When prompted about the importance of personal narratives, one exhibit technician described that, "narratives are a way for people to process and heal" (T. Smith). Stories from individuals were used in the Holocaust Museum to help visitors stay engaged in the exhibit. More specifically, quotes from children who grew up during the Holocaust were showcased alongside many of the displays. This helped to create a connection between the visitors and the events that happened through the voices of the people who experienced the Holocaust.

Using mixed media is an effective way to engage the visitor. All three of the museums that were visited utilized various media to get the exhibit's message across. The Holocaust Museum displayed words from survivors using both text and audio to evoke emotion from the visitors; the District 6 Museum used art to tell stories; and the Hout Bay Museum used photographs and objects as visuals to add to the text included in the display.

Text is interesting and effective when the words serve a purpose. From our observations at the different museums, we found that the amount of text used in exhibits varied. For instance, the Holocaust Museum relies heavily on text in its displays. While the amount of text could be viewed as overwhelming, it was essential to communicate the necessary information for the visitor to gain a complete understanding of the Holocaust. On the other hand, the Hout Bay Museum is moving away from having large blocks of text on displays, and are instead using shorter captions in an effort to engage visitors in the museum's content. Our conversations with exhibit technicians also showcased the differing views on using text in exhibits. For instance, some experts advised that text is important because it completes a story and accommodates those who like to read (T. Smith). However, other experts suggested that when possible, text should be minimized to keep visitors focused (J. Dreyer, D. Briers, P. J. van Zyl). These experts suggested adding extensions to displays, such as a booklet with full narratives that visitors could read if they preferred to learn more about an individual's childhood story, instead of including that information in the display (J. Dreyer, D. Briers, P. J. van Zyl). Our conclusion from our observations and interviews is that text needs to be used in a purposeful manner.

Visuals are effective in engaging the museum visitor and should be mixed in with the text. Visuals can be in the form of illustrations, comics, and animations to translate stories in a unique manner to visitors of all ages, especially children (T. Smith). Using artwork to complement text, as the District 6 Museum did, is an interesting and unique approach that reaches a broad spectrum of visitors. Their exhibitions manager commented that having photographs with personal narratives would be an effective approach to connect the visitor to the storyteller (T. Smith). This approach was also observed in the Holocaust Museum, as quotes from survivors were accompanied by a photograph.

Audio is effective for telling stories when incorporated with other media. From our interviews with exhibit technicians, we learned that audio is a useful tool to incorporate within a display, especially when accompanied by text (J. Dreyer, D. Briers, P. J. van Zyl). Providing context for the audio is important as was observed in a display that had an audio recording without written context provided, resulting in confusion on the identity of the speaker and the relevance of their story. However, we noted that exhibits that incorporated the audio with other media, such as descriptions, pictures, or quotes from the recording, were engaging and conveyed the relevant information effectively.

Interactive components should be incorporated within displays. This adds a tactile piece to the exhibit, allowing the visitors, especially younger visitors, to stay interested and engaged. Without interactive components, children tend to lose focus (J. Dreyer, D. Briers, P. J. van Zyl). The exhibit technicians at the Hout Bay Museum suggested to incorporate games that people mentioned within their childhood stories in the exhibit space, or other simple objects connected to the stories, and to utilize digital touch-screen panels if possible because children enjoy playing with technology (J. Dreyer, D. Briers, P. J. van Zyl).

Technical and nontechnical displays should be intermixed throughout an exhibit. Having a balance between technical and nontechnical components helps to accommodate different visitors of all age groups (T. Smith). Technology focused displays are very engaging but will need frequent maintenance as "electronics break down, they always do" (P. J. van Zyl). Technical displays are also easier to update with new information, ensuring that the display does not become stagnant (T. Smith). Displays that do not use technology are easier to maintain, but are limited in terms of design. From our observations, we found that exhibits that mixed technical and nontechnical displays were engaging, and offered a backup if the technical aspect of the display needed maintenance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we used an iterative design approach to collect childhood narratives and develop a catalogue of display ideas to be implemented in the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. We found that photo-prompted interviews were the easiest interviews to schedule because it required minimal preparation time from interviewees, while still allowing them to focus their narrative on the picture or item they brought with them. We found generational interviews to be valuable in the rich information they provided, however, they were the hardest interviews to schedule because they required two people from the same family to be available at the same time. In addition, we found that while the digital storytelling approach was more time consuming for interviewees, the narratives that emerged tended to have a more well-constructed storyline.

From our analysis of the narratives, six main themes influencing childhood emerged: race, the availability and quality of education, economics, family dynamics, the concept of freedom, and concerns about safety. Although themes of inequality were present in nearly all of the narratives, all interviewees defined childhood in a positive manner as a life stage that should be cherished. This analysis provided us with ideas on how to group narratives together when displaying them in the museum.

