Ghosts between two fires :
an exploration of the impact of primary and secondary discursive practices on the construction of the subjectivities of a group of Coloured high school students in Pietermaritzburg.

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Declaration of Originality

This thesis, unless indicated otherwise, is my own work and has not been submitted at any other time for another degree.

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Acknowledgements

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Abstract

Identity issues have been a sensitive area for many people who are classified as Coloured in South Africa. In the past, this could have been ascribed to the effects of apartheid ideology, which resulted in different responses from the people in this racial group: some accepted the inferior status in a fatalistic manner and made the best of a bad situation; others attempted to remove themselves from this group and passed over into the white population group on the basis of their similar physical attributes while others rejected the appellation by fighting against the derogatory and negative images that categorised them as Other, in an attempt to transform social prejudices.

The identity issues of young Coloured learners at a high school in Pietermaritzburg came to my attention during a period when I attempted to establish a more meaningful relationship with the learners that I taught. Incorporating dialogue journals as a pedagogical tool in this respect, I unwittingly opened up Pandora's box. The many complexities of adolescent lives were openly revealed to me by the grade 9s and 10s in my care, in the hope that I would help them to resolve their problems. However, the issue that disconcerted me the most, was the Discourse of the home. I realised that a great disparity existed between the Discourses of the home and the school, and resolved to pursue this matter further during the course of the Masters degree that I had undertaken.

Using a number of methods to obtain data, and applying a Foucauldian, social constructionist view of discourse to the analysis, I discovered that there were many factors that impacted on the learners' identities. The Discourses that were evident in

the texts were often contradictory in nature, and the resultant inter-discursive conflict was a problem for many of the participants who battled to obtain acceptance into these Discourses. The Discourse of the home, the school, friends and gangs were the most prominent in the findings, and the participants' struggles to gain acceptance into them impacted on their sense of selfhood in positive and negative ways, which are revealed in the course of this dissertation.

The findings are crucial for educators who agree with Gee (1990, 1996) that all good teaching is ultimately a moral act. English teachers, in particular, are given the responsibility of exposing their learners to different Discourses and their respective conventions in order to empower them. This can only be done by creatively using texts and producing appropriate learning materials which can be used to unpack and deconstruct the values and 'ways of being, saying and doing' (Gee 1990, 1996) that are implicit in these texts. On the one hand, this familiarises learners from Dominant Discourses with the practices of a variety of cultures and races and helps them to acknowledge and accept differences. On the other hand, it validates the identities of the learners who are part of the minority groups, preventing them from feeling marginalised and regarded as Other.

Finally, I concluded that parents also need to take responsibility for their children constructing powerful or displaced identities. The Discourse of the home, in the final analysis, is the foundation of the children's lives and is crucial in apprenticing into, and gaining mastery over the dominant social Discourses. The concerns over Coloured identity are not yet laid to rest, even within the lives of our post-apartheid children: indeed, the struggle for identity is never truly complete since identity is

always changing and transforming to accommodate newer and better ways of being. However, the educators, parents and others in authority can play a pivotal role in addressing these issues, helping to validate the very tenuous sense of selfhood that many of these youngsters are holding on to. Nortje (1973) describes this vulnerability as 'growing between the wire and the wall' – a very difficult place to be, but not impossible to grow out of and flourish into subjects who revel in the constructions of multiple identities, enabling them to participate in the activities of their various Discourses in empowering and validating ways.

Chapter 1

Background to the study

1.1   Introduction

During the era of apartheid in South Africa, education was delineated for racial groups within institutions created specifically for their separate use. The site for this study, Caliban Secondary School (Caliban is a pseudonym), was developed for the use of the Coloured community in the surrounding townships of Pietemaritzburg. The socio-economic level of the inhabitants of these areas was varied, and people built homes for themselves, or rented from the municipality depending on their financial position. Prior to 1994, a year which marked the post-apartheid era, the racial status quo was loosely adhered to in the sense that some African and Indian children were accepted at the school as long as one parent was Coloured. The Coloured pupils were in the majority. Furthermore, the racial composition of the staff followed a similar pattern - the majority of the teachers coming from the Coloured community, with other racial groups accepted on the staff as an exception to the rule. Teachers lived in close proximity to the school and were fully integrated into the close-knit community. Many of their students were the children of acquaintances, or neighbours. Consequently, the Primary Discourse (Gee, 1996) of the students was familiar to teachers, an awareness which facilitated the English teachers' development of appropriate learning materials.

Even before the first democratic election in South Africa, Caliban began accepting fairly large numbers of African students from other schools. At this stage, there

were no formal criteria for admission to Caliban Secondary save that the child had to have passed standard five (now known as Grade 7). Realising the implications of accepting English second language learners into a school with English as the medium of instruction, and offered as a subject on a first language level (MacDonald, 1985), educators established a Language Integration Programme (Coleman, 1994) in an attempt to address the linguistic challenges facing these children. Consequently, the school became popular with the African parents from the outlying townships who wished to expose their children to English, and the racial composition of the students became more balanced.

From 1996, the majority of the learners at this school have been African. After the repeal of the Group Areas Act (1994), many African families moved into the suburb. Thus, the students are drawn from the following areas: a vast informal settlement which is opposite the school; the two Coloured townships near the school and also from the outlying townships such as Edendale, Imbali and Sweetwaters.

Coloured learners are now in the minority at Caliban Secondary School. Those learners whose parents can afford it, have registered at ex- model C schools in Pietermaritzburg (NED) or at other local ex-House of Representatives (HOR) or ex-House of Delegates (HOD) schools. As an explanatory note for readers unfamiliar with the political history of these schools, during the era of apartheid in South Africa, the Natal Education Department controlled schools, which were for the sole use of white learners. In the new democratic society, Black learners now have a right to be admitted to these schools as well. HOR schools were exclusively for the use of Coloured students while HOD schools were officially allowed to admit Indian

students only.

Many staff members are no longer part of the community , having moved to other suburbs in the city. Thus, the original community is now fragmented and dispersed, with the teachers no longer being as familiar with the residents and the activities of the area as they once were. Consequently, much of the initial or primary Discourse[1] (Gee, 1990) of the student body (both Coloured and African) is unfamiliar to them. This has important ramifications for the development of learning materials, especially with regard to the teaching of English, since the teachers' schemata are no longer congruent with those of the learners. Krashen's Comprehensible Input Hypothesis (1982) states that learning is facilitated if the teacher's input is roughly tuned to that of the learner. I believe that this input does not limit itself to language and diction, but also to concepts, attitudes and values which are implicit in texts for analysis. Since the primary discourse of the learners is dissimilar to that of the teachers, or in conflict with the school , learning is far more difficult to achieve. In addition, the school and the educators are regarded as outsiders by the learners, who constantly feel alienated by the Dominant Discourse (Gee, 1996) which is exclusive of their ways of being.

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[1] Gee (1990) refers to Discourse with a capital "D"
as ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes
(p142)
whereas 'discourse' indicates "connected stretches of language that make sense , like conversations, stories, essays ; discourse is part of Discourse" (p 142)

1.2   Personal Pedagogical experiences

This is the situation I found myself in 1999. I experienced difficulties in teaching English to a group of grade 8s, after having taught at senior level for the past few years. The pupils in these classes were not graded according to their academic success; the classes were a combination of African and Coloured pupils, who had Zulu or English respectively as their mother tongue. I grew increasingly concerned with the outcome of my attempts to engage them in class discussions, to read outside of the school environment or even to do homework and became increasingly disillusioned and frustrated with the students and with myself. When I tried asking the learners to talk to me about the problems which were obviously prevalent, they either would not, or could not. Coincidentally, I came across a book entitled *"My posse don't do homework"*, (the film version became popular and is entitled*"Dangerous Minds")* which was based on the true-life experiences of LouAnne Johnson (1992), a teacher from New York. She successfully used dialogue journals to communicate with her learners (see 3.3.1), and this motivated me to try the same methodology in an attempt to discover more about my learners' lives outside the parameters of the school setting. Although a Coloured person myself, I lived outside the suburb, my own children attended model C schools, and I felt alienated from my learners. What I experienced even more keenly was my ignorance regarding the social and cultural lives of my African students, many of whom could not converse adequately in English.

The effects of the journal were almost immediate: the learners were eager to relate their stories to me, they were fascinated by my responses to their entries, and

constantly badgered me to reply. I incorporated issues from literature studies, current affairs and school issues in the dialogue, constantly trying to extend their use of the language. Beyond this academic level, the teacher-pupil relationship improved dramatically. In large classes of 45, many children are nameless faces, but knowing something personal about each child, helped me to remember their names. I felt privileged and humbled by the extent of the information passed on to me, and this impacted on my teaching in many ways. At that stage, I had no knowledge of second language acquisition, and only after a course in Applied Language Studies, did I become aware of theorists such as Krashen (1982) and the importance of his Multiple Hypotheses for second language learning and teaching.

Yet even without this academic theory, the dialogue journals had affected me in the sense that I was far more empathetic and nurturing. My classroom was no longer a place to be feared, where the teacher was critical of what the learners could not do. They felt free to express their opinions, to offer reasons for tardy work, and even to question me when they did not agree with me! My learning materials were now more appropriately based on their schemata or frames of reference, and the feedback I received from them validated my efforts. Some quotes (unedited) which describe the changed learning and teaching environment follow:

> When I first saw you, and found that you were my English teacher, I thought that you were cheeky, and I was very nervous and scared. I have really learnt something from your English. I feel very good, that you are so kind. I am very grateful that you are my English teacher. (DJ1)

> It's like if I don't understand, I'm asking the person is next to me. She explains for me, I said, Phashasha! And even you miss, you laughed with us then I started realised that you don't just get cross anyhow. (DJ2)

> The first two months I remember when I first saw this teacher and I thought to my self boy I have to do my work if I don't want to have a private talk with her and she happens to be my english teacher. As the month grew by I thought she's not that bad ......well I have to thank the dialoge journal. It made my life with Mrs Mathey easy.(DJ5)

More relevant to the motivation for this research is the information which I gained about the primary discourse of the learners. I was privy to facts that startled me in the sense that I became aware of the undue pressure that I had placed on many children by my demands as a teacher. Much of what I expected from my learners in the school setting was not possible for financial reasons , or because of personal and emotional issues which they were experiencing. I had taken it for granted that parents would have the financial resources to buy items such as brown and plastic paper, and regarded it as extremely disrespectful and disobedient when this instruction was not followed. When questioned about their tardiness in this respect, most children simply kept silent, which only added to my irritation. A simple instruction such as "Cover your books by next Monday" became a traumatic experience - a fact that I became aware of only after the dialogue journals were incorporated into my teaching. As a consequence of this methodological strategy, I became increasingly aware of the tensions between the Discourses of the home and school environments, and once I began my Applied Language Studies, this became the focal point for my research.

1.3   Motivation for this study

With my own pedagogical experiences as a backdrop, I conducted a small-scale study (1999-2000) of the cultural and social identities of a group of African teenage females, using the information from the dialogue journals to drive my research questions. The data and findings intrigued me, and I was motivated to extend this

research to a group of male and female Coloured high school students, with particular focus on the tensions between the primary and secondary discourses, and the impact of these on the construction of their identities.

1.4 *Ghosts between two fires*: the dilemma of the Coloured identity.

The identity of Coloured people has been a controversial topic for many years. Arthur Nortje, in his poem *Dogsbody Half- Breed* (1973), succinctly described the Coloured dilemma as "growing between the wire and the wall ". Essentially, this means that Coloureds often find themselves in difficult positions with regards to their social and cultural identity: on the one hand, they are confronted with the culture and Discourse of their white antecedents; on the other hand, they need to come to terms with their African ancestry. They are fixed in this paralysing scenario, not being able to move forward to embrace any one of these oppositions, finding no escape out of their quandary. Mako, a character in *The Path of Thunder*, sums up the difficulties Coloureds have in creating a sense of identity:

> Because they have no roots of their own. Not the past, not the tradition of the white or African. That is why they try to grade upward. The whites are in power, they control everything. There is disadvantage, the colour bar, in grading toward the African so they grade toward the white. A half-caste writer called them 'marginal men;' he was right. An English poet said: "Only ghosts can live between two fires;" he was right. They are between two fires."
> (Abrahams, 1952: 86-87)

Although it is dated, Stonequist's definition of the 'marginal man' below has been used by Dickie-Clarke (1966) in his study on Coloured people. He states that "the most obvious type of marginal man is the person of mixed racial ancestry" and sees

the marginal man as one who is

> poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more worlds reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is dominant over the other, within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth and ancestry
>
> (Dickie – Clarke: 1966: 8)

The term ' Coloured' has also come under scrutiny. A letter printed in the August 1984 issue of *Sechaba* revealed a Coloured reader's rejection of the term:

> The term 'Coloured' did not evolve out of a distinctive group, but was rather a label pinned on to a person whom the Population Registration Act of 1950 defines as ' who in appearance is obviously not White or Indian and who is not a member of an aboriginal race or African tribe. A definition based on exclusion – that is, the isn't people - . . . the term 'Coloured' was given to what the racists viewed as the marginal people. The term 'Coloured' was fundamental to the racist myth of the pure white Afrikaner. To accept the term 'Coloured' is to allow the myth to carry on . . .
>
> (In Wallerstein, 1991: 74)

Coloureds have also had to contend with accusations of being

> unintelligent, irresponsible, slovenly and thriftless. We have been accused of being heavy on drink, light on work and careless of family ties. The list of negative characteristics attributed to us is long, so long and impressive that the authority of the Bible is often invoked to account for our shortcomings
>
> (Van Der Ross in Gqibitole, (1998): 22 -23)

More recently, Dubow refers to the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act (1950) which forbade intermarriage of races on the grounds that it would result in a degenerate race.

> The result would be Coloured people who, as a hybrid race, were said to be inherently unstable and less intelligent than whites. They lacked the latter's energy and persistence, and unlike Africans, who remain bound by tribal

connections, suffered from a lack of social controls. As a group, Coloureds
were said to be despised by both Africans and whites alike.

(Dubow in Gqibitole, 1998: 37)

African learners at Caliban Secondary School have also labelled Coloureds with
derogatory terms such as "fakes" and "fongkong". When asked to elaborate, they
explained to me that fake items of genuine name brand clothing are made in Hong
Kong, and these imitations are contemptuously referred to as fongkong – this term is
also used for Coloureds, since they are not a 'genuine' race, but a mixture of African
and white.

Thus, the system of apartheid has created a legacy of denigration that has impacted
negatively on the construction of a validating sense of self for many Coloured people.
Through its various legislations, one was allocated a sense of identity that was
controlled by the government. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Coloureds
were allocated a sense of non-identity (together with all other races which were not
white, they were classified as non-white, people who were marked as being 'other'),
classified on the basis of what they were not - not White, not African, not Indian.

Part of the healing process for many Coloureds would necessarily involve the peeling
away of layers of inferiority which are the consequence of the negative and
derogatory accusations and stereotypical perceptions which are the baggage of the
apartheid era. Also, one would need to forgive oneself for trying to look and act as
white as possible in order to be accepted within society. This is easy enough to do
once one realises that it was a mindset that was specifically and purposefully created
by the legislations of apartheid. Gqibitole writes that the label of Coloured "was

designed specifically to make Coloureds feel inferior, inadequate and therefore dependent on Afrikaners"(1998: 22). She quotes Dubow who believes that " this labelling was sanctioned by two of the most influential institutions in South Africa – the government and the Church" (1998: 22). Fanon refers to the power of the colonising presence that is difficult to discard since it is not simply an extrinsic force. Instead, it becomes an integral component in our attempts to construct our identities:

> The movements, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye. I was indignant ; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together again by another self.
>
> (In Hall, 1990: 109)

However, the effect of this power is not completely overwhelming, since one is able to confront it, challenge and question it, and in this way, attempt to transform one's sense of self in ways that are more validating. In post-apartheid South Africa, with its new democratic practices and tolerance of diversity, one is hopeful that Coloured people will finally find their ' hole in the wall', but sadly, in my experience, many young people are feeling even more alienated and rejected. In a desperate search for a place to belong, they look to gangsterism and drugs, identifying with the American Negro and rap music which characterises a rebellious and controversial, 'in your face' approach to life. I believe that as Coloureds, we have a wonderful opportunity to explore our roots by understanding the 'routes' we were forced to follow, owning our place in the apartheid system, and coming to an acceptance of our multifaceted identities. Singh concurs that this is the way forward for many people whose identities were eroded during the apartheid regime in South Africa, when she states that

The displacement of the Apartheid State has made it necessary to transcend and reshape identities forged by the exigencies of living under and responding to apartheid policies. We have the historic opportunity to fashion a new set of understandings about who we are and what we consider to be of fundamental value to us.

<div align="right">(Singh, 1997:120)</div>

1.5   The Construction of Identity: a personal perspective.

In the initial conceptualisation of this study, my attention was focussed exclusively on the identity constructions of my learners. However, during the course of my readings into the construction of identity , I came to acknowledge that my research was as much an exploration of my own identity as it was of theirs. I was drawn into the theories in a very personal way, unable to distance myself from the texts to which I was exposed. The reason for this is that the construction of my own sense of identity became the issue; everything that I thought encapsulated who I was came under the spotlight and I spent a long time trying to understand the forces that had impacted on me in my quest for identity throughout my life. This was not a comfortable experience. Where did I stand in the new South Africa? And where did young Coloured people place themselves? I knew instinctively that this personal journey was one that had to be endured if I hoped to conduct research on Coloured teenagers in a credible way.

In a sense, the research has been a personal journey into my own past in an attempt to understand the causes of my feelings of otherness, and to construct a social identity that acknowledges the impact of an apartheid regime that specifically set out to marginalise and undermine the dominated groups. In some senses, this research has flagged a path that has directed me in my search for selfhood, a selfhood that is the

result of an implosion of myths regarding the search for one's 'true self'. Instead, this acceptance involves the acknowledgement of a multiplicity of selves, and a certain sense of relief that it is acceptable to be different under certain conditions and within certain situations. In a post-apartheid South Africa, which ironically boasts of encompassing a 'rainbow nation ' while still showing evidence of racial prejudice, it is important for people from the marginalised groups to gain a sense of self that will give them the confidence to participate fully as citizens in society, without the baggage of past hurts and debasing practices to limit their potential.

Singh acknowledges the importance of reconstruction in South Africa, but a reconstruction that

> Presumes change at the level of self-image and images of other, new modes of social interaction, new understandings of state, nation and community, and a new engagement with issues of cultural, religious and linguistic difference
> (1997:120).

My classification as a Coloured person was at the centre of my sense of self. All my adult life I had fought against the stereotypes and prejudices that Coloureds were burdened with. I also had to come to terms with my political submissiveness in the face of the unfair practices of apartheid during my adolescence, as well as my "sell-out" decision to enter a university that would only accept me if I obtained a permit to study there. On a physical level, I questioned my desire to have straightened hair and my pleasure when I realised that I was fairer than many of my peers. Co-incidentally, at about the same time, my son at a model C school was asked to do research on "Coloured culture " , and I could not answer him definitively. He was also

exposed to prejudices at school, where he became aware that his peers believed that all Coloureds were gangsters! My four year old daughter at this stage believed that she was pink, not brown, and cried when I told her that brown was just as good a colour . . . seemingly trivial incidents, but they combined to create a crisis of immense emotional and psychological dimensions in my life. I found that I could not continue with my research in the way I had envisaged until I had resolved the issues affecting my own self-construction. When people are creating their identities, they are in fact attempting to develop positions which might relate their current lives to what has gone before, rendering the past, the present, and the future plausible and meaningful (Connell, 1987). The processes involved in this are important since the nature of the research is qualitative and my subjectivity could impact on the way in which I interpreted the data.

Consequently, this research allowed me to locate myself on a personal level by reflecting on my past experiences as a Coloured person, but to also accept the construction of multiple identities as a valid way of finding a sense of belonging. This was not an easy journey - in his attempts at locating himself on a personal and political level, Rutherford describes this sense of belonging as "that most elusive of feelings . . . there are no ready made identities or categories that we can unproblematically slip into"(1990: 25). However, his account of Eartha Kitt 's experience at the hands of white racism and black rejection has helped me to understand that a validating sense of self-hood is not dependent on simply becoming aware of theories of identity, or drawing on the experiences of one's past. When asked where she felt home to be in the light of her rejection by both whites and blacks, Kitt replied: "Home is within me" (1990:24). As Rutherford so aptly puts it, " Only

when we gain a sense of personal integrity can we represent ourselves and be recognised – this is home, this is belonging"(1990: 24).

The personal catharsis that I experienced in my journey of discovery is private and not particularly relevant for the purposes of this dissertation. Suffice to say that the theories of Discourse (Gee, 1996) and the schools of debate concerning identity were powerful mechanisms that facilitated my personal construction of identities, and allowed me to achieve that sense of personal integrity to which Rutherford refers. In addition, my attempt to locate myself allowed me to interpret data from the subjects of my research in a more meaningful and empathetic manner.

1.6   Research in the field

In my exploration of the different theories dealing with identity construction, I have come across various studies dealing with subordinate groups and their sense of identity. Many studies have been done on marginalised groups and the construction of the self in countries outside South Africa, such as Peirce's (1995) study on the multiple identities of a group of adult female immigrants in Canada, and Wetherell's (1996) study on the Maori of New Zealand. Brice-Heath's (1983) studies on primary and secondary Discourses and the impact on the academic performance of children in Roadville and Trackton provide insights into the ways in which children are socialized in the two discourses.

Within the South African context, Dickie-Clarke's (1966) sociological study of a Coloured Group was helpful since it exposed me to the early political and

historical experiences of the Coloured people in Durban. Wallerstein(1991) wrote an insightful article on the ways in which the identity of Coloured people was constructed , and the reactions of these people to the label of Coloured. A further example of identity studies in the South African context is Schuster's(1997)work on the teaching of writing to a group of women, and the impact of this on their identities. Maharaj's (1995) M SocSc thesis on the social identities of Indians in the new South Africa proved to be useful in terms of the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1975) that she used to structure her research. Catherine Campbell's(1992) appropriation of Tajfel's theory in her Ph.D thesis dealing with the social identity of South African township youth in Durban, was immensely helpful in my research.

Identity within the work of Coloured writers and poets, in this case, Peter Abrahams, has been studied by Gqibitole (1998). Another example of helpful research is Liezl Malan's (1996) research on the literacies of school and everyday life in Bellville-South, a Coloured area in the Western Cape, although her subjects are adults. Ahmed Vawda(1996) conducted research on the construction of gender identity in a Muslim school, while Michael Cross's (1994) research focussed on culture and identity in South African education during the period between 1880 – 1990.

In post-apartheid South Africa, there has been much concern regarding the African learner's culture, and ways of constructing identities on entering previous HOR, HOD and Natal Education Department (NED) schools. However, I have not come across any research conducted on the ways in which primary and secondary discursive practices impact on the Coloured learners' sense of who they construct themselves to be.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

2.1 Theories of Identity Construction

The concept of identity has been described and defined in a variety of ways which are dependant on the academic perspective of the writer. Traditional social-psychologists such as Tajfel (1972) use the term as a way of describing *group identity*, social constructionists such as Wetherell (1996) refer to the *construction of* an *individual's social identity* whereas post-structuralists, for example, Weedon (1987,1997) and Peirce (1995, 1997) use the term *subjectivity* to denote the construction of identity. Hall (1993, 1995) and Rutherford (1990) also refer to it as *cultural identity* and *identification*. Within these social- psychological and post-structuralist paradigms, there is further dissension regarding the nature of identity. In the traditional and humanistic perspectives, identity is regarded as unitary and stable, and its attainment is imperative if the subject is to be happy and true to itself. However, in the social-psychological and post-structuralist perspectives, identity has been used as a definitive term encompassing the possibility of a *multiplicity of identities* that are dynamic and open to change

Many factors have also been identified as contributing to these attempts to construct identity. Physical attributes, emotions, psychological aspects, race, language, culture, society have all been used individually, or in various combinations depending on the positions of the theorists or researchers.

The theories that I have chosen to incorporate into my analysis have been useful in addressing the questions of how identity is constructed for and by subjects in different contexts, and the factors playing a role in this construction. Furthermore, although some of the aspects of certain theories of identity were not extensive enough for the purposes of this thesis, I extrapolated what was useful in attempting to understand the various assumptions about identity within various discourses, specifically the home and the school, and their impact on the identity construction of learners. My final criteria was to what extent I could use the theories in creating a synergised view of all of the above, resulting in recommendations which could transform current pedagogical practices.

The theories that will underpin, and to a certain extent, explain and account for my findings, are located within the following debates on identity: Traditional; Social-psychological, Social Constructionist and Post-structuralist schools of thought.

Hall traces three concepts of identity that I have found useful in tracing the history of identity theories. The categories that he describes below are concise definitions of the theories that I have implemented in my analysis of identity constructions, both for my personal identity project, and for the learners who are the subjects of my research.

Firstly, he speaks of the enlightenment **subject** that is based on the conception of

The person as a unified, fully centred and focussed individual, who is born with a core essence, which simply reveals itself by degrees as the person, develops yet remains basically the same. (Hall, 1992: 275)

Secondly, Hall describes the **sociological subject** as one whose identity is not based on an essential core, but is determined by interaction with others in society. Subjects still have an inner core, but it is mediated and modified by a continuous dialogue with the cultural worlds in which they live. In the sociological framework, identity bridges the gap between the personal and public worlds. Hall refers to identity as a means of stitching or "suturing" the subject into the structures occupied in society. Consequently, the subject consists of not a single, unified identity, but several, and sometimes, contradictory identities. The process of identity construction has become more open-ended and variable than that of the enlightenment subject.

Finally, Hall states that the **post-modern subject** is conceptualised as having no fixed essential or permanent identity. Identity becomes a moveable feast, formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us (1992: 277). It is historically, not biologically defined. Different identities are assumed at different times, which are not unified around a coherent self.

2.1.1 The Traditional Perspective

With regard to traditional theories of identity construction, which Hall classifies under the banner of the enlightenment subject, I have chosen to discuss the Trait, Role and Humanistic theories (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Although these are rather narrow in focus, they are still useful in a social constructionist analysis since they are seen as different ways of making sense of the self under different contexts. They are considered as options to choose from in a myriad of subject positions which can be

found in the discourses of the "past, the present, historically and cross-culturally" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 102).

Proponents of the Trait Theory regard the self as a personality with traits and abilities that are able to be measured, and which determine one's behaviour. The impact of these traits outweighs the influence of the immediate context or situation in which the subject finds himself. In this case, the self is regarded as having one identity, and therefore never experiences conflict – the subject acts true to form and is entirely predictable. I believe that this perception of the self is limiting and creates an immense amount of tension for the subject who needs to react to different situations in different ways. Potter and Wetherell add their voices to other critics of this theory, stating that this view neglects the social aspect of people's lives, since "they are social creatures, they have different parts to play in society which require different manifestations of the self"(1987: 97).

Role theorists capitalise on this criticism, stating that the social situation and one's social position will determine the behaviour of the subject. We are fixed within these various positions and it is by virtue of these demands that we acquire a concept of our selves. Consequently, we - our identities and our personalities - are formed by our social positions. We are socialised into becoming a certain person under certain conditions. The individual refers to his social group and by a process of comparison, will eventually come to find himself playing the expected role within that social structure. The self thus becomes a "looking glass of social expectations" (Cooley, in Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 98). While role theorists do recognise the importance of the different roles that people have to play in their lives, they ascribe these to the

result of a certain amount of conflict within the individual between self-expression and the dictates of social demands upon behaviour. The individual is not free to give vent to a natural form of self-expression, but is forced to become a performer in the social drama that positions her in many diverse roles. In the course of our lives, our positions within society will preclude certain ways of acting, and encourage other ways. This view projects an image of a subject who is constantly seeking the approval of others within the group, and who never really reflects on personal choices and responses. Discord arises when the subject is divided in her responses, since different roles require different selves. This fragmentation of identities gives rise to feelings of conflict and tension, and the role character has to present a façade in order to act out preordained roles within the script.

In contrast, the Humanistic theory proposes that the Role character creates a derogatory image of subjects. In this theory, the individual is presented as a 'social dope' (Dahrendorff, in Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 99), whereas the Humanistic theory, on the contrary, supports the idea that people have a sense of agency in their lives, of creating new forms as well as being created by them. There is an authentic "true" self in the background which monitors the performance of the "social" self creating a kind of "double consciousness" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 100). Humanistic theory advocates the search for one's true self that is necessary in order to gain self-fulfilment.

In my own experience, and in discussions with various people, I realise now that many people still believe that identity is a fixed and unitary concept; that if one came across a person who exhibited different persona, in different conditions, one would

tend to judge that person as being without strength of character, or easily swayed: someone with no idea of who he or she is. All three of the above theories encourage the belief that the search for one's true self is akin to that of the Holy Grail . . . imperative if we are ever to attain happiness and true fulfilment. However, if any of them can be appropriated by a person whenever the context requires, they do offer valid ways of making sense of the self in different situations. This results in a multifaceted identity created not only by a combination of various personality traits which change, or by one's social position and situation or by a fixed notion of who one is or ought to be, but by other aspects such as language, culture, power, and relationships which continually shape and reshape our sense of who we are. In essence we become the "the sum and swarm of participations in social life" (Bruner, 1990: 122).

2.1.2 The Social-psychological perspective.

Within the social-psychological debate, I have found both the traditional and post-modern positions to be helpful in determining the factors impacting on the identity construction of the groups that I interviewed. Tajfel's (1978, 1981) Social Identity Theory piqued my interest – his theories have alternately been highly praised or severely criticised – yet despite the ongoing debate, they have offered me some insight into the ways that people behave in a group. Basically, the fact that his theories were grounded in experimental, laboratory conditions, unrelated to the larger dynamics of society, has drawn severe criticism, especially from post-modern social psychologists. He has also equated society with the group, another premise that has been problematic. However, his theorising about the psychological motives behind

people's actions in a group are interesting to me. I have harnessed them in my attempts to understand why Coloureds behaved in certain ways during apartheid, and have also found them useful in analysing the subject positions of some of the Coloured adolescents in my study. I am aware that certain crucial questions relating to emotional, social, cultural and personal reasons why they behaved in these ways have not been answered sufficiently by his theories. However, I do feel that they are relevant enough to be included in this discussion, since they have offered a psychological slant to my study.

Social Identity Theory defines identity as " the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups, together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership". (Tajfel, 1982: 31). He identifies the four main processes that are involved in social identity in intergroup contexts as: social categorization, the formation of an awareness of social identity, social comparison and finally, a search for psychological distinctiveness.

For Tajfel, a social context involves relations between certain notable social groups and provides categories through which individuals learn to recognise behavioural and linguistic clues, and consequently slot themselves and others into membership of certain categories. They also learn the value placed on this membership by the in-group (their own members) and out-group (people outside their group). During the process of becoming aware of social identity, individuals make attempts to maximise their positive characteristics in order to be viewed favourably. Inevitably, members of a group will discover that their social identity is viewed negatively by an out-group and, according to Tajfel, they will counter this by developing protective strategies,

such as "passing". McNamara (1997) gives examples of passing which I recognised immediately: changing of accent or name, using physical traits to cross over into the positive out-group . . . all the above are strategies which were used by Coloured people during the era of apartheid in order to cross over the racial boundaries into the white racial group. In cases where passing is not possible, Tajfel refers to another strategy which has been used to re-define a negative evaluation: reinterpreting a defining characteristic, for example, the reinterpretation of the word "queer" (Mc Namara, 1997: 563) or participating in social and protest action to alter the situation. Coloured people have used the strategy of redefinition and protest by objecting to racial classifications such as "Other Coloured" which eventually fell away. In addition, they redefined the negative and derogatory connotations of being Coloured into what would be regarded as something positive by proudly acknowledging their white ancestry, but choosing to ignore and forget their African origins. Another example is the way in which the Basters (a Coloured community established around Rehoboth, South West Africa) redefined apartheid by creating their own clique of superiority over the indigenous Namas, even going as far as placing signs at the entrance of their restaurants which stipulated entry to Basters only.

Thus, Social Identity Theory has given me an idea of the psychological processes that motivated some Coloured people in the era of apartheid to believe that the white way of being was better. More relevant to this study, is the way in which the subjects of my research viewed themselves as a social group, as Coloured youngsters generally, but more particularly, as members of gangs. Tajfel's theories of redefinition and reinterpretation were particularly useful in analysing the data that was captured during the interviews. However, I believe that the insights gained will be more valuable if

they are expanded by an exploration of the social dynamics of the time, the ways in which power, ideology and South African society collude in the lives of these subjects and influence them to appropriate certain ways of being.

Despite my selective appropriation of Tajfel's Theory, I must include the criticisms that have generated much debate on the validity of these theories. Post-modernists in the social-psychological paradigm criticise Tajfel's theory on the grounds that it is does not take into account the social context of identity formation, but chooses to equate the concept of society with that of a group. In this way, the group is decontextualised, and the fact that much of Tajfel's work is empirical and based on experimental work done under laboratory conditions, simply exacerbates this problem since his work is alienated from the reality of life, resulting in a "social amnesia"(Campbell, 1992:51). She also states that Social Identity Theory is based on psychological processes, which underlie group membership, on the cognitive processes of self-categorization and social comparison, and also on the motivational processes of self-enhancement. (1992: 51) but excludes the role of the individual in real-life situations.

Other theorists such as Hansen and Liu (1997) are also in agreement that Tajfel's theory is limiting on the grounds that he does not consider multiple group membership despite his claims that social identity is dynamic in nature. The hypothesis that people choose to belong to one group or another does not recognise that this is context dependent, and that people within a group may be members of more than one group. People belong to different groups depending on aspects such as gender, ethnicity, languages, economic status and personal beliefs. The social identity

theory presupposes that an individual's behaviour can be categorised into specific groups, and groups into determined categories, and this, according to Hansen and Liu, denies the individual and dynamic nature of social identity. (1997: 572).

However, McNamara (1987) disputes this criticism in his studies on Israeli immigrants to Australia (1987), in which he finds that ethno-linguistic vitality and multiplicity of identities is evident, and fits in with Tajfel's Social Identity Theory. He also disputes the claim that the Social Identity Theory neglects the "historical and structural processes . . . which set the parameters of social boundaries" as critiqued by Williams (1992:218). According to McNamara, Tajfel (1978) explicitly deals with this point when he states that

> The concept of social identity is explicitly formulated to theoretically incorporate individual cognitive processes as well as societal dynamics in its explanations of stereotyping . . . . . the actions and beliefs of different groups, and the stereotypes they hold of themselves and others is rooted in the dynamics of intergroup relations which form the basis of history . . .. they are shaped by broader societal representations, or ideologies.
>
> (As cited in Mc Namara: 1997: 565)

However, critics believe that this individual-society dualism weakens Tajfel's work: for them every aspect of human experience is social, involving two dimensions of social context: firstly, specific features of the social context that we interact with daily, and secondly, the structuring properties of the society in which we live, mainly power and ideology (Campbell, 1993:46). For them, ideology is not a unified set of beliefs, but a series of more fragmented discursive social practices that get constructed and reconstructed from one situation to another. Henriques et al (1984) state that since the individual subject is non-unitary and contradictory in nature, as he

moves from one social situation to another, his identity is constantly being structured and restructured, resulting in a highly fragmented and context dependent self (as cited in Campbell, 1993:48).

In addition, feminists in this paradigm object to the fact that gender is defined in terms of a universal, consistent, and stable group membership. They believe that while the construct of gender is universal, the actual contents of gender identities have a wide-ranging and cross-situational variability. Fraser and Nicholson (1990) argue for the notion of a multifaceted identity when they advise feminists that they

> need not abandon the large theoretical tools needed to address large political problems...However, theory should be atuned to cultural specificity of different societies and periods and to that of different groups within societies and periods. It should replace unitary notions of woman and feminine gender with plural and complexly constructed conceptions of social identity, treating gender as one relevant strand amongst others, attending also to class, race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation.
>
> (In Campbell, 1992:34-35)

Despite the ongoing debate concerning the validity of Tajfel's theory on social identity, I think that simply because a theory does not meet with all the demands of one's research, one need not ignore it completely. Fraser and Nicholsons (1990) comments above ("...need not abandon the large theoretical tools needed to address large political problems...) reiterate the belief that Tajfel's work is appropriate to some degree. Various aspects of his theory resonate with my ideas regarding data interpretation, and I have consequently appropriated his theory and redefined his original parameters by placing them within my own specific cultural and social contexts.

Thus, the Social Identity Theory has partially assisted my understanding of the ways in which Coloured people constructed a sense of self during the period of apartheid, and also with regard to the ways in which the Coloured adolescents in my research view themselves and others. However, I do believe that the formation of identity is dependant on social, cultural and linguistic aspects, which work in tandem with the concept of power in a social environment. Society is therefore 'something fluid and open, concerning relationships, interactions and everyday activities which continually change and shift" (Wetherell and Maybin, 1996: 228), and cannot be encapsulated by clinical conditions in a laboratory.

2.1.3 The Social Constructionist perspective.

The social constructivist debate has been most enlightening and useful in my research. Michael (1996) raises some interesting points regarding what is actually meant when one refers to the social construction of identity and the self. Firstly, he considers the historical framework of the representations of self, and states that the purpose of social constructionism is

> to uncover the historical (or genealogical) evolutions of these representations and to probe the means by which they are imparted to , or 'inscribed upon', persons.
>
> (1996: 10)

Secondly, Michael believes that the levels of identity which these tools of analysis are used to determine, uncover a broad variety of selves ranging from "the local, to the institutional to the cultural to the global" (1996:11). Furthermore, the decentring of the self, the idea that a subject is no longer assumed to be a coherent, unitary and

discrete entity, but is instead constituted through and from linguistic resources that are necessary in certain specific times and places, is characteristic of a self that is socially constructed. Within the social frameworks are to be found the specific textual and representational forms that contain the elements that constitute the identity of the self, and realized within particular social contexts and patterns.

To a large extent, I have drawn upon the social constructionist position with regard to which aspects of the subjects' lives determine the construction of identities. My decision to do this is based on the belief that the social world and all it entails – history, practices and meanings, structures, divisions, everyday talk and interactions is crucial to the development of the self. Any attempt at dissecting society to determine which aspects of it determine our identities, will simply reveal a multitude of aspects which comprise and create our sense of self. What I particularly agree with is the inclusion of culture and language in the creation of identities which are not fixed and immutable, but are sites of continuous struggle, being formulated and re-formulated through our interaction with others on a **social, cultural and linguistic level**.

Social constructionists such as Wetherell (1996), Maybin (1996), Ochs (1993), Connell (1987), and Potter (1994, 1996) perceive identity as being constructed in the interaction of the subject and all aspects of society. They agree that this entails the continuous creation of a spectrum of identities that are dependent on the social context in which the person participates.

Consequently, identity becomes multifaceted, with the subject consisting of a number of selves depending on the contexts; the "sum and swarm of participations in social

life"(Bruner, 1990: 122). Gergen (1991, 1994) refers to this as a self that is continuously changing with a "fluid history" of relationships. This description is encapsulated in Bruner's succinct adjective - the distributed self:

> Think of people's work, their children, their friendships, their writing, letters, marriages, diaries, and daily communications. These are part of them, they define who they are, and yet they exist in other mediums, distributing people well beyond the boundaries of the physical bodies.
>
> (1990:107)

The **role of the past** is also of vital importance in the social constructionist view of identity. Any account of a person's identity is invalid and incomplete without an understanding of circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past, and how these structuring principles have become real for the people today. (Wetherell, 1996). Rutherford reiterates this definition of identity as "marking the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within, " (1990: 19), thereby creating an individual who is a synthesis not only of existing relations but of the history of these relations.

Within social constructionism, the role of the family is vital. It plays a crucial role in socialising the individual into acceptable practices, as well as creating a place where identity construction can be formulated. Wetherell (1996) describes the ways in which family members interact, and the way in which they see society, as another ingredient that is exigent to the creation of a sense of self. It does this by assigning people roles within its structure, and developing norms that are strongly tied to social conventions, class, economics, etc. This is closely linked to power relations within the wider parameters of society. Family members are given power because they are constructed

as powerful by other members, a practice that is made normal by society. This is of seminal importance to my findings, since many of the subjects in my research are products of dysfunctional families, where parents are divorced, unemployed, or alcoholic. In these contexts, the role of the family in socialising the children comes under scrutiny since it impacts on the way in which the child interacts and adapts to the school environment, as well as how he constructs his sense of selfhood.

An individual's view of his social identity is also created from the ways in which his family work within the social fabric, and his acceptance or rejection of these workings. An interesting example that many Coloureds will identify with is Hall's account of being described as the "coolie baby" in his family, because his complexion was darker than that of his siblings (in Wetherell, 1996: 308). In a colonised society, fairness of skin was equated with superiority and made one more acceptable. While Hall's family teased him about his dark complexion, the underlying assumption was that he did not belong; not to his family or to his country, Jamaica. The image of not belonging became entrenched as he grew older, rebelled and left home. Gee (1996) writes compellingly of how one's primary Discourse can be in conflict with secondary Discourses of society, and how the subject can develop his own counter Discourse by rejecting both primary and secondary Discourses, as exemplified in Hall's autobiographical example.

Hall (1990) refers to a culture of aspirations within the family, in which children aspire to fulfil their parents' expectations. In my study I have discovered that not all subjects responded positively to their parents' dreams for them, and this in turn caused conflict within the family.

The role of language is also of importance to social constructionists. Language constructs our world view and our selves through its use . . . the ways in which we talk or are talked about make it possible for us to be constructed in a variety of ways. Adolescents' use of slang and rap terminology is their way of rebelling against the standard English used in schools and among adults, in an attempt to carve out their own forms of self construction. Unfortunately, in many cases this impedes the acquisition of the standard register of English, and these learners discover that they are unable to communicate with their teachers in the appropriate manner, often resulting in misunderstandings concerning their lack of respect. In this way, their use of slang and rap results in the teacher positioning that learner in a certain way – often negative - and reinforces the learner's view that he is an outsider with regard to the Discourse of adults or the school. The plurality of language in the different Discourses in which these learners participate is a site of struggle for them: in many cases they try to justify the meanings attached to their use of rap words - for instance, the reference to woman as "bitches", which they regard as gender-specific rather than derogatory -but these are often so alternative that even when they are explained to members of another discourse, the meaning is unacceptable. (See 2.1.4). Weedon further notes "that any interpetation is at best temporary, specific to the discourse within which it is produced and open to challenge"(1997: 82). This aspect of identity construction was particularly useful in interpreting the data from my interviews, where some of the participants in the groups are members of the gangs existing in the area. Thus, language plays an important role in our identity construction since it is the site where meaning is negotiated within a discourse, and where the possibilities arise for transformation.

