

*Learner-led drama in high schools in
the Emmaus Valley and its implication
in the development of adolescent
identity within a rural context*

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by

Arum Bydawell

Drama Studies
University of KwaZulu Natal

DECLARATION

I, Arum Bydawell declare that this dissertation/thesis is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student Signature:  Date: 05/12/2008..

This paper is dedicated to the children in my life, Chloé and Tristan, who inspire me to learn, write and better myself always; and to explore ways of bettering the lives of the youth of our country.

I take this opportunity to thank Moya Bydawell who was the great inspiration behind this dissertation, and a guide and mentor to me in so many ways; and my supervisor Hazel Barnes for her patience and support. Also, to the fieldworkers who did so much, and all of the participating schools, without whom there would be no paper at all; those who participated in the study taught me so much, and I am privileged to have been involved with these people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There is a lovely road that runs from Ixopo into the hills. These hills are grass-covered and rolling, and they are lovely beyond any singing of it ... About you there is grass and bracken ... Below you is the valley of the Umzimkulu, on its journey from the Drakensberg to the sea ... the grass is rich and matted, you cannot see the soil. It holds the rain and the mist, and they seep into the ground, feeding the streams in every kloof. It is well tended, and not too many cattle feed upon it; not too many fires burn it, laying bare the soil. Stand unshod upon it, for the ground is holy ... But the rich green hills break down. They fall to the valley below, and falling, change their nature. For they grow red and bare; they cannot hold the rain and mist, and the streams are dry to the kloofs. Too many cattle feed upon the grass, and too many fires have burnt it. Stand shod upon it, for it is coarse and sharp, and the stones cut under the feet (Paton, 1948:7).

The opening paragraph of Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* is in many ways the opening paragraph of my life; born in a small hospital near rural Ixopo, KwaZulu Natal, I spent much of my very early childhood on a farm in the Donnybrook area. These words, sensitive and real, bring the taste of childhood home to me. I grew up in KwaZulu Natal, near Pietermaritzburg. When, as an adult, I saw the Emmaus Valley nestled in the foothills of the Drakensberg, these words came tumbling back into my consciousness, and it occurred to me that whether we stand barefoot upon our land, or stand shod upon it appears to be a conscious choice, however, this choice is regulated by the conditions of the ground on which we stand, it is regulated by the cattle of insecurities, inadequacies and hardships which graze the soul, by the fires of loss, laying the soul bare. Whether or not we have agency to change the ground on which we stand in the long run, its *current* state will dictate our shoe choice. If the landscape were the landscape of our minds, our own perceptions, we could choose to stand unshod, open to new ideas and motivated toward change, accepting our own agency; or we could choose to stand shod, closed to

possibilities, intolerant of the potential for our own agency. However this can only be a conscious choice if we know that we are putting our shoes on – if we have a vocabulary relating to the shoes that we use to protect ourselves from the harsh unforgiving landscape. If we have been raised with shoes on, by parents with shoes on, with no explanation for the shoes, and no experience of the rich and matted grass of agency, we may grow up with no concept of our own choices or the power thereof. We may never know that we have the power to change the landscape on which we stand. If I could choose anything for the people of the world, it would be for the vocabulary for choice, to stand barefoot upon our psyches and recognise our own agency. Before beginning the Masters course, I became a high school teacher. I have taught Drama and English in diverse schools, varying in degrees of wealth and poverty, from the prestigious Hilton College to the little-known inner-city Maritzburg Finishing School. I have a keen interest in community development, and have been involved at various levels in a few research projects in a rural settlement known as the Emmaus Valley; about 40-50 minutes drive from Winterton, KwaZulu Natal, and a similar distance from Bergville. Winterton itself is a small town, as is Bergville, and between them they cannot offer enough employment for the many people living in the Emmaus/Nongoma area.

I place myself in the research project that led to this dissertation not as an authority of any kind, with answers; I don't imagine that I can change the perceptions of the youth within the context of this study. I place myself as a researcher, a learner, with questions; questions which the true experts, the participants (along with an interrogation of theoretical paradigms relating to Applied Drama) may answer. For it is only the participants themselves who can change their own perceptions, as the popular singer and political activist Bob Marley intoned: "None but ourselves can free our minds" (Marley, 1979).

In 2001 I was involved in a research project (Giles *et al*, 2005; Liddell *et al*, 2006), which aimed to assess perceptions of sexual risk, and of sexually risky behaviour in teenagers and young adults (in relation to formal education and cultural beliefs) in Rural, Peri-Urban and Urban contexts. We questioned approximately 200 young people in each of

the following three areas: the Emmaus Valley (Rural); Hlabisa (Peri Urban); and Umlazi (Urban). The Emmaus Valley is a rural settlement near Winterton, in KwaZulu Natal. It is fairly mountainous, with many of the dwellings inaccessible by road. There are many schools, many churches and a fair number of community halls, there are 'spaza shops' near to most of the schools. Hlabisa is a settlement which was identified as being Peri Urban, located outside of Hluhluwe, up the North Coast of KwaZulu Natal. Umlazi was identified as being Urban, and is located outside of Durban, near to Durban International Airport.

I was the project manager for this research project, and I also did the data capture for the project. In my capacity as project manager I was involved in the translation of the questionnaire, and the training of the team of field workers. I also drove the team from school to school in the Emmaus Valley; to and around Umlazi; and to and around Hlabisa. This meant that there was a lot of time to talk informally about our lives and ourselves. The fieldworkers spoke about their own experiences of growing up in Emmaus; about their perceptions about the youth of the Emmaus Valley, and said that they thought that the problems faced there had to do with the youth feeling hopeless, as though they had no control over their lives and their future; they were waiting for handouts, and were never grateful for what they got. One of the fieldworkers spoke then about her son, who had given her trouble throughout his adolescence. She said that he was repeating Grade 11; she was delighted to say that he was attending school almost every day, and had not been in any fights in some months, and had started playing soccer in the evenings. This was a vast difference from the last story I had heard from her about her son, "Joel": involved in a gang, dabbling with drugs, getting into fights, petty theft, bunking school most of the time, completely uninterested in his own education and his family (he was extremely rude to his mother, becoming increasingly unhelpful around the house, with his attitude becoming progressively more hostile). We joked that this was a different boy, and she said no, that she'd found the boy he used to be. She said that the only thing that he had done that was new was that he had been involved in the Cultural Competition at his school the previous year. When she had asked him why he was suddenly so motivated and engaged he said that for the first time he felt as though he was

in control of his life, as though *what he did* actually made a difference. I began (gingerly at first, and then more seriously) to wonder if this shift in his perception of his own agency in his life had anything to do with the Cultural Competitions in which he had been involved. The educator and researcher in me crept to the fore, begging answers.

These Cultural Competitions were explained to me as being competitions arranged by the school, only in that the teachers decided on the date of the competition, and decided on the venue, and on the day of the competition a teacher would find a judge. Schools with facilities like school-halls would hold the competition there; otherwise a nearby community hall would be used. If neither of these were options, the competition would be held outside. Other than this administrative role played by teachers and headmaster, the competition was controlled completely by the participants, with the participants choosing groups, deciding on subject matter, arranging preparation and rehearsal times, and producing a piece of 'theatre' (the term theatre here used loosely) for the competition. There were no rules about withdrawing – groups could withdraw at any time, and there were no rules pertaining to the size of groups or the subject matter. It is unclear how these competitions started, they have been going on for longer than any of the teachers to whom I spoke had been teaching, and many said that they had had something similar when they were at school. There seems to be no clear answer as to who began the tradition or why it was introduced. Many of the headmasters and teachers believe that they were introduced as entertainment for the learners, and as such see it as a 'disposable' tradition.

There are many schools which are involved, throughout the Emmaus and Nongoma regions, most of the high schools between Winterton and Bergville, many schools beyond Bergville, and many schools out towards Drakensberg Gardens; I am unsure of the exact number of schools involved, definitely more than thirty high schools. Entries are not static, and schools may fall out of the competition if they simply do not arrive, this however does not preclude them from participating the following year.

What intrigued me most about the collection of data for the Liddell *et al* empirical study on *Indigenous Beliefs and Attitudes to AIDS Precautions in a Rural South African Community* (2006) and the Giles *et al* study, *Condom use in African adolescents: The role of individual and group factors* (2005) was the exceptionally high incidence of respondents saying both in focus groups and in the questionnaires that they felt that they had no real power in their lives: that it did not matter what they did; bad things would happen and there would be no jobs for them. This was highly similar to what the ladies had been saying in relation to the youth of Emmaus while driving in the car, and linked strongly with the comment that had been made about Joel saying he had the feeling of being in control of his life for the first time, as though *for the first time in his life* he felt what he did made a difference.

I was very interested in the phenomenon of the Learner-led competition structure, wondering if Applied Drama, attempted and accomplished with no outsider, no expert, no facilitator whatsoever, could yield the positive results which can be yielded by conventionally 'administered' Applied Drama. I wondered if Learner-led Drama could be a contributing factor towards Joel's newfound perception of agency; if indeed it could be a *major* contributing factor. If, ultimately, involvement in this Learner-led Drama could lead to a change in consciousness, a shift in their perception of personal agency within other participants of this drama – if it was the participation or a 'fluke' that found Joel altering his perception of himself in the world.

This paper is an attempt to assess the phenomenon of Learner-Led drama in certain rural schools, and how participation in this drama affects the development of identity within the adolescent participants. There is much research and writing to indicate that facilitated Applied Drama is highly beneficial to participants. For example, Drama therapy, (Jennings, 1995; Bannister, 1997) which is facilitated by the therapist, uses specific dramatic tools in order to guide participants towards an intended outcome; Drama in Education, (Bolton, 1979; Heathcote, 1984; O'Toole, 1976) which is facilitated by the teacher, who also uses specifically chosen dramatic tools to guide the participants towards a previously determined educational intended outcome; Community Theatre,

(Mda, 1993; Boal 1995) which is facilitated by the practitioner, using specifically chosen dramatic tools to guide the participants towards a previously determined (either by the practitioner or by the community along with the practitioner) intended outcome. Mda asserts that the theatre practitioner – facilitator or ‘expert’ – is in fact a catalyst for any community in which theatre intervention is run; that conscientisation can in fact not take place at all without the catalyst. These examples of Applied Drama are used extensively in their fields and can be highly effective in achieving their intended outcomes. All of these forms of Drama rely on facilitation by an outsider – an ‘expert’ – in order for participants to reach this outcome. These outcomes can be specific and highly explicit, applicable to a particular sphere – for example within Drama in Education, an outcome could be related specifically to content within the syllabus. However, these outcomes can also be less particular: the outcomes may include improved communication, improved group-work, tolerance, and increased self-esteem. This paper is an attempt to document the phenomenon of Learner-led drama, in which there is no facilitator, and no predetermined intended outcome beyond the performance itself. No member of the group automatically assumed higher status within the group in the way that a therapist, teacher or outside theatre practitioner – any perceived ‘expert’ might wittingly or unwittingly assume.

The drama which occurs in the rural schools of the Emmaus valley and surrounding areas is unique in that it is completely learner-led, gaining no direction, input or help from any individual outside of the performing groups themselves. It is the lack of input from ‘outsiders’ which ensures that participants themselves are completely responsible for what it is that they produce, and the quality thereof. This drama is not a formal part of the syllabus, and thus there is no pressure to excel from the teachers or from the school itself: all ‘pressure’ is implicit, coming from the participants themselves. Participants become responsible to themselves and to each other for the duration of the rehearsal and performance period.

It is the intention of this paper to examine the impact of this kind of participation and responsibility on the adolescent participants, and on the development of their identity and self-concept.

The competitions themselves, the culmination of the drama process in which the participants engage, are successive, with many schools in the area holding competitions, and the winners coming together to compete against each other. There are no rules or guidelines about the number of the groups performing: there may be as many or as few groups as are interested in any year. There are no rules or guidelines about the number of the groups performing the same styles: if every group chooses to do Traditional Zulu Dancing, then that is all that there is. What the teachers organise is the day of each competition, as rounds subsequent to the first involve co-operation between schools. There are no rules or guidelines about the number of participants within the performing groups: there may be one person in the group or there may be twenty, depending on the choices of the group leader. Teachers do not organise groups or leaders, they do not organise audition times or venues, or rehearsal times. Participants decide for themselves what they will perform, and how much preparation it will take. On the day of the performance itself, a judge is chosen in a completely random fashion, and that judge will choose one winner, there are no runners-up. There are thus no predetermined criteria for winning; it is merely the group which that particular judge deems the best on that day. Criteria therefore will necessarily shift throughout the competition, as there are different judges, with different personal tastes and preferences.

The participants of this study and those who have participated in previous research in which I have been involved (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005) have described the area in which the participants live. The following is an account drawing on various informal and formal interviews, with adolescents, children, teachers and caregivers, as well as the field workers with whom I have worked (who live in and come from the community in question) as well as focus groups with adolescents and young adults.

In the valley the people have to walk far to get water for washing and cooking. It is better since 'they' (the government) have put in more communal taps, now it is a shorter walk. Many of the parents have been sick, increasingly so in the last five years, leaving children and adolescents to run households with very little money and resources, or leaving grandparents to care for the next generation. There are not many jobs in and around the valley, so people have to travel to the nearby small towns of Winterton and Bergville in order to find jobs. Even there, after paying high transport costs, it is difficult to find work. Many of the adolescents have become despondent about their future, withdrawing their attention from schoolwork and education, from household chores and family responsibility, towards the pursuing of hedonistic pleasures, including alcohol consumption, drug abuse, and promiscuity. Many of the adolescents (most especially the young women) have expressed feelings of hopelessness: HIV/AIDS is so prevalent that they feel that it doesn't matter how they behave, they will become infected with it. Many women said in a previous study (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005) that their husband or boyfriend would beat them severely if they asked him to wear a condom, as it is seen as a direct accusation of his promiscuity. Women often see themselves as powerless within the arena of sex and sexual politics, and say that it often seems safer to have a boyfriend and do what he wants than to be single and 'fair game' for all of the men. At least your man will fight for and protect his 'property'. There was also a very interesting perception of sexual risk which came up: that a man that is met at church poses no threat of HIV/AIDS infection, while one met at a shebeen poses a high threat; women said that they would hope to wear a condom (doubting that it would happen) with a man met at a shebeen, but not with one met at the church.

There appears to be (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005; Focus groups, March, November 2004; Informal interviews 2000 – 2004) a feeling of inadequacy amongst the youth in terms of their role within the community: if they cannot get a job, education appears to lose its importance, and a feeling of dependence on others develops. Those young men involved in gangs (rumoured to be implicated in drug abuse and petty theft) spoke about the need to commit the offences that they do, with there being 'no other way' to get 'money and nice things'. There is also a perceived dependence on the government

for grants and housing and job-creation: there was much talk about how much better it would be “if”... “if the government would get rid of HIV/AIDS, if the government would get rid of women- and child-abuse, if the government would create more jobs, if the government would increase child maintenance grants, if the government would provide more houses, better schools, better teachers, better doctors, more hospitals”... the list is exceptionally long. When asked if they would attend school more regularly if there were more teachers, there was an overwhelming response of pointlessness – many saw no point in attending school no matter how many or how good the teachers. The idea of creating jobs for themselves appeared to be ludicrous to the participants, almost a joke, with participants sniggering at the facilitator who raised the idea. There was no concrete reason why they saw this as not feasible, but it seemed apparent that they did. The young women (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005; Informal interviews 2000 – 2004) did not appear to feel that they had any control at all over if or when they had babies, even though most of them indicated that a caregiver or teacher had suggested the option of using a contraceptive injection. Many participants spoke about being thwarted in all attempts that they made to succeed, saying that it felt as though the rules were always changing: at school they felt that their teachers were waiting to find fault with them, and at home even if they did their homework, or fetched the water, there was always something that they had not done right. This feeling of constant ‘persecution’ echoed throughout interviews and focus groups, and was common to male and female respondents. They found the idea that they might have power over their lives ridiculous, and insisted that there was simply too much over which they had no control at all.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

The following chapter endeavours to provide a brief overview of some of the theoretical paradigms relating to various types of Applied Drama, namely Developmental or Community Theatre, Drama in Education, and Drama Therapy (all learner/participant-centred approaches); and theories relating to Adolescent Identity Development, attempting to show how the adolescent participants in the Learner-led Drama in question relate to these paradigms of applied drama. These theoretical paradigms have been chosen for exploration in order to better understand the adolescent group: to better appreciate the *developmental* stage of the adolescent participants. This is important in order to ensure that learning and behavioural expectations set up within the study are congruent with the developmental phase of the participants. Furthermore, they have been chosen in order to better understand the phenomenon of Learner-led Drama in this context, just what it is, and how it may compare to and differ from selected theoretical paradigms within Applied Drama: Community Theatre, Drama in Education, and Dramatherapy; which we already know.