Our observations of different museums and interviews with exhibits technicians provided us with several key considerations to take into account when developing museum displays, including layering information, displaying quotes, mixing different forms of media (text, visuals, audio, interactive components) in a display, and incorporating technical and nontechnical components in a display. We used what we learned from our observations and interviews at these museums to design a catalogue of display options for the Cape Town Museum of Childhood that showcases childhood stories and the importance of childhood.

Overall, this project enabled us to learn more about diverse childhood experiences. We also learned how powerful narratives can be in giving an individual a voice, and also allowing listeners to better understand another individual's personal experiences (Matthews, 2014; Rejnö, et al, 2014). We hope that the suggestions we provided in the catalogue will help the CECD effectively showcase the stories we compiled.

Reflections

"Childhood is a stage in your life that shouldn't have a time limit." - Jackson Baker

What was your most memorable moment?

Throughout the process of collecting narratives, I found it difficult to listen to the struggles and hardships most of our interviewees experienced during their childhood years. As a privileged white man who grew up in one of the wealthier cities in New England, I experienced a childhood free from any sort of hardships. Hearing about the situations peoples had to endure due to poverty growing up was unfathomable to me, especially when you consider these people were facing these challenges at such young ages. After hearing these stories, I would always question whether the interviewees actually *enjoyed* their childhood growing up. Yet, each interviewee was always vocal about the positivity they associated with their childhood. Although they were facing such tribulations, people still managed to enjoy their childhood and spoke about the positive moments the same way I would when retelling my favorite childhood memories. This was particularly evident at the World Children's Day event hosted by the Centre for Early Childhood Development at Athlone park in Greater Cape Town. I was able to play with young children who could be living under similar circumstances as the individuals we interviewed, yet they looked and sounded and played the same way any children I could imagine would. This only cemented the mission of the Cape Town Museum of Childhood into my head even more: childhood is universal. It doesn't matter if you're black, white, purple, or live on Antarctica. All children are children, and they should be able to experience a loving, exciting, and fun childhood free from any struggle.

"Childhood is being free from judgement and letting your spirit run wild." - Carley Dykstra

Which story did you connect with the most?

Our interviews allowed us to meet a lot of different people. I really enjoyed watching a smile grow on an interviewees face as they shared their stories. The interviewees would begin discussion seeming uptight and nervous. As they recalled a story from their childhood that, you could tell, they haven't thought about in years, they would begin to loosen up. I think it's really important to remember to be a child. Too often we get lost in the business of the adult world and we forget to loosen up. It was as if I was seeing our interviewees go back to the happier days as we prompted them with childhood questions.

I connected with Aisha Pandor's story the most. She is a younger interviewee who expressed her gratitude towards her parents for raising a family that was and still is very close. Even though Aisha and I have very different childhood experiences, it's amazing that I was able to connect with her and relate to some of the memories she cherishes the most. She talked about how her and her brother would climb a tree in their backyard, pretending it was a spaceship. Though I have shared similar experiences as Aisha, our childhoods also vary. Her parents grew up as anti-apartheid activists. She remembers her family having to cross borders from Botswana into South Africa late at night or early in the morning because they were not allowed in the country. Knowing that I relate to Aisha, yet she has undergone hardships that I can barely fathom, makes the world a little bit smaller. It also allowed me to appreciate the childhood I was able to have because I didn't have to worry about my parents fighting for my freedom.

"Childhood is the happiest stage of a person's life" - Carlos Pacheco

Who is the most interesting person you met?

The most interesting person I met during my time in Cape Town was Michael Wilhelm, the director of the Peninsula Educare ECD center in Cape Town. Michael was born and raised in District 6, Cape Town in a family where his parents were very loving of their children but were very strict about discipline and respect. His neighborhood consisted of people of various races, religions and colors, which he described as slightly confusing, but very interesting. Everyone in the area was very kind and respectful so there was barely any violence or conflict. Michael was free to go out on Saturday mornings to town and pursue his love for Football at an early age and had a lot of friends to do so with. He also told us about many mistakes he made when he was young, but he also explained how he learned from these and how the shaped him into the person he is today.

Listening to Michael's story was one of the most memorable moments of my time in South Africa because of how happily he talks about his childhood, regardless of how many challenges he faced. Although his family was struggling financially, Michael enjoyed his childhood years very much because he always made the most out of what he had. As he told his story, I realized that many parts of his early life are very similar to mine because we both enjoyed things such as playing outside, pranking people, soccer, and even falling in love at an early age. As Michael went on to talk about his challenges and mistakes during his teenage years, I also identified with a few of his stories, but mostly felt inspired hearing about how he overcame many challenges to become the person he is today. He reminded me that I am also able to overcome any challenge I may face and that I can achieve my goals in life.

