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Designing Social Identities:

a case study of a primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an English ex-model C school.

by

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts
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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date: 8/09/04

Abstract

This multimodal case study investigates the discourses that emerge in a theatrical performance, constructed and performed by a group of grade seven, Zulu speaking students as a representation of themselves. The performance was set in an ex-model C primary school in Kwa-Zulu Natal and reflects the tensions between the students' identities that are located in the different fields of home, school, traditional settings and urban settings.

The study is qualitative in nature, with the performance text being a participatory, creative, multimodal, joint-construction involving the participants and the researcher. The performance was structured so that each scene represents one of the participants' social fields. The analysis of the performance follows this structure and explores the way discourses and identities emerge from the Traditional, Home, School and Urban scenes of the performance.

The study draws on the New London Group's Multiliteracies theory, using the concepts of discourse, identity, interest and design, as well as drawing on Bourdieu's notions of field and capital. The study makes use of social semiotic analysis, drawing particularly from Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar, to explore the multimodal nature of the performance, analysing the linguistic mode alongside those of the visual, the gestural and the spatial. The study attempts to be consistent with the multimodal nature of the performance and so presents the data through photographs, sketches and video clips integrated with the written text.

The study aims to amplify the participants' voice through the richness of their representation. It attempts to contest the notion that marginalised people are powerless in the face of hegemonic discourses, asserting rather that there is always agency.

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Table of Contents

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	III
LIST OF TABLES.....	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	VI
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. ORIGINS OF THE STUDY	1
1.2. AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION.....	3
1.3. OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION.....	4
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	5
2.2. 'DISCOURSES' OR 'DISCOURSES'.....	5
2.3. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DISCOURSES	6
2.3.1. Literacies	7
2.4. BOURDIEU'S ECONOMY OF PRACTICE	10
2.5. INTEREST AND DESIGN.....	13
2.6. IDENTITY.....	15
2.7. MULTIMODALITY.....	16
2.7.1. A South African Multimodal Study.....	18
2.7.2. Local Studies in Multilingualism.....	20
2.7.3. Codeswitching.....	21
2.7.4. Switching and Crossing.....	23
2.8. CONCLUSION	24
3. METHODOLOGY.....	26
3.1. THEORETICAL RATIONALE	26
3.1.1. Is Modernism still relevant?.....	26
3.1.2. Can Postmodernism ever be relevant?	28
3.1.3. Where am I in all of this?.....	29
3.1.4. Methodological Choices	32
3.2. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION.....	34
3.2.1. Research Design.....	35
3.2.2. The School Context.....	36
3.2.3. The 2002 Data Collection Process.....	37
3.2.4. The 2004 Data Collection Process.....	41
3.2.5. Ethical Considerations	42

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

3.3. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS.....	43
3.3.1. <i>Social Semiotic Analysis</i>	44
3.4. CONCLUSION	47
4. SCENE ANALYSIS	49
4.1. INTRODUCTION.....	49
4.2. THE TRADITIONAL SCENE	52
4.2.1. <i>Setting the Scene</i>	52
4.2.2. <i>Exploring Critical Moment 1: Boys Herding</i>	54
4.2.3. <i>Exploring the Visual Mode</i>	57
4.2.4. <i>Exploring the Action Process</i>	58
4.2.5. <i>Exploring the Horizontal Angle</i>	60
4.2.6. <i>Conclusion</i>	62
4.3. THE SCHOOL SCENE.....	62
4.3.1. <i>Setting the Scene</i>	62
4.3.2. <i>Exploring Critical Moment 2: “English Only”</i>	64
4.3.3. <i>Exploring the Action Processes</i>	67
4.3.4. <i>Exploring the Reactional Processes</i>	68
4.3.5. <i>Exploring the Horizontal Angle</i>	70
4.3.6. <i>Conclusion</i>	72
4.4. THE HOME SCENE.....	74
4.4.1. <i>Setting the Scene</i>	74
4.4.2. <i>Exploring Critical Moment 3: “isiZulu Only”</i>	75
4.4.3. <i>Exploring the Action Process</i>	79
4.4.4. <i>Exploring the Horizontal Angle</i>	80
4.4.5. <i>Conclusion</i>	81
4.5. THE URBAN SCENE.....	81
4.5.1. <i>Setting the Scene</i>	81
4.5.2. <i>Exploring Critical Moment 4: The Urban Scene</i>	83
4.5.3. <i>Conclusion</i>	90
4.6. THE CLOSING SCENE	91
4.6.1. <i>Exploring Critical Moment 5: The Closing Scene</i>	91
4.6.2. <i>Conclusion</i>	95
5. INTERPRETATION.....	96
5.1. INTRODUCTION.....	96
5.2. MULTIMODALITY.....	96
5.2.1. <i>The Use of Multiple Modes in the Performance</i>	97
5.3. LAYERS OF DISCOURSE.....	104
5.4. MULTIPLE IDENTITIES.....	105
5.5. CONCLUSION	108

6. CONCLUSION.....	109
6.1. THESIS OVERVIEW	109
6.2. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS.....	110
6.3. LIMITATIONS	111
6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	112
7. BIBLIOGRAPHY	114

APPENDICES

- APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPT 1, 2002
- APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPT 2, 2002
- APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPT 3, 2004
- APPENDIX D: NEGOTIATING ACCESS
- APPENDIX E: VIDEO TRANSCRIPT, 2002
- APPENDIX F : LANGUAGE ANALYSIS TABLE
- APPENDIX G: REGISTER ANALYSIS TABLE
- APPENDIX H: SPATIAL ANALYSIS TABLE

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List of Tables

	PAGE
TABLE 2.1 SYMBOLIC CAPITAL (CARRINGTON AND LUKE 1997:102).....	11
TABLE 3.1 SAMPLE SELECTION	45
TABLE 4.1 PERFORMANCE STRUCTURE.....	49
TABLE 4.2 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS	51
TABLE 4.3. COMMUNICATION PROCESSES IN CRITICAL MOMENT 2.....	66
TABLE 4.4 AMERICAN SITCOM-TYPE LANGUAGE APPEARING IN THE URBAN SCENE	85

List of Figures

	PAGE
FIGURE 3.1 EXAMPLE OF SKETCHES	46
FIGURE 4.1 TRADITIONAL DANCING.....	53
FIGURE 4.2 FETCHING WATER	53
FIGURE 4.4 BOYS HERDING 1	56
FIGURE 4.5 BOYS HERDING 2.....	56
FIGURE 4.6 BOYS HERDING 3	56
FIGURE 4.9 SCHOOL SCENE.....	64
FIGURE 4.10 SHUNNING THE 'MODEL C'	64
FIGURE 4.11 'ENGLISH ONLY' ACTION PROCESSES	67
FIGURE 4.12 'ENGLISH ONLY' REACTIONAL PROCESSES.....	69
FIGURE 4.14 SIPHO WITH GOGO.....	75
FIGURE 4.15 BONGA WITH MA	75
FIGURE 4.18 "GIRLS, GIRLS, GIRLS LOOK AT MY SHOES."	82
FIGURE 4.19 NANDI & MINNIE DANCING.....	82
FIGURE 4.20 NANDI & NOMA DANCING	82
FIGURE 4.21 NOMA STEPS IN AND PUSHES NANDI OUT THE WAY.	92
FIGURE 4.22 SIZWE PUSHES PUMZILE OUT THE WAY	92
FIGURE 4.23 BONGA: "UKUBONA USEVEN PHEZULU!"	93
FIGURE 4.24 SIPHO JUMPS IN FRONT OF BONGA, TRYING TO SAY 'THE END' IN ISIZULU	93
FIGURE 4.25 MINNIE: "THE END."	93
FIGURE 5.1 EMBODIED HISTORIES.....	98
FIGURE 5.2 GIRLS AND BOYS' CLOTHING CHOICES.....	98
FIGURE 5.3 REAL WATER POTS	101
FIGURE 5.4 REAL SCHOOL CHAIRS	101

1. Introduction

This study began in 2002 as an attempt to find answers to questions that I had begun to ask as a teacher and also as a South African in an emerging democracy. Over time this study has changed form and shifted focus and yet remains true to its initial search for answers. The constant that has enabled this process to persist in an ever deepening search is the powerfully brave presence of seven children who keep rising from the data and speaking their lives, their thoughts, their very selves into focus. In 2002 this group of primary school children stood up in front of their teachers and their peers and demanded their attention. They danced, sang and shouted out their experiences to the world, creating a text that still insists on being heard.

- Bonga: back then I didn't think about what I was saying, none of it*
- Researcher: why, why do you say that?*
- Bonga: I don't know cause like now days you can like actually say something like that, yeeu, unbelievable*
- Noma: me, I'd say that*
- Researcher: what do you mean, can you tell me exactly?*
- Bonga: it's like, now days we have freedom of speech but to able to say all those things that we actually said then*
- Researcher: in the play*
- Bonga: in the play and like after the play, it's like, no that was some guts, some guts.*
- (Transcript 3, 2004:17)*

1.1. Origins of the Study

In 1992, during the transition to a democratic government, the National Party proposed a single education system for South Africa, schools could choose how they were going to be structured. Most 'white' schools chose the Model C design, where parents were authorised as the School Governing Body to make decisions regarding language policy, admission requirements and funding extra teachers through elevated school fees (Grant Lewis and Motala 2004:119). The term 'Model C' has unofficially stuck, meaning that schools like the one featured in this study are known as ex-model C schools.

In 1994, South Africa elected its first democratic government with the African National Congress (ANC) taking power. This political party had been the main player in the struggle against Apartheid and was voted into power by the majority of South Africans. Since 1994, the ANC has been putting most of its effort into appearing to right the enormous imbalance in resources that had been heavily in white citizens' favour. This has included the

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

mass building of low cost housing, the restitution of land off which 'black' people had been moved, and a new Constitution which recognises eleven local African languages and influenced the launch of a new Language in Education Policy (Mda 2004:177). A large chunk of the national budget is allocated to education and the old, traditional curriculum from the apartheid era was replaced with a more inclusive, more appropriate system in the form of Curriculum 2005 which held Outcomes Based Education and learner-centeredness as fundamental principles.

Despite the policy reform there still appears to exist enormous disparity between schools. Kader Asmal, South Africa's minister of education in 2002, had plans "to fast-track transformation, broaden access [and] boost the quality of teaching" (The Sunday Independent 28th July 2002). Though massive transformation has taken place on a governmental level, this has not necessarily filtered down to the level of school practice. Schools which are not totally reliant on the state but are largely supported by a parent body who can afford to pay extra teachers and choose to employ white teachers, in other words ex-Model C schools, are becoming increasingly multiracial and multilingual, but many schools seem not to be changing their systems to accommodate the needs of their diverse learner base, often needing to maintain the reputation of upholding their traditions to keep white parents enrolling their children in the schools rather than in private schools. (Alborough 2002, Mda 2004). These schools, mostly former white, Indian and coloured schools, which "officially promote 'non-racialism' and gender equity but in practice are far from race-blind or gender-sensitive" (Chisholm 2004:6).

In 2001, I was teaching in an ex-model C primary school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. I began to notice that Zulu speaking children, in the particular school where I was teaching, appeared to be in a difficult position. Many children entered school when they were six and were plunged directly into an English-only medium school, not to encounter any learning of their mother tongue until grade seven when they were given Zulu lessons at a very basic, third language level. The following year I embarked on a minor honours dissertation, through the University of Natal, and chose to return to the school as a researcher. Having noticed that the Zulu children in the school were in a position where they were speaking English in an academic domain and Zulu in more social domains (Alborough 2002), I became particularly interested in the way that these Zulu children conceptualised their identity; did they consider themselves more English than Zulu or vice versa?

Having read the multimodal work that Stein and Newfield (Stein and Newfield 2002) were busy with and appreciating the richness of the responses they received, I decided to make my 2002 research a creative, participatory, multimodal process.

1.2. Aims of the Dissertation

This study draws on the end product of the 2002 research process, a theatrical performance that was constructed by the group of participants and performed for an audience of teachers and peers. The text that is analysed in this study is a video-tape recording of the 2002 performance, enriched by participant insight from interviews, two of which took place in 2002, prior to the performance and one which took place in 2004 as a follow-up interview. Analysing a video taped performance is complex and can not be adequately done by simply engaging with the actors' language. A script is empty without the actors because when the performance is in process the text becomes a function of the actors' words, their bodies, their songs, their movements, their clothing and the performance space all tightly enmeshed. To elicit meaning from such a complex text requires venturing into the analysis of multiple modes, an area known as multimodal studies (New London Group 2000, Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, Thesen 2001, Stein and Newfield 2002, Stein 2003). This study has had to delve below the surface of linguistic meaning expressed through dialogue to look at other modes of meaning, those of the visual, the spatial, the gestural, and the audio.

This study is titled 'Designing Social Identities: A case study of a primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an English ex-model C school. I believe that it provides rare insight into children's positioning of themselves in a complex world. The participants constructed the performance as a representation of themselves and this study attempts to unravel the Discourses that are at work in the participants' lives, examining how the participants actively speak to and act through these Discourses according to the social fields in which they position themselves (Bourdieu 1990, Gee 1990, Gee 1996a, Gee 1996b, Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). When I began this part of the study early in 2004, I was asking two questions,

1. How are the discourses and identities of Zulu speaking, EAL¹ learners in an ex-model C school, represented through the multimodality of a theatrical performance?

¹ EAL: English as an Additional Language

2. How can multimodal processes be used to work through issues of identity with learners?

A full discussion of the findings of this study can be found in chapter 5 and 6.

This study describes the opening up of a space through the 2002 research process where school children could freely and safely speak out, and then, through the 2004 analysis process, attempts to uncover the complexity of what they said and are still saying. Above all then, this thesis seeks to study their voices closely and intently that they might have another opportunity to be heard.

1.3. Outline of Dissertation

Chapter One introduces the study, presenting the origins of the study in concentric rings moving from the broader socio-political context of South Africa's move from apartheid to a democracy. The narrower context of the ex-model C school is then presented followed by a brief history of the research project. The content of the dissertation is then outlined.

Chapter Two sets up the theoretical background to this study. It reviews international literature expounding the concepts of discourse, the multiliteracies notions of interest, design and multimodality and also reviews studies in social semiotics. This chapter also outlines local studies in multimodality and multilingualism.

Chapter Three lays out the methodology of the study. It begins by examining the ontological position that I hold, balancing a critical and post modern perspective. A discussion of the method choices involved in collecting the data follows and the chapter ends with a discussion of the method involved in analysing the data.

Chapter Four describes the analysis of the data in detail. A critical moment is chosen from each scene and the analysis moves through the performance chronologically. At certain points in the analysis, the reader will be cued to go to a selected clip on the CD. This will require the reader to place the CD in the CD drive of their computer. The CD will start automatically. Each movie clip is fronted by a picture and labelled below the picture. The reader must click on the selected picture

Chapter Five takes a step back from the performance and interprets the performance. It looks to answer the main research questions and draws concluding observations about the significance of multimodality, the layered nature of Discourse and suggests the existence of multiple identities.

Chapter Six comments on the pedagogical implications of the study, discusses the limitations of the project and makes recommendations for further study.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This dissertation examines the discourses and identities that are evident in a piece of videoed theatre which was constructed and performed by a group of grade seven children at an ex-model C school in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The study intends to go beyond the spoken dialogue of the performance to examine the discourses that emerge through an analysis of various modes of communication, the way the children move on the stage, their facial expression, their choice of songs and their gestures. This requires a clear understanding of the concepts of Discourse and of the process of communicating through representation.

The aim of this review is to link the concepts of Discourse and identity through an analysis of multimodal representation. A discussion of Bourdieu's sociological framework has been included to access the connection between his analogical "economy of practice" (Carrington and Luke 1997) and Gee's notion of Discourse. Together these theories of Discourse and capital allow an exploration of the power relations in the participant's social groups.

2.2. 'discourses' or 'Discourses'

The different ways that the idea of discourse is used has significant implications for studies which use it as a central concept (Pennycook 1996: 115). James Gee (1990) finds a way around the potential confusion by distinguishing discourse, with a lowercase 'd', from Discourse with an uppercase 'D'. This is useful because it signals the marked difference in the way the concepts can be understood. Gee describes the sociolinguistic definition of discourse (with a lowercase d) as being "any stretch of language (spoken, written, signed) which 'hangs together' to make sense to some community of people who use that language" (1990: 103). This understanding holds discourse to be simply "an instance of language use" (Pennycook 1996:115).

On the other hand, Discourse (with an uppercase D) can be defined as "a 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 (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role" (Gee 1996a:131). It appears that this notion of Discourse extends beyond being an instance of

language to encompass the more abstract notion of a package of multiple ways of being in a community, only one of which is language. For the purposes of this study I will adopt Gee's notation because it clearly marks which understanding of discourse is being referred to.

2.3. Primary and Secondary Discourses

According to Gee, all people "become members of one Discourse free" (Gee 1990:150). We are born into a community of intimates in which we acquire ways of being, of "thinking, feeling, valuing and using our native language in face-to-face communication" (Gee 1990:150). All of this acquisition or socialization is taking place within a certain context and can be called our initial Discourse, our primary Discourse, which marks us as belonging to a community of people who are alike. This Discourse forms a frame through which all other secondary Discourses will be acquired, a frame that will shape the new secondary Discourse to a degree but at the same time, be changed by the inclusion of the new Discourse. This would seem to indicate then that no Discourse remains static because they are constantly being re-shaped by new, different Discourses.

Secondary Discourses are developed in places where one is in contact with people who are outside of the intimate 'family' community. These places Gee calls secondary institutions (1990:151) and could take the form of a school, church or a work environment but it would seem that a secondary institution need not be so formally defined, especially when most societies are far from being homogenous. If a secondary institution is where one is in contact with non-intimates then it could be a next door neighbour's house, where the family draws on very different cultural systems and therefore different primary Discourses. What is important is that a secondary Discourse extends the values, attitudes, beliefs and language use beyond that of the primary Discourse (Gee 1990:152). According to Gee, all Discourses need to be acquired through apprenticeship into the social practices of the group which operates in the Discourse (Gee 1990:146). No Discourse can be learned in a formal, academic way because by its definition a Discourse is too large and abstract a concept, involving "ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting" (Gee 1996a:131), features that can not be formally taught but rather experienced. Gee claims that Discourses are not learned but acquired through apprenticeship where one can undergo a process of trial and error within the context of the Discourse (Gee 1996a).

2.3.1. Literacies

When a person has mastered a secondary Discourse, Gee would say they are now literate in that Discourse. Because there are many Discourses, there are subsequently many literacies (Gee 1990:153). This idea extends the notion of literacy beyond the autonomous view to the ideological view that literacy is not simply a decontextualised, individually held skill but is socially embedded and therefore made up of multiple practices (Street 1984). This is another very useful notion that can be borrowed from Gee for this study. There is much theoretical debate around the definition of literacy most of which is beyond the scope of this thesis. If a group does not historically practice reading and writing as is understood in a western view, then they are deemed illiterate. Gee's understanding of literacy is far more generous, acknowledging that all people are skilled in the practice of communication, all live through a complex configuration of one primary and many secondary Discourses, meaning that all have multiple literacies (Gee 1990).

In the current field of literacy studies, the term 'literacy' has moved beyond the simple definition of being able to read and write print. Rather 'literacy' can be seen to refer to a set of social practices. Barton and Hamilton (*in* Baynham and Prinsloo 2001: 84) outline the characteristics of literacy according to New Literacy Studies²:

- *Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices.*
- *There are different literacies associated with different domains of life.*
- *Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relations and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others.*
- *Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices.*
- *Literacy is historically situated.*
- *Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making as well as formal education and training.*

One way in which this understanding of literacy is significant for South African education is that it calls into question whether the literacy practices that children bring to school are the same practices that the school values. For example a child might be a gifted oral story teller but because the stories at school are either read from books or written down, both of which place value on reading and writing rather than speaking, the child's gift might never be

² Term used to characterise the work done by literacy researchers who define literacy as everyday social practice rather than the formal ability to read and write print.

affirmed. Adendorf and Nel's (1998) ethnographic study in Kwa-Zulu Natal tackles this issue through an analysis of a pre-school planning time. Their conclusion was that, even though the activity was intended to assist disadvantaged children, the result was that the activity reinforced the status quo. Children who came from homes where mainstream literacy practices were learned, were significantly advantaged in the activity and were affirmed by the teacher. Children who came to school having learned different literacy practices, though they participated in the activity, were then evaluated as "weak" performers (Adendorf and Nel 1998). These children never acquired the practices that the school valued. Considering this, it is possible that schooling and the associated school literacy practices could stratify society (Wickert *in* Gibson 1996:49), maintaining the status quo of middle class privilege (Fairclough 1989, Luke 1996, Bourdieu 1990).

Gee claims that Discourses are inextricably tied to the distribution of social goods and hierarchical structures in society (1996a:132). Discourses that lead to social goods in a society are called dominant Discourses. Heath, in her Piedmont studies, records the discrepancies between literacy practices learnt at home and those institutionalised at school. Heath (1988) believes that it is all about how meaning is constructed and ways in which meaning is taken from the environment; taking meaning from written sources is just one of the ways. In the pre-school years, parents show their children how to make meaning. Some will, through modeling and specific instruction, show their children how to make meaning with books; 'teaching' the child the conventions that include, amongst others, the direction in which print is read, turning pages to continue the story and that illustrations hold meaning. This connection between meaning and story books corresponds to how meaning is constructed through texts in schools and other institutional settings, such as banks, businesses and government offices. According to Heath:

...mainstream ways exist in societies around the world that rely on formal education systems to prepare children for participation in settings involving literacy. In some communities these ways of schools and institutions are very similar to the ways learned at home; in other communities the ways of school are merely an overlay on the home-taught ways and may be in conflict with them (Heath 1988:22).

If children have been taught different ways of constructing meaning and have no experience of the way schools make meaning through texts, then there are serious implications for how children are going to view themselves, their community's ways, and school. It is also just as important to consider the reverse. If children have been inculcated into the school's way of constructing meaning, and this does not correspond with settings outside of school, then the system has failed the child again. In an ex-model C school, the children who come from

English, white, middle class backgrounds are likely to be literate in Discourses that correspond more easily to school Discourses, understanding teachers' questions, knowing how to speak to an adult in such a way that they are polite but confident at the same time, and they will therefore, probably find the transition to school easier than children who come from different cultural and language backgrounds. If these children cannot show their membership in the dominant school Discourse, then they are not going to be producing the required responses to teachers' questions, and are perhaps not going to be assessed successfully, beginning a cycle of low performance, little affirmation and therefore little opportunity to be apprenticed into the dominant Discourse and become literate in it.

In another setting, say for example, a taxi in the townships, the children who grew up in the townships, speaking isiZulu, and understanding the Discourse of commuters, will have the dominant Discourse and will be advantaged because they know how to get on to the right taxi, pay the appropriate fare, and make conversation with strangers who are sitting in very close proximity.

The domains where particular Discourses are valued is an interesting issue especially as there is much at stake should fluency in a dominant Discourse be unsuccessful. Solutions for the problem of children not being literate in dominant school Discourses are complicated. Australian Genre theorists would argue that the only way to empower disadvantaged children is to apprentice them into dominant Discourses so that they can become fluent (Martin 2002, Rose 2002). It should perhaps be questioned whether this is not just reinforcing the dominance of mainstream Discourses rather than working at changing the mainstream systems themselves. Gee's proposed solution is for members of non-dominant Discourses to acquire what he calls "mushfake Discourse" (1996a:145). 'Mushfake' is a term borrowed from prison culture to refer to making do with less when the real thing is unavailable. Because, according to Gee's notion of Discourse, Discourses can not be formally learned, the next best thing might be to have some meta-knowledge about the desired Discourse. How disarming it would be for a teacher if a student qualified his or her way of expressing him or herself with a statement such as "I don't know the formal academic way to say this but what I mean is..." or else "I'm not sure of what you're asking because in my culture we ask questions differently...".

It is clear that Discourses work in powerful ways but it is easy to view Discourses as being superordinate concepts which hold people in their power. To change this around and

see individuals having agency to work in and between and with Discourses is far more empowering. Gee comments on this, saying:

It is sometimes helpful to say that it is not individuals who speak and act, but rather that historically and socially defined Discourses speak to each other through individuals. The individual instantiates, gives body to, a Discourse every time he or she acts or speaks, and thus carries it, and ultimately changes it through time (Gee 1996a:132).

Conceptually close to Gee's idea of Discourse is Pierre Bourdieu's sociological framework.

2.4. Bourdieu's Economy of Practice

Bourdieu's approach hinges on the key concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' (Thompson 1994:12).

Bourdieu explains habitus as being

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu 1990:53).

More simply put, habitus is a set of dispositions, or tendencies, which incline individuals to act in certain ways. These dispositions are learned from early childhood and are inculcated to the point that they become ingrained as natural habits. They are structured because they "unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired" (Thompson 1994). Bourdieu would say that because individuals always act in a social setting, his or her actions are not solely dependent on the habitus but on the relations between the habitus and the particular social field in which the individual acts (Thompson 1994:14).

Bourdieu sometimes refers to the field as the 'market place' or the 'game' because the principles of economic exchange make for a useful analogy for social practices or an "economy of practice" (Carrington and Luke 1997:100). This economy is based on the premise that "all human activity, or practice, involves exchange between individuals and groups...which, in addition to direct currency flow, are the source of social power and control. All practice thus is directed, consciously or otherwise, at the maximisation of social advantage" (Carrington and Luke 1997:100).

In order to wield power in this social marketplace, it is necessary to accumulate capital. In fact, according to Luke, "the distribution, availability and relationality of capital influences the chances for successful participation in the social structure" (1996:327).

Bourdieu's notion of capital, while the name refers to economic understandings of money, extends beyond this to describe other means of exchange (Luke 1996).

Also necessary to participate in the game is a shared belief between players in the rules of the game; even though the field might be a site of conflict, there is always the presupposition of "complicity on the part of those who participate in the game" (Thompson 1994:14). Table 2.1 below outlines Carrington and Luke's understanding of symbolic capital, featuring various types of capital which affect an individual's relative status.

SYMBOLIC CAPITAL		
This is the overarching concept that describes the social phenomenon of status and prestige which comes with an accumulation and recognition of other capital.		
Cultural Capital	Embodied Capital	This capital is directly linked to the biological being. It describes the skills, knowledges, practices (including linguistic practices) and inherent inclinations of the individual.
	Objectified Capital	This describes the material objects that are seen as cultural goods such as books, paintings, texts etc.
	Institutional Capital	This category describes the credentials offered by social institutions such as schools, universities, corporate institutions, the state etc.
Economic Capital	This refers to capital that is directly convertible to money and would describe cash holdings, property, investments etc.	
Social Capital	This category describes the social networks to which membership holds value, where membership of the group allows access to the collective resources of that group.	

Table 2.1 Symbolic Capital (Carrington and Luke 1997:102)

Different social fields place value on different things, making the accumulation of capital dependent on the context in which the individual is practising. In western, urban society, institutional capital (see table 2.1) in the form of university degrees holds high value even though it might not convert directly into high levels of economic capital. Associated with academic qualifications are the assumptions that an individual has intelligence, education and wisdom, features that are highly valued and bring prestige in western society.

In another context where the practical skills of growing ones own food, building ones own house and surviving the elements are valued, a university degree would not hold much capital at all.

Carrington and Luke emphasise this point saying, “all these forms of symbolic capital – cultural, economic and social (see table 2.1) – must be authorised, that is they must be acknowledged and in some way officially ‘deemed’ to be of value. Capital is not capital unless it is recognised as such authoritatively in a particular social field” (Carrington and Luke 1997:103).

This study so far is pinned upon Gee’s understanding of Discourse but is perhaps enriched by the inclusion of Bourdieu’s model of symbolic capital. In order to examine how Discourse and symbolic capital relate to each other, it is necessary to return to Gee’s definition of Discourse. Gee defines Discourse as being

...a 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 (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role (Gee 1996a:131)

In other words, Gee is explaining that Discourse refers to the beliefs, values, viewpoints and actions that signal membership of a group. According to Gee, Discourses are inextricably connected to the distribution of power and one’s positioning in the social hierarchy because “control over certain Discourses can lead to the acquisition of social goods (money, power, status) in a society” (Gee 1996a:132). Bourdieu’s index of symbolic capital is useful because it is a set of categories and vocabulary that can be used to describe the relative social power of individuals. Because any individual is involved in multiple groups in multiple social fields, and because different groups value different forms of capital, the individual will hold different positions of power in the various groups. For example, a child’s position in a family where he or she is the youngest will hold a very different position to the one held in his or her peer group at school where perhaps he or she dominates conversation. This position will be very different to the one held in the classroom where he or she struggles with mathematics, which will in turn be different to the position held in a sports team where he or she is the best athlete.

It seems to often be problematic when dealing with theoretical concepts where the temptation is to push forcefully towards a theoretical pole without balancing one’s position with opposing ideas. The two theoretical poles that are in conflict in this review are on the one hand, viewing individual agency as a significant force in social practice; and on the other hand, viewing the individual at the complete mercy of political ideology and cultural hegemony. It seems important to try and maintain a balance where it is assumed that individuals are not robots in a vast Machiavellian plot nor are individuals in a rosy vacuum

where everyone can act freely and creatively. An aim of this study is to look at data through a theoretical framework where Bourdieu's sociological theory can dialogue with the New London Group's theory of design, where the power of the individual and that of dominant ideology must be held in tension.

2.5. Interest and Design

Kress and van Leeuwen's definition of discourse, like Gee's Discourse (uppercase D), acknowledges that there are many Discourses and many ways of being fluent in their use. Similarly Kress and van Leeuwen extend the notion of Discourse to refer to "socially constructed knowledges of reality" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:4) that are developed in social contexts by actors within these contexts. I particularly like their reference to the plural form of knowledge, signalling that knowledge is not some external body but that it is always knowledge *of* something, meaning that it is created, owned and re-shaped by individuals and commonly understood in their communities, a community being the group of people who share fluency in a Discourse. Kress and van Leeuwen are useful because they look specifically at how Discourses are realised and represented through different modes of meaning (linguistic, visual, audio, spatial and gestural meanings) (2001:54), thereby extending the notion of meaning simply being expressed through language to the expression of meaning through many channels. When humans communicate, we do not necessarily need to use only language to express meaning. We 'read' facial expressions, sounds, gestures, smells, postures and language with all our senses all the time. And yet, in the education and applied linguistic fields, academic analysis of modes other than language is relatively new.

Kress (2000a:156), suggests that the way something is represented is motivated by the sign-maker's interest. If the sign-maker is interested in representing an idea in a particular way, then he or she will draw on representational resources, changing them if necessary to suit the particular interaction. For example, should a school child wish to communicate something to a friend in class, he will decide how to do this by considering the best, most appropriate way. If the teacher is talking and the child knows, through experience of the social rules of the classroom, that talking while the teacher is speaking will provoke a rebuke from the teacher, he might prefer to write a note to his friend. He might, if he wants to make a joke about the teacher, scribble a hasty caricature. He would have made decisions based on the demands of the particular interaction; being quick and surreptitious and therefore not speaking aloud or writing a lengthy letter which the teacher would have noticed; being

amusing and therefore choosing a caricature rather than a written note. He would also have drawn on existing cultural resources to make the decisions, knowing the rules of the classroom, understanding the conventions of humour and of cartoons, and understanding the subversive practice of making fun of the teacher. The combination of these two factors, individual interest and cultural resources, means that every sign-making is a new event, and every event results in the re-shaping of existing semiotic resources. Indeed, if interest “is seen as the motivating force of representation, then the shape of existing resources of representation can be explained entirely without any split between the agency of the individual, and the determinative power of cultural forms and social structures” (Kress 2000a:157). This creative sign-making is called design. The term ‘design’ refers to the creating of something new through choosing the best, most appropriate representation of interest and using the available cultural resources.

Cope and Kalantzis comment that the notion of design has interesting implications for the concept of culture and identity because it begins with different assumptions about meaning. Instead of the assumption that meaning is stable and regular, design works with the understanding that meaning is in constant flux, changing in form and content with every event of use. Individuals drawing on their understanding of not just one social context but all the contexts that enter into their lived experience, transform those resources into something new. This introduces a different notion of culture, that individuals have agency and are not just passive incumbents of their culture but are active designers, “designers of social futures and makers of our own futures” (Cope and Kalantzis 2000:205).

Design is, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), one stratum in the representation process. Design conceptualises Discourse. It is the link between a socially constructed knowledge and its modes of representation. It is the decision making act of choosing the best possible way of representing the intended message. The actual material expression of the design Kress and van Leeuwen call production. Sometimes design and production cannot be easily separated out. A good example described by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) is that of a jazz musician while he or she improvises, composing and performing simultaneously. In this case, the designer and the producer are the same person though this is not always the case, something that can be illustrated by the example of an actor performing a script that was written by someone else. The playwright, though perhaps long dead, still has control over what the actor produces. There is little space left for the producer’s voice (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:7). This idea that the designer can have

power over the producer seems simplistic. If it is true that meaning can be represented through multiple modes, then the words of a script are just one mode of many. One might say that once a director decides on how to direct the script and the screenplay is written, the actors are then under the control of the director and screenwriter, leaving little room for the actors' voices. And yet there is still agency. The actor expresses the lines in his or her own voice, using his or her face and body to add meaning. No two actors could produce identical representations. I would argue that there is always agency and always some level of design taking place during production, "there is so much to draw from in the breadth and subtlety of available designs that every designing recreates the world afresh" (Cope and Kalantzis 2000:205). Design is a process where the cultural context and the individual's identity cannot be separated.

2.6. Identity

The concept of identity is commonly understood as a concept of deep, stable truth (Billington *et al.* 1998). An individual can hold on to their true self, a mysterious inner core that remains the same and is independent of location, social context and time. It is desirable to be 'one's self' and crucial to 'find one's self', upon which one has reached a position of honesty and self acceptance. This view can not accommodate the complex interplay of Discourses, of tension between Discourses and of the dialogue between individual agency and Discourses in the designing process.

Barker proposes that the very idea of a "true self" (1999:9), a personal identity that belongs to an individual, is a cultural construct that is accepted without question in the western world but is not necessarily shared by people in other social contexts. In some contexts it would seem that people can not separate themselves from the networks of family and other social relationships (Barker 1999). Billington *et al.* (1998) take this further, explaining that the idea of an identity being self-contained and separate from society is a myth which has been central to western political thinking. It is therefore problematic to attempt to theorise the concept of self because there "are fundamentally different cultural ideals about what it is to be human, a [man or] woman and an adult" (Kondo *in* Billington *et al.* 1998:49). So if identity should not be defined as something which exists as a manifestation of self, then one must begin to establish how it can be defined. Barker (1999) explains that the concept of identity can not be removed from social and cultural elements,

...what it means to be a person is social and cultural 'all the way down'. That is, identities are wholly social constructions and are not entities which exist outside of cultural representations and acculturation... [being] the process by which a helpless infant becomes a self-aware, knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of culture (1999:10).

According to Barker (1999), the crucial element to understanding identity is to realise that culture is all about shared meanings, as established earlier, and these meanings are not external, concrete truths waiting to be claimed. Gee speaks of “situated identities” (1999:12) a term which acknowledges in its plurality, that in different situations we play different roles and hold different social positions of status. Rather than having one ‘true self’, we have multiple identities which encapsulate the ways we relate to and make sense of the world through signs and symbols (Gee 1999, Mackay and Wong 1996); identities are the complex, shifting places where the individual meets with their cultural context, where individual agency intersects with available designs and begins the transformative process of redesigning.