Adolescent Identity Development

There seems to be some argument as to the meaning of the word identity to begin with. Authors of books dealing with the issue seem to need to demarcate the criteria they are using to refer to identity construction. Williams (1989) goes into some detail discussing the difference between 'mentalistic' and 'corporeal' criteria when judging identity. Charles Williams (1989) refers to Bernard Williams (1970) in his paper 'The Self and the Future' where he describes the notion of persons A and B expecting to undergo surgery which may be thought of as "the total transfer of information from A's brain into B's, and vice versa" (Williams, 1989:153). If we imagine this to take place, and we imagine that the original person A (who now has all personal truths, characteristics and memories of person B) to now *be* person B, even though he physically appears to remain person A, then a 'mentalistic' criteria is being employed as paramount when judging identity of the person. If we imagine that person A remains person A, even though he has lost all personal truths, characteristics and memories pertaining to person A and gained a new set of the same, pertaining to

person B, then a 'corporeal' criteria is being employed as paramount when judging the identity of the person.

If we were to use this analogy in adolescents and their identity development (the surgery), then personal truths and characteristics left behind in the childhood identity, swapped for the new ones developed in adolescence in preparation for adulthood would not invalidate the child-person, and thus in this study the 'corporeal' criteria will be employed as paramount when judging the identity of the person. This is a useful way of looking at identity for the purposes of this study in that the 'child-person' with all hurts and injustices, and potentially unfulfilled needs, informs the adolescent sense of self, and possibly the adult sense of identity as well; with the interpretation of Vygotskian (1964) theory of the scaffolding of learning moving from the idea of education as 'teaching' alone towards education as the process of the development of self.

Adams et al (1992) summarise two widely recognised frameworks for conceptualising adolescent identity formation, that of Erikson and Blos. Adolescence (1992:1) is a major life stage for identity formation, where the identity is described as an "internalised self-selected regulatory system that represents an internalised integrated psychic structure." Adams et al (1992:2) describe Erikson's argument about adolescent identity formation which occurs within a social context in which the society provides all possible choices to the developing individual. This process requires the developing individual to make a selection from those available choices provided by the society; and the individual requires affirmation and support from the society for the selections he or she makes, as well as for experimentation with possible choices.

Adams et al (1992:2) describe Blos's somewhat contrasting argument that progressive development of the ego-identity requires a supportive environment that provides foundational emotional support but allows for an expression of the natural tensions and conflicts that occur due to generational differences. Here while the individual needs the support of the society, specifically in the form of "unceasing interactions with others" in the community, "increasing separation of the self from caregivers, and emotional disengagement are critical to ego maturity and identity development"

(Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:2).

Both Blos and Erikson present two differing identity formation process models: one of passive identity formation process and one of active identity formation process.

Erikson portrays passive identity formation process as being one where the individual accepts self-images or roles ascribed to him without evaluation, or assumes a diffused identity associated with a confusion of roles (Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:2). Blos describes passive identity formation as manifesting in a prolonged adolescence, where the individual resists making final choices. Both Blos and Erikson describe passive identity youths as harbouring "self-doubt and uncertainty, and are hypothesized to lose one's self when removed from the foreclosed and structured environment in which they live" (Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:1-2). Both theorists seem to agree that the individual searching through and selecting commitments and ideals, and then organizing these chosen commitments and ideals into an "organized psychic structure" characterizes active identity formation process. Both theorists hypothesize this kind of identity formation to be associated with "self-assurance, self-certainty and a sense of mastery" (Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:2). As well as these models, both Blos and Erikson also concur that a further model, perhaps the extreme opposite of the active identity formation process is a passive form of identity diffusion. The youth displaying this process is described as "manifesting pathological symptoms. Severe identity diffusion is seen as a defensive ... state, reflecting the absence of both an organized psychic structure and corresponding ego strengths" (Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:2). Identity diffusion, (Marcia, 1989 in Adams 1992) is the least developmentally advanced identity status, where "Commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals is absent, and exploration is either missing or shallow. People in [the stage of] identity diffusion tend to follow the path of least resistance, and may present as having a carefree, cosmopolitan lifestyle, and/or as being empty and dissatisfied" (Marcia, 1989:10-11). There is also some indication that in order for adolescents to develop a well-integrated sense of identity, willingness for self-discovery and self-awareness should ideally be present "...a well integrated sense of identity is one that does not shrink from exploring all key components of oneself..." (Grotevant in Adams, Gullotta & Montemayor, 1992:86).

The Emmaus youth appear to be displaying in general, passivity of identity formation and identity diffusion in varying degrees. The communities inhabiting the valley are very poor, and there is a high incidence of parental mortality, due to the combination of HIV/AIDS and extremely low earning power of the people. Thus it is very common to find adolescents and youngsters looking after other young children, and thus unable to go to school or to get jobs. There are very few jobs available for young adults even with an adequate high school education. The youth appear to accept this without challenge: the idea is that there are no jobs. Creating your own job (by starting up a small business, for example) while perhaps having been talked about by teachers at school is not really considered an option by the youth (Focus Groups held at the outset of the project which led to this dissertation).

There is a high incidence of physical male domination, which leaves women unable to demand sexual safety (such as the use of a condom or monogamy) in this way women and adolescent girls are powerless to prevent the acquisition (or spread) of HIV. Men move to big centres such as Johannesburg in order to find work, and so adolescent boys have very few male role models, and still assume the place of decision-maker in many households. They are often expected to provide money within the household and easily turn to crime. This too is easily and widely accepted in the community: that young men will be bad; the male youth accept this role with seemingly little challenge, (Focus groups held in 2001 relating to Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005).

These are some of the problems faced in the rural context of this research, all of which lead the youth to see themselves as having no power over their lives, and to see the attainment of their goals (for example career and good health) as blocked. This would interfere with the development of Blos's healthy ego-identity.

Patterson, Sochting and Marcia (1989 in Adams *et al* 1992) expand upon Erikson's theory to say that adolescence is the optimal life stage for the formation of the individual's identity, "as they are not yet firmly tied by adult commitments, the adolescent may try out a variety of possible commitments in occupation and ideology, eventually adopting a more or less permanent sense of who he or she is" (1989, cited in Adams *et al*, 1992:10). However this appears to rely on the availability or perceived

availability of choice – a teenage girl who has by default become the head of her household, caring for younger siblings in the absence of parents, may perceive her roles and commitments as being predetermined, which may then remove her from the optimal life stage for the formation of her identity as she is firmly tied by adult commitments, which are beyond her control.

Adolescent problem behaviour as well as risky behaviour (here I include alcohol abuse, drug abuse crime, violent and sexually violent behaviour, or promiscuity, as well as problem behaviour such as truancy and school dropouts – these are problems experienced in the rural valley of the study) (Jones in Adams 1992:216) can be linked to a way of dealing with the attainment of goals which are blocked, or otherwise unattainable. In the rural context of this research, there appears to be a notion that the youth are blocked by various factors outside of their control. The fact that they see themselves as having so little control over their education, employment, state of health et al, could be indicative of them dealing with goals which are either unattainable, or blocked, or not even recognised as being a choice, thus the individual is thwarted before having the opportunity to imagine or dream a future. In this light it is possible to relate behavioural problems such as drug use, crime and violence to these blocked goals. Jones (in Adams, 1992) argues that adolescents in the diffused identity stage are at great risk for substance use/abuse. He argues that “fostering psychosocial development, perhaps in the form of social interventions designed to enhance ego identity, may be an effective alternative to traditional prevention or intervention approaches to drug abuse” (Adams, 1992:7). Jones recounts Jessor’s (1987 in Adams, 1992) perspective on drinking and other problem behaviour, that it – like other learned behaviour – may serve (*inter alia*) “as a coping mechanism ... may also function to express solidarity with peers ... and it may also serve to confirm personal identity” (Jessor, 1987: 334-335). Here it can be seen that deviant behaviour used as coping strategies may change from a perception of something external to the self: something one *does*, to something internal to the self: something one *is*. It is this shift which confirms the self-perception, solidifying into self-identification as a deviant personality (Adams 1992).

Jones asserts that literature regarding “resilient children” that is, those who “recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress”, describes these resilient

children as having passed through Erikson's description of healthy progress through the early stages of psychological development. For example, resilient children are said to have received high levels of bonding with a primary caregiver during infancy (Werner, 1984:68). Erikson asserts that during the child's first stage of establishing a sense of trust versus mistrust, (during infancy) the importance of maternal care is paramount. Resilient children are said to exhibit autonomy and self-reliance, seeking out new experiences and lacking fear in experimentation. This autonomy is associated with Erikson's second stage of development (early childhood). Werner further suggests that resilient children "often find refuge and a source of self-esteem in hobbies and creative interests" where initiative is the crux of Erikson's third stage of development – and creativity and industry are the crucial elements of his fourth stage. If all this is so then it can be said that a healthy psychosocial development would lead to a resilient child. Erikson (1959, 1963) asserts that healthy progression through the first four stages of psychosocial development would facilitate the fifth stage of identity formation as opposed to role confusion. At the same time, inadequate or faulty resolution of the earlier stages will hinder identity development as well as successful resolution of the stages that follow.

It is interesting to note that in the poor rural valley in which the study is conducted, infants are often left with multiple caregivers, often one who has no real connection with the baby. There is little or no bonding with that caregiver, and the mother working for financial gain or in the fields for the food, is necessarily absent, (Focus groups relating to Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005). This implies that many of the infants there may grow up without having a successful resolution of Erikson's first stage of trust and may in fact harbour mistrust instead. In order to control children in the harsh climate, fear is a tool used by caregivers; fears about water are instilled to keep children away from unfenced dams and other bodies of water (Informal interviews 2002). Fears of grass spirits are used to keep children from wandering away while the adults are unable to pay attention, thus a sense of autonomy may not be fully developed in resolving Erikson's second stage of development. Children appear to be encouraged to play alone in Erikson's third stage of development, 'play age' in early childhood, which may encourage them to successfully resolve the stage of initiative, however, without a firm resolution of the first two stages, the success of the third would appear to be jeopardised. These children by school-going age are

expected to walk a far distance to and from school, often having had no breakfast. After school and on weekends and holidays, children are expected to do chores such as walking to fetch water, tending cows or goats, or helping in the fields. There is no time for most of the children to develop a hobby. Further, there is not a lot of money, so there is little opportunity to develop anything not directly provided for at school. Thus the only real opportunity to develop in this third stage is during structured activities. By the time the children reach adolescence, and the fifth stage of identity formation is upon them, many have lost parents completely, or parents have become dependent on the adolescents, through increased illness due to the AIDS pandemic, and the adolescents have been thrown into adult roles (looking after siblings, or having to provide financially for family). School is often abandoned completely, or there is little time or energy to devote to school (Informal interviews, 2002). By this time there have been so many losses in the lives of the adolescents that goals seem to have been blocked or opportunities taken from them, contributing to what Pieter Dirk Uys (HIVAN Conference 2003) describes as "Multiple Loss Syndrome", where individuals have been short-changed in so many ways that they do not even recognise what they are lacking. This inability to successfully resolve the fifth stage of development may contribute to problem or risky behaviour in adolescents.

In local writing on adolescent identity formation, Thom (in Louw, 1991:387-388) refers to the importance of peer acceptance in the adolescent stage of identity development. Thom suggests that the perception of the individual adolescent by the peer group may inform, and in fact may *form* the individual's self-perception: "the degree to which the adolescent manages to conform to the norms of his peers determines how the group will behave towards him and how he will view and assess himself...adolescence is a critical period in the development of the self-concept" (Louw 1991:388). Thom also asserts the importance of the adolescent maintaining a "feeling of continuity, *i.e.* a feeling that he is still the same person..." (Louw, 1991:387).

Another manifestation of risky adolescent behaviour in the Emmaus Valley is one of gang activity and gang related violence and other crime. This could be analysed in terms of Thom's assertion of the adolescent need for peer approval: as these adolescents are often without parental stability, see themselves as valuable only

within the context of their acceptance of a very specific sector within the peer group.

Macionis and Plummer (2008) summarise two theories of poverty perpetuation which are interesting when observed with reference to the deeply impoverished rural valley. There is the suggestion that it is the culture of poverty which keeps the poverty stricken poor, fostering feelings of resignation to poverty as a matter of fate not to be challenged or overcome. Anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1961) suggested, "...the environment of poverty socialised children to believe that there is little point in aspiring to a better life. The result is a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty, as one generation transmits its way of life to the next" (in Macionis and Plummer, 2008:324).

The adolescents growing up in the Emmaus Valley may indeed have inherited this inability to see a life better and worth aspiring to. Then certainly, for the youth to see themselves as agents within their own lives might in fact be too much to expect: if what they are learning from the parental element that is available that all factors tip the scale out of their favour.

Ryan (1976), on the other hand, holds that "...social structures – not people themselves – distribute the resources unequally and are, therefore, responsible for poverty. Ryan interprets any lack of ambition on the part of poor people as a consequence, rather than a cause of their lack of opportunity" (in Macionis and Plummer, 2008:324).

Very important then, may be to analyse the youth of the Emmaus Valley within an overlap of these two theories: societal structure keeps poverty ridden sectors poverty ridden, which negates any effort by the poor to break out of this cycle, this structure then engenders a feeling of helplessness within the poor communities; it is the same societal structure that would demand more effort on the part of the poor to empower themselves and pull themselves out of the cycle of poverty. It may not be surprising, then to note that the youth in this particular community do not appear to view themselves as having power within the domain of their own lives.

Jones (in Adams 1992) argues that adolescents in the diffused identity stage are at

great risk for substance use/abuse and other problem/risky behaviour. He argues that "fostering psychosocial development, perhaps in the form of social interventions designed to enhance ego identity, may be an effective alternative to traditional prevention or intervention approaches to drug abuse". Edward Bond writes about the power of drama: "If we can give young people dramatic tools of reason and emotion, then they may be free for life..." (Broadsheet, 1998 14,1:52). Boal (1995) advocates the use of drama as a rehearsal for revolution: in a safe environment participants can play out various responses, and explore articulating differing opinions, and in this way in an environment of safety and protection, explore an internal rebellion against the status quo, without necessarily making any outward commitment to this effect. Thus there is no need to defend choices, until the entire process has been rehearsed, and a meaningful choice can be made by the participants. This research paper aims to investigate the feasibility and value of young people *developing for themselves* these tools. Perhaps it is possible that the adolescents who participate in the learner-led drama under study are unwittingly attempting to find and develop these tools for themselves.

Applied Drama

In the realm of Applied Drama there are many theoretical standpoints one could take: this analysis is not an attempt to put the paradigm of Learner-led Drama above any other discussed below; rather, this is an attempt to explore the value of Learner-led Drama as an experience, with outcomes possibly comparable to an experience involving Community Theatre, Dramatherapy or Drama in Education. In no way is this paper suggesting that the outcomes may not be reached significantly more effectively with the introduction of a catalyst or expert. Rather, the value in this project lies in the fact that the phenomenon exists; the youth are involved. In the study of the phenomenon as it exists, we chose an approach of minimal intervention. The participants may or may not, then, reach some outcomes set out for them not by themselves, and certainly not articulated to them. These outcomes may be similar to those set out by practitioners of Community Theatre, Dramatherapy or Drama in Education.

Community Theatre

Community theatre is theatre for empowerment, theatre for conscientisation, theatre for action. This is a theatrical form in which theatre practitioners lead a community in their own play, or performance, taking directions from, or being replaced by audience members, and always, the aim is for audience members to move from being passive to acquiring agency within the theatrical framework, and beyond (Boal, 1995:73).

Usually there is some sort of deficit diagnosed in a particular community or target group. The community or group itself may diagnose it, and indeed it is in this case that any intervention is most successful (Boal, 1995; Jellicoe, 1987). The deficit may manifest itself in many ways: political – the community may be oppressed or in some way marginalised; social – the community may have a problem as a result of a previous disadvantage, for example there may be a high incidence of alcoholism, crime or domestic violence.

Ann Jellicoe (1987) asserts that there are ‘Good’ and ‘Bad’ Communities in which to run a Community Theatre Project, where

A ‘good’ community depends upon people who are lively, energetic, caring and in touch with each other. Ideas will emerge without being blocked, stifled and put down; they will be thought about and tossed around. In a ‘bad’ community, people are afraid to stick their necks out. They think that if they have ideas, people will think they are silly or pushy... It’s far easier to mount a community play in a good community. There are more energetic and enthusiastic people, who know how to come together without a fuss... However, bad communities need a community play. It offers an opportunity for communication across ages and backgrounds.

(Jellicoe, 1987:45-46)

There are different models of community theatre, from actors performing for communities, choosing issues with the community, developing the script with the community; to actors performing a predefined script leading to the characters’ tragedy, calling on audiences to take the place of the actors to behave differently to save the situation, or to direct the actors to achieve the same; to theatre practitioners

devising a play along with the community for the community to perform. All of these have at their core the aim of community empowerment, community conscientisation, community members to take action: for community members to move from being passive, and disempowered to acquiring agency within the theatrical framework, and beyond. Mda (1993:164-176) asserts that optimal community conscientisation can be attained only through optimal agreement between community participation and intervention. He writes that maximum levels of intervention coupled with little or no community participation leads to a low resultant level of community conscientisation; similarly, maximum levels of community participation coupled with no intervention leads to a low resultant level of community conscientisation. This optimal level differs within each community as there are differing levels of social consciousness within the community itself, as well as with each different practitioner, to begin with, and there are also differing needs and deficits in each community.