Different Discourses in society will provide various ways in which the subjects conduct social relationships with each other. Wetherell and Maybin define society as " something fluid and open, concerning relationships, interactions and everyday activities which continually change and shift" (1996: 228). It is attributed as the place where our identities are located and defined. They go on to clarify the concept of culture as " the complexes of social activities which we summarise as culture or describe as our way of life" (1996:228).

2.1.4 The Post-Structuralist perspective

Although he came from a Marxist background originally, post– structuralists such as Hall (1990, 1992, 1996), as well as others such as Peirce (1995, 1997) and Weedon (1997) inform much of the theory that I will utilise in my findings. Peirce and Weedon's post-structuralist ideas of power affecting one's subjectivity, as well as subjectivity being a site of struggle is very important in my understanding of the construction of identity. Hall and Rutherford's postmodernist view of culture impacting on society is an extension of the social constructivist views of Wetherell (1996), in that they attach a great deal of significance to the interplay of culture and identity. Hall (1990) explores the concept of culture in much more detail than the social constructionists do. He views culture as a phenomenon in the present that undergoes perpetual metamorphosis and has tendrils that connect it to the past. Hall(1990) agrees with the social constructionists but places a much larger emphasis on the role of culture specifically. His definition of culture is much more detailed than that of Wetherell above, but is one which I believe can clarify many of the issues

involved in my research on Coloured identity. According to Hall, identity is a matter of

> becoming as well as of being. It belongs to the future as well as to the past. It is not something that already exists, transcending time, place, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of selves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past. (1990: 225)

Hall's (1990) stance concerning the utilisation of culture in the construction of identity is of vital importance to the Coloured person in post-apartheid times. His exploration of culture in the weaving together of Caribbean identity reveals two ways in which culture can be utilised in determining identity of the marginalised in post-colonial times, which can be appropriated for post-apartheid South Africa identity issues. Firstly, there is a view of culture and identity that positions one in terms of a shared culture, a collective true self which does not recognise the existence of other more superficial selves of people. What comes to mind are President Mbeki's calls for a return to African- ness before the intrusion of white colonisers. Hall quotes Fanon (1963) who states that these people are

> Directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self- contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others
>
> (Fanon in: Hall (1990: 223)

Hall (1990) believes that this is essentially a search to rediscover the past and produce an identity that is grounded in it. The danger is that this ideal neglects differences amongst colonised people. The South African context is characterised by differences among the cultures of the marginalised racial groups, which would not be recognised in Mbeki's ideal. Instead, Hall favours a definition of cultural identity which recognises similarities as well as differences, in this way, cultural identity involves a process of "becoming as well as being"(Hall, 1990: 225), having links to the past as well as belonging to the future. The past is regarded as a crucial ingredient in the attempts to construct identities since any account of a subject's identity is incomplete without an understanding of circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past, and how these structuring principles become real for the people today. (Wetherell, 1996).

The common history of having a colonised past has unified as well as formed an identity for oppressed people, with the concept of difference being a crucial ingredient in the dialogical and transformative characteristics of identity constructions. Hall affirms this in stating that

> cultural identity is not something that already exists, transcending place, time history and culture . . . they also undergo transformation . . . they are subjected to a continuous play of history, culture and power.
>
> (1990:225)

In terms of the former view of identity being constructed through a rediscovery of the past only, specifically Mbeki's call for a return to African-ness, I believe that this would be detrimental to our society since it does not take into account the changes which have been wrought because of colonisation. Economic, technological, social and educational advances, to mention but a few, have made a great impact on people

in this country, and consequently, have changed their frames of reference and their lifestyles. Any attempt to construct identity based exclusively on one group's perception of what it is to be African in the traditional sense would be resisted by people outside that discourse who are regarded as other, as well as people within the Discourse who are in conflict with Mbeki's perception of what it is to be African. As a Coloured person, I would find this situation untenable, unless it became inclusive of all cultures and groups in the country, which is exactly what Hall supports in his call for identity to be based on similarities as well as differences. This concept of difference yet similarity within identities is explained by Norris (1987) who refers to Derrida's concept of *diff'erance* which challenges fixed binaries, always allowing a meaning to be deferred to encompass supplementary meanings, within different contexts (in Hall, 1990: 229). Hall goes on to describe this type of identity as diasporic, being characterised by hybridity, diversity and a necessary heterogeneity. Identity is thus constantly mutating itself through transformation and difference.

Finally, another problematic scenario which has connections with the Coloured struggle for identity, is exemplified in Fanon's (1963) warning for people who uncritically expropriate the view of the coloniser, a view which he regards as crippling and deforming the subject. He warns that this sycophantic attitude produces "individuals without an anchor, without horizon, colourless, stateless, rootless – a race of angels" (in Hall, 1990: 226). The accounts of many Coloured people who crossed over to "act white" for the privileges and status that it gave them, are examples of subjects who essentially lost their sense of self, never really fitting in with the admired group, and always defensive and protective of their position since they could be found out and rejected. They rejected their own group in favour of the in-group,

but simultaneously were rejected by the outgroup and thought of in a denigrating way as sellouts. Thus, they had no roots of their own, preferring to adopt the white 'way of being', but never feeling secure enough within this position, resulting in subjects who were indeed 'crippled' in an emotional and cultural sense...a subjectivity that is deformed.

Feminist post-structuralist Weedon defines subjectivity as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world"(1997: 32), and is generated in a variety of discursive practices, in attempts at obtaining control over power. Weedon agrees with social constructionists that language plays a seminal role in constructing identity, since it is

> the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of selves, our subjectivity, is constructed.
>
> (Weedon, 1997: 21)

It does not act as a mirror, reflecting social reality but instead creates a social reality for the subject. Weedon builds on Saussure's theory of the 'sign', where language is regarded as an abstract system based on chains of signs, and each sign is comprised of a *signifier* (sound or written image) and a *signified* (meaning). For Weedon, there is no given link between the image and the concept, instead each sign derives its meaning in a comparative manner, where it is defined by its difference from all other signs in the language chain. In this way, language can be a powerful tool for subjects intent on creating an identity that gives them a sense of security and power, especially with regard to teenagers who rebel against the dominant discourses of society, and try

to create alternative discourses, characterised by the different meanings of language which they create as overt ways of defining their particular social reality. The discourse of rap music, while abhorrent to most adults because of its constant reference to women as "bitch" and "ho", is a powerful influence on many youngsters, particularly in the Coloured community, who adopt the language used as a sign of their rejection of what is normal, and an adoption of a social reality that gives them a sense of power and control. Weedon contests the singularity of meaning that Saussure gives to signs, stating that meaning is not static and unitary, but always changing and multiple in nature. Derrida's concept of *differance* (which I have already drawn on to clarify Hall's diasporic identities) adds to this interpretation by postulating that meaning is obtained not just through a constant process of deferral and difference of signs from one another, but within the different discursive situations in which they are used. Consequently, meaning is always changing, always open to challenge. Subjectivity can therefore be characterised as having a multiple nature, as having the ability to transform over time and as a site of struggle.

Peirce (1995) also supports the view of subjectivity as a site of struggle seeing the attempt to make sense of one's identity as a difficult one, involving traumatic emotions and internal conflict. The metaphor of weaving is used by Connell (1987) in which he states that it may not be easy to knit together some of the threads of one's identity project. Institutions such as the school, the family, the church and even one's group of friends may pull in different directions, thus causing tension and create a struggle in attempting to define one's identity. This ultimately results in the subject either being positioned within that discourse, resisting the discourse or setting up a

counter discourse, which sets him up in a powerful rather than a marginalised position.

In conclusion, it appears that the attempt to define one's subjectivity is a difficult one. All the theories that I believe have a bearing on my research, appear to support the notion that people involved in this struggle are both active and passive participants. On the one level, they are "made or produced" by the way in which their collective group is viewed by society. On the other hand, they are active participants, attempting to make sense of who they are, where they come form, and their place in society. Furthermore, it is clear that the construction of one's identity does not result in a unified, coherent picture. The self is viewed as a site of eternal struggle, which is shaped and reshaped through our involvement and interaction with others on a social and cultural level, with language playing a pivotal role in revealing our subject positions and our world views. The social world and all it entails - history, practices and meanings, structures, divisions, everyday talk and interactions – is crucial to self – development. If we attempt to dissect society in an attempt to identify which aspects of it construct our identities, we will discover that each aspect is linked to another, opening up an infinite number of things to explore. Indeed, one can never discover a final ultimate truth about anyone, "there is no one essence to a person, one identity, one enduring unification or just one story to be told." (Barthes (1977).

2.2 Primary and Secondary Discursive practices and their impact on subjectivity.

Social constructionists are unanimous in their opinion regarding the importance of society in creating subjectivities. Society is comprised of various institutions and the constructive processes which occur in, for example, family life, peer groups, schools and churches play a vital role in socialising the individual. Weinreich defines socialisation and its importance below.

> Socialisation is the means by which culture, including notions of appropriate sex roles, is transmitted. The agents of socialisation are primarily parents, teachers, peer-group and the media. There are four processes by which socialisation occurs. First, skills, habits and some type of behaviour are learned as a consequence of reward and punishment. Second, parents and others provide models for roles and behaviour which children imitate. Third, the child identifies with one or both parents, a process which is more powerful than imitation through which the child incorporates and internalises the roles and values of the parent or other significant adult. Fourth, there is the part played by the growing individuals themselves. They actively seek to structure the world, to make sense and order of the environment.
>
> (1978: 20 –21)

The definition above highlights the importance of places such as schools and the family in creating social identity. Gee refers to these activities as Discourses, defining them as

> socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal a socially meaningful role.
>
> (1996:131)

Furthermore, Discourses are regarded as "ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities" (Gee, 1996: 127). Consequently, the characteristics of Discourses, as well as the ways in which subjects are construed within the Discourse, and the level of the success within this construction, are important factors which impact on a subject's sense of self.

Discourses are characterised by a number of aspects. Firstly, all humans become members of one Discourse in a natural manner, starting off as novices and becoming more adept by emulating others within the group. Gee describes this as the individual's Primary Discourse (1996: 137) in which he acquires a socio-cultural way of acting, using his native language in informal communication contexts, and with people with whom he is intimate, normally within the context of the family. These home-based Discourses are essential to the person's sense of self, since they "connect to a social group's way of being in the world, their form of life, their very identity, who they take themselves to be"(Gee, 1990: xvii). Thus, the primary Discourse is important in terms of constructing a personal sense of self, and is the locus of all the multiple personae that a subject adopts in the secondary Discourses in which one participates. Social constructionists support this idea of the individual not being a unified subject, but instead, in Discourse terms, the "center of varied and sometimes conflicting acts...rendered identifiable by a variety of different and sometimes conflicting Discourses"(Gee, 1990: 178).

In addition, Discourses can also involve social situations outside the family, which are acquired or learnt later on in life. These are termed secondary Discourses (Gee, 1996: 137), which attempt to expand our primary Discourses. They broaden our frames of

reference in terms of our attitudes, values and beliefs acquired in the primary Discourse. Often, these cause changes within the primary Discourse when the member becomes an adult, but secondary Discourses also impact on the primary Discourse in negative ways, causing conflict. Secondary Discourses involve interaction with people who do not have experience and knowledge of the primary Discourse in common. In this context, the subject has to act out an identity that is an extension of the primary Discourse, linking one to the wider secondary Discourses.

The quality of the socialisation of a subject by his primary Discourse is thus of vital importance in establishing an extension from the primary to the secondary Discourse. It is clear that in cases where the socialisation is limited, or unsuccessful due to factors such as dysfunctional families, poverty and illiteracy, the link between the primary Discourse of the home and a secondary Discourse such as a school, becomes very tenuous, and mastery of the school Discourse is difficult.

According to Gee, the mastery of a Discourse is related to Krashen's (1982) hypothesis of Acquisition and Learning in terms of language. Krashen claims that acquisition is a sub-conscious process, which occurs when one is exposed to role models who have already mastered the language, and whom one emulates. It is informal and occurs in natural settings, and is easier to acquire since the person knows that mastery of certain behaviour to which one is exposed, is necessary in order to function within that context. Alternatively, learning is a process involving deliberate and conscious attempts to master a subject or process; it is gained through active teaching or through reflection of one's life experiences, involving metaknowledge (Gee, 1996:138). Despite various criticisms of this distinction, (Ellis, 1985,1990), Gee

supports Krashen's acquisition theory and links it to Discourse by maintaining that one's primary Discourse can only be acquired, not learnt. By virtue of its defining characteristics of informality and subconscious processes, its natural and meaningful context, the primary Discourse can be said to be acquired, in much the same way as Krishna states a first language is acquired. However Gee differs from Krashen in terms of the parameters in which acquisition and learning occur. Krashen distinguishes between the two processes, emphatically (and controversially) stating that acquisition is limited to a first language, and that a second language can only be mastered through learning. Gee does not confine acquisition to just the primary Discourse; he states that it is crucial for subjects in unfamiliar secondary Discourses, to attempt to acquire the Discourse, rather than learn it, for full mastery to occur. One might know more about a Discourse if one learns it through formal instruction, but socialisation will result in better performances within the Discourse. He states that

> Discourses are mastered through acquisition not through learning. That is, Discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation (apprenticeship) into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse. (1996: 139)

The extent to which the Discourse is mastered will determine the way in which a subject positions himself, and the ways in which he is positioned by others in the Discourse. Mastery of the Discourse is also equated with belonging to it, being accepted as a member of it, and this comes from displaying the appropriate identity for that Discourse. Each Discourse is tied to a specific social identity within the framework of certain specific social groups and institutions, settings or organisations. Gee describes the failure in acquiring the identity of that Discourse completely as relegating one to the status of a "pretender" or "an apprentice"(1990: 155). Even more

crushing is that failure to acquire aspects of the Discourse results in the person being regarded as an outsider, not able to benefit in any of the ways that fully fledged members are privileged to enjoy. Consequently, Gee's theories are important in terms of the construction of identity within the domain of the school, and play a major role in the analysis of the data collected in this research.

Another defining characteristic of Discourses is that they posit certain social realities at the expense of the realities of other Discourses. Consequently, they are able to marginalise certain aspects of other Discourses, and often cause inter-discursive conflict. This conflict is a natural consequence since Discourses are 'instantiated' by the individual who is an amalgam of diverse discourses, which are historically and socially created. There are often many differences in ways of being and acting represented in different Discourses, and these are the causes of tension and conflict when people participate in social action. The traditional 'ways of being' limit the actions of individuals within Discourses, for instance, within the multi-cultural school context, many learners are constrained by their schemata, or 'cultural models' as Gee calls it, which might create conflict with the cultural expectations of the school. In the South African context, many examples come to mind. One is the validity of visits to a sangoma for physical or psychological illnesses. Mainstream schools make allowance for doctors' certificates as reasons for prolonged absence from school, but question the validity of a parent's note explaining that traditional treatment necessitated the absence from school. If the school culture is not inclusive of alternative ways of being, the subject's sense of self is eroded through the conflict between the primary and secondary Discourses. An alternative scenario is that the subject resists the limitations of the secondary Discourse, and participates in protest actions which will

force the secondary Discourse to reflect upon its conventions, and possibly change by becoming more inclusive of other ways of being. Thus, Discourses are also able to change over time, through the choices that members make while within those contexts. Weedon succinctly sums up this point when she states that

> Individuals can only identify their 'own' interests in discourse by becoming the subject of particular discourses. Individuals are both the *site* and *subjects* of discursive struggle for their identity (1997: 93)

Clarence-Fincham's (1998) citation of Belsey (1980:65) is another reminder that the areas of Discourse and of identity construction are linked through the multiplicity of identities that a subject finds himself in, depending on the different Discourses in which he participates, and it is through the conflict that the subject experiences that the possibility for change within the subject or the Discourse arises. She quotes that

> The subject is . . . the site of contradiction, and is consequently perpetually in the process of construction, thrown into crisis by alterations in language and in the social formation, capable of change. And in the fact that the subject is a process lies the possibility of transformation.
> (1998:72)

Discourses are also intrinsically bound up with social power and organisational structures of society. Gee refers to these as dominant Discourses (1996: 132). If the conventions of a dominant Discourse are acquired, the member has access to social goods in that society. In terms of language acquisition, many African parents encourage their children to study English as a First Language on the Higher Grade, in the belief that the acquisition of English will open doors for social advancement and increased job opportunities. However, as I have already discussed, possibilities for change do exist within dominant Discourses, and if appropriate strategies of resistance

succeed, access to social power and structures is allowed to people who have mastered the newly emergent, transformed dominant Discourse. The school as an institution is a reflection of the expectations of the broader society, and consequently, the Discourse of schools plays a vital role in determining the constructs of the dominant Discourses. All the stakeholders within the Discourse – the educators, parents and learners – need to become aware of the ways in which they are constructed within the Discourse, and the impact that this has on them as individuals, and on society at large.

2.3   The impact of Discursive practices on Teaching and Learning.

From the discussion in 2.2, it is clear that the link between primary and secondary Discourses is essential to the successful mastery of the secondary Discourse, specifically in terms of this research, where the secondary Discourse is the institution of the school. Brice-Heath's (1983) seminal work on the ways in which literacy is acquired in the Roadville and Trackton communities of the U.S.A., argues that in order for a non-mainstream group to acquire mainstream school based literacy practices, learners must become socialised into the mainstream practices of the primary Discourse. Heath is consistent with both Krashen and Gee when she suggests that schools will not be able to assist in the acquisition of literacy practices, unless the foundation has already been laid. Scribner and Cole (1981) expand upon this by stating that

> individuals who have not been socialised into the discourse practices that
> constitute mainstream school-based literacy must eventually be socialised into
> them if they are ever to acquire them. The component skills of this form must

be practised, and one cannot practice a skill one has not been exposed to, cannot engage in a social practice one has not been socialised into.

(In Gee, 1996: 65)

The importance of the discursive practices of the home cannot be emphasised enough in terms of their impact on the level of success of children in the literacy practices of the school - they form the foundations for literacy success at school. Therefore the home becomes a mirror image of the expectations of the secondary Discourse: parents offer support by reading to their children and setting themselves up as good literary role models, by providing access to reading materials and pre-school education, and foster practices such as independent thinking, which is valued in the school Discourse. However, the reality is often very different to this scenario. School based and home based Discourses are often tangential, and consequently result in conflict for the subject, who has to adapt to the new Discourse or be regarded as Other within it. They often do not contain similar values, beliefs, attitudes and ways of being, causing conflicts within the lives of the learners as they battle to conform to expectations and the reality of the school.

In addition, socio-economic factors often impact negatively on the subject's mastery of the school Discourse. Parents who are unemployed, illiterate or simply too preoccupied with the daily struggle for survival cannot give their children basic grounding in the practices of school discourse, such as access to reading material and pre-school education. Gee notes that in cases like this, most notably in research conducted by the Bristol Language Project in Great Britain, a child's success at school was based on the acquisition of literacy conventions in the home environment, and this in turn, was dependent on the social class of the child. (1996: 24)

Thus, in the South African context specifically, school - based Discourses possess the possibility of being in conflict with the home Discourses of children of all races, where their home practices are seen as deviant and other. In cases where the educators are from a different racial group, or outside the immediate community, this is exacerbated since they are not familiar with the home discourse or the discourses of the community which transverse the learner's life. This is an issue that South African schools are in the throes of tackling – the multi-cultural society that we live in has various codes of behaviour and religious beliefs, some of which are not acceptable in certain schools. However, the Educational laws governing diversity are seeking to redress these examples of intolerance, and much headway has been made into improving the ways in which school discourses have accepted home-based discursive practices which were once regarded as divergent, but are now described as different. The Department of Education has held many workshops on this issue, the media has given prominence to religious practices at odds with the ethos of certain schools and have thus promoted awareness of these issues which has helped to create different practices within schools. Gee (1996) emphasises that in order to let people become accepted members of a Discourse, we have to accept their practices, their homes, their communities, understand them, appreciate them and be aware of Discourse-bound practices inside and outside of school. One cannot separate Discourse from the social fabric, indeed "Discourses are thus always and everywhere social" (Gee, 1996: viii).

Schools which fail to address the problems of learners from home Discourses which do not socialise the children into the discursive practices of a school recognise that there is a problem, but Gee admonishes educators not to place these problems solely

in the lap of the learner. The problem needs to be redefined as a challenge facing the school, as opposed to labelling the child as having a literacy problem or being academically deficient.

Educators must be aware of the possibility that mainstream school Discourse is able to disempower the non-mainstream learner by invalidating his sense of self. This necessitates a critical reflection of practices within the school which do not validate or empower learners of other cultures, or even learners from disadvantaged communities. A disturbing quality of Discourse is that it can be personified as a Coloniser - the outsiders are regarded as inferior and are kept as a sign of the power and prestige of the Discourse. Gee emphatically states that many language and literacy classrooms can be regarded as the Coloniser, producing such subordinate individuals, who accept and submit to the rules of the Discourse in such a limited way as to indicate that they are inferior to the members of that Discourse. Consequently, they work with the Discourse in creating and supporting their own subservience, and it is the duty of educators to "apprentice" them to the new Discourse, by exposing the discursive practices that are acceptable, and socialising the learners into these practices. If learners are only introduced to the academic discourse (ways of constructing texts, essays, speech which demand a high cognitive level and are structured according to appropriate stylistic features) at high school level, which appears to be the case for many African learners entering former HOR and HOD schools, acquisition of the secondary Discourse becomes very difficult.

However, Gee mentions that it is possible for them to acquire partial mastery of the Discourse, together with meta-knowledge and coping strategies, if educators expose

them to the structures and practices of the academic discourse. He refers to this as "mushfake discourse"…making do with something less, when the real thing is unavailable to you. (1996:147). Mushfake is regarded as a means of entry into the dominant Discourses, and although it does not entail full mastery of dominant conventions, Gee does not condemn it. In fact, he admires the proactive attempt on behalf of these subjects, to engage in dominant discursive practices, and to simultaneously redefine the conventions, using this to their own advantage.

> Mushfake discourse is to name the game for ourselves and not in the interests of those elites and the token representatives they have designated to represent them in placating non-mainstream people.
>
> (Gee, 1996: 147)

Thus, it becomes clear that the English teacher, and, I believe, all teachers, should act as socialising agents for learners who have not been exposed to the conventions of the dominant Discourses. Gee refers to such teachers as "gate-keepers" (Gee, 1996: 67) specifically since English teachers, with their expertise in essay-text literacy can allow their learners access to power through the mastery of this genre.

The terms "teaching" and "pedagogy" encapsulate the transformation that educators need to undergo in order to become effective in the classroom. Clarence-Fincham notes the difference between pedagogy and teaching when she quotes Lather (1991) and Simon (1992):

> Pedagogy foregrounds the political nature of education and the connectedness and interrelationship between teacher, learner and constructed knowledge. This implies that the notions of the teacher as the neutral transmitter of innocent knowledge and of the learner as a passive recipient are fundamentally called into question.
>
> (1998: 18)

Furthermore, educators must be aware of the current issues in educational practices and theories. For example, in order to scaffold pupils to the point where they are able to critically assess issues within subjects, educators must foster a climate of tolerance and respect in the classroom. These environments should be non-threatening and nurturing, where the learner is unafraid to speak out. Krashen's (1982) Affective Filter Hypothesis state that emotions and attitude directly relate to the successful acquisition of a second language. His theory can be extended to the teaching of all subjects and serve as landmarks for educators who are keen to foster successful learning in their classrooms. Krashen based this hypothesis on the existence of an Affective Filter (Dulay and Burt, 1977), which prevents certain input from being acquired by the learner. The strength or the weakness of the filter determines the success of the acquisition: the presence of a strong filter means that the learner is anxious, lacks self-confidence and is afraid. In this case, the filter will impede the successful acquisition of the educator's input. However, where the learner is confident and highly motivated, the acquisition is far more successful since the affective filter is weak. Educators who are aware of the implications of theories such as these, will realise the importance of knowing more about their learners' lives and backgrounds, and will find ways of tapping into these reservoirs of information in order to facilitate the learning and teaching processes. They are able to be creative in the selection of reading material and texts for study, deliberately choosing material that will foster tolerance and respect for different cultures, or hold up issues for critical debate by the learners.

Home Discourses socialise learners into the cultural models of their particular group, and schools expect that the dominant cultural practices will be familiar to learners.

However, as Gee states, a knowledge of culture within one's group can be limiting in the sense that it allows one to generate stereotypes of others, and to think in a predetermined, predictable fashion. Educators need to expose these routine practices to learners, and consequently help them to develop alternative and more holistic views of society. Creative and innovative educators devise ways of ensuring optimal participation of all the learners, and encourage them not to simply accept what they are taught, but become active producers of their own knowledge. Teachers consequently have the power to hold up the practices of both the home and secondary Discourses to the light of critical discussion. In order to allow for diversity and difference within society, learners must feel secure in their validation of self, but also to be exposed to other discursive conventions.

It is evident that teaching involves both the transmission of content, as well as the more subtle aspects of the hidden curriculum. Gee places a huge responsibility on the shoulders of educators, particularly language educators, when he observes that the " English teacher stands at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural and political issues of all time"(1990:68), and that all successful teaching is ultimately both a political and a "moral act".

In the context of ex-HOR and ex-HOD schools in South Africa, Gee's insight into the role of the teacher is commendable, but is also the source of extreme frustration to educators who are caught in the middle of politicians who appear to be proactively engaged in ensuring that all children have the right to the same education, yet the reality facing them in the classroom is very different. Government's aims are laudable, but realistically speaking, for the teacher at the chalkface they appear too

idealistic with little consideration given to the practical issues. As noted earlier, issues of transformation such as cultural, racial and religious diversity are being addressed by government in the form of workshops and documents. However, addressing the physical needs of schools in the form of sufficient textbooks, teaching equipment, libraries, fully equipped laboratories, enough teachers, etc. has been passed on to schools as their responsibility. A Catch-22 situation arises in the case of schools who serve the poorer communities where parents cannot pay high school fees: no money is generated, and subsequently, the quality of the service offered by the school drops. These educators need governmental support, not just in the form of new school buildings and extra classrooms, but also with regard to professional development as well as giving funding to the schools to implement intervention strategies which expose parents to the literacy practices of mainstream education in order that they socialise their children at an earlier age.

Often, it becomes easier for the school to place the academic problems of these learners onto the learners themselves, constructing them as deficient or lacking. Alternatively, educators could emulate Pontius Pilate by washing their hands of the problem, blaming it on government's inability to address basic educational reforms. Schools then perpetuate the problems by refusing to change their discursive practices, and subsequently "sustain the social hierarchy and advantages of the elite in society.... they become impervious to change, whilst placating people in society with claims that something is being done on their behalf"(Gee, 1990:30).

2.4   Foucauldian and Social Constructionist views of discourse.

Although I did not read Foucault as a primary source, I have utilised some of his theories of discourse, power and knowledge as clarified by Mills(1997), and these resonate in the interpretation of my data. However, I drew more heavily upon the social constructionists' view of discourse. Consequently, it is appropriate to discuss these theories in some detail in this chapter.

Social constructionists believe that there are no hard and fast definitions of discourse, since it is by nature fluid in character. They regard discourse as "the broad patterns of talk, or systems of statements that are taken up in particular speeches or conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves" (TerreBlanche & Durrheim, 1999: 156), and thus distinguish between discursive patterns present in texts and the texts themselves, which are products of the discourse. They are interested in the effects that these texts and discourses have on the way in which people represent themselves and objects, and thus mirror Foucault, who states that discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak"(Foucault, 1972: 49 in Mills, 1997:17), where the self is regarded as an effect of discursive structures, where subjects engage in their own construction, agreeing with or rejecting the roles to which they are assigned.

Truth is another important focus in discourse analytic theory. Social constructionists echo Foucault regarding truth and its effects. Truth is a product of society, and there are different discourses in society that work in conflict or in harmony with each other. However, it is not the discourse analyst's brief to authenticate the veracity of any

version of the truth; instead, the social constructionist works to uncover the effects of texts; what they do in terms of limiting opportunities for certain kinds of action and forms of subjectivity, while allowing others.

Furthermore, in its belief that language constructs human reality, and that texts should be treated as a set of linguistic possibilities within which social life comes to be constructed, constructionists have drawn upon Foucault in their understanding of the constraints that are imposed on us by discourse. Language can be used to mean certain things but we are constrained in what we say by the multiplicity of possible meanings made available to us, depending on the particular context in which we find ourselves. The rules limiting what we say and where we say it are subconscious, we are never aware of the multitude of assumptions that come to mind when we speak or hear language. TerreBlanche and Durrheim (1999) state that language is therefore not just a collection of signs which direct one to a certain concept; rather, "it is a system of meanings – more, particularly, a system of differences without any positive terms"(1999: 151). As an example. they mention the word ' woman': as a sign it does not have a positive meaning in that it directs one to a definite idea. It has meaning because of its relationship to other signs, other interpretations of the word 'woman', such as 'lady', 'marriage', 'mother' etc. (151).

Foucault describes this aspect of discourse as rarefaction (in Mills, 1992: 70), almost ironically stating that although what we could say is almost infinite, the utterances are repetitive and remain within socially agreed boundaries. We are restricted by societal and personal perceptions of the norm. Foucault refers to "discursive limits", where we are constrained in what we say and do by the bounds of the discourses. He refers,

amongst others, to educational institutions as a form of regulation of discourse, and not as a place where one becomes enlightened. He questions the status of schools as places encouraging original and unrestricted inquiries into knowledge:

> What, after all, is an education system, other than a ritualization of speech, a qualification and fixing of roles for speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, however diffuse, a distribution and appropriation of discourse with its powers and knowledges?
>
> (Foucault, 1981: 64 in Mills, 1992: 71)

Furthermore, since social constructionism is not about language per se, but about interpreting the social world as a kind of language, it also considers physical arrangements, representations of reality and practices as a system of language or signs, and attempts to analyse the power that signs and images have on people's representations of themselves and of objects. Once more, Foucauldian thought is evident in this aspect of constructionist analysis. He deals with the issue of institutional reinforcement of discourses as part of his argument regarding the effects of power, truth and knowledge on discourses. He believes that buildings and organisation of space are important structures through which power is manifested.

Foucault theorises about the nature of power at great length, and his thoughts have influenced social constructionist discourse analysis in a fundamental way. A characteristic quality of power is that it is able to disperse and circulate through the realms of society rather than being owned by one class or group – social constructionists refer to it as "disciplinary power" (TerreBlanche & Durrheim, 1999:162), where institutions such as schools continuously observe and record the characters of subjects. This is done through surveillance, and through individuals who

are engaged in acts of "confession", in which they reveal aspects of themselves. In Foucauldian thought, however, people are not simply just victims of power, objects that power oppresses or inhibits. Instead, power is an unstable phenomenon that is constantly negotiated in human interactions, and is productive rather than repressive. It creates new ways of being for the individual, and new objects of knowledge. He unequivocally states that

> The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely, to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.
> (Foucault, 1980: 98 in Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 162)

An important point to note is that the acquisition of knowledge is intrinsically bound up with power struggles. Foucault refers to this as power/knowledge (Mills, 1997: 22). All the knowledge that people have acquired is the result of power struggles, for example, the curriculum at schools, where the struggle for power results in a specific version of the truth being taught. We can refer to our own political history as proof of this, where subjects like history were taught according to a specific viewpoint of the Nationalist government. Even Kader Asmal's current statements regarding Curriculum 2005, and his criticism of the knowledge that he believes is taught in Christian Independent schools, is a reflection of the struggle of a power struggle between the government and the Independent schools, over what knowledge is taught. Foucault sums up his argument on knowledge by stating that it is often the product of the subjugation of objects, or the process through which subjects are constituted as subjugated.

Agency is another key aspect of Foucauldian thought which is important in my analysis. Since power is not a phenomenon that dominates absolutely, there is always the possibility for change within the power relations. Resistance and power can be regarded as being co-terminous; "Where there is power there is resistance"(Foucault, in Mills, 1997: 42). This opens up possibilities for subjects to resist the discursive practices that constrain them; for example, within the scope of feminism, where language has become the site of struggle, and where sexist practices have been exposed. Thus, if discourses are the practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak, or "the system of statements that construct an object (Parker, 1992, in Mills, 1997: 160) one would need to expose these practices, and consider the effects they have. Foucault sums it up as follows:

> Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.
>
> (Foucault, 1978: 100-101 in: Mills, 1997: 45)

Discourses in social constructionism are often limited by the institutional contexts in which they occur. In this respect, social constructionists refer to the micro-contexts of a dialogue or conversation (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999: 164) where the analyst seeks to investigate the ways in which participants take advantage of the opportunities to speak. Secondly, the text is studied as part of the macro-context of institutions and ideologies, where what is said is constrained or made possible by the institutional or ideological contexts. However, there are occasions when discourses transcend institutional contexts. Discourses in social constructionist terms are further

characterised by their ability to refer to, and contextualise each other. (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999: 166). Other discourses are often evident in a text, although they may not be very obvious.

2.5 Conclusion

The preceding theories on identity, as well as those on Discourse and texts, have impacted on the analysis of my data, some more than others. The different perspectives on identity construction have all been utilised in my attempts to understand how the discursive conventions have helped to construct the identities of the participants in this study. Furthermore, the value of the primary Discourse is emphasised since it is crucial in apprenticing subjects into dominant Discursive conventions, if mastery is to be obtained within these Discourses. Educators and parents are both of paramount importance in helping subjects to overcome discursive conflicts, and gaining entry into dominant Discourses. Transformation of Discourses is possible when subjects actively work together to change them, by reformulating conflicting conventions. Implicit within Discourses, are the texts through which various discursive patterns can be identified. Social contructionism views these texts as products of Discourses. A Foucauldian, social constructionist view of Discourse will thus enable me to analyse my data by referring to issues of power, truth, knowledge, discursive constraints as well as representations of physical reality and how they reveal subject positioning. In short, by identifying the discursive practices which "systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Parker, 1992, in Mills, 1997: 160).

Chapter 3

Methodology

The thrust of my analytical framework is social constructionist in nature, and, within this broad context, I have also included interpretive and qualitative strategies for the analysis of the data. Because of the volume of data collected, this analysis followed a number of steps: firstly I conducted a content based approach in my analysis of the first two activities (the diary of week-end activities and the reflections of home and school lives); secondly, a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches with respect to the questionnaires; and finally, I relied on some aspects of a Foucauldian view of Discourse, but my primary analytical tool is the social constructionist view of discourse that I used to analyse the essays on gangsterism and the data from the interviews.

3.1   Central Research Question

This research focuses on the following central question:

> In what ways do the Primary and Secondary discursive practices of a group of Coloured learners impact on their identities, and what are the implications of this for the development of classroom materials?

As this chapter progresses, a number of sub-questions emerge which will facilitate the analysis of the data.

3.2 Research paradigm

The naturalistic and subjective nature of my research, as well as the methods of data collection that I envisaged carrying out, predetermined that my research would primarily be qualitative, a paradigm which Nunan (1992) describes as one in which "all knowledge is relative, that there is a subjective element to all knowledge and research, and that holistic, ungeneralisable studies are justifiable", (1992: 3). However, I have included a certain amount of quantitative data in my analysis of the questionnaires, resulting in a somewhat eclectic approach. Furthermore, this study also falls under the more specific qualitative category of ethnography . The table below lists the qualities of ethnographic research, all of which are met at least to some degree in this research.

Contextual	The research is carried out in the context in which the subjects normally live and work
Unobtrusive	The research avoids manipulating the phenomena under investigation
Longitudinal	The research is relatively long term: *several weeks, months or even years*
Collaborative	The research involves the participation of stakeholders other than the researcher
Interpretive	The researcher carries out interpretive analyses of the data
Organic	There is interaction between questions/hypotheses and data collection/interpretation

(Nunan, 1992: 56)

In the collection of my data, I was aware of the importance of reliability (the extent to which these results can be repeated) and validity (the credibility of the results). Consequently, I accessed a variety of methods of data collection to ensure triangulation of data (see 3.3) and have also provided a detailed description of the

context of the study (see 1.1) as well as the participants in the study (see 1.1 and 3.3). The analytical tool that I have utilised is social constructionist, drawing on a Foucauldian analysis of discourse (see 2.4). I have taken precautions to guard against threats to internal validity, while ensuring that there is enough "thick" or detailed explanation(Glaser and Strauss, 1976, in Nunan, 1990: 56) to assist researchers who might wish to compare my findings with other studies.

As far as reliability is concerned, it was not practical for me to implement strategies to guard against the threat of internal reliability or comparison with other studies : time constraints and financial factors did not allow for the assistance of multiple researchers or cross – validation by colleagues. Furthermore, reality is not a stable and unchanging phenomenon and consequently, results in different studies cannot be the same. In mitigation, Nunan(1992) is of the opinion that as long as the researcher is careful and explicit with methods of data collection and analysis, internal reliability is assured.

Replication (or external reliability) is only applicable to a study when it is to be used to make general theoretical claims or to describe populations- this is not my intention with regard to this study. What I do hope to achieve is a certain amount of **transferability** (details of a study are supplied in order to provide a framework within which meanings in the new contexts can be mediated and reflected upon). In this study, the status of the participants and of the researcher does not allow for easy replication or external reliability. In addition, people are individual, subjective beings, and the informants will not be identical to others that might participate in consequent research studies. Furthermore, no other researcher will hold the same views as I do,

so replication in this regard is highly improbable. In line with social constructionism, however, I have provided enough rich and detailed description to ensure that transferability is possible and that the credibility of the study is assured.

Finally, I make no claims for **generalisability** or external validity: in human interaction meanings are highly variable; the participants in my study have formed a version of the truth which is unique to their society and their subjectivities. The purpose of the analysis is encapsulated by Foucault's thoughts on truth: it is not to uncover whether their version is a true or accurate reflection of what is real. Rather, it is an attempt to identify the mechanics whereby one becomes produced by dominant discourses and their institutions as well as the role of primary Discourse in producing subjectivity. Another reason why it is difficult to generalise the findings in this type of research is emphasised once more by Foucault's opinion of the self as a " fragmented and unstable amalgam of the conscious and unconscious"(in Mills, 1992: 103). Thus, one cannot assume that all members of a group will adopt the same subjectivities or be affected in the same way by discursive practices.

3.3   Data Collection

Constructionist analysis makes use of unstructured, open-ended qualitiative materials, where the data is collected in context and with hardly any interference in the natural setting.

What follows is an account of the variety of data collection methods which I employed, and the period of time framing the collection. Holistically, the data was

collected with as little disruption to the natural setting (the classroom) of the participants, and makes use of first-hand accounts of actual experiences.

3.3.1 Dialogue Journals

In 1999, I incorporated dialogue journals as part of my teaching methodology with a grade 8 class of 45 pupils. (see 1.1). This was a system of communication between my learners and me, in an attempt for me to understand them better, and to consequently improve my teaching methods and to utilise more appropriate texts in order to assist them with their learning. Dialogue journals have many pedagogical benefits, some of which are outlined overleaf:

- Students can articulate problems they are having with course content and get help
- By exchanging ideas with their teachers, students gain confidence, make sense of difficult material and generate original insight.
- Keeping journals can lead to more productive class discussions
- Journals create teacher-student and student-student interaction beyond the classroom

(Nunan, 1992: 120)

However, keeping the channels of communication open proved quite difficult in practical terms : it was not possible for me to respond to learners' entries on a daily basis, and they often badgered me to respond almost immediately after they had handed in the journals! In an emotional sense, I found it difficult to distance myself from many of the issues affecting them in their personal lives, and many learners expected me to offer substantive advice or used me as a confessional.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the journals impacted positively on my teaching and on the learning of the children. At this stage, I had no idea that I would register for an MA the following year , but intuitively knew that the journals were important and decided to store them temporarily.

After registering for the MA degree in 2000, and deciding on my research area, I retrieved the journals and read them again to get a sense of what the home lives of Coloured adolescents was like, what they thought about, their activities outside school, and their perceptions of school. In this sense, they formed a part of this study with information gleaned from them informing my thinking as I conceptualised the later research.

3.3.2 Negotiation of research relationship

My next step was to obtain permission from the school principal and the learners themselves. Social constructionsts are guided by the principles of autonomy, nonmaleficence and beneficence (TerreBlanche & Durrheim, 1999: 66) and in this respect, I had to ensure that my informants were aware of the confidential nature of the research, and that they could withdraw from it at any stage, without giving reasons . Because of the sensitive nature of the information, I was aware that the participants could be harmed if they were seen to be divulging information to do with gangs , their homes, or concerning educators (nonmaleficence). I raised this issue with them, and reminded them that they would remain anonymous, but again, that they were free to withdraw at any time(autonomy). Finally, with regard to the issue of beneficence, I was optimistic that much of the research would assist in improving

teaching practice at schools with similar dynamics, and resolved to share my findings with my colleagues.

During class time, I explained the purpose of my research to all 5 classes that I teach, asking the learners to assist me in my studies. I emphasised the confidentiality of the study, reminding them that I needed them to be as open as they could in order to gain an insight into their home and school lives seemed very eager, almost proud that I was including them in the research. I did not mention that I was focussing on the Coloured learner only, since at this stage I was not certain of the extent of my research, and was also apprehensive about the racial exclusion becoming an issue.

3.3.3 Reflective Writing Tasks

- reflections on home and school
- diarised week-end activities
- reflective essay on gangsterism

To begin with, I reviewed all the dialogue journals from the previous year, trying to get a sense of the home lives of the Coloured learners. I summarised the issues presented in the journals (see Appendix 1), and decided to check whether the circumstances had changed since 1999 by setting two reflective writing tasks. The first of these was an informal writing task for all the grade 9 learners. I asked them to reflect on aspects of their home and school lives that made them better or worse students. The learners did not write their names on the scripts. However, I numbered the scripts according to the class lists, and later extracted the scripts of the Coloured

learners that I identified by checking the numbers against these class lists. I then numbered the scripts of the Coloured learners (numbers 1 –17).

The second task was for all the learners (grades 9 and 10) to keep a diary of their week-end activities (see Appendix 2). The aim was to triangulate all the data from the dialogue journals, the reflections of home and school life and their week-end activities, in order to ascertain the type of discursive practices which they participated in, in their primary and secondary discourses. Again, I removed the Coloured learners' diaries , and numbered them (numbers 1 – 36).