If we are to say that identity is linked in complex ways to multiple Discourses then these Discourses will be expressed in multiple ways. Individuals show their membership to groups, their identities, through multiple modes.

2.7. Multimodality

Multimodality refers to the interrelationship of many modes of meaning (New London Group 2000) with a mode being one way of expressing meaning. The New London Group (2000) suggest that there are five modes of meaning which include the linguistic mode, the visual, the audio, the spatial and the gestural mode. Multimodal then refers to meanings that are expressed through many modes simultaneously. The concept of multimodality is crucial to this study because it extends the analysis of Discourse beyond that which is represented only by language to include other semiotic forms. If we are to remain with the definition of Discourse as being “ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting” (Gee 1990:145), then it can be argued that all Discourses are multimodal because they, by definition, make use of more than one semiotic system. A Discourse might be signalled by a combination of the clothes a person is wearing, the way his or her hair is styled, the way in which he or she walks, dances, sings, what music they listen to, what pictures he or she has on the walls, the list is infinite. Kress asserts that

the semiotic changes which characterise the present and which are likely to characterise the near future cannot be adequately described and understood with currently existing theories of meaning and communication. These are based on language, and so, quite obviously, if language is no longer the only or even the central semiotic mode, then theories of language

can at best offer explanations for one part of the communicational landscape only (Kress 2000a).

Language can only ever express a tiny part of these features and so to explore the range we must venture into modes of sound, space, gesture, the visual, as well as the linguistic. These modes rest on the fact that we have a range of sensory perceptions through which we engage with the world (Kress 2000b). When we are interacting with the world we use our senses together, for example eating makes use of the sense of sight combined with taste and smell, meaning then that we engage with the world in a multimodal way (Kress 2000b:184). According to Kress (2000b), how we describe the way that our range of senses are used and developed depends on our cultural context. An example of this is that in western contexts an emphasis is placed on the way we describe what we see and hear and we do this through the act of writing and speaking. Little description is spent on what we taste and smell, nor is the description of these other senses done through modes other than writing and speaking (Kress 2000b). Why this is the case is difficult to answer, one possibility is that the linguistic modes of writing and speech are given so much attention, they have such capital attached to their mastery. Reading, writing and speaking are the modes that are the focus of schooling and of academic qualifications (institutional capital) that then give access to careers which ensure economic capital. In western society, these are the modes that literally pay.

Kress speaks of ways of expressing as the 'materiality' of our semiotic systems (2000b:185), how we physically represent what we experience. This materiality could take the form of ink marks on a paper surface or a variation of sound.

Another term Kress introduces is that of 'medium' (Kress 2000b:187). This refers to the physical medium through which the message is conveyed, for example when speaking, the message is made up of a series of spoken words produced by a variation of sounds (the mode) which travel through the air (the medium) to reach the listener. According to Kress "if mode affects what can be said and how, media affects who can be and is addressed and how" (2000b:187).

When designing, the sign-maker chooses the most effective way of representing the message, one element of which is the choice of mode or combination of modes. However, if a culture places particular importance on one mode above others it means that "some members of one culture will be less well served than others; some will be affectively and cognitively at an advantage over those others whose preferred sensory modes are not valued or are suppressed in their culture" (Kress 2000b:187). A clear example of this would be the

disadvantage that blind and deaf people in western contexts face because of the emphasis placed on visual and audio communication modes.

2.7.1. A South African Multimodal Study

Stein (2003), in her innovative doctoral thesis, explores two case studies involving black, multilingual primary school children who were living in poor communities in the Johannesburg area. The first study describes a multimodal narrative project called “The Spruitview Storytelling Project” (Stein 2003:17). Stein was given permission by the school principal to teach a senior primary class for an hour a week for the duration of 1994. She asked the students to tell the class stories from their families and communities in the language in which they had heard the story. The stories were told in an African language and translated by another student or a teaching colleague into English. The students also wrote forms of their stories and translated these into English and illustrated them. Stein comments on the results of the project:

The Spruitview Storytelling Project was productive at a number of levels. Firstly, students produced a body of over 100 stories in different modes, genres and languages. The languages drawn upon by the storytellers included most South African languages: isiZulu, SeSotho, English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Tshivenda, Tsostitaal, isiNdebele, Setswana and Xitsonga. Some students spoke isiSwati, the main language of Swaziland. The focus on multilingualism as a resource for learning enabled them to situate their multilingual language identities, which had been silenced in their school, in a formal learning space. Secondly, students experienced pleasure in learning and pleasure in making. This increased their confidence and interest in learning. Thirdly it produced new forms of knowledge and learning through the diverse ways in which students shaped and reshaped their narratives across different modes and languages. Through this process of transformation, students increased their cognitive, linguistic and narrative flexibility (Stein 2003:122).

It is interesting that not only did the project provide an opportunity for students to express themselves in ways that are outside of school experience, but it was a direct statement of acknowledging the students’ different social backgrounds, their individual strengths (whether it be a gift for oral storytelling or a strong sense of the comic) and their creative potential. The project took place in school by the researcher who was a ‘teacher’ for an hour a week, this means that open spaces can be created within school systems, though perhaps the unusual nature of the project helped the children step free of school Discourses and be creative.

Stein’s second project, called the ‘Olifantsvlei Fresh Stories Project’, was a collaborative process where she worked with three junior primary teachers. Unlike the Spruitview Project Stein did not do the teaching herself but she, in consultation with the

teachers, supplied the conceptual frame for the project. The children primarily came from informal settlements³ near the school. The children were asked to choose a person in their home or community who could later become a character in a story that the class would construct. The children were asked “to act out how this person moved, walked, talked, laughed, sat down, and ate supper. Through dramatic action, the ‘person’ began evolving into a ‘character’” (Stein 2003:225). The children then drew 2D images of the figures and translated these into 3D figures made from an assortment of materials ranging from glass bottles, bits of paper and cloth to sticks and stockings. Stein, in her analysis, argues that these doll figures are part of a “semiotic chain of social, cultural and aesthetic practices around fertility doll/child figures which have existed in South Africa for hundreds of years and which continue to exist in some communities today” (Stein 2003:226). Upon seeing pictures of these dolls juxtaposed with traditional fertility figures, the resemblance is striking but is recontextualised into the present. These dolls seem to be a striking example of the process of design, where the producer draws on available designs but creates something new; while the dolls resonate a long historical legacy, they are unique and fresh.

In relation to this thesis, the value of Stein’s work lies in the flexible creativity which opened a creative space for children to exercise their voices in ways that worked best for them, whether it was a language that was not officially associated with school or an act of reshaping representational resources to fit the demands of the doll. This meant that the dolls became sites where the children’s histories could be recontextualised into something new. The research process outlined in this thesis seeks to achieve something similar, create a space where children can express themselves in ways that are not usually condoned at school, ways that intrinsically carry the resources of their knowledge of historical and cultural practices; create a space where the participants can draw from these resources and design something new. This study seeks, like Stein’s work, to use multimodal pedagogies and “stretch already existing creativity in unexpected, unpredictable ways” (Stein 2003:249).

As has already been mentioned, language is the mode that receives more attention in the applied linguistic and education fields than any other mode. Because the overwhelming majority of studies in these fields dealing with South African identity diversity focus on

³ ‘Informal Settlement’ in a South African context, refers to areas, usually on the edges of an urban centre, where people have taken occupancy of vacant land and built their own dwellings out of an assortment of materials, ranging from pieces of corrugated iron to pieces of plastic and wood. These areas are seldom officially planned and so are not satisfactorily serviced by the State in terms of the basic infrastructure of roads, electricity, water and sewerage systems.

language, it is important to review local work on the mode of language, particularly in reference to language diversity in South Africa, called here multilingualism.

2.7.2. Local Studies in Multilingualism

South Africa has a complex history of invasion, colonialism, apartheid and revolution which together result in a very complex but rich conglomeration of languages. Of great significance though is that in “virtually all multilingual countries, the different languages used reflect and represent a hierarchy of dominant and dominated groups based on the inequality of power between the first language speakers of the languages concerned” (Alexander 1995:38). Because English and Afrikaans reflect the colonising powers of Britain and Holland and are therefore specifically associated with white dominant groups, these languages historically held a privileged status over black African languages. Apartheid is at least officially in the past, and government has established language policies which reflect the 1994 Constitution. This attributes equal value to South Africa’s eleven languages. In 1997 The Language in Education Policy was launched, promoting “multilingualism, development of official languages, and respect for all languages, including sign language, in recognition of the culturally diverse nature of the country” (Mda 2004:180). In spite of this it seems that language dominance persists and now pressures of globalisation seem to have added weight to the alleged importance of English as the language of international trade, of the mass media and of education (Mda 2004).

Much South African research has explored the effects of this pressure to concentrate on one language in spite of the multilingual nature of the country. De Klerk (1995) quotes two South African teachers discussing this very issue:

Fatima: So African parents prefer their kids to speak English?

Somikazi: Most of them now start to prefer that they do everything in English. The way they understand and think is that there is no improvement if the child is in a Xhosa⁴ school where the medium is Xhosa. They believe if you do Xhosa only, you would go nowhere. So that stigma still exists. That’s why they are now taking their children to Bishops court⁵ and private schools (De Klerk 1995:10).

It is understandable that parents want their children to be advantaged at school and then in the job market and it would be a return to the apartheid principles of separate development⁶ to

⁴ Xhosa is an African language spoken predominantly in the Eastern and Western Cape Regions.

⁵ Bishops court is an extremely expensive Cape Town suburb on the slopes of Table Mountain.

⁶ Separate development was an apartheid policy intended to isolate groups and maintain the status quo of white privilege under the illusion of protecting African cultural heritage.

encourage a sole focus on groups' indigenous languages to the exclusion of English. However, it would appear that the way languages are taught is of the utmost importance. It appears to be commonly thought that the majority of African language speakers have been denied proper access to English but that it is proficiency in English that brings opportunity for education and social mobility (Lockett 1995). In addition, "it is commonly believed that the best way to get this proficiency is to learn English for as long as possible and the sooner the better" (Lockett 1995:74).

What is not commonly understood though, are the implications of children being launched into a second language with no thought given to the development of their mother tongue, "multilingualism should not mean that we supplant children's home languages, but rather that we supplement them" (Robb 1995:16). Versfeld argues that

The 'common sense' belief, for example, that one learns language by speaking it takes a bit of unpicking. If a child feels alienated from the school environment and is not encouraged to use her own language she will not learn as well as if she has the opportunity to express herself in her own way...Languages do not develop in separate compartments of the brain. They interact and knowledge is transferred. By negating the first language, one is retarding the development of the second (Versfeld 1995:26).

The school in which this study is situated takes the position that Lockett refers to above, that children who enter the school at grade one and who can not speak English must be immersed in English, the sooner the better. This thesis works with the premise that language is acknowledged as a larger concept than simply referring to whether a person speaks isiZulu or English. Nieto (*in* Robb 1995:16) describes language as being the "means by which people express their cultural values and the lens through which they view the world". Language is certainly the most acknowledged way of expressing identity and if this is so, then multilingualism is not just about what languages are spoken in the classroom, it is whether different ways of 'viewing the world' are valued by those in power.

Though schools might insist on maintaining the boundaries between languages, one way that multilingualism manifests is the practice of mixing languages, known as codeswitching. In the taped performance which forms the basis of this study, the participants practice codeswitching in particular scenes. It is important therefore to explore this concept.

2.7.3. Codeswitching

Codeswitching is commonly understood to take place when speakers use two or more languages interchangeably in one event. Codeswitching is a vast area of linguistic study, the complexity of which is beyond the scope of this review. Much work seems to have been

invested in tightly defining terminology, work which according to Eastman (1992), does not further broader understandings of the ways in which “cognitive, social, and cultural processes work together in urban linguistic contexts”(Eastman 1992:1). For the purposes of this study it seems worthwhile to explore what the instances of language choice might be revealing about the speakers’ positioning in their social contexts.

One major sociolinguistic concept is the “marked and unmarked” (Eastman1992:1) nature of the language choice that might indicate the speakers’ positions. In other words, in situations where a mixed language is used regularly enough for codeswitching to become the norm then this would be unmarked choice (Eastman 1992). A marked choice is the situation where another language is used in such a way that a conscious statement is being made about social position. Further, the absence of codeswitching in multilingual urban contexts may suggest that power differences between groups have been accepted and remain unchallenged (Eastman 1992:1). It is thus whether the mixing of language is deliberate or not that signals the speakers’ positioning of themselves in their social contexts.

According to Heller, an examination of language choices in multilingual communities “can reveal not only the extent of stability of intergroup relations, but, perhaps more importantly, it can reveal the ways in which the regulation of access to symbolic resources is tied to the regulation of access to material ones” (Heller 1992:123). Being able to examine the power dynamics within and between social groups is a crucial objective of this study, particularly as language choice, a means of evaluating power dynamics, is so clearly evidenced in the data. Heller uses Bourdieu’s notions of symbolic capital and symbolic marketplaces to argue that codeswitching can be a means of “calling into play specific forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge, forms which conventionally possess certain kinds of value” (Heller 1992:124). That value is linked to how resources are accessed or rather, *who* is allowed access. Heller elucidates saying:

It is necessary to display appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge in order to gain access to the game, and playing it well requires in turn mastery of the kinds of linguistic and cultural knowledge which constitute its rules. Buying into the game means buying into the rules, it means accepting them as routine, as normal, indeed as universal, rather than as conventions set up by dominant groups in order to place themselves as in the privileged position of regulating access to the resources they control (Heller 1992:125).

What Bourdieu calls the ‘game’ possibly refers to the Discourses that are working in certain groups. If a person can not speak the language, wear the clothes, show the credentials valued by insiders to Discourse then the person will remain outside the game. In reference to this study it can be seen that choosing to mix isiZulu and English is not simply a case of

borrowing English words but, at some points, it is a deliberate choice to codeswitch or a deliberate choice not to codeswitch because it is an act of signalling membership to a specific social group. It is an act stating that the individual, in a particular social field, has a certain status in terms of embodied capital through his or her linguistic practices, not in isolation though, because having the linguistic resources also signals other forms of capital. Embodied capital might be signalled by the ability to speak English well enough to be able to codeswitch. Codeswitching also seems to hold a particular social status associated with being young, urban and cosmopolitan.

It is clear how Bourdieu's theory can be applied to codeswitching but what about Gee? How does his understanding of Discourse fit into this? It must be remembered that a Discourse is an "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" (Gee 1996a:131). In this study then, the Discourse of being 'hip', black, urban and cosmopolitan would include the practice of codeswitching between isiZulu and English as well as wearing particular clothes and listening to particular music amongst others. Being able to exhibit these practices in particular fields would translate into symbolic capital and therefore, depending on the accumulation of capital, prestige in the group.

2.7.4. Switching and Crossing

There is another mode of language choice which is significant to this dissertation. It is a concept that stands apart from codeswitching but raises issues that are as important as those raised through codeswitching. This concept is called language 'crossing'. Rampton distinguishes it from codeswitching explaining that codeswitching is an "in-group" phenomenon (Rampton 1995:280) which is restricted to those individuals who share experience of the two languages. Codeswitching, as Heller too maintains, is seen as a device which can be used to affirm or refute claims of membership. Language crossing on the other hand deals with the alternating of codes by people who generally are not part of the group who use the second language. Crossing happens when an individual crosses into a language that does not really belong to him or her (Rampton 1995). Crossing is significant because it is the "kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social and ethnic boundaries [and it] raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate" (Rampton 1995:280). The traversing of ethnic and social boundaries which

happens in crossing has the effect of producing liminal moments (Rampton 1995:281). This is a threshold moment where the normal rules of social order can not be taken for granted.

It is interesting to extend the ideas of codeswitching and codecrossing into multimodal terms. If other modes are indeed as important as the linguistic mode, then crossing and switching have interesting applications. Other modes might not share the consecutive temporality of language but rather signal two different sources simultaneously. For example, when I was teaching in Kwa-Zulu Natal, a boy in my class came to school wearing a goatskin bracelet around his wrist. His family had had a death in the family and had slaughtered a goat for the funeral. According to tradition the boy had to wear the bracelet out of respect for the dead until the bracelet wore through and fell off. Otherwise the deceased might be angered and return. The juxtaposition of this bracelet with his school uniform signalled a kind of switch between a traditional social field and the social field of school. An example of possible codecrossing could be a situation where South African teenagers adopt a style of dancing which is officially associated with African American 'gangsta' groups.

It would seem that focus on the linguistic mode has overshadowed other modes which could yield incredibly rich insights into the practices and values of different social groups. Even in this study, I find myself becoming aware of the dominance of language in spite of attempts to seek alternate modes. For example, much of the scene analysis is taken up with discussion of the language spoken by the participants, even though I attempted to analyse the visual and spatial modes. The problem is that because the focus has been on language, analysis of language is far more developed than other modes, making language analysis the easiest to engage in; there is little metalanguage to enable and support multimodal discussion. Analysis of other modes needs to develop to the point where there exist frameworks of analysis for sound, movement, clothing and gesture; multimodal analysis needs to develop to the point where the identification of new modes has vastly increased.

2.8. Conclusion

The aim of this review was to review current literature to begin exploring the concepts of discourse, capital, habitus and social field, literacy, multimodality, interest and design in an attempt to highlight the main ideas that will underpin the study. For the purposes of the study, Discourse is used in such a way as to refer to a broad understanding of ways of being, of believing, of valuing, of belonging to a community. Gee's Discourse theory meets Bourdieu's

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

sociological framework in a useful exploration of the concept of field where symbolic capital is a means of social power. This framework is highly applicable to the study where the participants wrestle for membership of the group.

In working with the video, which is a representation of social identity, the concept of design seems highly relevant as it brings notions of agency, of social context and of interest together in a useful way that links well with the notions of Discourse, field and capital. And if design is taken on board then one has to take into account the richness of multimodal resources.

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3. Methodology

3.1. Theoretical Rationale

As bodies of knowledge expand in all directions, there seems to be a growing challenge to applied linguists to engage with increasing paradigm diversity. The “paradigm wars” (Edge and Richards 1998:335) of old still seem to wage across the fields of research but now with added complexities thrown forward by post-modernist thinkers.

Figuring out the ontology of this time in history is no small task. Philosophies of the nature of being and the nature of knowledge have much significance for academic thought and yet the concepts involved seem to be increasingly slippery and amorphous. Theorists from all disciplines seem to disagree more about ontology than they agree, making it more than a little difficult to find my own way through the maze of complex thought. Increasing complexity is perhaps itself indicative of the direction ontological thought is moving, itself illustrating, perhaps, the ‘postmodern condition’. The primary purpose of this section of the chapter is to briefly outline the philosophical positions of modernism and postmodernism in order to situate my own thinking therein.

3.1.1. Is Modernism still relevant?

The position that seems to be thought of as the most definitive of modernism is the positivist paradigm where objectivity and empirical evidence are most valued. This paradigm embodies the search for the way things are, a discovery of the status quo. This is the paradigm which “requires only one ontological level, [that being] the physical” (Smith 1979:169). Modern science was born out of the enlightenment and fuelled by the industrial revolution to great technological heights (Barnett Pearce and Kang 1988:33). According to Smith, the power of science infiltrated all aspects of western society.

Through technology, science effects miracles: skyscrapers that stand; men standing on the moon. Moreover, in its early stages these miracles were in the direction of the heart’s desires: multiplication of goods and the reduction of drudgery and disease. There was the sheer noetic majesty of the house pure science erected, and above all there was method. By enabling men to agree on the truth because it could be demonstrated, this method produced a knowledge that was cumulative and could advance. No wonder man converted (Smith 1979:169.)

The strict, empirical nature of scientific enquiry, though extremely powerful, began to be shown to be clearly limited when applied to subjects that do not fit into the purely physical plane and which therefore can not be measured quantitatively. Smith uses a helpful analogy

to illustrate this idea. The image “likens science to a searchlight scanning a night sky for planes. For a plane to register, two things are required: it must exist, and it must be where the beam is” (Smith 1979:170). As Smith suggests, there are vast areas of inquiry that fall outside the positivist paradigm lead, areas that are more subjective and more critical.

It should perhaps be clearly stated though, that as a driving force behind the shift from pre-enlightenment to modernist thinking, science set up the notion that truth is what can be observed and proven true. Truth, when discovered, stands alone as fact and is universal. These are core values that permeate all orientations of modernist thought though the methods and nature of observable proof vary. Opposed to the positivist claim that social life can be explained through observable regularities with out any reference to the subjective states of social actors, the interpretive orientation emerged. Interpretivists claim that it is human beings who give meaning to social reality and that these meanings must therefore be interpreted before social actions can be explained. This position acknowledges that the researcher and the researched can not be separated (Hegde 1998:277), that the act of observing changes the nature of the subject, that the subject is observed and interpreted and represented through the eyes and mind and writing of the researcher. Ethnographic research is an example of research that takes this view, where the status quo is observed, recorded and interpreted through the researcher’s acknowledged subjective position.

Different from both these descriptive orientations are those that are more critical in nature. The structuralist position shares with positivist thinking the notions of objectivity and universal truths but differ enormously at the same time because they hold the position of believing in broad structures that are constructed by society while reproducing society. For example, Marxism holds that the notion of social class structures all societies in some form or another. This and other structuralist perspectives critique and problematize the ways that society is constructed; they seek change in the form of justice and equity.

There are critical traditions that are more subjective in nature and oriented towards issues of agency. These appear to be concerned with personal reflexive study, where ones own practice is analysed. Phenomenological action research would be an example of this, where emphasis is placed on ones own direct experience (Jennings and Graham 1996:268).

These philosophical positions, though each make very different assumptions about the knowledge they seek and the methods they utilise, all have a set of core values in common, values that lie at the heart of modernity. Barnett Pearce and Kang claim that one of these values is the “eternal pursuit of the novel, fuelled by a quest for individual value derived from

effectiveness in changing the social world” (1988:35). The authors go on to suggest that this constant seeking to change the old into new, places emphasis on change rather than on the elements or agents of change, making no one thing of value, resulting in “nothing [being] valued in modernity” (Barnett Pearce and Kang 1988:36). As pointless as this view makes modernist allegiance appear, it would seem that at least within this paradigm, regardless of motivation, there is action, movement, some pursuit of an ideal, some kind of desire to seek change where there is injustice. One should perhaps question whether postmodernism can offer as much.

3.1.2. Can Postmodernism ever be relevant?

Lyotard (*in* Bullock and Trombley 1999) described a ‘postmodern condition’ which suggests that the fading of modernity is marked by significant ideological, philosophical, cultural, social, technological circumstances, and the end of totalistic explanations or ‘grand narratives’. Postmodernism emerged in reaction to the modernist idea that there is external, universal truth. Postmodern thought suggests that the construction of knowledge is always contextual (Jennings and Graham 1996) meaning that truth is assembled according to the needs and agendas of the ‘producers’ of knowledge. Truth for the postmodernist then “is not perceived as a universal concept which traverses all human societies, rather it is local and politically constituted through practices which define what is false and what is true” (Jennings and Graham 1996:270).

Chabal explains the development of the postmodern argument, saying that the combination of globalisation, technological advances and the decline of moral and religious imperatives has brought the contemporary world to a place in which “individual identities are increasingly cross-cultural and values increasingly relative” (1996:41). This apparent move from an ethnocentric position towards ethnorelativism, though seemingly positive, is extremely problematic for critical theorists. Chabal expands this, saying that “critics of postmodernism readily point to the confusion which exists between the necessity to understand the multiplicity of cultural meanings present in modern society and the need to retain a sense of the culturally significant” (1996:41). Indeed, how is it possible to maintain critique when there is no yardstick, no meta-ethic by which to base ones understanding of fairness?

Cope and Kalantzis (1993) take a harder line, likening postmodernists to Levi-Strauss’ *bricoleur* (the person who does odd jobs, making do with whatever is at hand)

compared to modernism's engineer who questions the meaning of the universe and stretches to reach beyond history's confines. Cope and Kalantzis claim that postmodern culture

...denies the possibilities of conscious appropriation of the world, critical dialogue and, ultimately, meaningful human agency. It rests purely on pragmatism and intellectual defeatism as it sums up the cultural crises of our times, but it does not allow itself to do anything about it, ruling itself helpless in the face of the world of difference (Cope and Kalantzis 1993:73).

3.1.3. Where am I in all of this?

It does seem that as postmodern thinking washes through academia, architecture, art, literature and the media we are carried by the modern need to uncover the new and so embrace postmodernism as something different for the sake of change rather than the realisation that modernism is inadequate. Despite the idea of postmodernity having been talked about in western circles for over fifty years, it seems that in South African academic circles postmodernism is still the new, shiny fascination and we feel compelled to accept it in order to keep up with the world. Here it seems important to wonder how relevant postmodernism is to the world that is not western educated. It seems to me that embracing postmodern relativism, appealing as it may seem, should perhaps not happen wholeheartedly. It seems important to hold the critical and the relative in tension, allowing dialogue between them.

This is where I assert my postmodern right to subvert the modernist academic writing rules and acknowledge my position. I am female and live on the African continent, both features keeping me aware of the importance of remaining critical of the Discourses of power. I do believe that people construct meaning according to their interests and that these meanings act as gatekeepers to people outside that specific context. I do believe that meaning is therefore relative but also that the ideologies of the powerful are the ones that rule. Critical thinking is therefore crucial to awareness and then empowerment. This means that I must juggle the postmodern ideas of socially constructed meaning and the modernist belief in external rightness and wrongness, justice and injustice.

There is no easy way to bring my interest in social theory and my identities together. I find myself in a torrent of rushing ideas, all pulling me in different directions and I must hold them all and yet not give in to any; I must resist them all to remain in a my position.

With regards to this thesis my ontological position is situated between formal theoretical orientations rather than firmly within one single orientation, drawing on both

modernist and postmodernist values to explore the nature of meaning. Traditional, positivist paradigms would set researchers in a role where they are removed from the subject, set apart to objectively observe and investigate without involving their own values in the event. Researchers more involved in an interpretive position would oppose this view and assert that they are participants in the investigation, meaning that their values are significantly involved in the research planning and execution and therefore the results (Edge and Richards 1998).

Edge and Richards explore what they call, the “new paradigm diversity” (1998:339) which describes areas of new paradigms for qualitative researchers in the applied linguistic arena. Jennings and Graham (1996) suggest it is postmodernism that has breathed new influence into most schools of thought, research methodology notwithstanding. When designing the research process, I struggled to adapt the more structured paradigms to the investigation in question and was eager to engage with a framework that was flexible enough to be applied to such a new area of inquiry. According to Jennings and Graham (1996:270), “what postmodernism can provide is a new way of accepting that there are multiple representations of reality”. More directly though, a postmodern view of the research process would be one where the subject is, in Foucauldian terms,

...seen as occupying different subject-positions within discursive practices, positions which are produced by the power/knowledge relations of particular discourses. As such, the subject exists in process, only as partial, and sometimes non-rational ‘voices’ occupying sites or positions which might themselves be contradictory (Jennings and Graham 1996:271).

Edge and Richards (1998:340) outline three issues that appear when assuming an alternative stance to more traditional methods, issues that must be addressed to ensure that the research is structured within some kind of context. The first is of *position*, how is the work placed in relation to the array of schools and traditions of research? The second issue is that of *voice*, to what extent does the research provide opportunities for the participants to voice their own thoughts through media of their own choice? Lastly, through what *discourses* is the researcher going to represent the process? In answering these three questions, it emerges that this research project blurs boundaries between philosophical positions and draws tools from a range of research theory.

Using Edge and Richards’ (1998:341) loose definitions of constructivist and critical orientations, it can be said that this project rests on a couple of base theoretical assumptions. Reality is socially constructed, making the research process an interactive, joint construction of reality. Research is a process where the researcher is active, making the interaction and therefore the findings, value-laden.

It is interesting to ponder the question of who is being heard through research, whether the participants' or the researcher's voice is dominant. Edge and Richards (1998:341) claim that:

a rejection of the convenient rationalist separation of observer and observed has exposed lines of connection which have led researchers into direct engagement with the lives and practices of those whom they study... bringing new attempts to make space for the actual voices of those who have previously been merely represented.

Jennings and Graham suggest that postmodern approaches can provide a way to expose "dominant forms of discourse which silence non-dominant voices by power and power relationships...research should be concerned with deconstructing authoritative voices- those who speak for and behalf of others" (1996:275).

As a teacher in the school where this study is located, I had become aware that, though Zulu children are the majority group in the school, they were seldom heard above the dominant English, western discourse. For this reason the idea of giving voice to the participants in this study proved a highly motivating factor in the choice of data collection methods. Despite my good intentions, I accept that through transcribing, reporting, recording and analysing, the participants' voice has been filtered and ultimately edited to reflect my understanding of the process.

This project includes a range of communicative modes, the participants engaged in oral discussion-type interviews and a multi-layered, multi-modal performance which in itself included language, sound, gesture, use of space, dance and music. Though the thesis will incorporate sketches, photographs and video clips in the analysis, the dominant mode of presentation will be, according to academic conventions, the written form of a dissertation style report. Now, as mentioned above, this study reflects the representation of voice. It seems unfortunate that the participants, so orally and visually expressive in the data are reduced to an analysed, interpreted representation. Ultimately though, it must be acknowledged that any representation is subject to the framing, shaping and voice of the author, photographer, painter, director, composer or architect. It is important, therefore, to be open and state that despite attempts to draw out the participants' voice this project will be defined by its final written form and it is because of this that the voice of the researcher predominates.

According to Patai (*in* Walker 1996:39-49), relationships within the research process are always asymmetrical and even a pretence at solidarity with the interviewee is a fraud because the subject's processes are revealed to a far greater extent than the researcher's. Patai

takes this further though and urges that this can not be used as an excuse for paralysis of action, “we have to decide whether our research is worth doing, and in the doing of it to try and serve our stated goals” (*in Walker 1996:49*).

If it is to be understood that this research is framed by the researcher then it is important to describe, as explicitly and honestly as possible, features that might have direct bearing on the interpretations that I draw from the data. I am a white, English speaking, female who attended white, English medium model-C schools. I studied at a large liberal English university and became a teacher. I taught for a year at the school that this research takes place in. All of these features have raised questions with regard to my position as researcher. According to more traditional paradigms, being objective would be crucial to the accurate collection of data. In reality, nothing was objective about my position as researcher. I am a teacher and the school children-participants knew me in that role but I am also a researcher because the boundaries of classroom and curriculum were no longer present. I am white and was relating to ‘black’ participants. I am English and was asking questions about being Zulu. I am an adult and was working with a group of children. Edge and Richards assert that it is exactly these kinds of boundary issues that can lead to a richer, fuller understanding of the research,

...it is a concern for boundaries which leads some people to declare that they are ‘teachers’, as opposed to ‘researchers’, ‘academics’, ‘materials designers’ etc. but Postmodernists argue that we should resist the impulse to settle such ‘boundary’ questions. Instead, we should accept and explore the unsettled realities of our ‘in-between-ness’. Post-modernism, then, offers no unified research perspective within which to work but its challenge to conventional discourses, distinctions and boundaries offers the possibility of radical reconceptualizations of research and its representation (1998:347).

In summary then, I hold the belief that reality is socially constructed and that representations of reality are often dominated by voices of the powerful. I also hold that power is dependent on context, that every person or group holds some form of power in some context. To explore the voices of participants it is necessary to *create* an interactive, multimodal, joint construction of reality. Because any analysis process is subjective, in order to maximise the participant voice, it is necessary to openly state my position and explore the dominance that the analysis process automatically awards the voice of the researcher.

3.1.4. Methodological Choices

The sequence of methodological choices in the progression of this research project unfolded in the following way: firstly, an issue was identified. From my experience as a teacher in the school I became aware that the Zulu speaking students were facing some difficult

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

circumstances in terms of their proficiency in isiZulu and in English, and how people related to them because of the languages that they spoke in different situations. A group of eight learners were selected from the Zulu speaking students at the school; this focus group became the source of all data for this study. This group is a “bounded system, a single instance” (Nunan 1992:76) and therefore can be defined as a case study.

Nunan (1992) cites Adelman *et al.* and outlines some major advantages to choosing the case study as the method of research. These advantages show how the case study method suits the purposes of this research topic. The first mentioned is that the case study, compared to other methods of research, is “strong in reality” (*in* Nunan 1992:78). Other methods would apply to non-empirical research designs that work to build or analyse abstract theoretical models or philosophical concepts. A case-study deals with empirical data collected from real people in real settings (Mouton 2001). This held great appeal for me, as researcher and teacher, because I could relate the emerging issues to my experience in a classroom at the school.

The second advantage is that it can “represent a multiplicity of viewpoints, and can offer support to alternative interpretations” (Adelman *et al. in* Nunan 1992:78). A survey or questionnaire would only record the responses that were raised by the questions asked and could not be flexible or open enough to record issues that are not expected (Mouton 2001). The open, flexible nature of a case study was important, especially as the group was made up of seven individuals who, though they are all Zulu mother-tongue speakers, in the same year group and share the common experience of the school environment, they have different home situations, live in different neighbourhoods and ultimately, think their own thoughts. Also naturally drawn into the study are the viewpoints of influential people in the students’ lives, parents, teachers, friends and extended family.

The third strength is that the case study can be used and reinterpreted by future researchers (Adelman *et al. in* Nunan 1992:78). The study raises issues that are not simply going to dissolve away and will need direct addressing at some point. For these reasons it is surely important that any research into the issue be available for reference by other researchers.

Case studies can be used for “within-institution feedback” (Adelman *et al. in* Nunan 1992:78) possibly in the form of staff development. This would have been very applicable in the case of this research project. Teachers in the school are major players in the issue and, I

believe, needed to be presented with the findings. Obviously though, this kind of use is by invitation on the part of the school.

The final advantage was that case studies are more accessible to a wider audience than other forms of research (Adelman *et al. in* Nunan 1992:78). Because they are descriptive, empirical studies, the reading of case studies is not always dependent on understanding complicated scientific equations or abstract philosophical debate. It is my belief that the issues raised in the research and the study itself, as mentioned above, are of significant value to people out of the academic realm, to teachers, parents and to students who might have had similar experiences. To construct the study in such a way that the process itself is accessible makes sense if the desired audience is as varied as this.

The design of this study includes elements of ethnographic research which is qualitative in nature and aims to provide in-depth descriptions of groups or communities of people. These descriptions are “embedded in the life-worlds of the actors being studied and produce insider perspectives on the actors and their practices” (Mouton 2001:148). With qualitative research, especially research that is based on ethnographic methods, the value placed on principles of reliability and validity need to be reassessed. Because the case study, by definition, deals with a small number of participants the principle of generalization is not as simple as in more positivist paradigms (Nunan 1992). External reliability can be enhanced if the researcher is explicit about his or her status, how he or she selected participants, the social conditions of study, what constructs were used in analysis and the methods of data collection (Nunan 1992:59). Because the process is dependent on the persons involved, no other researcher could attain the *exact* results but with clear explanations of method, *similar* results could be attained by another researcher.

3.2. Method of Data Collection

Because this study began in the form of an honours thesis in 2002, with the majority of the data collection taking place then, the following section will begin with a discussion of the initial research design and the school context, followed by the 2002 data collection process which culminated with the performance. This will then be followed by a discussion of the data collected and processed in 2004, which includes follow-up interviews with the participants.