Participatory theatre provides a safe forum for thought and discussion around problems. Even further, it provides a safe vehicle for participants to 'try out' various options of realities, it is thus, as Boal (1995) refers, a "rehearsal for revolution". It is the 'trying out' of options, weighing up the effectiveness of choices, and ultimately the participation in problem solving, and in doing so, the assumption of agency. The issue chosen is thus almost a vehicle for empowerment to take place, and for problem solving skills to develop, important as much for the deeper learning as for the chosen issue itself. The facilitator would lead the group through a feedback session, where participants and audience members comment on the preceding action, allowing them to process what has happened, and further, to bring what may otherwise stay in the realm of 'theatre' and make-believe into the realm of reality.

Theatrical elements such as character, fictitious plot, costume and props (however elaborate or sparse) all merge to form a world which, through its distancing, provides a space for consideration removed enough from oneself to be safe. It is this safety which endorses theatre as an effective tool in the development of problem solving skills and empowerment or the development of agency. Indeed it is this safety (Jellicoe, 1987) which invites participants to experiment and let go, to convince them of the power, or perhaps even the possibility, of their own creativity. A lecture might tell a target group about the advantages of finding solutions, or of gaining agency, and

may (in a top-down fashion) inform the group of theories relating to the subject, and even examples of similar situations and case studies. A discussion may invoke the target group to think about the subject and may encourage some contribution. But theatre would endeavour to hook into the subconscious emotions of the target group, creating a safe environment wherein this group might be able to consider, through experience, the effects of finding solutions, or of gaining agency in their own lives.

There are then in the South African context, basically two kinds of theatre to choose from: there is non-participatory theatre, or conventional 'Western' stage theatre, and there is participatory theatre, a relatively new concept, wherein the constraints of the conventional theatre are challenged.

Participatory theatre is used in locations often other than traditional theatre buildings, these purpose-built structures often have high costs attached to their use as well as often being elitist and thus having limited accessibility. There are also accepted codes, which apply to traditional or conventional theatre spaces. The audience is seated in a separate space from the actors; the stage is a designated space for the actors only. The actors hold the power of speech, and action, and there is no opportunity for the audience to change anything about the production (even when audience participation is requested, it seldom if ever alters the path of the play). There is a convention of not challenging the actors, and of not expecting the action to be relevant. There is an expectation of a story, of a catharsis, and of a satisfaction.

Participatory theatre can be performed in locations often other than traditional theatre buildings – in community halls, in the open air, simply because participatory theatre does not endeavour to perpetuate the expectations of conventional stage theatre, indeed it seeks to actively challenge these expectations: there is a need for participation in order to reclaim the power of speech and action from the actors – without that there is no theatre. There is a need also to challenge the cost implications of conventional stage theatre, as well as the notion that the outsiders are the experts. Once that notion has been seriously and successfully challenged, target groups can begin to engage in dialogue. It is this dialogue that is the beginning of the process of conscientisation, both for the participants and the actor-teachers (Boal, 1995).

It is the satisfaction of catharsis that Boal (1995) seeks to banish through participatory theatre: Boal asserts that when an audience member sees a character in a dilemma act heroically, that the satisfaction of that vicarious experience negates any need in that audience member to be himself heroic. If, on the other hand, he sees the character struggle and make mistakes, and eventually behave in a particularly un-heroic manner, it decreases any possible satisfaction, and thus increases the desire of the audience member to himself behave in the heroic manner. Forum Theatre allows the audience member to physically act out the part of the un-heroic character (he is now both audience and actor – he has become Boal's 'spect-actor'). This gives the spect-actor the power of speech and action: he no longer watches as others make decisions but is now a decision-maker himself. This gives him agency in the destiny of the play, and since the play is a metaphor for some situation affecting his life, gives him agency in his own destiny – and in a deep way, he can envisage himself with power, he can indeed change situations by taking control and making good decisions: he is, in fact, rehearsing for when a situation in his own life calls for sound judgement or decisive action. He is rehearsing for his own revolution (Boal, 1995).

Using Boal's (1995) 'simultaneous dramaturgy', the audience members become directors, even scriptwriters, telling actor-teachers how to remedy situations, what to say and how to behave. This is another way of providing the environment for a target group to take action, become powerful, to see themselves as powerful and as being taken seriously. In this way, empowerment happens implicitly within the form, whether or not the scenario is directly about empowerment.

Participatory theatre is advantageous as an educational tool, while at the same time being a catalyst of conscientisation, perhaps a step beyond mere education, which can encompass a shift in attitude or worldview. It aims to provide a safe forum for exploration around a chosen topic, including investigation into issues, communication about these issues, shared experiences. Not only this, but it demands action. This action 'raises the stakes'; it increases the emotional investment, and thus the commitment of the participants. People are likely to act only if they are highly emotionally motivated to do so (Freire, 2000). A scenario depicting problems the group faces every day, handled with obvious flaws and leading to a tragic end is likely to evoke an emotive response, a will to act, a need to change the outcome. Once

action has been achieved in the safe environment, action is more achievable in reality. This advocates a kind of interactive education, not only between audience members, but also between audience and actor-teachers – shared knowledge and both become both teacher and learner. Target groups have the opportunity to see the world-view of both protagonist and antagonist. Conventional, popular theatre lacks this interactive component. Thus if there is an attempt to have conventional theatre contain educational elements, it too easily moves into a ‘top-down’ approach because there is no dialogic element. Mlama disagrees, seeing a potential for popular theatre in community development:

...Certain strengths and potentials in Popular Theatre [Theatre by the people, for the people] as a development process ... can be observed. First is the recognition of the people's way of life as the starting point in development action. Popular Theatre begins with the grassroot community and with what its members think are the major concerns of their lives. Stage one of Popular Theatre is researching into what the community concerned conceives as their problems. The discussion and analysis of these problems by the community enables the development issues to emerge from the background of the people's own way of life.

(Mlama, 1991:203).

However, ‘Conventional’ or ‘Popular’ theatre demands no interaction from the audience; audience members are not required to make any personal investment, and as such may in fact not be moved to change any part of the consciousness with which they may enter the auditorium. Popular theatre encourages a vicarious catharsis, which according to Boal (1995) lets people ‘off the hook’ allowing them not to need to affect any change within themselves.

Within Boal's (1995) ‘simultaneous dramaturgy’ there is no dramatic text on which actor-teachers can depend; each performance is specific to each target community; issues chosen will differ from community to community. And indeed an issue even if it may be duplicated will be dealt with in differing ways according to the world-views and histories of each community. This aids in the prevention of actor-teachers who are external to target groups from making assumptions and forming incorrect opinions

about the target group, and also ensures relevance of the subject matter to the target group.

Mda (1993) argues that "Theatre is made up of linguistic, special, gestural, scenographic, and illuminational codes ... dramatic performance is a set of signs and codes that serve to characterise and advance dramatic action..." (1993:84). In order for any theatrical work (and particularly theatre-for-development, *ie* theatre which aims to conscientise participants and bring about social upliftment) to be successful, common codes must be used. This is why it is imperative to research the target group thoroughly and seriously, and to try to enter without any hubris, any thoughts about being experts entering with any kind of solution, for ultimately, if any solution is provided, the fragile system must collapse, and the dialogic is lost. True participatory theatre will not use theatrical elements unfamiliar to the target group as this may mesmerise the group, rendering them unable to identify strongly enough to intervene.

Problem-solving skills are learnt implicitly within this 'game'. The spect-actors actively attempt to solve the characters' problems, with varying degrees of success, as the joker makes the rest of the spect-actors decide: how successful was the intervention, how realistic was the intervention/outcome, do we believe them? These are all ways of problem solving, learning by doing, instead of being told how to solve the problems. People are far more likely to remember things in which they have been invested (being a part of the action, having their ideas used, making their ideas work) than things that have been alien or separate from them.

Within the scope of this project, the cultural competitions in which the learners voluntarily participate could be seen as Community Theatre in that it is the learners who choose issues to be explored; it is the learners who perform, often with no training. Paradoxically, it is in this way also that these cultural competitions *differ* greatly from all the models of community theatre: it *is* the learners who perform, with no training, and with *no* outside input, there is no facilitator, no "master-plan" coming from an outside source, in short, there is no way of regulating the issues chosen to be dealt with, or how these issues are in fact dealt with; there is nobody to reflect upon the process, and to look at the performers and see whether any empowerment has in fact taken place. In this instance the learners simply choose something they *want* to

perform: scenes from a soap opera, music video, radio drama, adverts, traditional dance or ritual performances, the issue then is important more for the empowerment that the performers may achieve through simply rehearsing and performing the role of the strong male dancer (perhaps reserved in the community for a man of authority and some standing) than for the physical actions they perform. This paper investigates whether this kind of performance could still be a representation of Boal's (1995) idea of rehearsal for revolution, if these learners can, without receiving any direction from any professionals, come to a similar state of empowerment as a group steered carefully through a predetermined, carefully planned process. This Learner-led Drama may fall within Mda's (1993:172) analysis of the efficacy of conscientisation as 'Comgen' Theatre, in which there is minimal or no input by 'experts', maximum participation by the community, and yields little or no conscientisation. While it is clear that there are numerous advantages to having a group of Community Theatre Practitioners come into a community and attempt to bring about some level of conscientisation, the fact is that this is not happening; there are not the resources for theatre practitioners to go and work with so many schools on an ongoing basis. It is the attempt of this paper to discern whether the Learner-led Drama itself, run in the way it has always been run, holds any benefit beyond the obvious pleasure of the entertainment.

Drama in Education

Drama in Education is quite basically the use of drama within the classroom environment, where the drama is explored not for its own sake, but to reach an educational objective. Wagner writes "...the purpose of Drama in Education is to educate...participants work together to improvise a fictional encounter in order to understand something better" (1999:3). This kind of Drama strives for empowerment of the learner, for many reasons, but perhaps one of the most important is the power of experience in terms of learning: if as learning creatures, we learn best through experience, then it seems ineffectual practice to attempt to teach (or indeed learn – for we must all take responsibility for our learning) anything in the absence of experience. Drama gives the learner something to experience in order to internalise the subject matter. Ultimately, Drama in Education is about learning *in action*. It is a theatrical form in which learners become Actors, taking directions from or even giving directions to, their Facilitator (teacher), in which learners inhabit the worlds of

which they attempt to learn. Facilitators attempt to move learners from the role of the passive learner to acquiring an agency within the theatrical framework, actively engaging with the new knowledge, internalising the learning to be used inside the classroom and beyond. One of the methods used by the facilitator to encourage this internalisation of learning is through a period of reflection after the action has taken place. This reflection may take one of many different forms, (including a teacher-led class discussion, learners may be asked to write a diary entry for the character they played, or a letter to another character from their own, or a letter to their character from themselves) but it serves to encourage learners to reflect upon, or think about the experience. It allows their own insights to come through, and allows learners to begin to make their own meaning of their experience.

Drama in Education is dependant on the Teacher, Facilitator, Drama Practitioner, imagining the possibilities, and creating goals within the contexts of these possibilities, and creating lessons based on the possible realisation of these goals. "...the chances of engaging the students in a meaningful experience that has the potential of transforming their thinking is increased if the teacher is able to create a task that will focus their questioning" (Gallagher, 2001:118). The learners themselves do not choose what they will learn through drama, in the same way as they do not choose what is in the school syllabus, of what section will be learned on what day. It must then be up to the good teacher/facilitator to accurately read the needs of the class, and create learning opportunities based on these needs. This is quite unlike community theatre, where participants may identify their own need for intervention.

Drama in Education relies heavily on the imagined world of the participants, and further, depends on the *externalisation* of the imagined (Bolton, 1979): just as can be seen in imaginative play in children, both worlds are present at the time of the externalisation; the physical world – the hairbrush, the kitchen table – physical realities, which become the imagined (and now created) stage and the microphone in the externalisation of the fantasy. The child has the ability to make new meaning out of the hairbrush and table.

The externalisation of any piece of theatre, in the classroom or on the stage is a "Collective attitude congruent with objective [as well as subjective] meaning"

(Bolton, 1979:35) the participants have to come to an agreed set of meanings to create – they must thus communicate with each other, and cooperate within the group.

The emphasis in Drama in Education is the learning through drama, experientially coming to terms with historical context, the context in which a novel may be set, intercultural conflict, or simply feeling the effects of differing walks of life and life experiences, (Wagner, 1999). Bolton (1979) asserts that in learning with Drama in Education the following process occurs: first there is reinforcement of participants own knowledge or life experience, drawing on what they know already: this serves as a self-confidence booster, with participants realising what they know and exploring what they can do. Then there is clarification, with learners drawing from each other, or the facilitator, and thus gaining a better understanding of the subject at hand through information given (on the board or on role cards, for example) and through enactment. Then there is modification, where there is an actual shift in the depth of understanding, usually this is insightful change: refining, extending, widening thought processes, breaking stereotypes, questioning assumptions, trying alternative behaviour processes, to name a few (Bolton, 1979:44-45).

Drama in Education provides a safe forum for the thought and discussion around problems, be they social problems within the classroom or playground, or contextual problems within the syllabus. In the very same way as Community Theatre provides a safe vehicle for participants to 'try out' various options of realities, so does Drama in Education. In this forum, however, the dramas are chosen by the facilitator, and run by the facilitator in order to reach certain specific goals. Drama in Education is the 'trying out' of options, weighing up the effectiveness of choices, and ultimately the participation in problem solving, and in doing so, the assumption of agency. The issue chosen by the facilitator is thus almost a vehicle for empowerment to take place, and for problem solving skills to develop.

Theatrical elements such as character, dramatic tension, symbolism, fictitious plot, costume and props (however elaborate or sparse) are all used to form a world which, in the same way as Community Theatre, through its distancing, provides a space for consideration removed enough from the participants themselves to be safe. It is this safety which endorses theatre as an effective tool in the development of problem

solving skills and empowerment or development of agency; as well as social skills such as cooperation, communication; and conceptual skills such as the questioning of previously held assumptions, questioning or even breaking stereotypes, about themselves as well as about others. It is possibly the safety of distancing that allows much of this development to occur: participants are happy to let go and experience different things as somebody else; are able to see the points of view of others when there is no direct challenge to their own person, there is no need to be defensive and to keep the learning at bay when the participant is not being threatened. Bolton suggests that the safety of the fictitious plot, and ultimately the distancing effect of the characters played by participants allows Drama in Education to contrive "all kinds of role experiences that can break historical, cultural, class, race and gender barriers" (Bolton, 1979:21) and thus cut across barriers within the normal language code, improving modes of communication. Thus social skills like communication and empathy, which may not be made explicit within the goals of the drama, are implicitly learned through the nature of participation in the drama itself.

Gallagher describes her view of the function served by the inclusion of Drama in Education within the curriculum:

...the point of Drama Education is not to transmit a particular ideology or to leave unchallenged the things we think we believe, but to see anew, understand ourselves more fully, expand our thinking, and understand how that thinking has been shaped by our social positions. It is an opening-up process that must, at all costs, leave open the possibilities of alternative ways to see or hear or live the story... drama in education has the potential to set up life as a site for struggle and change. It can be explicitly concerned with the deconstructing and reconstructing process when we alienate representations of gender, class, and race. It is one means of dismantling seductive, stereotypical images, of resisting the limited and limiting discursive and aesthetic representations of self/other. ... [there is] much evidence about kind of personal growth and understanding that might happen within

and through the drama curriculum.

(Gallagher, 2001:82-83)

Wagner appears to be of the same mind, asserting that Drama is a powerful learning tool because of "its unique balance of thought and feeling makes learning enjoyable, exciting, challenging, and relevant to real life concerns" (Wagner, 1999:5). She continues, "...Drama in Education enables participants – either during the drama itself or after the drama in a reflection and discussion – to look at reality through fantasy and to see below the surface of actions to their meaning" (Wagner, 1999:5). Bolton (1979) concurs, asserting that in the process of reflection, which may be lead by the facilitator, or in the simple act of thinking back on the process alone, there is an increased awareness of self, of the actions and reactions to others, and often there is a process whereby the participant plays and replays the drama in his head, trying out other responses, deciding which is most authentic, which is the best. In this way participants continue to try out different options well after the conclusion of the physical drama itself. The analysis of the interaction can therefore lead to self improvement, increased assertiveness, or better listening skills, as the participant rehearses many different approaches and responses to the fictitious situation.