3.3.4 Questionnaires

In October 2000, before the essay task, I administered a pilot questionnaire to a class of grade 9 pupils . They were chosen for practical reasons – I was able to use one of their periods during the absence of a teacher from school. Once more, I discussed the reasons for the questionnaire with my learners, explaining the purpose of my studies, and asked for permission to use their answers in my research. I used the same system of coding as for the previous exercises, selecting the questionnaires from the Coloured children only (8), and checked for questions that needed rephrasing. Since I was their English teacher, and had been for the past two years, it was easy for me to separate the data along racial lines, since I knew them so well.

Three days later, I administered the questionnaire (see Appendix 3) to the rest of the Coloured learners in the 4 remaining classes, after school hours, since I did not want to include all the learners from the five classes that I teach. I explained to the African

learners that I had already conducted a study on a group of African female learners in grade 10 earlier in the year (as part of another module of the MA course), and that I now intended to do something similar, but focusing on the Coloured learners this time. They appeared to be happy with this explanation. On that day, some of the Coloured learners were absent. I ended up with 40 returned questionnaires. I did not include the pilot study questionnaires in my analysis, since some questions were omitted and others were added.

3.3.5 Essays

After a content analysis of these writing tasks was done, I decided to investigate the media reports on gangsterism amongst the Coloured community, and discovered that between 1995 to 1999, there were 31 reports in *The Natal Witness* (see Appendix 4). Gang members were identified by name, as part of a gang that appeared to be notorious in the area. The final reflective writing task extended the discussion on this topic, using one of the newspaper articles as a stimulus and asking for personal reactions to it. The article was dated 26 January 1999, and was headlined : *Gangsters give up old ways, turn to God.* A photograph was included in the article, revealing the smiling faces of three gang members, holding bibles. (see Appendix 4). Once more, only the essays of the Coloured learners were kept for the purposes of this study.

3.3.6 Interviews

In November , I conducted semi-structured interviews with six groups. In social constructionism, the researcher regards the interview as a window into the subjective views of participants' experiences, and will try to create an open and trusting environment. The fact that I had taught them over the last two years facilitated the interview process, and , I believe, made it easier for them to relate experiences to me. However, my role was not purely facilitative: in line with constructionist thought, I was also mindful of the fact that whatever meanings were created in the interview, would be the result of a co-construction between the participants and myself . That is, that within the parameters of these interviews, we would negotiate meaning which would possibly not be negotiated had another interviewer or other participants been in that particular context at that particular time.

Using convenience sampling (a selection of accessible participants), as well as trying to get maximum variation, I chose to have 6 groups: (**group 1**: Grade 9 (2 girls); group **2**: Grade 10 (1 girl); **group 3**: Grade 9(2 boys); **group 4**: grade 9(1 boy); **group 5**: Grade 9(3 girls); **group 6**: Grade 9(1 boy), Grade 10(1 boy & 1 girl)). I hoped to get a representative sample from grade 9 and grade 10, along the lines of gender and personality, from the more subdued and introverted to the very outspoken learners. I also included learners who gave divergent accounts of the impact of gangsterism on their lives, who came from different family backgrounds, some who did well at school, and those who had less success. Having taught them for the last 2 or 3 years respectively, and gleaned a lot more about their home lives and personalities from the journals, reflective writing exercises and questionnaires, I had a fair idea of their

abilities to engage in discussion on issues which I hoped to deal with in the interviews.

Appendix 5 is a list of the issues that I planned to cover during the interviews. I taped the interviews and transcribed them later. They are included as Appendices nos. 6 – 11

3.4 Process of Analysis

3.4.1 Reflections on home and school lives; diary activity

The data that I collected was handled in different ways: the first step in my analysis was to use the reflections on home and school life and the diarised week-end activities to build up a composite picture of the discursive practices of their primary Discourse, as well as identifying the secondary Discourses which exist in the lives of the subjects. Further analysis would attempt to link Gee's theory of Discourse (1990,1996) to the data by extrapolating the ways in which the primary and secondary Discourses impacted on each other, and the impact this had on the participants. The analysis generated from this would therefore address the following questions:

- What activities do the learners participate in, in the home environment?

- In what ways does the home environment validate/invalidate their sense of self?

- How does home environment impact on their sense of self in the discourse of the school?

- What influence do friends have on subjects' lives?

- What other discursive practices are evident and how prevalent are they?

3.4.2 Questionnaires

Secondly, I collated some of the data from the questionnaires in an attempt to quantify and corroborate the findings from the above reflective writing tasks. I wanted to find out how the nuclear family unit in the primary Discourse related to conventional structures of power and authority (see Appendix 3.2). I also attempted to extrapolate the number of employed siblings in order to achieve an understanding of the participants' attitudes to their future career choices. With regard to the Discourse of the school, I was curious to discover their reading habits (see Appendix 3. 3), since I believe the findings will be beneficial to all their teachers, since reading skills are an intrinsic part of academic discourse. Their attitudes to homework and the time spent on this activity was also of interest to me since it impacted on their success at school (see Appendix 3.4). The questions that drove the second stage of analysis are:

- What are the reading habits of the participants?

- How much time is spent on homework per day?

- Of the adult siblings, how many are employed?

- How many come from families with both parents, I parent, or other caretakers?

- Which of the caretakers is employed?

3.4.3 Essays

From their answers in the questionnaires, I had gleaned the impression that the participants were divided on the issue of their neighbourhood (see Appendix 3.6).

Opinions varied from being happy living in the area, to regarding it as a dangerous, crime-ridden suburb. My purpose in administering the essays was to determine the validity of the information contained in the newspaper report about the end of gangsterism. I knew that the participants' perceptions would impact on their identities and the ways in which they interacted with other people in different discourses. The question I hoped to address was:

- How do the participants' opinions reveal the way in which they have constructed their identities?

3.4.4 Interviews

I hoped to use the data from the interviews to clarify and extend upon issues that were revealed in the previous analytical steps. Consequently, the research questions driving this constructionist analysis were:

- What discourses are evident in the language of the participants, and how do they relate to each other?

- What do these discourses reveal about the participants' attempts to construct their identities?

3.5   Conclusion

Social constructionists are acutely aware of the lack of concrete boundaries between paradigms, and often use interpretive strategies within their analysis of data. In this

case, social constructionism elucidates its position by describing itself as *critical hermeneutics*, but does not claim to bring about any changes in the status quo. Using this framework, I aim to describe the social reality that my learners have constructed through a critical analysis of the texts that I have collected, and to consequently show how these constructions make certain actions and practices possible, or constrain them. Within these practices and actions, I will investigate the impact of the primary and secondary discourses on their construction of identities, as well as the ways in which educators could transform their teaching methods to improve the learning experience at schools.

Chapter 4

Interpretation of Data

4.1 Reflective Writing tasks supported by relevant Questionnaire analysis

The first data to be interpreted were the two reflective writing tasks. The reflections on home life (done by the grade 9s only) and the diary of week-end activities done by 36 subjects (4 were absent), were intended to paint a picture of the lives of the learners outside of the school environment. This composite of the primary Discourse is crucial in determining the subjects' sense of self and also serves as a vehicle through which one can determine whether effective apprenticeship (Gee, 1996) into secondary Discourses has taken place. The information from the diaries of week-end activities was analysed by categorising it into 28 activities, gleaned from the data and quantitatively indicating the number of learners who participated in each of these activities (see Appendix 2). This was then used to corroborate the information from the questionnaires and the reflections on home and school life. A quantitative analysis of selected data from the questionnaires is included to illustrate the relevant findings that were extrapolated to expand upon the reflective writing data. I have chosen not to include the analysis of the data from the questionnaires separately. This is because I believe that the quantitative analysis of selected questions from the questionnaires provides immediate and meaningful substantiation of the qualitative analysis revealed in the reflective writing exercises and the diary of week-end activities when it is approached in a more holistic manner.

To reiterate, the research questions which drove the analysis of the **reflective writing texts** are:

- What activities do the learners participate in, in the home environment?

- In what ways does the home environment validate/invalidate their sense of self?

- How does home environment impact on their sense of self in the discourse of the school?

- What influence do friends have on subjects' lives?

I discovered that the reflections on home and school life, as well as the diary of week-end activities, contained similar data. Three broad categories that were generated were the Discourses of the home, school and friends.

The **questionnaire** (see appendix 3) was analysed by asking the following questions:

- What are the reading habits of the participants?

- How much time is spent on homework per day?

- Of the adult siblings, how many are employed?

- How many come from families with both parents, I parent, or other caretakers?

- Which of the caretakers is employed?

4.1.1 Discourses of Home and School

Gee (1996) states that the characteristics of any Discourse determine the social construction of identity, and bearing this in mind, the following characteristics of the

primary Discourse of the home were identified. These characteristics impacted directly on the secondary Discourse of the school and both Discourses articulated with each other to position the subject (see 2. 2).

Firstly, the way in which the family members interact with each other reveals the extent to which they mirror social conventions in terms of power and authority in the home. Although times are more permissive today, men are traditionally regarded as the heads of homes, and the family assigns power to the male, a practice which is normalised in society. In the absence of fathers, mothers would naturally fall into this role. There should also be clear directions from the parents in terms of discipline and duties. Parents are also charged with the responsibility of supporting the family financially, emotionally and academically. I reiterate sections of Weinreich's premise regarding the role of the family in socialisation:

> Parents and others provide models for roles and behaviour which children imitate. Third, the child identifies with one or both parents, a process more powerful than imitation, through which the child incorporates and internalises The roles and values of the parent or significant other.
>
> (Weinreich, 1978: 20-21)

These characteristics are taken for granted in cases where socialisation into the home Discourse is attained by the subjects. Using this premise as a basis for further investigation, I traced the structure of the family from information in the questionnaires and identified the caretakers (see Appendix 3.2).

Secondly, I studied the reflections on what makes them good or bad students, and qualitatively assessed the level of support and motivation that their parents displayed through these revelations.

Finally, I examined all three tasks to determine how the information relating to role models in the questionnaire, and the opinions of participants towards their parents revealed the extent to which they identified with their parents and mirrored themselves on the values and norms upheld in the family. I hoped to draw conclusions about the impact of family structure, attitudes of subjects to their parents and the ways in which family economics and responsibilities impacted on the construction of the subjects' identities at home, at school, and within the discourse of friendship.

A quantitative analysis of the structure of the family unit revealed that 50% of the subjects came from homes that had both parents as caretakers. The rest were comprised of single parent families (mother only) and mothers with the support of other relatives (see graph 1.1 overleaf) . This in itself is not an indictment on single parent families: in fact, as Weinreich points out, children can become socialised through the influence of one or both parents, or a significant other. What interested me is whether these caretakers fulfilled their roles, or not, and the impact on the child's discursive practices.

Caretakers

```
50  47.5
45
40
35
30
25      22.5
20          15    15
15
10
5
0
  Both Parents  Mother Only  Mother with Other  Other Only
                                    □ Caretakers
```
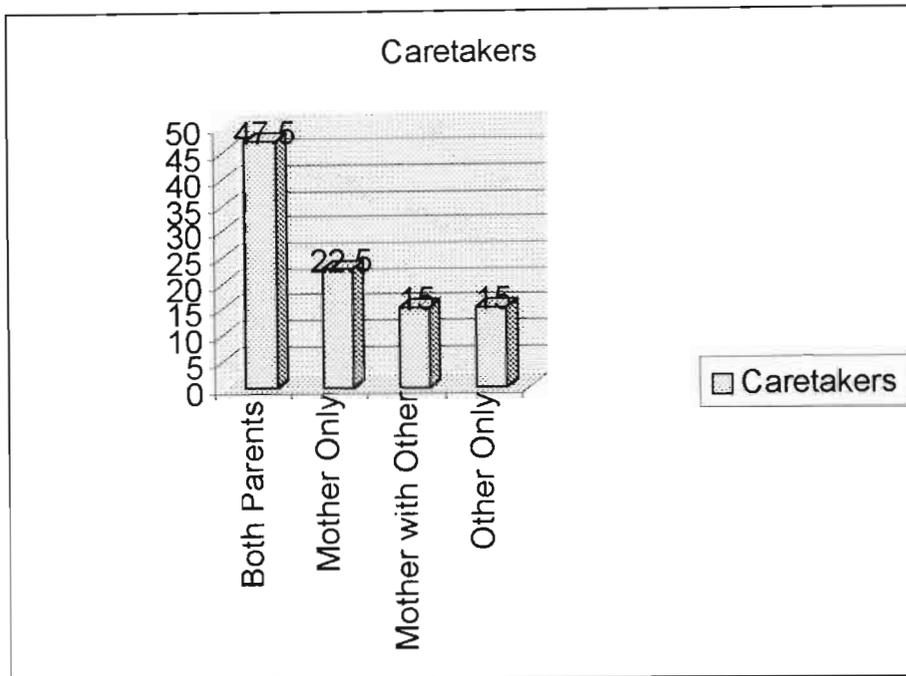
Graph 1.1 : Caretakers

Regarding the ability of parents to teach their children the requisite skills and behaviours for socialisation into the discourse of the school, I discovered that the participants were unanimous in their belief that the family affected their chances of success at school. Information from the dialogue journals and the reflections of home life reveal an urgent need for parents who take an active interest in the lives of their children; who are able to support them both academically and financially, and who set up clear rules relating to discipline. Learners who were in the position of having parents like this presented a confident image, and looked up to their parents as role models whom they did not want to disappoint. Parents' support, guidance and discipline were extremely important in helping them to be successful at school. Where this expectation was met, it became much easier for the subject to adapt to the secondary discourse of the school (quotes are not edited):

> I don't really think there is much of a difference at home or at school.
> My parents are like teachers, they teacher me right from wrong, they

> incourage me in a lot, they always there in time of need, and most
> important they never, never hold my hand. They help me to do
> things...but to lend a helping hand not to hold my hand.
>
> (Reflections S 3)

However, in some cases, a culture of parental expectations had a negative impact on

their self-image: some learners felt that they were forced to accede to their parents

very high expectations and when they were not successful, they "looked like a stupid"

(Reflections, S4) and had almost daily arguments with one or both parents. In these

cases, subjects mirrored the autobiographical example of Hall (1990) and rebelled

against the aspirations of the parents since they are made to feel inadequate.

Those subjects whose parents were alcoholics or physically abusive, exhibited a clear

sense of humiliation or embarrassment regarding their parents. They rejected them as

role models, regarding them as abnormal, and blaming them for their failures and

poor self image.

> I feel like I am a lost one because she would not sit with me and help me like
> a normal mother would do or ask if there is any homework. I don't get enough
> encouragement from my mom, is that to much to ask. It is not easy to get love
> from an alcoholic sometimes I wonder what I am living for. I feel embrass
> when I see her drunk my hockey friends can't come and I am shy to let them
> see her drunk.
>
> (Reflections S 7)

These sentiments are echoed in other entries, such as "At home I have to help myself

if there was some person to help me I would become a good student"(Reflections S

14). These parents have failed to socialise their children fully into the secondary

Discourse, possibly because they themselves exhibit behaviour patterns, which do not

have value attached to them by dominant Discourses.

Discursive practices at home also articulated with those of school, causing conflict within the subject. Daily chores are mentioned in a matter-of-fact way by the participants, without any hint of reluctance. However, when learners have domestic responsibilties to fulfil in the mornings or have to dress younger siblings and escort them to school, they sometimes arrive late at school, and are sent home or punished. Consequently, they became resentful of what they regarded as unfair and uncaring attitudes of educators. This makes it easier for them to reject the Discourse of the school.

Further discursive conflict arises due to a shortage of money in the home. This impacts on the child's ability to become a full member of the school Discourse when he cannot afford to buy the school uniform.

> Home is a place where I can stick to the rules, school is where I find it impossible to follow the rules. .... like uniform, it's not easy to were African shoes when only one person is working at home or brown paper and plastic when there's only money for bread and milk.
>
> (Reflections S 16)

The lack of money also impacts on the children's attitude to their parents, especially their fathers. Fathers **as individuals** were not identified as role models by any of the 40 subjects. (see graph 1.2 and appendix 3.5). I was curious about learners' attitudes to their fathers, and whether this impacted on their subjectification in terms of the various power structures at home and at school. I decided to explore this aspect in more detail in the interviews. Mothers as individuals, however, were regarded as role

models by 20% on the grounds that they had dedicated themselves to their children, and battled to survive in the face of great challenges, mainly financial.
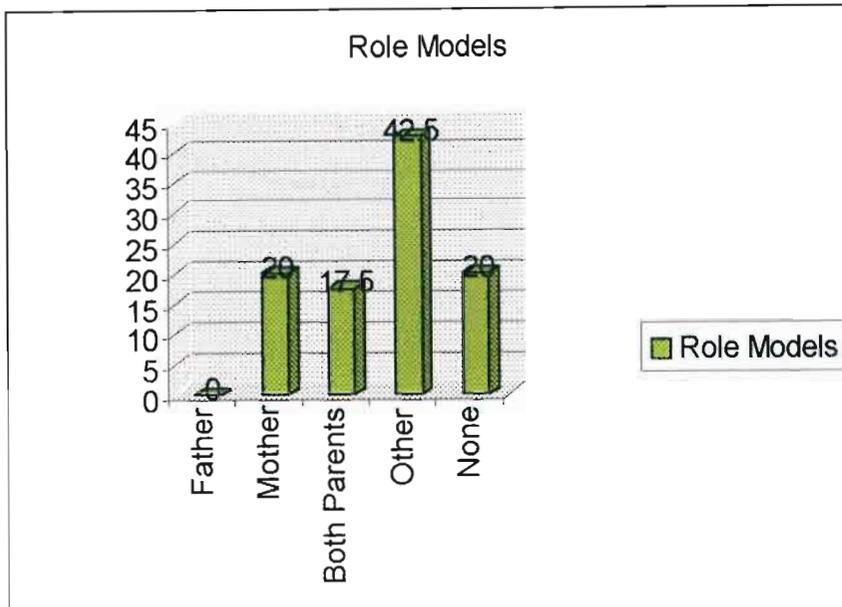
Graph 1.2 Role models

A telling indictment on their attitudes to family is the minimal time spent at home. Family outings are not mentioned by the majority of the subjects (see appendix 2) and time at home is largely spent watching television. Subjects preferred to socialise with friends, which is perfectly normal in terms of adolescence! This is not done within the confines of the home, but outside on the pavements, at the "green box" (electricity box), at the shop in the centre of the suburb, or in the nearby taverns. Only 2.5% of the subjects mentioned evening prayers for the family.

Thus, the economics of the family, as well as the dynamics presented by one or both parents collude together to position the subject in a positive way in the school Discourse, or to alienate him. In the latter cases, school discursive practices are regarded as Other. The consequences of this othering will be explored in more detail in the interviews.

4.1.2 Discourses of Friendship and School

In the absence of an affirming environment, the counter discourse of friendship was very noticeable in the reflective writing tasks. Most of the activities that they reported in the week-end diaries include the companionship of their friends, whose approbation is crucial in developing a sense of belonging. This is nothing extraordinary amongst adolescents, but some of the activities such as smoking, visiting taverns, drinking alcohol, and gang membership are ostracised in conventional school and home discourse. In an attempt to fit in, some subjects submitted to the pressure of their peers, while others were confident enough to resist but alienated themselves. The conflict that many experienced was clearly revealed by subjects who recognised that despite the values which parents try to inculcate in them, if they are not confident enough in themselves, or have friends at school that do not behave in the manner taught at home, then these children reject their parental advice, and behave in a contrary manner in order to fit in.

> . . . but when I come to school I try to act like someone I am not..like today miss, Shaun said to me you act like a white and maybe you are and I felt like running home. I don't know what to do I am unhappy
>
> (Reflections S 2).

In these cases, the quest to belong has resulted in the construction of identities which can be described as sites of struggle, and echo Connell's (1987) description of identity construction as a weaving project, where it is difficult and traumatic for the subject to knit together all the different discursive threads.

Despite the fact that 95% recognise and acknowledge the benefits of doing homework, most do not put these sentiments into action, spending less than 1 hour per day on it because visiting friends is a priority (see graph 1.3). This is corroborated by the week-end diaries where a head count reveals that 11% mention homework on Friday evening, 14% during the course of Saturday and 39% try to spend time on homework on Sunday evening.
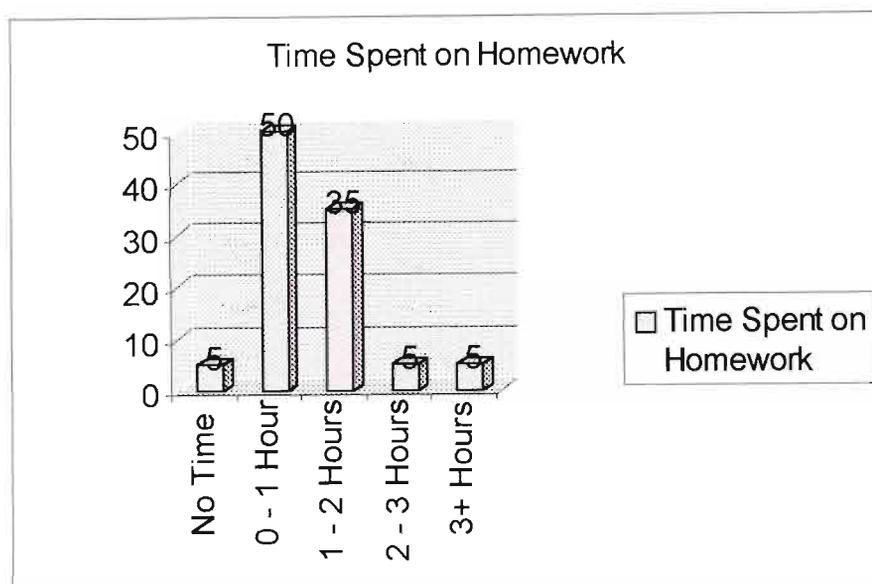
Graph 1.3: Time spent on homework per day

An analysis of their attitudes to their suburb reveals that it is characterised by crime, violence and gangs (see appendix 3.6). The existence of gangs was mentioned by many participants, "where I am staying is ...a place of Thugs, merchance, gangsters and all that stuff" (Reflections S 7). While some were afraid of the gangs, others joined them or befriended them. The content analysis further revealed that for some of the participants, the cliques of friends at school are different to those at home. At school , friends are quiet, but at home the friends are "ruffians and thugs" who stand by you and are loyal. This disparity was quite common with children who had

"gangster" friends outside of school. They appeared to be either very staunchly loyal to these friends or indicated their awareness of the negative impact of gangsters in their lives, but were helpless to change the situation. Yet despite being friendly with these gangsters, some of whom are heavily addicted to drugs, subjects participated in the discourse of gangs in an attempt to gain affirmation and a sense of belonging . in a surprising turn, many revealed a genuine sense of admiration for the good things that they experienced at the hands of these friends. Contrary to popular opinion that these gangs were violent and destructive, some participants are encouraged by them to remain at school. In some cases, the gangsters are substitutes for parents

> I love the thugs because they teach me and preach to me . . . they help me with my education even though they smoke drugs they help me more than my family
>
> (Reflections S 14).

Another incident worth mentioning is the selflessness of the gangster friends who are prepared to take the rap for the scholars in the gang:

> One day I was caught with dagga and my home friend said that it is his dagga and he was locked up for 3 weeks and when he came out he did not even ask for a payment ....he was still my friend..when I asked him why did he take the rap he said that I would not be able to stand the consequences of being caught with dagga
>
> (Reflections S16)

The participants also reveal a startling lack of reading, sport and hobbies. In their diary activities, 5.5% mentioned reading on a Friday evening; the same 2, plus one other mention it on a Saturday (8%), and only 3% refer to it on a Sunday. I explored this issue in more detail in the questionnaires, realising that it could reveal important

pedagogical information to educators who wished to tap into their learners' reading habits at home. In term of literacy practices, it is clear that this habit is either one that is not common to parents or that the subjects have rejected what is seen as part of the Discourse of the school.

Graph 1.4. 1 through to 1.4. 4 illustrate the reading practices that were gleaned from the questionnaires. Most of the findings were predictable, but I was surprised at the percentage of learners who read non- fiction. The qualifying questions revealed that the genre that was most common in this category, was that of the autobiography and biography. Further exploration revealed that these were enjoyed because they motivated learners continue to strive for success in the face of adversity.
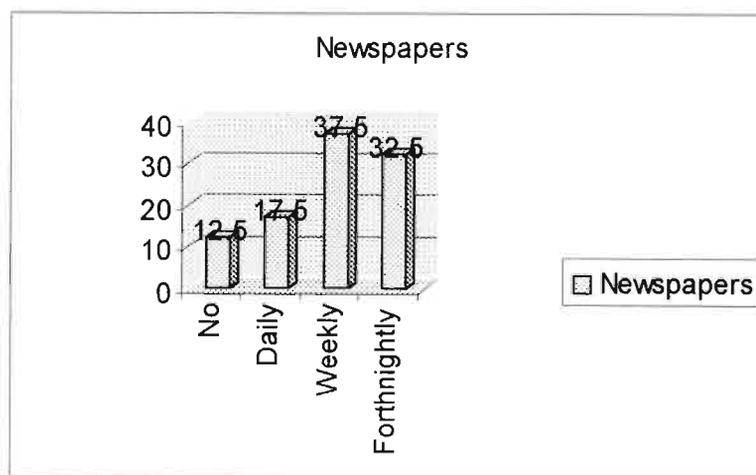
Graph 1.4.1: Reading Practices

Magazines

Bar chart titled "Magazines" with values: No 10, Weekly 52.5, Forthnightly 20, Monthly 17.5. Legend: Magazines.
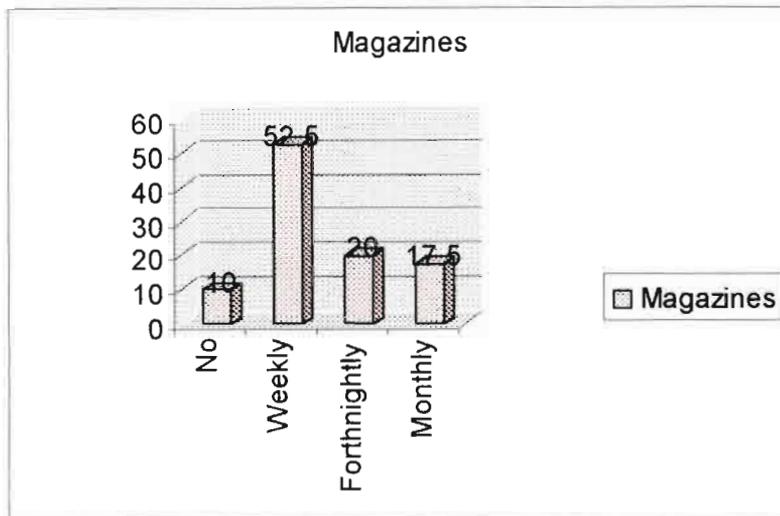
Graph 1.4.2: Reading Practices

Novels

Bar chart titled "Novels" with values: 0 → 52.5, 1 → 15, 2 → 10, 3+ → 22.5. Legend: Novels.
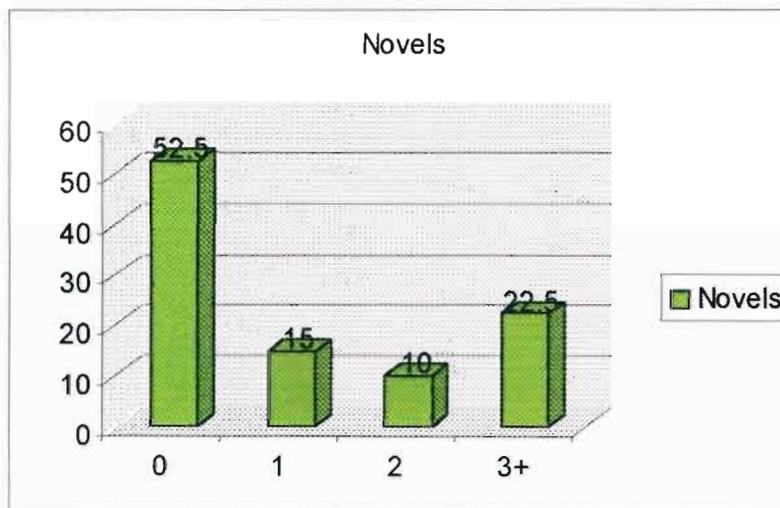
Graph 1.4.3: Reading Practices

Non Fiction

Bar chart titled "Non Fiction" with values: Yes 37.5, No 62.5. Legend: Non Fiction.
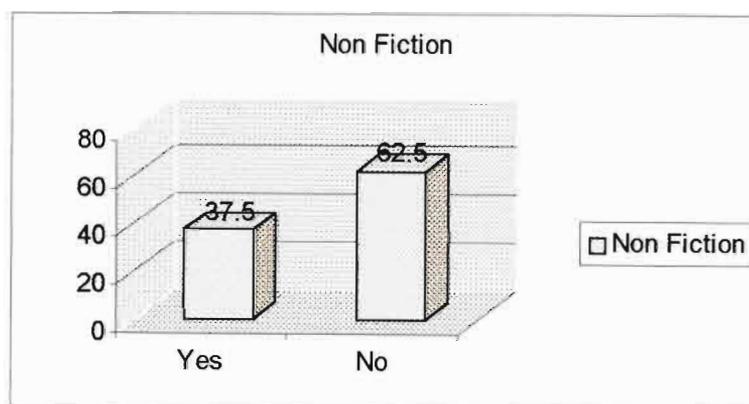
Graph 1.4.4: Reading Practices

Another discursive practice that was revealed in the reflections related to the abuse of drugs. A reason for the proliferation of drug abuse in the area is the lack of an alternative:

> There are not many things to keep us buzy so we invage in drugs. But at the moment I have a Bodybuilding set and a pear of boxing gloves which keep me very buzy. I'm trying to get my friends to trane with me and keep them off the streets.
>
> (Reflections S6)

8% of the subjects who participated in the reflections exercise revealed that they use drugs. This information was not solicited directly by me, but was generated from their own reflections on home life. These subjects recognise the impact on their relationships with parents and their attitudes to school. According to the responses, increased drug activity results in a lack of respect towards parents and teachers and a disinterest in school, yet they continue with the abuse. They do not give reasons for this, and I resolved to explore this in more detail in the interviews.

On a Saturday evening, 28% of the participants in the diary exercise (see Appendix 2), visit the local pubs or taverns, where drinking and smoking is mentioned as part of the club scene. They are not concerned about arriving home in the early hours of the next day, or simply not going home at all if they are too drunk. This impacts on the school performance of these children in the sense that most have no inclination to do any homework , or prepare for school the next day. Some spend most of Sunday trying to recover from the excesses of the night before. The inability of parents to punish such behaviour simply entrenches the inter-discursive conflicts that the subjects experience.

4.1.3 Discourse of the Church

As revealed in the week-end diaries, attending the local youth club on a Friday evening is a common discursive practice (42%)(see Appendix 2). Whether this is because they are active in the discourse of the Church or simply attend because of a lack of other forms of entertainment early on a Friday evening, is not clear. 44% of the participants mention attending Sunday morning Church services. How this impacts on their sense of identity will be explored in the essays and the interviews.

4.1.4 Conclusion

The impressions that I gained from the data above flagged a path for me to follow in my pursuit of further information. Various crucial determining factors emerged in the construction of positive or negative identities at home and at school. Within the discourse of the home, I learnt that parental support and discipline were highly regarded by the participants as crucial to their success at school, and this consolidated their identity constructions. Secondly, a lack of money impacted negatively on their ability to fit into some of the rules of the school discourse, often resulting in a rejection of the school practices. An inability to acquire reading and homework practices further marginalised learners from the school discourse. Gee (1996) categorically states that literacy practices in the home determine the academic success of a child at school, and that these practices were in turn determined by the social class of the child. The information from the first three reflective tasks and the questionnaires, support this premise. The discourse of friendship was strongly evident, and even supplanted the role of the family in cases where there was not enough support. A lack of role models from amongst the community, and an absence

of fathers from this variable was disquieting, and needed further exploration. Although the findings at this stage were not definitive, and needed triangulation from other sources, I realised that at this stage of the analytical process, the participants were engaged in traumatic subjectifications due to the interdiscursive conflicts which they experienced. At that stage it was not clear to me the extent to which they are aware of, or are able to accept multiple identity constructions in order to cope with the demands of the different discourses. In fact, identity appeared to be a site of enormous struggle, with participants giving the impression that they could not or would not be able to develop multiple ways of being.

4.2   Analysis of Essays

The data in the questionnaires that motivated an exploration into the discourse of the gangs, revealed anomalous perceptions of the suburb: some said that it was quiet and peaceful, while others regarded it as a dangerous place in which to live. Both perceptions positioned the subjects in certain ways, and I decided to explore them by setting a reflective writing task stimulated by a newspaper report on reformed gangsters from the area(see appendix 5). The question I hoped to answer was:

• How do the various perceptions of gangsterism in the area construct the identities of the learners?

On the day that I administered the essay task, 44 learners were present at school. The pie graph below illustrates the spread of opinions.
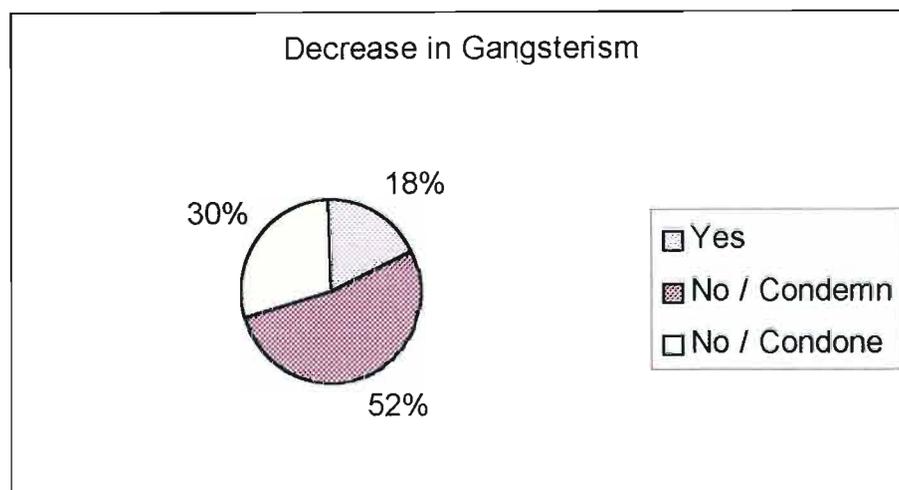
Graph 1.5: Opinions on frequency of gangsterism

The purpose of this second stage analysis is not to determine the truth of the perceptions of the participants. Truth is, as I have already mentioned, a product of society, and is dependent on the different discourses in society that articulate with each other, working to produce the subject. What I hoped to discover is how the discourse of gangs affects the subjectification of the participants. The quotes that follow are unedited. Two groups emerged from the analysis:

- Group 1 - those who agreed that gang activity had abated (18%).

- Group 2 - those who disagreed that gang activity had abated consisted of two camps: those who were vociferous in their condemnation of gangs(52%), and those who were part of the discourse of gangsterism because of their empathies or through membership(30%).

On analysing the data in group 1(18%), I discovered that personal experience was the primary criterion for their positioning. They agreed that activity had decreased for a number of reasons: firstly, that the threat posed by the gangs ended with the deaths of

a few key figures: "big shots are ded"(S5), or because they had become acquainted with gangsters and realised that they were not as bad as they were made out to be:

> one of them I am so close to the family its like our family and their family are one big happy family, we get along so well that just to thing that once upon a time I was afraid of him, because of what I think he would of done to me.
> (S 1).

A female sympathiser states that "they may be hard and tough on the streets, but they have hearts as soft as a baby's bottom and a very good nature ". However she contradicts herself by stating that "they are fine people, but I just wish they could all change for the better!" (S18).   Others in this group exhibit sympathy for the gangsters, citing the community's lack of support as the reason for the backsliding : "Miss I think the gangsters lose courage because of the people in our community they gossip about them and always has remarks to say or judge them"(S7) . Another typical respondent positions himself outside the discourse of gangsterism by accrediting gang activity with social class- he lives at the top end of the suburb (the more affluent area) and " you don't see or hear a lot about the fights or crime at the bottom end of Caliban"(S 2).   He clearly positions the gangs as Other, but has no qualms about using them to protect himself if the occasion arises:

> My friend asked me to buy machers for him ..at the shop there was a boy who was teasing me. So I told my friend and he actully went up to the boy and hit him sensles.
> (S 2)

A quantitative analysis of group 2 revealed that 82% of the participants disagreed that gang activity had ceased or abated. As a social group of urban adolescents, they positioned themselves in two ways :

- by alienating themselves from gang discourse, regarding them as Other (52% of the total of 44 subjects),

- or by positioning themselves as part of the discourse(30% of the total of 44 subjects)

Those who positioned the gangs as Other (52%), constructed themselves in powerful or marginalised positions through the ways in which their discursive patterns represented them. Citing recent cases of theft or attacks in the area, they were very vociferous in their condemnation of the gangs, and the way in which they try to influence lives of the adolescents in the area: "They had a bad life when young instead of helping themselves they making our lifes bad and I dislike that"(S 21). Others are fatalistic about the power of gangs : " They think they can still have their way especially with females. That's just the way it is, things will never change"
(S 22), and " gangsters will always be gangsters and there's nothing we can do about it"(S 9). The community's fear of gangsters empowers them further : "The truth is they CAN if we let them" (S 31) .

Their lives seem characterised by fear: "and me as an X member dosent feel safe in my own home town"(S 27) and resentment "they think because they are well-known, they can just say give me your takkies and you must give them or else they say jump you must say how high"(S 26).

Witnessing random acts of violence has traumatised some of the participants, and left them with a lingering sense of guilt about not being able to help victims for fear of

their own safety - "I went home shaking and images of them beating the man kept surfacing in my mind" (S28), - as well as feelings of hatred and fear:

> I felt nothing but fear and hatred that night. Hatred in the sense that I felt they had mocked God by only accepting Him for the duration that the tent was erected. How dare they? Fear – always thinking who would be next, what would they do?"(S 28)

Some of the female participants indicated a deep concern for the male members of their families, especially one whose father is often drunk and has been attacked on numerous occasions. They are also afraid of being raped.

They have no anticipations of a good future in the area : "As I sit here I am not safe and I don't think I would have a good future in this place (S 39).

These subjects position themselves and their families as powerless to change the effects of gangsterism or the existence of gangs. They do not have confidence in the broader powers of institutions such as the school, the police force and the church to effect any lasting changes either. The School is regarded as other: "Speaking about school, teachers don't have a clue as to what's going on in our community and don't show any interest because they don't live here"(S 37). There is a disturbing lack of confidence in the power of the police force which is regarded as being afraid of the gangs, or corrupt: Even the police force is perceived as being helpless, and in some instances, afraid of the terror epitomised in the gangsters.

> The police are completely useless, they take their own time to arrive at a crime scene and I have come to the conclusion that they do it purposely….they are fearful of them"
>
> (S 31)

and other sentiments such as "and as for the law, I think it's corrupted...there is quite a lot of bribery and buying people over for silence"(S 35). The Church is constructed as an institution that is manipulated by the gangs who have ulterior motives of getting to " chaste girls to notice them". They made a mockery of the church :

> anyone with half a brain could see they were fooling around; most unbelievably, they would fall to the ground....I question their motives....their mockery of Christianity truly appalled me...I feel no sympathy for those many gangsters who beguiled our elders(S 31)

Even the discourse of childhood is corrupted by the effects of gangsterism. The participants are concerned by the possibility that children in primary school are emulating the lifestyle of the gangsters: "they imitate everything clothes, body language, attitude some even develop bad habits such as smoking and drinking"(S 28). Older brothers in gangs are role models to their younger siblings, who despite parental teachings, "see their big brother doing it so they going to also whunt to do it"(S 42).

Recognition of the way in which the gang discourse constructs them is handled in two ways: they escape by leaving Caliban, or become victims. Not surprisingly, many do not see themselves as having a future in the area: "As I sit here, I am not safe and I don't think I would have a good future in this place"(S39). An ex-member of a gang recognised that this lifestyle would destroy him , and left the suburb:

> As a young boy.... I started slanging and that went to siggarests and from there to dagga, so I started carring knives....... sometimes we used to rob people for money. That's when I said no this is going to lead me into jail
>
> (S 14)

There is also a disturbing impression that their own deaths are inevitable:

> I don't see many youngsters such as myself lasting long in X because I got robed once and got stabbed once and if push comes to shove ether myself or the other guy will land up in hospital or dead
>
> (S 29).

Others regard it as inevitable that they will join the gangs " I hope and pray that I don't become a gangster but living in X there no way out" (S 9).

In both the reflective tasks and the essays, the way in which the Coloured people are viewed as a group by others in society emerged as a troubling aspect for some of the participants. They feel embarrassed about the poor reputation that Coloureds have amongst Africans: " I am very not proud of my suburb because the Africans say bad thing about the Coloureds they stupid they kills one another they leave school"(Reflections S 27). This awareness of their social identity through comparing themselves to other groups or races, positions these participants in powerful or marginalised roles. Those who experience the discursive conflicts and do nothing about them, position themselves as victims by accepting the existence of gangs, and presenting themselves as powerless to transform the status quo in the suburb, and, on a broader scale, the stereotypes with which Coloured are viewed by others. Others resist this discourse of gangsterism, and the macro discourse of racial stereotypes, by revealing a strong desire to transform the negative views. The language reveals a subject who is intent on redefining the way in which Coloureds are perceived through a lifelong quest to prove their worth and by resisting the stigma attached to this race by others.

> I will prove to those who make my race an issue that I am a better person than them. I have devoted my life to prove that Coloured can be intelligent, successful and honest
>
> (Reflections S 25).

In her attempt to resist the stereotypes of Coloured people, she has constructed a powerful position for herself.

Thus, the traditional institutions that could be relied on for transformation and even protection are positioned as powerless by the majority of these subjects. How they react to this view determines whether they are active or passive participants in the construction of their identities.

30% clearly sympathise with the gangs, giving reasons for their existence and trying to rationalise their actions. Some of these were clearly part of the discourse of gangsterism. This group most clearly displayed an awareness of their group identity. They recognised the emotional and value significance of their group membership to themselves (the in-group), but also acknowledged that they were viewed negatively by the community (the out-group). Consequently, they developed protective strategies (Tajfel, 1978), trying to redefine the meanings attached to being part of this discourse, or giving reasons why membership was a necessary and vital part of their lives.