3.2.1. Research Design

When developing a research design, the researcher must establish a research purpose, “who or what do you want to draw conclusions about; and what type of conclusions do you want to draw about your object of analysis?” (Terreblanche and Durrheim 1999:37). In the first stage of this research project, completed in 2002, these two questions were easily identifiable. I wanted to find out more about how Zulu speaking students, at an ex-model C primary school, conceptualise their identities and I wanted the study to be of more value to the participants than is often the case in traditional research paradigms. I had a hypothesis about the students’ experiences and it was around this that I initiated the research plan. As in most research processes though, my assumptions proved too simplistic to capture the reality of the students’ stories (Alborough 2002).

It was the Olivantsvlei Fresh Stories Project, documented in Stein and Newfield (2002) that sparked an interest in developing the research process beyond a simple interviewer/interviewee interaction. In the Fresh Stories project multimodal pedagogies were implemented in a range of school classrooms with the view to:

...unleash creativity and agency in learners and teachers in unexpected ways; recontextualise the representation of learners’ identities; foreground issues of equity and value in relation to assessment practices and open up the third ground in the struggle between mainstream language and literacy practices and cultural difference (Stein and Newfield 2002:5).

I was reluctant to attempt to capture children’s thoughts and ideas only through transcribed interviews and perhaps some form of writing. I doubted that relying on these forms of data alone would provide adequate insight into the participants’ lives and I wanted to provide opportunities where the participants could create a representation of themselves in modes of their choice. Through this process, I hoped to not only elicit richer, more insightful data but also to provide the group with some kind of creative outlet for issues that might not otherwise be expressed. For these reasons I decided to mix the techniques of data collection. I set up interviews which would be transcribed, recorded observations in field notes and then encouraged the group to work on a collaborative project which would be carried over a number of weeks and presented to an audience of their choice.

In continuing the project I am basing my study on un-analysed data, collected in 2002 under the conditions of the initial research design. Added to this is the follow-up interview with the participants which was pursued for reasons of triangulation, to verify the representations in the performance and to gauge changes in their positions over time.

3.2.2. The School Context

As discussed in chapter 1, the school in this thesis, being an ex-model C school and therefore traditionally white, was extremely privileged under an Apartheid government and was equipped with good facilities and grounds and educationally advantaged staff. This means that the school today is advantaged with its large grounds, solid buildings, swimming pool, tennis courts, playing fields and its staff which is still predominantly white and therefore also privileged by their past education in schools like this one. It should be noted however, that in spite of the staff's access to superior education, having the majority of staff being white and English speaking is now also a disadvantage. They do not have fluency in African languages nor do they have insight into the backgrounds of many of their learners. These are significant disadvantages but ones that remain unrecognised by the school. In terms of school facilities and economic capital, the school is seen to provide superior education compared to schools in the townships which were traditionally black and therefore enormously disadvantaged in terms of facilities and enormous staff/pupil ratios. It is not surprising therefore, that black parents want their children at a school like this one, it's a government school and therefore affordable but remains, because of its past privilege, a 'good' educational facility.

Since the collapse of Apartheid the area is termed a multiracial area though the properties in the suburb are still owned largely by middle class, white families. The school's demographics have changed radically over the last ten years and children of different races travel to the school from all over town. The children who come to the school are from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. The school is very near the local university with the result that some children are from middle class families with academic parents. Though the school fees are low, relative to private schools, and work on a sliding scale according to income, the fees are higher than many of the lower income parents can afford. These families tend to live in the townships on the outskirts of town that were allocated to black people during Apartheid where property is cheaper though amenities fewer. The children that live in these areas must travel a long way to the school by mini-bus taxi. Some children's families live in rural areas and the children live with distant relatives or board in the townships.

The school incorporates eight year-groups ranging from a pre-school, grade nought through to grade seven. Each grade has four classes of roughly thirty-five children per class, meaning that over a thousand children attend the school. In the senior primary grades, from grade four to seven, the learners are graded into one 'express' class, that creams off the top

thirty-five achievers, and three mixed ability classes. The majority of children in the express class are white and English speaking.

With the exception of one black and one Indian teacher, the staff is white. The school's language policy makes it an English medium school, so that all subjects are taught in English except for the teaching of Afrikaans as a second language. Zulu classes are implemented in grade seven at a third language level.

3.2.3. The 2002 Data Collection Process

The first step in the process of data collection was to gain access to the school. I was fortunate to have worked at the school the previous year and so knew the principal and staff. An advantage to knowing the school was that I had worked within the system and had a good understanding of how to best approach the principal with regard to working around the school schedules. I had also done a small-scale language research project in the beginning of the year with one student. That study had been successful and had been well received by the principal who had initially been skeptical about the imposition of having university researchers disrupting the timetable. For this study I proposed that the sessions take place after school to ensure that no classes were disrupted and that I approach those children who wait for most of the afternoon for working parents to fetch them. The sessions would take place on a Friday afternoon when school closed early and when sport was not officially time-tabled. I had planned to work around the school system so that there were no logistical reasons for being refused access. The principal agreed and I set up a meeting with the grade seven teachers to select children who I could then approach and ask if they wanted to join the study.

I chose to work with grade seven students for a number of reasons. Firstly, I knew the four grade seven teachers well and was confident that they would accommodate my plan. Secondly, I had taught grade six the previous year and so knew many of the children in the grade, either through direct teaching or through sport coaching, school camps, plays etc. I had had an easy, friendly relationship with many of the children and reasoned that a form of trust had been established with the year group. This would be an advantage when it came to interview situations that could be intimidating if attempted with a stranger or with a known authoritative personality. The fact that I had been in a teacher role meant that, in the beginning, I would have to re-iterate that I was no longer a teacher in the school and so confidentiality was uppermost in my decision making through out the research process. The

third reason that I intended to work with grade seven children was that I anticipated the potential for conflict between students and the school system. I was aware that there were issues that seemed never to be discussed at school. Bringing them into the open amongst the participants might bring some kind of change in attitude towards teachers or the system itself and vice versa. The participants, being in grade seven, would be leaving the school in a matter of two weeks after the end of the study.

I met with the four grade seven teachers and they selected two children per class who I could approach and invite to join my focus group. I wanted the participants to be from all four classes in order to gather varied experience of different teachers. The two requirements I had given were that the children should be Zulu speaking and that I wanted a range of ability and mixed sex. I wanted the group to be as representative of Zulu speaking children in the grade as possible. Asking teachers to choose across the 'ability' spectrum was much deliberated. It is a difficult term to define and I did not specify an 'ability to do...' I can not say how the teachers understood the request nor how they selected the children according to their 'ability', if they did at all. My prediction was that the teachers would select cooperative students who would be safely expressive but not anarchist. This turned out to be the case.

I had stressed that participation was voluntary and that I did not want to disrupt any extra mural activities in the process. One teacher stated clearly that his basketball boys were out of the question as their practices were on a Friday afternoon, the time arranged for our meetings. The teacher of the express class only had two Zulu speaking students in her class and so they were selected automatically. After the eight learners had been selected I arranged with the teachers to meet the group briefly to explain the proposal, ask them if they wanted to join me and then to give each child a permission slip for their parents to sign (see Appendix D).

The group consisted of four boys and four girls. One of the boys came to the first session and appeared to lose interest after that. His subsequent appearance was haphazard and then he stopped coming altogether. The remaining seven students met with me on a Friday afternoon in an empty classroom for an hour and half over six weeks. The first three sessions took the form of unstructured discussion-type interviews. I had decided to interview the group together, as this would allow more reticent participants to hold back until they felt comfortable speaking. Another advantage of this style of interview was that a comment from one participant would elicit another from some one else, changing an interview into a conversation. I chose to participate in a predominantly listening role, sometimes guiding the

conversation back to the main issues by asking a question. At these moments I was an outsider, who knew very little about their experience and was being informed by the group. At other times though, the discussion seemed to carry itself and the participants addressed each other more than they did me.

An important issue to be mentioned is the language that these sessions were conducted in. The primary language was English, partly because I was facilitating the process and partly, it seemed, because the sessions were taking place at school where English predominates. I had stated that the participants could converse in whatever language they chose but I was aware that because an English speaking adult was making that statement, meant that it was probably discounted. There is no doubt that my status as a white, English-speaking teacher/researcher determined, to a large extent, the data that I elicited. How comfortable would these children be, telling a white adult how they *really* felt about white adults? To attain an even fuller understanding of the situation would have required the addition of similar sessions conducted by black, Zulu speaking researchers where the group could perhaps speak more openly about their feelings for white English speaking people. I do believe though that I was given access to thoughts and feelings about black and Zulu speaking people that perhaps the participants would not have felt comfortable sharing with a Zulu speaker but at the same time, I am certain that the reverse is also true. Due to the relatively small scale of this project and time constraints, resources were accordingly limited and I was unable to employ a Zulu speaking researcher to work with me. I had to rely on the hope that by emphasizing my loyalty to the group over the school, they would trust me to keep their views and opinions of their teachers and friends confidential.

It became apparent later that the participants rarely, if ever, spoke about the conflicts involved in their identities. No space was given for this type of discussion at school and little talk of this kind took place amongst themselves. After the study one participant, Pumzile, revealed that, through talking openly with the others, she had discovered she was not alone:

Phumzile: Maybe I thought I was the only one and now I can see that it's not only me, most of the people are like that.

(Post performance video interview)

The interview sessions were taped and later transcribed as best as possible, using rough translations of the Zulu comments that did appear in the discussions (see Appendix A and B).

The most significant event for the participants was the collaborative exercise. I had made it clear that they could choose any mode of expression, whether it be some kind of

artefact that they made together or something that they wrote, sang, danced or acted. When it was first discussed, the group reached a unanimous decision to put together some kind of theatrical performance which they would then present to their friends, parents and a few teachers (Alborough 2002). This was set in motion during the third week of the study.

I was more than a little apprehensive about the idea of a performance. It had occurred to me in the beginning stages of the process, when it was still to be decided what mode of presentation was to be chosen, that I would have much preferred something a little more static, a little more anonymous and much more abstract that would require more interpretation on the audience's part. Something like a big painting or a sculpture that would not literally shout the experiences of the group. Even though I would have preferred something like this, I knew from teaching this age group that because children this age love the idea of performing for an audience, these students would jump at the chance to perform on stage.

Talking it over with my supervisor of the time I began to get an inkling of just how risky a performance might be. The ethical considerations in such an event are many, the possible consequences, scary. What if teachers took offense at the representations of themselves? What if this negatively affected how teachers or classmates treated them? What if this process made the children rebellious and impossible to teach? Relative to the usual honours project though, this was adventurous and my supervisor was keen for me to go ahead, not to mention that I had already begun the process and the learners had chosen the performance mode. To stop or override their chosen mode of representation was just as problematic, so I went ahead and tried to keep a vague handle on things that be overtly offensive or inappropriate. Though I thought I was doing this, I realised when having the performance translated from isiZulu into English, that the children had actually included some risqué comments about teachers that the children in the audience had found hilarious and which had successfully skipped past the teachers and myself.

Certain themes had begun to emerge in the discussion sessions and I drew these out as a possible basic structure of the performative representation. These were accepted by the group and we divided the drama into four domains where their experience of speaking isiZulu and English takes place: a traditionally rural scene, a school classroom, a home scene and lastly, an urban scene. The students informally 'scripted' and choreographed the scenes and I added my comments about clarity of sound, volume and positioning so the audience could see them. The participants thrashed out ideas of structure which were negotiated by the group

and then put in place. I raised the issue that the English audience might be missing out on important meanings during Zulu dialogue and might need translations. We decided that written translations in the form of big flash cards would work and not disrupt the flow of the performance. These worked for the live audience but are not successfully captured on video. Another suggestion that was taken up by the group was to differentiate themselves with the use of black and white shirts to represent Zulu and English speakers respectively. This was for the audience's benefit so they could have some insight into the action.

Performance day arrived after we had met for the past three sessions to practice and run through the performance. They had by this time established the scenes and just needed to go through them to accustom themselves to the process.

The group chose to present their performance to the grade six and seven classes with their teachers. The performance was videotaped by a teacher in the school who I had befriended while teaching the same year group. I made use of the video camera after the performance to briefly interview each of the seven participants to find out what they had thought of the process as a whole.

Altogether then, the initial collection of data was made up of a range of representations including transcripts of the interviews, field notes and a videotape recording of the performance.

3.2.4. The 2004 Data Collection Process

My honours project was based primarily on the transcripts and field notes. Because the project was small the video was left largely unanalysed. It made sense then to continue the study into a Masters dissertation by focussing analysis on the videoed performance.

Performance Transcripts

I began by transcribing the videoed performance (see Appendix E) and found the performance to be more complex than I had remembered. Having thought the structure of the scenes would determine where English and isiZulu would be spoken (ie. only English spoken in the School scene), I realised that the two languages were mixed throughout the performance. I then had to have the performance transcribed and then translated into English so that I could analyse it in detail. Because the isiZulu spoken was colloquial and a dialect particular to the Pietermaritzburg area I had to source a translator from the area who was young enough and accustomed to urban living to understand the colloquialisms used, but also

having enough Zulu competence to be able to transcribe the isiZulu. I eventually found the perfect person in Gugu Buthelezi, a bilingual law student from Pietermaritzburg. Even so, upon analysing the transcripts I found anomalies in the text which had to be confirmed through phone calls to my bilingual father and eventually a consultation with Sindiso Mnisi, another bilingual law student studying in Cape Town.

Follow-Up Interview

Having already collected the primary data source, I thought it would be of interest to return to the participants nearly two years later and find out how relevant the representations in the performance still were. Through a friend who is still teaching at the school in which the study took place, I managed to trace two of the seven original participants and made telephone contact. I arranged to return to Pietermaritzburg and meet with the 2002 group for a follow-up interview. Because the participants were now attending different high schools, the two that I had spoken to had to network through their friends and neighbours to get hold of the others, meaning that I had to rely on the two participants organising the rest of the group. One of the participants had moved to Durban and the other was sick on the day so the original group was reduced to two girls and two boys. During that meeting, which I taped, we talked about their new schools and the time that had lapsed since we last met. The discussion, much like the initial interviews, was semi-structured by myself guiding the talk with a question here and there, but it was free-flowing discussion rather than a sequence of questions and answers. The interview was subsequently transcribed (see Appendix C).

3.2.5. Ethical Considerations

I had gained access to the school through the school principal, writing a letter outlining the study and seeking his permission (see Appendix D). He agreed and we set up a meeting with him to talk about the details of the process. Once the group was established I obtained written permission from their parents.

There was no need to withhold information from the participants. The students knew me from the year before, 2001, when I had worked at the school as a grade six teacher. They knew that I was no longer a teacher but a student at the local university and was studying language and cultural issues. Because of the collaborative, creative nature of the research process and the necessity for their full participation, it was important that they know the ends of the research and understand why they were involved in the study. I therefore explained what I was studying at university and that when I had been teaching at the school, I had

wondered about the way Zulu speaking children at the school conceptualised their identity. I had made it clear to the group that participation was voluntary and they could leave at any time in the process. One participant did lose interest and stopped coming to the sessions.

Confidentiality during the interview process was relatively simple. I had worked to emphasise to the group that I was no longer a teacher and had no official obligation to report to the principal or other teachers. I assured the group that what was said in the process was completely confidential, that if any of their comments were used, their names and the name of the school would be changed.

When it came to the performance and subsequently the video thereof, confidentiality became more complex. The children, when acting were making statements about their experience at the school and of teachers. I had attempted, at the beginning of the performance, to emphasize to the audience that the stories were fictional and the represented teacher was not a specific teacher in the school but a fictional character. Whether this was believed or not, I cannot say. The video too is problematic. Though I have changed all names in the included excerpts from interviews and in the performance, the participants' faces are still visible and recognisable. All I could do was talk to the group about how they felt about people seeing them acting. They not only gave their permission but wanted people to see the performance, feeling that it is powerful and might get spectators to think about the issues. They have since left the school and are now attending different high schools spread around Kwa-Zulu Natal. It seems more unethical to deny them their opportunity to be heard, than to hide their faces because of a risk that someone might recognise them. They wanted and still want to be heard.

3.3. Method of Data Analysis

The corpus was made up of:

- *transcriptions of the pre-performance interviews, recorded and transcribed in 2002*
- *field notes from the performance process in 2002*
- *a video of the performance*
- *transcriptions of the follow-up interview, recorded and transcribed in 2004*
- *field notes from consultation with Sindiso Mnisi*

It is difficult to separate data collection from data analysis because the process of analysis seems to begin at the site where data is collected as the researcher thinks through what is being said and responds. At the same time, the process of analysis yielded new data.

In order to analyse the videoed performance it was necessary to transcribe the verbal content of the performance as well as the audience's responses to the actors. It also became necessary to capture still frames of the performance. All of these analysis demands produced new data making it difficult to sequence the process clearly; it was not as straight forward as simply collecting the data and then analysing it.

3.3.1. Social Semiotic Analysis

My focal question for this research question asks how the Discourses and identities of the participants are represented through the performance. It was a primary intention of the project to apply a social semiotic analysis and explore the multimodal nature of the data. The way that I chose to do this was through sampling critical moments from the video and then applying various methods of analysis to each moment. These methods included a textual analysis of the video transcript, mapping the audience response onto this transcript and using Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar (1996) to analyse still frames from the video. Each of these methods will be discussed more fully below.

Though Fairclough's viewpoints often seem to be received with contention, I found his practical breakdown of discourse analysis (1992) useful. The beginning stage of my discourse analysis was the sample selection from the large body of data. Some researchers code the whole corpus thematically (Fairclough 1992) but I chose instead to sample critical moments from the performance. Because the performance is so clearly structured into scenes, representing social domains, it seemed sensible in order to cover the whole performance, to sample a moment from each scene. Regarding this problem, Fairclough suggests that "samples should be carefully selected on the basis of a preliminary survey of the corpus...so that they yield as much insight as possible into the contribution of discourse to the social practice under scrutiny" (1992:230). How one judges whether a particular sample provides the best insight possible is a highly subjective process. To select the critical moments in the performance I surveyed the entire performance and identified points that I thought captured an essence of conflict, a point where "aspects of practice which might normally be naturalized, and therefore difficult to notice" (Fairclough 1992:230) are made visible.

For the first three scenes, the selection of a critical moment was straight forward. In the last two scenes, the Urban and Closing scenes, because they were simpler in terms of structure, I used the entire scene for analysis. This is summarised in table 3.1. Fairclough describes "a constant alternation of focus from the particularity of the discourse sample, to

the type(s) of discourse which it draws upon” (1992:231). This describes the process that then ensued, a constant backwards and forwards between the level of the text and the broader social practices which seemed to be represented.

Sample Selection	
Scenes	Critical Moments
1) Traditional scene	Boys Herding
2) School scene	“English Only”
3) Home scene	“isiZulu Only”
4) Urban scene	
5) Closing scene	

Table 3.1 Sample Selection

As I combed systematically through the text of each critical moment, I superimposed the audience response on to the actors’ dialogue (see Appendix E). This allowed me, an outsider to the social practices associated with being Zulu and black in an ex-Model C school, to isolate comments that signalled issues for the insider audience. Loud laughter from the audience, for example, signalled a joke or something daring and I would then look more closely at that particular feature.

Because the project is concerned with multimodal texts, it was important to extend the analysis beyond the language used and look at other modes. This I attempted through a elements of Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework of social semiotic analysis, outlined in their book *Reading Images* (1996). In this book Kress and van Leeuwen describe a grammar for visual images which provides grammatical terminology and grammatical structures for visual images, much like the grammatical features used in language. When applied to images the grammatical features can provide insight into how participants in the image relate to each other. In this study, this is done firstly through the participants’ actions; these are called Action Processes in visual grammar. The second feature that this study uses is the way participants position themselves relative to each other in the frame and relative to the viewer; this is called the Horizontal Angle. The third way this study uses visual grammar to gain insight is through the participants’ gaze, called Reactional Processes. Analysing how participants relate to each other is a primary aim of the study because insight into interaction allows the researcher to access the values and practices that different groups’ membership is evaluated by. These practices and values can then point to the Discourses that are at work.

In order to begin this analysis I needed to translate the video into still images which could be analysed. I only managed to convert the video into digital format and then digital still frames fairly late in the process and needed to begin the analysis as soon as possible. I

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

decided to produce sketches at particular points in the critical moments. These I executed in pencil on white paper (see Figure 3.1). Having done a range of sketches I then chose the clearest, scanned them into a digital format and analysed them according to Kress and van Leeuwen's grammatical features (1996). When I eventually managed to capture still photographs from the video, I found that they were not as useful as the sketches; because they were taken from a moving image most were too blurred to be useful for close analysis.

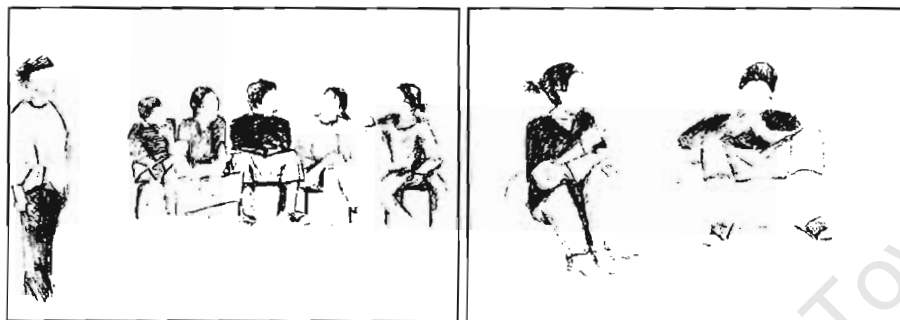


Figure 3.1 Example of Sketches

Apart from the logistic value of being able to begin analysis straight away, the act of sketching was of great value to the interpretive process. Having decided which critical moments to focus on, I had to watch these short moments and select a few frames that somehow captured what I thought the moment was about. This was a highly subjective act because it meant that I was selecting according to my impression of the moment before I had officially begun to analyse the moment. I selected frames that included the focal participants of the moment, for example the School scene needed to include all the participants while the Home scene needed only to include the two participants on stage (see figure 3.1). In doing this I was excluding other moments and other participants who were off stage. I also selected the frames according to whether they captured an action or an interaction that I thought was significant, for example in the School scene and the Home scene (see figure 3.1) I chose frames where both actors in the scenes are pointing their fingers at another participant signalling what I interpreted as a sense of threat. This means that I deliberately chose scenes that were going to yield the kind of information I wanted, making the process very subjective.

Another interpretive implication of the sketches is that the participants are without faces and are in black and white, this meant that I had to use the corresponding photographs to add meaning through colour and detail. The sketching process was important because it involved a number of interpretive choices which had the combined result of narrowing the focus of analysis.

I found the Urban scene problematic because of its difference in style, language and structure. It unsettled me that having been so outspoken about the complexity of the language and alienation issues in school and at home, they could, in this scene, be so completely accepting of English and more especially of American practices. Where the other scenes were structured around the conflict between an insider group and an outsider, the Urban scene lacked this essential structural feature. Unlike the Traditional, School and Home scenes, the Urban scene did not tell a story but rather seemed to show an urban style. Because the Urban scene was lacking this structural feature of insider group and outsider, it was difficult to choose a definitive critical moment to sketch and then analyse according to Kress and van Leeuwen's framework (1996). So instead of a close visual analysis, I looked in detail at what the scene signalled through clothing and accents and language content in terms of global social influences. I found that the Urban and Closing scenes opened an opportunity to look back to the first set of interviews and compare the participants' opinions and feelings about popular culture and the media. Instead of sketches I included sequences of the still photographs to capture the essence of the two scenes.

In addition to the close analysis of the scenes, I also took an analytical step back from the data and looked for more general meanings that ran through the performance as a whole. This involved a square metre of paper upon which I set up a large table with a category per column. The categories, which I applied to the performance, included the modes of language (see Appendix F), register (see Appendix G), the use of objects on stage, the use of additional sound and the use of space (see Appendix H).

The table was useful because it allowed me to not only look at the performance as a whole, but also to juxtapose the scenes and examine the changes that took place between the scenes. The table's value was that it managed to hold a position of a more general perspective, a position that allows insight into the bigger structure of the performance and a continuity of particular features (see Appendices F, G and H).

3.4. Conclusion

This methodology chapter begins with a discussion of the ontological perspectives that I, as the researcher, have taken. It explains the difficult position of maintaining a balance between a postmodern relativism and a critical stance of examining issues of power and injustice. This leads into a description of the methodological choices that resulted in this research project taking the form of a case study.

The following section of the chapter describes the method of data collection which is divided into two parts, the 2002 data collection which yielded the video taped performance and the 2004 follow up interviews.

The chapter concludes with the method of data analysis and explains the multimodal nature of this process. It includes a description of the data sampling process and the analytical framework of visual grammar that was essential in analysing still frames taken from the performance.

University of Cape Town

4. Scene Analysis

4.1. Introduction

The following analysis seeks to answer the question of how the group of Zulu speaking, ex-’Model C’ students represent themselves through a performance. What can a spectator read about the discourses and identities that work in the actors’ lives? The analysis is based on the premise that represented discourses and identities are carried through more than simply the single mode of language, but also through the visual mode, the audio mode, the gestural mode and the spatial mode (Cope and Kalantzis 2000: 28). This analysis attempts to track meaning through these modes to move towards a rounder, fuller understanding of how this group of students position themselves in their families, in their peer groups, in their school, in their cultures, in the world.

The analysis will follow the structure of the performance, moving chronologically through the scenes (see Table 4.1). In each scene the actors play out stories that have been composed through actual experiences and through the desire to tell others about their feelings, their opinions and their desire for change. The opportunity to tell these stories to an audience (see section 3.2.3) which included friends, teachers and some parents was an unusual opportunity for this group of children to, through the authority of the stage, speak, sing and dance their stories uninterrupted. Some of these stories are visibly framed by clear beginning and end points while others are far more subtle, the stories running simultaneously through the scene.

Performance Structure	
Scene	Stories within Scenes
1) Traditional scene	Song and Dance
	Boys Herding
	Water Carriers
2) School scene	Teacher / Students
	’Model C’ / Teacher
	’Model C’ / Insider Group
3) Home scene	With Ma
	With Gogo
4) Urban scene	
5) Closing scene	

Table 4.1 Performance Structure

Three of the five scenes have an actor representing a 'Model C' character. This name refers to a system of categorising schools under the Apartheid system. 'Model C', as discussed in chapter 1, refers to a state school which, under an apartheid government, was reserved for white children only. Since 1992, these schools have been opened to children of all races. These schools, now known as ex-model C schools, still have the historical benefit of superior resources and their media of instruction are still largely English or Afrikaans. Many black students who attend these schools have an African language as their primary language but learn through English or Afrikaans at school. Because they are immersed in an English or Afrikaans environment, they often learn to speak the new language with the accent of the mother tongue speakers around them, meaning that they might speak English like a white English speaker. Apart from the language acquisition they would also be required to wear the uniform of the school, participate in the sports that are offered at the school and move in social circles that include white children. They might also participate in the white, middle class social past-times of going to movies, spending time in shopping malls, listening to Eurocentric music amongst others.

Because many black children still live in the areas that were officially allocated to black people under Apartheid, the children who attend ex-model C schools, often might appear very different to the children in their neighbourhoods who attend the local schools which are still predominantly attended by black students. Many of these 'township' schools have the local African language as their medium of instruction and teach English or Afrikaans as an additional language. The term 'Model C' marks a child as attending a white school and therefore speaking English like a white person and actually becoming white. Other terms applied in the same circumstances are 'coconut' or 'oreo', an American biscuit or cookie which is dark brown with a white icing filling. Both of these names, along with 'Model C', are derogatory and describe the bearer as being 'brown' or 'black' on the outside and 'white' on the inside, appearing to be markers of betrayal and signalling the status of outsider.

At various stages in this analysis it became necessary to name the seven children who took part in the discussion groups and performance in order to give the reader an idea of the way in which their individual characters influenced the process. For reasons of confidentiality their real names have been changed but replaced with Zulu names that still indicate each character's sex to aid the reader's picture of each child (Table 4.2).

Name	Sex	Age in 2002
Noma	Female	13
Nandi	Female	13
Minnie	Female	13
Bonga	Male	13
Sipho	Male	12
Sizwe	Male	13
Pumzile	Female	12

Table 4.2 Research Participants

As described in the methodology chapter, a critical moment has been chosen from each scene which will be closely analysed through the different modes. These critical moments provide incisive depth to the analysis and will be followed by a broader discussion of the performance as a whole, tracking themes through the performance and looking at the shifting space between the scenes.

Though each scene was constructed with a declared intention of simply representing the participants' experience, it is not easy to identify particular characters that embody the actors' experience. A simple assumption to make would be that because the children attend an ex-model C school, they would identify with the 'Model C' characters in the stories. The representation seems to be far more complex than that. This performance piece is unlike a usual theatrical production performed by actors who are quite separate from the characters they play. The actors in this performance are not simply anonymous bodies enacting the experience of a foreign character through a pre-written script because the performance is based on their own experience, making it difficult to separate the represented from the real, the actor from the character. All actors have a dual status while performing. They are simultaneously present as themselves, the actor, who can be evaluated according to how well they do their job on stage, but they are also present as the character they are representing (Pavis 1996: 59). In this particular performance there are certainly instances where this dual status is very clear, for example in the scene that takes place at school there is a teacher character that is represented by one of the actors. Here it is clear that the actor can be seen to hold the dual status of actor and character but in other instances where the actor plays a character that could be a direct representation of him or herself, the line between actor and character is more blurred.

In preparation for the performance, each scene was discussed, the setting decided upon and then the scene was created through improvisation and practice. At no stage was a script written. This means that the actors improvised and created according to their own

knowledge, their own experience of situations and their own feelings and opinions. This informality of process and structure often makes it difficult to identify during analysis, the difference between actor and character, actual and represented. It might be helpful to bear in mind that all the actors are performing according to their own reading of the Discourses that work in such settings and therefore perhaps recontextualising their experiences, their opinions and their feelings into performed representations. The idea behind the performance was for it to be a creative representation of the participants' identity. It has been established in the literature review that the concept of identity is fluid, dynamic and highly complex (Barker 1999). In fact, the concept in its complexity is perhaps better suited to the plural form of 'identities' rather than the singular.

To follow this line of thinking means that the participants' identities cannot simply be neatly packaged as a single character in the performance but that every character in the performance somehow allows a glimpse into a facet of the actors' identities.

4.2. The Traditional Scene

4.2.1. Setting the Scene

The Traditional scene was intended by the actors to represent their experience in traditional, more rural settings. Most of the group had extended family living outside of the city who they would visit on special occasions. The gist of the actors' intentions was to portray their own feelings when they had to interact with people who lived a more rural existence, spoke a more traditional form of isiZulu than is heard in the city, and seemed to have more knowledge of traditional practices. This scene consists of three distinct stories which have clear beginnings and endings and run consecutively. The first story begins with Nandi, Noma, Pumzile and Bonga playing traditional singing/dancing games (See figure 4.1). On the far left of the stage is the outsider, the 'Model C' character played by Minnie in this scene. Unfortunately the teacher who I had approached to video the performance did not see her as part of the action and left her out of the video frame. She stands to the side, trying to follow the dancing but looking confused because she doesn't know the dance sequences or the words. Nandi as one of the insiders steps out of the dance and insults her for not knowing the formulaic songs and games, telling her to stop acting like a 'Model C'. It was only at this point that the audience including the cameraman realised Minnie was an actor and from this point on, he took a wider frame which encompassed more of the space.



Figure 4.1 Traditional Dancing



Figure 4.2 Fetching Water



Figure 4.3 Courting

Go to movie clip 1 on CD: Traditional Dancing

In the next part of the scene, Bonga, Sipho and Sizwe are herding cattle back into a kraal. This time Sipho is the 'Model C'. He gets in the way of the other two herders who try to keep him out of the way. Eventually the action stops and Sipho is pushed aside and told by Bonga that he is useless and must go back to the city where he came from.

Go to movie clip 2 on CD: Boys Herding

The last sequence of the scene involves the four girls taking containers to the river to collect water (See figure 4.2). They sing as they walk along with the containers balanced on their heads. Pumzile is the last girl in the line and in this scene she plays the 'Model C'.

She is not singing and she carries her bucket by the handle at her side. She takes too long at the river and is left behind. Sipho meets her there and begins to court her in a traditional way, dancing around her and talking very fast in isiZulu (See figure 4.3). She doesn't understand him and tells him, in English, to leave her alone. She also is told to go back to the city where she belongs.

Go to movie clip 3 on CD: Fetching Water

Each little story in this scene has a common narrative thread, the group who has insider knowledge and experience in the rural setting are expert in the practices while the 'Model C' character is made an outsider because of his or her ineptness. The communication of this exclusion is carried through language, through facial expression, through gesture and through the action of the stories. The task of isolating a critical moment in the scene was influenced by a couple of features. The story of the boys herding cows stood out immediately. The pace of the story is fast and it is noisy and confusing all of which make it seem highly evocative. The meaning is carried not only through what the boys say to each other but also through the shouts and whistles, the fast movement and their physical engagement with each other.

4.2.2. Exploring Critical Moment 1: Boys Herding

The title for this critical moment (Boys Herding) points to more than the obvious cattle herding context of the story. It captures the idea of boys running together in groups or gangs where belonging has status and where that insider status is tested and bestowed or denied depending on each boy's performance. In this scene the herd of cattle is imaginary; its presence suggested only by the lowing produced by the girls from off-stage. The herd of boys however is real and is key to the meaning of the story (See figures 4.4, 4.5 & 4.6).

The basic narrative of insider knowledge and outsider exclusion that threads through each story in the traditional scene is, in this moment, carried in powerful ways. It speaks through the linguistic and audio modes, carrying meaning through the dialogue and additional sound. The sense of exclusion is also expressed through the way the actors use their bodies on stage to isolate the 'Model C' character.

This particular moment is striking because of its pace. It stands apart from the other two stories in the scene which are slower and more composed. This story is fast moving, loud and confusing in the beginning as the boys side-step and dart amongst the cows, shouting "Azingene izinkomo! Azingene izinkomo!" (The cows must come in! The cows must come in!). The urgent pace of the movement is matched by the shouts and high pitched whistles, with the sound of cattle lowing as a base note. The confusion of sound and movement makes this part of the scene difficult for the audience to decipher but perhaps is effective for this very reason, as it echoes the confusion and excitement of Siphso as the 'Model C', trying to keep up with the action.

Bonga and Sizwe, in their shouting of the command and whistling appear to be practiced at herding cows while Siphso, the 'Model C' character, is clumsy and gets in the way of the other two boys. They push him to the side and again he gets under their feet so they push him out of the way again. One more time he gets in the way so Sizwe holds his arm across Siphso, blocking him as the 'Model C' from the action with his arm and his body. Suddenly the pace dramatically changes with a halt of the action and the whistling. Siphso faces the audience and Bonga and Sizwe as the two insiders stand facing him, with their backs to the audience. Siphso is much smaller than either of the insiders and is now outnumbered two to one. There is a palpable sense of threat in the moment.

*Bonga (INSIDER): [gesturing with his arm and pointing up and out]
Awusuke wena! Awusuke wena, ave ubheda kumele uphindele edolobheni! (Move away! Move away, you are useless you must go back to the city!)*

Siphso ('MODEL C'): What did I do? What did I do? You guys are so lame!