The participants creating the drama within the phenomenon under study in this paper were able to enter into a process wherein they chose their own subject matter, unlike that which would be constructed, formulated and ultimately run by a facilitator. The disadvantage of this in terms of the Drama in Education model is that the participants often do not have a vocabulary for identifying their own needs, and thus running an 'intervention' is not really feasible. The learners participating in the project had no intention of changing their lives, of coming to any kind of new understanding of themselves or of those around them. None of the group leaders had any desire to effect any kind of social change. What they wanted to do was be a part of the competition, and have some fun. All of the learning that came from the project was implicit in the process of creating the piece, and of ultimately performing the product in front of those people who are important to them: their peers (both performers and non-performers) and families and community members who come to see the competition. As an educator I am personally a great believer in the use of Drama in the classroom in order to help to achieve objectives set out for a class, and it is not the

aim of this paper to devalue this kind of contribution. However, this kind of intervention is unlikely in these deep rural areas. While it is clear that there are numerous advantages to having an Educator trained and passionate within the realm of Drama in Education, come into a community and attempt to bring about some level of conscientisation, the fact is that this is not happening; there are not the resources for theatre practitioners to go and work with so many schools on an ongoing basis. It is the attempt of this paper to discern whether the Learner-led Drama itself, run in the way it has always been run, and the way it unfolds now holds any benefit beyond the obvious pleasure of the entertainment.

Dramatherapy

Formally, Dramatherapy is defined by Jennings (1998:33) as “the term used for the application of theatre art in special situations, with the intention that it will be therapeutic, healing or beneficial to the participants.” Thus *Dramatherapy* is the use of drama with the implicit intention that it should heal, however, she also asserts that we need to come to an understanding of the “theatrical structure of society and a dramatic structure of the human being” (Jennings, 1998:44). In these terms, it can be assumed that the structure of the human psyche is intrinsically dramatic, from the role-play of a mother with her unborn baby, through to replaying conversations after they have taken place (the flush of anger or shame we feel when replaying these conversations – being alternately all of the participants – demonstrates the drama we *live*). Jennings goes further, to view “theatre and drama as healing processes whether or not they are applied with a therapeutic aim or intention” (Jennings, 1998:33). This is perhaps true of any art form: creative writing, painting, sculpture, music and dance all have the potential to be therapeutic whether or not they are applied with the express intention of healing. Dramatherapy is the use of drama and theatre arts in order to achieve some healing objective. The players/patients act out scenes from their lives or inspired by their lives, thus taking ownership of incidents, episodes in their lives and attitudes or worldviews they have learned and accepted. The Drama therapist would lead the participants through a session of group sharing after the action has taken place. It is in the group sharing that participants reflect on their experience, and begin to explore their responses within the drama; thus beginning to

understand the dynamics of their own performance, and make meaning of the experience.

There is a safety in theatre arts as a form of therapy, as there is distance between the patient and the incident – this is not a flashback – there are choices which can be made relating to traumatic incidents, within the framework of role reversing, and fairytale telling among others. People engaging in Dramatherapy set boundaries with their therapists, and it is within these ‘safe zones’ that they choose which parts of their lives to explore. It is interesting to note here that Jennings (1995) quotes Blos (1962) writing about developing the abilities of “Expression and Containment” experiences, adolescents, and their choice of scenario: “Even when the scenes enacted in Dramatherapy are not replays of actual life scenarios, the adolescents’ creations are generally autobiographical. The degree of distance between self and product during adolescence tends to be minimal. Dramatic enactment – encompassing a wide range of scenes from the imaginary to the psychodramatic – facilitates both expression and containment of inner pain, conflict, confusion and turmoil, as well as of excitement, longing, hope. Dramatic enactment offers not only emotional release and catharsis, but also containment and a sense of internal control” (Blos, 1962 cited in Jennings, 1995:156).

Within the context of the investigation for this dissertation, particularly where the adolescents did not view themselves as agents in their own destiny, a sense of internal control over what to express, and what to contain, seems to have been very empowering: one of the female participants answered “I could choose!” to questions posed such as why she was a particular character, through to what she was wearing. (She had on some cheap plastic bracelets which she had apparently exchanged for braiding somebody’s hair, jingling them around her face she laughed, “I could choose! I could choose!” For the first time in her life she saw it as her choice who *not* to have as a boyfriend, *when* she washed her brother’s clothes and how she personally would feel *about* washing his clothes (this will be further explored in Chapter 4). This teenage girl who felt that she was powerless may choose to be a powerful beautiful wealthy woman who has many choices, turning down propositions, making the rules. It is within this ‘open’ frame that she may see some power in her own situation, rehearsing for a voice to be developed.

David Johnson (1982) in Landy (1996) explains the developmental perspective of human disorder as understood in the world of Dramatherapy: "Whereas other paradigms suggest human dysfunction is due to something missing or out of balance, requiring 'to be put right,' the developmental perspective sees human disorder as a blockage or halt in development...the overall goal of development ... is ...increasing the range of expression, so that the person has access to, and flexibility to move along, all developmental levels." Thus it can be said that the playing out of scenes serves to do just that: "increasing the range of expression, so that the person has access to, and flexibility to move along, all developmental levels" (Johnson, 1982:184 cited in Landy, 1996:29).

One of the most empowering things about the theatre arts for many people is that it is a time in which they are able to live out somebody else's reality. The choices that the character has or does not have are different to the participant's own, the confidence they have in dealing with their situations, mistakes they make, attitudes they display, may mirror the participant's own or contrast with the participant's own. There is a safety net – the actor is not so vulnerable – in the fact of the fantasy. The participant has had a chance to play out endings or display assertiveness which one may be unable to live in real life: Jennings describes further "...theatre art enables us to find our place in a *symbolic enacted* world, as part of a story that will present us with various choices and solutions; it will transform our experience" (Jennings, 1998:23). Often alternatives, which cannot be thought of cognitively, come out spontaneously in a drama (the safety net of being another character testing out the alternatives being in place). It is these alternatives that are so crucial, whether they are appropriate to the players' own lives and problems or not, they begin to move forward, Jennings goes further and asserts that "In Dramatherapy they were able to participate in a series of role building sessions where they took on *new* roles rather than repeating old ones, and journeyed through new landscapes rather than staying stuck in old cycles. Their achievements in the Dramatherapy overcame the lack of self-esteem and the new skills in body and voice provided the means to express a new confidence" (Jennings, 1998:41). In relation to Blos' (1962, in Adams, 1992) assertion of minimal distance between self and product during adolescence, it could be further drawn that the achievements of the adolescents in their own (learner-led) drama can overcome lack

of self-esteem and lack of agency, with the development of new skills in body and voice providing them with the means to express a new confidence.

In 2003 at the HIVAN conference (University of Kwa Zulu Natal, Durban Campus) I was introduced to a concept described as 'multiple loss syndrome' by Pieter Dirk Uys. The 'syndrome' was described as being associated with HIV/AIDS and poverty, and was spoken of in relation to the notion of "AIDS dementia", described by Uys as a syndrome resulting perhaps from a loss of perception, in the South African youth, of any power or personal agency within the economic, and physical health structures of their lives. This syndrome of multiple loss, seems to have parallels with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder: sufferers are left with the feeling that their world is in chaos, there is no sense to be made, there is no way to move forward, that it does not matter what they do, the world is an unjust place, and that there is nobody to trust except themselves. Jennings writes about the effects of Psychotherapy and Dramatherapy on sufferers of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder:

...experiencing new forms of my present life might well change things in a more profound way and I suggest that this can be achieved through theatre art. I think this applies to all major distress and especially for those people suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. If we have experienced a severe trauma, the reliving of it as a form of exorcism has not been found to be helpful to many people; and in many cases they have not been able to thrive. Sudden single trauma is destructive because it is often a random experience and usually destabilises us. We therefore need the sort of therapy that can help us rediscover stability and find our place in the world again. We need to rediscover meaning in our lives and to feel that the world is not an unjust place. We need to re-establish our identity without feeling the guilt of being the survivor. None of this is helped by re-running and repeating the experience, which often happens to people in flashbacks and nightmares. We need to ritualise the experience and move on to rediscovery of stability and belief. By ritualising the

trauma, either by telling it or creating a symbolic drama, it allows forward movement rather than repetition.

(1998:42,43)

For the youth of the Emmaus Valley area, who may be described as being sufferers of the Multiple Loss Syndrome, who have been repeatedly traumatised by a myriad of social ills, such as poverty (hunger and cold), parental mortality, lack of sexual safety (for females often even the simple choice of entering a sexual relationship is not hers (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005)), lack of adequate healthcare and lack of job opportunity, they need to **discover** stability and find their place in the world. They need to **discover** meaning in their lives and to feel that the world is not an unjust place **for the first time**. They need to **establish** their identity without feeling the guilt of being a survivor. They need to move on to the **discovery** of stability and belief. By ritualising the trauma of their lives, either by telling it or creating a symbolic drama even in the form of a dance or extract from a soap opera, it allows forward movement rather than repetition.

Drama offers the escapism of being “transported to a different reality and presentation of relationships, conflicts, themes and outcomes which touch our lives. Because it is not merely a replication of our own conflict, there is enough distance to allow us to be open to develop new thoughts, ideas, resolutions, transformation” (Jennings, 1998:24). This distance, even though for adolescents it may be a small one as Blos (1962, in Adams, 1992) suggests, provides the safety for the adolescent to play out versions of a story.

Jennings (1998) asserts that core concepts of Dramatherapy include

“Theatrical distance

Everyday reality and Dramatic reality

Embodiment – Projection – Role developmental paradigm (EPR)

Dramatic reworking of experiences

Dramatic structure of the mind

Ritualisation of life events

Expansion of roles and transformation

Lived metaphysical experience” (Jennings, 1998:23).

Theatrical distance is important as it is this distance that affords participants the safety net – you are safe to explore a situation if the mistakes you make are not going to hurt you. Everyday reality and Dramatic reality, I feel is another facet of safety – the reality set up on stage is not the reality you live in, you make the rules for the stage reality. Embodiment – Projection – Role developmental paradigm, here Jennings explores the different kinds of play in which children of different developmental phases engage. If children are not afforded the opportunity to play their way through these phases, then a developmental pathway becomes blocked. Dramatic reworking of experiences would be dramatically engaging with existing experiences and patterns of behaviour to try to see one's way, behave oneself out of patterns, or deal well with experiences. Dramatic structure of the mind: Jennings asserts that the human mind is dramatically structured; that we role-play as children, imagine future events conversations and encounters, replay conversations later, reliving the entire thing in our minds, playing the parts of all the participants in the conversation, we even elicit emotional responses from ourselves. It is on this premise that Stanislavsky developed his 'Method' of acting: a recalled, relived emotional encounter can elicit a similar emotional response to the original experience (Stanislavsky, 1981). Expansion of roles and transformation; here Jennings refers to taking the roles that the participants have engaged in, and expanding them to explore new ways of behaving, new paths to follow, other choices available.

"The theatre experience enables us to go beyond ourselves into [life] experience..." (Jennings 1998:23). I believe that drama and Dramatherapy have a place in the rural community as a tool of personal empowerment and through this individual empowerment, community empowerment. This community empowerment can only happen once people as a collective begin to see themselves as having the agency to make positive choices in their lives. Nelson Mandela said in his inaugural speech (1994) that if you want to educate a nation, you must educate the women. I would take it even further: if women are better *empowered*, I feel that the youth of these communities would necessarily be themselves more empowered, and a worldview of personal agency could develop. At the moment personal agency is culturally prohibitive in a life where rural communities feel that they are at the ransom of the urban and educated communities; women are still viewed as property of men, and therefore can be married without their consent, called upon for conjugal rights (even if

he is engaged in sexual relationships with other women), she cannot demand that her husband/boyfriend uses a condom, as she will be (in most cases) severely beaten, left, or both. Seeing that women have significant influence over the children, a programme in which young women begin to increase their sense of personal agency, could see the beginning of a new generation of power. "Children who have been abused may feel that life is full of chaos..." (Bannister, 1997:16) if the world is not a place in which one can anticipate good things, or at the very least, order, it is very hard for youngsters to establish any kind of positive power base. Through dramatic play and therapy they can begin to establish small areas of power (within the drama itself), which can later be expanded into the lives of the participants.

It is through drama that Jennings says, "A community of people can create something that matters to them" (1998:26). Is the leap then so great that a community of people create a piece of drama (something that means something to them – it is not brought in by outsiders or members of authority) without a therapeutic aim or intention, and that it will indeed be (even by default) therapeutic, healing or beneficial to the participants? It must at all times be remembered that these are people within whose realm of possibility (perhaps even vocabulary) psychoanalysis does not exist. However, it is very interesting to note that this learner-led drama is beginning a process of imagination and projection (towards empathy) is shaping those participants in a very positive way, if their development follows Jennings' model. "The fact that we can imagine another, and therefore imagine outcomes and consequences of what we do, illustrates that drama is essential for shaping our social behaviour. It fosters both communication and cooperation; it provides role-models and outcome management" (Jennings, 1998:44).

Jennings feels strongly that our modern concept of psychoanalysis and ego-centric counselling has ignored the valuable precept of "community-intrinsic healing" (1998:36). This has important implications in the empowerment of communities: the idea that communities can heal themselves, put their lives into balance without the formal and highly structured form of intervention such as one-on-one counselling, which is not feasible in the case of whole communities traumatised, marginalized, and perhaps impervious to many of the benefits that democracy has brought to other parts of the country. Irwin quotes Freud, "It is clear that in their play children repeat

everything that has made a great impression on them in real life, and that in doing so they abreact the strength of the impression and ... make themselves master of the situation" (Irwin quotes Freud, 1920:17 in Landy, 1986:30).

Returning to Edward Bond's (Broadsheet, 1998 14,1) writing about the power of drama: "If we can give young people dramatic tools of reason and emotion, then they may be free for life..." how much better still to imagine the value of young people developing these tools *for themselves*. If these young people have found in a 'fun' competition the potential for healing and empowerment, and ultimately freedom – then there is no end to what they can ultimately achieve.

Jennings asserts drama as being integral in the developing of a fighting spirit within participants: "Externalising, objectifying and often personifying the problem as a tyrant, a monster, a troll etc ...engendered a fighting spirit" (1995:63). Bannister emphasises the importance of emotional and physical safety:

...children cannot play unless they feel safe. Many severely abused children have felt unsafe for most of their lives...this has been described as a symptom of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder by the American psychiatric association (in Wyatt & Powell, 1988). The symptom, which is very common in children who have been physically and or sexually abused over time is named as " a numbing of responsiveness or reduced involvement in the external world, indicated by diminished interest in activities, feelings of estrangement from others, and constricted affect. (Bannister, 1997:15).

It is this constricted affect – this feeling that they have no agency in their futures – that these youth appear to be suffering acutely, theirs is an abuse, the extent to which has not yet been widely studied, but seems to include sexual abuse (being exposed to or involved in inappropriate sexual behaviour from an early age; rape and gang-rape is prevalent), physical abuse (physical beatings as well as physical labour from an early age), as well as malnourishment (meals can be inadequate and inconsistent), and inappropriate responsibilities (such as children having to take on the role of primary caregiver to other children, or earn money to support sick parents). This paper is not intended as an attack; not on political responsibilities honoured/ignored, nor on the

rural healthcare systems in place, nor is it intended as an attack on the families themselves, lacking the power to protect their children from these kinds of trauma and abuse. This paper intends merely to draw parallels between the youth in this project and the subjects of other research.

“Children ... with no constant mother or mother figure stopped committing themselves to people...” (Bowlby, 1969 in Bannister, 1997:28). Within the framework of the rural communities in which there is the ‘multiple loss syndrome’ young children suffer in many ways; death of parents, abandonment, being handed from one caregiver to another (often themselves children) it is reasonable to assume that many of these children will withdraw and as Bowlby predicts, stop committing themselves to other people. This is dangerous, as these children then grow up without the sense of societal responsibility; life is cheap (both one’s own and that of other people) and antisocial behaviour is acceptable because of this lack of commitment to other people. Jennings’ (1998) solution to these antisocial tendencies is to suggest Dramatherapy, as it is within this framework that people can begin to see themselves as part of a larger whole: “Drama is interactive, and so instead of one-on-one therapy, where a person deals with issues as an individual,” Dramatherapy insists that the subjects are “*individuals in relation to other people*” (1998:22).

Robert Landy asserts that the value of Dramatherapy is almost exponential; that it is valuable in more ways than the most obvious (education and recreation):

Dramatherapy, itself, incorporates the aims of educational drama and recreational drama but is greater than the sum of the two. It is about learning and it is about renewing and recreating, but it also incorporates aims of theatre artists, psychoanalysts, developmental psychologists, and sociologists (1986:15).

Landy writes about the importance of participants understanding the distinction between themselves and the characters that they may play, in order for dramatic authenticity as well as for emotional distancing and thus safety:

For drama to occur it is necessary for the actor, the one who acts in everyday life, to distinguish between either one aspect of the self and another [perhaps powerful and powerless] or

between self and non self [self and the character]. The distinction is most clear in theatre, where an actor plays the role of a character that is not himself. [Drama is] also a separation of realities (Landy, 1986:5).