Gang membership has ensured a sense of belonging and identity through the relationships amongst members. The way in which they interact with each other is regarded as admirable : " I look up to a gangster reason for this is all yong boys whant to be gangsters. Even dow the gangster sell drugs they still show a young brother love" (S 9). The fact that drug peddling is regarded in a negative light by

society , is minimised by the love which these subjects are clearly in need of. In the

face of a lack of parental support at home, the gangs have filled the gap :   "Parents

who don't have time for you who just drink and don't even care"(S 19), and

> we do things because we feel we are being neglected and not wanted from
> people who we feel we belong to …Teenagers wanna feel excepted [accepted]
> from gangs and prove a point to others
>
> (S 10)

Although they live in a post-apartheid South Africa, the Discourse of racism is still an

intrinsic part of their perceptions of life as Coloureds. This perception colludes with

the quest to belong, and generates another reason why gangsters exist in the

community:

> I know being a Coloured isn't easy and you find that you are always
> searching for the truth and an identity…trying to become "new born
> Christians" was just another attempt for finding answers. (S 9)

However, race becomes a site for struggle for other subjects outside the gangs. They

condemn gangsterism, but are guilty about this because the gangsters are Coloured. A

sense of divided loyalties emerges, resulting in a struggle for identity: "I'm not trying

to defend them but they are my Coloured brothers. As a Coloured sister I feel in

between like I really don't know who I am" (S 41).

In an attempt to defend their reputation, subjects in this group have redefined the

word "gangster" to mean "friendship", thus reinterpreting the defining characteristics

of a gang:

> All the gangsters in X are not gangsters they are friends from when they were juniors and they got together and saw things ain't the same so they automatically grew up and saw there is a heaven for a G. I can't talk bad about them because they not bad, they are cool.... they my homeboys till I die. (S 19) .

Another example of reinterpretation and maximisation of positive traits (Tajfel, 1978) is revealed by a subject who disassociates his friends' gang from others with a bad reputation. He does this by unequivocally stating that his friends do not fight, they just smoke drugs. He admits that the temptation to join in is strong, and often succumbs since he would like to emulate a certain member: " I want to be like this thug, he dose not fight He dosent poke any one but they do smoke drugs"(S 16). The constraints of the discourse of gangsterism affect the meaning attached to the word "thug" . In other Discourses, it would be interpreted as negative, but within the discursive parameters of gangsterism, it is redefined in a positive way to mean someone of worth.

This need to belong asserts itself differently for girls, who participate in behavioural and linguistic activities to ensure a sense of belonging, even if they are initially disturbed by the morality of the actions. One mentions her decision to emulate the language of gangsters when she hears it from them, despite the cruelty that some of them have made her experience "Some gangsters are very cruel, they intend to embarrass you in front of everyone if you say no to them for asking you to sleep with them "(S 11). I particularly remember this young woman since her dialogue journal in grade 8 revealed an adolescent who was hungry for attention- she wrote very personal and revealing entries about the issues affecting her young life, and constantly asked for my opinion. Unfortunately, she fell pregnant at the beginning of grade 10.

Another girl is privy to gangster activities, and spends time with them in their "hide-

outs", stating

> I role their tails for them, their dugga tails and when they hit a botton [button]
> I light for them. Even when they steel cars, I am with them, but that is
> something they will never get caught with
>
> (S 13)

What is evident is that no other discourse provides this sense of belonging for these

subjects: not the church, not the family and not the school.

The Discourse of poverty and unemployment is evident in the motives cited for

joining gangs. "As they say, money makes the world go round, and gangster got all

the money they need" (S 9). At times, it colludes with racism to position youngsters

within the discourse of gangs : "Coloureds in South Africa aren't noticed very easyly

in the business world and therefore some of us or our people remain unemployed

(reflections S 36). Even the crimes committed by the gangs are condoned since "what

they are doing is for a living if they don't rob or hijack they will have nothing to

smoke and nothing to eat"(S 19). A disconfirming case is a female who has two

brothers in a gang. She denies that unemployment caused them to join, stating that

they have good jobs. However, they too live in fear that one morning there will be "a

loud knock of an angry policeman with upsetting news telling us if we can identify 2

bodies"(S 15). She is also afraid that rival gangs will recognise her and harm her in an

attempt to get revenge on her brothers. Once she was even taken to a deserted spot

and questioned about her brothers' activities. Even her friends cannot visit because

they are afraid of her brothers. Two discourses inhabit her discursive patterns: the

discourse of the family, which values love and loyalty, but this articulates with the

need to develop her own base of friendship and to feel protected, resulting in feelings

of resentment towards her brothers who "say they care for me and they will never let anything happen to me, but they really don't know how I am feeling" (S 15).

4.3   Analysis of Interviews

After the analysis of the essays was completed, I conducted interviews with six groups representing the participants in this study. In group 1, the two girls interviewed represented the females who appeared to have gang membership, and who under-achieved at school. Interview 2's informant was a female student who excelled academically, yet came from a family characterised by unemployment and alcoholism. The third interview included two boys who were definitely part of the culture of gangsterism, but were very different in their personalities. Two male students were supposed to participate in Interview 4 – their attitudes towards gangs in the area revealed identity constructions that were very different, and I hoped to explore this in more detail. Unfortunately, one of the subjects was absent on the day of the interview and asked to be included in the last interview. The final interview included two participants who were very vociferous in their essays concerning the racial issue. The female student came from a conventional family unit, with a stable financial background . She projected a confident image in her essay, and is a very good student. The male student came from a single parent family, with an unemployed mother who did not show him enough support. He was a mediocre student, who gave the impression that he could do much better. I included the absent learner from interview 5 in this group.

A copy of the questions posed in the interviews is included as appendix 6. The transcripts of all six interviews are included as appendices 7 – 13.

Where references are made to quotes in the interviews, direction is given to the appendix as well as the page number, which is in Roman numerals. The lines are highlighted for easy reference.

By placing the texts in context, I was continually aware of the different discourses that were foregrounded by the participants in their patterns of talk. I was also astounded by the way in which the constraints of the setting (a classroom in the school, with the interviewer herself being one of their teachers) were transcended by the interviewees who were very open in their revelations. Although I was probably regarded as an extension of the power of the school, and could therefore be regarded with suspicion, on analysing the data from the interviews, I was humbled by their revelations which were almost like confessions in which they revealed aspects of themselves that teachers had not been privy to before. I was also deeply disturbed, and battled to maintain an objective distance from them. Being their English teacher exacerbated my dilemma, creating in me a sense that I had to intervene to change what I regarded as destructive elements of their lives. It was only after a great deal of rationalising and self-reflection that I was able to separate myself from the impact of their words, but I can honestly say that my relationship as their teacher will always be tinged with the memories of this experience.

The question that I hoped to answer in the analysis of the interviews was:

- How do the participants' opinions reveal the ways in which they have constructed their identities?

4.3.1 Interview 1 (Appendix 6)

Jackie and Carol have a lot in common, but are constructed differently by virtue of their responses to the way in which the various discourses have positioned them. Jackie is positioned as a confused young woman who rejects the norms of the primary discourse, looking for fun and an escape from her domestic problems in the discourse of friendship. This compounds the distance that she acknowledges is between herself and her mother, since she participates in activities that her mother disapproves of. The struggle for power plays a major role in her identity construction: her mother's attempts to maintain control over her daughter are characterised by a sense of helplessness, occasionally beating her "with a peachie stick" which is viewed with derision by both girls. Thus, she is positioned in a powerful way by her rejection of the discipline that her mother tries to use to control her activities. This impacts on her attitude to powerful figures at school as well. Although not overtly rude to teachers, she resists the discursive practices such as doing homework or concentrating in class, despite her opinion that school will help her to succeed in life.

I:	You have the potential to do better at school, but something's stopping you. What are these things?
J:	I dunno . . . it's just my behaviour, miss.
I:	How do you behave?
J:	Bad.
I:	What do you mean?
J:	I sleep out, and I don't come home.
I:	Can you stop yourself from doing that?
J:	Yes.

I: Do you want to stop yourself?
J: Yes
I: Then why do you keep doing that?
J: It's tempting.
I: When you weigh up school and that kind of life, which one takes priority?
J: School.
I: School's first?
J: Yes.
I: But your actions show that it is not.
J: Er . . . er . . . er . . . er.
I: So you can stop it, why do you do it?
J: I dunno . . . for fun.
I: Have you thought about what might happen if you keep doing that kind of thing?
J: No miss.

(Appendix 6: iv)

Her friends play a more vital role than her mother in advising Jackie about her behaviour. Carol has participated in similar activities, but is constrained in her actions by the harsh discipline of her father, who clearly will not stand for any of this kind of behaviour.

Miss, the only time I do something wrong is when I've had something to drink, but I have to control it because I know the home I'm living in is not where you can just do your own thing. There are rules that you have to obey.
(Appendix 6: iv)

He has a reputation for being violent when drunk, and Carol's fear of him helps to constrain her activities: "Miss, I cut down…just after my father clouted me". Yet she clearly displays conflicting ideas about her parents. Although she lives with her father, he is not her role model. Both girls position fathers as "players"(have affairs), " fathers just drink, and smoke drugs and perform, and mothers are always there to guide the children". However, this recognition does not guarantee that Jackie obeys her mother. The only time she states that this will happen is if her brother "hits me

like a man", a punishment that she admits she has not yet experienced. Yet when

asked how she prefers to be dealt with, she clearly wants to be spoken to rather than

violently chastised. However, when confronted with her lack of acquiescence at

school when she is spoken to , she appears unable to answer.

> I: So you'd rather have somebody . . . how would you be obedient to
>   somebody's rules, requests and demands?
> Silence
> J: Er . . . they must talk nicely to me.
> I: Okay, I've spoken nicely to you, yet . . .
> J: I dunno, miss.
>
>   (Appendix 6: v)

Jackie is representative of subjects who do not submit to the discursive practices of

the home, and the ways in which these position them. She rejects parental control, and

in the absence of a strong father figure, turns to friendship to experience fun and

pleasure. She is clearly in conflict as a result of her inability to think through the

consequences of her actions. She is not fully socialised into the discourse of the

school, since she cannot spend the time on necessary practices that will facilitate

success. She wants instant gratification, despite the negative consequences attached to

her decisions. She appears to me to be constructed as an adolescent who does not

have the capacity to think through the consequences of her actions. Despite her desire

to have a better relationship with her mother, and to do better at school, she cannot put

into place any firm resolutions which will facilitate the accomplishment of her desires

- her repeated response of "I dunno, miss" is indicative of this inability to help herself,

or possibly to engage with the values of the researcher. She appears helpless and lost,

and her final request is a plaintive cry for help from anyone who can help her to be a

stronger, more resolute person.

J: Once I put my foot out that gate, miss, then I go to the shop, then I go smoke, then I come . . . my mind just jiggers.
I: You become a different person?
J: Yes miss
I: Is there anything that people can do, do you want people to help you to move away from that kind of lifestyle?
J: I wouldn't mind, miss.
I: How would you imagine someone would help you?
J: To watch me.
I: Your mum's tried.
J: Someone to help me and stop me from doing these bad things.
C: But you also have to help yourself . . . you can't depend on people doing it for you, you have to help yourself.

                                   (Appendix 6: xi)

As her friend, Carol, has pointed out, Jackie herself has to be more involved and independent in her attempts to construct a more positive self-image instead of constantly seeking a short-lived affirmation from her friends.

4.3.2 Interview 2 (Appendix 7)

Initially I included Judy as a disconfirming case: she came from a dysfunctional family (both parents were unemployed and alcoholics), yet based on her academic success, I believed that she had achieved mastery over the discursive conventions of the school. However, on analysing the data in the interview, I realised that in fact, she was not socialised into the school discourse completely. She rejects the primary discourse of the home, has no faith in the discourse of the church, alienates herself from social contact of friends because of her embarrassment of her parents, and positions herself as a person who is control over her own life. However, the power that she thinks she has is tenuous. The first chink in her armour is her recognition that she is not confident or outspoken and this is a source of emotional stress for her.

I: Are you happy with yourself, Judy?

J: No miss

I: What are you unhappy about?

J: Mostly my lack of confidence.

I: What can give you confidence?

J: I don't think anything.

(She cries)

I: Do you feel others are superior to you?

J: Yes.

I: What makes them superior to you? Look, in your class, the most superior person is you. Isn't your academic intelligence something that gives you confidence?

J: Not really.

I: What would you like to be like?

J: I would mostly like to be outspoken.

I: What stops you from being outspoken?

J: My lack of confidence. (she cries)

(Appendix 7: iv)

Within the parameters of the school, while she projects herself successfully in her academic work, she is withdrawn and introverted, and uses the school as a way of escaping from the problems in the home.

She is very insightful concerning the ways in which other teenagers try to escape from similar issues at home, rejecting the impulsive actions which characterise so many of her peers:

J: I think it's because I want to escape…that's why I'm studying like this.

I: Drugs, boyfriends, smoking….those are ways that others are escaping from the realities of life.

J: Those people don't think very far, that's why. They think just for the moment, and that's not for me.

(Appendix 7: iii)

However, this insight does not extend to her own decisions. For example, her rejection of her parents is extended to position her as a woman who rejects the possibility of children one day.

I: If you become a parent one day.. when you become a parent one day.

J: (interrupting) I don't want to become a parent one day.

I: Why not?

J: I don't want my child to go through such hell.

I: Wouldn't you be a different parent?

J: I'll try but I won't get very far.

I: Why not?

J: Because I've inherited some traits from my parents and that I'll pass on to my children.

(Appendix 7: iii)

She is blinded to the irrationality of her logic (that her parents' negative qualities will be genetically inherited by her) because of her experiences in the primary Discourse.

The alcoholism of her parents has created enormous problems for this subject. She is positioned in a powerful way , having to take over the reins in the home. She rejects her parents as unworthy of respect or emulation , and tries very hard not to feel affected by them.

I: You say your parents aren't role models...why?

J: Well, they're alcoholics. I don't think I even respect them.

I: When you say that, what do you mean?

J: Like my parents, especially my mother, I speak to her anyhow.

I: How does that make you feel?

J: Mmmmm...you know I don't really feel anything. I should be respectful of her and my father.

I: Why do you behave that way towards your mother?

J: Because I see the way she acts, and she acts more like a child, and I'm the parent.

(Appendix 7: i)

This breakdown of the conventional forms of power within the family has colluded to create a seemingly callous, independent young woman who rejects the possibility that anyone besides herself can help her out of her problems: "I am in charge of my own life".

Her lack of feeling for anyone else besides her sisters is also extended to the community. She projects herself as a voyeur who gets a thrill out of the activities of the gangs in the area.

I: What about gangsterism in the area? How does that impact on you as a resident of this suburb?

J: Mm..not actually.. it adds as an interest to me, it is exciting to see people getting stabbed and all that.

I: How do you feel about the people getting stabbed?

J: I feel sorry for them, but at the same time it's exciting and sometimes I feel they deserve it because of the things they do.

(Appendix 7: iii)

She also rejects the Discourse of the Church, having no faith in anything that is not tangible.

I: The church, does it play an important role in your life?

J: S A lot of people who go to church just pretend. What's the use of going to church if you behave that way?

I: Have you had experience of this?

J: Not really.

I: But you're cynical of them?

J: Mm.

I: Why do you think they're pretending?

J: Like when they're at church they fall and get the spirits. ..I don't believe that.

I: You don't believe there's a place in life for that?

J: No miss.

I: What is real, genuine, sincere in your life?

J: Umm…I can't really say.

(Appendix 7: ii)

At the conclusion of the interview, she reaffirmed this sentiment.

I: I see you're crying a lot. Is the interview upsetting you?

J: A little bit.

I: Why?

J: Because it's making me think of things I'd rather not.
I: Is it better not to think of these things?
J: Yes.
I: Why?
J: 'Cause what's the use of thinking about it? It will do nothing.
I: A lot of people pray. Have you thought about exploring that side of your life?
J: Yes, but it doesn't help. (She cries again)

(Appendix 7: v)

4.3.3 Interview 3 (Appendix 8)

Nolan and James are representative of young boys whose identities are constructed through the interaction with the Discourse of friendship, and the sub-culture of the gangs. The issue of power is very obvious in their discursive patterns. Nolan is positioned in a very powerful way by virtue of his relationship with gangsters, although he does profess not to be part of the gang itself.

I: Where do you feel most powerful in your lives?
N: With my friends...it seems like I got more power...that's basically it.
I: What do you mean?
N: Like they under me, miss. Just the way they look up to me, and the people I move with.... Because of the people I'm with, miss. Brother in law, not my brother in law, he got a child from my sister, and he's a gangster, so they can't do anything to me 'cause they'll get hurt in the process.

Appendix 8: I)

Power structures within the gangs are also very evident. Gangsters are revealed as the ones who have the power to control the others below them. When asked about his status within the gangs, Nolan again stated that he merely keeps company with the gangsters, but that he is not dangerous.

J: Gangsters just..the guy that's there . . . that's running the show, miss. He can send you miss, he got power over everyone, miss. But like a friend, miss, he's just a guy that's doing the things, miss. He can't send everybody.

I: So friends can engage in illegal activities . . .

J: Yes miss

I: Okay, but a gangster controls them.

J: Yes miss.

I: So Nolan, what are you?

N: Haai, miss, I'm not a gangster. People say gangsters are bad...

I: Hmmm...

N: . . . but it's like . . . let me give you an example . . . two dogs . . . it's like putting a Rottweiler on a person..it'll bite. But putting a pitbull on a person, it'll eat him. So like the gangsters are like the pitbull. You can't get on the wrong side, 'cause they're bad, that's just the way they are, miss

<div align="right">(Appendix 8: iii)</div>

James is positioned as a follower, who looks up to Nolan because of his independent personality: " I look up to him miss, because he's his own person" and later:

J: You could say, miss, Nolan is a leader, not a follower.

N: A leader? Where? Where?

J: No, I'm saying, he can say miss, basically, he's a leader not a follower miss, so his friends will do what he's doing, miss.

I: He's a good gangster, apparently!

N: I'm not a gangster.

I: Okay, what are you?

N: I'm just a good boy.

I: You're a good boy who sits with gangsters.

N: You can't judge me, only God can judge me.

<div align="right">(Appendix 8: ix)</div>

An awareness of their social identity was very apparent, with James showing a desire to reinterpret the definition of a gang, which he knows is viewed negatively in the area, in order to gain the approval of the general community. However, Nolan is very strong in his argument , constantly repeating himself in an effort to make James see how wrong he is. James' final comment reveals that he has acquiesced, although he does not say so in so many words!

I: John . . . although he's . . . he's . . . I would say you and your friends are a gang . . . a group of boys doing things . . .

J: Not a gang, miss.

N: Your'll are . . . your'll are!

I: What's the difference? What's a gang?

J: Miss a gang's a group of people that got a title.

I: So . . . you're an untitled gang?

J: Yes.

Laughter

N: They are a gang!

J: We're just a group of friends.

N: So you mean to tell me if we're moving together and you see someone hitting me you're not gonna jump?

J: We'll jump.

N: So that's a gang!

J: No, we're united.

N: You're a gang!

J: Miss, what they say . . . together we stand, divided we fall.

                                        Appendix 8: ix)

James thinks that he can leave off smoking drugs whenever he wants to, but Nolan contradicts him often. When asked to define what makes him an individual, he was teased by Nolan as being a "smoke bud", who would be unable stop.

I: Will he be able to stop, Nolan?

N: No he won't, miss. It's the game.

I: It's the game?

N: That's what they say, Miss.

I: What's the game?

N: What you in, Miss.

I: What do you mean?

N: He's in the drugs, miss.

J: Drugs?

I: How do you play in the drug game?

J: You play a role miss.

N: For what you can get.

I: What role do you play in the drug game, James?

N: He just goes with the flow.

I: Smoking as Nolan said?

N: It feels like he gets respect more, am I right?

J: What do you mean?

N: He feels like, they check him smoking, he can sit with them, they'll get along. Am I right?

J: No, not really. I don't smoke in front of the XYZ gang and gangsters. Once they see you doing that they want you to supply them.

(Appendix 8: vi)

Nolan's very perceptive remarks above position James as someone whose identity and personality is fixed within the parameters of the Enlightened subject (Hall, 1992). His identity is dependent on the context in which he is positioned. In this case, the social group of the gang dictates the expected role that he must play if he hopes to fit in and gain their respect. In a sense, he becomes a "looking glass of social expectations" , presenting a performance in this social drama of the gang sub-culture, and constantly seeking the approval of others. Even his attempt at defending his position is weakened by the fact that it is only fear of having to supply the stronger gangs which stops him from smoking drugs in front of them.

The power of the school is viewed in typical Foucauldian terms, as an institution that observes and records the characteristics of its subjects through "surveillance". Both boys believe that teachers should therefore not know anything about their lives outside the discourse of the school, since they will categorise them as gangsters and lose respect for them.

I: Hmm, so the school has put you into a little category according to your actions?

N: I don't like people to put me down, miss, that's when I lose my respect for them. They think they can just say you're a gangster...the respect is lost....

J: ..in other words, they're judging you.

I: But children would respect somebody associated with activities such as yours, isn't it?

N: Yes, in this suburb . . . anywhere where there's a lot of gangsters. They'll look up to you.

I: Okay, and in a school, the teachers wouldn't look up to that kind of thing.

N: No, not in a school.

I: Why ?What's the difference?

N: How they gonna look up to a gangster fighting, doing his own thing. But at home . . . at school . . . you're two.

I: Which person are you more comfortable with, Nolan?

N: At home, miss.

I: And you, James?

J: Same, miss. At home you're free, miss.

N: It's like we live in two worlds, miss. Like in schools the teachers look at you like you an angel, but at home, your friends look at you like, ay . . . that ou.

I   So is it easy to try to fit together all those images of yourself that you say these people have of you?

N   How you gonna put an angel and a devil together, miss?

(Appendix 8: x)

Clearly, the conflict between the Discourse of the gangs and the school in these cases has resulted in the construction of decentred subjects, whose identity is multifaceted. However, they are not equally comfortable with the identity they have had to construct for participation within the discourse of the school, preferring to be "free" like they are at home. Their language positions them as subjects who actively construct their own identities, but the preference for the free self at home presents them as having a kind of double consciousness, where their preferred self actually monitors the performance of the social self at school, controlling and manipulating it to ensure that whatever is said or done does not meet with the disapproval of the people in power within this Discourse. The conflict between the home and school Discourse is metaphorically linked to living in two worlds, as living out the roles of a devil and an angel in each world respectively. These ways of being in both worlds are incompatible and cause conflict.

The environment in which they live impacts on their identity since they portray themselves as helpless to avoid the pitfalls of gangsterism because the area gives them no choice. Nolan walks around the area with his pitbulls , in order to gain the respect of the people. He describes the area as being about "dogs" and when pressed, explained that he used it as a metaphor for the gang activities. He refers to these as a gang, from which one can never escape, unless one gets saved, which also is not permanent.

> N: Caliban is just about dogs.
> I: What do you mean?
> N: Gangsterism . . . drugs . . . it's a bad place.
> I: So if you're walking around . . .
> N: Next year I might go to Durban, stay with my eldest sister. But I still think wherever we go, we'll find the same kind of people. You can't run away from trouble, it'll always find you. There's no way out the game, once you start you can't stop.
>   (Appendix 8: viii)

The genre of gangsta rap music is something that Nolan identifies with. He discusses part of it with James, who explains the disturbing extent to which this music has positioned both of them. The Discourse of war is disturbingly evident in their admiration for rappers like Tupac (a notorious rapper who died violently) who survived in the war-like environment of the ghettoes. Faced with a similarly merciless environment, they reveal themselves to be survivors, trying to emulate the way in which Tupac managed to overcome the threats which he faced by transforming himself into something larger than life. However, the tragic death that Tupac experienced does not manifest itself as a deterrent to living a similar lifestyle.

> N: Life ....you have to party, hey John.....(inaudible)
> I: What does that mean?

J: He shoulda been killed while he was still innocent miss. That's the way he feels miss. They should have shot him when he was born.

N: That's why I listen to gangsta music. There's always a meaning behind the song.

I: Such as?

N: Like Tupac, when he sings about his mother. I like that....like the way I see my mother...I can clash, I can connect.

I: Do you identify with Tupac?

N: Yah.

I: Does he say a lot of things that you agree with?

N: Yes.

I: And his lifestyle?

J: Lifestyle...I agree with his lifestyle.

N: I don't.

I: What kind of lifestyle, James?

J: He lived the life of an outlaw, Miss, he was a gangster.

I: Do you like that kind of life?

J: Miss, he had to. The place where he was living in was a war.

I: So places make you who you are?

J: Yes miss, the environment.

N: That's why I don't want to live in this suburb.

I: Is there no way to be okay in this area, to live normally?

J: Ay, you can't.

N: You can't.

(Appendix 8: viii)

4.3.4 Interview 4(Appendix 9)

Grant represents the group of boys who have rejected the Discourse of gangsterism and try to forge an identity for themselves from other Discourses such as the home and the church. He was once involved in gang activities, but rejected this once his mother discovered what he was up to. She is positioned as a powerful figure in his life: " She plays a big role in my life, miss, because she's always there when I'm down, she always encourages me and she helps me out here and there when I can't manage."(Appendix 9: I)

The way in which his mother controlled her two sons was largely responsible for successfully bringing Grant out of the gang culture when he submitted to the pressure to belong to one. " I got into Bernard and them's gang, started swearing, started smoking doing all the wrong things, until my mother found out.... She gave me a good thrashing." (Appendix 9: iii). His brother is very active in the Church, and Grant is supported by him as well, in his efforts to overcome the temptation to resume smoking.

Within the classroom, he is marginalised since he does not wish to associate with some of his peers who have gangster connections. He creates a place for himself within the group of African boys in the class, perceiving them to be peaceful.

I: So, in the classroom, what kind of person do you have to be where there are boys who have connections with gangsters?
G: Miss, I try to pull myself into a corner. Stay to myself and don't communicate with those boys.
I: Do you communicate with anybody?
G: In the class?
I: Yes.
G: Sometimes.
I: Who do you talk to?
G: The . . . the darker boys, miss.
I: What do you mean, the darker boys?
G: They the boys I like miss, like . . . I don't wanna be racist.
I: No, it's not being racist.
G: They got less, you know, the gang in them . . . they the boys of peace.

(Appendix 9: IV)

However, in his role as a class prefect, he positions himself as powerless to discipline any of his peers who have links with gangs, for fear of being threatened by them outside of school.

4.3.5 Interview 5 (Appendix 10)

Lynn, Ruth and Yvette are positioned as typical young girls, who come from stable families, and do fairly well at school. The main concern that they raised during the interview related to the qualities of true friends. Their mothers play a strong, supportive role in their lives, and they are able to communicate openly with them. This attitude is extended to the school discourse, where they are able to cope well. It is clear that the ways in which they interact at home, have colluded with the conventions of the school, to place them as subjects who accept the power of the school as an extension of the home.

4.3.6 Interview 6 (Appendix 11)

Tamara and Damien were specifically chosen since they both appeared to have deep concerns about racial identity. They come from different backgrounds, with Tamara being the youngest in a family of five siblings. She is very good academically, is confident and articulate, and participates in local drama productions. Damien is also the youngest child, but his father passed away a few years ago, and his mother battles to make ends meet. He is normally passive in the classroom, but can become passionate if the right topic is raised. Daniel was absent on the day of his scheduled interview, and requested to be included in this one, since it was the last interview to be conducted.

Their patterns of talk reveal various discourses that exist in their construction of identity. In the case of Tarryn, her socialisation into the primary discourse is successful, and mirrors the conventional roles which members of a family play. Consequently, she is able to master, and even excel in the secondary discourse of the

school. However, this powerful position that she is in, only serves to cast her as an

outsider to the peers who do not experience similar circumstances. For example, when

Damien tries to describe his unhappiness regarding his relationship with his mother,

which results in his drinking and smoking, she constructs herself as an older, wiser

person who is counselling someone on the most logical way to do things. However,

her advice is rejected because she is not part of the particular family discourse from

which he stems:

D: You know, I want to be part of the family. I want to be someone too like that can be trusted. All I am is like a stranger. I feel like a stranger in my own..... in my own house...and in my...my family...treats me like a stranger. Sometimes it gets to me...then I don't try all my best...like....so it doesn't ...it's amazing that other people turn to me with their problems...but my own family doesn't turn to me. What kind of mission is that? What kind of thing is that?

T: I think that drinking and smoking solves nothing. .... I don't know how it feels to go home and there's no lights or people fighting and screaming and everything because, like, I've ...I've had everything I've ever wanted when I was young and . . . like now . . . whatever I want I get . . . and I feel that drinking and smoking will solve absolutely nothing.

D: Exactly.

T: First of all, first of all . . . Okay, you're under age. All drinking and smoking is going to do is ruin you in the future. I mean, you're drinking, you're buggering up your livers – you're smoking, you're buggering up your lungs . . . there's other alternatives . . . you can sit and listen to what they have to say and then you . . . you speak to them and you tell them how you feel about it afterwards .The best thing, the best solution, is to talk about it, not go out, smoke and drink and all that.

D: Tamara, exactly . . . okay you see, now you're talking . . . you're not talking from experience. This is something that we look to everyday. What am I going to talk to a mother who didn't even finish school – who had to work when she was going to standard 1?   . . . She can't even write . . . she can't even . . . thing . . . her own signature . . . it's so difficult, right, and as you're saying, you have everything, we don't have everything.

(Appendix 11: iii)

Both Daniel and Damien reveal that they come from families in which the traditional roles have been overturned, in much the same way as Judy (Interview3). Daniel intervenes in his parents' arguments, often acting as a referee :

> Dl: It's like when they get together, it's just an argument . Then I must go stop them 'Come, separate. No, keep quiet. Ma, go to the room....'
>
> I: How do you feel when you have to do that?
>
> Dl: I feel like a big man, Miss. Now...um.. I'm like the parent in the house. I'm separating these two big people.
>
> I: And what are your emotions when this happens... when you feel like you are the parent?
>
> Dl: I get naar miss...And then,, when they carry on, I just open the door, I walk out?
>
> I: Where do you go to?
>
> Dl: I go smoke...I go smoke
>
> (Appendix 11: ii)

Damien takes over the role of parent when there is no electricity in the home, in fact, in other people's homes as well, often at the risk of losing his own life:

> I: Why don't you have electricity?
>
> D: Well, uh, when we first came here and other people were living there . . . like we told this man to stay there, but he wasn't paying for the lights and you know it increased and it was too much for my father and I told him hey, me, I'm robbing this thing. I'll make a plan. I'll do something. Me, I'll come up with something, but I'm just not going to sit in a house where it's dark. So I started fiddling by the box. I started off by the box like in the yard. I fiddled, I fiddled . . . but I got it right. Then the electricity people caught me. Then I told my mother 'Hey Ma, I'm making up another plan'. I fiddled, fiddled, fiddled. They switched off everything. Then they went to the . . . I saw them going to the danger box, cutting wires and that. I went – I switched it on by my house like inside, then I went to the danger box and still now, three years . . .
>
> (Appendix 11: i)

When the social fabric of the home is disturbed, both these boys cannot cope with it,

and seek solace in smoking and drinking, unlike Jessica, who realises that her escape

is through her education. In fact, Damien's inability to resolve the conflict at home,

jeopardises his position at school, and he consequently blames his mother for it.

> I: Why do you drink alcohol?
> D: You know, my mother drinks. You know, when my mother is drunk . . . she'll stay on the . . . like maybe if I did something small, she'll make it a big issue. I'll sit in the room. - she'll come- she'll open the door- she'll carry on shouting . . . I'm studying . . . you know in that house . . . in our house you won't ever study . . . you don't ever study . . . then obviously when I leave that house I'm going with my friends . . . I'm going to drink . . . I come back drunk in the night. I just come home and I sleep . . . and I tell her, hey, there's nothing else I was going to do. You keep on shouting here. I can't study.
> (Appendix 11: ii –iii)

Damien's embarrassment and rejection of his mother as a powerful figure in the

family stems not only from her lack of education, but also because of her race. She

is African, and the reason for his father's alienation from the Coloured side of his

family. In fact, he constantly manipulates the conversation by deliberately steering

it to issues of race, at one time asking me not to change the focus since he was

enjoying it:

> I: Okay, let me stop you guys there. Um . . .
> D: No miss, I'm enjoying this topic!
> (Appendix 11: x)

The larger Discourse of racism is very apparent in his talk, and is the focal point of

all his identity struggles. His father's mixed marriage has resulted in an identity

conflict for him: he is dark in complexion, and , as he says, is often mistaken for an

African, much to his displeasure.

D: Even when we're going to that school(primary school), we get treated like dirt. Coloureds . . . people are looking at you saying, aye, what's this African doing here? Only your surname could prove something. Which was hopeless and still now it's hopeless . . . the only people that ever look at me as Coloured is people who know me . . . and know me by my surname.

D: The Africans, like you know . . . plus they say, hey you Damien, you're a Darkie, we're going to give you this name . . . they're going to call me? They call me Dlamini. They can't accept . . .

I: And how do you feel?

D: Well miss, it makes me, one minute I laugh about it. Then when I actually have to think about it . . . analyse everything they say and I actually think about it . . . it's not a nice thing, it's not a nice thing. Why can't I be accepted for who I am? (Appendix 11: iv)

And to prove his point he continues with:

D: Even my own girlfriend.. she's Coloured, but her parents don't like me because I'm African . . . They don't know me by name . . . it's okay, they know me by name and surname . . . because . . . okay . . . he's African, how, he's not fair, so . . . he's a . . . he's African . So they don't like me to go out with her because . . . I'm African.

(Appendix 11: v)

When asked whether he preferred the company of Coloureds to Africans he

revealed his discomfort with African people, referring to them as "those" and clearly

positioning them as Other.

I: So why do you get upset when people say you're African?

D: Why do I get upset? Because, it's . . . okay . . . how would I know because some consider me as African and some consider me as Coloured . . . some of them call me iBoesman, some of them call me a Bushman.

I: So aren't you happy . . . you've got the best of both.

D: I've got the best of both, but why . . .

I: Why don't you mix between the two, why must you be this . . .

D: No, no.. .

I: I would like to go from one to the other as the situation fitted.

D: No, I wouldn't.

I: So you want to be Coloured?

> D: Aye miss, you know . . . you know . . . sometimes I just think about it . . . and you know . . . I just don't know. Because you know, even when I'm with those . . . when I'm sitting with Africans . . . you never hear me talking Zulu. It's only for that period . . . maybe like for those couple of minutes then I change . . . and then they tell me, aye, eksa . . . you know you can feel the atmosphere . . . the tension between these people that I'm sitting with is changing. But when I sit with Coloureds I fit in perfectly, I fit in perfectly.
>
> (Appendix 11: v)

Yet he is clearly in conflict about this preference, since it is tantamount to a betrayal of his father's courage in taking an African woman as a wife. His dilemma at being caught in a twilight zone between the two reveals deep turmoil within this young man's attempts to construct his social identities:

> I: Now, you seem to almost resent your mother and the fact that she doesn't have an education, the fact that she doesn't speak to you . . . you seem to . . . and then, you're not identifying with her, in a way, because you're moving away from when children say you're African . . . and you're rejecting that identity . . . then aren't you rejecting your mother?
>
> D: I don't reject my mother . . . I'm . . . I'm proud of my mother . . . because she would have left me long time ago and sold the house and took the money . . . and left me like that, but I don't . . . you see . . . I don't. But then again, you can't stand in two places. You must be stable.
>
> I: What do you mean?
>
> D: I can't be this side here . . . pulled one side . . . hey Coloured . . . pulled one side . . . African. You must know where, as Tamara is going to walk on the road . . . Coloured. She's known. I'm here . . . gone.
>
> DI: She's just one place . . . everybody knows her as . . .
>
> D: One place
>
> (Appendix 11: viii)

He is unhappy about accepting both parts of himself, and believes that one's identity is based on a unitary, stable, fixed sense of self, which he hopes to gain after a reinterpretation of the past. He cannot accept supplementary ways of being - cannot construct multiple identities to help him to belong in different social and cultural

contexts. In a sense, one could say that the racialist views of African people which he

reveals in his text, is appropriated from the racist discourse of apartheid times.

"Only Blacks do that . . . Blacks are only good at . . . Blacks like stealing . . ."

(Appendix 11: x). He uncritically accepts these views of African people, but at the

same time, he positions himself as not part of the in-group of Coloureds. He is in

danger of becoming an "individual without an anchor, without horizon, colourless,

stateless, rootless – a race of angels"(Fanon,1963)

When drawn into a conversation about the defining attributes of Coloured people, he

rejected Tamara's statement that they are a mixture of two races. The idea of

hybridity does not appeal to him, in fact, he rejects the apartheid interpretation

of the origins of Coloureds in the country by criticising it as being "distorted".

Instead he attempts to reinvent the origins of Coloureds by asking for a more in

depth investigation into the past so that " afterwards we can actually know".

D: No, no, no, no, no, Let's don't talk about mixtures and all that . . . Coloured

T: What you looking at . . . what you're looking at is the stereotype Coloured.

D: To know where you're going, you must know where you come from . .
.

Dl: Ya.

D: To know where you're going, you must know where you come from.

I: So where do we come from? She says we're a mixture of two races.

D: We say . . . that's where we come from. But . . . okay . . . okay . . . I can understand that miss, but why can't we look in this . . . as in school . . . as teachers teach . . . history. Why do we know about France and French Revolution? General history? South Africa alone is history . . . is big time history .

T: But what you . . .

D: And then afterwards we can actually, exactly know . . . okay as she's saying that there . . . history is from . . . there is two different race groups right . . . I'm sure there is also more to that, there is more

because there is so much distortion to history . . . there is so much distortion.

<div align="center">(Appendix 11: v)</div>

It is clear that he is searching for a reinterpretation of the origin of Coloureds, possibly because the description given by Tamara is not viewed positively. The common myth is that African women were the victims of the lust of white men, resulting in a mulatto race. This mixed breed is derisively referred to as *fongkong* by the youngsters at school, and it is no wonder that this young man rejects this version, as well as the broader interpretation of history which is taught at school. In his attempt to go back to the past in order to determine his cultural identity, he rejects the colonialist view of history : "I'm sure there is also more to that, there is more because there is so much distortion to history . . . there is so much distortion".

Finally, all three subjects reject the view that South Africa is now a democratic country. They reveal a cynicism concerning the equality of the races, perceiving Coloureds to be marginalised yet again. In apartheid times, the oppressor was the White man, in post apartheid times, the African is the oppressor.

I: But it's the new South Africa. Do you think it's (race) important?
D: New South Africa – where?
Dl: There is still apartheid . . .
D: There is no difference.
Dl: . . . up to today
D: Up to today.
T: Miss, the difference . . . the only difference, I think, between the apartheid is that now, before the whites were in power, now it's the Africans . . . that is in power. The Coloureds are just in the middle – as always. But what I can say is that I've seen things happening. Before . . . as you said the last time . . .you look on tv and now you're seeing a lot of Coloureds. Coloureds are fighting their way to the top and one day they're going to get there.

<div align="center">(Appendix 11: viii – ix)</div>

Tamara positions herself powerfully, as optimistic about the outcome in the struggle

for recognition. However, the two boys marginalise themselves further by appearing

powerless to change the situation.

> D: Miss, look at here . . . it's not like I'm standing here . . . it's just that Thabo Mbeki is concentrating only on Africans . . . why can't he concentrate on the Coloureds?
>
> I: What would you tell him?
>
> D: What would I tell him? Me, I would go up to him . . . I would go there . . . I would tell him Thabo Mbeki . . . right . . . Madiba fought for this country . . . I respect him for that, right . . . but then again, you seem top be only handling Africans . . . why? Don't . . . doesn't your mind ever cross that okay, there's other races too, as well . . . that you should look forward to?
>
> Dl: Well . . . wait now.
>
> D: Other people that you should concentrate on?
>
> Dl: Wait, wait . . . check here . . . look at us, right? Why they only signing on Africans?
>
> D: Why?
>
> Dl: Why? Look at us. We look like we're left out. We're like polony between two slices. The Whites and the Africans. That's all. That's what we look like.
>
> (Damien and Daniel exchange a handshake acknowledgement)
>
> (Appendix 11: ix)

In their positioning of Coloureds as "polony between two slices" or as marginalised

by the dominant races, both boys reveal that they perceive Coloureds as the victims

of oppression yet again. They attempt to develop a sense of self validation through

the discourse of slang, which they believe is admired by Africans, and is a quality

that sets them apart from other races in the country.

> I: What's that [action] you guys are doing now?
>
> D: That's the style, miss.
>
> I: Is this Coloured now?
>
> Dn: Ja, that is Coloured.

D: Even . . . even . . . you know the way . . . you know, Miss, when we're
        with Blacks . . .
T: I've seen Black people doing that . . .
Dn: Because everybody is learning from us.
D: When we're talking, you know, ekse . . . and you know . . . ekse you
        know ous I'll check you later . . . like this, like that . . . then the Blacks
        will say . . .[isiZulu phrase, indistinct]
I: What does that mean?
D: The person is telling you, aye, there is the Coloured talking in his
language.

                                                        (Appendix 11: ix)

Tamara is constructed in a more powerful and proactive role by her refusal to be

bound by generalisations that categorise Coloureds. Firstly, she openly confronts

anyone irrespective of status or race if she perceives an injustice. She recounts her

experience in her drama group when this happened:

T: But it's . . . does it matter what people look at you like? I mean, when I
        went to that university to the play, people looked at me like, ooh, this
        Coloured, and like if I'd stand up and I'd say listen you're wrong like
        our producer or he'd just say funny things about the black people and I
        used to tell him, no listen, you're wrong. You're not supposed to do
        this. And then the Whites would say, ooh, she's Coloured, she's raw.
        Or something of that effect.

                                                        (Appendix 11: iv)

In addition, she rejects the stereotype of Coloureds limiting themselves to be

tradesmen.

T: Why should a Coloured be limited to those things? Why can't a
        Coloured become a doctor? What you're doing is you're limiting it. If
        a person . . . it's not what colour you are, your background, your
        nation, it's not that. It's your capability. If you really want to be a
        doctor . . . why must I settle to become a teacher when I know that
        with my knowledge and my . . . enthusiasm . . . I can become a doctor
        or a lawyer or something high? I . . . I can . . . in the past people
        thought that the White man can only become that because of what he
        had . . . but even if you have nothing . . . you can end up with
        something and be anything.