Bonga (INSIDER): Ave ubheda, hawu! (You are useless, [exclamation of disapproval or surprise])

(Video Transcript 2002:3)



Figure 4.4 Boys Herding 1



Figure 4.5 Boys Herding 2



Figure 4.6 Boys Herding 3

During translation an interesting point was raised by the Zulu translator, noting the choice of words spoken by Bonga in the statement “Awusuke wena, ave ubheda kumele uphindele edolobheni!” The word ‘ubheda’ is usually used in reference to the act of speaking, meaning ‘you are speaking rubbish’. In this instance, Sipho had not said anything yet so he couldn’t be speaking rubbish meaning that Bonga has used the word out of context. This seems to be a tiny window into the perpetual tension between actor and character. Here Bonga is playing a rural boy who is fluent in formal isiZulu and in the traditional practices of a rural Zulu culture. However Bonga has actually always lived in the city and is, at this stage, neither fluent in isiZulu nor the practices. At such a point, where his use of isiZulu is inaccurate, it is almost as if we slide momentarily out of the fiction that seemed real a moment ago into reality where Bonga is an actor who is in the process of creating a represented world.

In the represented world of the performance, Sipho’s difference (as the ‘Model C’) is marked not only through his active inability to join in the practise of herding cows but it is also clearly signalled in his attempt to defend himself. The two insiders speak only isiZulu and he responds, showing his ignorance of the situation. His words “What did I do? What did I do?” suggest he did not realise that his herding attempts were evaluated and assessed by the insiders as a failure. His choice to protest in English rather than isiZulu only distances him further from the others, a separation that is concretised by his use of the Americanism “You guys are so lame!” This style of speaking appears to be particularly associated with urban living where access to film and television introduce American-style practice. If anything is going to mark this character as a child from the city, it is going to be this link to urban discourses.

To explore this critical moment further, it is necessary to delve into the visual carriers of meaning according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996).

4.2.3. Exploring the Visual Mode

An analytical feature of Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) method of analysis is the concept of participant interaction. This feature is of special interest with regards to this analysis because it links back to the discussion of the difference between actor and character. Kress and van Leeuwen distinguish between the roles of participants saying that represented participants are the “people, the places and things depicted in images [while] interactive participants [are] the

people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images”(1996:119). During the actual performance the actors were interactive participants, they were creating the text through speaking and acting. At the same time though, some were also represented participants because they were playing a fictional role as a grandmother or a traditional dancer or a teacher. In every scene there was at least one actor who was actually representing their own experience; they were playing themselves which means that they can not really be allocated to either role alone, they were inextricably both producer and represented participant.

Now looking at the video of that performance, the situation is again complex. Both audience and actors were present at the performance which meant that the relationship between interactive participants was a relatively direct one. The audience responded to the actors with laughter or exclamations and the actors responded to the audience’s reactions by smiling and speaking louder above the audience’s laughter. When viewing the video, there is no direct link between producer and viewer, a disjunction that causes

...social relations to be represented rather than enacted. Because the producers are absent from the place where the actual communicative transaction is completed, from the locus of reception, they cannot say ‘I’ other than through a substitute ‘I’. Even when the viewer receives an image of the real author...that image is only an image, a double of the ‘real author’, a representation, detached from his or her actual body (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:121).

So the video of the performance is doubly layered because it is, in its performance, a representation constructed by the group of participants but then the video makes it a representation of the representation. To complicate matters further, my act of sketching from the video has added another layer of representation and the act of explaining the whole process in this essay had added yet another layer. This merely reiterates the complexity and subjectivity of the process.

4.2.4. Exploring the Action Process

This drawing captures the point at which Bonga says:

Bonga (INSIDER): Ave ubheda, hawu!
(You are useless, [exclamation of disapproval or surprise])
(Video Transcript 2002:3)

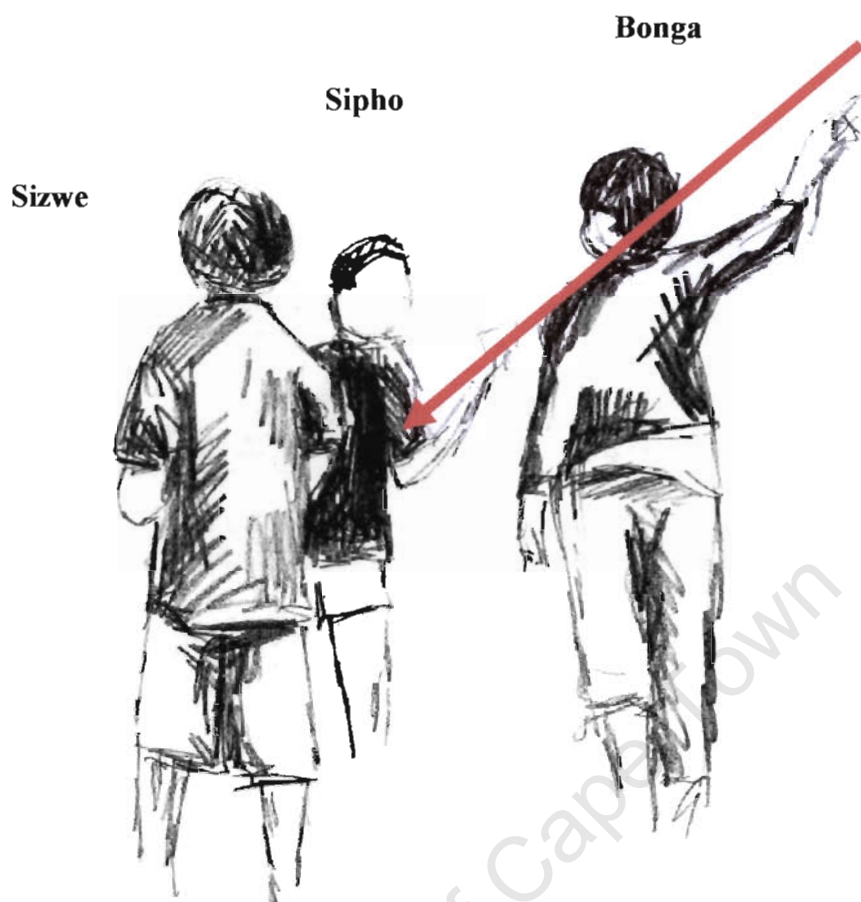


Figure 4.7 Boys Herding

The participants are represented in these sketches as *doing* something. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:56), refer to such images as narrative patterns because they “serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change and transitory spatial arrangements”. Narrative processes can be separated according to “the kinds of vector and the number and kind of participants involved” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:61). One type of narrative process is an action process which includes a participant as the Actor instigating an action and a participant as the goal receiving that action (See figure 4.7). The action itself is represented by a vector which most often takes the form of a diagonal line.

These vectors can follow the line of a pointing arm or a bent leg, or even inanimate features such as a winding road. What is important to note is that a vector indicates an action that in written language would be expressed by a verb. If there is an action process present in the picture, then it is most likely instigated by a participant and directed to another participant. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) call these participants Actor and Goal respectively.

Which participant the actor is, is often determined by being the most salient

participant, by their size or by their place in the composition (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:61). To distinguish between Kress and van Leeuwen's Actor and the more general use of the term in reference to a dramatic actor, the former will have an uppercase A to signal Kress and van Leeuwen's specific use of the term.

In this sketch (Figure 4.7) which represents the cameraman's perspective and therefore the viewers', Bonga would seem to be the Actor. He is the tallest and he is set apart slightly from the other two who overlap. The vector is instigated by this character and is the strong diagonal line that begins with his pointing hand and moves down his outstretched arm, down the bent arm of Siphho who then becomes the recipient of the action and therefore the Goal.

Bonga and Sizwe seem to stand together against Siphho because they both have their backs to the viewer and are facing him, suggesting that Siphho is the outsider figure in this scene. If the action process were to be expressed in words it could be something like 'Bonga ousts Siphho, while Sizwe looks on'. This reading of the action process then supports what we know to be said through the dialogue between the characters at this moment, that this is an overt moment of rejection.

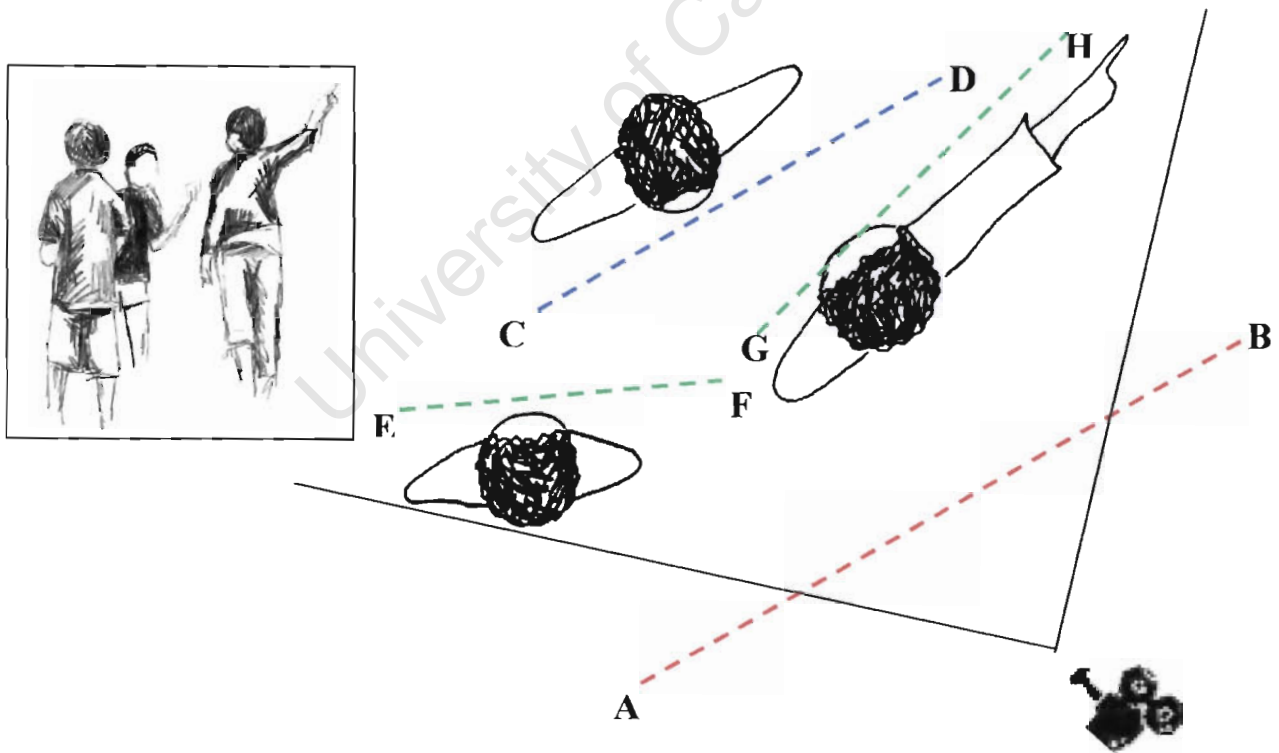
4.2.5. Exploring the Horizontal Angle

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that the way interactive participants are positioned relative to each other can provide insight into attitudes of detachment or involvement. Applying this principle to a photograph is straightforward as the producer of the text is clearly the photographer. An analysis of the photograph would show what attitudes the photographer holds with regard to the subjects of the photograph. In a videoed performance, even though we could say the producer is the cameraman, the teacher who shot the picture, agency should not be stripped from the actors on the stage. It is the actors who chose how to position themselves in relation to the camera and the audience. In my sketched representations of the performance I attempted to capture how the actors chose to place themselves on the stage. The focus of the analysis therefore is not on myself as producer or the cameraman as producer but on the actors as producers of the performance text. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), if the represented participants are facing the viewer the frontal planes of participants and viewer will be parallel to each other. This would suggest some kind of identification between the two parties. This seems to be commonsense, face to face positioning is more intimate. It is seldom the case that people feel comfortable facing a

stranger directly. One only has to think of body positioning in a lift to understand the principle. On the other hand, right angles between the frontal planes of participant and viewer would seem to suggest detachment. In order to analyse this angle, I translated the sketches into aerial views and the frontal planes of each participant were marked in relation to the frontal plane of the viewer.

The line AB represents the frontal plane of the viewer, line CD represents the frontal plane of the 'Model C' character in each scene and lines EF and GH represent the frontal planes of the insider characters. In figure 4.8, it is evident that the frontal plane of the outsider (CD) is the only line parallel to that of the viewer. This would seem to suggest that the outsider character has positioned himself in identification with the viewer. It must be noted that this positioning is unlikely to be entirely conscious but still it does mean that the audience is only allowed to see the expressions of the outsider while the two other participants are positioned so that their faces are almost entirely obscured.

Figure 4.8 Horizontal View of Boys



If the outsider, Sipho in this case, is the only actor that the viewer can read then it means that he is the only actor with whom the audience can relate to, identifying with his confusion, his indignation at the injustice of the ousting, ultimately with his outsider status.

4.2.6. Conclusion

In this Traditional scene the actors have attempted to represent the insertion of a 'Model C' into the traditional, rural Zulu Discourse constituted by the multimodal traditional stories and it becomes clear through each of the stories that the 'Model C' is far from fluent in this Discourse even though they are Zulu speaking themselves. Gee's notion of dominant Discourses goes some way to describe this situation.

Very often dominant groups in a society apply rather constant tests of the fluency of the dominant Discourse in which their power is symbolized; these tests become both tests of natives or, at least, fluent users of the Discourse, and gates to exclude non-natives – people whose very conflicts with dominant Discourses show they were not, in fact, 'born' to them (Gee 1996a:146).

An interesting point to note here is that it would seem that a Discourse's dominance is specific to the context in which it plays out. When one thinks of dominant Discourses, what comes to mind are the powerful Discourses expressed through large institutions but in fact this Discourse of being traditional, rural and Zulu, while perhaps not being dominant in an Urban setting, is dominant in this setting where it is the primary Discourse of the group. The outsider, the 'Model C' in this case, does not appear to have the cultural or social capital required to show that he or she is the 'real thing', he or she is exposed "because [they] speak fake Zulu not true Zulu" (Transcriptions 1 2001:1) and because they do not exhibit the embodied capital which includes the knowledge of traditional practices.

4.3. The School Scene

4.3.1. Setting the Scene

The School scene is short with the most overt story being a scenario with an English teacher and a new boy arriving in the class (See figure 4.9). The boy is from a rural area and still observes many of the traditional practices of greetings and gestures of respect. The teacher can not pronounce the boy's Zulu name and so abbreviates it to an anglicized nick-name. This was an issue that had come up in the pre-performance discussions. Below is an extract from the transcripts of the sessions prior to the performance. For reasons of confidentiality, the speakers in this case have not been named.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

Speaker 1 *What's your name and she'll say like "Nana" and I'll say like "Nuhnuh"*
Speaker 2 *and they're like "Nanna" and I'm like "no, that's not my name"*
Speaker 3 *"Oh what's your name?"*
 "Nomagugu"
 "oh, Nomagoogoo"
Speaker 1 *"Hmmm, I did not say that"*

(Transcript 2, 2002:1)

I had noticed it in the school when I had worked there the previous year. Some teachers had not been prepared to learn their students' Zulu names and so made up names that they could pronounce. The children had wanted to make a statement about this in the performance and did so, the result being provocatively direct. There is also the issue of eye-contact. The teacher demands that the boy looks at her when she is talking even though he is actually showing her respect by avoiding eye-contact. Though this is the most obvious story, I would like to suggest that there are more subtle stories playing out through the scene that are as illustrative as the surface plot, perhaps even more so.

One of these more subtle threads is the interaction between the majority of the class members and a 'Model C' character. The larger group are openly hostile towards 'coconuts', black students who have 'sold out' and deliberately associated themselves with English/whiteness. This is very interesting because one would expect, as it is an ex-'Model C' school being represented, that the black students would be likely to identify and sympathise with being called 'Model C's'. Indeed, when the group constructed the scene one of the primary intentions was to pick up again on the difference between urban and rural practices but in the context of an ex-model C school where the rural Zulu character would be the outsider. Instead, in the performing of the story, one character is clearly set apart as the 'Model C' (see figure 4.10) while the others rally around the new boy. This preference for the new boy over the 'Model C' would seem to suggest that the participants possibly view traditional practice as being more desirable than 'Model C' status, even if the children are themselves identified by others as 'Model C's'.

Go to movie clip 4 on CD: "English Only"



Figure 4.9 School Scene



Figure 4.10 Shunning the 'Model C'

4.3.2. Exploring Critical Moment 2: “English Only”

This moment was chosen from the rest of the scene because it captures a junction between the more subtle narrative threads. In this moment the interaction between teacher and students, between the ‘Model C’ character and the insider group and between teacher and ‘Model C’ are all evident. This critical moment was titled “English Only” as a statement of irony. The teacher who is the official authority in the class demands that only English be spoken in the class. What emerges in this moment is that not only is her demand not met, it appears that her authority in general is deliberately subverted by members of the class. English is far from being the only language spoken in the class; in fact the dominance of all things associated with English is brought into question.

Minnie (TEACHER): Excuse me! Don't you dare speak Zulu in my class, this is an English school! [One of the students leans across the 'Model C' character and mutters something to another classmate. The 'Model C', sitting between them says to the teacher:]

Nandi ('MODEL C'): Miss, they're back-chatting you Miss, I don't know what they're saying but they're back-chatting you. [All the students turn to her with one pointing her finger in an accusing way and saying]

Noma (INSIDER): Mus' ukuqina wena! (Don't be such a busybody)

(Video Transcript 2002:5)

This teacher character was constructed as a fictional character though the children drew on their experience of some teachers in the school to create this character. The teacher's comment was a command that two of the actors had actually heard from a teacher in the school. The teacher who had been heard to say this was sitting in the audience on the day of the performance, making the statement highly charged, particularly when openly disobeyed in the performance through a muttered response in isiZulu. The reaction from black students in the audience during this particular critical moment was not laughter or clapping as in other moments but an intense low level murmur of response to the provocation, as if in recognition of the experience and of the boldness to openly declare it a parody in front of teachers.

The teacher begins with the phrase "Excuse me", a phrase that is supposed to be a politeness device but in this case, the phrase has no politeness function at all. Minnie, as the teacher, interjects in a loud voice and uses the phrase as a means to interrupt the behaviour of speaking isiZulu, as if she is demanding the politeness phrase from the students rather than herself. Also of interest is her use of "my class". This is a clear assertion of her official authority over and ownership of the classroom space, an authority that is openly challenged in this moment.

The next interaction is barely noticeable to the viewer. When the students comment on the teacher in isiZulu after her declaration, they are reported by the 'Model C' character played by Nandi, "Miss they're back-chatting you Miss". This 'Model C' character is overplayed by Nandi who, during the pre-performance discussions, was outspoken about alleged 'Model C's' in the school. She dramatizes the character's weakness and tale-telling to the point of making her 'Model C' character a joke. She is acting the betrayer and revealing a rather harsh judgment of this character type. Her next words raise much in this regard: "I don't know what they're saying but they're back-chatting you". Here the character declares her distance from the insider group through her lack of Zulu knowledge and her white English accent, her reliance on English and her allegiance to the white teacher. The others'

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

response is for all, including the new boy, to turn to her, with the student closest raising her finger in accusation and warning her about getting involved in things that do not concern her. This is important because it places significant distance between the group and the 'Model C' character. The group is, in effect, telling her that issues of 'Zuluness', and 'blackness' do not concern her because in their eyes she is neither Zulu nor black. It is a harsh judgement on the character, denying membership to her culture and race (See figure 4.10).

It is interesting to consider the interactions as communication processes from a sender to a receiver and to examine the success of these processes.

TEACHER (command)	→ //	(no response) STUDENTS
INSIDER (murmur)	← →	(murmured response) INSIDER
'MODEL C' (appeal)	→ //	(no response) TEACHER
INSIDER (rebuke)	→ //	(no response) 'MODEL C'

Table 4.3. Communication Processes in Critical Moment 2.

Of all the sent communication processes (See Table 4.3), the only one to draw a successful returned response is the one between insiders. Each certainly draws a response but not from the direct receiver so when the teacher makes her demand that only English is spoken in class (statement 1.), no student responds back to her but the statement provokes the next directed communication between the insider students (statement 2.). When Nandi reports the insiders (statement 3.), she receives no response from the teacher but provokes a rejoinder from the group (statement 4.). What is interesting about this is that the communication processes do not seem to be simply direct responses to statements but rather appear to be provoked by claims of authority. When the teacher asserts her authority in statement 1, the only response to her claim is the deliberate disregard of her authority by the insider students who murmur to each other in isiZulu. It would seem then that Nandi as the 'Model C' character, in statement 3, attempts to either re-establish the authority of the teacher or establish her own authority over the group by reporting the insiders' subversion of the teacher's authoritative command. This attempt is either not heard by the teacher or she chooses to ignore the tale-telling, but the result is that the 'Model C's' appeal is taken up by the insider group who assert their authority over her through their sharp rebuke. The 'Model C' character does not respond, perhaps in an attempt to resist the rebuke through her silence as a way of taking power or perhaps she is actually sufficiently cowed by the group.

4.3.3. Exploring the Action Processes

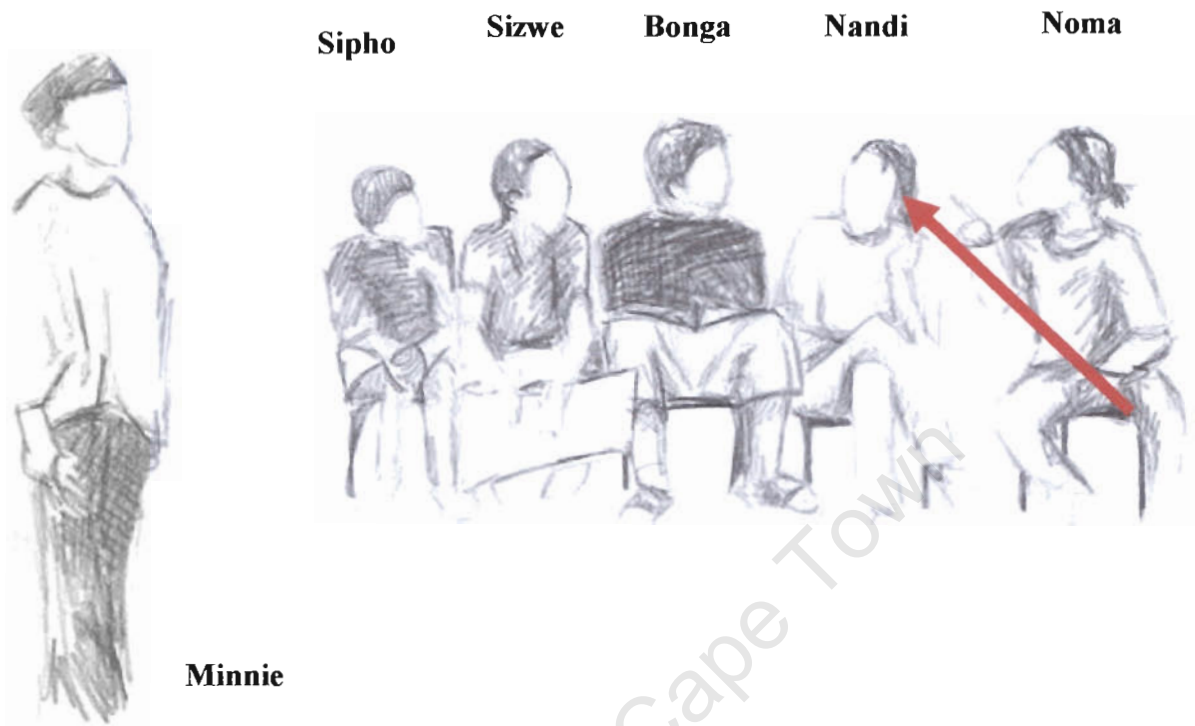


Figure 4.11 ‘English Only’ Action Processes

The dialogue that corresponds to this moment is the comment by Noma:

Noma (INSIDER): Mus' ukuqina wena! (Don't be such a busybody)
(Video Transcript 2002:5)

The composition of this particular moment seems to signal much that might seem obvious in the corresponding linguistic mode but is perhaps not so readily accessible through the visual mode (See figure 4.11).

The teacher stands to the left of the frame, clearly separated from the class by distance but also by relative size. We have learned, through an acquired understanding of reading from and writing on paper, that even though the two dimensional plane of paper shows her to be larger than the others, her relative size works in the three dimensional plane and signifies her distance from the viewer relative to the distance between the others and the viewer. The teacher stands closest to the viewer and therefore, from the perspective of the viewer, she is larger than the others. This positioning in the three dimensional plane relative to the others isolates her. Another isolating feature is that she is not part of the tightly knit group of actors

representing school children. She, as the teacher, must stand while the others sit meaning that she is alone while the others talk to each other.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:61) an action process has an Actor from whom a vector emanates, signifying the direction of the action. An action process also has a Goal to whom the vector is directed. There are numerous vectors in figure 4.11. All of the children in the drawing, apart from the represented teacher, are sitting on chairs. The chairs are as much represented participants as the children are. This means that for every child there is a vector, usually moving down a leg or an arm that is directed by the child towards the chair which is then the Goal. Because their sitting is not of vital importance to the reading of this picture, these vectors have not been marked on the drawing. The most significant action process occurring in this picture is the one involving Noma and Nandi. Of the children sitting together Noma is the only one not touching or seeming to overlap with anyone else. She is also the only one of the group making an obvious movement. Both of these features make her the most salient figure in the drawing even though the teacher is the closest to the viewer. A strong vector can be seen following a diagonal line from Noma's knee and along her forearm towards Nandi. This diagonal is also echoed by the parallel lines formed by her bent leg, her bent left arm and by Nandi's crossed leg. Because the vector is directed by Noma, she is the Actor and because the vector is directed to Nandi, she is the Goal. If this action process were to be expressed in linguistic terms, it would take the form of something like 'Noma rebukes Nandi', where Noma is the subject and Nandi the object. Though the interpretation of the drawing may seem to be common sense, it is important to explore the meaning carried through the other modes and find interesting points of correlation or departure. In this particular case the reading of the visual mode corroborates that of the linguistic mode.

4.3.4. Exploring the Reactional Processes

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:64) reactional processes involve vectors formed by the direction of the participants' gaze. In these processes instead of the Actor, the person who is doing the looking is called the Reactor and instead of a Goal, the person or process being looked at is called the Phenomenon. The Phenomenon can take the form of a participant or of a whole narrative process. In figure 4.11 Noma and Nandi are involved in an action process described above where Noma is the Actor and Nandi the Goal. This action process is signalled in figure 4.12 by the frame around them.

This action process becomes the Phenomenon of the three boys' gaze (marked as the green arrows) with the boys as the Reactors from which the gaze emanates. Within the frame there are two Reactional processes occurring. The first places Noma as the Reactor, directing her gaze to Nandi, the Phenomenon, in accordance to the action of rebuke that occurs within the frame.

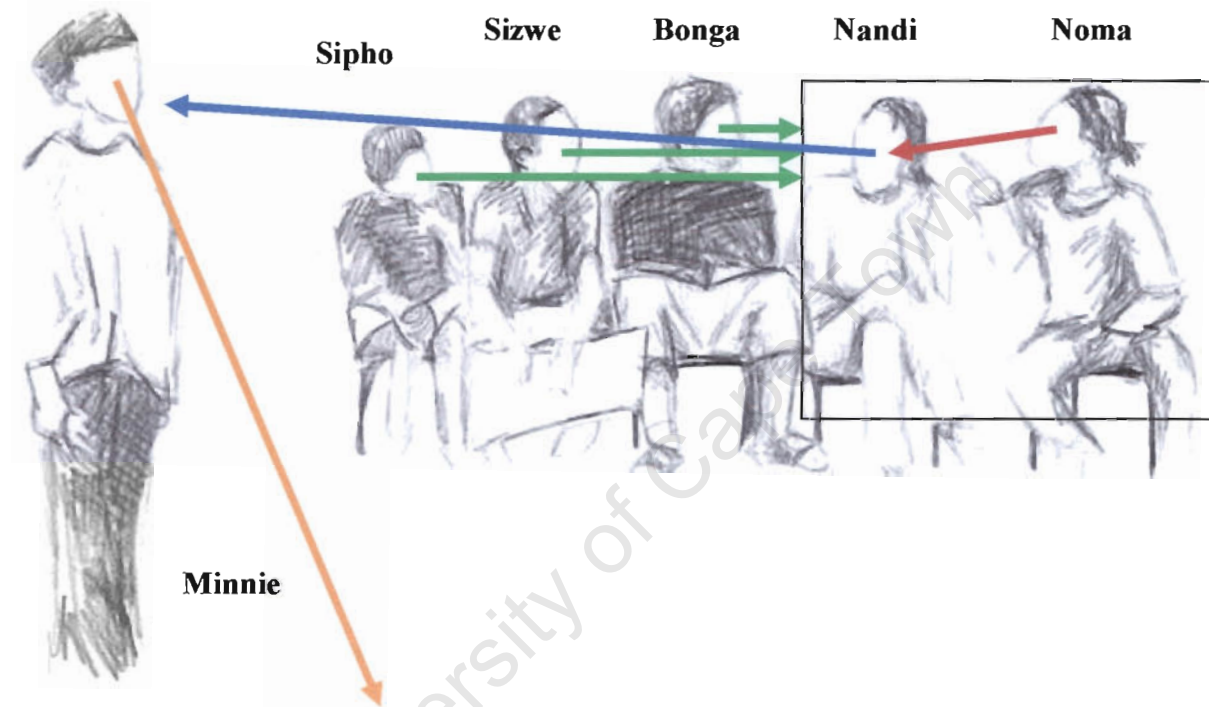


Figure 4.12 'English Only' Reactional Processes

The second process emanates from Nandi as reactor and is directed out of the frame towards the teacher. This is interesting because it is the only Reactional process to be directed outside the frame of the action and it is not directed towards any of the other participants in retaliation but towards the teacher. This could perhaps suggest it is an appeal for intervention by the teacher or it could be that Nandi, because she is outnumbered and rejected by the group, ignores the group in an attempt to assert her own form of power. What is immediately striking about this reactional process is that it echoes the communication processes illustrated in Table 4.3. This reactional process where Nandi, as the 'Model C' character, is the Reactor and the teacher is the Phenomenon runs parallel to the spoken appeal made by Nandi to the teacher (statement 3 in Table 4.3). This is the direct result of the two processes overlapping at this point. Nandi has just spoken that appeal, looking at the teacher as she spoke. The very next moment is captured by the picture. While the congruency is not surprising it does

corroborate the idea that meaning is not simply expressed through one mode but through many simultaneously. Nandi has appealed verbally and through her gaze for intervention from the teacher who either truly does not hear the appeal or chooses to ignore her.

Another reactional process taking place is the vector that emanates from the teacher. She is standing to the left of the picture, her face turned away from what is going on between the students in the background, looking at something outside of the frame of the picture. Because there appears to be no Phenomenon, Kress and van Leeuwen would call this process non-transactional (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:66). Because this picture is not isolated but one frame of many within the video and we know what lies beyond the immediate frame of the picture, it can be assumed that the audience is the Phenomenon of the teacher's gaze. Again, like the communication process illustrated in Table 4.3, the teacher stands alone, not connecting with the members of the class in her commands or her gaze. The teacher in this moment is represented as a remote figure who either misses or chooses to ignore much of what is going on right in front of her.

4.3.5. Exploring the Horizontal Angle

When Kress and van Leeuwen explore the idea of viewer involvement with the image through the horizontal plane (1996:140), they use examples of photographs to illustrate their discussion. In that case what could be determined was how the photographer positioned him or herself in relation to the subjects of the photograph. This positioning could then reveal the photographer's degree of involvement with the subjects. As has already been mentioned, in the case of this study Kress and van Leeuwen's idea cannot be directly applied to the images because it is the actors on the stage rather than the cameraman who determine their positioning in relation to the audience and the camera and hence the viewer of these images.

Kress and van Leeuwen suggest (1996:143) that the degree of obliqueness between the frontal plane of the viewer and that of a represented participant determines the degree of involvement. If the line AB represents the frontal plane of the viewer, the only frontal planes slightly parallel to it are those belonging to the 'Model C' character played by Nandi (line CD) and the teacher (line MN). This means that the audience can see the fronts of these two characters and read their faces. Kress and van Leeuwen explain the interpretation of this saying "The frontal angle says, as it were, 'what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with'. The oblique angle says: 'what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with'" (1996:143).

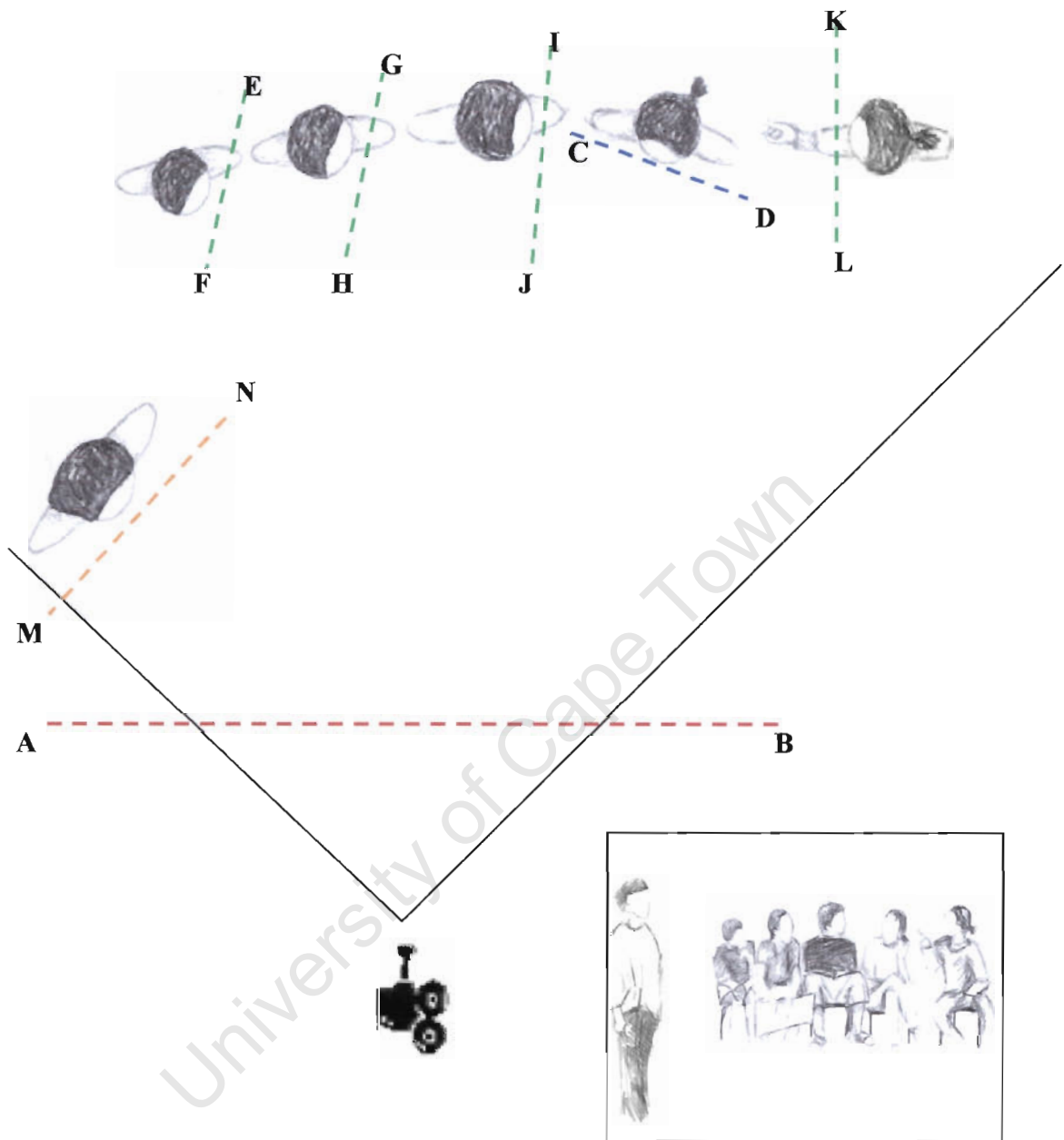


Figure 4.13 Horizontal View of “English Only” Moment

If this interpretation is applied to this image then it suggests something very interesting. The only two characters who have positioned themselves, even unconsciously, to show involvement with the audience are the teacher and the ‘Model C’ character and it must be pondered whether this means that they are in fact claiming their experience as being ‘part of [their] world’. This certainly could be the case but perhaps more insight can be gained by examining the selection of this picture.