"Childhood is hope. Childhood is holding on tight to your grandfather's hand because you know he won't let you fall down." - Ayushka Shrestha

When did you feel most at home?

I felt welcomed and at home during many of the interviews. However, one that particularly stands out is a generational interview we conducted with a married couple. Their names were Moegamat Noor Davids (husband) and Wasiela Davids (wife). They invited us to their home in Grassy Park. Prior to this interview, I did not know what to expect as I had briefly met Wasiela once at the CECD and had never met Noor. When we arrived, we were cordially invited in and brought into their living room. Noor was sitting in the corner awaiting our arrival. Wasiela was catering to us, while running in and out of the kitchen. Their daughters were also home. Seeing their family interact with us instantly made me feel at home. It made me think back to how it is in Nepal, which is where I was born and grew up. There, all guests are treated as if they are a part of the family. I felt as if I was back home because of how kind and loving they were. It brought back memories of the culture I used to be surrounded by in Nepal.

After the initial introductions and small talk, a couple of us took Wasiela aside to prepare her with some questions to ask her husband. I will never forget that interaction. At first, we were being formal and helping her think of questions. But very quickly, she became comfortable talking to us, and talked with much excitement and love. It got to the point where she shared how she met her husband and explained how she falls more in love with him every day. I was genuinely happy for Wasiela. At this moment, I think I made a deeper connection with her. We were speaking to each other like we had known each other for ages, even though we had only had a short interaction once before. This made me realize, not only did we have the chance to listen to people's stories and keep their stories in our memories forever, but we were also getting the opportunity to be their friend. We had the chance to really show them that we care about everything they wanted to share with us. Wasiela made me feel as though I was her friend, someone who she trusts and enjoys being with. She made me feel at home.

"Childhood is fearlessly following your imagination wherever it leads you"
- Sylvia van der Weide

Which interview stood out to you the most?

There were two interviews that really stood out for me because they made me think about myself and my priorities. The first was an interview with a young woman named Felicia Esau. She grew up in a pretty rough area, and is now working with kids in her community to help support them through some of the same things she went through. Even though she's not much older than we are, she has a clear sense of her purpose in life and was able to articulate her goals for herself and for the children in her community. Her story and the gift that she was giving to the children in the community really inspired me and made me think about what I was doing to support the community that raised me. Hearing her story of having to seek out the support that she wasn't getting at home made me realize how blessed I am to have a family where both of my parents have always supported me, and I can trust that they will continue to do so in the future.

The second interview was with a man named Colin Rens, a community leader in and long-time resident of the town of Gouda, who was deeply involved in the anti-apartheid struggle. In telling us about his life and experience fighting the apartheid he talked about picking up his first stone and fighting for what he believed in. I don't know if he meant it literally or as a metaphor, but that phrase, "I picked up my first stone", has stuck with me. It has made me ponder my own values and ideals and wonder which of them I would be willing to fight for. I haven't found an answer and I don't know that I ever will, but I will remember the image of the stone and the significance that it had to him.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Generational Interview Description Template

We are students studying at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts, in America. We are collecting childhood stories for a school project. As part of this project, we would like to interview you to help create a museum display to potentially be used in the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. This museum is a project of the Center for Early Childhood Development (CECD). We have asked you to participate because we believe you have interesting stories to share that will be valuable to the project and the museum display.

Scheduled to open in 2018, the Cape Town Museum of Childhood plans to create a space for exploring and celebrating childhood for children and adults of all ages. The museum will present playful spaces showing the heritage of childhood and the role children play in society. For the display, we will collect stories on childhood from people in Cape Town.

We would like to interview you using a generational interview. This means having family members interview each other instead of our team controlling the interview. We will work with you and your family member to develop thoughtful questions for you to ask each other about your childhood. Some of our team members will be present with a voice recorder. We would like to hear stories about some or all of the following topics:

- Comparison of childhood experiences
- You childhood (birth to 18 years old)
- The importance of childhood
- Childhood education
- Childhood inequalities

Thank you for your time,
The WPI CECD team:
Jackson, Carley, Carlos, Ayushka, Sylvia

Appendix B: Photo-Prompted Description Template

We are students studying at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts, in America. We are collecting childhood stories for a school project. As part of this project, we would like to interview you to help create a museum display to potentially be used in the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. This museum is a project of the Center for Early Childhood Development (CECD). We have asked you to participate because we believe you have interesting stories to share that will be valuable to the project and the museum display.