(Appendix 11: vi)

She is valorised in all discursive practices in which she participates, and her self-

esteem enables her to construct herself, able to overcome whatever prejudices she

might experience. Damien, however, cannot transform his sense of self: he remains in

stasis because he is unable to move beyond the feeling of shame regarding

Coloured identity. His identity is a site of struggle, and he keeps searching for

something which he can cling onto and call his own. In response to Tamara's opinion

that Coloureds can dare to be anything they want, he acknowledges this, but his

fixation on a definitive sense of Coloured roots and cultural identity takes precedence

over a successful career. His earlier statement: "To know where you're going you

must know where you come from" (page iv) echoes once again in the following

words:

D: Tamara, I'm not saying that there Coloureds can't be what Whites can
        be. We all can be anything we want to, right? But then again, being
        there . . . and you're having your children . . . and your child comes up
        to you . . . if a child comes up to you and says Tamara, where do
        Coloureds come from? Besides . . . Black and White . . . where do
        Coloureds come from?
I: What's the answer to that question? You keep coming back to it.
D: Miss, okay, right . . . you know . . . because in history . . . this history
        teacher of ours told us about the Whites coming from that side . . .
        from those places . . . and you know. . uh . . . Blacks, Zululand and
        whatnot . . . and then I ask myself, okay then, if these people can
        inherit . . . like coming from each and every like. . so then what did we
        have then? What did we . . . us
I: What have we got? What did we have?
D: Yes, exactly.
        I: Are you saying what kind of background – what kind of
        cultural background do we come from?
D: Exactly . . . exactly. Miss, it's what I want to know.

(Appendix 11: vi)

4.3.7 Conclusions

The subjects in the interviews constructed themselves in various ways, depending on how they reacted to issues in the various discourses that were raised. There is strong evidence of interdiscursive conflict between the home and the school, especially where parental discipline and guidance is lacking. What follows is a synopsis of selected subjects who symbolise some of the most important findings in the interviews.

Jackie (Interview 1) is a young woman who looks for validation and a sense of belonging in activities with her friends, despite the disapproval of her mother who appears helpless to change the actions of her daughter. What is particularly disturbing is the lack of vision and foresight, which Jackie reveals. She admits to doing wrong, she confesses to having an ambition, but she cannot put these admissions into any proactive planning to transform her current sense of instability into a sense of self which has purpose and direction.

Judy (Interview 2), on the other hand, is positioned as a lonely, cynical young woman who has no faith in anything that she herself cannot control. Despite her academic achievements, she has no self-esteem, lacks confidence and feels inferior to her peers. Her parents' failure to support herself and her siblings is the main reason for this. Added to this is the embarrassment and humiliation she feels concerning their alcoholism. All this has colluded to create a young woman who has not developed holistically. The importance of a supportive family environment is indicated yet again. In this case, the subject seeks escape from her parents through her studies.

Yet even here, her success does not help her to construct a positive sense of self –

instead it is just a vehicle to escape from the drudgery of poverty and alcoholism

created by her parents. She is different from Jackie in the sense that she has the

insight to realise that her medium of escape is important since it could impact on her

quality of life in the future.

Nolan (Interview 3) positions himself powerfully in the discourse of the gangs, while

avowing that he is not a gangster. His relationship with powerful gang members is

what helps him to be constructed as a respected person by his peers at school. He

acknowledges that this relationship would be frowned upon by the school

authorities, who would not understand it and would definitely not allow him to

articulate his gangster identity within the parameters of the school. He has learnt to

adapt to the different discourses in which he participates: at school, he is quiet and

charming; at home he is a loving son and uncle, and is devoted to his pitbulls (this in

itself reveals his desire to go against convention and be in control of what is regarded

by most people as dangerous), but within the context of the gangs, he is treated with

respect and deference. He cleverly ensures that he does not participate in drug abuse,

realising that this will place him in a position of vulnerability. James admits that

Nolan "is a leader, not a follower". He represents a multiplicity of selves, and

appears comfortable with the ways in which he positions himself in different

contexts.

James, on the other hand, is completely dominated by the discourse of gangsterism.

He is constantly teased by Nolan about his drug habits, and the fact that he will not be

able to stop drugging. He is a follower, unlike Nolan. He attempts to

reinterpret the word 'gang' into something more positive, such as 'friends', but is unable to hold his own against Nolan who proves that James' group is indeed a gang, since they come to each other's defence when there is a fight. Furthermore, James also positions the discourse of the school as other, since many of its conventions demand financial commitments, which he is unable to acquiesce to because of a lack of money at home. He is constructed as a sensitive young man who "would die" for his nephew, yet is unable to control his desire to smoke dagga constantly. This dependency places him in a position of weakness as far as Nolan is concerned. In addition, his inability to accede to some of the financial requests of teachers at school weakens his sense of self even more.

Damien's identity is a site of struggle. His obsession with race and cultural identity indicates a subject who is deeply engaged in the search for a sense of belonging. His shame at having an African mother who is uneducated overpowers him, and is a source of deep conflict within a young man who prefers to be Coloured, but rejects the connotations that come with this identity. He places himself in a marginalised position, but cannot transform his insecurity into a powerful construction of identity or a place of resistance, unlike Tamara who unequivocally states that "It's your ability" that determines your success, and rejects any limitations which others might construe as part of Coloured identity. He is in a state of 'in-betweeness"(Rutherford, 1990: 25), and it is only by continuing with this personal struggle through all the stages until he reaches resolution, and creates new and multiple ways of being that he will be able to escape from this 'indeterminate state of hybridity' (Rutherford, 1990: 25).

All the subjects in the interviews are engaged in a struggle for voice (Williams, 1977 in: Rutherford, 1990: 22) in the discourses of the home, school and friends or gangs. They all achieve varying degrees of success or failure at mastery of one or more discourses, but it is clear that the discourse of the home has a powerful impact on the level of success that is achieved in the secondary discourses. Jackie, Judy, James and Damien project a sense of displacement, moving from one discourse to another with no firm conviction of belonging or empowerment in any of the discourses studied in this research. They, more than any of the others, symbolise what Mako meant when he referred to ghosts between two fires: they present themselves as insubstantial beings desperately trying to cling on to anything that will give them a sense of belonging, of coming home. Those who have achieved substance and a sense of belonging - Carol and George to some extent, the three young women in Interview 5, and more especially Tamara - reveal that their interaction in the discursive practices of the home has rooted them firmly in their construction of identity. The success of their enculturation in this primary Discourse permeates the nature of their participation in the secondary Discourses of the school and friendship. They are projected as actively attempting to construct their identities in ways that are empowering and validating.

Chapter 5

Pedagogical implications of the findings and suggestions for

further research

5.1   Pedagogical implications of the findings

It is clear that for a school to be regarded as a successfully functioning unit, three factors need to be in place: the parents, the learners, and the educators. In analysing the data in this research, it is obvious that all three criteria at Caliban need addressing.

Gee (1990, 1996) states that for teaching to be effective, it has to be political, and consequently, a moral act. What he means is that teachers represent various aspects of the dominant Discourse, ultimately being the gatekeepers of society, who decide which learners are to be awarded the gift of social access and power, based on their competence within this Discourse. Thus, the decisions that they make concerning their methodologies and practices, their values and beliefs, are crucial in creating critical and active learners exposed to a variety of Discourses and able to challenge practices with which they do not agree. Alternatively, educators can subscribe to the outdated belief that learners should be submissive, and that education is a matter of passively assimilating and regurgitating volumes of teacher and text book driven information, without any attempt at critical analysis. We would then be guilty of producing young men and women who have no confidence or experience in independent and critical thinking, and who are projected as extensions of uncontested and sycophantic discursive practices which do not empower them as individuals able

to actively participate in any discursive practices that impact on their social constructions.

When educators become aware of the difference between pedagogy and teaching, they should actively seek to transform their lessons by allowing opportunities for criticism and debate. They will have to adopt different approaches to their relationship with learners as well. On a personal level, one would need to be more empathetic and understanding of learners' lives in different Discourses. Familiarising yourself with them takes time, and the dialogue journals are an effective way of encouraging a better teacher- pupil relationship in the classroom. In order to project a sincere and bona fide image to the learners, this empathy should be grounded in the realities of their home lives and extended to the expectations of the school in order to make this Discourse more meaningful to them. It is obvious that schools should therefore have qualified school psychologists and counsellors who are able to address the issues which will arise from the information that teachers gain about their learners' lives. In many instances where there is conflict at home, or even at school, these issues will have to be dealt with in a sensitive manner, and expertise in this field is required if the risk of undermining and destroying the people involved to be avoided.

For learners to become au fait with the discursive practices of a school, especially in cases where they have not been apprenticed by the Discourse of the home, teachers need to ensure that there is scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have mastered the Discourse of the school already. These people could be teachers themselves, who develop teaching programmes to assist those who are at risk of being outsiders because of their lack of apprenticeship. Gee (1990) exhorts teachers,

especially teachers of English to take responsibility for apprenticing learners to dominant, school-based social practices. Through the teaching of English, these educators are also passing on a particular world view of certain social groups, a view which is complicit with certain values and beliefs. In apprenticing the learner into the practices of the dominant Discourse, educators need to be fully aware that this may be in conflict with her initial enculturation and socialisation, and with various other identities which are part of other social practices in which she engages. Strategies to assist these learners whose identities might be in crisis must be created. This can be done by opening up these issues for debate, by validating different ways of being in different contexts, and by emphasising the possibility of multiple identities. Educators become curriculum developers by acknowledging the diverse cultures and complex social issues which characterise their learners, and selecting texts that validate this in the classroom. Learners' vernacular language, registers of speech, genre of music, and even accessible and informal comic books can be used to tap into their ways of thinking and doing. Diversity in its many guises must be acknowledged, exposed and discussed in the classrooms if our learners are to develop tolerance and respect for each other. In this way, stereotypes and prejudices are exposed and discussed, and learners are then able to question their own discursive practices, and transform them to become more inclusive of differences. By including texts that reveal diversity in our society, the teacher is validating the alternative ways of being that are exemplified in a multi-cultural classroom. Inter-discursive conflict that arises when cultures and traditions of the home discourse are vastly different to that of the school, will be ameliorated by this type of pedagogical intervention. In a very thought-provoking discussion of English teachers and their roles as gate-keepers, Gee compellingly states that

> The English teacher can contribute to her own marginalisation by seeing herself as a language teacher with no connections to social or political issues. Or she can accept the paradox of literacy being a form of interethnic communication that often involves conflicts of values and identities, and accept her role as one who socialises students into a world view that has constant possibilities for change.
>
> (Gee, 1990: 67)

Furthermore, the extent of mastery in a discourse determines the positioning of a subject, and if mastery is achieved, then a sense of belonging and empowerment is the ultimate consequence. As gatekeepers of this discourse, teachers should be actively seeking out different ways to facilitate this mastery. Supportive interaction could also be supplied by senior learners who act as mentors for the new admissions to a school, or for those learners who approach counsellors with personal problems which impact negatively on their identities at school. Two innovative schools in Pietermaritzburg have established groups of these mentors under the leadership and direction of the school counsellor, and are examples of how these supportive strategies breach the gap between the home and school, and assist with creating the school as a place where learners can feel a sense of belonging, instead of alienation.

Where it is clear that learners are not mastering the school discourse because of a lack of apprenticeship from the home, schools should involve parents through creative strategies designed to expose parents to literary and other practices which are validated at schools. Schools need to create ways in which this involvement could be developed, since according to past experience at Caliban High School, the majority of parents do not support Parents' Days. The need for parental involvement is boldly stated in the data in this study, with many subjects feeling disempowered and presenting themselves as outsiders in the school discourse because their parents do not

support their academic endeavours - the trick is how to harness and sustain the interest of these parents, many of whom are struggling to cope with the daily grind of life.

Educators and management of schools must revisit the conventions of the school, focussing on ways in which these practices position the learners and collude to create positive or negative identities. The setting of school rules and issues of discipline need to involve learners right from the outset in order for them to gain a sense of belonging and ownership in the school, instead of alienating them from it.

As educators, we are naturally concerned with issues such as completion of the syllabus and tests and examinations. Congruent with this is the valorisation of learners who comply with our notion of what is correct within the discourse of the school. They are viewed as one dimensional beings who either succeed at school, or not. However, learners should be viewed as "lifelong trajectories through these sites and institutions, as stories with multiple twists and turns" (Lankshear and Knobel, 1998). Learning is achieved through diverse contexts and in many different discourses. Gee is critical of schools that focus on children and schooling and ignore the role of social practices and Discourses. Teachers who are aware of the ways in which different discourses collude to position their learners and even themselves, are concomitantly aware that within the classroom, they are engaged in creating discourses and social realities through the interaction and the projection of certain values and beliefs of both the teacher and the learners. Our beliefs and values are important in constructing our identities, they combine to create a social reality which is " caught up in networks of power and desire, and resistance to power and desire" (Gee, 1990: 9)

What this research has highlighted is that the learners' identities are not unitary and stable, but are constantly being transformed, and constantly affected by the ways in which they are positioned in different discourses. Gee supports this stance by unequivocally stating that as educators we need to afford our learners the opportunity to critique their primary and secondary discourses, by exposing them to a number of discourses which will allow them to challenge some of their own discursive practices, and even transform them. We mistakenly assume that all learners have acquired the conventions of their primary discourse, and focus on learning at schools. However, many learners are non-mainstream and have not been effectively socialised into the discourse of the school. We need to move away from the conventional and limiting view that those who master the discourse of the school, are successful, and the rest are failures. Instead we need to explore other ways of reaching these learners who do not show successful apprenticeship into the conventions of the school. Gee sums it up in the following words:

> Mainstream dominant discourses in our society, especially school-based discourses, privilege us who have mastered them and do significant harm to others. They involved us in foolish views about other human beings and their Discourses, they foreshorten our views of human nature, human diversity, and the capacities for human change and development. They render us complicit with a denial of goods, including full human worth, to other humans, including many children. They imply that some children mean less than other children.

(Gee, 1990: 191)

5.2   Suggestions for further research

There is an urgent need for parents to become more deeply involved in the Discourse of the school. Not only will it encourage their children to work harder, but it will

empower parents by exposing them to the conventions of this secondary Discourse, perhaps even challenging some of them and thereby transforming them into more acceptable practices. A suggestion for further research is to conduct an ethnographic study of a group of families over a period of time, exposing them to a process of socialisation into the Discourse of the school, and tracking their support of their children and the impact it has on the children's mastery of the convention of the school, as well as on ways in which this intervention helps to construct the identities of both the parents and the children.

An extended project could be conducted in a school or a number of schools, specifically for the purpose of developing appropriate learning materials. These could then be used by the educators, and evaluations conducted on the success of these texts in harnessing all the required learning outcomes, as well as on the learners' responses to the nature of these texts.

Another area for further research is how race impacts on the cultural identity of young South Africans in the new South Africa. Schools are opportune places for the discourse of racism to be explored, for challenges to be made, and for transformations to take place. However, this is still a very sensitive topic in our new democracy, and would need to be carefully thought out since it would involve very confidential and personal information about the participants.

Finally, the impact of gang membership on the construction of identities across discourses is a research area that will be helpful in communities that are characterised by gang activity.

5.3   Conclusion

My overwhelming impression after having done this study is the lack of a sense of identity and direction that the majority of the subjects experience. The desire to 'find a place called home ' manifests itself in a failure to master the practices of dominant Discourses, in the membership of alternative Discourses such as gangs, in practices which meet with the disapproval of parents, in a cynicism that is soul-destroying and prevents the development of well - balanced and grounded young men and women. The crucial role that parents, educators, and other adults in authority have in the construction of the identities of the youngsters in our care is a scary and awesome responsibility. Most children find it difficult to mould themselves into balanced and empowered people; it becomes extremely difficult for them to create powerful constructions of identity and ways of being without the guidance of these adults, yet many of us have abdicated that responsibility. The racist ideologies of apartheid and the disparaging opinions that others have of Coloureds can be blamed for the negative construction of our identity in the past; we have no-one else besides ourselves to blame for the continuing dislocation and alienation that our children are still experiencing. If we do not actively engage in practices that validate and support them, that give them substance and voice, they will continue to be ephemeral beings whose nature is fleeting and unsatisfactory - ghosts between two fires.

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Appendix 1

Grade 9 : 2000 : data regarding home life and its impact on school (17 written accounts) these were pupils who wrote DJs for me in grade 8(1999) I wanted to find out how their primary discourses had changed compared to 1999, and the impact this had on their ability to be effective learners.

- *This was a content based analysis of the data, to ascertain common responses and divergent responses.*
- *I also hoped to triangulate findings from the 1999 journals with this data to confirm the experiences of the learners, as well as to link the primary and secondary discourses by ascertaining common categories and topics brought up in the data.*

The subjects mentioned the following aspects in these accounts:

1. **Rules**
   -Easy to keep at home(curfew; chores; church), but difficult to abide by at school because of financial limitations of parents(rules such as uniform/covering of books/)
   -Difficult to be punctual at school when you have to dress younger siblings for school, complete chores at home before school, then accompany younger siblings to their school first
   - laziness to complete duties at home results in spending too much time with friends as an escape

2. **Homework:**
   -Noisy home environment, not enough space in the home, therefore difficult to do homework
   -Lack of parental support or interest stops them from doing work
   -Parents are not strict enough
   -Teachers should use corporal punishment as an inducement to do homework
   -Teachers' expectations are too high, not enough time to do the work, since home chores are time consuming
   -lack of interest on pupils' side

3. **Parents**
   (a) Supportive parents are interested in homework/ ensure that books are bought/ are strict/ are educated themselves or have aspirations for their children that they never had.
   (b) Are not supportive due to alcoholism/ lack of interest/ personal problems/ are not strict enough/ physical and emotionally abusive/ verbally abusive
   (c) Expect certain behaviour at home (no swearing/slang) and causes conflict at school where this type of child is ostracised for being "white" since she is different....peer pressure forces her to be split in this sense.
   (d) Are a source of embarrassment and shame if alcoholic; learner goes to school just for the hockey, but won't bring anyone home to see his mum. In this case, he scored 0/100 for a series of tasks requiring newspapers to be used, because he couldn't ask his mum for help,

would not ask anyone else for help, and did not inform me of his difficulty, just stayed absent whenever it was time for handing in work.

(e) Extended support system : grandmothers fill the gap as much as possible

(4) **Church** mentioned, but not in much detail. Just as a routine activity now and again.

Gratitude to God mentioned by a few .

(5) Friends:

Much of the discussion centred around this issue.

Children who did not have associations with the "gangs" had problems with friends being gossipers behind their backs, being envious, being selfish. Some had friends who were supportive if they did badly at school, and encouraged them to do better.

Children who associated with gangsters, or were part of the gangs did not dwell on these adolescent issues: Instead they classified their friends as being gangsters, but having a positive impact on their lives, or being gangsters, but having a negative influence on their lives.

Positive Influence:

Gangster friends gave support where families did not. They encouraged school attendance, warned the children not to follow in their footsteps and drop out of school, were loyal eg a learner caught with some dagga, and his friend took the blame and was jailed for 3 weeks. When asked why he did this, the friend stated that the learner would not be able to adapt to prison life. He was admired and held in high esteem for his loyalty and sacrifice to this child. Even though they were on drugs, they were not critical of these friends.

Were regarded as close friends who shared problems and helped each other.

Negative influence:

Gangster friends encouraged smoking of dagga and drug abuse. Dropping out of school seen as something to follow. Bad reputation of gangs permeates learners lives, and spoils the relationship with their parents. Conflict within the home is caused, and learner seems afraid of being marginalised by his friends if he obeys parents' wishes and leaves their company.

(6) **Crime, Violence and drugs**

The suburb is characterised by theft, murder, and robbery. Gunshots are often heard . Drugs are common, being sold on the streets, and abused by many youngsters.

(7) **A desire to cultivate other interests to keep them out of trouble.**

APPENDIX 2

Categories in week-end diaries		Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1.	Household chores	12	14	4
2.	Going to Town	7	6	4
3.	Visiting relatives	2	5	3
4.	Family time	0	4	4
5.	Youth club at church	15	1	0
6.	Church services	0	1	16
7.	Listening to music	9	4	5
8.	Watching television	24	19	18
9.	Socialising with friends	17	11	15
10.	Sport: watching, playing	3	4	6
11.	Drinking alcohol	1	6	1
12.	Visiting pubs, taverns, clubs	3	10	2
13.	Smoking	5	0	0
14.	Parties	0	4	0
15.	Cinema	0	1	0
16.	Reading	2	3	1
17.	–			
18.	Television games	2	1	2
19.	Time with boyfriend/ girlfriend	3	5	1
20.	Hobbies : bird-keeping	0	1	0
21.	Hobbies : riding bikes	1	2	0
22.	Homework	4	5	14
23.	Day-time sleeping	0	2	7
24.	Reconnecting electricity illegally	1	0	0
25.	Modelling	1	1	0
26.	Casual employment	0	1	0
27.	Preparations for school	0	0	5
28.	Family prayers	1	1	1

Appendix 3.1

Dear Student

This questionnaire will help me to discover more about your lives and experiences. You must not write your name on this page. All the information will be confidential, and used for the purpose of trying to determine how your school life and your home life can work together to make you better students. Read through the questions carefully, then place a cross in the box which corresponds with your choice of answer. Where relevant, please fill in extra required information.

Thank you for your time and honesty.

Michelle Mathey

A.

1. What is your gender?　　☐ Male　　☐ Female

2. How old are you?　　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

3. What grade are you in?　　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

4. Which adults do you live with?　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

5.1 How many brothers and sisters do you have?＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

5.2 How old are they?　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

6.1 Who is employed in your family?　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

6.2 What type of jobs do they do?　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

7. Do your parents own or rent the house/flat that you live in?＿＿＿＿＿＿

8. How far is your home from the school?

　　☐ Between 0 – 2 kms

　　☐ Between 3 – 5 kms

　　☐ More than 5kms

9. How do you get to school?

　　☐ Walk

　　☐ Taxi

　　☐ Car

　　☐ Bus

　　☐ Bicycle

10.1 In which area do you live?　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

10.2 What is your opinion of your neighbourhood? (You may choose both, with reasons)

Appendix 3.1

☐ It is a good place in which to live . Give reasons.

_____

_____

_____

_____

☐ It is not a good place in which to live. Give reasons.

_____

_____

_____

11.1 Is your electricity supply

☐ connected

☐ disconnected?

11.2 If disconnected, what do you use to heat water, cook food and to give light?

_____

12.1 Do you have a telephone at home?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

12.2 Is your telephone

☐ connected

☐ disconnected ?

12.3 Do you personally own a cell phone?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

12.4 Does anyone at home own a cellphone?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

13.1 Does your family own a computer?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

13.2 Who uses it?

_____

13.3 Is it used for

☐ games

☐ schoolwork

☐ parent's work/studies

Appendix 3.1

☐ Other(specify)_____

B.

14.1 What is your attitude towards school?

☐ Positive

☐ Negative

☐ I don't feel anything

☐ Other : identify _____

14.2 What causes you to feel this way?_____

_____

_____

14.3 Which role does the school play in your life?

☐ Important

☐ Very important

☐ Unimportant

14.4 Why do you say so?

_____

_____

_____

14.5 If you could change schools, would you?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

14.6. Why do you say so?

_____

_____

_____

14.7 If yes, which school would you choose instead of this one?

_____

14.8 Do you consider the school rules to be

☐ Fair

☐ Unfair

Appendix 3.1

☐ A mixture of both

14.9 Why do you feel this way?

_____

_____

_____

14.10 Describe how you feel about the pupils in your school?

_____

_____

C.

15.1 Place a cross next to any of items below if your answer is yes. Leave it blank if your answer is no.
Do you have any of the following in your house?

☐ Television

☐ Radio

15.2 How much time do you spend watching tv each day?

_____

15.3 Which programmes do you watch on tv? Please list them.

_____

_____

_____

15.4 Which is your favourite programme? Why?

_____

_____

16.1 How much time do you spend listening to the radio(not cassettes or cd's)?

_____

16.2 What programmes do you listen to on the radio?

_____

_____

16.3 Which is your favourite programme?

_____

16.4 Why?

Appendix 3.1

_____

_____

_____

16.4   Do you listen to music?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

16.5   What type of music do you listen to the most?

_____

_____

16.6   What do you like most about this music?

_____

_____

D.

17.1   Do you use the public library?

☐ Yes

☐ No

17.2   What do you use it for?

☐ Projects

☐ Other homework

☐ Borrowing books

☐ Reading newspaper /magazines

☐ Studying

☐ Other …specify. _____

17.3   Are you a registered member of the public library?

☐ Yes

☐ No

17..4   If no, please explain why?

_____

_____

17.5   How often do you use the library?

☐ Once a week

☐ Two to three times a week

☐ Once a month

Appendix 3.1

☐ Other :
specify_____

17.6   In the last month, how many novels have you read?

☐ One

☐ Two

☐ Three or more

☐ None

17.7   Write down the type of novels do you read?(and/or titles and authors,if you remember)

_____

_____

_____

17.8   Why do you read these books?

17.9   Besides school textbooks, do you read any other non-fiction books?

☐ Yes

☐ No

17.10 If yes, which of the following types do you read?

☐ Autobiographies

☐ Biographies

☐ Encyclopaedias

☐ Scientific

☐ Historical

☐ Other : specify

_____

17.11 If yes, please tell me why you read this type of book?

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 3.1

17.12   If no, please tell me why you don't read this type of book?

_____

_____

_____

18.1   Do you have access to newspapers?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

18.2   If no, please tell me why this is the case?

_____

_____

18.3   If yes, please explain how you get hold of newspapers.

_____

_____

18.4   Do you feel that it is necessary for you to read newspapers?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Sometimes

18.5   Explain your opinion.

_____

_____

18.6   How often do you read newspapers?

☐ Twice a week or more often

☐ Once a week

☐ Every day

☐ Never

18.7   Write down the titles of newspapers that you read.

_____

_____

19.1   Do you have access to magazines?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

19.2   If yes, explain how you get hold of magazines?

_____

19.3   If no, explain why you cannot get hold of magazines.

_____

19.4   Do you read a magazine

Appendix 3.1

☐ Once a week or more often

☐ Once in two weeks

☐ Once a month

☐ Never

19.5   If you read magazines, write down the titles of the magazine(s) below.

_____

19.6   What types of articles interest you the most?

_____

_____

20.1   Do you read comics?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

20.2   Write down the titles of the comics that you read

_____

21.1   Which of the following texts (novels, non-fiction, newspapers , magazines and comics) do you enjoy the most?

_____

21.2   Why?

_____

_____

21.3   Which of the following texts (novels, non-fiction books, newspapers, magazines and comics) do you enjoy the least?

_____

21.4   Why?

_____

22.1   Which people in your home spend their time reading?

_____

22.2   What do they read?

_____

Appendix 3.1
E.

23.1   How much time do you spend playing sport after school each day?

☐ No time

☐ Less than an hour

☐ 1-2 hours

☐ 3-4 hours

☐ More than 4 hours

23.2   What sports do you play?

_____

_____

24.1   How much time do you spend with your friends after school?

☐ No time

☐ hour

☐ 2-3 hours

☐ 3-4 hours

☐ More than 4 hours

24.2   At which places do you spend time together?

_____

24.3   What do you and your friends do together?

_____

_____

_____

25.1   How much time do you spend on household tasks **before and after** school each week day?

☐ No time

☐ hour

☐ 2-3 hours

☐ More than 3 hours

25.2   List some of the tasks that you have to do?

Appendix 3.1

26.1 How much time do you spend on your homework each week day?

☐ No time

☐ Less than 1hour

☐ Between 1 and 2 hours

☐ More than 2 hours, less than 3 hours

☐ More than 3 hours

26.2 When you do homework, is it mostly done

☐ On your own

☐ After discussing it with others

☐ By copying

☐ Getting someone else to do it for you

26.3 Explain why you choose the above way of doing it.

_____

_____

26.4 Do you regard homework to be

☐ Beneficial to you

☐ A waste of time

☐ Other : specify

_____

_____

26.5 When you do homework, which of the following happens?

☐ The adults make sure that nothing disturbs me.

☐ The television stays on

☐ Music is playing

☐ I am told to do something else in the house

☐ My friends interrupt me

☐ I become lazy and decide not to complete it.

☐ I concentrate and complete it.

☐ Other things :
specify_____

_____

Appendix 3.1

26.7   Does anyone at home encourage you to complete your homework/ schooling?

☐ Yes

☐ No

26.8   Identify this person (these people)

26.9   Do you listen to their advice ?

☐ Yes

☐ No

26.10 Why? Why not?

F.

27.   Having self –esteem is when you feel confident, in control, optimistic, good about yourself, and don't allow little things to get you down and make you feel like you are unimportant.

27.1   If you feel like this in any of the following places,or with any of the following people, please tick the box.

☐ At home

☐ In the community of Eastwood

☐ With your friends

☐ At church

☐ With your teachers

☐ Doing sport

☐ Doing your hobby

☐ Other times: Please specify_____

27.2   Describe why you feel this way, at these times.

Appendix 3.1

_____

_____

27.2   When is your self-esteem at the lowest or non-existent?

☐ At home

☐ In the community of Eastwood

☐ With your friends

☐ At church

☐ With your teachers

☐ Doing sport

☐ Doing your hobby

☐ Other times: Please

specify_____

_____

_____

27.4   Describe why you feel this way, at these times.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

28.1   Do you have any role models whom you admire, or are influenced by ?Think about all aspects of your life, such as home, school, church, politically, in the entertainment industry etc...)

☐ Yes

☐ No

28.2   If yes, please identify them / him / her.

_____

_____

28.3   Why is this person/ are these people your role models?

Appendix 3.1

\-

29.1 Do you have any plans for your future career?

☐ Yes

☐ No

29.2 If yes, what are they?

29.3 Why have you made this choice?

29.4 Do you think you will succeed in these plans?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Not sure

29.5 What positive qualities do you have that will ensure that you are successful?

29.6 What weaknesses do you have which might make you fail?

30.1 When you think about your future in South Africa, how do you feel? (mark as many as you feel like)

☐ Positive

☐ Negative

☐ Anxious

☐ Excited

☐ Afraid

☐ Other emotion : specify

Appendix 3.1

30.2   Give a reason for each of your feelings above.

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____

_____

_____

☺   Thanks for all your help! You're a star!

FAMILY STRUCTURE

NO.	MALE F/MLE	C M	A F	R GM	E GF	T U	A A	K FP	E SF	R S	S B
1	M	X	X								
2	M	X		X	X	X					
3	M	X									
4	F	X	X				X				
5	F	X									
6	F	X									
7	F			X	X	X					
8	M			X		XX					
9	F	X	X								
10	F	X							X		
11	M	X									
12	M	X									
13	F	X	X								
14	F							XX			
15	M	X	X								
16	M	X	X								
17	F			X		X					
18	M	X									
19	M	X	X								
20	M	X	X								
21	M	X									
22	F	X		X							
23	M	X	X								
24	M	X	X								
25	M	X	X								
26	M	X	X								
27	M	X								X	
28	M	X	X								
29	M	X	X								
30	M	X		X	X						
31	F	X		X			X				
32	M	X		X							
33	F			X							
34	F			X	X						
35	F	X	X								
36	F					X	X				
37	F	X	X								
38	F	X	X								
39	F	X	X								
40	F	X	X								

KEY

M - MOTHER

F - FATHER

GM - GRANDMOTHER

GF-GRANDFATHER

U - UNCLE

A - AUNT

FP-FOSTERPARENT

SF - STEPFATHER

S- SISTER

B - BROTHER

APPENDIX 3.3

READING PRACTICES

SUB	NEWSPAPERS				MAGAZINES				NOVELS per Month				NON FICTION	
	NO	DAILY	WEEKLY	F/NIGHT	NO	MONTHLY	F/NIGHTLY	WEEKLY	0	1	2	3+	YES	NO
1		X						X	X					X
2			X		X				X					X
3	X				X					X				X
4	X						X		X				X	
5		X						X			X		X	
6			X					X		X				X
7			X					X		X			X	
8				X		X				X				X
9				X		X					X			X
10				X				X				X	X	
11				X		X					X		X	
12				X				X	X					X
13	X				X				X					X
14		X						X				X	X	
15			X				X		X					X
16			X					X	X					X
17			X					X				X	X	
18				X		X			X					X
19			X					X	X					X
20	X							X				X		X
21			X			X			X				X	
22				X				X			X			X
23			X				X		X					X
24				X		X			X					X
25		X					X			X				X
26		X						X	X					X
27				X			X		X					X
28				X		X			X				X	
29			X		X				X				X	
30			X					X	X				X	
31			X					X		X				X
32				X				X	X				X	
33			X					X	X					X
34	X						X					X		X
35			X				X					X		X
36			X					X	X					X
37		X					X					X	X	
38		X						X				X	X	
39				X				X				X	X	
40				X				X	X					X
	5	7	15	13	4	7	8	21	21	6	4	9	15	25

APPENDIX 3.4

ATTITUDE TO HOMEWORK

SUB	REGARDED AS:		MOSTLY DONE:			TIME SPENT				
	BENEFICIAL	WASTE OF TIME	ON OWN	AFTER DISCUSSING	COPYING	NO TIME	0-1 HOUR	1-2 HRS.	2-3 HRS.	3+ HRS.
1	X		X							X
2	X		X				X			
3	X			X				X		
4	X			X				X		
5	X			X				X		
6	X		X				X			
7	X			X				X		
8	X			X			X			
9	X			X				X		
10	X		X				X			
11	X		X					X		
12	X		X				X			
13		X			X	X				
14	X		X						X	
15	X		X				X			
16	X		X				X			
17	X		X				X			
18	X			X			X			
19	X		X				X			
20	X				X	X				
21	X		X					X		
22	X		X				X			
23	X		X				X			
24	X		X					X		
25	X			X			X			
26	X			X				X		
27	X		X				X			
28	X			X				X		
29	X		X					X		
30	X		X				X			
31	X		X						X	
32	X		X				X			
33	X			X			X			
34	X		X					X		
35	X		X					X		
36	X		X				X			
37		X	X				X			
38	X		X							X
39	X		X					X		
40	X		X				X			
	38	2	27	11	2	2	20	14	2	2

ROLE MODELS

No.	ROLE MODEL
1	friend; brother
2	none
3	uncle
4	teacher
5	friend
6	Felia Mudos(?)
7	parents;g'parents;friend
8	brother
9	both parents
10	mother,friend;pastor;M.Carey
11	Cisqo(musician)
12	mother
13	none
14	mother;Mandela
15	mother
16	parents;friend
17	Granny
18	none
19	parents
20	none
21	mother
22	mother
23	not filled in
24	church brother(Cath)(?)
25	none
26	DMX
27	none
28	DMX
29	parents
30	Eminem
31	parents;friends
32	Luis Figo; David Beckham
33	mother
34	God
35	sister
36	aunt;friend
37	none
38	teachers
39	parents
40	mother;Vince Carter(Bball)

APPENDIX 3.6

ENVIRONMENT

NO.	SUBURB	NEGATIVE OPINION	POSITIVE OPINION
1.	Caliban	* Gangsters * People who don't respect each other	* Sports activities * Convenient amenities
2.	Caliban	* Peer pressure to do drugs * Violence if you refuse to do drugs	
3.	Caliban	-	* Neighbours are caring, friendly, kind, helpful
4.	Cinderella Park	-	* Quiet and peaceful
5.	Town	-	* Quiet and peaceful
6.	Caliban	-	* Friendly neighbours
7.	Caliban	* Gangsters * Crime	
8.	Caliban	-	* convenient- school/shop * not very dangerous
9.	Caliban	-	* convenient-school * neighbours are friendly
10.	Caliban	* hurtful neighbours who try to embarrass you	* neighbours assist when you're involved in a fight
11.	Caliban	* thugs rule * innocent children dying	-
12.	Caliban	* Gangsters	* You know the neighbours
13.	Caliban	-	-
14.	Caliban	*Gangsters *Violence	* I feel at home; wanted
15.	Grand Woods	*theft and break-ins	* helpful and fun neighbours
16.	Caliban	-	*convenient- school *not a lot of crime
17.	Caliban	-	*quiet *know each other *protective of each other
18.	Caliban	*Violence *Drugs *Bad influence on me	-
19.	Grand Woods	-	*peaceful *clean

APPENDIX 3.6

20. Caliban *fear and insecurity regarding safety   *hard life which teaches you
                                                              to work hard for what
                                                                          you want

21. Grand Woods   -   *peaceful
                                                                 *helpful neighbours

22. Caliban *anxiety re safety at night, esp.for girls   -

23. Caliban -   *good neighbours
                                                            *hardly any robberies
                                                                      *live near a church

24. Caliban *not well-known   *convenient-school
                                                                      *lots of friends

25. Caliban *gangsters   *lots of friends

26. Caliban -   *the place to be/convenient
                                                                      amenities

27. Caliban *dangerous areas in E'wood   -

28. Caliban *violence   -
                    *drug abuse

29. Caliban *drug abuse   *recreational facilities
                    *alcohol abuse

30. Caliban -   *know the people
                                                                      *lots of friends

31. Caliban -   *not a lot of violence

32. Caliban *Robberies, esp. at night   *freedom, except for crime

33. Caliban *Gangsters   *quiet
                    *Fighting over weekends   *friendly neighbours
                    *Alcohol abuse   *lots of friends

34. Imbali   *Violence   *sports
                                                                     *socialising

35. Caliban *Violence   *friendly, loyal neighbours
                    *Gangsters   non-racist
                    *Influence on youth

36. Caliban *Crime   -
                    *influence on youth

37. Grand Woods   *no friends living here   *Quiet

38. Caliban *rough   *Influence of Church
                    *drug abuse   *Library activities
                    *alcohol abuse
                    *influence on youth
                    *rape and burglaries

39. Caliban -   *lots of young people

APPENDIX 3.6

40.   Grand Woods   *some robberies   *quiet
                      *some rude neighbours   *peaceful
                                                                   *friendly neighbours

Dear _____

Please help me once again! Over the past few years, many articles appeared in the newspapers concerning the gangsterism in Eastwood. I need your input concerning the article printed below. It appeared in **The Natal Witness** , on 26 January 1999. I would like to find out whether you think it is a true reflection of change in the community, or not. When you discuss your opinions, please do so in detail. If you agree that things have changed, what can you tell me to prove your opinion? If you believe that things are pretty much the same, what are your experiences to prove this?

This article will be the stimulus for a written and spoken dialogue between you and I over the next few days , and I might include other newspaper articles referring to Eastwood.
Thank you for your opinions!
Michelle Mathey

Gangsters give up old ways, turn to God

Former members of the Cash Money Brothers gang with their Bibles outside the tent where they attend regular church services. They are (from left to right): Aldin Gouws, Mark Franki and Richard Kok.

Photo: MARK WIN

HERE are miracles taking place in church tent in Eastwood.

Members of the notorious Cash Money Brothers gang are hanging up their gang colours and instead embracing Christianity and pledging to turn their backs on crime and drugs.

In the two weeks since Pastor Keith van Niekerk of the local Eastwood Philadelphia Church set up his revivalist tent near the community centre and next to a bottle store, the level of gang activity and petty crime has plummeted, say residents of the area.

Many of the former gang members this week confirmed they are "born again Christians".

When Van Niekerk erected the tent, he initially planned that about 100 people would attend his nightly prayer sessions. However, he was overwhelmed when most of the community pitched up, including some of the area's most feared thugs.

"I was literally forced into getting a bigger tent. You cannot believe how the atmosphere has changed in this suburb. It's a miracle. People — all kinds of people — are coming in their hundreds every night. We turn away no one. I am proud of those gangsters who have now chosen to become part of Christ's family," he said.

The CMB are an Eastwood-based gang formed in the early 1990s but only a few of the founding members are still alive today. Gang leader Radley de Vries was shot down in December 1996, just 100 metres from the Mountain Rise Police Station, and John Gous and Darryl "Boon" Vertuin were killed in May 1997 outside a Raisethorpe nightclub. Lucky Smith was killed at the hands of fellow gang member Sean Fry in March 1998.

Van Niekerk said that not only are former gang members attending his prayer meetings every night, but they do chores during the day and guard the tent at night.

However, some Eastwood residents, who requested anonymity, have adopted a more sober approach to the news.

"I have to see it to believe it. These guys, I think, are just fooling around," says one resident.

When the Witness visited the tent last week, former Haythorne Secondary teacher Gregory Smerdon, who was conducting the service, called people to come and "give
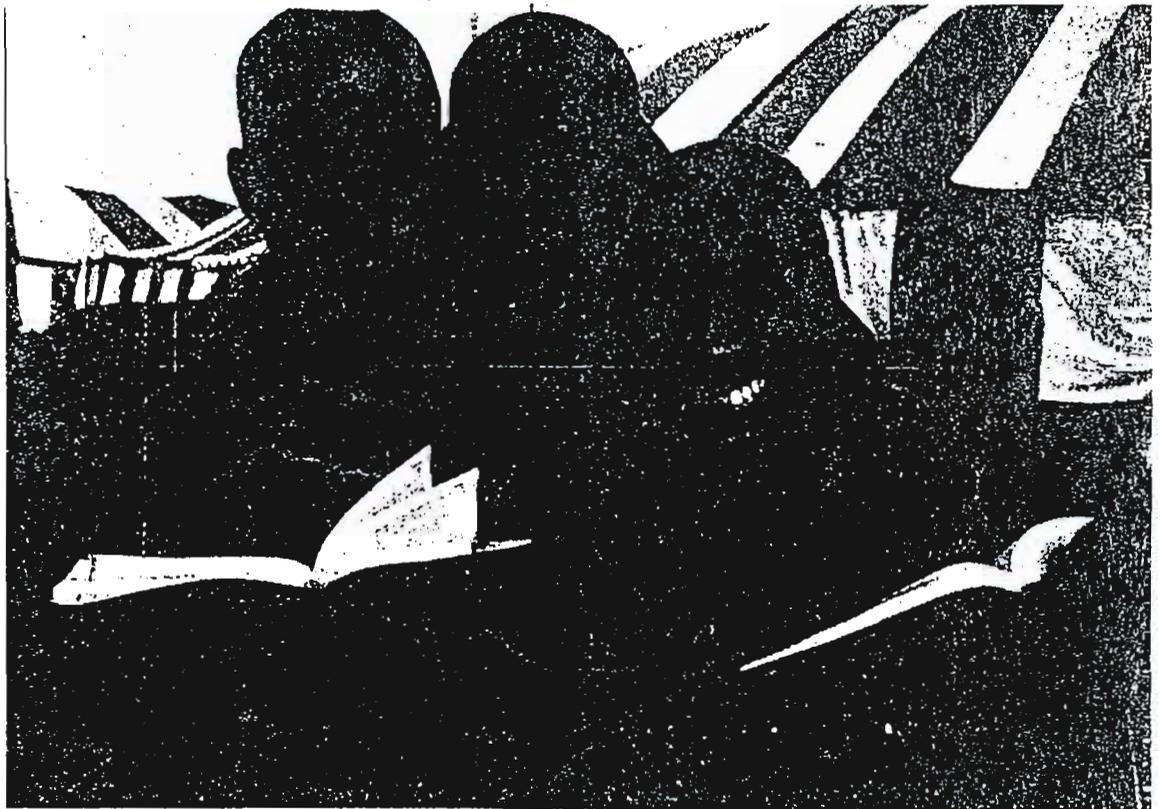
After the prayer session, many of the former gang members were happy to talk to the Witness, saying they are gladdened by the fact that the "press is also covering positive developments in their area".