When choosing a critical moment to sum up what was thought to be the essence of the school scene, a moment was chosen that appeared to carry the meanings that I, as producer of this study, judged to be the most salient.

Perhaps when carrying out an analysis such as this it should be acknowledged that every image used is selected for the very reason that it illustrates a specific point. It is not simply a random image that happens to corroborate the findings. What this issue raises is that when attempting to read the positioning of these participants, it is as important to view the researcher as a producer of the image as it is to acknowledge the participants' agency in their own positioning on the stage. The 'Model C' character and the teacher character could be positioning themselves in identification with the audience saying 'this experience is part of your and my world'. It could also be that this image was selected because it shows a degree of involvement between 'Model C' and the audience which I, as researcher and therefore producer, believe to be representative of reality.

What is again evident in Figure 4.13 is the difference between the insider group and the 'Model C' character. That the boys' frontal planes (lines EF; GH; IJ) are parallel to Noma's frontal plane (line KL), who is the instigator of the rebuke, certainly seems to suggest their involvement in the act. In contrast is the oblique angle between their frontal planes and that of Nandi, the 'Model C' which could be read as 'Nandi is not part their world'.

4.3.6. Conclusion

This scene is complex because there are layers of Discourse at work at a number of levels. The first is represented by the teacher who could be seen as symbolizing the broader school institution. This would involve what Gee would call a "school-based dominant Discourse" (Gee 1996a:146) which, in many South African ex-Model C schools, descend from western, pedagogic, white, middle class Discourses. As has been discussed in chapter 2, through Heath's work (1988), children whose primary Discourse correspond with this school based Discourse suffer far less conflict between Discourses than those children who come from very different cultural and language backgrounds. The children in this school scene come from Zulu speaking, historically disadvantaged backgrounds and seem to experience much conflict between their primary or home Discourse and the dominant Discourse of school. Consequently, the teacher shown in this scene exhibits the lack of recognition of the students' cultural practices and a refusal to acknowledge the place of their language in the classroom.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

Interestingly though the students react to the teacher, and perhaps symbolically to the dominant Discourse of school, with subversion of her official authority by deliberately disregarding her command for English only. The fact that they are actually presenting such a performance to an audience made up of school students and teachers is also a public challenge to the usually unquestioned authority of the school system.

Another level of Discourse is also dominant but is different to the dominance of the school Discourse because it operates at the level of classroom peers. The in-group represented in this scene have mastery in the Discourse of being urban, black and Zulu and certainly test the 'Model C' in the class, refusing her access to the group because she can not exhibit her Zuluness thereby betraying her allegiance to 'blackness' by being too white.

It is interesting to apply Bourdieu's model of symbolic capital to this situation and read possible allocations of capital. The 'Model C' can not exhibit the embodied capital accumulated through the linguistic practices (Carrington and Luke 1997) of knowing and speaking the 'proper' isiZulu that the group knows and speaks. She speaks more English than isiZulu and her English seems to have the accent of a native English while her isiZulu seems not to be that of a native speaker. This lack of cultural capital would presumably translate into a lack of "prestige, status and reputation" (Carrington and Luke 1997:103) and would therefore exclude her from the group.

Interestingly though, there are benefits of speaking English with a native accent, particularly in a school whose teachers are predominantly white, native English speakers. Speaking 'fluent' English, that is with the accent of native speakers, would presumably translate into other forms of capital. It might mean that better results are attained in official school tests and it might mean that a relationship with the teacher is better, translating into some kind of academic reward; perhaps institutional capital would be accumulated more easily. This possible 'spin off' for the 'Model C' confirms that the accumulation of capital is dependent on the social field. The capital, to be capital, has to be legitimated by an authority in that social field. It must be "in some way officially 'deemed' to be of value" (Carrington and Luke 1997:103).

4.4. The Home Scene

4.4.1. Setting the Scene

This scene includes two stories, both of which take place at home between a student and a mother or grandmother figure. The scene deals with the expectations that parents have of their children's Zulu proficiency. Both stories highlight the divide between the students' lives at school and their lives at home. Both student characters in this scene code-switch their English and isiZulu and distress their parents who insist that they speak proper isiZulu. The second dialogue between the student and his grandmother (See Figure 4.14) also illustrates the economic divide between the white suburban school and a township home, highlighting an instance of the student wanting to keep up with his friends at school and there simply not being enough money at home to finance his entertainment.

The scene that was chosen as the critical moment contains the clearest references to the primary issues in the scene. Like the School scene, it deals with issues of authority but in a very different way. There are only two actors on stage at one time meaning that there is no insider group represented. Instead the relationship between parent and child are shown to be clearly defined in terms of who holds authority, in fact, in both stories a strong element of parental discipline is suggested. This critical moment also includes clear reference to the issue of codeswitching and parental attitude towards it as an undesirable language variant. Connected to this is the representation of the child's identification with the Model C school.

Go to movie clip 5 on CD: "isiZulu Only"

In the second story, the child, played by Siphon, only speaks English to Nandi, his grandmother, and is shown wanting to participate in urban activities. This particular character in previous scenes would have been firmly characterized as a Model C and would have carried the negative value of that status. Now, in this setting where there is no insider group represented, he is subject only to the judgement of his grandparent who is represented as being behind the times and distanced across a wide generational gap from present day school experience. What this then appears to suggest is that there is a gentler attitude towards the Model C character, in fact, this scene seems to bring the actors' identification closer to the Model C than in other scenes where the insider group held the actors' allegiance. The child character in the first story is slightly different and will be examined below.



Figure 4.14 Siphosiphiso with Gogo

Go to movie clip 6 on CD: With Gogo

4.4.2. Exploring Critical Moment 3: “isiZulu Only”

The critical moment was given the title “isiZulu Only” as an echo of the previous critical moment that took place at school and was called “English Only”. In both moments, the titles are statements of irony. Noma as the mother character is disapproving of Bonga’s codeswitching and wants him to speak proper isiZulu when he is at home (See figure 4.15).



Figure 4.15 Bonga with Ma

As can be seen in the performance dialogue below, isiZulu is not the only language that appears in the home.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

[Bonga has come home from school and entered the kitchen where his mother is busy. He sits down on a bean-bag, a large cushion type object, where his mother joins him and asks him about school that day.]

- Bonga (BOY): Bekubhora namhlanje, today we had a maths test kanjalo and then afterwards sadlala kanjalo, next week kuqala ama-exams. (It was very boring, today we had a maths test and then afterwards we played, next week we are going to start exams.)*
- Noma (MOTHER): Awusho ubani okufundisa isiZulu? (Tell me who teaches you isiZulu?)*
- Bonga (BOY): Some French teacher with a funny name [tries out the name in a guessing, testing way] uS'qephu. (Something short)*
- Noma (MOTHER): Pho unifundisa isiNgisi nesiZulu kanye kanye? (So she teaches you English and isiZulu at the same time?)*
- Bonga (BOY): Cha indlela esikhuluma ngayo. (No that's the way we speak)*
[Mother sits forward]
- Noma (MOTHER): Hhayi ngeke [shakes her head], wena [points her finger at him] mawulayikhaya uzo khuluma isiZulu kuphela. (No ways, you, when you are at home you are going to speak isiZulu only.)*
[Boy sitting back in the bean bag rolls his eyes upwards and brings his hands to his mouth as if suggesting disregard or 'heard it all before']
- Noma (MOTHER): Suka la hamba uyowasha izitsha ngoba usuyabheda. (Go wash the dishes because you are speaking rubbish)*

(Video Transcript 2002:6)

In the school scene it was suggested that the students' choice to speak isiZulu, in spite of the teacher's demand for English only, was heavily influenced by conflicts of authority and the students spoke isiZulu as a form of defiance. In this home scene, it appears that the reasons for language choice are very different. It should be acknowledged that this is a performance where actors are making statements about their experiences which necessitate dramatization of events and perhaps exaggeration of circumstances. The extent of the boy's mixing of English and isiZulu has been portrayed to be rather extreme. Still, the point is being made that the way children from ex-Model C schools speak isiZulu is not acceptable to their parents.

It is possible that this mixing is due to low levels of Zulu competence. Even though isiZulu is the children's mother tongue it could be argued that it is no longer their primary language. The children had commented in the pre-performance discussions that the Zulu teaching in the school was set for a third language level rather than for mother tongue speakers. Below is an extract from one of these discussion groups.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

- Noma: Having teachers teaching Zulu in the school is quite a good idea but then the fact that we are Zulu speakers and speak Zulu in our home, we already know what happens like umama, ubaba (mother, father) and everything.*
- Sipho: it's easy Zulu*
- Minnie: they should start with younger grades because this isn't really working. By the time we get to grade 7, it won't be that easy. Okay it would still be easy for us but it would be kind of a challenge.*
- Nandi: it's like in tests, we don't even have to learn because we get full marks, why bother?*
- Researcher: because half the grade is Zulu speaking, do you think the teaching should change?*
- Nandi: since we're learning such easy stuff, they should separate us out and teach us something new*
- Minnie: I think they should have more black teachers because there is only one black teacher and she only came this year and maybe they should teach us Zulu?*
- Sipho: Miss N-, when we ask a question, we like just standing there and she'll tell you like all this stuff and we'd be just "oh right"*
- Noma: having someone who's English, teaching you Zulu. They don't really say the words properly, they like "slala" and we like "hlala". They can't even say it.*
- Nandi: they're teaching us something they don't even know themselves.*

(Transcript 1, 2002: 7)

At the time of the performance, the participants could not read or write their mother tongue and they struggled with Zulu vocabulary, both in understanding others speak and in speaking isiZulu themselves. Their codeswitching could be a simple communication strategy to cope with their low levels of competence by filling in vocabulary gaps with English words but the practice appears to be far more complex than this. Heller (1992) views codeswitching to be more a political process than one of competence. She sees codeswitching to be a way of

...calling into play specific forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge, forms which conventionally possess certain kinds of value. These forms facilitate access to situations where other kinds of symbolic and material resources are distributed, resources which themselves have value based in the prevailing modes of organisation of social life in the community (Heller 1992:124).

If viewed in such a way then, it is important to explore the values attached to codeswitching in the context of this performance. The participants in this performance operate in more than one distinct social field; one is the field of the school classroom where they are addressed in English and are expected to speak and write in English. Another field is in the home where interaction with parents and extended family take place in isiZulu primarily. Another field is the playground, either at school or outside of school where they meet with friends and speak a mix of English and isiZulu. What is interesting is that, in this performance, codeswitching has been represented in the home juxtaposed with a parent's isiZulu. If their codeswitching is

imbued with political value, what is it that they are expressing through the choice to place the codeswitching in this particular scene?

It would seem that the ability to codeswitch can be a practice associated with urban living. Codeswitching is strongly presented through the media, especially television where South African soap operas, game shows, advertisements and serial dramas present actors who speak a mix of local languages. Represented in this way, codeswitching seems to have attached status and could be perhaps, a marker of urban identity. It could be then that the participants are attempting to highlight the generational difference between themselves and their parents. Their parents would have been educated under an apartheid government where schooling took place in Afrikaans and in English and, in spite of recognising the advantages of having English as a resource, might still associate any use of English or Afrikaans with the privilege of the white regime. This could result in attaching much value to being loyal to one's culture and heritage and therefore speaking isiZulu 'properly'. The children, on the other hand, growing up with access to television might associate codeswitching with being 'modern', 'hip' and cosmopolitan.

Another point of interest in this scene is the boy's comment about his Zulu teacher at the school. As has already been mentioned, the school at which the study took place offered Zulu lessons only in the students' final year. The classes were taught mainly by white English speakers who, though some were relatively fluent in isiZulu, were not mother-tongue speakers.

In the performance, when Noma as the mother asks Bonga who teaches him isiZulu, he replies with "Some French teacher with a funny name uS'qephu." This is an interesting response because not only is Bonga commenting on the fact that the teacher had a "French" surname and was not Zulu but he is also making a bold joke about the teacher. The Zulu root "-qephu" can be translated to mean "a small piece or section" (Dent and Nyembezi 1988:464). This teacher would have been in the audience and most probably would not have understood that the actor was boldly making fun of her in public. The comment brought much loud laughter from the Zulu members of the audience. In saying this, the actors again seem to confront the authority of a teacher with defiant humour. In this moment he is directly naming, be it a nick-name, a real teacher who, on the day, was sitting in the room. In all likelihood he would have counted on the fact that this 'french' teacher was unlikely to understand him but that is in itself an interesting reflection of his opinion of the person who is supposed to be improving his isiZulu.

4.4.3. Exploring the Action Process

The dialogue that corresponds with this moment is the following:

Noma (MOTHER): Wena [points her finger at him] mawulayikhaya uzo khuluma isiZulu kuphela. (You, when you are at home you are going to speak isiZulu only.)

(Video Transcript 2002:6)

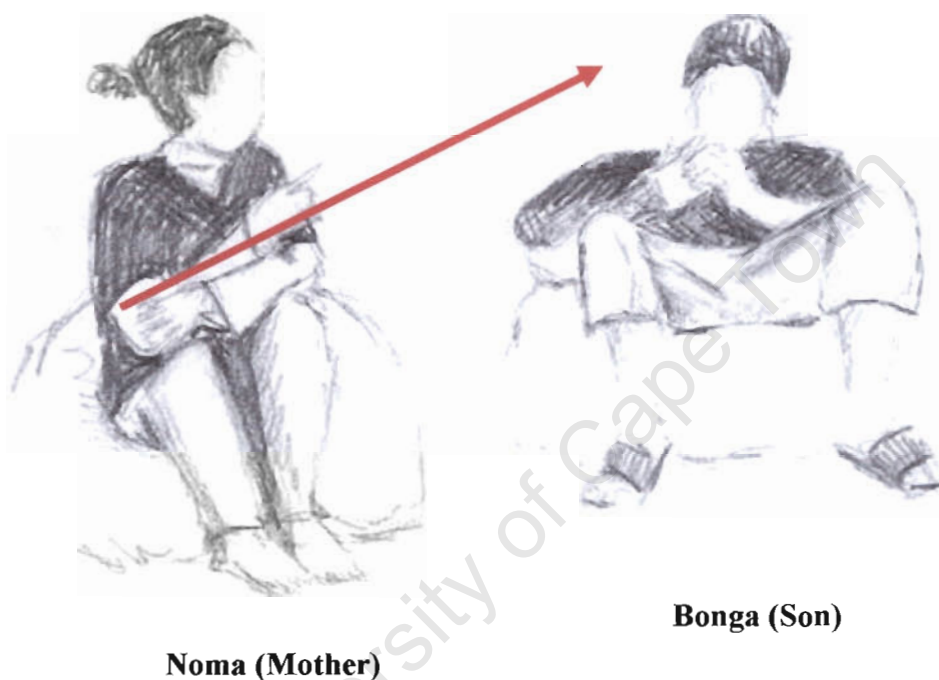


Figure 4.16 Action Process in “Zulu Only”

The most salient action process at work in figure 4.16 is the vector that is directed from Noma, as the mother, to Bonga who plays her son. There are other processes occurring in the image such as the action of sitting on the bean bags and Bonga’s action of examining his hands. It is perhaps that Noma’s action process is made more salient because she is engaged in an action that reaches beyond her, across the space to Bonga. The vector follows the diagonal line of her crossed arms and up the slope of Bonga’s shoulder. Because the vector is initiated by Noma, this makes her the Actor and Bonga the Goal of the process. A linguistic version of this action process could perhaps be ‘The mother reprimands the son’. This direction of action from mother to son supports the suggestion that this moment illustrates an authority that is very different from the teacher’s challenged authority in the school scene. Here the parent has the last word, both in terms of actual words spoken and also

in terms directed actions. The son does not reply to the process shown here but sits still and submits to being the Goal to his mother's Actor.

4.4.4. Exploring the Horizontal Angle

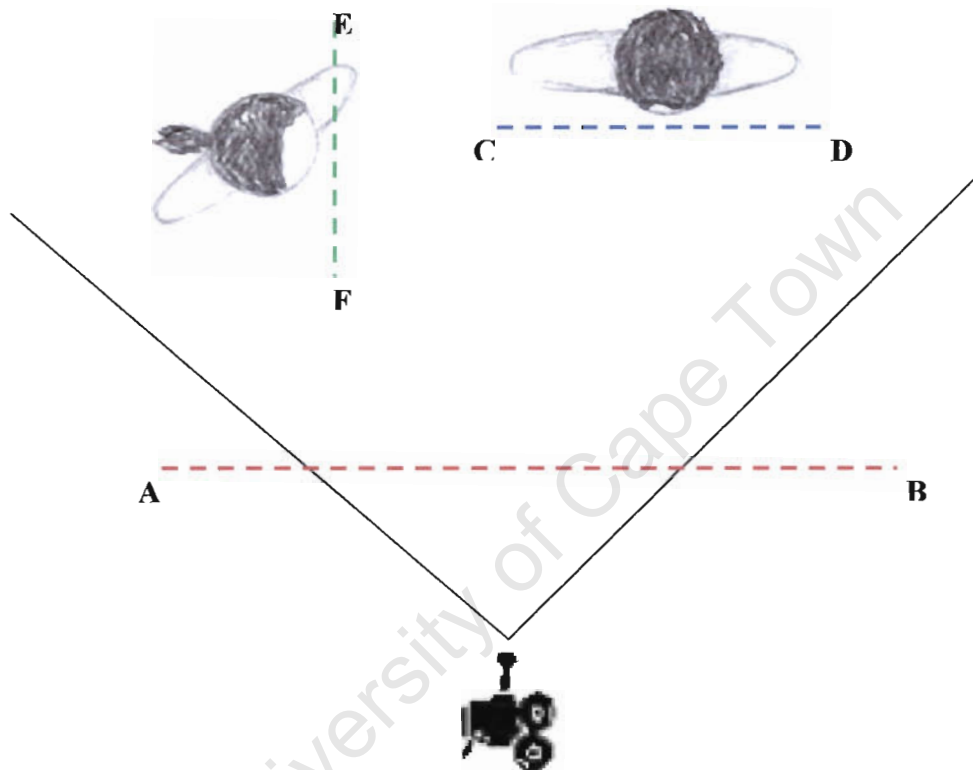


Figure 4.17 Horizontal View of “Zulu Only”

The participant that positions himself so that his frontal plane is parallel to the audience is the son. This would then suggest, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:143), that the son is involving himself with the audience, allowing the audience access to his facial expression and possibly offering his experience to the Zulu children in the audience who could identify with him. As in the last scene, it is interesting to view the participants' frontal planes in figure 4.17 in relation to each other. Where Bonga as the son faces the audience his mother faces him. If one could extrapolate the idea of involvement to their positioning according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:143), it would suggest that the mother is engaging with the son and is not confronted in return as the boy looks forward, his frontal plane engaging with

the audience. This would then correlate with the earlier conclusion that the mother's authority is not challenged by the son.

4.4.5. Conclusion

This scene is a site where primary and secondary Discourses come into conflict. According to Gee, a primary Discourse is acquired "free" (Gee 1996a:141) during early childhood. The participants in this study acquired their primary Discourse at home from their parents and it can be assumed then that this would include learning to speak isiZulu, understanding ways in which family members relate to each other, to members in their immediate community and to people outside their community. Their parents' opinions about their cultural heritage and about the political situation in the country might also form part of that primary Discourse. Then when the children go to school they are introduced to the secondary Discourses of school and to the secondary Discourses of their peers, both of which might conflict with their primary Discourse. It is possible therefore that this scene in the performance could be representing this conflict, allowing the children to express their experience in front of an audience of peers who very possibly share that experience.

4.5. The Urban Scene

4.5.1. Setting the Scene

This short scene breaks with the pattern of the previous scenes. This is the one scene that the participants felt was the interface between being black and being English. It takes the form of a party and shows a group of students speaking English with an American accent, eating American style fast-food and dancing to American hip-hop music (See Figures 4.18, 4.19 & 4.20). There is no outsider in this scene and the whole group is involved in the action. Because the other scenes seemed to be filled with issues of conflict, the participants intended this scene to be the scene of resolution, the scene where there is no insider group and no Model C character, the scene where everybody is accepted. The resulting scene stands apart from the previous three, different in almost every way. Where the previous three scenes were provocative, bold and had a gritty realism about them, this urban scene appears incongruous.



Figure 4.18 “Girls, girls, girls look at my shoes.”



Figure 4.19 Nandi & Minnie dancing



Figure 4.20 Nandi & Noma dancing

There is no moment in the scene which seems to carry a critical essence with the result that the whole scene stands as a moment for analysis. It would seem that the very discordance which I felt when making subjective decisions about this scene and which sets this scene

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

apart is its marking feature that should be examined more closely for insight into its inclusion in the performance.

Go to movie clip 7 on CD: The Urban Scene
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4.5.2. Exploring Critical Moment 4: The Urban Scene

[Minnie steps up to the front to begin the introduction to the scene.]

Minnie: *Most of our lives is about conflict, home against school, Zulu against English and trying to fit into our traditional life. The place where the western world fits in is our urban life. American music, basketball, dancing, this. [gesturing widely with her arms raised to indicate the space on the stage. She then turns and joins the others towards the back of the stage space.]*

Bonga: *[knocking on the door] Where da party at!*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *[comes across and opens the door] hey, welcome to my sleepover. Take a seat. [gestures to the bean bags]*

Minnie: *[standing up and pointing her toes to show off her shoes and says in an Americanish accent] Girls, girls, girls look at my shoes.*

ALL GIRLS: *[respond in an Americanish accent] Damn girl
[There's a knock at the door and Nandi gets up to answer]*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *[loudly] I'm coming, I'm coming
[She opens the door to Siphon and Noma as the new kids.]*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *Hello [leads them inside]*

Minnie: *Hey, it's the new kids*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *[to the newcomers] Take a seat
[They all sit down on the bean bags]*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *What would you guys like to eat?*

Minnie: *Pizza.*

Nandi (HOSTESS): *[shouting] Mom please order us some pizza! Lets get the party started.*

[They all stand up and gather rather awkwardly on the floor waiting for the music to start which comes from a CD player to the right of the stage. When the music begins they make a semi circle and take turns to move into the centre and dance. Minnie and Nandi face each other and dance, dipping their shoulders and clapping hands. Then Bonga comes through, one trouser leg pushed up in hip-hop style, doing a light footed skip and step across the centre of the circle. Then Siphon enters the circle and does a funny clap and side-step dance that imitates the TV character Carleton (the uncool character in Fresh Prince of Bel Air) and makes the others and the audience laugh. Then Nandi and Noma step into the circle and begin to dance, dipping their shoulders and clapping. The watching girls join in the background. Suddenly the dancers break into a hip shaking, arm jiggling, provocative dance. Minnie, looking on, bends over as if to hide her face in embarrassment as the audience laugh. The group now follow the Nandi in a line off stage, around the piano and assemble to end the performance.](Video Transcript 2002:8)

The intended story structuring the scene is set in one of the character's homes. A group of friends gather at the house and wait for the "new kids" to arrive. These two new characters are supposed to be from a rural background and have been invited to join the party. When this scene was under construction, the participants wanted it to be the urban answer to the first traditional scene where the 'Model C' characters were alienated from the group. In this resolution scene, the reverse scenario is taking place and the urban children are welcoming the rural characters into their group. In Minnie's introduction to the scene where she states "The place where the western world fits in is our urban life. American music, basketball, dancing, this", it can be seen that this Urban scene was supposed to be different from the other conflict filled scenes. It was intended to be the scene that provides some kind of answer to the conflict, to the pressures and politics that are revealed in the other scenes. Interestingly though, the scene seems to raise more questions than it answers.

The first interesting point to notice is that, in spite of the actors intending it to be the resolution scene of the performance, the scene is entirely in English. Considering the resistance and defiance against English and against those characters who had appeared to have 'sold out' to Englishness in the previous scenes, it is fascinating that it should be the only represented language in the 'resolution' scene. Why this is the case is difficult to answer but it is perhaps connected to the dialect of English that is spoken and the way that it is spoken, the register of the language.

This scene seems strongly reminiscent of the African American sitcom genre, the action taking place in one room, the actors speaking with American accents and phrasing their language very like that heard on American television. A sitcom is the informal name used to describe situation comedies which are television programmes set up as a series of episodes that involve the same group of characters playing out comic situations, often on the same set from week to week which usually consists of a living room, a kitchen, a garden and perhaps an office (Soanes 2002:1074). Popular American sitcoms over the last few years include series such as Friends, The Cosby Show, Frasier and The Fresh Prince of Bel Air. All can be characterized, not only by the standard format of sets and character continuity, but also by the live studio audience or rather the 'canned' laughter that follows punch lines. Another common feature is the stereotyping of classes or groups of people into particular language varieties and philosophies. If the only access one has to African American culture is through American sitcoms, then one would think that all young African Americans listen to hip-hop and R&B, play basketball, dress according to hip hop fashion.

The participants then, through the style of clothes that the girls are wearing seem to echo urban American Discourse. Having worn black and white T-shirts for the rest of the performance, the girls have removed the T-shirts to reveal close-fitting, fashionable tops. It is interesting that the boys, though having planned to do the same, have forgotten to remove their black T-shirts and remain in the clothes that they have worn for the whole performance (see figure 5.2). It is possible that the mode of clothing choice is not as significant for the boys at this stage as it is for the girls. Appearing in front of an audience of peers is daunting and it would be expected to want to look trendy, to look their best in urban fashion terms. western fashion, and certainly urban black American fashion, dresses girls in small tight clothes that emphasise their sexuality. Perhaps it is because girls tend to mature earlier than boys that these girls are embodying the fashion rules while the boys have simply forgotten to change. Or perhaps the media places more pressure on girls than it does on boys to adhere to its rules.

It is interesting that the participants in this Urban scene speak only one variety of American English. Key phrases have been extracted from the urban scene and compiled into a list (see Table 4.4) that seems to strongly echo African American sitcom language.

<p><i>Where da party at!</i></p> <p><i>hey, welcome to my sleepover.</i></p> <p><i>Take a seat.</i></p> <p><i>Girls, girls, girls, look at my shoes!</i></p> <p><i>Damn girl!</i></p> <p><i>I'm coming, I'm coming!</i></p> <p><i>Hey, it's the new kids</i></p> <p><i>What would you guys like to eat?</i></p> <p><i>Pizza.</i></p> <p><i>Mom please order us some pizza!</i></p> <p><i>Lets get the party started.</i></p>
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Table 4.4 American Sitcom-type Language Appearing in the Urban scene

As discussed in chapter two, Rampton's notion of crossing (1995) seems likely to fit this particular situation. Unlike codeswitching which Rampton describes as an "in-group" phenomenon (1995:280), crossing refers to the "alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ" (Rampton

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

1995:280). Rampton, in his study with British adolescents (1995), found that the participants used forms of Asian English, at times that tended to be moments of play or times when the children were amongst their social peers. This means that “adolescents used language to cross ethnic boundaries in moments when the constraints of everyday social order were relaxed” (Rampton 1995:281). This scene seems to represent something similar, where the represented participants are amongst peers in a relaxed setting, and are using a form of English that they can not claim official membership of; they are not American and this style of English is different to the South African English used at school.

In the pre-performance discussion groups, the participants tried to explain the influence that African American culture seemed to have on them. Below is an extract from this discussion:

- Minnie: I guess we relate more to African American music because it's more, we enjoy it more than other music*
- Researcher: Can you give me more detail about that?*
- Sipho: African American people play basketball*
- Bonga: they live basketball*
- Minnie: and that's us, we live basketball. You won't see some traditional person...*
- Sipho: when I'm at my house, I'll put on the TV. The first thing that I do is go to DMX music and there different categories of music - there's Chamber, there's Dance, there's everything. The first thing I do is go to Urban Beat and my mom, the first category she goes to is African Rhythms.*

(Transcript 1, 2002:9)

It seemed that the group found it difficult to articulate why they thought African American culture seemed to have such an influence on the way they dressed, the music they listened to, the sport they preferred to play. They could acknowledge that it did seem to have an effect but they could not, at this stage, seem to go further than that they liked things that were African American. They could however explain why they didn't like black South African music:

- Nandi: I don't mean to be mean about my language but some of the music that they play on TV is boring.*
- Minnie: It depends though*
- Noma: and they tell us, support South African music, and then you have people singing one word for the whole song. "haaibo, haaibo, haaibo"*
- Nandi: the reason I don't really like most African music is because they use those difficult words that we don't really know. They're singing but we don't really understand what they're singing.*
- Noma: They're using the hard words that your grannies use.*

Minnie: I think that some African music can be a bit whacked but there's some jazz African music that makes sense.

(Transcript 1, 2002:8)

In this extract the participants suggest that black South African music is mostly in languages that they can not understand and therefore they can not relate to it. Though this might well be the case, the issue of identifying with black American practices rather than black South African practices is likely to be more complicated than simply this. Why African American Street Discourses have an impact on these children to begin with is perhaps worth exploring further.

Sindiso Mnisi, while being interviewed, explained her opinion that amongst black South Africans white South African culture carries a stigma of privilege that stems from an unjust Apartheid system (Field Notes 2004). Attending a white school or speaking English with a white accent would mark a person with that stigma and he or she would be seen as a sell-out or a traitor to his or her own race and culture. Because many parents choose to send their children to former white schools for their facilities and the opportunity to learn English, their children must find a way of attending a white school while avoiding the stigmatizing. In African American practices they find a way out, a “freedom” (Field Notes 2004:1) in being fully urban, fully English and fully black.

Two years later, in a follow-up interview, their opinions on the issue had changed dramatically. During the interview with four members of the original group, the video of the performance was shown, scene by scene, and the group was then asked to comment. After showing the urban scene the following comments were made about the influence of African American culture:

Researcher: what do you think of that at the moment

Noma: yoh the Americans?

Minnie: ja we have quite a lot of American influence

Noma: very much

Bonga: too much

Noma: yeah too much. Especially to the people who go to white schools, the black people who go to white schools, it's mostly the hype begins around [unclear] all these people from overseas and not noticing the people who're still here

(Transcript 3, 2004:16)

It is interesting that two years after the performance and the initial interviews, the participants seem to think that there is, as Bonga says, “too much” American influence on young black

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

South Africans. When asked to explain why they thought American practices had such an influence they responded with the following:

- Researcher: why do you think American stuff has had so much influence?*
- Bonga: because it's like the first world*
- Minnie: it's like*
- Sizwe: it's huge, it's got big things, big buildings*
- Noma: Hollywood*
- Bonga: everyone wants to be big and in so we try to take the American thing and try, well America tried to take the in-thing and sell it to us and we bought into it like that [snaps fingers]*
- Noma: yes!*
- Researcher: why do you think we bought into it so big*
- Bonga: because it's still the biggest thing*
- Noma: because of hype, all those Charlize Theron people. I think that American influence is always going to be there but we still have our own originality, our own thing*

(Transcript 3 2004:16)

It can be seen in this extract that from embracing American practices they have moved to a position of viewing the issue critically, questioning the ethics of globalisation and the United States “tak[ing] the in-thing and sell[ing] it to us”. Bonga also refers critically to their own response that they “bought into it like that [snapping his finger]”. More than this though, the participants showed an increasing interest in South African black popular culture:

- Minnie: /but Proudly South African is actually also starting to build up a bit you know with House music [Proudly South African – an international advertising initiative to raise the status of South African products and South Africa as a destination]*
- Noma: /yes, the House is fine*
- Bonga: and music like the rap, the South African rap*
- Minnie: And South African Hip Hop*
- Bonga: they rap in their style, in like our style in a language we can understand you see, so it's like becoming more and more a thing*
- Minnie: people are still*
- Bonga: they're taking the American thing and turning it around into South African, Proudly South African*
- Minnie: yes, like [unclear]*
- Bonga: like Pitch Black too*
- Minnie: so there's it's growing, slowly but surely we're getting somewhere*
- Researcher: and the gangsta dress thing?*
- Minnie: okay dress, we're always be like that*

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

- Noma:* you wouldn't come wearing *ibheshu* [traditional Zulu loincloth]
Minnie: *ja* [laughing]
Noma: that would be too [unclear] but then the hype now to wear the
Bonga: /sandals
Noma: yes, those tyre sandals with the white pin things, that's fashionable, coming closer
Bonga: so Proudly South African is actually like growing, it's becoming big
(Transcript 3, 2004:16)

From this extract it can be seen that there is approval expressed by the group for the idea of taking a practice, adapting it and owning it as South African. It is interesting that they refer to the Proudly South African advertising initiative that is promoted in the media and they extend it to South African music possibly as a reason for their increased support of black South African practices. It certainly may have contributed but I would like to suggest that it is their stage in life that primarily affects their changing views.

When consulting Sindiso Mnisi about her school experience in a white high school in the late nineties (Field Notes 2004), it became apparent that she had experienced the same shift from affiliation with African American practices to closer identification with South African practices. Because she is ten years older than the participants, she would have been experiencing this shift long before any advertising initiative was launched. According to Sindiso this shift corresponded with the growing political and social awareness that seems to often occur in one's teenage years. From being a primary school student who was most concerned with what was pushed as fashionable in the media, she experienced a shift towards acknowledging and asserting her 'blackness'. This manifested in her spending more time with her black school friends and speaking more isiZulu, seSwati and seTswana than English. She also began to listen to popular black South African music. Sindiso claimed that the shift could have been due to her developing awareness of cultural identity and possibly also to the growing pressures from peers in the school to group together and assert their group identity. The group in this study, in their follow-up interview raised similar ideas.

- Minnie:* school's much different to [primary school] now
Researcher: in what way Minnie?
Minnie: like the people I hang out with now are totally different to the people I used to hang out with in [primary school]
Noma: hey [shaking her head]
Minnie: so like in [primary school] like you used to more... easier to hang out with white fr... like white people and

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

Bonga: /I know

Minnie: not being criticized that much about it but when you get to [high school] uh it's like "Okay". You know it's like the coconut thing is quite big

Researcher: is it?

Minnie: I don't think it's only my school but like in high school so

Sizwe: ja

Minnie: like so it's much... like I don't hang out with white people like I mean they'll have a whole lot of friends and like go "hey, hi" and everything but the main people I hang out with are all black and [primary school] used to be like all or mostly whites or coloureds or Indians.

(Transcript 3, 2004:4)

By saying "the coconut thing is quite big" means that by spending most of their time with white students, they run the risk of being labelled a 'coconut', of being seen as traitors to their blackness by being black on the outside but white on the inside. This would suggest that there is pressure to conform to the group that asserts their identity as black South Africans, perhaps showing this membership by speaking more isiZulu than English or perhaps by listening to more African music than American music.

So it can be seen that the group did not hold to their initial attitude of embracing African American practices. They moved away from this as they got older and moved into high school, possibly because they became more politically and culturally aware and were subject to stronger group pressures to conform.

Though this urban scene is so different from the other scenes in structure and content and message, it is a crucial scene in the process of understanding the identity issues that the children were, and in some senses, are still facing. What makes it so interesting is the fact that, unlike the other scenes, the participants appeared not to be as conscious of their positioning within the African American Street Discourse as they seemed in relation to the other Discourses of traditional, school and home contexts. It is as if it took a couple of years for political and social awareness to develop when they could begin to look critically at their relation to African American practices.