It is perhaps this very distinction which is the beginning of the perception of agency in the lives of the participants. There were several learners who did not try out for the programme, and the reason they offered was that they would not get in, it did not matter that they were good at dancing, they were non-achievers, and there was nothing they could do about it. These youngsters could not separate their identities from their circumstances, there are many things over which they have no power, and so they perceive themselves as having no agency whatsoever. The ones who tried out and did get in, even if they thought they were good at their art were mostly very surprised at the achievement. (Interesting to note was that even in groups where there were not enough people auditioning – which meant the leaders had to accept all of those who auditioned (even ones that may not have performed well), there was no perception of a hollow victory for them – ‘getting in is getting in!’).

Again, it is clear that there are numerous advantages to having a Dramatherapist come into a community and attempt to bring about some level of conscientisation, the fact is that this is not happening; for the most part the participants in the programme have not even articulated to themselves their problems, much less are in a position to seek help from a Dramatherapist. There are simply not the resources for Dramatherapists to go and work with so many schools on an ongoing basis. It is the attempt of this paper to discern whether the Learner-led Drama itself, run in the way it has always been run, holds any benefit beyond the obvious pleasure of the entertainment. Learner-led Drama when looked at in this light may fall short of expectations set up for and by Dramatherapists: outcomes may be more sophisticated, and ultimately more effectively reached within the context of Dramatherapy.

Chapter 3: Methodological Approach

The cultural competitions themselves are not conventional competitions, as competitive Western schools know them, rather, winners are often chosen by the response of the audience; or an arbitrary audience member is chosen at the beginning of the presentations, and it is he or she who chooses the winners; or somebody is chosen off the street to come and judge the event. Thus there are no predefined criteria that are worked towards. Also there are no placements as such: there is one winner, and that winner goes forward to the next round. There is no outside input as to what categories of theatre should be chosen, and there is no rule about multiple entries of one category: for example, there could be seven entries of Traditional Male Zulu Dancing, and there are no rules about the number of entries allowed, thus some years the competition might have ten groups, and another year there could be more than double that, depending on the enthusiasm of the learners that year. There is also no rule about the ages or grades of participants, except that they have to be currently attending school in order to participate.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this study a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies have been used. Likert-scale Questionnaires were administered to each participant, as well as a teacher and caregiver of each participant, before and after the process, which have been analysed quantitatively; and interviews and focus groups were held, which have been analysed qualitatively, and in order to inform the conclusions drawn from the quantitative research.

There were 70 participants in the project out of a grade 11 contingent of 150 at the school which was chosen for the study (the school was chosen as it was the school closest to the homes of the two fieldworkers, where the headmaster agreed to have the study take place). Of these 70 learners, 50 articulated their willingness to engage in the study, to be interviewed, answer the questionnaires, and participate in the focus groups. Of these 50, there were 2 who moved away during the process, 2 who changed their minds about answering the questions, and 6 who answered with a number 3 for every question in the questionnaire, both before and after the project,

and whose answers are therefore not useful to the study and have thus been struck off the spreadsheet. There are thus 40 participants who engaged meaningfully in the study. While there were many learners involved, I have chosen four of these 40 participants to write about in the case studies. These four were amongst the most vocal in the interviews and focus groups; my general findings across the entire group are well supported and well represented by these individuals.

The groups that I investigated were made up of both young men and young women from grade eleven. Although there many participants from other grades, it was felt that in order to restrict the number of variables within the scope of identity development, it would be prudent to look at a single 'group' of participants. The grade 11 group was the largest contingent within those participating in the competitions in the year of the study at the school I chose, and there was thus the widest selection.

I had a fieldworker from the area administer questionnaires (see Appendix for these questionnaires). The fieldworkers were chosen from a group of fieldworkers with whom I had previously worked on many projects over a number of years, including a large-scale HIV perception research project, for which I was the project manager (Giles *et al* 2005; Liddell *et al* 2006). This project entailed much travelling together as a team, staying in new places together as well as the actual executing of the job at hand. We had thus developed a good working relationship, and had done quite extensive training with outside experts (including Dr Christine Liddell and Melanie Giles) on field working etiquette, the administering of questionnaires, and the importance of being non-judgemental about any responses that are experienced. I worked with the whole team of fieldworkers on the questionnaire as it had been formulated in English, explaining to them all exactly what I wanted to ask. Through much debate and deliberation amongst the team, we ended up with the translation. The team administered the questionnaire to each other, and gave each other feedback on the way that they were asking the questions: the questions all have implicit values, which necessitates the fieldworker hiding her own values and value judgements, or the respondent may feel pulled in a certain direction in terms of answering. For example, if the fieldworker does not value her familial relationships, and shows this when she asks the adolescents the question relating to how helpful and pleasant they are at home, the adolescent, in order to gain her approval, may answer in a slightly

more negative way than might actually be the case, or *vice versa*. I administered the questionnaire myself with the team in English, and they worked on the Zulu version. We discussed focus groups again, a technique that we had used with the adolescents in the previous research project, to very good effect. In the previous project we had looked at the perceptions about sex, sexual behaviour, risk and culture; we had split the young men and women up and done separate focus groups. For this project this did not appear to be necessary, and the whole group was to be in the same focus group. The focus groups were held in an informal atmosphere to encourage open communication.

To do the actual fieldwork, I chose two of the youngest women from the group, feeling that they would be the least threatening to the participants, caregivers and teachers alike. Questionnaires were administered before the start of the entire competition process, and again after the competition. These were done by the fieldworkers for reasons of language and trust and honesty in responses. I felt that my presence could interfere with the dynamics of trust, and participants might try to give me the answers I wanted instead of what they really felt. The questionnaires were administered to the participants themselves, and also an involved teacher and a caregiver of each participant. Each participant was interviewed, as was the involved teacher and the caregiver of each participant. In some cases the participant was in fact the primary caregiver within the household, and in these cases the caregiver questionnaire was administered to a neighbour or other involved individual. Participants were also involved in focus groups after the process.

The questions asked were fairly general, with statements made and multiple-choice answers offered to indicate how closely the statements apply to the participants, in the fashion of the Likit scale, from their own perspective, and then from the perspective of the two chosen adults in their lives. Some of the questions about home life were not asked of the teachers, and some of the questions about school life were not asked of the caregivers. There was also an 'interview' type question, where the fieldworkers asked the participants to describe their lives at the beginning of the project, and then afterwards, they were asked how things were for them during the process and the performance, the questions were asked with reference to times during the year, rather than directly with the competitions. The questions were open-ended, simply asking

participants to describe what their lives are like; and the results were definitely shaped by each participant. The same kinds of questions were asked of the teacher: describe the participant, and your experience of teaching him/her; and of the caregivers: describe the participant, and your experience of living with him/her. The focus groups held with the participants after the process had come to a close were used to discuss the process, and responses to the questionnaires – to inform the analysis of these results.

On a practical note, the focus groups were held mixing participants and non-participants; the way that they were distinguished for us was (assisted by the teacher) each learner was given a gift of a coloured cardboard folder holding an exam pad and a pen. These folders were 'coded' so that those learners who had been a part of the Cultural Competition were given a red, orange or turquoise folder; those who had not were given black, yellow or green. Thus it was visible to the fieldworkers whether a response was being given from a participant or from a member of the control group; however, to the learners it appeared as though they were receiving randomly coloured folders. Also, the learners knew us as running a large-scale HIV/AIDS research project in the community; they had no reason to suspect that we were interested in Drama, and thus had no reason to 'feed' us answers simply to please us or ingratiate themselves to us. Questions were asked in a particular way, referring to time-of-year, rather than with reference to the process and performance of the competitions. This is one of the reasons that the responses carried such weight for us, making the research project deeply exciting.

A case-study methodological model has been used in order to analyse more deeply the responses of the participants; Carrol (1996) understands case study as the research methodology that most clearly fits the special conditions of drama, with drama being by its very nature "a negotiated group ...[it] is a non-reproducible experience" (cited in Wagner 1999:9). Hartfield (1982) goes further to suggest that the case study methodology "honours the agency of the participants and sees them as experts, not just a source of data for analysis" (cited in Wagner 1999:9). It is in this way that I wish to honour these participants – I place myself not as an expert with answers, but as an observer with questions, and it is they who are the experts, who will provide the answers. The identity of each of the participants has been protected through the use of

nom de plume wherever a participant has been referred to by name. See Appendix for an example of the questionnaires administered to the participants, teacher and caregiver respectively.

The Likert scale has been used as a tool in the questionnaires, where the continuum of choice of identification with the statement-question “ranges from close, warm, and intimate contact on the one hand, through indifference, to active dislike, hostility and rejection on the other hand” (Goode and Hatt, 1952). The extent to which respondents identify with a statement-question is measured in 5 degrees, with all of the positives always being on the same side of the scale, for example where 1 is Always, Best, Most, Definitely Yes; and 5 is Never, Least, Definitely No, or the other way around, but the positive and negative will not change throughout the questionnaire whether or not the value attachment to the answer changes. It was felt that questions should be easy and quick to answer, but more detail was needed than simply yes or no responses. In order to ascertain the *extent* to which statements did or did not apply to participants, or the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed with the statements, the Likert scale was used. It was important to ascertain the extent to which the participants agreed with or related to the statements in order to see whether or not a shift took place in the process of the creation of the drama and in the ultimate performance of the drama.

The first story: “Joel” – Research Catalyst

The first of the stories is a very informal one, it began quite simply as a story which unfolded over time and ultimately inspired this dissertation. I learned from the boy’s mother what happened, she usually told me the story while we drove together during a previous research project (Liddell *et al*, 2006; Giles *et al*, 2005). An adolescent boy “Joel” in rural KwaZulu Natal, was more in trouble than out, and had a string of ‘offences’ or ‘misdemeanours’ in and out of school; ranging from truancy to petty drug use and petty drug dealing, and petty theft. He was not a scholastic achiever, and had no ambition of achieving a matric. He was, however, a strong and good-looking boy, and when he tried out, was selected to participate in the school’s “Cultural Competition” in the category of ‘Traditional Male Zulu Dancing’. He was not selected as the group leader, and did not seem to aspire to this position. However, he

did attend school in order to attend the practice sessions. When the original group leader was rendered unable to fulfil his duty, Joel was called upon to take over as the group leader. He stepped up to this responsibility with surprising alacrity, motivating and inspiring his group.

The group did well in the first three rounds of the competition, and was subsequently knocked out. However, the sense of success left with him appears to have been life-changing: his perception of self has changed from one of himself as a victim of his circumstance and poverty to one of agency within his own present and future. The boy, having experienced some level of respect (from both peers and adults) began to *see himself* as someone *worth seeing*, he became attendant and attentive and began to participate in classes. At the end of the year he passed some of the exams, but had to repeat grade eleven.

This time he did well in all his subjects, and went on to pass his matric. He now holds down a job, as well as doing volunteer work as a youth leader for a local church, discouraging crime and drug use in the youth. He has met a young woman at his church; they have fallen in love, and he is paying her father *lobola* (a tradition whereby a groom makes a 'gift' of an agreed price – either in cattle or monetary currency – to the bride's family) in order to marry her later.

The following are stories of participants of the study inspired by "Joel's" story – these are stories drawn together over the duration of the formal study, as opposed to "Joel", which was informally learned, with no controls in place.

"Mdu"

Interview prior to involvement in the project

At the first interview, before the advent of the competition Mdu told us that he did not like school at all and only came to see his friends. He did not see the point of getting a matric, and insisted that an education is a waste of time and won't get you a job in this world. He thought that it was definitely who you know that is important in getting ahead in the world.

Mdu's Teacher described him as a very confident boy, who missed about as much school as he attended. She said that he was very disruptive in class, and that she was relieved when he skipped class. She said that he did not participate meaningfully in class discussions; rather he would interrupt and shout out things irrelevant to the discussion, or make fun of those who were participating.

Mdu's mother described Mdu as a 'bad boy', saying that he did not help her around the home; and that she was worried about him getting involved in a gang and turning to crime.

The Rehearsal Phase

Mdu's group was one which created an advertisement and performed it on stage. There were lines to be spoken and he was very excited. He attended school during the rehearsal process, however his behaviour at school and at home during the process remained very loud and buoyant, tending towards arrogance.

After the Project

Mdu said that he loved the feeling of having something funny to say, and that it was nice not to have to worry whether people were going to laugh, he just knew that they would.

Subsequent to the competition he did not appear to improve in his behaviour in the ways evident in the other participants; however, his teacher said that Mdu appeared to have improved in meaningful participation within discussions and group-work activities. Although still shouting out, he would usually say something relevant, and appeared to refrain from making fun of others. He remained disruptive in class, and still played truant, however the teacher did not seem to mind him so much and described his disruption of the class as more playful than malicious.

Mdu's mother said that he was a little gentler with her, but that she was still worried about him getting into a gang and turning to drugs and crime.

"Thuli"

Interview prior to involvement in the project

At the first interview, before the advent of the competition Thuli told us that she was a loner; and that she did not like anybody. She did not find schoolwork interesting, and she was always tired, so she did not participate in class. It was difficult to get Thuli to talk about herself, and she had to be prompted quite extensively.

Thuli's Teacher, in her corresponding interview, confirmed this; saying that Thuli would attend class and not participate at all. Most days she would put her head on her desk and ignore the teacher completely. The teacher cited an example a few weeks previously, when she'd tried to get a response from the girl, asking her what she was thinking. The teacher had to repeat the question several times, and eventually Thuli answered "Nothing". This, according to the teacher encapsulated well the way Thuli behaved in class on a day-to-day basis. She also confirmed Thuli's loner status, saying that she did not appear to have any friends.

Thuli's Mother, in her corresponding interview, said that her daughter was very sweet but that she was not very clever. She said that she was glad that Thuli did not help her younger siblings with their homework, as she might teach them how to be stupid. Her home chores she did with reluctance, but she did them.

The Rehearsal Phase

Thuli was a part of the group with Mdu, which performed the Advertisement. Thuli was stirred to great excitement at the unfolding of the project, to the point of telling her teacher the progress of the rehearsals, and progressing to being very talkative with the teacher. The teacher told us that at that stage she was surprised at Thuli's talkativeness, and tried to encourage it, by getting all those involved in projects to tell the class a little about it. She thought that it was a big mistake, because the class broke into pandemonium with everybody trying to tell their story, and even those who were not involved telling somebody else's story.

After the Project

Thuli spoke about being seen for the first time by people who knew her; she told us that she felt very energized after having been a part of the competition.

Her teacher said that Thuli wrote an essay in her Zulu Creative writing section about the thrill of being seen in the Performance, even comparing it to being born. While her marks had not improved significantly, her levels of interaction within the classroom had increased dramatically; she began to address schoolwork with energy if not enthusiasm. She also appeared to have developed a close social bond with members of the performance group, and they seemed to choose to sit together in the classroom. While this could become disruptive, the teacher felt happy that there was some engagement with Thuli in the classroom.

Thuli's mother spoke of her levels of interaction within the home having increased as well; addressing home chores – like her schoolwork – with vigour (if not fervour) and attempting to help her siblings with their homework. She did not actually help them *per se*, but organised them into doing it, which her mother said was a godsend!

“Patience”

Interview prior to involvement in the project

At the first interview, before the advent of the competition, Patience said that while she was only slightly older than her peers, she felt as though she was much older; having had a baby the year before the study was undertaken. Patience talked quite a lot about being cursed, and that she thought that bad things always happened to her. She felt that there was nothing she could have done to prevent herself from getting pregnant. She also spoke of the bad life that her baby would have growing up in her community. She said that she left her baby at home with her older sister (who had already had a baby and had given up school to take care of him); their mother had died three years earlier.

Patience's Teacher said that Patience was hard-working while at school, but did not manage to complete homework assignments or learn for tests and exams. She was very shy; did not participate in class discussions, and would never answer questions

asked orally. When the class was supposed to present formal orals, she would skip the class; however she was not a chronic truant.

Patience's sister said that Patience would come home from school and take her baby to her room, and would not talk to her about anything. Patience also did not offer to give her sister a break from her baby; they didn't seem to communicate effectively at all.

The Rehearsal Phase

Patience's friend started a group of modern *kwaito* dancing, and Patience was accepted into this group. Even though she was not very proficient at formal verbal communication, she expressed herself well within the small-group context, and learned the choreography fast. Patience's group was knocked out of the first round of the competition.

During the rehearsing period, Patience did not improve with schoolwork, and was even more distant with her sister, and even more unhelpful at home. She had a lot of pressure to drop out of the group. She very nearly did, but her friend persuaded her to stay.

After the Project

Patience said that when she saw her sister had brought the babies to see the performance at the competition, she said she felt like she was energised and alive. She felt proud that she had something to show her family. She spoke of feeling special enough to be seen, and for the first time she wanted to show her baby that she was somebody. She cried when she told us about the new dress her sister had bought for the baby to wear for the performance.

Patience's teacher said that she began to take responsibility for her schoolwork beyond simply doing the work; she began asking questions, and slowly began to answer questions in class, and participate in group-work activities.

Patience's sister said that she felt very proud of Patience, and realised while she watched the performance that she had been so busy feeling angry with Patience for

getting pregnant, and making the same mistakes that she herself had made that she had forgotten how much she really loved her. She said her mother would have been very proud. She said that after that day she tried to show Patience that she was something special, and Patience responded by beginning to help her sister more in the house and with the babies.