Scheduled to open in 2018, the Cape Town Museum of Childhood plans to create a space for exploring and celebrating childhood for children and adults of all ages. The museum will present playful spaces showing the heritage of childhood and the role children play in society. For the display, we will collect stories on childhood from people in Cape Town.

We would like to use a photo-prompted interview to hear your story. This means our conversation will be focused on a meaningful photo or object that reminds you of your childhood. We would like you to bring one or more photos or objects that relate to the following themes:

- Your childhood (birth to 18 years old)
- The importance of childhood
- Childhood education
- Childhood inequalities

Thank you for your time,
The WPI CECD team:
Jackson, Carley, Carlos, Ayushka, Sylvia

Appendix C: Digital Storytelling Description Template

We are students studying at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts, in America. We are collecting childhood stories for a school project. As part of this project, we would like to interview you to help create a museum display to potentially be used in the Cape Town Museum of Childhood. This museum is a project of the Center for Early Childhood Development (CECD). We have asked you to participate because we believe you have interesting stories to share that will be valuable to the project and the museum display.

Scheduled to open in 2018, the Cape Town Museum of Childhood plans to create a space for exploring and celebrating childhood for children and adults of all ages. The museum will present playful spaces showing the heritage of childhood and the role children play in society. For the display, we will collect stories on childhood from people in Cape Town.

We would like to use digital storytelling for the interview. Digital storytelling is where you write a script of your childhood story and then we record you reading this script. We will provide instructions on how to do this. We would like to hear stories about some or all the following topics:

- Your childhood (birth to 18 years old)
- The importance of childhood
- Childhood education
- Childhood inequalities

Thank you for your time,
The WPI CECD team:
Jackson, Carley, Carlos, Ayushka, Sylvia

Appendix D: Digital Storytelling Instructions

Goal: Tell us a story from your childhood

Here are some questions to get you thinking:
- How would you describe a perfect or typical day when you were young?
- What is your favorite memory from your childhood?
- Is there a memory (good or bad) that stands out from your childhood and why does it stand out?
- What were some of the biggest challenges in your childhood, if any?
- What was your relationship with your parents like as a child?
- Did you get into trouble when you were a kid?
- What was your education like?
- Was there a teacher or teachers who had a particularly strong influence on your life? Elaborate.

Steps to writing your story:
1. What is the main point of the story that you wish to share?
2. Write a 250-500 word script of your story
   a. About 1 handwritten page
3. Help the reader relate to your experience
   a. Paint a picture for the reader (who you are, how old you are, where you're from, etc.)
   b. Tell us important information in your story to show your emotions (were you angry, happy, sad, etc.?)
   c. Include additional details to explain what is happening in your story
4. Write the way you speak
   a. Write the story as if you were talking to a friend
5. Read it to a family member or trusted friend
   a. Ask the question "Does this sound like me?"
   b. When read out loud, the story should be no longer than 5 minutes long

Example Story: Carlos

As a child, I used to enjoy learning new things and discovering the world around me. I would either lock myself in a room to read my big and colorful books about superheroes, vehicles and animals or go to a park with my mom to play. However, I didn't feel the need to make new friends because I had all the fun I needed when I was by myself. As I grew up, my parents were proud of having a smart child but they believed that I would eventually develop social issues if I didn't learn how to make friends. They would also describe me as one of the happiest and careless kids they have ever seen which is probably why I didn't feel like socializing was a necessity.

Around when I was in kindergarten, my parents signed me up for verbal therapy sessions with a very well-known therapist close to where I lived. They hoped she would help me come out of my shell when interacting with the other kids in my school. During these sessions, I would have long conversations with my therapist about any of the topics she would bring up, which I enjoyed very much, but from my perspective, I didn't understand why my parents were dropping me off her office to talk with her every day. This was also during the same time period when I started to play with Legos very often and fortunately for me I was allowed to bring Legos to my therapy sessions because it was a great topic that would make me start to talk. I didn't realize I was actually learning how to make connections with people, even if I was just talking about Legos or other things I like.

On the last day of kindergarten, the teacher allowed everyone to bring in their favorite toy. I was observing carefully what my classmates brought, and I was excited when I discovered that some of the other kids also brought in Legos to school. I approach one of the kids who brought Legos and asked him if he wanted to play with me. The boy cheerfully responded with a yes and we sat down together to play. As the day went by, more kids who also brought Legos joined me and my new friend to play. It was a very fun day and I was sad that it had to come to an end, but it was the day I first experienced having friends. This experience made me start to understand the importance of friends because they were more fun than sitting by myself at home with only a book.