4.5.3. Conclusion

It would seem that at the time of the performance, the participants were practicing the Discourse of being black, urban and American which included the associated practices of playing basketball, listening to black American music. This is perhaps represented in the scene through the crossing into American English that signals the crossing of an ethnic and

social boundary (Rampton 1995). This Discourse is seen as ‘cool’, ‘hip’, urban and cosmopolitan. In this Discourse the frames of being black and being English are collapsed and perhaps offer a freedom from continual conflict between Discourses.

It became apparent that during the two years between the performance and the follow-up interviews, much had changed in the participants’ outlook. Upon entering high school and coming into contact with more black students from different backgrounds, they began to seek membership of the Discourse of being urban, black South Africans. This meant they began to speak more isiZulu and associate more with black Zulu speaking students than with other ethnic groups. In terms of Bourdieu’s framework, they began to invest in accumulating cultural and social capital to exhibit their standing in the group. Perhaps it could be said that, through this new secondary Discourse of being “proudly South African” (Transcript 3 2004:16) they returned to elements of their primary Discourse, elements which express solidarity in being black and Zulu.

4.6. The Closing Scene

Though the previous scene was supposed to be the final scene, the participants wanted to end off the performance with a more significant ending than simply saying “The end”. Instead of this they decided to conclude the performance with an unscripted, but loosely rehearsed, humorous view of the areas of conflict that they had raised throughout the performance. The result was a dramatized summary of the performance as a whole, with each participant representing a character with an allegiance to one or other group (See Figures 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, 4.24 & 4.25).

Go to movie clip 8: The Closing Scene

4.6.1. Exploring Critical Moment 5: The Closing Scene

The conclusion played out as follows:

[The group assemble to conclude the performance, not standing in any particular order but grouped towards the front of the stage]

Nandi: I would like to thank everyone here today especially my mom, my dad, my brother, my sisters and my uncles...

[Noma steps in and pushes her out the way, chastising her in isiZulu, gesticulating for Nandi to get off the stage. Phumzile steps up and tries to cover the interruption of the other two]

Phumzile: Anyway, thank you guys for coming and I hope you enjoyed the show.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

[Sizwe pushes her out the way and just stands in the front grinning shyly at the audience. Bonga steps in and says to Sizwe in Tsotsi taal]

Bonga: *Yo Phili mfowethu uyabona ukuthi uyabheda. Hhe bafethu sicela ukubona useven phezulu! (Phili my brother can't you see that you are not doing this properly. Guys please can we see seven in the air!)*

[Sipho jumps in front of Bonga, trying to say 'the end' in isiZulu and they begin to tussle. Minnie steps up to them]

Minnie: *No, no, shut up you guys– [turns to the audience] - the end*

[Noma cuts in and ends in colloquial isiZulu]

Noma: *Cosi, cosi yaphela (That is the end of our story.)*

(Video Transcript 2002:9)



Figure 4.21 Noma steps in and pushes Nandi out the way.



Figure 4.22 Sizwe pushes Pumzile out the way



Figure 4.23 Bonga: “ukubona useven phezulu!”



Figure 4.24 Sipho jumps in front of Bonga, trying to say ‘the end’ in isiZulu



Figure 4.25 Minnie: “the end.”

Nandi begins, appearing to pick up the 'model C' character she had played in the school scene. As she did then, she overplays this character to the point of parody. It is possible that this reveals a deep seated negative judgement of people who are named 'Model C's', that they are to be made fun of. It could also be Nandi's way of turning one's own negative experience of being seen as a 'Model C' into something lighter and more manageable, of finding the humour in an otherwise very difficult situation.

Noma then steps in, seeming to play the Zulu insider from the school scene, who is intolerant of the Model C character. She pushes Nandi to the side, chastising her in isiZulu with her back to the audience so what she says is inaudible but from her gesticulating it is clear that she is silencing the 'Model C'.

Phumzile, looking slightly embarrassed about the ruckus going on behind her comes forward and speaks in colloquial English, "thank you guys for coming and I hope you enjoyed the show". This utterance is reminiscent of American TV, with the use of 'you guys' referring to the audience and her reference to enjoying 'the show'. It is difficult here to assert whether Phumzile is playing a fictional character or not. The way she is speaking, though reminiscent of American TV, is very like the ordinary way that children at the school speak. It is very possible that she is merely being herself, shifting the stage space to allow herself rather than a fictional character to speak. If one thinks of the curtain call in the theatre, it is a time when the actors, though still in costume, are not characters anymore but actors receiving credit for their skill. This time in a play is usually a shifted space where the fictional is just over and the audience understand that they are applauding the actors, not the characters. In this particular closing scene one is not really sure that the play is over because some of the actors are still in character and yet some, possibly like Phumzile, are appearing as themselves. But then the entire performance has been a strange juxtaposition of real and represented, with the viewer never being certain that the actors are playing themselves or whether they are playing a fictional character. Most likely is that they are playing both in one way or another, at different stages and this closing scene brings the dilemma closer to the surface.

This feeling continues with Sizwe's take-over. He pushes Phumzile out of the way and takes her place, just standing in the limelight, grinning broadly. Though he is clearly deliberately being funny, he is also being himself. Sizwe is shy and didn't say very much in the pre-performance discussions. He did make his apprehension about performing in front of the school known to the group. This act of simply standing grinning is very close to his personality and one again is aware of the overlap between reality and fiction.

Bonga steps forward and with his hand on Sizwe's shoulder says, "yo Phili mfowethu uyabona ukuthi uyabheda." (Phili my brother can't you see that you are not doing this properly). Bonga then raises both his arm in the air and shouts to the audience "hhe bafethu sicela ukubona useven phezulu!" (Guys please can we see seven in the air!). This is Zulu slang that is very like Tsotsi taal, a slang that developed in the townships around Johannesburg during apartheid, where the mines brought migrant labour from all over the country. Because so many different languages were spoken, a colloquial mixture developed that people could use as a common language. Now, Tsotsi taal appears to be a marker of urban identity, of township street culture. Bonga's utterance is more Zulu than what one would find in Johannesburg Tsotsi taal but it is an interesting addition to the performance. The language had not made an overt appearance in the performance before this point but that it appears in the closing is perhaps important. It signals a specifically black, urban South African identity which only seems to become significant later in the participants' lives, as they settle at high school and begin to assert their 'Africanness'. The scene closes with Minnie attempting to end the performance finally in English but Noma having the last, quick word in isiZulu, perhaps suggesting that though English may officially dominate, isiZulu, their mother tongue, just may be the more enduring; isiZulu may be the closest to them and therefore the most fitting to 'have the last say'.

4.6.2. Conclusion

In this scene, the jostling to hold the stage could be seen as representative of the languages and Discourses jostling for position in the participants lives. The play between them is dynamic, overlapping, conflicting but all have their say, all hold the stage for a moment before being overtaken by another person. This closing scene, as a summary of the performance whole, is above all humorous. It is a light analogy for something that could seem overwhelmingly complicated and inescapable and yet leaves the viewer with a sense that, far from being victims, these children are agents in the process of living through multiple identities.

The next chapter continues with the discussion of the performance but takes a step back from the close analysis that has characterised this chapter. Instead, chapter five interprets the findings in this chapter in a more general way, drawing significant features from the performance as a whole.

5. Interpretation

5.1. Introduction

Having explored aspects of each scene in depth in the previous chapter, it became evident that not only is each scene in the performance worth analysing but that it is important to step away from a close analysis to view the performance as a whole, to look at the scenes as part of the whole and interpret the close analysis in terms of the research questions that were posed in the beginning. This penultimate chapter will explore a few macro-concepts that have emerged in the process of the research. The first of these is the notion of multimodality which has been key to the project from the very beginning. The discussion below outlines the significance of multimodality to the research process and to pedagogy in general. This leads into a discussion of the multiplicity of Discourses occurring in the performance, linking Discourse and Bourdieu's notion of capital and social fields. A short discussion of gender issues in the performance follows. The chapter concludes with an exploration of multiple identities as an idea that emerged from this research process.

5.2. Multimodality

This thesis works with the New London Group's (2000) suggestion that there are five modes of meaning: the linguistic mode, the visual, the audio, the spatial and the gestural mode. In chapter 2, the notion of multimodality was discussed and defined as referring to meanings that are expressed through multiple modes simultaneously. An important aim of this project was to explore modes that are not usually given as much attention in the education and applied linguistic fields as is given to the study of language as the primary mode of communicating meaning. Initially I sought to explore the nature of multimodality through the data collection process to investigate its use for pedagogical purposes. I was not aware how significant the notion of multimodality was going to be for the entire research process, from data collection in the form of creating a performance, discussed in chapter 3, through the analysis of the data which required the use of photographs, sketches and listening to music which is explained fully in chapter 4, to the very end point of this printed document that presents the data in the form of photographs, movie clips and language.

In the data collection process I intended to create an open space where the participants could express themselves in a way that they felt most comfortable and which would perhaps reveal different, richer meanings to what would have emerged from formal interviews or

perhaps written accounts. The idea was that they might better express themselves through multiple modes. That they chose to construct a performance meant that they were making use of their voices, their bodies, their clothes, their songs, their languages and their music to tell stories about themselves. It meant that they drew from all manner of resources to create the performance text, including their experiences of school, their relationships with teachers, parents, grandparents and friends. They also drew from the popular Discourses of hip hop music and 'gangsta' style clothing to express their adolescent wish to follow and identify with music and fashion trends. The group also drew from their histories, from their understandings of what traditional Zulu culture is about and their notions of the historical position that black South Africans have had to take in relation to the Colonial presence of white South Africans. From all these available resources, amongst many others, the group designed a performance that represented who they thought they were. It would have been impossible to express what they did through a written piece or a recorded interview. In fact, there was so much expressed that many studies could be done based on this one twenty minute production by focussing on single aspects such as music, dance, clothing amongst others that are only mentioned in this thesis. The key to the richness of the performance was its multimodal nature.

5.2.1. The Use of Multiple Modes in the Performance

In the Traditional scene and in the Urban scene meaning is carried through the modes of song and movement. The combination of music and dance powerfully expresses feelings of rhythmic cohesion and noisy enjoyment. These two modes revealed sites where, on the one hand, the individuals' traditional histories became embodied in the form of singing, dancing, stamping and clapping (see figure 5.1).

On the other hand, in the Urban scene, popular Discourses were embodied in the form of the individual's dancing and clapping in hip hop style. A full analysis of the modes of music and dance would, no doubt yield fascinating insight into an embodied junction between large socio-cultural forces and the individual where, for example, the influences of globalisation might be evident in the adopting of African American music and dance style by South African children. Though I intended to venture into this area I was not aware of the vast scale of analysis that this project would open up. Merely dipping into analysis of the linguistic, spatial and gestural modes yielded more than enough subject matter. In the Urban scene, the participants wanted to express their Urban identities and used a variety of modes to

do this. The linguistic mode carries American style colloquialisms and American accents, evident in the following excerpt

Bonga: *Where the party at!*

Nandi: *hey, welcome to my sleepover. Take a seat.*

Minnie: *[standing up and pointing her toes to show off her shoes] Girls, girls, girls, look at my shoes.*

Girls: *[respond in an American accent] Damn girl!*

(Video Transcript 2002:8).



Figure 5.1 Embodied Histories

Another mode that was discussed in chapter 4 is the mode of clothing. The participants wore black and white T shirts to represent their insider/outsider status and were wearing fashionable tops underneath the T shirts. They had planned to remove their T shirts in the Urban scene to reveal the more trendy clothing which was more appropriate for the Urban scene and would express their solidarity because the group felt that in the Urban scene there were no insiders and outsiders. Interestingly only the girls carried out the plan as can be seen below in figure 5.2.



Figure 5.2 Girls and Boys' clothing choices

The participants, through the linguistic mode, through music, through dance and through the clothes they wear, express the Discourses of being Urban and being 'hip', both of which seem wrapped up in African American urban practices.

Compared to the Traditional and Urban scenes, the School and Home scenes are relatively static, with the participants in both the School and Home scenes remaining seated for most of the scenes. When gestures are used, they involve facial expression or the use of arms and hands rather than whole bodies as expression. Also different is the lack of additional sound in the form of music, stamping feet, clapping hands and whistling. With regard to the School scene it is perhaps not surprising, considering that 'music' in the school is largely limited to the choir or the sedate singing of hymns in assembly to the accompaniment of the piano. It is perhaps understandable that, with the exception of the 'learners' facial expression and hand gestures, the linguistic mode is dominant in the School scene where western middle class practices are dominant.

Though the Home scene may appear static, it is perhaps not as limited to the linguistic mode as one might initially think. When Bonga first arrives home, Noma cues her role as his mother by her action of standing in the 'kitchen' stirring something in an imaginary bowl. Siphos grandmother, in the following story, uses intonation to place emphasis on the word 'esikoleni', not merely stating 'at school' but actually passing judgment on her grandson's speaking of English.

Sipho(Boy): At school...

Nandi(Gogo): Esikoleni (His grandmother corrects him saying 'at school' in isiZulu)

Sipho(Boy): At school

Nandi(Gogo): Esikoleni (corrects him again)

(Video transcript 2002:7)

Though intonation might normally be seen as part of the linguistic mode, it can not be represented in writing. The above excerpt from the video script relies on the directions in brackets to supply the added meaning. Without being able to hear the sound of the grandmother's voice, the exchange loses meaning. The linguistic mode presents what is written with the repetition of 'esikoleni' being ambiguous. The grandmother could be agreeing with Siphos, repeating his words as affirmation of meaning. It is wholly the sound of her voice that expresses her corrections of his English. This instance is an example of where simple definitions, like the New London Group's range of modes (2000) breaks down. They list the range of modes as including the linguistic, the visual, the audio, the gestural and the spatial mode. Is intonation linguistic or audio? Other definition problems arose in the analysis

of modes. When analysing the participants' use of facial expression and hand movements it might seem simple to define these as the gestural mode but I was analysing still images and therefore using Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar for visual images (1996); the participants might have been using the gestural mode to express their meanings but I was reading those meanings through the visual mode. This seems to suggest that mode is dependent on whether the meaning is being produced or received, complicating the definition of modes. Another complication arose when recognising clothing as a mode of meaning. Clothing, notably amongst teenagers, is a significant expression of meaning and yet it does not fit comfortably into the five mode categories suggested by the New London Group (2000).

The spatial mode is interestingly used in the performance. An analysis of the way the actors use the stage space is interesting in itself but it also allows insight into the shifting relationship between the actors and the characters they play. Pavis (1996: 58) describes the actor as someone who creates, through his or her body, appearance, voice and emotions, an entrance for the audience into a represented world where every action is read as a fictional action that only has real meaning within that represented world. At the same time however, the actor is also his/herself, an actor whose skill or appearance can be evaluated by the audience. They therefore have dual status. They are simultaneously real actors and imaginary characters (Pavis 1996:59).

In this particular performance the situation is more complex than a straight forward theatrical play. The actors produced the performance, created characters and enacted situations that express their own experience making it very difficult to identify whether the actors are playing themselves or playing fictional characters. Because the participants created the performance as a representation of themselves and the aim of this study is to analyse this representation, it is perhaps important to try and identify which characters in the performance are representations of the participants and which characters are fictional. One way of looking more closely at this issue is to examine the actors' use of actual and represented space through the performance (Appendix H).

The term *actual space* refers to the stage. In reality the stage was the front of a school hall. The actors had marked, with masking tape, four different areas and they moved across the stage into a new area with the start of a new scene. The term *represented* refers to the imaginary place in which each scene is set. Because there were no backdrops used in the performance, the represented space was suggested through clues found in the way actors moved, the sounds they made or by the context of the interaction.

In the Traditional scene the primary link between the actual space of the stage and the represented spaces of a rural communal meeting place, a cattle kraal and a river are the actors themselves. The audience must depend on their imaginations and the actors' clues (cattle lowing, kneeling and scooping imaginary water into a bucket) to determine the setting. The only objects on the stage itself to suggest the setting are the traditional water pots that two of the girls carry in the *Water Carriers* story (see figure 5.3), making a more direct link between the two worlds. Other than this, there is no physical relation between the represented and actual space.



Figure 5.3 Real Water pots

The School scene has the closest relationship between actual and represented space because the scene is set in a represented classroom while the actual space of the stage placed in a school hall is probably only a few metres from the real classroom that the actors are attempting to portray. In this scene the students sit on actual school chairs (see figure 5.4), a further link between the two worlds.



Figure 5.4 Real School chairs

An interesting question to think about is whether the link between actual and represented space changes the authenticity of the scene. The School scene appears more authentic than the Traditional scene because it is physically located in the school but also because the audience know the actors as learners in that particular ex-model C school, thus verifying their portrayal of their experience of the school.

The Traditional scene is far removed from the actual space of that school hall. It is possible that the actors have never been to a rural area, have never herded cows or collected water from a river. But does this possibility make the scene any less authentic? If nothing else the scene is portraying what the actors *think* a traditional situation is like, how they see themselves in that situation. This positioning of themselves, even if it is in an imaginary setting, seems to be as significant as their positioning in the school scene because it was constructed by the actors themselves and therefore represents what they possibly have been told by parents and then believe about traditional Zulu life; it represents their ideological understandings of their historical traditions.

The Closing scene is interesting in this regard. It is the curtain call of the performance where the actors usually face the audience and appear as themselves. There is no represented space in this scene because they are acknowledging that they are on a stage and are thanking the audience for watching. Of special interest is that some of the actors are still in character which is evident in their overplaying the comedy in the situation. This is a moment in the performance where the shift that Pavis describes (1996:59) between actor and character is revealed. This highlights once again complex relationship between actual and represented that underpins the performance.

It could be argued that the participants are using this shifting between actual and represented states to allow expression of Discourses that are too sensitive to talk about openly in 'real time'. It would not be possible for the participants to stand up in front of a collection of teachers and speak as themselves about injustice in the classroom. The represented space allows them to be someone else, someone else who is not real and therefore can not be held responsible for what is expressed. Layers of Discourse seem to be playing out simultaneously through this performance and are allowed to because the act of performing is too complex a thing for the audience to successfully unravel what is real and what is fictional.

The multimodal findings of this research process have significant implications for both pedagogy and research analysis. The study opened a space for the participants to freely

express themselves that was only possible because they could use multiple modes to tell stories that would have been drastically reduced if they had been restricted to the sole use of the linguistic mode. Dancing, singing, clapping, shouting and pushing can only be described through language, not embodied. The participants' stories would have been very different if they had simply been spoken rather than enacted. How much of learners' voices is actually heard in schools? In what moments can learners really express what they think, feel, remember and believe? They do 'creative' writing where they are given subjects to write about. They do art where they are given subjects to paint. They do orals where they are given subjects to talk about in front of the class. They do music where they are given songs to read and sing. In what moments can learners choose what to say, how to say it and who to say it to? I would like to suggest that these moments need to be opened up for children in schools, where they can design their own expression, choosing from multiple modes to say best what they want to say.

Multimodal processes have significant implications for research analysis. It was through multimodal techniques that this study managed to access particular meanings being expressed through modes other than language. In analysing still images from the performance it was possible, using Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar (1996), to look at the way participants used their bodies to express meanings. Being able to layer additional meaning on to the participants' language meant that the data was enriched.

Modes are the various forms that meaning takes in communication, whether it be meaning through speech, music or gesture. A Discourse, as discussed in chapter 2, is "a 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 (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role" (Gee 1996a:131). So a Discourse will be signalled by the meanings carried by a number of modes. For example, a Discourse of being a young, black, urban South African might include the meanings carried by the linguistic mode; code-switching between English and an African language, as well as meanings carried by wearing baseball caps and shirts with American labels, listening to RNB, House and Hip-Hop and even by playing basketball. So it is through multiple modes that meanings are carried which might collectively signal a particular Discourse.

5.3. Layers of Discourse

One aim of this study was to analyse the performance text to ascertain how Discourses emerge through this constructed representation. It soon became clear that it was not just the Discourses that were important but also the way in which the Discourses interrelated. How the Discourses worked or conflicted with each other seemed to be primarily dependent on the actual and represented social field (Bourdieu 1990), the context in which the action was taking place. It seemed that the Discourses that were emerging in the different fields were being ordered into hierarchical layers of dominance. Some Discourses which I identified in the performance are mentioned below. It should be noted that, because I have limited understanding as a researcher in social fields that are not my own and because I do not wish to immobilise such fluid, dynamic entities, these Discourses are named with a sense of reluctance. The Discourses identified are Rural Discourse; Historical, traditional Zulu Discourse; Urban Discourse; School Discourse; Middle Class Discourse; White, English Discourse; Opposition and Subversion Discourse; Respect and Politeness Discourse; Family Discourse; African American Street Discourse and Proudly South African Discourse.

As was discussed in chapter 4.2., when one thinks of dominant Discourses, one usually thinks of the 'super' hegemonic Discourses of large institutions or systems. This category might include the dominant school based Discourse that, in South Africa, seems to still reflect white, English, middle class values and cultural practices. When beginning this study in 2002, I thought I would find the main issue being the conflict between the large school system and the marginalised group of Zulu speaking students. I soon realised that the situation was far more complex. Upon completing this dissertation, the complexity is again clear. It began to emerge that the dominance of Discourses was not consistent; the hegemony of the school Discourse, for example, though represented at one point in the performance, does not retain its superordinate position. The dominance of a Discourse seems rather to be dependent on the field in which it is located. The Historical, Traditional Zulu Discourse is dominant in the practice of herding cows in a rural area. It is also dominant at a family celebration, or even while playing a traditional Zulu game on the playground that requires knowledge and experience of being authentically Zulu.

The fields might even overlap in one physical space as in the classroom. Here the teacher represents the school based Discourse and this gives her official authority over the students. However, though the Discourse of school may be powerful, the students might hold

the Discourse of being Urban and the Historical, Traditional Zulu Discourse higher than that of school. They might subvert her authority by deliberately ignoring the rules of school and speaking isiZulu even though she has demanded English only. Here the teacher's field coexists, be it in conflict, with the student's field and different Discourses dominate in each. At another level, a peer level, another conflict between Discourses is taking place. The in-group hold the Discourse of being 'real' Zulus and the outsider, the 'Model C', holds the Discourse of being Urban and English. In the field of the in-group, their Discourse is dominant and excludes the outsider from joining because she is white on the inside, she is a 'coconut'. However, recontextualise this conflict in the teacher's field and a very different picture emerges. In the teacher's field, the outsider will be the one to capitalise on her membership to the Discourse of being Urban and English.

If the dominance of Discourses can indeed be linked to particular fields, then it is reasonable to suggest that no single Discourse is superordinate and there is no overall hierarchy of Discourses. Dominance depends on the field and on whether the particular Discourse has capital (Bourdieu 1990) in that field. To concur with Bourdieu and Luke's claims about the relational nature of power, this means then, that marginalised individuals are only marginalised in certain fields while in others where their Discourses are dominant, they hold power.

5.4. Multiple Identities

When one thinks that the performance was created as a representation of the identities of the group of participants, the question is raised: which characters were fictional and which characters were representations of the participants? The answer to this is as complex as the layers of Discourses working throughout the performance.

In each scene it is difficult to separate out the likely character with whom the participants might identify most. In the Traditional Scene, as discussed in chapter 4.2., it seems at first to be obvious that the 'Model C' character, sharing the schooling experience and proficiency in English, might be representing the participants. However, the in-group in this scene seem to act with a sense of rightness, as if the participants want to identify with them even though they live in town and attend an ex-Model C school. It is as if there is embodied capital attached to the practices of singing and dancing in traditional ways even though the practices are not commonly lived out in their lives. It is not likely to just be about being a skilled dancer but more as if the practices signal the historical legacy of Zuluness that

is worthy of pride and respect. This sentiment is reflected in the comment by Minnie in one of the 2002 interviews.

Minnie: My mom says no matter who you are, tradition is part of you. Culture is part of you. You can go to white schools, you can have the most education, I mean believing (we're Christians but we still have our traditional ways) and we can't leave those things behind. They're part of us.

(Transcript 1, 2002:5)

In the School scene, as discussed in chapter 4, the representations of the learners are complicated. There is the 'Model C' character who is exaggerated and played as a comic figure. This would seem to suggest that she is an undesirable character and that the participants would be more likely to identify with the insider group who are closely knit and scathing of the 'coconut'. Though the 'Model C' may be an undesirable identification does not preclude the possibility that participants might relate to her, even unwillingly. Minnie admits in the 2002 interviews that she feels inadequate in the townships where she is seen as a 'Model C'.

Minnie: I have like really big problems with that because me speaking Zulu, people look at me like... I don't speak Zulu well at all so when I go there, I don't have much friends in S- but when I go there it's like difficult. Here, I'm talkative, very talkative but when I get there it's like I'm actually quiet. You know, I just keep to myself because I can't say much. I try not to say much because I know I'll say something wrong and then they're going to...

(Transcript 1, 2002:10)

In the Home Scene the children speaking in a mix of English and isiZulu seem to be the clear characters to whom the participants identify but then the parental characters who speak more formal isiZulu are not challenged or made fun of, as if the participants respect and agree with the parental characters' values and opinions; as if the participants acknowledge the embodied capital of the older generation's wisdom, experience and therefore authority.

The Urban Scene introduces completely different identity representations. These characters speak only English with American accents and dance and dress in an American style. These characters seem to be completely at odds with characters that have appeared up to this point. And yet, these characters too are representations of the participants. This is the identity which emerges when the participants are amongst peers who share the same experiences, the same conflicts between Discourses of school and home and the same influences of popular culture through music, television and the film industry. This is the site

of code crossing, as discussed in chapter 2, where young, black South Africans are identifying with black American practices.

So who of all these characters represent the participants? I would like to suggest that all the characters represent the multiple identities that the participants held at the time of the performance. Because the participants are moving in multiple social fields and acting through multiple Discourses they can be said to hold multiple identities, as discussed earlier in chapter 2. Each identity perhaps is more strongly, but not exclusively, associated with certain fields and therefore certain Discourses. This is not to say that these participants are abnormal and bordering on schizophrenic but rather that they are like millions of other people living in multicultural, multilingual communities. They are living rich, diverse lives. They are living through multiple identities, constantly and fluidly meshing their urban selves with their Zulu selves, their English selves with their black selves, their histories with their present selves. In a complex, shifting way then, the participants, through their use of a multitude of resources, are constantly designing and redesigning their own identities.

The question then arises, why do this study? Why not leave children to live this rich, diverse life uninterrupted? Western ideology strongly espouses the notion of one 'true self' (Barker 1999, Billington et al. 1998, Mackay and Wong 1996). With forces of globalisation collapsing the boundaries between societies, there are appearing more and more interfaces like the one described in this study where western, Eurocentric school systems and western popular Discourses meet children from very different histories. It seems reasonable then to suggest that the values and ideologies attached to those Discourses might well be taken up by children participating in western Discourses. If that is the case, is it not possible that children such as the participants in this study might really believe that they are supposed to have one 'true' self? I would like to suggest that children, not just children who are marginalised in schools but all children, need to think consciously about their lives and about pressures they are facing. They need to be given open opportunities to talk about who they are, where they come from, what they believe, what they think and what they feel. In addition to this, I believe that children need to believe that the way they are is acknowledged and affirmed; they need to know that they are taken seriously by people in authority over them. They need to hear that they are okay.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to interpret the findings of the previous analysis chapter in more general terms. The three concepts of multimodality, layers of Discourse and multiple identities were brought into focus as notions that have attained prominence through the research process. The common feature to all three is that all have highlighted the agency of the participants. It was through multimodality that the participants were able to express their stories in powerful ways. The idea that Discourses are layered in changing hierarchies which are dependent on the social field means that the participants are not subject to the hegemony of dominant Discourses but rather that they hold power in fields where *their* Discourses are dominant. Lastly, the notion of multiple identities acknowledges that, contrary to western ideology, because people are involved in multiple social fields, they have multiple identities. This is a release from the ethnocentric compulsion to have simple, single identities. This means that people who do not comply, like the participants in the research, are not failures but people who have complex, vividly rich lives.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Thesis Overview

This thesis set out to answer two primary questions. The first of these asked how the discourses and identities of Zulu speaking learners in an ex-model C school emerged through a theatrical performance and the second asked how multimodal processes could be used to work through issues of identity with learners. The thesis attempted to reach a point of answering these questions by first, in chapter two, reviewing current literature to set up a conceptual framework that would both work towards understanding the key terms and support how the analysis was going to take place.

The first key term was identified as being the notion of Discourse, referring to accepted ways of signalling belonging to a social group. The next significant concept was Bourdieu's economy of practice. This analogical framework uses the terms of symbolic capital to provide a vocabulary for evaluating the relative social power of individuals.

The review went on to discuss the concepts of interest and design which were useful to this study's intention of acknowledging the agency of the participants in positioning themselves in relation to the Discourses that work in their lives. The concept of design, links two concepts that are fundamental to this study, that of identity and the notion of multimodality. The review in chapter two established that the idea of a singular, stable identity is a typically western idea. More helpful to this study is the idea that because people move in multiple social fields, they have multiple social identities. Multimodality refers to the multiple, simultaneous ways that people communicate their identities.

Chapter three described the ontological position that was assumed by the researcher. It explains the difficult position of maintaining a balance between a postmodern relativism and a critical stance of examining issues of power and injustice. This leads into a description of the methodology that was used both in the data collection process and in the analysis process. The data collection was divided into two parts, the first being the 2002 research process which included focus group interviews and the multimodal performance. The second data collection process in 2004 yielded a follow-up interview which provides a perspective of hindsight on the performance and captures the positions of the participants two years on.

The method of analysis describes the selecting of samples from the data in the form of critical moments and then proceeding to engage in the multimodal processes of interpreting through sketching still frames of the performance to which were applied features from Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar (1996).

Having set up the theoretical framework and described the methodological decisions taken, the thesis then moved into a close analysis of the performance in chapter four, moving through the scenes sequentially. Through engaging with the language from the video transcript (see Appendix E) and with the findings of the visual analysis of the sketches, each scene yielded interesting insight into the interaction between participants and significantly, how membership to particular groups was signalled. The close analysis of each scene was then interpreted in chapter five which drew out three major observations. These included multimodality, layers of Discourse and multiple identities. This chapter stated that firstly, it was through multimodality that the participants were able to express their stories in powerful ways. The second key finding was the idea that Discourses are layered in changing hierarchies which are dependent on the social fields in which the participants are involved. This was significant because it means that the participants are not subject to the hegemony of dominant Discourses but rather that in fields where *their* Discourses are dominant, they hold power. The third observation suggests the idea that, contrary to western ideology, people have multiple identities because of their involvement in multiple social fields.

6.2. Pedagogical Implications

It would seem that as South Africa matures as a democracy and the historical imbalance of resources continues to right itself resulting in a growing, non-racial, middle class, it would be likely that ex-Model C schools will take in more and more African language speakers. In addition to this, it is unlikely that forces of globalisation will lessen and relieve the pressure to learn English. The combined result might very possibly be that more and more children will face the conflicts between Discourses, between languages and between social groups that are described in this study.

I would like to suggest that providing spaces where children can explore issues of culture and identity openly and creatively could be an opportunity for children to engage with the issues in a direct, constructive way.

- Pumzile: Before the show, nobody realised- everybody just ignored us. our culture. Maybe I thought I was the only one and now I can see that it's not only me, most of the people are like that.*
- Sipho: I learnt things about people that I didn't know before. The play was like, excellent. Now everybody can understand how we feel with teachers telling us not to speak Zulu.*
- Nandi: It has made me feel different about my culture because I used to think "it's so boring" but now when I think about it, it's quite nice. It's just that I never gave it time or had fun with it.*
- Minnie: I learnt more about how other people relate to being English and Zulu. Most people think I'm very white and everything and now they can recognise that I'm not only white, I have my cultural ways and traditions. I've got to know myself better, I do actually understand my cultural ways and my traditions and everything.*
- Noma: I don't normally speak to my mom that much about school. I used to but it was in English. Now, I speak more in Zulu than I do in English. Minnie, she doesn't normally speak Zulu that much but she's started mixing English up with her Zulu. If she spoke English, she spoke English but now she speaks Zulu most of the time, not most of the time, but more.*

(Post Performance Interviews 2002).

Listening to the participants in the 2004 follow-up interview and hearing how much their experience of school has changed since they moved to high school made me wonder if this process had anything to do with their later move to embrace their Zuluness. It was suggested in chapter 4.5., that the transition into their teenage years could well have been behind this social shift. Even if this might happen anyway, I think it is important that children are given the opportunity to work with and express their multiple selves. Our society can not really afford to hope that things will take care of themselves. As a mere exercise in giving these children a legitimate voice, the project was worth it but if it did make the participants think about their position in any way, then it opened something that is usually closed and invited the participants to act if they so chose.

6.3. Limitations

This thesis is a minor dissertation and is exceptionally limited in terms of length and scope. As with any multimodal study, once I was immersed in analysis, issues that I had not expected began to emerge from the data. Some I could attempt to unearth and others I had to leave completely. The first of these were the modes of dance and music. In both the Traditional and Urban scene, dance and music are powerfully evocative modes of expression that were crying out to be closely examined. Because I have no background in these modes, interpreting them would have meant that researching ways, or perhaps even inventing ways

of reading dance and reading music, something I simply did not have the time or resources to begin.

Another feature that appeared in the data and was promising to be very interesting was the issue of gender. I began to question the automatic practices where girls fetched water and boys herded cows; why, in the Home scene, were parents represented by a mother and a grandmother and not by a father figure. In the Urban scene, the girls remembered to change into more fashionable clothes and the boys simply remained in their T shirts. The issue of gender was clearly important and would yield fascinating results but I had more than enough to analyse already and had to make the difficult decision to leave gender unanalysed.

6.4. Recommendations for Further Research

This case study, by definition, selectively deals with one group of participants from one school in one town. It has been suggested in this study that issues of conflict with school Discourses and alienation from social groups are experienced in other parts of South Africa with other language groups but this study can not go as far as to confirm this. Further research in other regions is necessary to confirm that these children's experience is being shared by other children around South Africa.

This study, because of its limited scope, could not venture into an extensive multimodal analysis. There is much to be developed in terms of researching issues such as code-switching, that can be easily recognised in language, but has not been explored through the other modes of meaning. As has been mentioned above, research is needed into the modes of dance, movement, gesture and music. Each would require extensive work in terms of establishing categories and vocabulary to describe these forms of communication.

Research is needed that explores the ways in which participants' histories are recontextualised in current practices; how historical legacies are embodied in dance, music, games and stories.

As mentioned above, research is needed that examines how gender works in the identities of school children; how gender relates to current practices but also how gender is expressed through multimodality.

More research is needed into the interplay between African American cultural practices and those of young South Africans. How the media is used to portray American culture and why South Africans adopt American practice are questions that need answering.

Designing social identities:

a case study of primary school theatrical performance by Zulu children in an ex-model C school

The aim of this project was to analyse the Discourses represented in the performance. This aim was limited to a degree by my identities as a white, English speaking woman. This field requires researchers of different racial and language orientation to further explore the range of Discourses that might not have been revealed to me, both in the data collection process and in the analysis.

University of Cape Town

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Appendix A:
Transcript 1, 2002.

University of Cape Town

R: Researcher
No: Noma
M: Minnie
S: Siph

B: Bonga
Na: Nandi
Si: Sizwe

R: I want you to, anybody can answer this but I want you to imagine this situation: you are writing to someone in another country and you're telling them about yourself. How would you describe yourself?