“Phile ”

Interview prior to involvement in the project

At the first interview, before the advent of the competition, Phile said that she had had a boyfriend since she was ten years old. She said that she felt she was important if her boyfriend was important. She said that her boyfriend had a reputation within the community, and was treated with awe and respect (and some fear) being the leader of the most powerful gang in the area. In that context, she said that she was not supposed to have an opinion about anything; she was not really supposed to say anything, just stand there and look nice. She said that he gave her and her family presents, but never really talked to her. She said that she thought that she was very lucky to be his girlfriend. She went to school, and she thought that it would be nice to get her matric if she did not get a baby before that. She said that her boyfriend did not have a matric and he was fine, and that he didn't think it was important for her to complete her matric.

Phile's teacher described Phile as very hard-working in the class, but never attempted any homework assignments, and clearly never learned for tests or exams. She said that Phile had good academic potential, but did not apply herself.

Phile lived with her Grandmother, who didn't like Phile's boyfriend. However, he brought the grandmother presents too, including money and food, which made her feel obliged to him, she felt guilty taking presents from somebody she did not like and did not want Phile to be with. She said that she thought that Phile appeared to see her own worth in the young man she was with.

The Rehearsal Phase

Phile's group performed an American Pop song, and Phile was a backing singer. During this phase her teacher and grandmother both described her as becoming animated, and less focussed on her boyfriend. She still worked hard in the class, and still did little or no work outside of the classroom.

After the Project

Phile's group went through three rounds of the competition successfully, before being knocked out. She described the way her boyfriend's attitude towards her had changed: she said that he had begun by feeling very angry with her for 'parading herself' like that, and had ended up being very proud of her, taking praise he heard for her as his own reflected glory. He began to boast about her, and people would tell him he was lucky to have her as his girlfriend. This was exhilarating for Phile; she said she had never thought of *him* being lucky to have *her*, only herself being lucky to have him. She talked also about the sudden feeling of being important enough to be looked at without him next to her.

Phile's teacher spoke about Phile's increased focus in the classroom, and increased assertiveness. She said that Phile had started to voice opinions, which are different from those of her boyfriend, which are common knowledge: for example, she began speaking about liking school, and about her intention to get a matric, quite the opposite of what he thought of school.

Phile's grandmother was also extremely proud. Her grandmother talks about all of the compliments she has been given, and says that it has improved her confidence quite considerably. She told us that Phile began to speak out much more, and joined the church in order to sing in the choir.

Interviews were chosen in order to gain personal insights into the experiences of the participants, experiences or feelings perhaps too intimate or seemingly mundane to voice within a group forum (such as the focus groups) and personal and specific, so that the questionnaire forum becomes a clumsy tool to capture this personal information. It is through the more personal and intimate context of one-on-one interviews that the informalities began to be revealed, it is here that Patience could

open up about the way she perceived herself and her role within her family structure, where Phile's grandmother could speak about her worry about her granddaughter, and her guilt about taking gifts from the boyfriend whom she neither liked nor approved of. These responses are not ones which might have been imagined, and thus questions could not have been formulated in order to elicit this information in this kind of detail. It seems important to use the interviews in conjunction with the questionnaires and focus groups in order to formulate the most holistic idea possible of the effects of the project on the participants.

In general, the interview responses were extremely interesting, and on the whole participants appeared to engage well with the fieldworkers, with some speaking very openly and frankly, and only a few appearing not to take it seriously at all. A negative trend that was exposed in both the first interview and first questionnaire and the focus group (administered before the preparation for the competitions began) was a general lethargy in most participants relating to their future, what appears evident is the positive element of energy and motivation which came out strongly in the second interview, questionnaire and the focus group, with participants beginning to view themselves as agents within their own destinies. Another positive development, which was common to many of the participants, was an increase in their perception of the importance of education in their lives.

I wanted to follow personal experiences and more intimate feelings; it is perhaps these personal and intimate experiences which most honour the participants' agency, viewing and presenting them as experts, not just a source of data for analysis, (Hartfield, 1982). It is in this way that I view the participants, and as such I feel that it was important to engage with the personal lives and experiences of participants. These experiences, which may seem at first to be mundane, appear in fact to be the key indicators of elements like participants' world-views, perceptions of personal agency and perceived role within their context.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Findings

In order to assess whether or not any shifts in consciousness or perception have taken place in the participants throughout the process of this project, a selection of the questions (from the Likert scale questionnaires) has been made to analyse in detail, questions which reflect the participants' own opinions and feelings. It is in this chapter that the responses of all 40 participants, who engaged meaningfully in the study, are compiled and the responses made before and after the process are compared.

Of the more than 100 questions from the administered questionnaires, the questions chosen for detailed analysis were those about which participants spoke most passionately in the focus group. There were some questions asked within the questionnaire which proved (simply by their own nature) to be less useful in determining whether there had indeed been a shift within the consciousness or the perceptions of the participants. Some questions ended up being very similar to other questions, for example, "I do the tasks set at school" was in fact too similar to "I participate in class", and thus one of these questions can fall away. Other questions which appear to be less useful in this analysis have been omitted from the analysis, questions for example, where the respondents have answered with the same option for every question; these have been omitted in order to avoid skewed statistics (Liddell, 2000 Informal Interview). One example of this is the response to one question from the questionnaires administered to the teacher which asks about the extent to which she shows the pupils that she cares about their work; the teacher concerned has responded with a '2' for **this** question on every questionnaire (relating to every participant) put to her. Her response to **this** question, therefore, does not help us to establish any kind of shift in perception of the participants; these kinds of responses have been omitted.

The teacher who engaged in the study was the only grade 11 teacher who agreed to participate, and was rather enthusiastic about participating. She is the teacher of grade 11 Zulu, and she teaches the entire grade 11 contingent divided into three classes. Her

responses to other questions have been included as they show a believable and usable assessment of the participants.

The questionnaire responses have been used in order to graph the shifts in perceptions before and after the process, however, following this I have used salient points made in the interviews and focus groups, which lead to a better understanding of the reasons for the shifts which do occur.

The first question asked of the participants pertained to school attendance. The statement was "I Attend School" and options were "Always"; "Often"; "Sometimes"; "Hardly Ever"; "Never", I have entered this data in numerical format, where "Always" = 1, "Often" = 2; "Sometimes" = 3; "Hardly Ever" = 4; "Never" = 5.

School attendance is sporadic and inconstant with most of the learners. Since this was the first difference that was experienced with "Joel", I began with this question. Learner's answers were very close to teacher's perception of school attendance, so these appear to be fairly reliable. At the beginning of the study, the majority of respondents chose "Sometimes", followed by "Hardly Ever", see Figure 1.

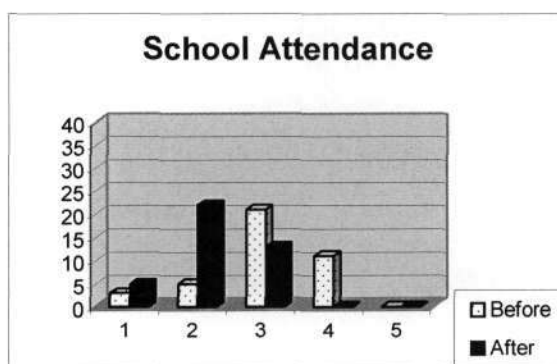


Figure 1

After the performances, the figures had shifted quite dramatically, to the majority of respondents choosing "Often" followed closely by "Sometimes", and an increase of "Always", and decrease in "Hardly Ever". This was echoed by the teacher's response to the same question. I feel that this links fairly closely with another question asked, which was about how important the participants felt education was in their lives. The response to this question also showed a shift towards the positive, with learners

showing an increase in the perception of the importance of education to their futures. There is not a great shift to “Always” on the part of the learners, which is comforting (while obviously it is what would ultimately be the most favourable outcome) because it is indicative to me of a slow internal (hopefully lasting) change, as opposed to a drastic and superficial change; which may prove to be short-lived.

It was a concern that perhaps the increase in attendance was simply in order to attend rehearsals, in which case class participation would not improve, and the ultimate educational experience may not be meaningfully improved. Actual participation within the classroom and engagement with the learning material, the teacher and other learners appears to be integral to the actual education process, and thus the question pertaining to participation in class. This seemed to shift through the duration of the competition for most of the participants. Even though there is again not a great leap towards “Always”, there is a definite shift up. Learners said in their interview questions that they felt like participating because they liked telling the teacher what was happening in the rehearsals and they thought that the teacher was interested in what they had to say. Many were very excited to report that the teacher had used some of what they had told her about the rehearsals to create grammar exercises for them: they all completed these, saying that they hated grammar, but loved to see their names and those of their friends in the sentences. The participation before and after graph has also shown a marked shift towards the positive see Figure 2; a graph indicating the teacher’s experience of the participants’ class participation has been included for comparative purposes, see Figure 3.

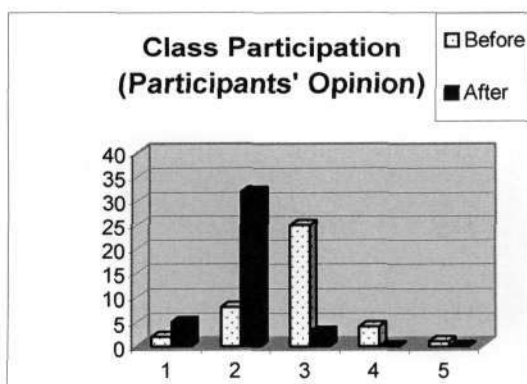


Figure 2

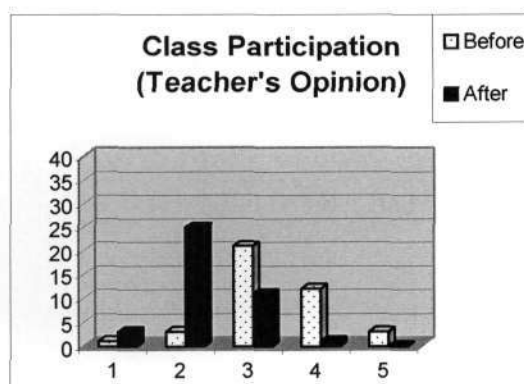


Figure 3

It is evident from these graphs that both the participants and the teacher have perceived an increase in class participation since the inception of the competition. If we turn to Bolton (1979) and theories about Drama in Education; to Vygotskian (1964) theory about scaffolding of learning and teaching in general; to Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000), there is much indicating the importance of including the learners' experience in their learning in order to successfully scaffold learning and maintain interest and engagement within the classroom. The teacher believes that she does this anyway, but it seems that the participants found it so significant when they were talking at the beginning of their Zulu class about their experiences in the rehearsals, and immediately their teacher would use an example of their stories to set work. They said that often exercises set that were an attempt to be "based on their lives" seemed contrived and that the teachers did not really know what was going on in their lives at all. Many of the learners were delighted that she allowed them to write about their experiences for their creative essay exam; and they were all excited when their own sentences were used in grammar exercises.

The response to the question pertaining to the participants' perception of how much they give of themselves in the classroom also showed a significant gain towards the positive, see Figure 4. Again there is no trend towards an enormous surge in the choice of "Always" as answers, rather a marked shift up towards "Often". Again, the teacher's response to this question has been included for purposes of comparison: It is clear that the teacher and the learners had similar experiences of the efforts exerted in the classroom; see Figure 5.

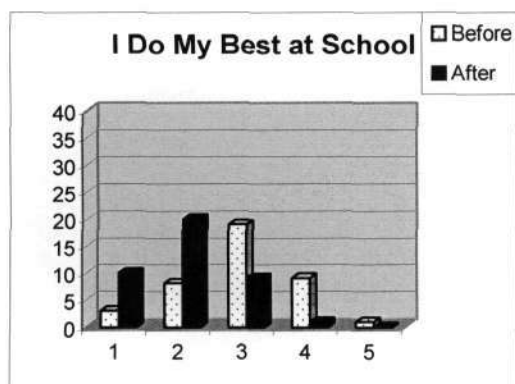


Figure 4

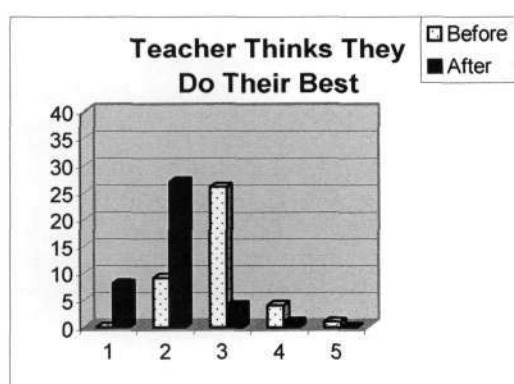


Figure 5

Interestingly, a question that was originally not going to be analysed deeply pertained to how much effort participants put into their rehearsals, and every single participant answered “Always”, see Figure 6; it was felt that the response may be unrealistic. However, when questioned about this, there was an overwhelming feeling of ownership: the participants felt that they were creating something that was their own, and thus they wanted to give everything to it. They said that it felt meaningful, because everybody was going to see them, and that made it important to do their best. Thus this question has been used in the analysis of the study, as it appears to inform the participants’ ideas about their best, and thus inform the analysis of their response to these questions.

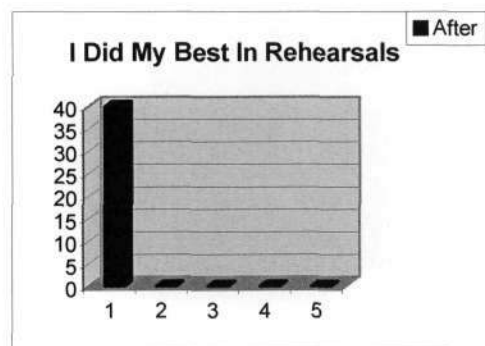


Figure 6

There were comments that when the rehearsal experiences were allowed to come into their classroom, that it felt as though what they were doing mattered to the teacher. When they thought that it mattered to her, they became more motivated to tell her what was happening, and one respondent observed that it made him want to do better in the rehearsal times so that she would be proud of him when he told her about it, even though he insisted that he did not care about what she thought of him. There was also an overwhelming number of comments that having given their best in the rehearsal time made them feel good; and that they wanted to get that feeling in the classroom as well. It had never occurred to many of them that giving their best could be rewarding to them. They thought that the teacher did not care whether they did their best or whether they did well, and there was a widely held belief that if they did their best in class it would benefit the teacher, and not really themselves.

There was also a lot of discussion around the fact that once they had given their best there was an internal pressure to continue to give their best, and that once they had let

people see who they really were in the performance at the competition that they felt that they needed to keep that person visible. This translated into the classroom context as well (in the classroom they felt 'seen' as much by the teacher as by classmates) and there was an internal pressure to continue to impress the teacher. The Zulu teacher commented that she had never had so many of her class members participating in the competition, and that she had never had such a marked difference in her entire classroom dynamic. She said that she usually discourages the children from participating as she saw it as a bit of a waste of time, as they seem to miss so much school and not bother to do the work anyway, and adding another activity would just give them more excuses. She told us that she would definitely encourage her classes next year, because it was so exciting to see them so much happier. Many said that they felt surprised at the way they felt because they did not really care about the teacher or about school, and they always thought that they were showing who they really were by rebelling in the classroom. Many also expressed surprised at the positive feeling that accompanied successes in the classroom.

There was a significant increase in perception of how much doing their best would help them in their school lives. This question was asked with options of "Definitely Yes"; "I Think So"; "I Am Uncertain"; "I Don't Think So"; "Definitely No". I have entered this Data numerically, where "Definitely Yes" = 1; "I Think So" = 2; "I Am Uncertain" = 3; "I Don't Think So" = 4; and "Definitely No" = 5. In the beginning, there was a great trend towards "Definitely No", and there were no answers of "Definitely Yes", and only 1 of "I Think So". After the competition and the performance, and obviously giving their best in one forum, there was a shift towards the positive, see Figure 7.

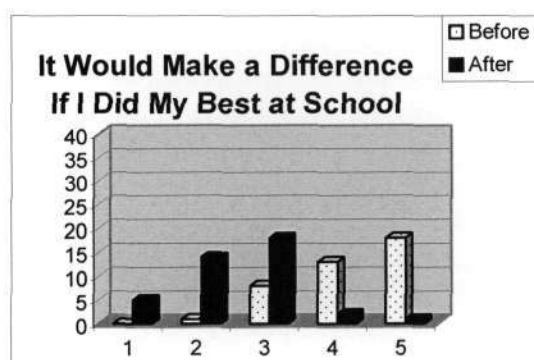


Figure 7

Again there were only a few answering “Definitely Yes”, but only one respondent of the 40 answered “Definitely No”, that doing their best would make no difference to their school results at all. This could be indicative of a realisation that the learners have more agency in their education than they had previously thought; that their results lie more with themselves than with their teachers. It would be very positive if this lesson was translated across contexts, and the fact that the participants have seen their efforts being rewarded with positive internal feelings in two contexts, it is reassuring and could point towards an assumption of agency within their lives.