Self-confessed CMB member Aldin Gouws said God made him see the light and he is proud to tell everyone he is now a changed man.

Gouws, a former pupil of Eastwood Secondary School who dropped out in 1995, says he originally became a gangster because of financial difficulties.

"Wrong things that I used to do like drinking, taking drugs and robbing people are in the past. I'm

his former gang members are "making a joke of the whole thing" but he is trying hard to "stay on track".

"I know it's not going to be easy. People must not expect miracles from me. I am an ordinary human being and to stay away from my old habits will be hard, but I must pray and try my best. We need everyone's support," said Gouws.

Another former CMB member, Mark Franki, said he is the most excited man since God took over his life. He left a rival gang in Woodlands to join the CMBs. Soon after joining he became embroiled in drugs and other crimes.

popularity of gang activity in the area to unemployment levels.

"These kids have no education and no jobs. What else could have been expected of them? I appeal to business to open doors of employment and for schools to take back some of them who have dropped out," Van Niekerk said.

Mountain Rise station commander Senior Superintendent Boxer Pillay is also adopting a wait-and-see attitude before passing his verdict on whether the gang members are truly reformed.

Pillay says he is going to take a close look at what is happening in Eastwood and check the area's crime statistics to see if "things really are improving".

APPENDIX 5

Interviews :
Choices:

- **Judy** represents the students who read, do well, are disgusted by gangsterism, but come from homes with financial problems.

- **Tamara, Damien and Daniel**: mention race as a big issue in their lives; I'd like to explore this.

- **George is** at risk – tried to be part of the in-group, but has pressures from mother; school not a priority, quiet student, deeply disturbed by influence of gangstersim in his life.

- **Nolan and James**
  Nolan : quiet, charming, good student, but written response reveals that gangsterism is deeply entrenched in his life. Need to explore the impact it might have on him as a student.
  James: friends with some gangsters, attacked by others, reveals sense of loyalty to them, but admits that he might be killed by them.

- **Dray and Charles** indicate that they have been part of the gangsterism, but have left the group in order to pursue their education (did not interview them since they were absent)

- **Yvette, Ruth and Lynn:** young girls, with friendship problems typical of 14 year olds; interesting to delve into the dynamics of their primary and secondary discourses

- **Carol and Jackie :** poor students, more interested in popularity, part of the gangsters?

NB: Names were changed.

Procedure
Thank you for participating in these interviews. I'd like to explore some of the issues you mentioned in the questionnaires and written responses to gangsterism. Again, everything is confidential – if I use some of the information you've offered, it will be as a general statement, or using a pseudonym.
Do you have any questions for me?

Questions:
A.The Discourse of the Church
    1.   What role does religion play in your life?

B. The Neighbourhood
    2.   How do you feel about your neighbourhood?

C. The School
    3.   What are your expectations of a good teacher? A bad teacher? How does your experience of school match up to this?
    4.   In what ways is the school an influence on your life?

D.Important people in their lives:
    5.   Who are the most important people in your life?
    6.   Describe the roles they play?
    7.   How do they make you feel ?

7. How do they make you feel ?

E. Home discourse
8. How are you disciplined at home?
9. From the questionnaire findings, it seems that Mothers appear to be role models in the community... why not dads as much?
10. Does financial security affect your sense of self worth?
11. Homework and reading: minor role in your lives, despite affirmation that education is important? Why?
12. If you become a parent one day, what things about your relationship with your children will be most important?

F. Gangsterism:
13. How does your experience of this phenomenon impact on you as a student at school?

G. Race
14. What do you think comes to the minds of people when they hear the word "Coloured"?
15. What makes a Coloured person's identity?
16. What is the future for Coloureds in SA?

Any other topic that you would like to discuss?
Thank you for your time.

Appendix 6

Interview 1
Interviewer
Jackie
Carol

I: Brief description of study

I: In the questionnaires, many of you mentioned that the church plays an important role, especially on a Friday night., when most of you go to Youth club. So as students of Caliban, as teenage girls, and as members of the Caliban community, can you talk to me about the role that the church plays in your life? Whether it's a powerful role, a weak role, whether you identify with it, or not?

C: Yes miss, it does play a strong role, miss because miss when you go to youth, you're not only learning, you're not only having fun, but you're also learning things, also about God and how to be a better person and it's interesting and it gives you time to be with people who are not doing anything wrong, than with people , than being in the street and getting up to mischief, it keeps you out of trouble.

J: Not actually miss. Some children go to youth just to go out the house and go somewhere else.

I: So they use it as an excuse as well? (laughter)

I: Won't their parents allow them to go to discos?

J: No, some of them I don't think so.

C   Miss, they young still.

I: Are they allowed in the disco when they're that age?

C   Yes, miss, these days…like me, I'm big. If I must go to the disco they're gonna allow me in because of my build.

J   But if you're short they won't let you in.

I   Hmm, but with the church, it gives you a chance to be with people and you don't have to get into mischief?

J   Yes.

I   But. do you have lots of opportunities of being with people where you know that you can have clean fun, learn something about life, but not get into mischief?

C   Yes miss, but it depends who you're with, miss. It depends on who you choose to be with: if you're gonna be with people that aren't gonna get you into trouble, or you're gonna be with people that could get you into trouble.

I   Do you have much of a choice..can you just say I don't want to be friends…how do you choose friends.. I mean, you two, aren't you friends?

C   Yes miss.

I   Uhh, but you get into mischief as well.

C   Sometimes.

J   Sometimes we're not together when we get into mischief.

C   Like at home, I'm most of the time with my auntie, but only in school we're together.

I   Would you influence her, Jackie, would you influence Carol to do something wrong that you might do?

J   No.

C   No miss, I won't.

I   You wouldn't?

C   No miss, it's her choice.

I   So you're quite strong and firm in who you are, the . . .

C   Yes, miss.

I   . . . boundaries that you can have as friends? You wouldn't force her to do anything, neither one of you?

C   Yes miss.

I   Okay, right.So, there's the church, now when you learn things in the church you said it teaches you about life and how to be a good person. Do you take that teaching…do you go to youth , Jackie , Carol?

J   Sometimes

C   Sometimes miss.

I   Do you take what you've learnt and use that in your life..do you apply it?

J   Not actually.

C   Miss it's just about…sometimes miss you just want to do it but certain things just hold you back.

I   Such as?

C   Miss, maybe other plans come, maybe you want to go somewhere else and you're thinking but I wanna be there, but now maybe you just have to go somewhere else.

I   Somewhere else…like where?

C   Miss maybe I don't end up going to youth and I end up going to Jokers or somewhere.

J   Jorling!

(laughter)

I   So you're saying that the pull is to go to that kind of place where you have fun rather than to go to the church , Jackie, anything you want to add to that?

J   No miss.

I   What do you do at Jokers?

J   Buy one, two beers.

(Laughter)

I   Buy one or two beers? Okay, how old are you?

J   17.

I   And they sell beers to you?

J   Yes, miss

I   Um, alcohol, does it play a major role in your life. Do you drink often?

J   No miss.

I   How often? When?

J   Occasionally.

I   Do your parents know you drink? Do they allow it?

J   Yes miss, only on occasions they allow me to drink.a cider, a beer.

I   When you drink on these occasions, has there ever been a time when you really get pissed?

(laughter)

J   Yes, miss. On my 13th birthday. My mother bought cases of beers, and I was drinking, and I didn't know what was going on!

I   Are you not worried that something could happen to you when you're drunk, like umm…

J   . . . like get raped? That's why I drink with my friends, and my brother looks after me.

I   Is that something that girls in Caliban have to be careful about?

J   Yes miss.

C   Yes miss.

I   Why? Explain.

C   Miss because, especially lately, maybe you're walking to the shop, and you get these drunk people, maybe they've been smoking drugs, that tend to interfere with you. Miss, the more like you try to avoid them they come close to you and interfere with you so you don't know what to expect from these people, so you'd rather just keep your distance, so today, this day and age, because everybody's just corrupted.

I   How does this make you feel as a teenage girl?

J   They touch you in the road.

C   I feel sorry for them.

I   What is your response to that J

J   No, not me. If they do that to me, obvious, I'll go mad for them and I'll call my brother.

I   Why your brother, how old is he?

J   20.

I   Is he a force to be reckoned with?

J   Yes miss. (laughter)

I   Do you admire your brother?

J   Yes miss

I   Tell me a little about him?

J   When I'm up to mischief her keeps me right but sometimes I don't like him when he smokes drugs and all that there.

I   How does he behave when he's like this?

J   I think miss he's better when he smokes drugs.

I   Why?

J   Because miss, me and my brother we don't have a close relationship between a brother and a sister. We'll always fight and all that there wa.

I   How does that make you feel?

J	Hurt miss
I	What kind of relationship would you like to have with him?
J	To sit down and talk to him about life.
I	Is he working?
J	No.
I	Do you have, Carol, anybody that you look up to in your family?
C	My auntie.
I	Why?
C	Because she encourages me to do the right thing. Like when I say I'm tired of school I don't want to go to school, the work's too much, she'll say to me rather go to school and get a better education. She'll always lift my spirits even when I'm feeling down.
I	You don't live with your parents?
C	I live with my father, but I visit my mother sometimes.
I	And your auntie is your father's sister?
C	Yes miss.
I	How do you feel about not living with your mum?
C	Miss it doesn't feel right because all my life I lived with my family, but circumstances weren't good, and my family split up. I'm not with my mother so I live with my auntie. She's there as a mother.
I	Do you think that that is important the need to feel loved, unconditionally loved by a parent?
Both girls	Yes miss.
I	Why?
C	Miss I mean any child for that matter would want the love, want love and to be loved. And like most girls are also close to their mothers, you have to have someone to talk to that understand how you feel because sometimes the fathers don't understand.
I	And you Jackie, have you got a mum?
J	Yes miss.
I	And your relationship?
J	It's not good like how a mother/ daughter should be.
I	How should they be?
J	Open.
I	You're not open?
J	No, miss.
I	Why not?
J	I dunno. Just can't talk to her.
I	Have you tried?
J	No.... (upset)
Silence	
I	Has she tried?
J	Yes she talks to me all the time.
I	But you won't talk to her.
J	No
I	Why? Let's think about that: she's tried, but you wont. Do you really want an open relationship?
J	Yes miss, but I Just can't open up to her, I can't tell her everything.
I	When you say everything, why can't you tell her everything ?
(laughter)	
J	I dunno miss, it's like she'll just take my neck off and she won't even listen to me.
I	So what are you saying about the things you do?
J	Everything I do.... some things....
I	Who is Jackie? I know her a s a student who often stayed absent at the beginning of the year, who hardly hands in homework, but who has some spark in her that makes me not want to rant and rave at her. This is what I'm saying, you have the potential to do better at school, but some thing's stopping you. What are these things?
J	I dunno.,. it's just my behaviour miss.
I	How do you behave?
J	Bad.
I	What do you mean?
J	I sleep out, and I don't come home.
I	Can you stop yourself from doing that?

J   Yes.
I   Do you want to stop yourself?
J   Yes
I   Then why do you keep doing that?
J   It's tempting.
I   When you weigh up school and that kind of life, which one takes priority?
J   School.
I   School's first?
J   Yes
I   But your actions show that it's not.
J   Uhuhuh.
I   You're not alone. Many students believe that school comes first, but their actions show something different. Education is important, but the reality of the lives you're living now is in contradiction to those beliefs. You've said school's important, but you've got these other things that don't make school a priority in your life. Now that's the crux of the matter for me. You want to stoop sleeping out, but why do you keep doing that? Is it with boyfriends or ordinary friends?
J   Ordinary friends.
I   So you can stop it, why do you do it?
J   I dunno…for fun.
I   Have you though about what might happen to you if you keep doing that kind of thing?
J   No miss.
I   And you, Carol?
C   Miss the only time I do something wrong is when I've had something to drink, but I have to control it because I know the home I'm living in is not where you can just do your own thing. There are rules that we have to obey so even if I'm going anywhere and doing anything I must come home. If I don't come home -- like me and my auntie if we don't come home - my granny knows where we are because we phone her and tell her were we are.
I   How old is your auntie?
C   Early 20s
I   So she's not so much like an adult, she's more like a friend, are you saying that?
C   Miss she's not only my auntie, or somebody like my mother, miss she's also my best friend.
I   You go out with her, and you can tell her things, so she's closer in age to you and you can tell her things whereas your mum is much older, perhaps and you can't tell her those things.
I   But when you come home, Jackie, after a night out, what does your mother say to you?
J   She hits me.
I   So you don't mind the hiding as long as you've had your jorl for the night?
Laughter
J   Yes miss.
I   She hits you.. she still hits you?
J   Yes, I did it now, on Saturday and Sunday.
I   Er, and she still hits you?
J   Yes.
I   And your brother, does he say   " What's wrong with you girl?"?
J   No, he Just keeps quiet and he walks out.
I   Does your brother have an idea of what you get up to?
J   I dunno miss.
(looks upset)
I   Are there any rules at home?
J nods.
I   But you keep breaking that rule. Now at school, Jackie, homewotk. Something you do or don't do?
J   Now and again.
I   Okay, but you know that it can help you to pass?
J   Yes.
I   And you often don't do it.
Silence
I   Okay Jackie, what will happen to you if you fail this year?
J   I dunno, miss, my brother will hit me he say I must pass this year.

I   Okay, your mother hits you and you don't change your actions, your brother will hit you will it change anything?

J   Yes miss.....he'll hit me like a man.

Laughter

I   What do you mean?

J   He'll punch me, throw me all over...

I   Has he done that to you?

J   No.

I   Then how do you know he'll do it to you now?

C   He must of told you.

I   And your mum. . . how does she hit you?

J   Er, she takes a peachie stick and she hits me.

Laughter

I   So at school when I say "Jackie , do your homework,..."

C   You must pick a peachie stick for her, miss!

I   Or punch her like a man?

Laughter

J   I think so miss.

I   So you'd rather have somebody. . . how would you be obedient to somebody's rules, requests and demands?

Silence

J   Er. . . they must talk nicely to me.

I   Okay,I've spoken nicely to you?

Silence

J   I dunno, miss.

I   Okay, lets look at something else. Carol, you look up to your aunt, and you ,Jackie, who do you look up to?

J   My mother.

I   Why?

J   Because she's my mother.

I   And do you obey her?

J   No miss.

I   Carol, do you respect your aunt even though you do things with her?

C   Yes, even if I do something wrong, she shouts at me but at the end of the day you know we get back together because I've got my school best friend and my home best friend.

I   Who's your school best friend?

C   Jackie.

I   Do you try to change Jackie?

C   Yes.

I   And what happens?

C   She listens to me, because we're close she'll listen to me. Miss, but she'll do it all over again

I   So who's more important, who plays a role in your life that makes you think about what you're doing?

J   A friend.

I   Why would you choose a friend above your family?

J   Miss because she understands , she's younger, she's also been there wa.

I   She's done the same things. . .

J   Yes miss.

I   . . . but she's moved on.

C   Miss I cut down, just after my father clouted me. . .(laughter), ut I used to do it like you used to do it ! (laughter)

I   Okay, er . . . I also found something amazing in the questionnairess.. that the mums are the roles models in the communities. Why do the children look up to the mothers rather than the fathers in the Caliban community?

C   My mother's a role model, because fathers just drink, and smoke drugs and perform, and a mother's always there to guide the children .

I   What's your experience of that, Jackie?

J   Fathers are players.

I   What is a player?

J   They jorl for their wives.

I	You mean they have affairs?
J	Yes.
I	Women don't have affairs?
J	Not my mother.
C	Some women do. My mother….she went through 20 years with my father, he didn't wanna change, he used to hit my mother, and he used to do the same to us. Like we just knew that on a Friday night we must get ready we must go to my auntie ,my mother's sister, because he gets drunk . . .
J	Ay miss, a father . . .
I	And brothers, do you think they'll end up like that?
C	No.
J	They always want to be better that their parents.
I	Is your brother trying to be better that your dad, Jackie?
J	Yes miss, my father's just all over.
I	So when you say better you think about it in terms of having affairs, but what about drugging? Why does your brother do it?
J	I dunno.
I	Okay , le'ts look at the issue of drug abuse, it is rife, obviously something that is happening to most people.
J	Yes miss.
I	But why? So many people are unemployed, where do they get the money from?
C	Miss they rob, some of them sell things in their houses to buy drugs.
I	Why?
J	Some look at others who are doing it and also wanna do it.
C	Yes miss, they influence the other children, and when they grow up they do it.
I	Have you been tempted to do it?
J	No.
C	Miss, I've been tempted to…smoke dagga… a lot of times.
I	Who tempts you?
C	Ay miss.
J	When they roll it..
C	Miss, I sit with a lot of people that smoke, sometimes they just say try it, try it……
I	How do they feel when they smoke?
C	Small.
J	And they eat a lot.
I	Is it good for them?
Silence	
I	You seem doubtful.
C	Miss some people think it's good for them and some don't miss, they…it makes them feel nice miss.
I	Why would people want to feel nice like that? Are there other things that would make you feel nice?
Silence	
I	What do you mean by feel nice?
J	It makes you laugh for nothing.
C	Maybe something's happening in your family miss, and they're just down and out and they just turn to it.
J	Like you feel nice for that time.
I	Okay, let me understand what you're saying. People are doing drugs so they can escape from the reality of their lives?
J	Yes miss.
I	What other ways can we move away from those feelings and make ourselves feel better?
C	Miss, like Jackie is my friend in school. I can talk to her and she can give me advice and I feel lighter, the problems no more on my shoulders, and like we can maybe just go somewhere and just talk and I feel at least I can talk it out.
I	And you, Jackie?
Silence…they look meaningfully at each other	
I	The looks that you're giving each other! (laughter)
I	Okay, Jackie, when things are bad at home, you stay out for the night?
J	Yes miss.

I	Does it make it better for you?
J	Kinda.
I	Why do you say kinda?
J	When I come back I'm in more trouble.(laughter)
I	But you still keep doing it?
J	Jackie, I asked you this question earlier…what is going to happen to you if you keep doing this?

Silence.

I	Still don't know? Okay, now Jackie, you say your friends are very important in your life. When you spend the night out with friends, how do you feel in their company?

Silence.

I	If I had to meet you when you're with them, would I see the same person sitting in front of me?
J	I'd be different
I	How'd you be different?
J	I'd have alcohol in my system, doing stupid things, loud ,raw, swearing and all that.
I	Is that the real you?

Silence

J	No.
I	Who's the real Jackie?
J	Quiet Jackie.
I	Are you happy with being quiet?
J	No.
I	Why?
C	Ay miss things build up in you, like if you're having so much problems and it builds up in you and one day you explode and you end up doing stupid things.
I	Stupid things like what?
C	Miss can I give a bad example. Like miss, Just say you're being abused for very long and you're keeping quiet, but the day it comes out it comes out in a bad way and you do something stupid, like…
J	Suicide.
I	You say this is a bad example, do you know of people that this happens to ?
C	Miss I know uh of one girl that this happened to.
I	Um. Okay. Does money make you feel good?
C	Yah, we're okay.
J	No problems.
I	If you did have problems would it affect you as a student?
C	Yes.
I	How?
J	If you see the others buying things that you can't buy and you feel out of place.
I	So in our attempts to feel like we belong at school, what do we do?

Silence

C	Do the things the other school children do.
I	Like?
C	Go to the tuck shop.
I	And. . .
C	Buy things.
I	And . . .

Silence

I	So going to the tuck shop makes you belong?
C	Yes.
I	And in the classroom, what do you do to make you feel like you belong?

Silence

I	Jackie, with all the other things happening in your life, how do you feel in the classroom?
J	How do I feel?
I	Yes, be honest, don't worry about hurting my feelings.

Laughter

J	No miss, I like the way you teach.
I	But how do you feel when you're listening to me …
C	Sometimes I think there's so much work.

I	Is what we're teaching relevant to your lives?
J	No.
I	Why not?
J	When you teach, sometimes I don't listen, I want to get outside I don't hear nothing what you say in the class.
I	Like not, Jackie?
J	What the people doing at home.
I	Like?
J	What they smoking at home, like my brother, like when I come home my small brother's not there, where's he...on the road, playing . . ..
I	So school's not something you're concentrating on, working towards completing?

Silence........head shakes.

I	Okay , where do you see yourself in 5 years, Jackie?
J	I'm gonna be in America.
I	Doing what?
J	Au pair.
I	What qualities do you have that will make you a good au pair?

Laughter

J	I like children.
I	Are you responsible?
J	Yes.
I	Give me an example of how you're responsible at school?
J	School?

Silence

I	At home?
J	Miss, at home? I can do everything at home...cook, help my mother...
I	Are you disciplined?

Silence

J	Yes miss but then I do my own things.
I	If you become a parent one day, what kind of relationship would you like to have with your children?
Both:	An open relationship
I	What does it mean?
C	Talk about everything on my mind, know everything what my child is thinking and feeling
I	Okay, but what happens if Jackie's situation occurs. Your mother wants to be open but you don't How would you cope with that?
J	Maybe when I'm older I can talk to her.
I	Jackie, how do you feel when you walk in that morning after a night out?
J	Guilty, scared and disappointed.
I	Why disappointed?
J	'Cause I hurt my mother by doing this here. She doesn't know where I am, what I'm doing, who I'm with, and I don't even phone her too.
I	Why can't you phone her?
J	'Cause she shouts at me.
I	Then why do you keep doing it?
J	'Cause there's things there that I just don't like, like some things I don't . . .
I	Some things that you can't talk about to your mum?
J	Yes miss.
I	So home is so important to you, hey? Home is such an important thing since it impacts on you as youngsters. Let's talk about school, teachers. Give me qualities if a good teacher. How do you want a good teacher to be?
J	Like you miss.
I	How am I?
C	Kind, you confident
I	Why do you think I'm confident?
C	'Cause if you tell me I can do it, I know I can, and by you telling me it gives me more encouragement and I end up doing it.
I	So are you saying you want a teacher to be kind, encouraging, optimistic, telling you you can do things. And what's your experience...are these the teachers that will change your attitude to schoolwork?

C	Yes miss.
I	Discipline wise?
C	Teacher must be strict, miss They don't have to hit you but they can….
J	… they only listen if you use a stick miss
C	Yes miss.
I	Do they? Why do you think this is the case?
C	But some children don't even listen, miss.
I	Jackie, you don't listen (laughter)
I	Bad teachers, have you experienced any? Don't mention names.
C	Some teachers say they want to kiss the girls.
C	And the teachers say you're this and that, and you want to be a better person.
I	What's this and that?
C	Hai, miss.
I	You can say it.
J	Some teachers call us bitches
C	Yes miss.
I	In our school?
C	Miss there's one teacher that swears a lot
I	And how does this make you feel?
C	Don't make me feel bad, cause the children also swear her, miss.
I	Swear the teacher back?
C	Yes miss.
I	Gangsterism…out there in the community, does it come into the school?
C	Yes miss.
I	Are students gangsters?
Both	Yes miss.
I	Do you socialise with them? How do they make you feel? Do you want to be with them or not?
J	No
C	Miss we can be with them at school…at school they're quiet you can talk to them.
I	And at home?
C	At home they're ….they're…they're Just…how can I say this ….ay, you see them smoking drugs miss, you hear them performing on the road, bouncing up and down miss.
I	So you don't look up to gangsters, you don't even want to be friends with them?
C	Miss I can but I can keep it at a distance.
I	hey behave in different ways…why do you think they are gangsters?
J	Because they look up to the other gangsters…the bigger ones.
I	Why are they at school then?
J	Some of them come here just to fool around, miss.
I	How does it make you feel as a student to have gangsters in your class?
Silence	
C	No, no gangsters in the class.
I	Okay, so to have them in the school, how does it make you feel as students?
C	Miss , I don't think they're right because they end up influencing other students to become like them.
I	And outside, as a young girl? Do they try to bully you?
C	No.
J	No, but they collar us, miss..
C	They try to talk you into going out with them, miss
I	Would you?
J	No.
C	No.
J	You did.
C	Where? (laughter) Jackie, where?
J	Don't lie.
C	You're talking nonsense! (laughter)
I	Why? Is there something wrong in going out with a gangster?
J	Yes… if you don't wanna do something they'll hit you to do it.
Laughter	
I	Do something like what?

J	Sleep with them, miss.
I	So you're under pressure? What about the threat of aids?
C	Yes miss. But even no matter how they force you, it's your decision.
J	But they use force.
C	But you can always stop them.
I	How?
C	If you can't stop them yourself, like the first time they've done it, don't go back to them. If they come to you and try to force you, tell somebody.
I	If they did force you and they slept with you, what is that called?
Both	Rape
I	What do you do then?
C	Charge them report them.
I	And what would happen after that?
C	Uhh, there'll be a court case.
I	And in your experience, is this what happens in the community?
C	Some girls drop the charges. . .
J	Some keep quiet . . .
C	. . . and some don't report it.
I	Why?
C	They're scared and they've been threatened.
I	Who's powerful in the community : parents or the gangsters?
Silence	
C	My father.
J	My father will go mad.
Laughter	
J	Miss he already hit my cousin.
I	Why?
J	Because he smashed our windows. Laughter
I	Why'd he do this?
J	See miss, my brother and them were sitting on the wall, so my brother was going out with A's ex-girlfriend, and so A clouted his ex- girlfriend then my brother and them were watching him sitting on the wall and drinking, so then uh, A was swearing my brother and them and asking what your'll looking at, so my brother and them said nothing, so he chased my brother and them with a knife and then my brother went to tell my father and they both went for A and they hit him.
I	So, um. If something happens and people have a confrontation, how is it normally resolved in the community?
Silence	
I	With violence?
Girls look at each other	
Silence	
I	Okay, let's move on to something else. The last thing I wanted to talk about is race. How do you think other people view coloured people? What do they think of when they hear the word coloured?
J	We're raw.
I	What does raw mean?
J	We like swearing, we're . . .
C	We like drinking . . .
J	. . . wild
I	What does wild mean?
Laughter	
J	Hagerand.
Laughter	
I	Hagerand? What's that?
C	Miss when you like to be seen and like to be heard.
I	Is that how we are?
C	Most of us.
I	Do you like people to think that of coloureds?
C	No miss.
I	What would you like them to think?

C	Miss, normal, respectable.
I	What is normal, respectable?
Silence	
C	Er, normal to me is like every other person.
I	Hhow is every other person?
C	Well, miss like, do what you do but don't . . .
I	What makes you a coloured person? What do we, how are we defined as coloured?
C	Our personalities.
I	Describe them.
C	Mmm . . . (shakes head)
I	You don't know?
I	What else makes you who you are?
Silence.	
I	Indians have a culture, they have a language, what makes us who we are?
Laughter	
I	Why the laughter?
C	She's laughing miss because everybody teases me I'm an Indian.
Laughter	
I	And how do you feel about that?
C	Miss people are human, there's nothing wrong about that.
I	What do you think is the future for coloureds in SA?
Silence	
I	Anything else you want to talk about?
C	I just wish people would change their ways.
I	Which people?
C	Everybody!
I	When do you feel really good about yourself? Jackie?
J	When I spend the whole day with my mother, going to church , being good
I	You like that feeling of being good? What spoils it for you?
J	Once I put my foot out that gate, miss, then I go to the shop, then I go smoke, then I come home . . . .my mind just jiggers. (laughter)
I	You become a different person?
J	Yes miss.
I	Is there anything that anybody can do, do you want people to help you to move away from that kind of lifestyle?
J	I wouldn't mind, miss.
I	How would you imagine someone would help you?
J	To watch me?
I	Your mum's tried.
J	Someone to help me and stop me from doing those bad things.
C	But you also have to help yourself…you can't depend on people doing it for you, you have to help yourself.
I	Have you spoken to a priest about the things that are worrying you?
J	No.
I	Do you think things will change if you don't sort out that?
Silence	
J	No. (sniffs, appears tearful)
I	What do you need in your life, Jackie?
Silence	
I	And you, Carol? How do you feel about yourself?
C	Miss, I'm very naughty, but the life my father gave us, miss , I grew up very strict, miss. We had to know what was wrong and what was right, so as I was growing up I obeyed my father's rules, I just don't do my own thing I did do bad things till my father called a family meeting, and went on and on, and I was really irritated, and I thought about afterwards, and it really did make sense, but I still get up to mischief…I still smoke and all that.
I	Bur what is it that makes you still try at school, what keeps you on track, and Jackie can't?
Silence.	
I	Remember at the beginning of the year, you needed a lot of encouragement and look how you've turned out now. I'm proud of you….I'm not saying I'm not proud of Jackie …I'm concerned about Jackie. I look at you and think if this was my daughter what would I do to

help her? I'm worried because I think that you need a strong support system to help you through this phase.

APPENDIX 7

Interview 2
Judy
Interviewer

I   The focus is to find out how your home life impacts on you as a student, but also how other things impact on you, in other areas of your life. What is important in your life, who is the most important influence.

J   My sisters.

I   Why your sisters, why not your parents?

J   Well, my parents aren't really role models to me, and my sister she's like someone I can look up to, I can talk to about things in life. My smaller sister - I speak to her about all the bad things and she doesn't judge me.

I   Does your elder sister judge you?

J   Yes, she does.

I   You say your parents aren't role models . . . why?

J   Well, they're alcoholics . . . don't think I even respect them.

I   When you say that, what do you mean?

J   Like my parents, especially my mother, I speak to her any how.

I   How does that make you feel

J   Mm, you know I don't really feel anything. I should be respectful of ehr and my father.

I   Why do you behave towards your mother in that way?

J   Because I see the way she acts, and she acts more like a child, and I'm the parent.

I   What kind of things do you have to do at home?

J   Sometimes Ii cook, and have to clean up. But not really too much.

I   Financially, how are things?

J   At the moment they're okay but not because of my parents, my sister sends money.

I   Are your parents working?

J   No. My father gets a job occassionally, and when he does work most of the money goes for liquor.

I   How does that impact on you? You've said that as a daughter you lose respect, you feel more like the parent. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

J   One brother, and 5 sisters. Well, my brothers big, but my two younger sisters; I take responsibility for them.

I   What do you do for them?

J   Make sure they come in at a certain time, feed them. And when my sister sends money, I must make sure I go buy food and everything before my parents get hold of the money.

I   And bills?

J   Yes, I also pay them.

I   From Cheryl's money?

J   Yes.

I   And as a student, how do these things that are happening at home affect you?

J   I try to forget everything at school, but it's very hard. Like mostly, I feel like studying in order to get out of the house.

I   Some children have said they have problems at home, but they would rather seek solace from friends. Do you have many friends?

J   No.

I   Why not?

J   I don't really think friends are important…my sisters are there. Friends are just for company at school…at home I talk to my sisters.

I   You don't go out to discos?

J   No.

I   Boyfriends?

J   No.

I   Will you have time for that later?

J   Maybe

I   Would you like to do those things?

J   Ya, maybe later.

I   Nothing else stops you from having people coming home, visiting…

J   My parents…and that house….

I	Why?
J	Hmm…sometimes they're drunk and it's dirty and I come home with friends and things are flying at home…uhuh!
I	What about being invited to their homes?
J	No. Maybe if there were no parents or something because I'm very shy.
I	Why do you think you're a shy girl? You've got brains, you're pretty, what makes you shy?
J	I think it's my parents.
I	In what way?
J	Like they always embarrass a person. (visibly upset, tearful)
I	Okay…are you alright. Do you want a tissue?
I	The church, what role does it play an important role in your life?
J	No. A lot of people who go to church just pretend, what's the use of going to church if you behave that way?
I	Have you had experience of this?
J	Not really.
I	But you're cynical of them?
J	Mm.
I	Why do you think they're pretending?
J	Like when they're at church they fall and get the spirits…I don't believe that.
I	You don't believe there's place in life for that?
J	No.
I	What is real , genuine, what is sincere in your life?
J	Umm, I can't really say.
I	If you had to write down a description of your character what would it be?
J	I'm shy, I have a good sense of humour . . .
I	And bad things?
J	I like scandalling (laughter)
I	We all do!
J	And shy is a bad thing.
I	Why?
J	Because when you're shy you get nothing
I	What kind of person gets things?
J	A person who's outspoken and confident.
I	You mean if you're shy you're not confident?
J	Mm.
I	So you equate shyness with lack of confidence, and someone who's outspoken with having confidence?
J	Yes
I	Okay, umm. Are you disciplined at home by your parents?
J	No.
I	Do they lay down the law at any time?
J	No.
I	Do they ask about homework?
J	No.
I	Do they take an interest in any part of your life?
J	Not really.
I	Why do you think your parents are the way that are?
J	I think they just regret their lives they look at me, they feel very jealous….
I	Do you think they love you?
J	No.
I	Why do you think this?
J	Because if you love a person you wont keep embarrassing them.
I	At school…do you feel that your school life is an important aspect .
J	Yes, because most of the time at home I'm doing schoolwork.
I	So at school, how do you feel as a person?

Interrupted.

I	Sorry, so how do you feel at school as compared to home?
J	About the same.
I	Do you mean, having no confidence, shy?
J	Yes.

I	But at school you're doing so well, don't you feel empowered?
J	Not really, because it's taking so long, and it's like I'm not getting anywhere.
I	Where do you see your education taking you?
J	I want a bursary and scholarship and to study at varsity.
I	But that's in 2 years time, so it takes awhile for that kind of thing to happen. You just have to be patient and vasbyt a little longer.
J	Yes.
I	What about gangsterism in the area? How does that impact on you as a resident of Caliban?
J	Mmm. Not actually…it adds as an interest to me, it is exciting to see people getting stabbed and all that.
I	It's exciting for you? Ha ha ! You think that's exciting? How do you feel about the people getting stabbed?
J	I feel sorry for them, but at the same time its exciting and sometimes I feel they deserve it because of the things they do.
I	Okay.er, okay. Would you become part of a gang?
J	No.
I	Why not?
J	Ay, I'm a soft person I can never do such things.
I	So, would you say that you take pleasure out of the gangsters activities?
J	Hm.
I	You get a bit of a thrill?
J	Yah.
I	Do you watch a lot of television?
J	No.
I	Do you have a tv at home?
J	Hm.
I	Money…do you think that not having money at home is affecting your personality?
J	Yes, I think that one of the main reasons why I'm shy.
I	Money would make you feel better about yourself?
J	Yes.
I	How would you be different if you had money, Judy?
J	Well, I'd have a lot of clothes and all that and that would give me confidence. Lots of confidence.
I	Would you change your attitude as a student?
J	No.
I	Would you be a better student because of money?
J	No.
I	The same?
J	Yes.
I	So, basically, what is it within you that is helping you to overcome the problems at home?
J	I think it's because I want to escape…that's why I'm studying like this.
I	Drugs, boyfriends, smoking…those are ways that people are escaping the realities of life.
J	Those people don't think very far, that's why. They just think for the moment, and that's not for me.
I	Mm, that's true. If you become a parent one day, when you become a parent one day . . .
J	I don't want to become a parent one day.
I	Why not?
J	I don't want my child to go through such hell.
I	Wouldn't you be a different parent?
J	I'll try but I don't think I'll get very far.
I	Why not?
I	Because I've inherited some traits from my parents and that I'll pass on to my children.
I	Such as?
J	Uhm.
I	What traits have you inherited?
J	Such as going on and on . . . like when I've done something wrong, I don't hear the end of it.
I	Don't you think that's because you're aware of it, you won't do it?
J	No. I think I will do it, because I'll forget.
I	I know that you love reading. What kind of pleasure do you get out of it?
J	I can escape from reality through my reading.

I	Let's move on to being a Coloured person. When person thinks of a Coloured from Caliban, what do you think comes to her mind?
J	That we're raw people, wild, we drink and do all those kinds of things...drugs.
I	Why would people have that kind of perception of Coloureds.
J	I don't know.
I	Is there truth in it?
J	Sometimes.
I	How do you feel, when you think someone is thinking of you in that way.
J	I feel angry , because I know I'm not that type of person.
I	What makes a person a Coloured person in your eyes?
J	Their skin colour. And the way they talk.
I	How do they talk?
J	Like, you know, got a different accent, and the words they use, like slang.
I	So if I'm a certain skin colour, I'm Coloured? What skin colour?
J	Like a sort of tannish, you know, almost light.
J	And what about those that are very dark?
J	Ay . . . I wouldn't know.
I	Is race an important thing in your life?
J	Not really. But I wouldn't get a black boyfriend or a white boyfriend.
I	Why not?
J	Because when Mandela was president, and now Mbeki's president, they're getting everything, and before when De Klerk was president, the whites were getting everything, so where are we Coloureds and Indians standing?
I	Okay, so what kind of future do you think you'll have one day? You want to go to varsity, and thereafter, where do you see yourself in ten years time?
J	I think I want to go to America.
I	Would that make you a better person?
I	No.
I	Why? Why would you do that?
J	I don't like South Africa, and seeing all the same things.
I	But people move out of Pmburg and see the same things.
J	But its still like seeing the same people. Different faces, but same personalities. Like Barbara, I see my sister in Barbara.
I	Are you very intuitive?
J	Yes.
I	Are you happy with yourself, Judy?
J	No.
I	What are you unhappy about?
J	Mostly my lack of confidence.
I	What can give you confidence, besides, okay lets move away from your parents, what can make you more confident about yourself.
J	I don't think anything. (begins crying)
I	Do you feel that others are superior to you, Judy?
J	Yes. (sniffing)
I	What makes them superior to you? Look in your class, the most superior person is you.. Isn't your academic intelligence something that gives you confidence?
J	Not really.
I	What would you like to be like?
J	I would mostly like to be outspoken
I	What's stopping you from being outspoken?
J	My lack of confidence. (sniff)
I	You've been very outspoken today. And your speech for English oral was very well done. You've got a lot of potential. Your race, doesn't it make you less confident?
J	(Shakes her head.)
I	So there it is...it's just events at home .You're doing things the hard way, trying to get a good education, it's a long term solution to the events at home Others are looking for quick fixes that aren't going to get them anywhere. I don't want you to become bitter, and cynical and resentful, Judy. Are you jealous of other girls in your class?
J	Yes.
I	What are you jealous of?

J Confidence. Looks.

I But look at you, you've got a lovely figure, your turn will come.

   (Tape switched off. Student is visibly upset.)

5 mins later.

I Judy, can you explain the role that we as teachers should play in your life . . . where are we failing you? Where are we helping you?

J Mostly I don't like it when teachers have favourites . . . favourite people.

I How does it make you feel when teachers have favourites?

J I feel jealous, and I start resenting the person they're favouring.

I Hmm. Would you like teachers to know more about what's happening yin your home?

J No.

I Don't you think it will help them to help you?

J No.

I Do you want them to keep their distance from you?

J Hmm.

I Would you like your parents to get more involved in your schoolwork?

J No.

I So who is in charge of your life then?

J I am in charge of my own life.

I And your happy with the way you're directing it?

J Hmm.

I Spiritually?

J Hm.

I Have you got a relationship with God?

J Sometimes.

I I see you're crying a lot. Is this interview upsetting you?

J A little bit.

I Why?

J Because it's making me think of things I'd rather not.

I Is it better not to think of those things?

J Yes.

I Why?

J 'Cause what's the use of thinking about it? It will do nothing.

I A lot of people pray. Have you thought exploring that side of your life?

J Yes, but it doesn't help.

She cries again.

END OF INTERVIEW

APPENDIX 8
Interview 3
Interviewer
Nolan
James

I   Where do you feel most powerful in your lives?
N   With my friends. It seems like I got more power…that's basically it.
I   You feel like you've got more power? What do you mean?
N   Like they under me, miss. Just the way they look up to me, and the people I move with.
I   Are they younger than you?
N   Yes, most of them.
I   Why do they look up to you?
N   Because of the people I'm with, miss. My brother in law, not quite my brother in law, he got a child from my sister, and he's a gangster, so they can't do anything to me 'cause they'll get hurt in the process.
I   So your power comes from moving with people who have power?
N   Yes.
I   Do you like that feeling?
N   No, I don't like it. We're all equal.
J   No comment, miss.
Laughter
I   James doesn't want to comment about your comment! When do you feel more powerful James?
J   With my friends miss.
I   Why?
J   'Cause miss, the people in school miss, they like, my age miss, and at home they elder than me miss. That's where I feel comfortable.
I   Do you have different friends?
J   Yes miss.
I   School friends and home friends?
J   Yes, miss.
I   Why?
J   Miss now and then I see Nolan and Claude, miss, but not all day. The guys I live with in the road, miss, I see them whole day.
I   You feel comfortable with them?
J   Yes, miss.
I   Why do you feel more comfortable with them than with anybody else in your life?
J   Like with my parents miss and my teachers, like with the teachers in the school, miss I'm not free like, to talk about anything miss.
I   Why?
J   Miss I feel like there's certain parts of my life that just must stay with me miss, and there's certain parts that I can like speak about miss.
I   What kind of things do you think teachers shouldn't know about you . . . about students?
J   About students, miss, their habits . . .
N   . . . things they get up to over the weekend, the places they go, that's basically it miss.
I   Why, why shouldn't teachers know this?
N   'Cause most of the time it's wrong things, miss and we feel if your'll know what's happening your'll gonna inform our parents.
I   So your parents don't know what you get up to?
N   No miss. Most of the time they don't.
I   How can they not know? You live in the same house.
N   Secrets, miss.
Laughter.
J   Miss like if you smoking you not gonna smoke in the house, miss. You'll have the cigarette, come home, can't smell nothing miss.
I   Do you do that to your parents, James?
J   Smoke, miss? Yes miss.
I   Do you smoke cigarettes, dagga, buttons?