B black with long hair
No African

R What does that mean?

No I am a Zulu speaking person, I speak Zulu but then I speak English some of the time

R okay so you're Zulu speaking and you're English speaking?

No yes

R would you say you're one more than the other?

M yes

B no

No I don't know

R Can you explain?

Na Zulu is like my home language

S my mother tongue

B I was born a Zulu

Na I'm kind of both of them but I was born Zulu and I'll stay Zulu but I also speak English, about 60/40 English/Zulu

M For me it would probably be 55/45, actually it would probably be 50/50

R really?

M yes

No because she speaks English at home

Na she doesn't speak Zulu that well

[laughter]

No she can speak Zulu but she's just not used to speaking it at home

M because from a young age, I've just been taught to always be speaking English so I don't speak much Zulu at home. My parents do but when they ask me something in Zulu I'll probably always answer in English

Na I mix my sentences

No I don't mix them because I just speak Zulu at home

R For you it's quite separate?

No home its Zulu and school its English

B Its quite impossible because you like don't know all the Zulu words because sometimes when I say something in Zulu...

No because we speak fake Zulu not true Zulu

R Fake Zulu?

No yes. Not like Zulu Zulu

B we speak like modern Zulu

No because Zulu in Zululand is quite complicated

S Zulu Zulu Zulu is like... my granny speaks strong hard Zulu. She speaks a Zulu that I don't even understand myself, the Zulu that I woova like..."what did you just say?"

R Tell me, when you speak to your granny, does she say anything about the way you speak Zulu?

S She just tells me that my Zulu is like I can't talk Zulu properly. She says I'm like I've been in like English schools for like...

Na too long

No I know what goes on a black school because my mom teaches in one

S I've been in a black school for like two years and there it's like they never speak English. The only time we ever spoke English was in class during like a lesson. In grade four we were learning the English like 'kids are kissing, the pigs are kissing, the hens are laying'

R what did that make you feel when you were learning that?

S I didn't know English then so I was like "oh that is so hard"

Na If I actually went to a black school this year, people would probably think of me like "oh damn, she thinks she's all that, model C" and everything

M That's what they call us if you go to English schools

R Who's they?

Na The people who go to black schools

R When you say black schools, what do you mean?

Na I mean, white schools are like with blacks, whites, Indians and everything

B they're mixed schools

No you wouldn't find a white person in a black school, you wouldn't find a coloured in a black school

M It's actually, the school itself is not a black school. People make it a 'black school'

Na because only blacks go there

M You could say, maybe also the teachers do it. Okay, I'm not talking about white schools because they don't really mind who goes there but I mean like black schools they like they tend to make it a black school. They expect no whites to go there and they expect no other people to go there and so that's the way it is there, so it's kind of obvious. They also expect no whites to go there because of the area its in

Na the reason that they don't go, there aren't any white people in Imbali so that's why the black schools there, they only expect blacks to go there

No My aunt is a principal there and they've got whites as teachers who teach the children proper English

R So when you say that you've been called names and things by people who go to black schools, have you actually experienced that?

M I have

B Yes

R Can I hear About them?

B sometimes they accept you for who you are, like my next-door neighbor. She goes to a black school and she accepts me for who I am. We speak Zulu

M I've actually experienced it here at school because most of the time we don't speak Zulu so when I do, people are like "okay, so you speak Zulu?" And I'm like, "Ja, I am a Zulu speaker" and sometimes some people call me coconut

R What does that mean?

No that you're brown on the outside and white on the inside

R What do you think it means when they say you're white on the inside?

Na They're jealous

B because you speak like English

S You're black but you're speaking English all the time

Na They don't want you to speak English in front of them

M It's like you act white

No It happens when we talk about school, like there's going to be a family day

B "what in the world is that?"

No ja, they'll say "What in the hell are you talking about, oooh she's started again, it's that coconut stuff"

S ja like my cousin, he goes to a black school right? So, I mean he doesn't live in Maritzburg, he lives in Ulundi and he goes to a black school because there are no white schools there and then he can speak English but not that well and when I'm around him, sometimes I forget and then I talk English and he says "oh here we go again la la la lecturing me". He always, when I talk English, he says I'm lecturing him in some way. And he gets irritated and I say "well, its not my fault you don't like me speaking English around you". He's not that bad at English but he just doesn't talk English all the time.

No and they say, "you're not African, you must be a coconut, you don't even believe in this lobola stuff."

B we don't carry on that stuff

Na Lobola? We do lobola.

No My sisters getting married and tomorrow at seven o'clock the people are coming to lobola my sister. You must come

R Now that's quite a traditional Zulu custom?

No Ja, you come out one by one and they say, "is it this one?" and we say "no"

S In the Mt- family tradition, it's like, every holiday there's a party for the grandparents and the parents and there's a party for the kids. So recently, during these holidays, we went to Port Shepstone where we slaughtered nine goats for the kids. There's a lot of kids. The Mt- family is quite a huge family.

No If you come from the suburbs like Lincoln Meade then when you get to the Zulu hut and you have to sit there with no TV and you sit and think, "I could be watching this right now." It gets boring.

Na but when we go there and we start talking about TV they go "oh no there they go again, we don't watch TV"

B I don't know it's like my father; his parents still live in the olden days. They provide their own entertainment. They go around in a circle; they sing these Zulu songs and dance in the old traditional way. but then you come in and you don't know what to do.

M Another big traditional thing is when a girl turns twenty-one.

S the key is like huge.

Na In marriage also, they slaughter the cow.

R Now tell me, when you are at an occasion like that, at one of these big parties and you're with all your cousins and everybody do you feel different to the cousins that live in the rural areas?

S No, not really.

No I do sometimes.

S Not really because most of my cousins are like, from Durban. There are only about two to four of my cousins in a rural area. Most of them live in Durban and go to Indian schools so I don't feel very different.

R Is there anybody with cousins that live in really rural areas and go to black schools?

Na I do, my cousins are in grade five and they know these Zulu things that are higher than what we're learning right now. They're learning so much stuff

B We're learning Sawubona

R so they're learning Zulu as a mother tongue?

Na ja, their English is lower than us and their Zulu is much higher

S and they call me a model C because I can't read Zulu that well

B I can't write Zulu that well
M but you are Zulu!
No I speak Zulu, even in school at some points. I do speak Zulu but then when they call me like those model C sort of things
B it's offensive
No it's offensive because they tend to think that you're white and you're not a white
R so they must see you as different
No yes, they do. They do because they like, when we speak to them they say we speak Zulu like... and they come and they speak like strong Zulu like... and we look at them like we don't know what's going on
Na And they think you're all that just because you go to an English school and everything blah blah blah. I think they're actually quite jealous. I'm sorry but they are.
Si My cousin goes to College but he still doesn't speak that much English, he just doesn't like speaking English
R Does he ever tell you why he doesn't like speaking English?
Ms no, he just normally speaks Zulu. He speaks more Zulu than English
R What is the big thing about English?
Na they don't really talk to white people like we do
M I think all of that started from way back when, you know how blacks thought that whites were superior and all that
S oh ja
B because they were teachers and
M it's just carried on
Ni there's a saying that says that you can like take a black person to a white school but you'll never change them
No ja I know something like that, my mom told me that
S it's like, um, you can take a person out of the township but you can't take the township out of them.
No yes
S we'll still be the same, we won't change because like
No when people like look at me, I come from Sobantu right, then like some other people come from Lincoln Meade and everything. And then here at school, I come here and talk about township style and everything and
B and like "you come from where?"
M I live in a similar kind of place but I know quite a bit about township style. I actually find the township more interesting than where I stay. I get home and I'm thinking "oh goodness" and then when I go to Sobantu it's like fun, they play and things. In Northdale it's like dead. You walk out the door and there's no one in the road.
S It's also like quiet!
M and like, my mom is like a very traditional person. She works and everything and she's a teacher but she's a sangoma. She became a sangoma but she doesn't work as a sangoma because she can't because she's got work. And so when we have these traditional things and we have like drum playing and everything, you just see all the people looking out their windows and standing outside their houses staring at us. And my mom had to slaughter a cow and so we slaughtered the cow in our garden and there were lots of people there. You just see all our neighbors standing outside and staring. It was like haywire and they were all wondering what the drums were about and they were just like so amazed like "woooooh"
No Like Kate, when I told them... she asked me and I told them that we slaughter cows and she's like "oh shame"
B "that's so cruel!"

No And I'm like "okay, we are supposed to do it because it's our tradition, we can't change it"

R Nipho, when you were saying that you can put a black person in a white school but you can't take the

S township out of them.

R Do you feel the same?

S I do agree that you can't change a person if they're not willing to change themselves. If you're dedicated to being a coconut, you can be.

R what does that mean, how would you do that?

No I won't mention any names but a friend of mine. She tells us that she can't speak a wink of Zulu

Na She's Mandela's daughter

[laughter]

No then when I ask her a question, say I ask her a question "wePumzile muyephi?" and she'll say, "she went down there."

"You said you can't speak Zulu". And when her Mom comes, her mom speaks Zulu. Her mom's what Sotho? And her dad's like Pedi or something. She says she only speaks English, straightforward. Even to her mom and her mom speaks Zulu to her.

R so what do you think is going on?

Na she wants to be a coconut, I'm sorry!

No She is a coconut!

Na She says that she can't understand Zulu and then when we see that she can understand Zulu she says "I can understand Zulu but I can't speak it"

No That's like illogical, you cannot, if I can speak Zulu but I can't understand it? How can I hear Zulu and not talk it?

Ni [singing] co-co-nut

R so what you're saying is that it's all about choice?

S If you want to, if you're willing to be a coconut, you will be. If you're willing to be a black you will be a black. You are what you pretend to be and you must choose.

R So you think it's conscious?

B yes

M Don't you think it also comes from the parents? I mean I wouldn't suddenly act like a coconut, where would I get it from? I mean my sister doesn't do it, my mom doesn't do it. They have an influence on us so I doubt so it kinda has to go back on their parents.

No It's how you're brought up and make you speak English at home

M exactly because I know like at all my mom's friends at home, well people that my mom knows, my mom thinks they're really wacked because they just think that they're all that, leaving their traditional ways. My mom says no matter who you are, tradition is part of you. Culture is part of you. You can go to white schools, you can have the most education, I mean believing (we're Christians but we still have our traditional ways) and we can't leave those things behind. They're part of us.

Na You are what you are, you can't totally change yourself. You can change yourself like she has but you can't really, totally change yourself. You're still who you are.

No When you get married, you'll have those like "Will you marry me" and then you say "yes" and then you go and have a bachelors party and all that

B there's no such thing as a bachelor's party where you have a stripper and all that

No and you don't go and live with the person, with your husband to be and then decide "I can get married now" You have to just stay at home!

S once you're in a tradition then you're in.

No our weddings are like, some people wear a long white dress. When you really get married in Zulu you wear

S like those bead things

No then you go and have a proper proper proper proper wedding

Na changing that isn't really that bad but changing lobola and the whole thing- that is bad

B that is bad!

R Do you think that traditions are changing?

B Like taking on the white dress

R What do you think has made that happen?

Na Copying the white people

M it's like knowledge is changing, over the years people are getting more modern and leaving things in the past behind. Even the things they should bring with they're tending to leave behind.

R It's clear that you think of yourselves as Zulu, how do you think the school handles you being Zulu?

Na We don't really talk about it that much

No in like the Zulu classes that Miss H- teaches

S she's really good at it. She's like interested in Zulu like, she wants us to help her. Some people are willing and some people are not willing.

Na Mr C- once, he was teaching us Zulu and he said something wrong. I said, "no sir, it's wrong". Me and Mimi were like arguing with him. He was like "I'm a teacher and I've studied this before".

M with the pupils, we all come to school not as racists but all as just children coming to school and the teachers I think they all see us as equals. In like Zulu lessons, I tend to notice that other people don't really want to learn Zulu. They're not eager to learn it and they just don't really care. It wasn't easy for us to start learning English like this so I mean they don't put enough effort into it.

Na They're like, the teacher tells them something and they're like "ag whatever, I don't care, I'm not going to do it"

M and they don't treat our teacher, Mr C-, he aint the best, obviously he's not going to teach good but we help him. They don't care and a few guys in the class like backchat him. If it was another teacher like our maths teacher, they treat him different. We don't backchat our teachers when we're learning English and Afrikaans.

Na I really hate Afrikaans but I don't backchat my teacher. I don't like it but I try.

No we have Zulu and you have non-Zulu speakers, when we tell them, we don't have a fight but you talk and you end up starting to talk Zulu to them, they just look at you "okay but don't talk Zulu to me because I don't understand it". Once my friend asked me, a long time ago, "how do you learn to speak two languages in one when I can only speak English". Lets say I was in a black school and I came to S- school right now, it would be very hard because people would start laughing. Say something, they laugh. Do something, they laugh. "Look at him, look at her, she can't speak English" and then they speak all this funny stuff to you and you just look at them...

Na and you're just clueless

M but there also some, few, very few English people that like to speak Zulu, who're like interested. Like one of me and Nana's friends in our class, everytime we say something, she'll say "ooh what does that mean, what does that mean?"

Na and she's starting to get it because she's trying.

No it goes by attitude. Having teachers teaching Zulu in the school is quite a good idea but then the fact that we are Zulu speakers and speak Zulu in our home, we already know what happens like umama, ubaba and everything.

S it's easy Zulu

M they should start with younger grades because this isn't really working. by the time we get to grade 7, it won't be that easy. Okay it would still be easy for us but it would be kind of a challenge.

Na it's like in tests, we don't even have to learn because we get full marks, why bother?

R because half the grade is Zulu speaking, do you think the teaching should change?

Na since we're learning such easy stuff, they should separate us out and teach us something new

M I think they should have more black teachers because there is only one black teacher and she only came this year and maybe they should teach us Zulu?

S miss N-, when we ask a question, we like just standing there and she'll tell you like all this stuff and we'd be just "oh right"

No having someone who's English, teaching you Zulu. They don't really say the words properly, they like "slala" and we like "hlala". They can't even say it.

Na they're teaching us something they don't even know themselves.

No It's quite hard because when you tell them it's like you're making the teacher feel bad.

Na we're not being racist or anything, not being mean or anything. We're just trying to help.

Si my cousin goes to St N- and he started leaning Zulu in grade one. If we go to the same high school, his Zulu will be at a different level to mine so he'll get higher marks.

No and a b c, we know the easy one, it's actually 'ah ba ca' or something. And the time!

S I don't understand, not one bit!

No and you look at the person and think "if only I could speak that kind of Zulu"

S I started school in Dundee. It was a white school but there were no whites, there was not one single white. All the teachers except for Mr S- were white.

No when my sister used to go to R- High, there whites and it was a proper school and it has totally changed from now on.

R What do you mean?

Na It was a proper white school like G- and then they started going out one by one, don't ask me why, and now there only blacks left but there are white teachers.

No I went to T- too but only for three to four days because I was too young and I drew a huge full stop because I didn't know what a full stop was. And then the principal comes and then just hits you.

R from me being here last year, I know that the school runs in very English ways.

No hmmn. Mrs D- said no Zulu.

S not allowed to speak Zulu in class.

Na she said don't even speak Zulu when you're with your Zulu friends. I can understand that it's very bad manners when there's someone who doesn't understand Zulu, but even when you're alone, Mrs D- said, no Zulu!

M but if we came straight from a Zulu school and everybody was just talking English, it's the same isn't it? I wouldn't understand what they're saying, if they're saying stuff about me.

S what if I'm at school?

No in the class it's different.

R Do you find that think in Zulu?

No I think more in English.

M it's because we're used to thinking in English.

B At school we think in English

No I have to wait a while before I say something, the words will be in my head in English.

R Can you think in what language you dream in?

S English

B English

No I do both actually.

Na I usually dream in Zulu because I usually dream of something by my house, you know because, once I dreamed that there was this tokoloshe and it was chasing me all around unit 15 and then it suddenly changed into these white men and they were speaking English.

Na I don't mean to mean about my language but some of the music that they play on TV is boring.

M It depends though

No and they tell us, support South African music, and then you have people singing one word the whole song. "haaibo, haaibo, haaibo"

Na the reason I don't really like most African music is because they use those difficult words that we don't really know. They're singing but we don't really understand what they're singing.

No They're using the hard words that your grannies use.

M I think that some African music can be a bit whacked but there's some jazz African music that makes sense.

No Like on TV screens, watch Generations. I've got an article where, you know [Masibobe], she says in Generations, if you want to say 'haow', you have to say 'wow'. That's the point, it's become too English. Ever since I've watched it's become totally different till now.

because they used to speak Zulu. It was a nice soap, you could like relate to it because it's something that happens around you. Now, everything's like English. Even the Zulu speakers are English.

Na On Days of our Lives, they only have two African Americans. That's actually quite whack.

B whack.

Na You know that Macdonalds advert, that three rand ninety-nine one- black people advertise that one. The twenty-something one, white people are on that one. It's always black people who do the cheap ones.

No Somehow I do not think that South Africa's changed. I'm sorry but I don't think so. When you look back and they tell us about the history of Apartheid and you watch Sarafina and all that, when you look back, you think everything's still the same. The maids are all black. I'm sorry but maids are black. On Special Assignment, these domestic workers were complaining, "They said you must call me baas" and all that. These people never thought that we'd have a black president and that president speaks about everything and when we have the World Summit, bill Clinton... Who came? No one from America. I don't know why, somehow they just didn't.

M I actually kinda disagree with you. I have another point of view. I think the world, okay not the world, but Africa- it's changed.

No Not really

M I think it has. I think that sometimes black people tend to notice little things, now just because they happen now. Everyone makes mistakes so every little thing that's going to be happening...

No you can't just let it go Minnie, because lets say when you were young when all that stuff happened and we don't know what goes on, me too so I wont speak like I was born in 1956 or something. I know that when you speak about those things now, it has changed.

Na both of you are actually right. You're right because some people do make a small thing and she's right because some people do do that stuff and everything.

R I'm just going to shift direction a little bit, you were talking about American music and South African music and all that, I kind of notice that black children here sometimes identify with black American culture...

No yes, you never find me thinking about Mahlatini and all that

S I actually think its about where you live, you wont find, okay maybe you will, find people who like live around here, talking about many hard-core African singers no.

M When people live in really traditional places like, I wouldn't think about that. I guess we relate more to African American music because it's more we enjoy it more than other music

R Can you give me more detail about that?

S African American people play basketball

B they live basketball

M and that's us, we live basketball. You won't see some traditional person...

S when I'm at my house, I'll put on the TV. The first thing that I do is go to JMX music and there different categories of music-there's chamber, there's dance, there's everything. The first thing I do is go to urban beat and my mom, the first category she goes to is African rhythms.

No when we relate to RNB music, like African American music, we tend to get more role models than in South Africa because here...they do a totally different thing to us. We tend to look up to them [African Americans] we think their music is cool but not that cool

M I think we also look up to Americans because it's just easier to. We understand, I don't know how to explain it but it's just easier. African singers get cross at us, seem to always complain about how we should support them, how we should look after them but then they don't do things that we can look up to. Its just boring.

No we look up to those African American people because we don't know what's going on in their lives that much. We never hear that they got drunk and started beating each other up.

M we do hear but their music so good we just like ignore it.

R Now tell me, do people in rural areas relate more to traditional African music?

Na most of them are changing, even if they're still there they are changing, they're not always listening to African music so I don't really agree that all of them

No not all of them

M don't talk about Sobantu

Na I'm not talking about Sobantu

S just Minnie saying "Sobantu" to the people back in Sobantu, they'll say she's model C because they say "Sobandu" and you're saying "Sobantoo"

No uyabona? Sobandu.

Na you know what some black people call this school? Not scottsville, they say "scotchvilla"

No they tend to speak the words in a wrong way, they say 'r' as 'l'

S instead of "fresh" they say "flesh" and it loses its meaning. It's something else

Na they roll, you know what I mean? They roll, white words. black words are just straight forward "[q-click]"

R I've come across some black South African teenagers who speak English with an American accent, even if they've never been to America.

M that's actually quite funny because a whole lot of times like me and my sister would be like talking and we went to the shop this one time and like my sister wanted to buy a new cell phone because her other one was damaged and they're like "where are you guys from?"

We're like "South Africa" and they all laugh and they're like "no, seriously, please you guys stop lying" and they got really angry with us and thought we were lying and we went out the shop and we heard this guy saying, "please, those guys are so from America" and we're like, "okay".

Na Okay, this is quite stupid but, I like take my dad's cell phone and I like I say, "[American accent] weel, I'm a professional model"

No My moms got a typical problem because she went to school and some of her friends are like [very softly] really badly educated and my mom has to relate to those people and she mustn't make herself higher than them because they say "oh, now she's starting to do that"

M exactly

No and you have to try and be level, that's what I had to do with my friends in Sobantu

Na me too in Imbali because the people in Imbali go to black schools because black schools are closer.

No if you're not level...

B they're going to think of you as something else

M that's like my parents because most of my parents don't have much friends in Northdale because she can't relate to anyone there so like every weekend they're in Sobantu. My mom okay, she's friends with lots of black teachers. My mom actually gets quite worried because all his [father's] friends are like uneducated and unemployed and he just likes to keep, he actually relates more to them than the people he's levelled with. My mom thinks, "okay" because he's always with them and everything and he's capable of like... when it's Friday and school's over he doesn't want to think anything about school, it's Friday, drinking, Sobantu.

Na I'm a totally different person with my friends at home than with my friends here. because my friends at home, I can't really act like I do here at school because they think "ag, she thinks she's higher than us and everything" so I have to like act.

R Can you describe what the difference is? What are you like when you are with your friends at home?

Na here we speak English and Zulu, at home we speak Zulu. Here, we talk about music American music and everything. Over there, we just talk about, I don't know something that happened or something. They're not really interested in music and everything.

No When I'm like in Sobantu, what happens is that um when we talk I tend to talk about this movie that's out, because I'm updated on what's happening and then I tend to, I've told myself not to talk about it by my friends because they start getting irritated and we start having fights and they're like "you think you're all that" so I don't have any friends now so I'm all alone these days. I just stay at home and mope and watch the TV.

No You can't talk about movies to your friends because they don't really go, they go maybe once a year.

M I have like really big problems with that because me speaking Zulu, people look at me like... I don't speak Zulu well at all so when I go there, I don't have much friends in Sobantu but when I go there it's like difficult. Here, I'm talkative, very talkative but when I get there it's like I'm actually quiet. You know, I just keep to myself because I can't say much. I try not to say much because I know I'll say something wrong and then they're going to...

No I won't say there's a difference between me at home because it's just about languages but then like your attitude...

Na okay my attitude is the same but I can't really speak about the same things like movies and stuff but I'm still the same person

Si okay, I don't want to stay at home. Once my friend, my next-door neighbor asked me to lend a CD and I gave him the CD's and he said he wants Zola

Na I don't waste my money on that because I don't really see the point of it

No I would buy like South African music. The only three would be, TK, 101 and

M I don't like TK, TK acts too much like an American

No I know, that's what I'm saying, she acts like, she speaks like she's an American but she never tends to speak like Zulu. These people they twang their language. They must speak it properly.

Appendix B:
Transcript 2, 2002

University of Cape Town

25/10/02

No: Noma
B: Bonga
P: Pumzile
Si: Sizwe

Na: Nandi
S: Sipho
M: Minnie
R: Researcher

No We've got these things about surnames
[all begin to chant their own family's name and then stop in the middle]
No we don't even know our own names!

No I think school would show the bigger message,
Na remember last week I told you that sometimes in front of a white person, I speak Zulu, I did that the other day at the tuckshop. I was just finished talking to Noma and I go to T- like "dadadada, oh my goodness oh I'm sorry"

No you know what happened, okay, I was talking to D- about where I live in Sobantu and he was talking about his home and like he has a dishwasher..
B oh my goodness, a dishwasher?
No Wait, he was telling us everything and I was explaining about like where I live and everything and he was like "oh my word, I would never survive at your home"

No and then we show them playing like and show like
Na what your names
M Oh Nahnah
No What's your name and she'll say like "Nana" and I'll say like "Nuhnuh"
Na and they're like "Nanna" and I'm like "no, that's not my name"
M "Oh what's your name?"
"Nomagugu"
"oh, Nomagoogoo"
No "Hmmn, I did not say that"
S For example, it's spelt Bongamusa so they say "BonGAmuSA"
B thankyou
S Try tell whites to say Nhlakanipho
[laughter]
No Shakanipho
M "Can I call you Nipho instead?"

No Have this old gran or something and then we wouldn't speak like strong Zulu but then tell them "when I was young" those swear words
S haai, haai haai
Mi No we can't do that, I'm not going do that scene, I'm sorry.
No they're comfortable with everything that's supposed to be talked about
R I think for this kind of thing you'd have to translate though
[chorus NOOOOOOO]
B I think we'll just keep it in Zulu, that scene
R sorry, explain to me why you would want to do it.
B it's being comfortable with the language, now we think we're swearing, we're not swearing, it's just a word
S It's just a word that they've made into a swear word

R Who's made it in to a swear word?

B People

S us

No we've changed it a lot because nobody says swear words like that, the words have been changed because... we need to be more comfortable with speaking the language. we are normal people we are like Zulus, not model C's

Na some people say that it's rude to say something on your body

R so what's funny about these words?

No even, I'm sorry but I've, even white people if like when they say like vaginas and everything... like when, say I go to rural Zululand like in those rural areas, I come upon people saying the words

P they just say it

No they say anything, we need to be more comfortable in speaking the language

No And in English, you have to look at a person, in Zulu you are not allowed to look at a person when you are speaking to them

B you have to be like shy

Na for the play when you go home, you're not allowed to look them in the eyes and then you go to school and you don't look them in the eyes and they shout at you

Mi yes and when you give someone at home something

Syou never say thanks when you are given something

No if you go to a pharmacist you have to say thank you and then you get some pills from a neighbour, I can't just say, "ngiyabonga", you don't say anything. Umuthi awubongwa and then you go

B that's true

No We tend to laugh at people who [gets up and bends her knees with her hands outstretched, one hand holding the other elbow]

No We laugh at them

Na some of the teachers say "look at me when I'm talking to you"

No and then when we look at them we go [avoids eye contact and look around rather] and then they go "I do not want that expression on your face"

Na so then, what we must we look? If we go like this [smiles] then they're like "what are you smiling at?"

No and then we go normal and then they say the eyes are doing something.

B we speak English when everybody is speaking strong Zulu, we mix English and Zulu, no wonder they call us coconuts.

Appendix C:
Transcript 3, 2004

University of Cape Town

21 April 2004
Pietermaritzburg, KZN

Participants:

B Bonga
N Noma
M Minnie
Si Sizwe
R Researcher

R Um so first of all I want to, let me get that green file, I want to hear about about how you are and what, first of all, do you remember like what we were what we were talking about nearly two years ago?

M Being like in a white school, wasn't it something like that?

B Yes, yes

N Yeah

M I've got a good memory [laughing]

N And and um, do you remember the dancing, what were we doing when we were dancing?

B Traditional dancing

M /Traditional dancing

N yes

B being the odd one out

N yes and and the other nice dancing and the black people are coconuts

M yes

B /Ya, that's what I'm trying to say, being the odd one out

[M & N laughing]

R Being the odd one out in where? At school?

B yes at school

N /at school

M or not at school

N /at the whole

Si at school and at home

N and the child being modern at home

B yeah

M uhum

N and about ya [laugh]

M oh and about like how other black children in black schools think we

N /yes

B /yes

N think we're all that (with a hand gesture showing upper level) [laugh]

M no think we think that we're all that

N /think that we're all that

B /all that

Si ja

R /jah

M I still have a good memory!

N I still remember the whole show

[laughing]

R you said that still happens

N uhum

M ja
 B /ja
 N we're still the same
 M /still the same
 N nothing really changes, nothing really changes. Where I live, same thing
 R are you still living in Sobantu
 N yes and I will be there until the day I die, no not the day I die but I will be there for quite a while
 M /and I still go there all the time
 N and everything's still the same, it's just that more people get to know you and while or during the time that they know you they see that nobody's that different
 M /we're all the same
 R Mmn
 R And your now you're all at different schools, you two are at the same school [pointing to M and Si], but everybody is at a different school now and do you think things are, do you think things are the same at your school as they were at S-?
 Si no
 N /No, me there's too many blacks
 Si /exactly
 N I speak Zulu most of the time and it's not, you see if I speak English now days eish
 B /very different
 M it's way different for me, waaaay different
 N / me I speak Zulu too much, I know how to speak English but then there too many blacks there. I can you know there's only four whites, four whites, no actually there's two white and about three to four coloureds
 B Yoo!
 R and the teachers?
 Si There lots of coloureds at our school
 N the teachers we only, do we have a white teacher? Yes, we have
 M [laughing] you you have to think about it
 N we only have one white teacher
 B /jeez!
 N and coloureds and Indians, two three Indians
 R and do um is school in English?
 N yes
 R the teachers speak English and you speak English to the teachers?
 N yes, school's in English but then haai, sooo many black people and and I'm not used to that it's just that you see when I was in S- you see a white person and you know "hey!"
 M / "hey,
 how you're doing"
 N yes [now] "sawubona, ja kunjani?" finish
 [laughing] that's that's why you know why am I going to speak English to you because you speak the same language as me
 R I said to Bonga as we were waiting for you outside in the car and these two primary school children and they were little, they looked about grade four or something, they were crossing the road and the one boy looked like he was
 B /Indian
 R /Indian or coloured or Indian and he was speaking fluent Zulu
 N you see, yes!

B /it was beautiful
 [laughing]
 N he looked like he was
 M we have one coloured guy at our school
 Si /ja, Mark
 M like he's tall and he's in grade 8 and you know like yo! and you said it in Zulu, like "yo this guy is tall", and he's like I heard that, and we're like "oh okay" [laughing] you know he's really tall and he's like in grade 8 and we're all like okay
 Si there's this other coloured guy in our class speaks fluent Zulu and ja, I like speak Zulu to him most of the time
 R ja
 N that's why I think you know my school is not that nice cause you know it was a nice school before but then something drove it to being eish not really up to date and that's why I really need to get out
 Si and I don't think you should speak too much English cause like for example [bubble?]
 Bubble speaks
 R who's bubble?
 M/ B L-
 R oh oh [laughing]
 Ms even when he's speaking to me he speaks English and
 B /you don't find it comfortable
 Si /and ja you can't like he
 doesn't hang around with us most of the time because
 B/ because you're both the same [regions?] so what's the use of you speaking English
 N /speaking "laak laak you know,
 my friend, laak laak" [laughing]
 M "you speaking like what?"
 Si ja it's better if you like spake
 B spoke [correcting him] your own language
 Si okay, it's better if you like spoke um slang or something but then he speaks like slang, okay he speaks like normal English [girls laugh] and that's like a problem
 M [laughing] okay
 Si It's kind of like
 B /"laak, laak"
 M /[it's like] Lonwabo speaking Zulu
 Si /It's like talking the same way, no no he doesn't speak Zulu man
 M I know, that's what I'm saying
 N / why don't [we] just speak Zulu?
 R so who is this guy?
 M L-, don't you remember?
 B /L-
 R from S-?
 M yes
 R and he's at C-?
 M C- ja
 M he [also goes] to Co-
 B he's a C-
 [laugh]
 R so he doesn't speak any Zulu?
 Si he does speak Zulu but

M but he's not Zulu anyway, he's what Xhosa?
 Ms ja but but
 N but he's supposed to know how to speak Xhosa
 M but then he's going to speak Xhosa to you
 B Xhosa is similar to Zulu
 N yes, I have a friend who's Xhosa and when she's speaking to me I do understand, there some words, some long words that are like, "What are you saying now?" and then I speak Zulu to her and she says what does this mean and then I tell her
 R ja
 Si but L- does speak Zulu when he likes
 M yeah [disbelieving] but school's much different to Scottsville now
 R in what way Mimmy?
 M like the people I hang out with now are totally different to the people I used to hang out with in S-
 N hey [shaking her head]
 M so like in S- like you used to more... easier to hang out with the white fr... like white people and
 B /I know
 M not being criticized that much about it but when you get to C- uh it's like okay you know it's like the coconut thing is quite big
 R is it?
 M I don't think it's only my school but like in high school so
 Si ja
 M like so it's much like I don't hang out with white people like I mean they'll have a whole lot of friends and like go "hey, hi" and everything but the main people I hang out with are all black and Scottsville used to be like all or mostly whites or coloureds or Indians and used to be like
 R do you think that was because of the class you were in?
 B probably
 M oh oh yes because in our class it's mostly black because it's um the Zulu A class
 R okay
 M / so they have a it's really weird like they have a Afrikaans A class and a Zulu A class and then all the others are mixed
 R okay
 M I find that really irritating
 N /yes!
 R because doesn't that mean that it's quite segregated
 M mmhum
 R that the Zulu A class is all black people
 M no there are some white people like there probably about six of them, they don't learn Zulu, they go to Afrikaans they join another class
 N ohh
 Si oh ja they're now going to start this new thing
 M the way they work it is not very nice like cause the Afrikaans A class gets more attention
 B mmhum
 M like tremendously, like woah dude they really, like if we compare our marks to them they like how come you know you're now in the A class, we're like "no, we are in the A class but the Zulu class" but it doesn't seem to be that much of an A class
 N the A class is the A class with a capital A and the other Zulu class
 M /is just like

B / just the small A

M it's like it's weird but cause you get like high marks just as well as they do but your class is not seen that much you just know okay this class is easier to teach and everything but they don't pay that much attention like the other class is like woah okay Mrs D-'s class is like all that and they really clever and everything, it's quite like

R hmmn

N and me, I think I'm the only one who's ever, I don't know, I'm doing Afrikaans

B mm

M ayaya [unclear]

N and people told me that if I do Afrikaans I'm going to lose my language and I do not believe that. I know how to speak Zulu, I know how to write Zulu, I know how to read Zulu

R but you're a bit different because you came from a Zulu school to S-

N No I came from a Indian school to S-

[laughing]

M okay

N / it's not that, it's just that I live I live

M / you live in Sobantu

N /in an place where okay Zulu is mostly spoken

B /your language

N so people can't tell me that I'm going to lose my language if I'm taking Afrikaans cause I'm just taking Afrikaans just to pass it not to learn it

M like I needed to take Zulu, okay Afrikaans okay, I'm good at it and secondly I need to take Zulu cause I'm not good at Zulu like I as well as Nomagugu cause where I live it's just Indian people and I could hardly speak Zulu to them like "huh?"

R ja and what is the Zulu teaching like at C-

M oh our Zulu teacher is very nice, he

R is he a mother tongue speaker, is he a Zulu person?

M yes

M okay Mr M-, he's really like good and everything and he understands your level. Like in our class he has us in the A group and then a B group and everything so that he knows where your level is and everything. He's very understanding, he's a very good teacher

R mmn

Si In our group we've started this new thing like like you speak like Afrikaans like most of the time

R when you say your group what do you mean?

Si just the guys I hang out with

R okay okay

Si ja we've started this new thing, we speak like Afrikaans, a lot of Afrikaans and we mix in Zulu so like we can't really hang out with white guys

B why not?

Si [to R] /no offence

Si most of the time. We do hang out during class time but then like they just speak English like they can't even make the effort to try

R are they taking Zulu as a subject

Si no, Afrikaans

M no there no Zulu people in our class, I mean white people in our class

B /there too many to count

R that's surprising

M not even one white, I mean on higher grade

Si/ there are only five or four black people in our class

B what?