In the beginning, there was a widely held perception that the teacher did not really care whether the learners did their work at all, or whether they did well. It appears that since they have moved towards working with a concerted effort in the classroom, the perception has changed towards the positive, see Figure 8; where Before 1 and After 1 pertain to the extent to which the participants think the teacher cares whether or no they do their work, and Before 2 and After 2 pertain to the extent to which the participants think the teacher cares whether or not they do well.

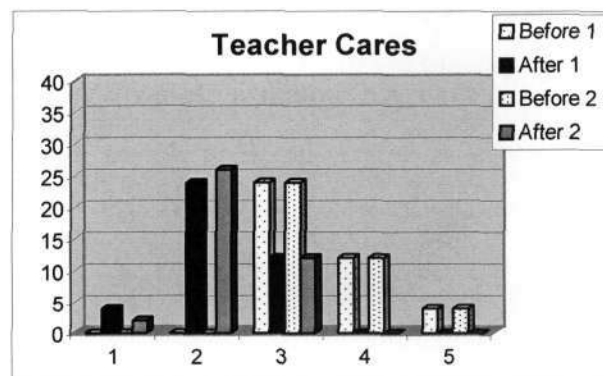


Figure 8

There was also a shift towards the positive when participants were asked how they perceived their caregiver’s response to whether they did their work and whether they did well or not, see Figure 9; where Before 1 and After 1 pertain to the extent to which the participants think the caregiver cares whether or not they do their work, and Before 2 and After 2 pertain to the extent to which the participants think the caregiver cares whether or not they do well.

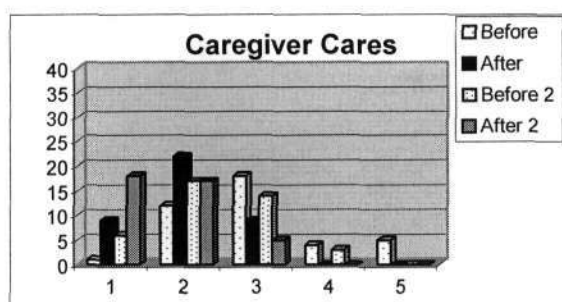


Figure 9

In the focus groups after the competition, the participants spoke about their parents and grandparents, older siblings, and other caregivers coming to see the performance, when many seem to have expected their caregiver not to come, or not to really care. They spoke about the pride that they had experienced ‘owning’ somebody in the audience; and many were very moved at the reaction they got from their caregivers. There was a real sense that they were surprised that the caregivers were so impressed with their performances. The pride did not seem to be dependent in any way on the size or importance of the roles that people played, the backing singer’s family was as delighted with her as the lead singer’s family was with her. Many spoke a lot about their surprise at the family’s interest, and that seems to have translated across to the schoolwork context, with the perception of the caregiver caring how they are doing increasing, perhaps because of the experience of the performance being taken so seriously.

The questions about the participants’ home life included a question about helping their siblings with homework; the results for this question were supported by the caregivers’ responses. It can be seen that the participants have shifted from a majority of the responses being in the “Hardly Ever”, “Never” and “Sometimes” options, to being centred more on “Sometimes”, “Hardly Ever” and “Often” options. Again, no great surge in “Always”, in fact not one respondent has chosen “Always”; however there is a definite shift towards the positive, see Figure 10.

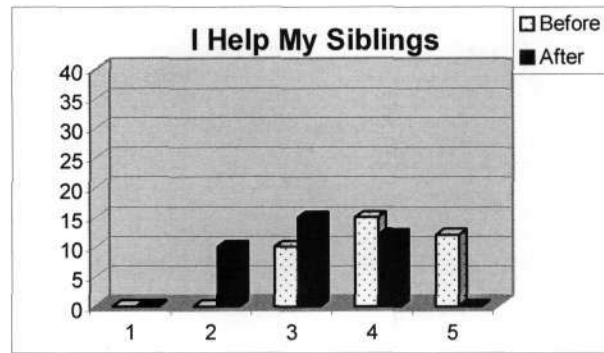


Figure 10

In the focus groups afterwards, many of the participants talked about their siblings wanting their help more, having attained a higher social status. Others spoke about feeling that they had something to offer, that they had not thought about before; they had made excuses about helping with homework feeling that they really were not good enough to help with the homework, which many admitted to having failed when they were doing it.

A further question pertaining to the home life of participants relates to whether or not they consider themselves to be pleasant to their families. The results attained show a shift towards the positive, with, in the before graph, a clear majority, admitting that they are “Hardly Ever” pleasant to their families, moving towards “Sometimes” and “Often” in the After graph, see Figure 11.

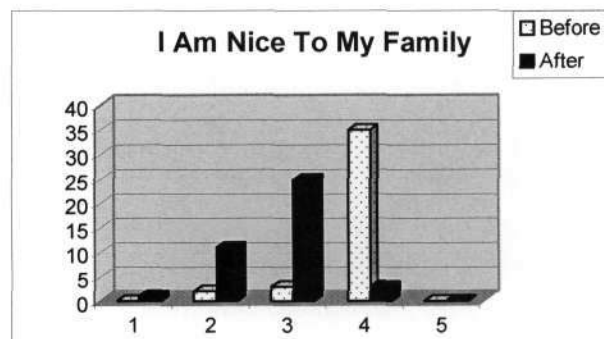


Figure 11

In the focus groups afterwards, many spoke very defensively about this result; saying that their families were much nicer to them, and that made it possible to be nice to the family. The caregivers said that they felt that the participants were being so much nicer, that it was easier to be nice to them. It appears that there is a vicious cycle of unpleasantness within many of the households (probably common to any household

containing adolescents), which may be associated with low self-esteem, and negative self-concept of the adolescents themselves. It could be possible that the participation in the competition has opened a new way of self-perception for these adolescents, which makes it possible for them to begin to see themselves as worthy of respect, and treating themselves with more self-respect, translating into treating others with respect, and behaving in a way worthy of respect.

There was a set of questions pertaining to the emotions of the participants. The first of these was the extent to which they feel happy. This was set with possible answers ranging from "Always" through "Never", and in the 'Before' graph is can be seen that there was not one response of "Always". When the 'After' graph is analysed it is evident that while there is a dramatic shift towards the positive, there is still no response of "Always", see Figure 12. This can be seen as rather positive, as answers of 'Always' could be flippant, and thus a more tempered response of "Often" or even "Sometimes" is more realistic, and could indicate a real shift towards finding joy in life.

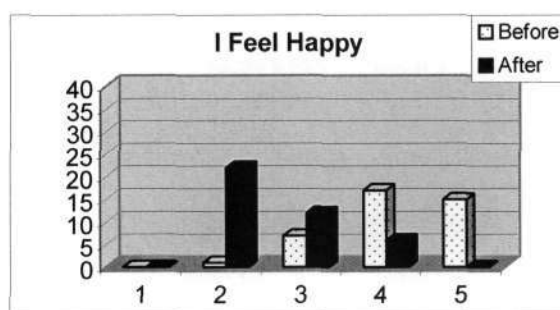


Figure 12

In the focus groups afterwards, the participants spoke about remembering that day, when everybody was clapping for them, and that helped them to feel happy. There was a great consensus that this was a very happy moment. One of the girls said that she felt that she understood what banks do, because she is now a bank: every happy thing that happens, she will keep inside her, they make her feel strong, like a savings account; when bad things happen, they may eat into her savings, and she might feel less strong, but she will always have her savings to help her through. A key word here is strong, the positive feelings that these participants felt at the moment of performance have been internalised and are now owned by the adolescents. Another girl said that when her father was drunk, and she just knew he was going to hit her,

she now had somewhere else to go in her head, somewhere she had power to do anything, to be anything she wanted to be. She said that she's never known what she wanted to do with her life; it had never occurred to her that she had the power to really decide. She says now that she wants to be a policewoman, and that this feeling of being able to do anything, be anybody she wanted is what made her realise it.

The response to the question pertaining to the extent to which participants felt angry showed a shift towards the negative, with participants feeling angry more often in the 'Before' graph, decreasing in the 'After' graph, see Figure 13.

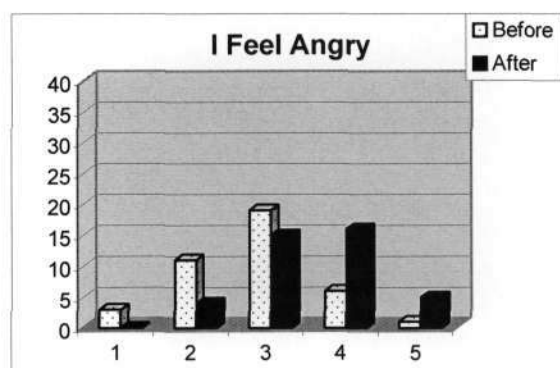


Figure 13

In the focus groups afterwards, the participants spoke about remembering a good feeling as a strategy for dealing with anger. Many of the girls spoke about being able to recognise feelings that are self-destructive which are attached to anger, for example when receiving a direct "dis": a 'put-down' from a peer, they said that previously they would have easily slipped into angry feelings, defending their worthiness so vociferously while believing the 'put-down'. They said that now they can remember feeling so good and so important, and they can "...laugh in her face...and mean it"; that they could then ignore the 'put-down', and get past the feelings of anger which would previously have consumed them, and move forward without incident and without cowering and believing the 'put-down'. Every time they avoid a conflict situation, the girls said that they felt very proud of themselves, and felt that they were more pleasant to their families when they got home because that felt good.

A further question pertaining to the emotions of the participants was the extent to which they feel helpless. The feeling was that helplessness was a pervasive feeling;

with participants generally choosing “Always” or “Often”, with very few (only 3) choosing “Sometimes”, and only 1 choosing “Hardly Ever”, see Figure 14. The respondents seemed very surprised at being asked the question, and seemed pleased to have a voice and vocabulary to describe how they felt. They said that there is nothing that they could really control: bad things happen in the place where they live, there is a high incidence of HIV and AIDS, with child-headed households rising sharply in the past year. Many of the boys said that they had joined a gang where they had thought that they would gain power and autonomy, but had found themselves with little or no actual power within the gang itself, but they were recognised as powerful beyond the gang-dynamics. They said that the control they had anticipated had not materialised within the gang context. They said that there was a high rate of unemployment, and that very few people had money; we explained that we were not here to create jobs or wealth for anybody, merely to document how they were feeling and how they were living. Many of them laughed at us, saying that we should go to a rich place, where things are worth writing down, we laughed, and wrote it down!

The ‘After’ graph shows a very dramatic shift in feelings of helplessness amongst participants; with the majority choosing “Sometimes”, followed by “Hardly Ever”, with only 3 choosing “Often”, see Figure 14.

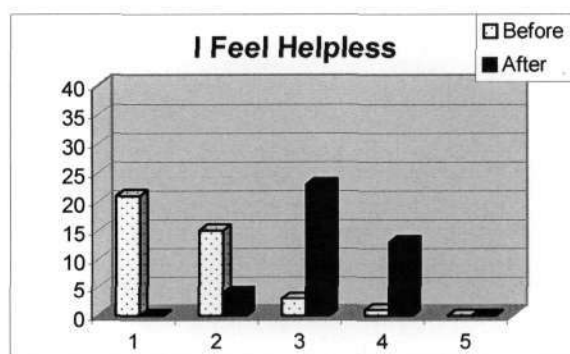


Figure 14

In the focus groups following the competitions, this was a question which invoked much discussion; and indeed much agreement: they said that there were still bad things going on; there was still HIV and AIDS, there were still no jobs, there was still no money, and there was a lot that they had no control over, but they said that they could always control what *they* did, and what *they* said. The discussion came back to the question about anger, and many said that they saw anger almost as a choice now,

something that they could choose to participate in or to disengage from. Many expressed excitement that they could have been a part of the performance, and have had control over the outcome of something big and meaningful. There was a feeling that they felt that in the control of this process they had learned how to control themselves; something that they had not consciously thought about before. Many said that it was the first time that they had ever considered emotional responses as choices. Finally there was an exceptionally positive feeling that they could control their responses and thus ultimately their lives and have an operating hand in the way their lives play out. There was a feeling that they were no longer passive recipients of a bad deal; that they had the right to engage with their situation.

At the beginning of the process the general response was fairly low in terms of the following question relating to understanding what to do in order to do well. This was in terms of different contexts; including schoolwork, relationships within the family and social relationships. The shift was slight, from mainly “I Don’t Think So” and “Definitely No” responses to “I Am Uncertain” and “I Don’t Think So” see Figure 15.

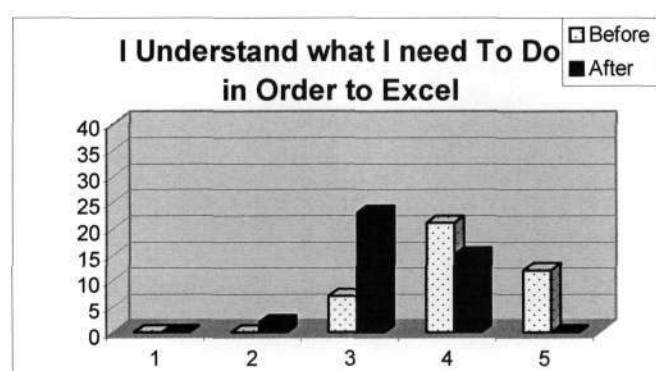


Figure 15

The responses that were received in the focus groups afterwards went back to the earlier comments about feeling less helpless: many participants said that they understood now that they had the right (and some said the responsibility) to choose how to react in small ways (like whether or not to “smile at mothers”; “fetch the water on time”, or “hit younger siblings”), and then they will be able to make good decisions in big ways (like whether or not to “take drugs”, or “bunk exams”).

The following question pertains to the extent to which participants feel that they have agency within their own lives, or to which they feel that their success depends on

outside factors or people, or themselves. The response to this question indicated that participants saw themselves as somewhat absent in terms of agency in their lives, as can be seen in the 'Before' graph below, see Figure 16. Respondents did not answer "Definitely No" or "I Don't Think So" at all, with answers falling into "I Think So", "I Am Uncertain " and "Definitely Yes " respectively. In the 'After' graph a shift towards participants' perception of their own agency is evident, with responses shifting towards "I Don't Think So", "I Am Uncertain", and a few "Definitely No".

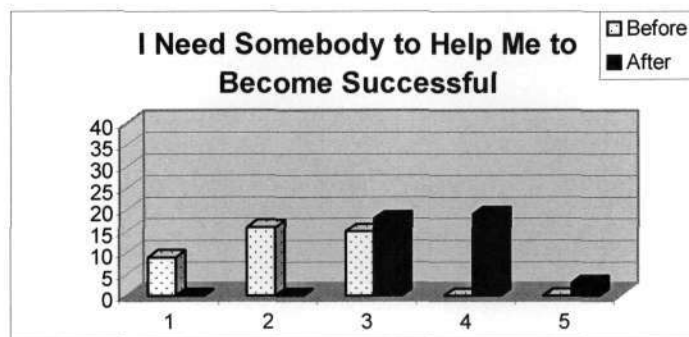


Figure 16

The focus groups after the process indicated that they had felt very powerful in the process of creating the theatre pieces, and they kept holding on to that feeling. They said that nobody told them what to do or how to do it – nobody had given them money or any form of assistance, and what they produced was of good quality.

The following question pertaining to the extent to which the participants see themselves as being in control of their lives showed a very similar shift towards the positive, with answers moving from "I Don't Think So", "Definitely No " and "I Am Uncertain"; to mainly "I Think So", and "I Am Uncertain", see Figure 17.

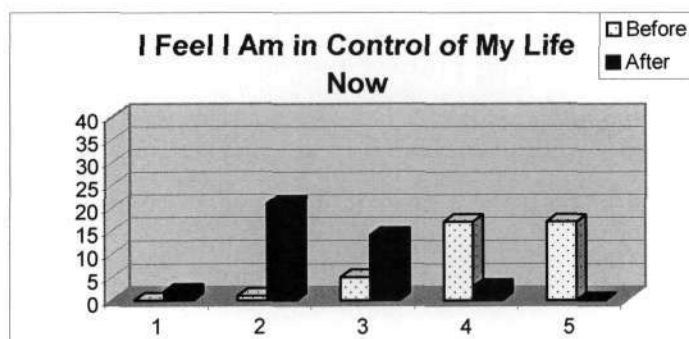


Figure 17

In the focus groups after the process participants discussed the reasons for this shift, similar to the shift in Figure 18, pertaining to being in control of their future, see Figure 18.