J	I smoke everything, miss.
I	Everything? Why do you do that? How old are you? 14?
J	15.
I	All your friends do that with you?
J	Not all of them.
N	No, not all of us.
I	Do you do that, Nolan?
N	No, I smoke cigarettes. But not like him, miss, he's a chimney, eksa.

Laughter.

J	Yes, its true.
I	It's true? Why do you do that?
J	Miss, at home miss, I go home now, its exam time, I'm not gonna study, so early miss, so friends come round, how things, right, ask what you doing now, you just go for a walk....
N	...see him puffing, that's the way were growing up, this place is not good for anything.
I	What's wrong with it?
N	It's too much peer pressure, everywhere you go people are doing this, people are doing that. It's like you bound to do it.
I	Mmm.
N	You're following everyone else's footsteps.
I	Mmm.
N	But me, I'm tryna go my way, but it's hard miss.
I	What's your way?
N	On the narrow line, straight.
I	But you mix up with gangsters.
N	Yes.
I	Do you do what they do?
N	No, it depends.
I	Mmm.
N	On who and what?
I	Like?
N	Like if they're on drugs and I don't want to try, I buy myself a mineral, sit.
I	And they don't pressurise you to . . .
N	. . . no. They used to, but I told them I don't wanna smoke.
I	So the friends that you are with respect your choices?
J	Yes, miss.
N	Yes, miss.
J	You get those that wanna force you miss, but in the same process you can tell them what's wrong now, me I don't need your friendship and that there wa, so from there they can see that you got some sense.
I	Oh. Is there loyalty and honour amongst gangsters?
J	Yes, miss.
I	It's very hard to imagine gangsters being loyal, and honourable, 'cause the two don't seem to go together.
J	Miss but I should say yes miss but the circumstances miss. Like in one situation just say you with a big gangsters, and the same time you friends...

A knock at the door.

J	. . . If I steal a car, miss, and Nolan and me get caught miss, and the policeman can choke you with a tube, and maybe a knife, and in the end I'll talk, and maybe Nolan will hate me miss, but he'll understand miss.
N	What, understand?
J	Yah.
N	But you can't tell the people about it!
J	Miss, it happened once to me miss...we were bust with some illegal substances miss, and we got caught, so miss, this boy saw he's bigger then me miss and he can stand the pressure, so he said he was himself, miss...
I	Is he still your friend?
J	Yes miss.
I	Do you look up to him for that?
J	Yes...actually miss I look up to him.
N	That's the reason why I rather sit with gangsters - if you in trouble or anything they don't . . .

...(Indistinct)

I	So you'd rather be a friend of a gangsters than someone like James' friend?
N	Yes miss.
I	What's the difference between the two?
N	In Caliban there's no difference, miss.
J	Gangsters just the guy that's there . . . just the guy that's running the show, miss. He can send you, miss, he got power over everyone, miss. But like a friend, miss he's just a guy that's doing the things, miss.
I	Doing the things with you?
J	Yes...he's not . . . he got no power over anyone, He can't send everybody.
I	So friends can engage in illegal activities.
J	Yes miss.
I	Okay, but a gangster controls them.
J	Yes miss.
I	So Nolan, what are you?
N	Haai miss, I'm not a gangster. I'm just Nolan.
I	But you said earlier on that the boys look up to you.
NM	Yes, they look up to me 'cause of the people I sit with. 'Cause the people I sit with got all the control, so they look at me like I'm a gangster.
I	So you're bathing in their glory?
N	Yes...kinda. People say gangsters are bad, miss . . .
I	Mm.
N	. . . but it's like . . . let me give you an example . . . two dogs . . . it's like putting a Rottweiler on a person. It'll bite. But putting a pitbull on a person, it'll eat him. So like the gangsters are like the pitbull. You can't get on the wrong side, 'cause they're bad . . . that's just they way they are, miss.
I	Do you condone their activities, the people that you're with . . . your friends? Do you accept what they do?
N	It's not my life, miss. Only if it's concerning my friends, my family, then I tell then don't do it, then they won't do it.
I	Do you think that you'll get boys to look up to you in any other ways?
N	Yes, miss.
I	How?
N	How? The way I am, miss. I'm cool and calm . . . people like me for that. My smile, I'm not a bully, so I can get friends besides moving around with gangsters.
I	Do you think you'd think the same of Nolan if he left his brother in law?
J	Yes miss, I'd think the same of him, he's a person, that's how he is.
I	So you're saying you have an identity. There's a Nolan that's cool and calm, has a lovely smile and is not a bully, but that that Nolan also needs other encouragement and other kinds of power from his association with his brother in law?
N	No, I don't need any of that...I am who I am, miss.
I	Okay. Have you got a girlfriend?
N	No, no girlfriend, miss.
I	Many girlfriends?
N	No, miss.
I	Who do you look up to in your family. Anybody there at home or your friends, teachers?
N	My parents miss, the way they try to bring me up. So I'll feel like if I wanna smoke dagga or mandrax, I'm letting them down, so that's . . . that's my main reason not to do (inaudible) . . . to keep them proud of me.
I	Do you think they are proud of you?
N	They're proud of me miss. My father's a panelbeater, when he's busy with the cars I go down I help him miss, wash the dog, that's my chores.
I	Do you have a good relationship with your mum?
N	With my mum.... yes. She's closer to me than my father. They say I'm my mother's . . . mummy's boy!

Laughter

I	And do you think they're proud of you as a student as well?
N	Yes miss. Like this year, this school. not as good. Last year at XXX they were strict . . . here at this school it's just smoking.
I	But as a teacher I don't see that.

J	Miss you must, like, won't see it from a teacher's point of view, but if you were a pupil you gonna see what's happening miss.
I	Does it impact on you in the classroom?
N	No miss.
J	Well miss, if you're a smoker, you're tempted to do those things. If you're a smoker, you're doing a subject, you thinking only of that cigarette, so . . .
I	Hmm. Umm good teachers, bad teachers…what do you think of teachers here?
J	Ay miss, I don't think much of the teachers.
N	I don't like teachers, miss.
J	Actually miss I don't care for them.
N	Only a certain teacher that respects me I'll respect that teacher. Like Mr G *(the principal)*, beginning of the year I was in trouble, my parents came in. I was by the office, standing there, listening to what he's saying. I answered him. When my parents came he told them different thing . . . I was walking up and down in the office and my parents believed him, so I don't like people like that.
I	James, you were saying . . .
J	Miss I was saying I don't really care for teachers. Miss you get these certain teachers they don't worry about the pupil or the class miss, they just worry about getting the job done and getting paid miss.
I	How would you know that a teacher's only worried about getting the job done? How would that teacher behave?
J	Miss that teacher miss, won't even mark the books, only write the work on the board. Then when the class is making noise miss she's only worried about the class, she's not worried about…worried about the whole class, not worried about those that made the noise, miss. Then she or he gets cross, or leaves the class and sits down, miss, got a impact on all of us, miss.
I	What would make you have more respect for the teachers?
J	If they had more respect for us.
N	Like in your class, how you are. Miss though we talked we used to do our work. Now other classes the teachers are walking in and out the classroom. They doing their own thing, just writing the work on the board, they won't explain so we won't have respect for her, she's not teaching us, she's not telling us anything, him or her, so we tend to lose respect . . . the way we treat her.
I	Do you think that teachers need to get to know you a little more?
J	Miss I also think that . . . that teachers should get to know us a little better.
I	How will we get to know you?
J	Miss by not only . . . how can I put it . . .. okay? How can I put it miss, like, not only giving us what's set in the syllabus, like giving us like how do we feel miss.
I	Like taking into account your opinions? Allowing you to talk?
J	Yes miss, and how we feel about the certain exercise. if it hurts the sensitive people.
I	Hmm. Are you confident as a student James?
J	Miss I'm confident in myself.
I	Okay, and you Nolan?
N	I'm confident too.
I	What about the church? Does it play a major role in your life?
N	Church? I haven't been to church for a very lone time. The reason. I'm just lazy . . . to me church is like. er . . . for my parents , they are Christians, my sisters. I'm the only one, I'm the bad one in the family. I know God I love him. He's the saviour. But if I die . . .
I	Are you saying it's not time for God right now?
N	For me miss.
J	Ay, me miss, church miss, I wanna go to church but at the same time I don't wanna. My reason is our church is the kind of church when they see you they always want to see you. If they don't see you for quite some time they get worried, so miss it's best they just forget about you.
N	I rather go to a different church every Sunday if that's the case because if you go the same church maybe people know you this person that person they always worried about you, taking to you, praying for you, there's no need for that.
I	Why not?
N	How, if your pray for forgiveness, then it's okay, why ask them.
I	Do your parents read a lot, Nolan?

N	Yes Miss.
I	Check your homework?
N	Yes miss.
I	And you James?
J	Miss, my sister reads miss.
I	And your parents? Do they take an interest in your work?
J	Miss I stay with my mother. She's more interested in my school life than my home life, miss, my social life. So she's only worried like I'm gonna get my report, come home after school, help her out, make myself a better person.
I	She obviously doesn't know what you're doing?
J	Miss she does.
I	And how does she react?
J	Miss it was bad, friends of mine got caught.... his mother said it was me, she came to our house, woke me up. Miss one friend of mine he's also from this school, nothing, just good boy, he helped me out, said I had nothing to do with that.
I	Did you have to come to school the next day?
J	Yes.
I	And what were you thinking about the whole day?
J	Miss, I (inaudible) . . .. these activities.
I	Where do you see yourself in 10 years time?
J	Working and married.
N	Own business, own house, wife, children, christian.
I	Living where?
N	Not in SA.
I	How do you feel about being Coloured in Caliban, and in SA?
J	Not right, if you get locked up, or caught, they see you're a bruinou a Coloured, from Caliban, XYZ (the name of a gang) straight away.
I	So the police have a stereotype of you already.
J	Yes, miss, they already got a vision of you miss, what type of person you are just from seeing you're Coloured, you're violent.
I	How do you feel about that?
J	I feel it can't be changed, can't be reversed.
I	Why?
J	Ay miss, I dunno why.
IN	I feel I'm glad to be Coloured, I'm proud to be Coloured, I can't change it, I don't want to be a white, I am who I am, but I don't like being a Coloured, I prefer a white.
I	Why?
N	Look at the rand how it dropped. Everything in the country is, ay; going done . . . no books, stationery, look at this school. There's hardly even Coloureds in this school, miss.
I	How do you feel about this?
N	I don't like that. All the Coloureds are going to the other Coloured school or going to white schools. They don't want to come here 'cause . . . Black people. They tend to think they got more power over us 'cause why Mandela . . . Thabo Mbeki, he's in charge so they tend to take advantage. Me I don't like that.
I	In the classroom situation, you don't think that blacks should share your school with you?
N	I'm not a racist miss, They can come to the school I don't mind but I feel this is a Coloured school, it should be a Coloured school, miss.
I	What makes it a Coloured school?
J	The environment, where it's put, miss.
N	The people . . .
I	But there are al of black people here.
N	Caliban this . . . this is a Coloured area . . . now look what they done?
I	What have they done?
J	The informal settlement . . .
N	Miss you must notice here in the flats, I stay in the flats, when their lights are on, out lights are off, when our lights are on, their lights are off, so like they steal their lights, I don't like that, they don't pay for garbage disposal, even water; don't pay for lights . . . why? Why can't we stay there . . . I don't like that. When we go there they chase us away! Why?
I	Anything else to add before we finish off?
N	The teachers shouldn't be so strict.

I   You just said we aren't as strict as H!

N   Yes, but in a different way…too strict can't dress up, Here you can do all that but in the classroom there's discipline. These classrooms, haai, people just do what they wanna do.

I   Are you coming back to this school next year?

N   I come from H so I have to stay here.

Laughter

I   Ok guys, what makes a coloured a coloured?

N   My temper

(tape ended, disc continued. Transcript from notes)

I   So a coloured is defined by his temper.

N   Yes miss.

I   So how would you define yourself? James?

N   A smoke bud!

I   The children in your class call you a smoke-bud?

J   No miss they don't call me that to my face miss. They say James is just a smoker to my friends.

I   But there's more to James?

J   Yes miss. James wants to be computer programmer.

I   But James's activities might stop him from becoming that.

J   Might, miss.

I   And if you go to jail?

J   Miss I can't go to jail, now miss. But I don't think when I'm older, at that time I'll be doing these things miss.

I   So what will make you stop.

J   When I've had enough miss.

I   How will you know when you've had enough?

J   When I see miss it's holding me down from my goal.

I   Will he be able to stop…. Nolan.

N   No he won't miss. It's the game.

I   It's the game?

N   That's what they say, miss.

I   What's the game?

J   Miss what you in miss.

I   What do you mean, what you're in?

N   He's in the drugs miss.

J   Drugs?

I   How do you play in the drug game?

J   You play a role, miss.

N   For what you can get.

I   What role do you play in the drug game, James?

J   James just goes with the flow miss.

I   Smoking as Nolan said.

N   It feels like he gets respect more, am I right?

J   What do you mean?

N   He feels like, check smoking, he can sit with them, they'll get along. Am I right?

J   No not really. I don't smoke I front of the XYZs and the gangsters. Once they see you doing that they want you to supply them.

I   Where do you get money from for your habit?

J   I hardly smoke miss, but I get my money from my mother, my sister.

I   How you gonna get out of the game?

J   I'll just leave them.

N   Willpower, willpower.

I   Would you say you're addicted?

J   No, not addicted.

N   Maybe not yet, but soon.

I   You come to school late, because you have to look after a little brother isn't it, James?

J   Yes miss.

I   So there's another James then, .not James the student, not James the player in the game…

N   James the smoker!

I	...not James the smoker, so there's another James, then, the caretaker, your brother's keeper. How do you feel about that James?
J	Miss not actually my brother, it's my sisters son. She's nursing, works night shift so she's hardly at home, he can't iron for himself so I have to iron for him.
I	Your mother can iron?
J	Haai miss, I don't like to worry her miss.
I	Why not, doesn't she iron for you?
J	I iron for myself, miss. She just supplies the food, the clothes on, my back, miss, money in my pocket, but I must also play my part in the home miss, tidy up, looking after the lad.
I	The lad? Do you love him?
J	Love him, miss? I'll die for him!
I	You'll die for him? Do you want him to follow in your footsteps?
J	No miss.
I	But he's looking up to you, don't you think? He's gonna be a player one day, like his uncle James.
J	I wouldn't say he'll be a player one day, miss because he doesn't know what activities I indulge in.
I	Tell me a bit about your mum. If you're reluctant you don't have to. Is your mum working?
J	No miss she don't work.
I	What would you change about her, if you could?
J	If I could, miss...ay, nothing, miss.
I	You're happy with her just the way she is?
J	Yes miss.
I	You'll marry someone just like your mum one day.
J	Haai miss, I wouldn't say marry someone like her.
I	What's your mum's finest quality?
J	Miss she don't look down on her children miss. She's always proud of what they do. I wouldn't say she's proud of what they do when it's wrong but she won't say, ay look at him, she won't criticise miss.
I	What do you think is her one failing, if you were forced to find something?
J	She's got one favourite, my elder brother.
I	Hmmn, how do you feel about that?
J	I always tell her miss she mustn't have favourites.
I	Does she admit it?
J	She says she looks after him, miss, she must look after him.
I	Hmm, so you're also the baby brother who doesn't get as much attention from his mum?
J	I wouldn't say I don't get attention miss, she gives all of us attention, but miss, hell always come first, miss.
I	Nolan, what game are you in?
N	The dog game...
I	The dog game?
N	Yes, I like dogs miss, that's my weakness, maybe with J it's drugs.
I	Hmm, how many dogs do you have?
N	I have 2, miss, 2 pitbulls.
I	Pitbulls?
N	Yes.
I	What do you like about the pitbulls?
N	The way they fight.
I	How do they fight?
N	With a heart.
I	Do you mean passionate?
N	Yes.
I	Would you like be like that?
N	What do you mean, fighting?
I	No I mean, to do things with a passion?
N	Yes.things like the way I treat my family, look after my sister's child...I do all that with a loving heart, not to say I have to do it I do it cause I want to do it.
I	When did you start getting into dogs?
N	From std 3.
I	But they're dangerous, watch them around your sister's child.

N	No they're not dangerous it depends how you bring them up.
I	Do you walk around Caliban with them?
N	Yes.
I	Why?
N	Why? So the people can look up to me. Caliban is just about dogs.
I	What do you mean?
N	Gangsterism, drugs.it's a bad place.
I	So if you're walking around…
N	Next year, I might go to Dbn, stay with my eldest sister. But I still think wherever we go, we'll find the same kind of people. You can't run away from trouble, it'll always find you. There's no way out the game once you start you can't stop.
I	In the game…what game?
N	Whatever game you participate in.
I	There's no way out?
N	There's no way out…unless you get saved.
I	Unless you get saved? And you can leave then. But you're not in that game.
N	Drugs?
I	Mmm, and gangsters. So…it doesn't touch you.
N	It's hard to get saved miss. There's too much to life, like one of my friends was saved, he was saved for about a month than he was telling me do this, do this. . In the end he was telling me smoke dagga. Rather leave it out.

Laughter

I	Ok you players…
N	…Life has to party, hey James…inaudible
I	What does that mean?
J	He shoulda been killed while he was still innocent miss. That's the way he feels miss. They should have shot him when he was born.
N	That's why I listen to gangster music. There's always a meaning behind that song.
I	Such as?
N	Like Tupac, when he sings to his mother. I like that…like the way I see my mother. I can clash, I can connect.
I	Do you identify with Tupac?
N	Yah.
I	Does he say a lot of things that you would agree with?
N	Yes.
I	And his lifestyle?
J	Lifestyle…I agree with his lifestyle.
N	I don't.
I	What kind of lifestyle, James?
J	He lived the life of an outlaw miss, he was a gangster.
I	Do you like that kind of life?
J	Miss, he had to. The place where he was living in was a war.
I	So places make you who you are.
J	Yes miss, the environment.
N	That's why I don't want to live in Caliban.
I	There's no way to be okay in Caliban, to live normally?
J	Ay, you can't.
N	You cant. The people that you look up to that are saved miss; you see them walking with drugs, so what's the use getting saved?
J	Miss, a friend of mine, miss he was in this school he was saved for about 5, 4 years miss. Ad miss in the end he started buying liquor, they wanted me to wrap cigarettes for them, dagga and that, so I said what's the use…
I	But maybe it'll be different for you.
J	Miss but 4 years miss?
I	At least he had 4 years.
J	Haai miss, I don't see a purpose in that.
I	So, you're saying that your environment makes you who you are and there's no way you can escape?
J	Yes miss.

I	But I've had students who come from very bad backgrounds, girls.... Who are not going that way...?
J	Girls, miss, girls,
I	...who are focussing on their education. There's no pressure on girls to go that way, join gangs...
J	No miss.
I	Yet there are some girls that are part of the gang?
N	Yes.
I	How do ...what do you think about that?
J	Miss the only reason they're part of the gang...my point of view, miss, is that one of the members is a boyfriend.
I	What would girls get out of the gangs, Nolan? You'd get a sense of being looked up to...
N	...respects.
I	Ya... James, although he's... he's. I would say you and your friends are a gang... a group of boys doing things....
J	Not a gang, miss.
N	Your'll are...your'll are.
I	What's the difference? What's a gang?
J	Miss, a gang is a group of people that got a title.
I	So... you're an untitled gang?
J	Yes.

Laughter

N	They are a gang!
J	We're just a group of friends.
N	So you mean to tell me if we moving together and you see someone hitting me you're not gonna jump?
J	We'll jump.
N	So that's a gang.
J	No, we're united.
N	You're a gang.
J	Miss what they say together we stand, divided we fall.
I	Do gangsters always pile one person?
N	Not necessary.
I	Okay, your family, do they shape you as well. Nolan, you mentioned your family and their expectations?
J	Yes miss.
I	And your friends? They don't seem to do much shaping for you, Nolan, because you don't do what they do.
J	You could say miss, Nolan is a leader, not a follower.
N	A leader, where? Where?
J	No I'm saying he can say miss basically he's a leader not a follower miss, so his friends will do what he's doing miss.
I	Do your'll do what Nolan does. He's a good gangster apparently.
N	I'm not a gangster.
I	You're not a gangster now, okay what are you?
N	I'm just a good boy.
I	You're a good boy who sits with gangsters.
N	You can't judge me. Only God can judge me.
I	Mm. But that's not judging you.... er...only God judges you. You're not afraid, Nolan, people look at you and say, he's with them he must be one of them.
N	I don't care what people say.
I	Your'll listen to Nolan in the class, James?
J	Yes miss.
I	Why?
J	Aaai miss, I look up to him miss, because he's his own person.
I	Nolan, do you think teachers know anything about you?
N	No. Me miss, I can't see my friends getting hurt. If he's getting hit and he's getting hit bad miss, I'll jump.
I	So you'll fight for them?
N	Yes.

I	With a passion!

Laughter

I	Teachers…Does the school create an identity for you as well?
J	Yes miss.
I	What kind of identity?
J	Miss, Mr G, I won't say he'll know it now if you ask him miss, But if he opens my file, miss, he'll see "No, James' not the type of pupil he'd look up to". If I do my work me miss, I know I can make it.
I	Mm. So the school has put you into a little category according to your actions?
N	I don't like people to put me down miss that's when I lose my respect for them. They just think they can say you're a gangster…. the respect is lost.
J	in other words, they're judging you.
I	But, children would respect somebody associated with activities such as yours, isn't it?
N	Yes, in Caliban.
I	In Caliban?
N	Yes miss, in Caliban, anywhere where there's a lot of gangsters. They'll look up to you.
I	Okay, and in a school, the teachers wouldn't look up to you for that kind of thing. What's the difference?
N	No, not in a school.
I	Why?
N	How they gonna look up to a gangster fighting, doing his own thing? But at home, at school you're two.
I	Which person are you more comfortable with, Nolan?
N	At home, miss.
I	And you James?
J	Same, miss. At home you're free miss.
N	It's like we live in two worlds, miss. Like in schools the teachers look at you like you an angel, but at home your friends look at you like ay, that ou.
I	So,is it easy to try to fit together all those images of yourself that you say those people have of you?
N	How you gonna put an angel and a devil together miss?
I	There you are, an angel to me.
N	Yes, I seem that way.
I	But there you are, together, holding a conversation…
N	…but I'm not doing what I do at home!
I	If I see you doing what you do at home, how will I feel about you?
N	Uh, it depends how you look at it miss.
I	James told me what he does at home. Do you think I'd change my view of you James?
J	I dunno…miss the choice is for you to decide.
N	I don't you should look down on us. What they do in the home is not your business, their lives.
I	So after all this talk, what is it that you want to take out of here. Anything else to say?
N	I think that the school and the community should get together and do things that us youngsters want to do. like you go to the hall to watch movies, they don't want you to watch your movies. You rather go sit by the shop with your buddies.
I	What kind of things do you like doing?
N	My interest is boxing, dogs.
I	And you James?
N	Good interests, hey!

Laughter.

J	Music, miss.
I	What kind of music? Do you play an instrument or sing?
J	No miss.
I	How can school meet your musical needs and make you feel good?
J	I don't think they can.
N	I feel maybe one two days a year make us play our music, let us do what we want to do?
I	Don't you think the school is scared that people might start fighting and drinking as has happened in the past?
N	It's the new generation…judge us by ourselves, not by others.
I	But if the Tupac music is played, wouldn't the bottles and the cigarettes come along as well?

J No, miss. We'd respect your wishes just like you respect ours. Your'll respected the fact that we wanted the music, so we'll respect the fact that there's no illegal activities.

N It'll never happen.

APPENDIX 9
Interview 4
George
Interviewer

I   We're just going to talk about the things that impact on you as a young man. Who plays a more important role in shaping who you are?

G   My Mom.

I   Can you tell me a little more about her?

G   She plays a big role in my life miss, because she's always there when I'm down, she always encourages me and she helps me out here and there when I can't manage.

I   Do you respect her?

G   Very much, miss.

I   Does your mother and who she is stop you from doing.... certain things?

G   Not really miss. She just points out what's right from wrong

I   Is it easy to do what.... she wants you to do?

G   No miss. Certain things you've gotta...I'm trying and she always encourages me to go to church and try to come right.

I   Does the church play an important role in helping you to be a better person?

G   Yes miss, 'cause it's helping a lot of children to stay off the street. It's stopping a lot of children from smoking, alcohol, doing drugs.

I   Are there a lot of children smoking and drinking?

G   Quite a few miss. If you walk around Caliban it's terrible the sight that you see.

I   And the only way for people not to do that is if they become saved?

G   I think so miss. But that's..it's like it's got two parts to it.   'Cause what happened when Pastor Keith came with his church...he put up the church, and the children said that they were saved and apparently this one guy.... a few weeks later that the church is gone ...he goes and (inaudible)... it's quite terrible.

I   Do you have rules at home?

G   Not really miss.

I   How do you know if you're going too far?

G   I'm going too far when I come in 9, 10 o'clock miss.

I   At night?

G   Yes miss.that's too late, so my mother puts a stop to it.

I   How does she put a stop to it?

G   She tells me if I do it again I'll be grounded.

I   Its just your mum at home, hey? And you and your brother?

G   Yes miss.

I   How are you coping?

G   Okay, miss.

I   It's hard for your mum, to have two big boys like you and she's a woman

G   My brother's last year next year at the school, and he's quite.confident to get a good job.

I   And is he part of the whole...what every body does in Caliban?

G   No miss. He also encourages me.

I   Is he in the Church?

G   Yes miss.

I   Okay you're in grade 9... the pressures you feel from the children your age?

G   I feel that it's quite shocking miss, taking a look around Caliban you see these young 13 yr old boys smoking all those funny tablets, dagga, mandrax and all that, and it's really quite scary. It's scary for me because those children there don't know what they're doing to their lives.

I   Do you feel the pressure to do the same things?

G   No miss, I don't feel the pressure miss, because my mom's there to help me miss, and I really don't feel like picking up a cigarette.

I   Remember the things you mentioned to me a few weeks after school? How are things now?

G   (Sigh) Okay miss, things are getting tense now... exams coming up.

I   So you don't have any kind of involvement with boys your mother might not like?

G   Me and him had a quarrel a few weeks back 'cause he borrowed a tape of mine and he told me he'd call his gangsters.

I   Are you worried about that?

G	In a small way.
I	Do you think he'll do that?
G	I know his mother miss, so I'm gonna approach her and if the story goes too far . . .
I	And how will you defend yourself? Do you think his mother will be able to stop him from doing those things to you?
G	Yes, 'cause his mother is very understanding.
I	And the incident today when Fay was being insulted. You say you can't interfere in the classroom because you're scared of that boy?
G	Yes, miss.
I	How did you feel when Fay was crying?
G	I felt very upset but there's hardly anything I can do because if I take that boy down to the office then he's gonna threaten me.
I	Would you say that you can't enforce school rules because they threaten you?
G	Yes miss.
I	So isn't it something that the school should be aware of, since it means that prefects can't implement the rules because they are afraid?
G	It should miss.
I	Was there a teacher in the class at that time?
G	Yes miss.
I	And what did the teacher say?
G	He said his attitude is gonna get him outa the school, and the boy just ignored him.
I	What should that girl do?
G	She should go down to the office and report that boy.
I	Wont she also be under threat?
G	Ay, that's another thing.
I	Do you think she could be?
G	She could be.
I	In what way?
G	He might get that guy to come threaten her after school.
I	So you're saying the people who have the power are the people who have gangster connections?
G	Yes miss.
I	Is there any other way that these people have power over you at school?
G	Not really miss, it's just that they threaten you with their connections, miss. Same thing out there happens, if they ask you for money and you say you haven't got, they decide to hit you. It happened to me once by the shop too. I told the guy I haven't got money and he headed me in my eye.... and that's like the story, you can't do nothing miss, you scared of their other friends, he moves around with dangerous friends.
I	So as a young boy.. how old are you?
G	14 miss.
I	... what activities do you do in the community?
G	I help Mr Mike where I can miss. Now at the moment he's tryna fix up that place there. I'm tryna give him a hand where I can.... I'm tryna be part of the forum.
I	Do you think you'll have much success?
G	Kinda. 'Cause he's going out, he's speaking to the youth and he's letting them know the right from the wrong.
I	Will they listen to him?
G	It's worth a try miss, worth a try.
I	Hmm. Who are your friends? Do you have any friends?
G	Yes.
I	What do you do together?
G	You mean together. Maybe they come to my house, we sit down, have a cup of juice, tell a coupla jokes. watch tv, listen to music.
I	What kinds of music do you listen to?
G	R and B. Slow Jam.
I	Rap?
G	Sometimes, but I'm getting get rid of all the rap.
I	Why?
G	Miss, I'm looking to God now miss.
I	Does rap music not have anything about God?

G	It's got about God. But it's a bad influence miss.
I	Does this music affect who you are?
G	It did miss.
I	It did? In what way?
G	Kind of these…Tupac and all that swearing … it's all that pressure, the temptation… it's wanting you to do the same thing.
I	You felt that it was a pressurising time in your life?
G	Yes miss.
I	Did you try to do some of the things that the music suggested?
G	Yes miss.
I	What did you try?
G	I got into Byron and them's gang, started swearing, started smoking, doing all the wrong things, until my mother found out… she gave me a good thrashing…

Laughter

I	A big boy like you?
G	Yes miss. From that day I said no, I'm no more hanging around with them. I hang around with my brother. 'Cause this swearing, this smoking, it's gonna get me nowhere.
I	Hmm.

Laughter

I	But Byron's parents…do they know that he's in the gangs?
G	Yes miss. But he lives with his granny.
I	What would stop the youth from being involved in these activities? You said the church; it could be strict parents. Could the school stop them?
G	Mr Y should expel them. They putting other children's lives in terror, miss, he should let them go.
I	And what would happen to them if they left school?
G	I dunno miss.
I	What do you think comes into people's minds when I say George is a student of mine and he is a coloured boy?
G	And he's from Caliban?

Laughter

I	Does Caliban have to be part of the statement?
G	Gangsterism goes through their minds, miss. 'Cause a few years back Caliban was a terrible place miss. The house that I used to live in before, you couldn't sleep at night, hearing gunshots…looking out the window you frightened…'cause Ronaldo and Bryon used to rule that place there. You sleeping at night and praying that the next shot's not gonna hurt you 'cause the shots are just flying.
I	How did that make you feel?
G	It made me feel frightened, miss. 'Cause these guys used to sit near my house and drink. 'Cause they friends with that guy that lived next door that killed my uncle up in Jhb.
I	So you were frightened.
G	You can't open the door, you might not know when a gun is pointed at you.
I	Your dad live in Caliban as well?
I	Yes miss.
I	Has he been separated from your mum for a long time?
G	Quite some time.
I	How long?
G	From '95.
I	Do you feel that you need him more now than ever before?
G	Not really miss, 'cause I'm coping fine. Coping fine with my mum.
I	Okay. Does your mum work?
G	No miss.
I	How do you manage financially?
G	he supports us, miss.
I	How do you feel about him, when you think of him…
G	Miss I feel he was a fool to do what he did in the first place. living with him was like a living hell miss. He used to drink, he always ends up in a fight, 'cause my mother didn't want to drink and he used to force her.
I	You were how old?
G	9.

I	Do you remember that time?
G	Kinda. It made me feel very sad, cause I would like to help my mother while he was doing all this but I couldn't, I was too small.
I	You felt helpless. And now your mum is ok?
G	Yes miss.
I	When you think of a coloured person, what do you think of?
G	Coloured person... from Caliban?

Laughter

I	Okay, from Caliban.
G	First thing that comes to my head is that he's involved in a gang, miss. 'Cause the gangsters in Caliban they rule...that's the first thing that goes through my mind, miss.
I	When you say they rule, what do you mean?
G	They like you under them, they the top, everything they do,.like Dray, everything he does is right.
I	Does it apply to parents as well... the adults.... are they also under gangsters' rule?
G	Kinda miss
I	Your mother...?
G	She's helpless. they have guns, knives. Just the other day a boy, 21 years old, was fighting with a big lady and the lady had a baby in her hand.
I	Were you watching this?
G	I was watching this but I couldn't do nothing. he had a knife. He wanted to stab the lady's husband and she was trying to stop him from stabbing her husband.with the baby in her hands. The baby nearly dropped.
I	How did you feel when you were watching this?
G	Miss the sight was not good miss. I just had a few looks and I walked away 'cause I was just thinking of that little child miss what if that child slipped and dropped.
I	Do you think that the police can control...the adults can't control, the gangsters, do you think the police can?
G	They can miss, but when you put a gangster in a cell they just come out with more of the stuff that they used to do before.
I	What do you mean?
G	More terrible miss.
I	Why?
G	'Cause in the cell their inner soul, the true you comes out, when it comes out,
I	Are you saying that gangsters are basically evil?
G	Kinda miss. Look at Ronaldo, a number of times in the cell and came out and done the same thing. A few years back a boy chased him from woodlands. He gets his gun, he goes to the boys house, greets the mother and goes to the boy and kills him. Makes you think, Miss he could do the same thing to you miss.
I	Hmm. So in the classroom, what kind of person do you have to be where there are boys who have connections with gangsters?
G	Miss, I try to pull myself into a corner. Stay to myself and don't communicate with those boys.
I	Do you communicate with anybody?
G	In the class?
I	Yes.
G	Sometimes.
I	Who do you talk to?
G	The...the darker boys miss.
I	What do you mean the darker boys?
G	They the boys I like miss, like...I don't wanna be racist.
I	No it's not being racist.
G	They got less you know, the gang in them. They the boys of peace
I	Are they all scared of the gangsters in the class?
G	I'm not sure if they're aware of them. But like, Dray, he's in his own world, miss.
I	What do you mean?
G	Whatever he says is right.
I	Even if a teacher says something to him?
G	In the science room, the teacher told him something and he said his way is right miss.
I	He said straight to her...and what did she say?

G	She said nothing. Everything he does is right.
I	And the girls in the class…how do they feel towards that…are they aware of this?
G	Think so, they should be aware. It's a number of times he stood up and backchatted the teacher.
I	But he's never done that to me in the room.
G	Certain teachers he does it to.
I	What kind of teachers do you want to see in the school bearing in mind the different things that impact on you?
G	Nothing wrong with the teachers…the teachers are right, I just think the students should change the way that they act to the teachers.
I	What kind of future do you think you'll face living here in Caliban?
G	I don't plan on living here, I plan on going down to Cape Town. My uncle in CT… is offering me…taking me up to finish my studies at Varsity.
I	So you'll finish Matric here?
G	Yes miss.
I	Homework and things like that…do you do all your homework?
G	I try miss.
I	Reading…you don't like reading, why not?
G	It's like I tremble everytime I pick up a book.
I	You what?
G	I tremble, what goes through my mind is that there's a mistake, there's a big mistake.
I	Even if you're not reading aloud?
G	Yes same thing happens miss.
I	How would you make a mistake when you're reading, George?
G	I don't know its something that's telling me there's a mistake… I'm making a big mistake.
I	Did something happen to you in the lower standard with regard to reading?
G	Yes miss.
I	Can you tell me about it?
G	Er about a few weeks back a church lady asked me to read the bible. I missed a verse, everybody made me a fool, they laughed and called me names…I closed the bible and walked out.
I	Is this this year?
G	Yes miss, a few months back.
I	Has something happened to you before then that made you nervous about reading?
G	Not really miss.
I	Does your mother read?
G	She reads the paper miss.
I	Do you think that actually need to get reading?
G	I need to read for the English miss.
I	Is there anything that you'd like to speak to me about yourself?
G	I think you've touched on everything, miss.

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APPENDIX 10

Interview 5
Lynn
Ruth
Yvette
Interviewer

I	Let's talk about that incident in class when Fay was insulted. What do you think hurt her the most?
L	I think Fay was hurt the most when her friends all hoo-hoo-hooed, and they are her friends.
Y	And nobody stood up for her,
L	Yes miss, nobody...
Y	I think I was the only one who told Dray to sit down, and keep quiet and he didn't listen to me.
L	And when he was telling Fay off everyone was . . . and his friends also had a lot to say and he was standing up and going like this here.
Y	and they were clapping for him, you know, like they enjoy what he was doing
L	...yah...they were clapping for him to make him feel, you know, up so that he can carry on...and when Dray feels that he's on stage he doesn't stop because he feels people are with him he even told Mr S the whole class is his witness that he wouldn't do .
I	And would the whole class be his witness?
Y	I think his friends will take his part...all those boys at the back who were clapping for him...but I would never take his part.... I thought it was very wrong what he did to her.
R	Miss, Pam too. Pam took Dray's part there in class, but after that cause she wants to be Fs friend in class, she takes Fs part at the last minute, miss.
I	And then she tells me behind his back to come and see what happened. Friends play an important part then in your life, don't they?
L	Yes miss.
Y	Yes miss.
I	What kind of friends do you need in your life?
R	A fiend who tells you one side when something's wrong with you, not in front of the whole class, and a person who doesn't talk behind your back, they comfort you, a friend who can tell everyone you can confide in her.
L	And miss, I also think respect. And miss also now you find out that when you have friends it's mostly bickering in between because this one is closer to this one.
I	Mmm, I picked that up among you girls.
Laughter	
I	You worry about friends that aren't being true friends to you. Make you feel hurt.
L	Yes miss, and when a close friends hurts you, um, you can't explain that pain, shoo, it's bad.
I	So your friends shape you. Let's think about other things that make you who you are, who makes Y act in the way she does at school, what kind of force works on you to make yourself this kind of person...how do you see yourself at school?
Y	I think I'm friendly, but I think that it's my family mainly, because they're always there to encourage me to cheer me on and I think that's what really builds me up and of course my friends as well.
I	What brings you down?
Y	Ag, my friends as well (laughter) Ya, I would say my friends. but at the moment I'm quite happy with my friends because I'm no more with those friends, those so called friends but I think I'm happy with it.
L	Also with me.
I	Is it? Were you friends before?
L	Yes miss. Miss, I'm with Claire.
Y	Yes miss...I'm with Ruth.
L	Miss I'm happier.
I	Why?
L	I'm just happier.
Laughter	
L	Hay, miss, there's too much stress.
Y	I'm also happier, but I do miss her now and then 'cause we were really close, and like a a lot has happened then and there was too much jealousy.

L	Yes…yes.
Y	And that's how come we broke up…there was too much jealousy and I think it's for the best we broke up.
L	Miss I do miss her 'cause if I had a problem I would talk to her, and maybe when we grow older we'll be friends again.
I	I'm sure you will. R, what do you say?
R	Miss they're both my friends miss. L a lot, she encourages me a lot. G talks about people and that's the problem.
I	Is there any way that the three of you can get together again?
L	Yes miss. I like them a lot, but I'm happy with C too, miss, like I'm HAPPY.
I	How does C make you feel?
L	She says like Lynn come on man, you know you're great, you can do it, come on.
I	Y didn't do that?
L	Y did do that, but she's quiet and that. She won't just say ok there's a party were going you know she's not like that
I	And C isn't like that?
L	No, she isn't.
Laughter	
I	And Y would stop you from doing that?
L	Y thinks, miss, she thinks….she would stop me, and that's what I don't like.
Laughter	
Interruption	
I	So it's not so bad then, it's just that she doesn't want a conscience for a friend!
Y	Same with me.
L	It's like I forgot all those things.
Y	Same here, I feel the same.
I	I'm sure that you will make friends again.
L	That's what my mother said when she wasn't with me. I felt down, she would help me.
I	Y what kind of person are you?
L	Y isn't that kind of person she won't take advantage.
I	And you left her friendship?
Laughter	
I	We don't like to see qualities in our friends that make us think, but with hindsight you realise that you would like to be friends with them. Let's move to the issue of gangsterism; it came up time and time again. I've spoken to boys and some girls, but not girls as young as you. Let's talk first about the groups at school, does it impact on you as young female students at school?
L	Yes miss, and then we got these gangs here, these boys who want to be gangsters or are trying to be, and plus too they come and interfere with us.
I	And the other students?
Y	I agree with I…you want to learn, then you get these people who are disruptive. I think they shouldn't be in school, they should just leave school.
I	And are there gangsters in your class?
R	Yes, like Dray, he uses these high words and he talks to the teacher like this.
L	He says you only look at me, please and he throws himself around. It's people who he can take advantage of, it's like you can show D.
R	Miss it's the new teachers. They take advantage of him like I know him; he's not a teacher.
I	And outside school?
L	Like the once I was walking home and he was smioking. I wanted to tell the teacher; he said if you tell the teacher I'll carry on smoking.
R	Like miss they all smoke in the school; they take advantage - they not cared. They say I'm not cared about the teacher, it's my life and like miss, my cousin smokes high things.
I	What are high things?
R	Like dagga buttons, and he's raw to his other his aunties, but not to his father.
L	But when they do smoke, they bring this person out. Like C is very quiet in the classroom, but sometimes he goes wild and starts swearing.
I	In the classroom?
L	Yes miss he throws his bag around.
L	I mean like if Dray did something bad no-one will do any thing 'cause Dray says ya, you're a 50.
I	What's a 50?

R	That's what R said to Fay, ya you're a 50.
I	Outside, at home, R what kind of person are you?
R	At home I'm mostly inside. I don't like to be outside, I like to be by myself.
I	Why?
R	Because most of the people in my road smoke. I'm always occupied. I like to do my work.
I	And you Y?
Y	Well my friends, I've got lots of friends. I go to church a lot. I'm involved in the church . I don't like to hang around with those friends because some of them smoke, drink but one thing I like about them is they respect me. My friends feel they must respect me.
I	And you L?
L	Miss I'm also a home girl. She always comes to my house on a Saturday.
L	Miss because I think you don't want to be with your parents. My mother is a mother that is open to everything, she's like . . .
Y	My mother's like that too, my mother won't intrude.
I	R, your mother?
R	I tell my mother everything.
I	Do you smoke R?
R	Why miss?
I	Just asking.
R	No miss.
Y	My father he respects us, 'cause my brother's chesty, if he smokes, he goes outside.
L	Because there's alcohol and smoking . . .
I	Do you get on with your dad, L?
L	Now and again , but Miss he expects a lot from me, like if someone comes to buy alcohol . . .
I	Where do you sell alcohol?
L	Miss in the shebeen .
I	How does it make you feel ?
L	He makes me nervous. He doesn't want me to grow up, he's like this here rather go play hopscotch, but he doesn't want to know that I'm growing up.
I	Ok - people that you look up to?
Y	My parents.
R	My mother and Y, 'cause Y she encourages you, and she doesn't like to do wrong things and carry gossip, and Y has always been there for me.
I	Anything you'd like us to do to help you at school
L	Miss I think that they should, lik,e if someone does something wrong they should first speak to the person, then do something to punish, make him realise what he's done, then punish him. They just say you did this and this, then punish. Then they must also consider…
I	You're saying that you want the teachers to be more consistent.
L	The good ones are getting bad because the teachers are giving more attention to the bad ones.
R	Most of the teachers that I know they just punish you without explaining .
Y	Ya, I think that a school should be for everyone, in the office they favour too many people, if they know your mother you won't get punished For eg, I showed Mr G my letter 'cause I was sick and he said aw, I'm not allowed to go, if I came to school I must stay. When I spoke to my mother and them about it, they said they would come to school but I told them not to, but it happened on two occasions, and like I came to school for a good reason - I was writing a control test.