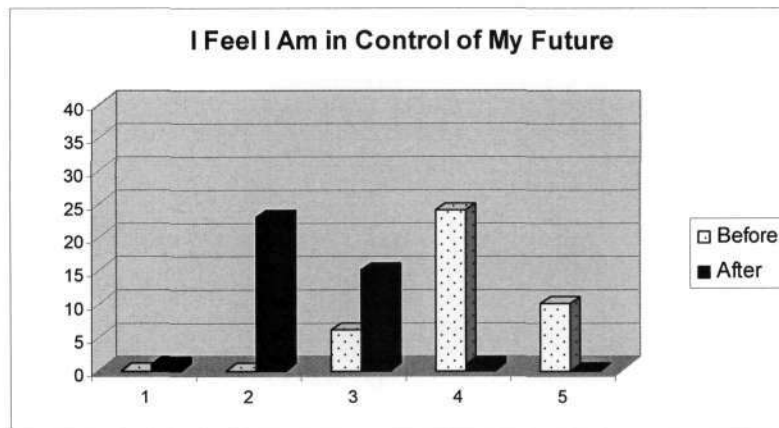


Figure 18

The participants related back to the idea of choices: they said that they could choose how to react to situations now, and thus control the way situations turn out, even if they have no control over the situation itself. For example, if the taxi breaks down, and they are late for school, that is beyond their control, but they can choose to go to school late, or bunk the rest of the day. This seems not to have been apparent to these adolescents before. One girl spoke about the fact that she had always thought that girls could never control anything in their lives. That they go from being somebody's daughter to somebody's wife to somebody's mother, and they never get to be anything important. She said that she suddenly saw that if a girl chose to get married, then being somebody's wife could be being something important, and similarly, if a girl chose to have a baby, then being somebody's mother could be something important. Here, interestingly, Patience spoke up passionately, saying that there is always a choice: that she had found out that she was pregnant, and spent so much time wondering why it had happened to her, and wishing that it had not. She said that she had had the baby, and loved the girl resentfully, knowing all the things she was being cheated out of by being a mother so early. She said that it had never occurred to her that she could choose anything, she had had a baby thrust upon her against her will, and there was nothing she could do about it. She said that when her sister had brought the baby to see her perform she had felt a deep need to make the baby proud of her (she laughed here, saying that she knew that the baby could not be proud of her

because she was just a baby and didn't understand anything, but that she needed to be somebody that the baby could grow up to be proud of). She spoke of feeling that she had control over how she raised this baby: she could raise this girl to know how to make herself happy, to take good care of herself and love herself. In this way, Patience insisted that for the first time ever she felt in control of both her life now, and her future. She said that for the first time ever she felt that they all had a purpose; they just had to choose to fulfil it. She spoke quietly about her mother's death, and spending a lot of time wondering why it had happened, and why she should have no mother, and found comfort in the arms of a boy who told her he loved her. She feels that if she had seen that she could choose to love herself, that perhaps she would have been smarter. When she told him she was pregnant, he beat her severely and left her. She said she lay there waiting to die, but knew that that would be too easy, wondered if she would lose the baby, not thinking that she really cared. She said that now she can see that she can choose to finish her schooling so she can be a good example, she wants her daughter to see early that she has the right, and even the responsibility to choose things in her life.

The responses to the following question "I can make my own life better", the majority of participants shift from "I Don't Think So" in the 'Before' graph to "I Think So" in the 'After' graph, see Figure 19.

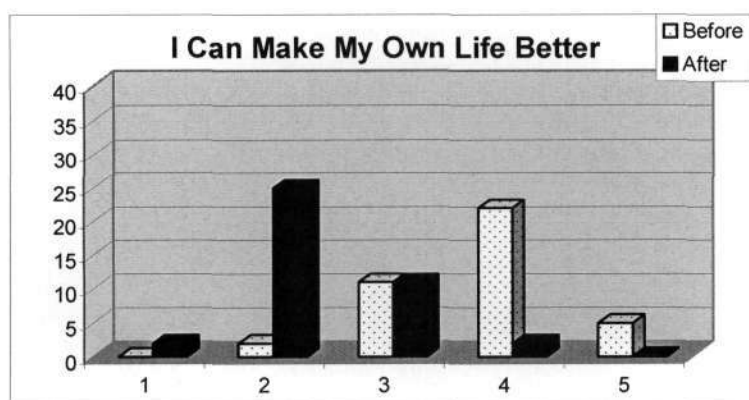


Figure 19

In the focus group after the performances, the participants discussed why many of them felt that they could make their own lives better. They said that they were

important now, and important people can do anything; that now they could choose so many things, they can make choices to make their lives better, and more successful.

It appears from the responses to the preceding questions that participants are beginning to see the importance of their own role in their future, or indeed the fact that they have an active role to play at all in the success of their future.

The focus groups shed light on the participants' responses, and showed reasons for shifts which have in some instances been quite dramatic. It is important to note that caregiver and teacher responses have corresponded well with participants' responses, showing that everybody's experiences have undergone a shift. The respondents were articulate, showing sensitivity to and clear perception of the vocabularies of agency, power and choice which has previously eluded them. It is clear that there is a shift taking place within the perceptions and the consciousness of the participants.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

"The grass is rich and matted, you cannot see the soil. It holds the rain and the mist, and the seep into the ground, feeding the streams in every kloof. It is well tended, and not too many cattle feed upon it; not too many fires burn it, laying bare the soil. Stand unshod upon it, for the ground is holy" (Paton, 1948:7).

Perhaps the landscape of developing identity can be tended, to grow the grass of agency thick and matted, to catch the mists of hope and the rain of opportunity, feeding the developing identity of strength, possibility and agency. Perhaps the landscape can be changed, even if there has been too much grazing of the soul by the cattle of insecurities, inadequacies and hardships; even when the fires of loss have torn though the landscape too many times, laying the soul bare; yet, perhaps, there can be change.

Looking at the results of the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups; the responses offered by participants leads to the following conclusions:

The process of having worked in a team, being responsible to each other, appears to have been useful in allowing the participants to experience cooperative learning *outside* of the classroom. This appears to have improved both communication and cooperation within the classroom, as well as personal responsibility. The experience of actual performance appears to have made participants feel important, giving them celebrity-like status in the school context as well as in the broader community. Having been "seen" on the stage appears to have given many of the participants a sense of the untapped nature of their own potential. The participants appear to view this as 'magic'; they are amazed that they can have produced this work (which has impressed so many people – as evidenced by the applause on the day of the performance; by word of mouth, community members congratulating participants and their family members on the performances) without outside help.

It is interesting to note here that Giffin and Yaffe (Wagner 1999:9), using a case study methodology, present and analyse a classroom drama in which participants learn about conflict resolution through experiencing the effects of members of a group displaying antisocial behaviours, they conclude that role-playing in drama can provide a powerful rehearsal for conflict-resolution in real life. The participants, in the rural Emmaus Valley in this study were not engaged in any kind of structured drama with any planned objectives outside of the culmination of the rehearsal process in the performance at the competition. They displayed a dramatic shift in perception of their own problem-solving and conflict-resolution abilities after the process was complete. This could suggest that in working cooperatively as a team, and the communication which must necessarily accompany this process in order for a shared meaning to be first understood and then created and displayed, is in itself a rehearsal for conflict resolution and cooperation outside of the confines of the drama. If one of the objectives of this paper was to investigate whether the kind of performance described here, without the outside agency and input of an expert, could still be a representation of Boal's (1995) idea of rehearsal for revolution, to explore whether these learners can, without receiving any direction from any professionals, come to a similar state of empowerment as a group steered carefully through a predetermined, carefully planned process. The results obtained would point towards the positive, towards the fundamental and intrinsic value of drama as a tool of empowerment, even when that goal is not only not articulated, but further, not even conceived of.

In this particular and unique context the drama was not structured on any existing model and did not attempt to 'push participants beyond their own knowledge' in order to realise a predicted or aimed-for outcome, for example improving conflict resolution, however, the participants learned it. Social skills (parallel to those which might be set out as goals by a teacher/facilitator within a Drama in Education classroom) were learned, and participants began to recognise their own agency (a valid outcome within a Dramatherapy context) in their lives, not because an outside facilitator came in and set up a learning experience for them; and not because an outside facilitator saw a lack in the community and came in with a programme planned to help them to solve their problems. This was a

group which may have been referred to by Jellicoe (1987) as a 'bad' community in which to launch a Community Theatre project: these adolescents thought that they had no power in the beginning, most thought that they didn't really have ideas at all and if they did they thought they would be chastised for them. Their behavioural displays within the classroom made it very difficult for the teacher to enter into any kind of groupwork forum, with most of the class remaining quiet and disengaged, and the remainder engaging in a disruptive manner. However, having been through the process of creating the drama, as a part of a cohesive and cooperative group, negotiating meaning and projecting that meaning in the forum of performance at the competition, they have shifted their own perceptions of themselves, from one of being ineffectual and dependant on others and on their situation to one of agency. They appear to have changed for themselves their status from one of 'bad' community to one of 'good' community in which to run any kind of dramatic intervention. These participants appear to have, without the aid and vision of an outside facilitator, gained many of the express benefits of Drama in Education; much of the catharsis, emotional release and healing of Dramatherapy; as well as the consequences of the 'rehearsal for revolution' of Community theatre.

It was the intention of this paper to analyse *learner-led* drama, drama which is created and presented by the participants alone, with no outside input, no 'intervention' at all. There is, however an anomaly with this intention within the study: the very act of interviewing and questioning participants has in fact encouraged them think about, or reflect on the experience, and has encouraged self-awareness; the questions themselves may have given the participants an consciousness of, and a vocabulary for expressing such concepts as agency, helplessness, caring, power, *etc.* without this consciousness-raising, the participants may not have realised (as learners from years before may not have realised) that they have indeed been through Boal's (1995) rehearsal for revolution.

Mda (1993) has created analyses of optimal conscientisation through scrutinising corresponding levels of participation and intervention within community theatre projects. It is in these analyses that it becomes clear that maximum levels of intervention coupled

with little or no community participation leads to a low resultant level of community conscientisation. Similarly, maximum levels of community participation coupled with no intervention leads to a low resultant level of community conscientisation. Mda argues that in order to achieve optimal community conscientisation there needs to be optimal agreement between community participation and intervention. This optimal level is different within each community as there are differing levels of social consciousness to begin with, and differing needs and deficits in each community. The use then of questioning and interviews is interventional, and puts this study into one of Mda's structured analyses: with maximum participation, and discreet levels of intervention, a convincing level of conscientisation took place.

The sheer existence of the study, then, is itself an intervention, and may in fact be a crucial element of the conscientisation which took place. Perhaps a further study would be indicated here, in which the participants are observed only, and not interviewed or questioned at all, where teachers and caregivers are interviewed *about* the participants instead. This, however, lies beyond the scope of this paper.

Perhaps a way forward from here is to educate the teachers about how important and ultimately valuable the tradition of these cultural competitions really is, how much and how deeply it actually affects participants. Teachers should understand that this is a project to be encouraged as much as possible, and should avoid thinking that it will distract participants too much from their school curriculum. Teachers should be encouraged, too, to encourage reflection about the experience in class. If the results from this paper are to be taken seriously at all it must be recognised that the participating adolescents have developed not only social and interactive skills, but have actually begun to shift their own self-concept. They have begun to develop the attributes of Jones's (in Adams 1992) "Resilient children", those who are able to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress; participants have begun to develop attributes including improved self-confidence, beginning to *trust* themselves within the wider context of the adult world. While they may in fact have previously perceived that they may receive little or no support from the community, there has been a shift in this perception, they appear

to feel less judged by teachers and caregivers, and more supported by these people. The autonomy exhibited by 'Resilient children' is beginning to be shown by these participants (beginning to see themselves as having opinions separate from peers, boyfriend or perceived role in the case of Patience) tempered by the beginnings of a perception of their own social responsibility. For example many participants began to speak about the *right* to make choices which would ultimately improve their lives, but also about their *responsibility* to make these choices, their responsibilities to their families, caregivers, and children. The self-reliance exhibited by 'Resilient children' is beginning to be shown by these participants (beginning to see themselves as able to improve their own lives, as in control of their lives and their future) there was a definite shift away from needing somebody else to help them to become successful, and a developing pride in the idea that they would ultimately control their lives, instead of waiting for somebody else to make their lives better. Many of these participants have joined other groups in order to continue to create these positive feelings, some have joined the Church choir in order to sing, some have joined the youth programmes run from the churches in order to continue to perform; in this way they have begun to construct this experience as the beginning of a hobby, which, as Werner (1984:68) suggests, is another characteristic of 'Resilient children' "often find[ing] refuge and a source of self-esteem in hobbies and creative interests".

Robert Landy asserts that the value of Dramatherapy is almost exponential; that it is valuable in more ways than the most obvious (education and recreation), incorporating the aims of educational drama and recreational drama [and often Community Theatre] but is greater than the sum of these. It is about learning and it is about renewing and recreating, but it also incorporates aims of theatre artists, psychoanalysts, developmental psychologists, and sociologists (Landy, 1986:15). I would like to go even further, to say that Learner-led Drama in the context of this study has itself a value which is almost exponential in the same way: its value is so much more than the sum of its physical parts; and further, that the value of Applied Drama may lie not directly in the model or theoretical paradigm followed, but within the fundamental value of Drama itself: that unique relationship between the negotiated meaning and the negotiator of that meaning;

between the participant and the character he plays; and ultimately between the rehearsal and the consequent revolution.

Ultimately the dramatic learning process is about the participants: the participants' journey (toward self-confidence, toward communication, toward self-understanding, toward personal agency) and not necessarily about any outside agent, or expert facilitator guiding them along that journey.

APPENDIX
PARTICIPANT (1)

attend school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
participate in class	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do my best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do my homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
help my younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
have too much to do at home to worry about homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
The teacher cares whether I do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
The teacher cares whether I do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
My mother cares whether I do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
My mother cares whether I do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do my chores at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
am happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
am pleasant to my family	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel like I can make my own life better	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
understand what I need to do in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
understand what I need to do in order to make my life better	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
am in control of my life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
am in control of my future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
feel that my future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
think education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
it is my responsibility to provide a good future for my children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
somebody needs to help me become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

Describe yourself to me and tell me about your life

.. Attends school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Participates in class	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does his/her best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does the homework set	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Helps younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The mother (/caregiver) cares whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The mother (/caregiver) cares whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does set chores at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Is happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to feel that s/he can improve his/her own life	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Understands what is needed in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that his/her future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that It is his/her responsibility to provide a good future for his/her children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that somebody needs to help them to become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

Describe to me and tell me about your experience of him / her

CARE GIVER (1)

.. Attends school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does his/her best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does the homework set	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Helps younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
There is too much work at home, the children must not bother with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether s/he does the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether s/he does well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The teacher cares whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The teacher cares whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does set chores at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Is happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Is pleasant to the family	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to feel that s/he can improve his/her own life	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Understands what is needed in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that his/her future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that It is his/her responsibility to provide a good future for his/her children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that somebody needs to help them to become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

Describe to me and tell me about your experience of living with him / her

PARTICIPANT (2)

attend school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
participate in class	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do my best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
do my homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
help my younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
have too much to do at home to worry about homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
the teacher cares whether I do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
have participated in an extra-mural activity - sport, cultural competition etc	Yes	X	X	X	No
have attended meetings called for this activity (practices, meetings etc)	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
have been a valuable member of this group / team	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
am happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
am pleasant to my family	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
feel like I can make my own life better	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
understand what I need to do in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
understand what I need to do in order to make my life better	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
am in control of my life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
am in control of my future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
feel that my future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
think education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
it is my responsibility to provide a good future for my children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
somebody needs to help me become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

TEACHER (2)

.. Attends school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Participates in class	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does his/her best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does the homework set	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Helps younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. has participated in the cultural competition	Yes	X	X	X	No
.. appears to have attended practices called for the competition	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. appears to have been a valuable member of this group	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. show that I care whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The mother (/caregiver) cares whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. The mother (/caregiver) cares whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does set chores at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Is happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to be angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to feel that s/he can improve his/her own life	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Understands what is needed in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that his/her future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that It is his/her responsibility to provide a good future for his/her children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that somebody needs to help them to become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

CARE GIVER (2)

.. Attends school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Does tasks set at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Does well at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Seems to find schoolwork interesting	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Does his/her best at school	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Does the homework set	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Helps younger siblings with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. has participated in an activity after school like sport or cultural competition	Yes	X	X	X	No
..appears to have attended practices called for the competition	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..appears to have been a valuable member of this group	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
I am proud of the effort that has put into this activity	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
There is too much work at home, the children must not bother with sport or other activities	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
There is too much work at home, the children must not bother with homework	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..show that I care whether s/he does the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..show that I care whether s/he does well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..The teacher cares whether they do the work or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..The teacher cares whether they do well or not	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Does set chores at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Is happy to help at home	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Is pleasant to the family	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Seems to be happy	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
..Seems to be angry	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Seems to feel that s/he can improve his/her own life	Always	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
.. Understands what is needed in order to excel	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her life now	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Is in control of his/her future	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that his/her future is bright	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that education is important	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
..Seems to feel that It is his/her responsibility to provide a good future for his/her children	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No
.. Seems to feel that somebody needs to help them to become successful	Definitely Yes	I Think So	I'm Uncertain	I Don't Think So	Definitely No

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