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Appendix 11
Interview 6
Tamara
Damien
Daniel
Interviewer

I: Right, okay so it's Tamara, Damien and…

Dn: Daniel.

I: …and Daniel. I haven't been at school for a month and already I've forgotten the names. (Laughs) Why are you looking a bit nervous? What's wrong?

Ds: No Miss, I'm just thinking about these…uh… topics…you know I'm just imagining…. and…I'm already…I'm ready to say whatever…exactly how I feel.

I: Oh good. Okay, and you?

Dn: Aiye me Miss…I'm open. Regulating the whole challenge.

I: So as I said – you represent groups of students…all the Coloured students that I teach. Okay? You've been picked to represent them. Right, let's begin with… There are three…*four* major issues that affect you, according to my research so far. And I'd just like you to clarify for me. We'll start with…uhm… first the home life. Okay? Uhm…home life does have an impact on you as students. You come from a good home and then…where reading is a habit, where your parents are supportive and it seems as though you do well at school…if you want to. You might come from a home that is a bit disadvantaged and you're forced to do well at school because you want to get out of the situation or otherwise you look for alternative things to satisfy your needs…if they're not getting satisfied at home. So I'm not going to go into that too much unless anybody wants to say anything here. I've got a lot of input on that, but if anyone of you would like to talk a bit about how home life is instrumental in…how if affects your identity…first of all as a student…

Ds: Well, me, but the…in the case, may be part of it…because like, I live my life everyday by bumming electricity from danger boxes and it's quite a risk because over a thousand volts travel through that thing, but each and every day when I get home it's my duty to switch on lights for about five, four, houses…and I have to think cables every day to run them underneath the ground, to get it to another person's house…

I: But isn't that dangerous?

Ds: Uh…well, Miss as I said there is over a thousand volts travel through that thing. And, uh, one of friends, Norman, it hit him like…it hit him…aiye, I don't know…it's like his body just laid there and it's like something…like he was dead or something, but he wasn't.

I: Did he get shocked?

Ds: Badly too. Badly, badly. So you know…I always ask myself that, aiye, am I going to live my life like this? But I'm the…you know, I'm the only boy so I'll sacrifice anything for my family. As long as they're happy.

I: Who…how did you start doing this? How did you know you could do it?

Ds: Well, it started when I first came to Grand Woods… Well, you know when I was staying in Edendale, right, before, we moved from there because you know…too much fighting, you know, like Mandela used to cause it as well…he used to cause it…like when we used to see him he used to tell us only things, so we deserted, we moved from there. Well, that was traumatic experience right there. So we moved to Grand Woods. So I thought to myself, aiye, you know, I moved away from the bushes, I'm going back to the bushes again. I can't live in a house where there's no lights.

I: Why don't you have electricity?

Ds: Well, uh, when we first came here and other people were living there…like we told this man to stay there, but he wasn't paying for the lights and you know it increased and it was too much for my father, so I told him hey, me I'm robbing this thing. I'll make a plan. I'll do something. Me, I'll come up with something, but I just not going to sit in a house where it's dark. So I started fiddling by the box…I started off by the box like in the yard. I fiddled, I fiddled…but I got it right. Then the electricity people caught me. Then I told my mother 'hey Ma, hey, I'm making up another plan'. I fiddled, fiddled, fiddled…They switched off everything. Then they went to the…I saw them going to the danger box, cutting wires and that. I went – I switched it on by my house like inside, then I went to the danger box and still now, three years…

I: You've been getting free electricity.
Ds: Free. But you know, I don't like living like that, but, I have to.
Dn: Ja, you have to. You can't live without lights, eksê. Aye, me I lived without lights for five
years.
I: Why?
Dn: Aiye, my mother and them never used to pay. We never used to steal lights. We stayed X.
        We had candles, gas stove... Until Mandela came back, then he said, 'Right, put on the lights
        for everybody,' then... From there my mother and them carried on paying, paying... Looks
        like our lights are going to get cut again, because they don't want to pay.
I: Why don't they want to pay?
Dn: I don't know. They're...hard up. No one talks in that house. Even though...right...I talk to
        everybody. But everybody just don't want to communicate.
Ds: But you know, in our area, how many people turn to me? Over...ten houses...people knock
        on my door. 'Hey Damien, can you please come hook up the light for me?' I actually go,
        starting from my house, coming down, then (-)...I go right down. Each and every
        person...Each and every per... But then again, you see, as a person, who myself...I know, I
        know what's struggling, so I'll never turn people down. It wouldn't be fair to myself...you
        know...there will be that guilt that I'm eating inside.
I: Okay, but now, how does it makes you feel, when you do this...but, who's paying for it in the
        end?
Ds: No one pays at the end.
I: No one pays?
Ds: No one pays. Whether you get caught or not, because even the people even know me, the
        electricity people know me. They say, 'Damien stop doing that, because at the age of eighteen
        we'll arrest you.' I say, 'Hey, know what...do what you want to do. I'm not going to let
        these people suffer.' Because this is the only place that they will turn to. They don't go to
        these Imbali places...Sobantu...the people there are robbing for ten years. They've been
        staying in that area...they've been robbing for ten years. 'Have you been to those places?'
        They say 'No.' So I say 'Exactly. When you come to these small places where people are not
        going to do anything...but I'm sorry, I'm not going to live that life. You'll can do whatever
        you're going to do with me.' I'm okay with this. As long as the people are living, they're
        cooking, they're eating...you know. Everything's normal. Because, I always promised
        myself that I'll never...I'm never going to go back to that life again.'
I: Hmm. Okay. And...
T: Daniel.
I: Daniel. You spoke about communication at home. It's not happening.
Dn: Ja.
I: People are not open. They don't talk to each other. Why do you think that's so?
Dn: Aye me, I don't know Miss. It's like when they get together it's just an argument. Then I
        must go stop them. 'Come separate. No, keep quiet. Ma go to the room...'
I: Whose they?
Dn: My mother and my father. Then I must be stopping them. 'No, you keep quiet...you go this
        way...'
I: How do you feel when you have to do that?
(interruption)
I: Sorry... How do you feel when you have to stop them?
Dn: I feel like a big man, Miss. Now...um...like I'm the parent in the house. I'm separating these
        two big people. And they don't...they carry on...they'll...one will come from the room...this
        one come from the bathroom...they'll carry on.
I: And what are you emotions when this happens – when you feel like now you're the parent?
Dn: I get naar, Miss. And then, when they carry on I just open the door...I walk out.
I: And where do you go to?
Dn: I go smoke... I go smoke.
I: What do you smoke?
Dn: Cigarettes, Miss.
I: Uh. Do you smoke dagga?
Dn: Ah, Miss. Yo, me smoking dagga? Aiye...
I: Now why do you smoke a cigarette?
Dn: Miss, it's to calm my nerves, Miss.
I: Uhm.

Dn: It's the beers Miss. I'm telling you…let me tell you the same thing.

I: Why do you drink alcohol?

Ds: …You know, my mother drinks. You Know when my mother is drunk…she'll stay on the…like maybe if I did something small she'll make it a big issue. I'll sit in the room - she'll come - she'll open the door - she'll carry on shouting – I'm studying… You know it that house…in our house you won't ever study. Even my sister left. She went to go stay by her friend's house. You don't ever study…it's either she'll fight with someone, you know, something… Then obviously when I leave that house I'm just going with my friends…I'm going to drink…I come back drunk in the night. I just come home and I sleep. Then, like, in the morning she'll wake me up…she'll see me by my eyes that I've been drinking. And I'll tell her, hey you know, there's nothing else I was going to do. You keep on shouting here. I can't study. I can't do anything. You're just concentrating on me. And the most important thing that is…the thing that irritates me the most is that…they always underestimate me.

I: Hmm. Why do you think that?

Ds: They always underestimate me. I…you know like, they think my thinking is putrid. The way I think…is not…good enough for them…you know, because my mother doesn't…don't ever turn to me…like, in personal issues, things like that, to do like with the house. She'll always turns like to my sister and them, or something like that…

I: Why won't she turn to you?

Ds: Well…you know…as I say Miss, you know, they always think I'm a child who doesn't know anything now…but that doesn't effect me as well. It doesn't like get to me, or…anyway…

I: But it sounds like it does.

Ds: Sometimes it does, because, you know what, I want to be part of the family. I want to be someone too like that can be trusted. All I am is like a stranger. I feel like a stranger in my own…in my own house and in my…my family…treats me like a stranger. Sometimes it gets to me…then I don't try all my best like…so it doesn't…it's amazing that other people turn to me with their problems… but my own family doesn't turn to me. What kind of mission is that? What kind of thing is that?

T: I think that like drinking and smoking solves nothing. Okay, we…I've like…hearing what you'll have said…I haven't…I'm…I don't come…I don't know how it feels to go home and there's no lights or people fighting and screaming and everything because, like, I've…I've had everything I've ever wanted when I was young and…like now…whatever I want I get. But sometimes you feel like you know, they're paying – because I'm the youngest in our family – you feel that like they're paying less attention to you, or whatever, and…I feel that drinking and smoking will solve absolutely nothing.

Ds: Exactly…

T: First of all…First of all…Okay…you're under age. All drinking and smoking is going to do is ruin you in the future. I mean, you're drinking, you're buggering up your livers – you're smoking, you're buggering up your lungs. And, instead of doing that there's other alternatives – you can sit and listen to what they have to say…and…you know (-?-)…or you sit and you listen to what they say and then you…you speak to them and you tell them how you feel about it afterwards…like in my family…um…if somebody has got a problem, we call like a family meeting and we'll all trash it out. Like if I have a fight with my mother and I won't talk to her – my father'll call a meeting and then we'll talk about it. The best thing…the best solution is to talk about it, not go out, smoke and drink and all that.

Ds: Tamara, exactly…okay, you see now, you're talking…you're not talking from experience. This is something that we look to every single day. What am I going to talk to a mother who didn't even finish school – who had to work when she was going to Std 1?

T: My mother and my father didn't finish school either.

Ds: I'm not…Exactly, exactly…but probably in Std 5 or Std…my mother passed just to go to Std 1…from Sub B…just to go to Std 1 – what am I going to talk to that person? She can't even write…she can't even…thing…her own signature…it's so even difficult, right…and as you're saying …you have everything…we don't have everything…I used to live a life where I had to wake up in the morning…six o'clock in the morning…barefoot…going to school…and then meet trains…a moving train…as…for a five year, six year old boy I'm underneath the train…just to go…I'm…walking from about here to Grand Woods, back to Grand Woods…just to go catch a bus…a one bus…just a bus…even that too, when we're going to that school we still get treated like…dirt. Coloureds…people are looking at you saying aye, what's this African doing here? Only your surname could prove something. Which was hopeless and still now it's hopeless. People see me now they say (-? -) Damien. I have to

respond…the way…I should, like, you know, because…the only people that ever look at me as Coloured is people who know me…and know me by my surname.

I: So what are you?

Ds: Miss…aye… you know that's a difficult…

I: How do you feel when people greet you in Zulu when they think you're Black?

Ds: Miss, most people say they think I'm conceited. Most people think they say… I'm con…

I: Which people say that?

Ds: The Africans…like you know, plus they say, hey you Damien you're a Darkie, we're going to give you this name…they're going to call me (-? -), they call me (-? -) Dlamini. They can't accept…

I: And how do you feel about that?

Ds: Well Miss, it makes…you know…one minute I laugh about it. Then when I actually have to think about…analyse everything they say and I actually think about it…it's not a nice thing, it's not a nice thing. Why can't I be accepted for who I am? I got so many relatives which are Coloureds, but you know I don't actually…like Daniel for instance…like we're related…but then again you see, they will see me with him then they'll think hey Damien (-? -)…you'll never see me…I socialise with everybody…I don't think, uh…I don't think bad of other people.

T: But it's…Uh like, does it matter what people look at you like? I mean, when I went to that university to the play, people looked at me and like, ooh this Coloured, and like if I'd stand up and I'd say listen you're wrong like our producer or he'd just say funny things to the Black people and I used to tell him, no listen you're wrong. You're not supposed to do this. And then the Whites would say, ooh, she's Coloured, she's raw. Or something of that effect. And I mean…

Ds: Tamara…Tamara…you're still saying they would see you and you're a Coloured. Me, they would only know me by my name and surname. When I come there – oh, look at this Darkie.

I: So what makes a Coloured a Coloured then?

Ds: Miss…okay right…sometimes the way I talk…they will say like this no…my English is, you know…but you will find a lot of Africans which can talk like me, but then again the characters won't be the same, you know. The…the way the…

I: What's a character of a Coloured?

Ds: Okay - Dress code.

I: What's the dress code?

Ds: Okay Levis. (Daniel comments as well.) It's the majority's dress code…Okay, okay, let me tell you…

I: Levis? But you come from a home where there's no money.

Ds: Levis…I don't wear Levis…

T: You know what, I disagree with…

Dn: Levis…All Star…

I: So where do you get the money from to buy it?

Dn: Parents.

I: But you said your parents can't pay electricity.

Dn: Yes Miss…that's the whole thing about it. Now they're starting to pay, but I'll still tell them I want this I want that…they give me…that's…I'm living in a good home Miss, but it's just that, you know, sometimes people start getting fussy…Wah, bought you that, now how I'm going to pay the electricity? I say what, you'll want it back, you want me to go sell it? They say, no, you must have… no, keep it boy…

I: So aren't you asking for things that are really unfair of you to ask from your parents? Is it a Levis jeans that makes you who you are?

Dn: No Miss, just that…I get them for cheaper Miss…one-fifty – from the factory.

I: That's a lot for me man…RTs are fifty Rand.

T: I disagree with what they said that Coloured is what you wear. It's not what you wear; it's who you are.

Ds: It's who you are…exactly…but Tamara…

T: I mean…You get fair Coloureds with straight hair that look White but they're Coloured. How would you know that they're Coloured? It's the personality. It's how Coloureds are.

Ds: Tamara…Tamara…

I: How are Coloureds?

T: Yes Miss like…Coloureds with White…with fair skin and straight hair, that twang – you'd now that they're Coloured. It's not what you wear; it's who you are.

Ds: Tamara…Tamara…The most important thing – Coloured. Think of that – Coloured.

Dn: You must be…

Ds: Where do…

Dn: It's different…heh…

Ds: Wait, wait…let's talk about this nicely…Coloured, right? Coloured. Where do you come from? Where do Coloureds…alone…that race…Coloured. Where do you come from?

T: It's a mixture of two races…

Ds: No, no, no, no, no…Let's don't talk about mixtures and all that…Coloured…

T: What you looking at…What you looking at is the stereotype Coloured.

Ds: To know where you're going you must know where you come from.

Dn: Ja.

Ds: To know where you're going you must know where you come from. There's no…you see…if I can take you back into history there was never a race called Coloureds. You can open the oldest dictionary there's no race…

T: That's obvious.

Ds: Obvious. Right.

T: Yes.

Ds: That is obvious. Sometimes you must also know where you come from, to instead to know where you're going. You know each and every…

I: So where do we come from? She says we're a mixture of two races.

Ds: We say…that's where we come from. But…okay, okay…I can understand that Miss, but why can't we look in this…as in school…as teachers teach…history. Why do we know about France and French Revolution…general history…South Africa alone is history. South Africa is *big* time history.

T: But what you…

Ds: And then afterwards we can actually, exactly know…okay, as she's saying that there…history is from…there is two different race groups, right…I'm sure there is also more to that, there is more because there is so much distortion to history…there is so much distortion…

T: Um…You said South African alone is history. At the beginning there were only South African…there were only Black people…in Africa. People from overseas came over. Now don't you think those people came – left their homes – left whatever they had…and came into South Africa…don't you think that we should now also learn where they came form? Why must we always just deal with…um…South Africa? In general…in life… you need to know certain things for general knowledge.

Ds: You need to know? How can you know other things when you don't even know where you come from? That's the most im…you know Dingaan, wait…let me talk about Shaka's brother. You know when the Whites wanted to inherit South Af…the Zululand…they put him on a chair, they swung him, they said okay, Whites can inherit this whooole land. The man swang right round the chair…he hit a revolution around the chair, right…to show how idiotic Blacks were that time…they were idiots…idiots. Only now Blacks think they know it…it…

I: Who are we? Are we Black?

Ds: I can consider us as Blacks as well.

I: So why do you get upset when people say you are Black?

Ds: Why do I get upset? Because…it's…okay…how would I know because some consider me as Blacks and some consider me as a Coloured…some of them call me iBoesman, some of them call me a Bushman.

I: So, aren't you happy you've got the best of both?

Ds: I've got the best of both but why…

I: Why don't you mix between the two, why must you be this…

Ds: No, no…

I: I would like to be able to go from one to the other as the situation fitted.

Ds: No. I wouldn't.

I: So you want to be Coloured?

Ds: Aye Miss, you know…you know, sometimes I just think about it…and you know…I just don't know. Because you know, even when I'm with those…when I'm sitting with Blacks…you never hear me talking Zulu. It's…only for that period…maybe like for those couple of minutes then I change…and then they tell me, aye, eksê…you know you can feel the atmosphere…the tension between these people that I'm sitting with is changing. But when I sit with Coloureds I fit in *perfectly*. I fit in perfectly.

I: What makes you fit in?

Ds: You know Miss…I talk freely…the slang…everything…I just know it. But with…with…when I'm sitting with Africans it's different…you know they even tell me that, hey, you know, eksê (-? -). You know…it's not…we're not communicating. The communication between us is…

I: So the language thing is…distinguishes you?

Ds: And you know what my sister told me the one time? She said you know what Damien, you're too conceited. You don't ever socialise with Blacks. The only friends I've ever seen you with was Coloureds. Even my own girlfriend…she's a Coloured…but her parents don't like me because I'm black. They don't know me by name…it's…okay, they know me by name and surname…because okay…he's black…how, he's not fair…so, he's a…he's Black. So they don't like me to go out with her because…I'm Black…

T: Damien, I don't mean to like offend you, whatever, but couldn't the reason why you'd rather be classified as a Coloured than a African…is because that, in the past, Coloureds were considered to be higher than Black people. Black people were considered the lowest…

Ds: Coloureds were never considered as Black people…

I: How were they considered, in your opinion?

Ds: Look at here…my own opinion is that…okay…when we used to…when Blacks used to toyi-toyi where was Coloureds? Never to be seen. When Blacks were fighting for South Af…When Blacks were fighting for this country where was Coloureds? Never to be seen. Only…only now Coloureds want to feel…they think and they want to put themselves in that position…

T: Statistically…

Ds: Only now, okay, if Blacks didn't fight for this country so what was going to happen? Where…

T: Statistically I think we were better off as we were before…

Ds: They weren't better off Tamara…

T: That was the apartheid, what is happened now…

Ds: Tarry, Tamara…do you know what I admire Coloureds for?

T: What has happened now…

Ds: You know what I admire Coloureds for? Personal skills.

T: Aren't you a Coloured?

Ds: Coloureds will always provide with per…as Miss said the other day…plumbing, carpentry, and cupboards…

I: Tradesmen…

Ds: Tradesmen…you know…

T: Why should a Coloured be limited to those things? Why can't a Coloured become a doctor? What you're doing is you're limiting it. If a person…it's not what colour you are, your background, your nation…it's not that. It's your capability. If you really want to be a doctor…why must I settle to become a teacher when I know that with my knowledge and with my…enthusiasm…I can become a doctor or a lawyer or something high? I…I can…people…in the past people thought that the White man can only become that because of what he had…but even if you have nothing…you can end up with something and be anything…

I: What do you want to become? Have you got any dreams?

Ds: I…yes I did have a dream…I wanted to become a…a thing…a mechanic. Because I used to work every single weekend. I knew everything. Even a car now you can put it there and tell me to strip that motor. I'll strip it and I'll put it together for you. Right, but then again you see…when you know, like…Std 5, Std 6, things started changing, you know, I knew that…hey, you know, physics, maths…was…okay…things change, right…things change. Tamara, I'm not saying that there Coloureds can't be what Whites can be. We all can be anything we want to, right. We can be anything we want to, right. But then again, being there…and you're having your own children…and your child comes up to you…and a child will ask you a question which you yourself as a mother would never have thought of…if a child comes to you and says Tamara, where do Coloureds come from? Besides…Black and White…where do Coloureds come from? Okay, right…

I: What's the answer to that question? You keep going back to it – where do we come from?

Ds: Miss, okay right…you know…because you know in history…this history teacher of ours told us about the Whites coming from that side…from those places…and you know…uh…Blacks, Zululand and whatnot…and then I ask myself, okay then, if these people can each

inherit…like coming from each and every like…so then what did we have then? What did we…us…

I: What have we got? What did we have?

Ds: Yes, exactly.

I: Are you saying what kind of background – what kind of cultural background do we come from?

Ds: Exactly…exactly, Miss. It's what I want to know. You know one thing I admire Coloureds for…is that they're strivers. When they *want* to be. You know my sister told me that in this school here, when…when the children were asked…that…what are you going to be…what are you going to do after Matric, the majority of them said 'going to factories'. Why factories? Why? You know affirmative actions only sometime concentrate on Blacks, Whites and Indians. Why not on Coloureds? Why?

T: Uhm…In 19…in 19…93, I think…Bursaries were taken away from Coloured students to study medicine, right…and it was given…I don't know who it was given to…but, that didn't stop many people…many people kept on pushing for bursaries, for scholarships, they worked their hands to the bone to be where they are. And you said…you said, that…uh…most of the people said that they want to be factory workers. Don't you think in a way that's good? Why put…why see yourself…look into the future and see yourself up there…and…and…when you're out of school you find that, aye, you can't be there and hurt yourself and make yourself miserable? Whereas, if you put yourself at the bottom of the ladder, you can climb up. But why be at the top of the ladder and have to stand down?

Ds: But it's you…it's you…it's how you react to life. If you're determined, it's within yourself…if you can go down on your knees…I can be considered as anything… if God can see…if God can see me and He can see how determined I am…He will always help me. Okay, this saying might not be in the Bible that God helps those who help themselves…it's not in the Bible…but *guaranteed*…He'll help me. Okay, Miss just mentioned the other day that…thing…what's this…most of…thing…your find that…okay, I can't say she did say it…but I went to Kwa-Zulu Natal Provincial Library…one lady in our road, she works there…and I scouted the place, you know what, I looked at it…the first thing that came to my head is that I haven't even seen not one Coloured. Not even one. You know how…you know how that hurt me? I asked her, hey, why is this place only full of Indians, Blacks and Whites? Why you don't hiring Coloureds? And you know she just looked at me…and she never answered me that question…you see. You know me, if I could go to Thabo Mbeki now and tell him…and I could talk to him personally…there were things that I were going to say to him that he'll end up looking at me and he'll hate me. .

I: Why do you think there are no Coloureds?

Ds: Yes Miss?

I: Employed. There aren't a quota of Coloureds employed. What's stopping people from employing Coloureds…in your mind?

Ds: Miss, isn't that they always speak…you know…eksê. Isn't Coloureds are always known for eksê? You know…

Dn: Ja. Coloureds are limited, that's why.

Ds: That's it, exactly.

Dn: Coloureds are limited. They don't want to go…they don't like succeeding in life, check? It's the only thing I've been talking about…I'm…

I: Coloureds are what?

Dn: Limited. They don't like to succeed in life. They'll stay where they are. They'll smoke their dagga…their buttons…

T: Why? Why do they do that? Because they…they don't have jobs…they're poor…they come from the backgrounds where their parents are smoking…

Ds: …if Coloureds stand for themselves…if Coloureds stand…exactly…

I: Daniel…Daniel, what…

Dn: It's not like that there. In Grand Woods, I know a few Coloureds…their fathers give them like a hundred Rand a week for spending…now tell me that's poor. They're living in big houses…they're extending…Why do they do this here?

T: But there…there has to be something…

I: And they don't have any ambition.

Dn: Huh-uh…I don't know…there's something wrong.

T: …there has to be something missing.

Dn: You know, Miss, I asked them what's wrong. They say hey no Lighty, hey I'm leaving school now. The one just left school in Std 9 now...just last week...he said hey I'm leaving school you know why, aye, the graft is hard in school...I don't know what's happening... I said why, (-?-) too much your mind in zol and duries, that's why. He said, no, hey, it's just that...

I: Why? Sorry, you carry on...

Dn: He said the teachers are giving him a rough time in school. It's all lies, that there...because his father and mother want him to go to school, but no, they want to be just like their mothers and leave in Std 6 and 7...

Ds: It's like their minds are limited

Dn: Ja eksê...they don't want to...

Ds: You know, that's what sometimes I wonder is like, a Coloured's mind is limited to a certain standard. Carl Thomas...I mean Carl Morrison...left in school in Std 6...I even caught him up because that was his second year...and he left. It's like...it's like...their minds are limited to say...okay, Std 6, finish school...

Dn: Finish school...Ja, look at that there.

T: Okay, but then...

Ds: ...Std 7...finish school. Their minds can't take on more...you know...

I: But now don't they see if you don't have a...I don't understand that, because I'm telling you about 99% of you said education is a priority in your lives, because you'll get a good job...in the questionnaires. But you're telling me...that...Coloured children don't want to excel at school.

(Confusion as all three try to answer simultaneously.)

I: Okay, let's take it Damien, Tamara and then Daniel.

Ds: I'm serving a purpose in this school. I sit on this chair. I'm dressed like this. I'm serving a purpose.

Dn: You're representing.

Ds: I don't ever want to put a human on this earth that is going to suffer the way I did. Never. I will never do that. I'm serving a purpose as I'm sitting here now...

I: What is your purpose?

Ds: To become something. To work. Build my own house. Have my own family. And hide...all the embarrassment and the scars that I have of my childhood. My children must wake up each and every...if my ligh...my child says Dad...this...I must able to do it. Because I could never do that...still now I can't even go to my mother and say hey Ma give me ten Rand. It's *big*...

I: Okay now, can I ask you a question about that? At home when things aren't too good...what you've just said now seems to...slip out of your mind and you go and get drunk.

Ds: Slip out of my mind and just go get drunk...yes...

I: So why do you choose alcohol...at that instant when you're feeling really down and powerless? You choose alcohol and not your dream.

Ds: Well Miss, aye...but that could...see sometimes I also ask myself then why do I choose alcohol? But then again when I'm in that state...it's like my soul has left my body and it's just the empty thing walking around and just going asleep and the next day...but when I wake up the next day...it's still there...it's still there, right. But then again...a couple of weeks...a couple of weeks later I thought to myself...you know what...it's no use of me...because of what's happening at home...for life drinking. If I put my foot down...at home...if I put my foot down and I *talk* what I feel, and I must be heard...whether they like it or not, they're going to hear me.

I: So you're saying at home you don't have a voice? In your family. Nobody...asks you for advice...

Ds: Miss I'm don't talk most of the time. I keep to myself. I don't...you see...

I: Why do you do that at home?

Ds: I don't...it's just that...you know...even my mother says hey Damien, are you like your father...because, you know, my father never used to say anything. Even if they're fighting in the house, my father would just leave the house and he'll go. It's like this alright...if they fight at home I'll just leave the house and I'll sit outside...

I: So you look up to your father?

Ds: And I look up to him...and I look up to him...because my father...he's family never wanted him to marry my mother, because you know why...my mother is Black...that time big time about Black...my father was actually excluded from his family...they actually abandoned him...they said no, we just...we don't want you...if you're going to keep on socialising

with…and I admired my father…and my father never…you know whenever I want…I say hey Dad, I need this…he'll get it for me.

I: Is your father living with you at the moment?

Ds: No. My father is late.

I: Now…you seem to almost resent your mother and the fact that she doesn't have an education, the fact that she doesn't speak to you…you seem to…and then you're not identifying with *her*, in a way because you're moving away from when children say you're Black…and you're rejecting that identity…aren't you rejecting your mother?

Ds: I don't reject my mother…I'm…I'm proud of my mother…because she would have left me long time and sold the house and took money…and left me like that…but I don't…you see…I don't. But then again you can't stand in two places. You must be stable.

I: What do you mean?

Ds: I can't be this side here…pulled one side…hey Coloured…pulled one side…Black. You must know where…as Tamara is going to walk on the road…Coloured. She's known. I'm here…gone.

Dn: She's just one place…everybody knows her as…

Ds: One place.

T: But you said…

I: But it's the new South Africa, is it important?

T: But you said yourself…

Ds: New South Africa - where?

Dn: There is still apartheid…

Ds: There is no difference…

Dn: …up to today…

Ds: Up to today.

T: Miss, the difference…the only difference, I think, between the apartheid is that now, before the Whites were in power, now it's the Blacks…that is in power. The Coloureds are just in the middle – as always. But what I can say is that I've seen things happening. Before…as you said the last time…you look on TV and now you're seeing a lot of Coloureds. Coloureds are fighting their way to the top and one day they're going to get there.

I: And we need more people that notice that we are marginalised…and stand up and say why are we marginalised?

Ds: Exactly.

I: You see you spoke about fighting for freedom and we didn't…you said…remember…the Coloureds…okay, that's something that I've often grappled with because I was a student at that time and I didn't get involved in the fight…

Ds: Exactly…Miss, look at here…it's not like I'm standing here…it's just that Thabo Mbeki is concentrating on only Blacks…why can't he concentrate on the Coloureds?

I: What would you tell him?

Ds: What would I tell him? Me, I would go up to him…I would go there…I would tell him Thabo Mbeki, right…Madiba fought for this country…I respect him for that, right…but then again, you seem to be only handling on Blacks…why? Don't…doesn't your mind ever cross that okay, there's other races too, as well…that you should look forward to?

Dn: Well…wait now…

Ds: Other people that you should also concentrate on….

Dn: Wait, wait…check here…look at us, right…why they only signing on Blacks?

Ds: Why?

Dn: Why? Look at us. We look like we're left out. We are like polony between two slices. The Whites and the Africans. That's all. That's what we look like.

(Damien and Daniel exchange a handshake acknowledgement.)

I: What's that you'll doing now?

Dn: That's the style, Miss.

I: Is this Coloured now?

Dn: Ja, that is Coloured.

Ds: Even…even…you know the way…you know Miss, when we're with Blacks…

T: I've seen Black people doing that.

Dn: Because everybody is learning from us.

Ds: …when we're talking, you know, eksê…and you know…eksê you know ous I'll check you later…like this like that…then the Blacks will say (-? -).

I: What does that mean?

Ds: ...The...the...person is telling you aye, there is the Coloured talking in his language.

T: You know, I think, like how can our country become one of the world-recognised countries or something when our own president doesn't know what he's doing?

Ds: Doesn't know what he's...

T: I mean, he spoke about the issue of AIDS. He said that AIDS is caused by poverty...I mean, really. .. You look at the new cricket president...he's Black...you look at the rugby president...he's Black...What do they know about the sports? The woman's hockey team couldn't go and play in the Olympics because it was a all-White team. Instead they took the basketball team which went to go and loose all their games.

Dn: See what I mean?

Ds: Exactly.

Dn: It's mostly Black, Blacks...

Ds: Mostly Blacks...

Dn: Rugby is a White man's sport...hockey is a White man's sport...but they want the Black...everything is about Back today...

I: Who said it's a White man's sport?

Dn: It is Miss...it is. I'm telling you...rugby...rugby...wait...who is mostly...you see people...right...if you go to a White's house they'll be watching rugby...

I: What about Chester Williams and all the rugby guys?

T: Look at Paulse...

Dn: They just came in about...you can say...they're just there...

T: Look at Breyton...

I: But aren't they role models for you guys?

T: But Miss, look at Breyton Paulse. He nev...he was *never* in contact with Whites. He lived on a farm. He worked his hand to the bone...for food. They ate the food from the fields and everything. Where's he now? He was voted Player Of The Year. He is one of the best South African rugby players. Where's his family now? From rags they're to riches.

Ds: Is that a Coloured? Is that a Coloured?

I: He's a Coloured...don't you know that?

T: He's a Coloured.

I: Now let me tell you this is something that brings up another point. Tamara reads, and she can *see* all these Coloured people that are moving up. Aren't you saying to me then, that if you're feeling so disillusioned that Coloureds are getting nowhere isn't it also your fault that you don't *know* about the Coloureds who are getting somewhere?

Ds: Well, I do blame myself because me I don't read.

Dn: I don't like reading Miss, I must be looking at...

Ds: I won't lie...I won't lie...

Dn: Miss...you only get to see the Coloureds once in a while in the newspaper...they're succeeding...but then when you turn over again you see, how...this here, that there...

I: So you don't read because you don't want to read about people that are not...that you don't identify with?

Dn: No Miss, I don't want to read about this person here...because you're only seeing...it's mostly the Africans in the newspaper...

I: But then aren't you limiting yourself? You are saying 'I won't read because I don't like what I'm reading about other race groups that are getting on...so I'm not going to read'. Now you're saying 'I'm not empowered.'

Dn: No Miss...Miss, the only thing I'll read about is soccer. That's the only thing I'll look at.

Ds: Miss, as you saying...uh...okay right, you're talking about Coloureds, right...Coloured...Tamara will say that there...why can't our country be...thing...like...I don't know what she said...right... We can...you know what...we can...this country can be something...if e*verybody*...everybod*y*...has a equal share of everything...everything. Okay, Miss as I...you know, when I was walking in town the one time...I saw this Black trying to rob a White man...but these Blacks were crying years ago that hey, Whites...like this like that...then now when they got everything they're walking on the streets they're going to shops, but they still want to rob people...and...

I: Have they got everything?

Ds: And they...yes, Miss...have they got everything? ...No, not everything...but they're walking on the road, they're going into Game, they going into all...things they couldn't do before...

T: You know Damien, I think you're disillusioning yourself. That's what you're doing. You're...you're saying that South Africa can be one of these top countries and...you're saying that Black people have everything now...it's not...it's not like that. You know every family...every family is different...right fine, they've been recognised now...

Ds: Tamara...Tamara...I didn't say that...

T: ...if I go with a Black person to a job interview...

Ds: ...I didn't say Blacks got everything...I didn't say Blacks got everything...

T: ...but did you know...did you know...

Ds: ...but then again I know that Thabo Mbeki is concentrating on Blacks...

Dn: On Blacks...yes.

T: Did you know that people...that were ANC...they were fighting for ANC...have now changed to the DA...Tony Leon...and Martinus Schalkwyk...they're putting the White man back into power...when the White man was in power you didn't always hear that so-and-so stealing so much from the government...whatever...if they did steal they stole small amounts...

Ds: Only Blacks do that...Blacks are only good at...Blacks like stealing...

I: Who said that?

Ds: Miss, like she's saying that there...people want to go back to the old...system...right...old...they feel that, aye, you know now it's a tough job...everything...Blacks feel *now* that it's tough...

T: But look...

Ds: ...they feel that it's tough...

I: Okay, let me just stop you guys there. Um...

Ds: No Miss, I'm enjoying this topic...

I: You're enjoying it?

Ds: I'm enjoying this.

I: We can carry on talking about it, but what's worrying me is this...that you seem to be talking out of...some...you say Coloureds are stereotyped...people have this stereotype of what a Coloured is...but aren't you guilty of the same thing? You are stereotyping Black people.

(Tamara agrees)

I: You're saying things about the government, about the country, about the position of Coloureds, but you don't read the newspapers...are you talking...saying these things out of ignorance? And is that...can you justify your thoughts?

T: Miss, you know...I think...I think...

Ds: Aye Miss, you're insulting me...

I: No, I'm not. By ignorant I don't mean you're stupid...ignorance means not having *read* what's happening.

T: Miss, I feel...

I: ...Not being aware of the current events...

T: I think what's also bringing South Africans down is that...uh...the people that we look up to are committing crimes now, right...it's general knowledge that South Africa's...out of the heart of Africa has got the highest crime rate...I mean, now we have the cricketer...the cricketer captain of South Africa that's committing crime...we have the people that we put in parliament...in the government...committing crime...we've got people...uh...we've got people that debate that are committing crime...political leaders are committing crimes because they want to be in power...why must people always trample on other people to get where they are? Why can't they *get* where they're going without hurting anybody?

I: How does that effect you as youngsters...that when you look to people to see them all...

Ds: You know actually...she spoke about the...cricket captain...right, that...the thing...right...*he* was a role model for children...I don't know what was running through his head when he done what he done...because, you know...being a role model for children which love cricket, now it's...he put like...he done something which now...now children are going to ask now...as children like cricket...we don't know what they were thinking at the time, okay...this is our role model maybe what he done was right.

I: So they might want to emulate his...mistakes...Hansie Cronje, you talking about?

Ds: Yes...

I: Okay, so who do you...who do you children emulate in the community, Daniel? Who do you look up to?

Dn: Aiye Miss...Miss, I'm a soccer fan, Miss. I look up to Renaldo, Miss.

I: And...

Dn:	One day I'll…Miss there's nothing wrong with Renaldo…just that…mostly the knee problems…now I'm looking at the same thing Miss…and plus too I'm damage my own life Miss…I'm smoking that's committing suicide…
I:	Are you going to stop smoking?
Dn:	Aiye Miss…sooner or later I'll have to…because my father and them are sending me to Cape Town.
I:	When?
Dn:	End of the year.
I:	Why?
Dn:	To go start my career.
I:	What career?
Dn:	Soccer.
I:	Where you playing?
Dn:	Ajax.
I:	Really. So you going to leave school?
Dn:	Huh-uh. They got their own facilities there.
I:	How do you feel about that move?
Dn:	How now I'm going to kick *down* Miss…aye, as soon as I heard about that there I said, finally, away from hell.
I:	Where's hell?
Dn:	Home. Aye Miss, I'm telling you they worry me…they call me about…
Ds:	I can't wait for the day I leave my house Miss…
Dn:	They call me about five…alright…I'll be on the road right…I'll be sitting…they call me about five times…they call me right…go to the shop…come back…go to the shop…like they forget…I don't know what's wrong them…I just say hey man I'm tired of you'll two, then I go to my sister's house for the weekend most of the time. Like now I'm running away from them. I'm going on a buzz and all and I'm coming back.
I:	What's a buzz?
Dn:	A spree. To Durban.
I:	But you're writing exams.
Dn:	Ja…after the exam…on the…17th…I'm hitting a buzz…I'm going to my Auntie's house.
T:	Uh…but what is that going to serve? What purpose is that going to serve? Because, by you going to Durban, you *may* meet up in an accident, you can get there, you can get alcohol poisoning, you can get stabbed…look at the jockey…uh…Clinton Louw…he's a Coloured…he went to Durban with his girlfriend…she came back alone because he was stabbed…for being Coloured…
I:	What do you mean 'for being Coloured'?
T:	Um…okay…a standard by…a standard by…everybody knows Clinton Louw…uh…he's one of these…stereotype Coloureds…so…
I:	What is a stereotype Coloured?
T:	Um…it's like…you know…these people that think a lot of themselves…that smoke…they drink and they'll do everything…now he's a useless jockey…he was rated…a 100 in the 100…uh…of…
I:	How do you know this?
T:	Because my father has a horse…he owns a horse…that also…things… So like he went there and *Black* guys stabbed him to death, kicked…first they kicked him…his head was swollen…and then they stabbed him to death.
I:	Why?
T:	Because he was Coloured. They asked…the guy went in to jail…they caught him and he was asked why did you kill him and he said because he was Coloured and he was invading our territory. That was his exact words.
Dn:	Who killed him? What… You see…that's the racist again…you see what I mean…it comes in again. While…
Ds:	And…and it's not going to stop.
Dn:	It won't. It carries on. You're going to a balie, they say White man, mean time you're a Coloured…what…
T:	But don't Coloureds do the same? I mean look at Caliban and Foresters…before what happened…somebody from Caliban goes to Foresters, they get stabbed…then Foresters comes to Caliban, they get stabbed…
Ds:	Ja, that…that there…they had these…

T: These conflicts…I mean there is conflict in our world…wars go on in the world, isn't that enough? I mean, now there's conflict among races, among families…

Ds: Tamara…that…what they do…is called stupidity…pure, pure, pure…stupidity.

T: And when somebody who's not Black goes into…

Ds: I'm not even going to be scared…I'll even tell them to their faces…both of you…both… Foresters…you'll stupid…because…what they fight about…is…haie eksê, you're from the Caliban, you're from the East Side…you're from the West Side…

Dn: …onto the West Side…

Ds: …or…or…

T: Isn't it the same thing?

Ds: …or…

I: Let's talk about this music thing then. Does the music you'll listen to impacted on the violence amongst the Coloured people?

(Turn interview tape over)

I: Okay, so Tamara doesn't like Tupac. You guys…what's your reaction?

Ds: I…I…I…me Damien…I love Tupac, I love DMX, I love Keith Murray, I love Redman, Methodman…you know…I love most of…

I: Why? They do swear…

Ds: They *do* swear…they do swear, right…they do swear…I enjoy the music…but I'm not going to take it within me to follow what they do, right…you know most of the Coloureds think hey Tupac is a madér, he's from the West…and then…

I: What does that mean 'a madér'?

Ds: He's a man…you know when…

Dn: He's a man…he's a top dog.

Ds: He's a top dog.

I: And what's 'the West'?

Ds: The West is like maybe victorious…

Dn: The West is like where they live…it's like this…who runs the joint…

Ds: You see like…East and West don't agree…right…

Dn: Haai-bó…East and West they hit up now…how…

Ds: So then…so then…right…

I: Are you'll emulating that in Caliban…with the different areas in Caliban…and the fighting…and…

T: Miss…I mean look at this right…uh…with all this music that small children listen to…I'll take an example…uh…one of the other teacher's small son listens to that music…look what the children of today are listening to…obviously it's going to have some effect on the person.