Ms only five or four black people in our class

M but it's only our grade really because in grade ten there are white like two or three and then the other grades there's like one or two

N it's just the person who wants to learn

B not in our school. In our school it's the farm boys because like in the farm there's all black people so it's like you find most of the boarders are doing Zulu cause on the farm they're probably like going to take over their father's business so it's going to be like they're going to have to try speak their language

M oh that's quite good

N / ja so we're going to help them now

[laughing]

B so it's kind of like that cause we got like many white people doing Zulu in our class

R ja

B probably like eight of them and then there's eight in the other class

R okay and most of them are boarders

B ja most of them are boarders and it's only like three day boys

M oh wow

R so you were saying that the model c thing is quite bad at C-?

M ja

Ms /not that bad

N we don't have like a model C thing but then

M you don't have any white people in the class

[laughing]

M ja it's quite big in our school ja I'd say it's quite big

R I mean it's big enough that you don't want to hang out with white people during break or whatever

M ja

Si it's not that I don't want to hang out with them it's just

R people just don't

B yes

M / its circumstances

R ja

Si yeah

N and every time I walk they say I'm walking like in town or something I see like a friend of mine, I saw K- this other time

M ohh

N and we [unclear] and we hugged and we talked and then afterwards when I was walking with my mom, my mom was "hey, you're lucky Noma, you know that? If I were to touch a white I'd be in jail by now" [laughing] and every time we're talking at home about when we used to live [unclear] and she's like "we wouldn't even say hello to say a person you just had to just go past and I see them and I tell them you're very lucky to do all those things"

R true

N and she like feels it's too much that like if I were to I should just appreciate everyone because if in their time they couldn't, all they had to do was even greet a young boy and say "morning sir" and everything and now I just go and I hug and I say hello to a person like it's normal and that what makes me realise that ay, I need to know my roots and my language and my culture cause there's a lot to learn by knowing where my mom how she grew up and during the 94 era what happened and everything. Because that brings you closer to yourself and your culture cause when you say you're a black person you say you can't speak English

B /that's democracy

N some people think, no, some people think that like if you're a black person and you can't speak English you high, you know, you're nice and mighty

B /okay

N you can do everything but yet it's just totally dumb cause you just supposed to know where you come from first before going and doing and speaking another person's language cause English is not our language, we're just speaking it because it's the language that's known worldwide but then if it were up to us I'd speak Zulu I'm sorry but if it was up to me I'd speak Zulu but then we just have to know it

R So you're I mean there not very many the two white people at your school, do you find that your school is still like a model C school because it's in the suburbs and do you find that when you go home people think you're

N yes, some people think that H- is expensive, very expensive so everyone's like

R it's got quite a fancy name

N yes [laughing], academy and then I saw, people think we're rich at home just because I go to H-Academy, [laughing] you see? I sometimes love it because it's quite nice, so expensive, like "shoo you go to H-? Okaaay" [laughing]

M and they probably want to go there next year and then they get there and they're like "mm, you didn't tell me the school fees was this" I just enjoy the attention, when I say "I go to H-Academy" "Yoh!" [laughing] and then when I get out they'll say that it's too much money for my mother to pay" [laughing]

R and you Bonga? Because Co- must have a bit of a reputation

B not where I come from [laughing] there too many Co- guys, where I live that's like a Co-place

R okay

B it's like when I wake up in the morning fine I take a taxi like and when I get into the line there's like six more Co- guys in front of me so it's not quite a big thing

R okay

B to be like at Co- it's like "ja you go to Co-" it's just another school

Si where I come from C-'s big, I mean thingy A- is big

N Yoh! [laugh]

M that's funny

N very funny

R so where do you live?

Si at Imbali

R Do you find that C-, that people know about C-, I mean do you get the model C thing?

Si No there aren't so many people going to C- so they don't know about C-

R so nobody gives you hassles

Si no

N I have the tendency of speaking talk Zulu Zulu and then mix some English

M /I do that too

N and they look away, you see, no this is not nice and then you have sort of get back and say "oh this is what I was trying to say"

M because then they tease you

[N laughs]

M they do

Si /I like speaking Afrikaans, it's like different

[M laughs]

N do you speak Afrikaans as a second language?

Si ja, it's different

N yes, it's nice, it's very very nice,
M /no
N /I promise you
R I remember last time you used to say that S- was very strict so you'd get like Mrs D- and you'd get into trouble with
N /mm
B /oh
R you know for talking Zulu in class or anything
Si /oh
R is there anything like that?
M no
B/no
R nothing
M you have much more freedom to speak whatever you want to speak
R ja
N but mostly in class you speak English
M no
B /no, you don't quite notice that it's like
M /you don't
N if you're speaking to your friend it's fine
B / if you speak Zulu fine it's your language and they understand. They speak Afrikaans if it's their language and we understand. Almost like sometimes it's going to be like like after they've just finished speaking to you they go speaking Afrikaans you think he's talking about you and then it's going to be like that argument.
R hmn
B so it's not quite a big thing, just ignore it
Si but for Co- like a lot of people, no offence, a lot of people think its thingy, its racist
B it is, don't think they know its racist, it's a racist school
R why do you say that?
Si like some of the prefects will attack you...not attack you physically but
B before I actually came to Co- like probably in the nineties they used to be like this thing that like the white the white prefects wouldn't pick on the white students and then the black prefects wouldn't pick on the black students so it's like the white ones would pick on the black ones and the black ones would pick on the white ones so it's like, it's like then there's still that thing after the newspaper article in 2000 and something, 2002 there was this article on racism between Co- whites versus blacks, and there's still got a little bit of that but then the teachers pay more attention white learners rather than black learners
R do you notice that?
B we notice that, they know that but it's just that we can't confront them because it's like we confront them it's going to be like it's going to be out there like this [clicking fingers] it's going to be gone
R Co- the teachers are all white?
B No not all of them, we've only got two two black teachers
[gasps from girls]
B for Zulu
N oh yes
M a bit like our class our school too and then we have like an Indian teacher, kind of like two of them and the rest are white ja.
B but then also the teachers are like kind of like kind of like warming towards you, like the white teachers. Not like in a racist way but then like

M /sympathy

B ja they've got sympathy towards you , they feel for you, they understand where you came from, that you came here to get more education unlike your parents who they not allowed to white schools and all that

R ja

B so we're like more advanced nowadays because we're allowed to go to white schools and like get education like all the other kids

R ja

B because mostly in those days they weren't allowed to like in town without their ID

R /dompas

B ja

R um, well kind of, it seems like it's coming right sort of

B kind of ja

R do you still find do you still find problems with your family, like with your grannies or family in the rural areas

B no

M no

N but I was told that there people that live somewhere but then I don't know any of them, it's just that they say that we should go there sometimes because that's where everything started and everything

R to learn more about your

N hm I don't think we'll go but then when we go it will be, hey, I don't know, maybe

M I have family in Ladysmith

N I don't have much of a family, the only family I know is from my mother's side...but in my place we do have these traditional things, it's not like rural but it's traditional

M we also have tradition things, like at my sister's twenty-first, we cut a cow for her and everything

R was this in your neighbourhood in Northdale

M mmn, it's so funny cause all the people like stand outside and look out their windows and they're all like "woah", but that was the second time they've seen it cause we've slaughtered a cow before, ja, we have. I guess they were just much more used to it. [laughs] ja but they're actually more interested than like worried and everything, like "oh my goodness", they're really interested like "oh what's happening now" so it's actually quite nice that they're interested

R you'll see when you see the video, I don't know if you remember like all those scenes, there was the scene with Nana and Nipho, do you remember?

N oh yes, [umshayile] (she hit him)

R no no the one with the granny, and he's getting shouted at for speaking English

M oh oh oh

R do you remember?

N ya I remember

R you'll see on the tape, do you, cause that was something you brought up last time about going home

N me no, I don't get shouted at at home

B they're starting to understand

M they're actually getting used to it

R you think so?

B we're more modern than they are obviously so they got to get used to it

R ja

B whether they like it or not cause like well it's actually their children's fault that black people

M /really!

B go to these schools for more education and it's for their own benefit that [unclear]

R ja

B so they're starting to understand

R so things are actually, from what we've said so far, it sounds like things are getting better

M ja they are

R generally

N especially after the election, I love the inkosi (Chief Buthelezi?) no

M okay [laughing]

N they are getting better

R do you think it's because you're growing up? Or because things are changing?

N maybe it's because we're growing up

B /we're growing up ja

N yes yes yes

M and change of environment like you know we're maturing and the things we do are different to what we did and we see things differently and people we hang out with are different and like everything in our lives are changing

R when you say see things differently, can you give me an example

M [laughing] okay, I can't think of one, but you see we're more open to ideas like we're more understanding like I mean when you're young you're just like "no, it's not fair, it's not fair" but we just more we're like more open minded, we like understand both sides of the story

N open minded like, "I can work with a white person, I can work with an Indian person"

M and you also know

N /you're all that

M /more confident so you don't so you like

N /you know I have a right, no one ca, I can stand up for yourself more

R Do you remember any difference after that

N ay, it was mostly the same

M not necessarily, I think I cared less about what people thought about me, like hanging out with white people and they thinking I'm model C, I just got to the point well I know who I am, I know where I come from and I can be with whoever I'd like to be so what other people think doesn't really matter

N that is what I thought of her at first, I really thought she was whack

M after that I realised that cause that you know I don't it doesn't really matter what people think, I know myself so it was quite cool

N I knew that I was a Zulu person

[laughing]

N but then when I saw her [to Minnie] it was like "yoh she's irritating me, everytime I see her she's like with white people, she's a model C and everything

SIDE B

R It's been quite a long only this year did I start looking at it again and I got a person a zulu person at the university to translate because there's quite a lot in the video that is in Zulu and

I can understand a little bit of it but I needed it written down so she translated all of it and it was so interesting because there some things in there that I didn't know were in there because I didn't understand them

N ooh

R so I want to ask you about some things and the first is, do you remember in the first scene there were some songs

B ja

N what do you mean the first scene

B all those songs

R I've got them written down, there's the first

M oh yes

R do you remember why you chose that song

N I think we just like chose it because it's quite a popular song, a popular traditional song like when a traditional thing happens that's like one of the songs everyone sings

N we should've sung [singing] come on and meet me at the river
[everyone laughs]

R the first one, do you know what it means, I mean do you just know it or do you

M ja,

N yes yes

M I know what it means, it's like saying I love usibali

N it's

B / brother-in-law

M it's written there brother-in-law idiot [laughing]

N get down skirt [reading the translation and laughing]

B even if he doesn't have any money

M cause normally you know when people get married they like need cows to lobola

B then you ask [reading] what is he going to lobola you with?

M ja and then it says get down skirt get down skirt

R what does that mean that line?

M like jump down skirt [laughing]

N drop skirt? [surprise]

M I don't think they really mean like drop skirt but like you know those skirts they wear

N [amabeshu] (traditional leather apron)

M no [unclear] like when you dance in them I don't know

N no now I know, no I'm serious [singing] dilika sketi, even if he doesn't have cows I still love my brother-in-law even if he doesn't have cows to lobola my sister and everything

M [laughing]

R because reading the translation it sounds like okay this your brother in law, you not supposed to be in love with your brother-in-law because he's going to marry your sister

M

/yes! Maybe not

like in love with him but you like him you know

B /you like him as a brother-in-law

M like I like my sister's boyfriend for her and everything even if

Si

/ he hasn't like a cow or anything

M

/he hasn't like any money

to pay like for my sister but shame you know, I still like him

R and then the 'get down skirt' thing?

[everybody laughs]

M okay not like I don't think like they mean get down skirt, I'm sure it's just like you know like moving around and like dancing because it is like a dance song

R okay. Cause when I read the translation I thought
 N / "okay! Get down skirt! Woah!"
 [laughing]
 R this is quite a
 M / wrong
 R well no, not that it's wrong but I just thought how interesting that you singing this song
 which if you sang it in English the teachers would be like
 M / "woah!"
 N [laughing] I can just imagine "I love my brother-in-law, get down skirt!" [laughing] and
 they're like "what the hell!"
 M I guess if you look at it that way
 R but nobody understood it and I remember in that scene and you'll see on the tape when you
 were singing that the other Zulu children in the audience were laughing, they thought it was
 really funny
 Ms I don't think they really understood what it was
 R you don't think so
 Si I think they thought of it as just a song
 R okay and can you think why you chose the second song
 B it's not quite a song, it's more of a game
 N it's not like a game but you just get in a circle, it's just show the people who you are
 M /showing yourself off really
 N and khilikithi mean in English?
 B cricket
 [laughing]
 M khilikithi is just like
 Si like a word

Scene 1: traditional scene

M that was a nice scene
 B that was the best scene
 R why do you think so?
 B I don't know, it's just got, the most powerful message, the first scene. Well actually the
 classroom one and then this one
 R what do you think was the message behind this one?
 B it's like
 N / for the black children
 B /for the black children cause like I still have to go to rural areas to visit like my father's
 mother, my granny, I still have to to rural areas at least like for the Christmas holidays or like
 those June holidays and like when I get there I like, even my dress code is like modern,
 uyabona (do you see?), compared to them, it's like it's modern and even like the way I do
 things is like modern compared to what they do so it's like the scene is just like really shows
 what how we feel towards like the change of scenes from being what we are right now when
 we have to be in front of other people of our own culture
 Si it's hard to speak plain Zulu, no English, that's hard
 M the hardcore
 N/yes hardcore Zulu
 M and then you like [enacts an embarrassed laugh], like you have to adapt to where you are
 because then you know you look like an outsider
 N you can't come out in your Levis and then they're thinking you're the girl
 R do you think this message, the kids that were watching understood?

Si no

M I think some did, depending on how

N how they takes stuff

B how they approach stuff, if they've experienced it before or else it's just like a scene

Si some people think it's just a play

N hm

B but then if you're somebody who like has been in that situation you actually understand the scene

R hm

N if you're a person who like takes things to heart

Si for me, I wouldn't have understood that but like all the time that we spent together I really understood like what we were talking about cause

M /cause you spent so much time

Si ja

M I guess it depends on the people, some people would have interpreted it in the right way, I guess we had to exaggerate it a bit so they could really get it, I'm sure they got it, I mean they got the idea

Scene 2 classroom

[laughing]

R can you see what I mean, Mrs D- was there hey. She was watching, can you imagine

N "we need proper Zulu lessons" yoh!

M and how the teacher mispronounces the names

B exactly

Si I thinks the children would have understood

M I think that was quite a powerful scene and we had the hand thing and we had the names, it had um

B talking Zulu in class

M oh yes talking Zulu in class in a white school, that was quite powerful

N but I think if Mrs D- really looked into it she would have seen you know that this about children in her class

R I met up with Mrs W- just after this and she had when it was something, it was the looking in the eye thing that was also, and she said when she saw it she was like ooh I've done that, she just didn't notice and she said that that changed her and she doesn't do that anymore

B so we actually did something, the message got through

N this is the most powerful one because we're doing it in school and the teachers are there

B and it's about school

M and we spend most of our lives in school anyway

N and Miss H-, about the proper Zulu lessons, yoh!

M and Mr C-!

R he was also there

N that could have probably made him realise

M when we did it then we didn't realise! [laughing]

Si we should have done a part where an English teacher teaches Zulu

M No! That would have been too powerful

N "excuse me mam, it's not sawubona, it's sawuBOna" [laughing]

M that would have been too [laughing] they wouldn't have even let us carry on, "okay stop!"

R I think one of the only reasons, I remember talking to my lecturer and she said she wasn't happy with me letting you do this in front of the school, she thought it was going to be too difficult for you afterwards, she thought the teachers were going to

B they probably didn't notice either. If we don't notice they won't notice.

M I think maybe if they did notice, they wouldn't do anything about it because I mean they probably think we're quite brave because we've done it so they think you know so they probably put themselves in more trouble, maybe they were more open minded and they saw it as a good thing, a good criticism

R ja

N just like Mrs W-

R ja I hope so, but also you were in your last week remember, you were about to leave.

N oh ja

M "okay bye now!"

[laughing]

R exactly

Scene 3 home

N ay, I didn't remember this play

M it shows how we didn't notice the message that we proved was quite strong

[laugh]

M I think if we thought about it we'd be like "okay!"

R I mean you were two years younger, remember you were top of the school

N ja

[laughing]

M that one was a nice scene

R do you think you'd do something like this now

B no

Si I think we'd do it now

M I would

N / I would

M the only is my school I mean

B if we did it somewhere else then I wouldn't mind

M no no no

Si even at school I wouldn't mind doing it anyway

R why not at school [to Bonga]

B no at school it's it's like

M no I'd do it school because it's really good, it's really impressive

B not at our school no way

M not at Co-

Si no way

R why not

B as I told you Co- is already a racist school, it's like people have already started to notice that, even the teachers have quite noticed that. There's nothing we can do about it because we can't confront the teacher and tell "you a racist"

N but you have to start somewhere to get through

B exactly but then I wouldn't be able to do this in front of the school cause like

Si

/freedom of speech

M

/then they'd be more

B exactly. I wouldn't mind doing it like behind the scenes and then showing it to the school because they would be like okay that's another story cause like if you do it in front of the school they'll be like eish

M /gone

B it's a long story

M I would do it at school. Like at our school there are those one or two teachers that can be racist but our principal is very a very nice principal and any racism in our school he does not accept at all so I mean he's a very easy person to talk to I think the teachers I mean are quite open

R do you think your schools would need a message like this

Si ja

B /yebo

M /yes

N /yes

M some children in our school, especially like the rural one, the one where the children like the model C children in a rural place. I think most of the black people in our school would probably act like that if they had to go to rural areas

R to the home one maybe

M and the home one, I think all

B I think they'd be more understanding now days, more understanding. Like you get used to it

N but the granny

B the granny is now getting more modern, like

M /unless you have a really, like a granny who lives in a rural area that will never ever change

R maybe also because you're getting older and your parents and your grandparents are realising

B/ realising

R /that you're older whereas when you're at primary school they can tell you what to do

M and I mean yourself, you're also changing cause you know that she doesn't like that so you don't do it but you're not noticing that you're not doing it anymore

R ja

Scene 4 urban

M that was a controversial (?) scene like bringing everyone together and mixing together nicely and everything. That was quite a nice scene

R what do you think the message was in that last scene?

B at the end of the day

N /we're all the same

N you get that you learn how to dance if you when you don't know how to

B we try to learn their dance

N [unclear]

M ja that was quite a nice controversial one, we're all together

B it sums it all up

R but quite [unclear] of the scene is the whole American thing

B ja

R what do you think of that at the moment

N yoh the Americans?

M ja we have quite a lot of American influence

N very much
B too much
M yeah too much
N especially to the people who go to white schools, the black people who go to white schools, it's mostly the hype begins around [unclear] all these people from overseas and not noticing the people who're still here
M /but Proudly South African is actually also starting to build up a bit you know with House music
N /yes, the House is fine
B and music like the rap, the South African rap
M And South African Hip Hop
B they rap in their style, in like our style in a language we can understand you see, so it's like becoming more and more a thing
M people are still
B they're taking the American thing and turning it around into South African, Proudly South African
M yes, like [unclear]
B like Pitch Black too
M so there's it's growing, slowly but surely we're getting somewhere
R and the gangsta dress thing
M okay dress, we're always be like that
N you wouldn't come wearing ibheshu
M ja [laughing]
N that would be too [unclear] but then the hype now to wear the
B /sandals
N yes, those tyre sandals with the white pin things, that's fashionable, coming closer
B so Proudly South African is actually like growing, it's becoming big
R why do you think American stuff has had so much influence?
B because it's like the first world
M it's like
Ms it's huge, it's got big things, big buildings
N Hollywood
B everyone wants to be big and in so we try to take the American thing and try, well America tried to take the in thing and sell it to us and we bought into it like that [snaps fingers]
N yes!
R why do you think we bought into it so big
B because it's still the biggest thing
N because of hype, all those Charlize Theron people. I think that American influence is always going to be there but we still have our own originality, our own thing

Interviews

R okay last comments, seeing yourself on that screen did you think, what did you think seeing yourself saying those things
N I sound really white
M me too! Oh no, I sound really white
N it's not me, I do not
R do you think you've changed since then?
B too much
N /a lot

M a lot

R why Minnie?

M I speak a whole lot more Zulu than I did when there, as Noma said but then like from then I've spoken a whole whole lot more cause the people I hang out with are all black and everything so ja

R ja

N you can now officially say that English is my second language

M yeah

N I speak Zulu, I learn Zulu, ja

R and you Bonga, seeing yourself say those things

B I didn't think about what I was saying, none of it

R why, why do you say that?

B I don't know cause like now days you can like actually say something like that, yeeu, unbelievable

N me, I'd say that

R What do you mean, can you tell me exactly?

B it's like, now days we do have freedom of speech but to able to say all those things that we actually said

R in the play

B in the play and like after the play, it's like, no that was some guts, some guts

N this is very very controversial, if it were to get shown to some other people not necessarily the people who have experienced this, for white people who are very controversial, this would be yoh

B /powerful

N very

M yoh, very good though, excellent, we were quite brave. I really think we didn't notice it

B we didn't think about it that much

Si I don't think it's powerful enough for high school

R why do you say that Sizwe?

Si I don't know, I think , think for example, um back then I was scared to do it, I was scared but now I think if we were to do it again and make it like to be even worse than that

R like harder

Si yes

B but then if it were to the same play it would be converted into more into a much more powerful thing for high school kids it would still work

R hmh

B it's just that that was made when we were in primary and we did know primary and it was made for primary kids so if we had to do another one we would probably make a similar one

Si like the problems now they experience are different

M like you can have the same messages but show them in a different way that the high school people can relate to because we don't really relate to the same things like

B in class

R hearing yourself say things like "it's changed everything, people have changed because they've seen this" do you think that that was true or do you think you were a bit optimistic about

N I think it's true

M I think it was relatively true, we most probably exaggerated it but those that watched changed

N because the hand thing, no one knew about it

B or really noticed

N and then the respect thing, the looking in the eye. I think mostly the message goes out to the teachers and to people like me

M I also think that most of us said that we didn't change but I think we actually did but we didn't we thought other people changed but it was actually us that changed. I think us ourselves changed more than the people around us changed like we were more confident ja so I just think we changed more

R have you ever thought about this since?

B I forgot about it

M I forgot about it

R like at school an there's a white teacher and she says something horrible and it never kind of, these kind of issues, have you thought about them

M I probably have

N me, it's been too much for me, my high school, me it's been bad and good at the same time. Nobody talks about this stuff, at home they mostly speak to you not relevant stuff and no one spoke to me

M ja no one recognises, I think they just think oh well they just get used to it

University of Cape Town

Appendix D:
Negotiating Access

University of Cape Town

54 Taunton Road
Wembley
Pietermaritzburg
3201
3 September 2002
tel: 033-3420008

The Principal
_____ School
Private Bag _____

Dear Mr _____

Research and Workshopping with Zulu Speaking Learners

I thoroughly enjoyed being back at _____ earlier this year to conduct the short research project with _____. The success of the project was due largely to your allowing me into the school for those sessions and I truly appreciated the opportunity. My honours thesis is fast approaching and I would like to put forward the following proposal.

While teaching in South African schools over the past four years, it occurred to me that many children must find it very difficult to define their identity in concrete terms. The easy terms by which I define my identity are made far more complex for many children attending school today. In terms of language: children are speaking English at school, Zulu at home and a mix with their friends, would they see themselves as Zulu or English? In terms of cultural practices: children learn and function in a specific set at home and another set at school, how do they accommodate both?

In the studies that have been done with minority groups in the United States, researchers correlate an inability to establish a stable identity with deviant behaviour in their schools. There are few similarities between South Africa and the US but nobody can deny the enormous struggle involved in reconciling the influence of the western world with traditional cultures. I am basing my thesis on these questions and wish to study how children see themselves and if, by working directly with identity issues, learners might find some kind of resolution for themselves. By running a small study, I could perhaps find a useful way to directly address identity issues in the classroom.

The study would be based on similar studies taking place in Gauteng and in Australia. It would involve working with a group of eight Grade 7, Zulu speaking learners over four or five sessions of an hour each. These would take place in the most convenient times, probably being scheduled around the learners' afternoon sport timetable. The group would work on building/making/performing a representation of their identities, either a cultural object or a performance of some sort. The group would decide on the most effective way to represent them. In order to accomplish this they would need to think in depth about the identity issues that they deal with everyday but perhaps don't formally attempt to resolve. The final product would then be presented to an audience of their choice, one which the learners would feel need to know and understand them better. If successful, the study could be offered to staff as a possible option to implement in the classroom.

From my time in the classroom, I know the imposition university studies can be. I am determined not to impose on the teachers or class time at all. What I would require from the

school would be the opportunity to meet with the Grade 7 teachers to select two learners per class; the chance to send letters to parents, obtaining permission and a space in which the group could meet after school (an art room or the like).

I would like to set up an appointment with you in the next couple of days to discuss my proposal in person. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully

Clare Alborough

University of Cape Town

54 Taunton Road
Wembley
Pietermaritzburg
3201
16 September 2002

Dear Parents

Permission for Your Child to Participate in Research Project

I am currently enrolled in an Honours programme at the university which requires me to submit a thesis in December. I am particularly interested in the identity issues that children are facing in ex-model C schools. These would include learning a new language and having to study in that language; speaking Zulu at home and English at school and mixing with a wide variety of cultures at the school. I became aware, while teaching at _____ last year, that Zulu speaking children show amazing strength and versatility to function so well in a language that is not their mother tongue. I would like very much to explore this further.

I have been given permission by Mr _____ to work with a group of eight Grade 7 children and your child has been selected to participate. We will be meeting on a Friday afternoon from 12:30pm until 2:00pm, starting in the first week of next term (11 October 2002). We will meet in the art room, hold discussions and work on creative items around the issue of identity.

The programme is voluntary and your child requires your permission to participate. I would appreciate it if you could complete the form below and return it to the school secretary by the end of term. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully

Clare Alborough

Permission Slip

I, the (parent/guardian) of _____, hereby give permission for my child to participate in the research project run by Clare Alborough.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E:
Video Transcript 2002

University of Cape Town

Video Transcription 2002

Traditional Scene

[Nandi and Bonga step up to the front of the stage]

Nandi: In my experience of traditional Zulu life, I sometimes get scared of the goats and cows. I think they should tell us what we are celebrating and I hope people don't forget our traditions.
[Nandi swivels around and stands with her back to the audience.]

Bonga: I feel left out, I feel unwanted and I sometimes feel I don't know much about my traditional life.
[Both walk towards the back of the stage.]

Story 1: Song and Dance

[Bonga, Nandi, Noma and Pumzile stand in a row facing the audience. Siphon and Sizwe are off stage and Minnie stands to the far left wearing a white shirt which identifies her as the model C in the group. They begin to sing]

Ngiyam'thanda usibali, dilika sketi,
Nom' engenamali, dilika sketi,
Uzongilobola ngani na?
Dilika sketi, o sketi dilika sketi,
We sketi we sketi, dilika sketi,
We sketi we sketi, dilika sketi,
We sketi we sketi, dilika sketi,
We sketi dilika sketi!

(I love brother-in-law, get down skirt,
Even though he's poor, get down skirt,
What will he lobola me with?
Get down skirt, oh skirt get down skirt,
Oh skirt oh skirt, get down skirt,
Oh skirt oh skirt, get down skirt,
Oh skirt oh skirt, get down skirt,
Oh skirt get down skirt!)

[Nandi goes over to Minnie (the model C) who's been standing on the side trying to keep up with the song and says]

Nandi: Yini wena wazo bheda, suka musa ulokhu uzenza uModel C la.
Wozani sidlale ukhilikithi.
(Whats your problem, stop acting like a Model C. Come lets play khililkithi)

Nandi: Gqezu wezintombi,
 Group: Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Nani wezinsizwa,
 Group: Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Hambani notshela oma,
 Etc Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Ukuthi khona mina,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Intombi yakwa Ndlela,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Ezalwa UMaBhengu,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Ayizile ukuzodlala,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Ayizile ukuzobheda,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Izel' ukwenze nje,
 Khilikithi,
 Nandi: Iphinde yenze nje,
 Nandi: Iphinde yenze nje, yenze nje!

(Hey girls,
 Khilikithi,
 Hey boys,
 Khilikithi,
 Go and tell your mothers,
 Khilikithi,
 That I have arrived,
 Khilikithi,
 The Ndlela daughter,
 Khilikithi,
 Born by uMaBhengu,
 Khilikithi,
 I'm not here to play,
 Khilikithi,
 I'm not here to mess around,
 Khilikithi,
 But to do this,
 Khilikithi,
 And do this,
 Khilikithi,
 And do this, and do this) [*To do this – meaning to do Zulu dancing*]

Sipho: Amantombazane ayabizwa.
 (The girls are being called)

Story 2: Boys Herding

[The girls move off stage and stand on the school stage steps with their backs to the audience. The three boys move onto the stage.]

Bonga: *[loud whistle]* Azingene izinkomo! Azingene izinkomo! (The cows must come in! The cows must come in!)

[The girls begin making cattle noises, still standing with their backs towards the audience. B and Ms start moving fast, jumping and side-stepping with arms raised as if herding the cows into a kraal. Ni keeps getting in between them, getting in the way and the other two keep pushing him back behind B, who then holds his arm up and keeps Ni back from the action. They eventually stop with Ms and B's backs to the audience and Ni facing the audience.]

Bonga: *[gesturing with his arm and pointing up and out]* Awusuke wena! Awusuke wena, ave ubheda kumele uphindele edolobheni! (Move away! Move away, you are useless you must go back to the city!)

Sipho: What did I do? What did I do? You guys are so lame!

Bonga: Ave ubheda, haauw! (You are useless)

Story 3: Fetching Water

[The boys move off-stage and the girls line up and lift containers onto their heads, except for Pumzile who is carrying a bucket at her side. She is wearing a white shirt which identifies her as the model C character. The girls begin singing and walk slowly, stepping in time to the rhythm of the song which is beaten on the side of the stage by Bonga (using his hands). Pumzile walks at the back of the line and does not join in the singing. The girls walk round the space in a slow circle, stopping at the back of the space to bend down and fill their containers with water. Mp is slower than the others and is left behind at the river while the others move on and off-stage.]

Girls: Uma ngihamba nawe Thuli,
Ubizwa ipigogo,
Nawe Thuli ubizwa ipigogo,
Uma ngihamba nawe Thuli,
Ubizwa ipigogo,
Nawe Thuli ubizwa ipigogo,
Ipigogo, nawe thuli, ubizwa ipigogo
Nawe Thuli ubizwa ipigogo.

(When I walk with you Thuli,
You are called a peacock,
With you Thuli you are called a peacock,
When I walk with you Thuli,

You are called a peacock,
With you Thuli, you are called peacock,
Peacock,
With you Thuli you are called a peacock ,
You are called a peacock.)

[Sipho enters from the left and dances around Pumzile, speaking very fast]

Sipho: Gqezu ntombi, nongenankomo uyayidla inyama! (Hey girl, even those without cows get to eat the meat too.)
[This is what the young Zulu suitors say when they pursue young girls]

Pumzile: Leave me alone!

Sipho: Hawu, 'leave me alone'? Uphindele edolobheni! (Go back to the city!)

School Scene

[Noma and Pumzile step up to the front.]

Noma: At school I don't take any notice of the other kids because I don't care what they think or say about how I look and my culture.

Pumzile: At school some people understand because they are also coconuts.

Noma: A coconut. It is when you are black on the outside and white on the inside, *[in a Zulu accent]* coconut.

Pumzile: We need proper Zulu lessons because sometimes when I try speak Zulu, I muddle up my words.

[They turn and walk towards the back of the stage. The 5 students are sitting facing the audience with the teacher on the left hand side. The teacher and one student, Nandi, who is sitting three from the right, are wearing white T shirts signifying that they are the outsiders in the class, both of them speaking predominantly English, while the rest of the class are wearing black T shirts signifying that they are the insider group]

Minnie: Good morning class!

[The 5 students stand up while one boy, Sipho, stands to the side]

Students: Good morning ma'am

[The students sit down]

Minnie: Today we have a new student.

[Sipho, standing on the side comes forward and Bonga and Noma mutter something to each other. Na is sitting upright in her chair while the two speak across her. She says in English]

Nandi: Please don't speak Zulu.

The two look at her in disgust and exclaim

Noma: Haauw we!
[The teacher continues oblivious to the exchange]

Minnie: *[to the new boy]* What's your name child?

Sipho: Sivukile

Minnie: What Zib'yile?

Sipho: *[slowly enunciating]* No Sivukile

Minnie: Well I'll just call you Vuki.

Sipho: *[protesting]* No, maam...
[The teacher waves off the objection and ushers him to a seat]

Nandi: Hello Vuki!
[The students turn on her and admonish her]

Others : Musa ukuphapha! (Don't be over friendly in a forward way!)

Minnie: Noma, go and say hello.
[Noma gets up from her chair and crosses the stage and shakes Sipho's hand, finding that he shakes it in a traditional way. She turns to Bonga, laughing at the new boy and slaps Bonga's outheld hand]

Noma: (unclear)
[The teacher hears this exchange, turns to them and bursts out]

Minnie: Excuse me! Don't you dare speak Zulu in my class, this is a English school!
[Bonga leans across Nandi and mutters something to Noma and Nandi, sitting between them says to the teacher]

Nandi: Miss, they're back-chatting you Miss, I don't know what they're saying but they're back-chatting you.
[All the students turn to her with Noma pointing her finger in an accusing way and says]

Noma: Mus' ukugcina wena.(don't be cocky.)

Minnie: Noma, Bonga, bring me your homework books
[Bonga and Noma get up with Noma saying to Nandi]

No: Musa ukungijwayela kabi (do not get too friendly with me)
[They go to the teacher, extending their arms with their hands on forearms in a gesture of respect. Nandi not understanding the tradition asks]

Nandi: What's up with the hand?
[Noma answers aggressively]

Noma: InhloSipho (It shows respect)

[The bell rings and the students get up, walking to the right of the stage. Nandi approaches the others]

Nandi: Would you like to...
[The rest of the students ignore her and raise their arms in a shunning gesture and Na walks to the left of the stage, loudly crying in an exaggerated way, making the audience laugh.]

Home scene

Story 1: With Ma

[Sipho and Sizwe step up to the front of the stage]

Sipho: At home I sometimes speak Zulu or English but sometimes I forget the Zulu word so I add English words.

Sizwe: I normally speak Zulu at home but sometimes people think that we think too much of ourselves.

[They swivel around and walk to the back of the stage]

Bonga: Qonqo! (knock, knock!)

Noma: Ngena, unjani? (Come in, how are you?)

Bonga: Ngiyaphila ma. (I'm fine mother.)

Noma: Awungitshela ke bekunjani esikoleni namhlanje? (Tell me how was school today?)

[They both go and sit down on the bean bags. Bonga speaks, using his arms in occasional wide gestures signalling boredom? Laissez-faire attitude]

Bonga: Bekubhora namhlanje, today we had a maths test kanjalo and then afterwards sadlala kanjalo, next week kuqala ama-exams. (It was very boring, today we had a maths test and then afterwards we played, next week we are going to start exams.)

Noma: Awusho ubani okufundisa isiZulu? (Tell me who teaches you IsiZulu?)

Bonga: Some French teacher with a funny name *[tries out the name in a guessing, testing way]* uS'qephu.

Noma: Pho unifundisa isiNgisi nesiZulu kanye kanye? (So she teaches you English and isiZulu at the same time?)

Bonga: Cha indlela esikhuluma ngayo. (No that's the way we speak)
[No sits forward]

Noma: Hhayi ngeke [*shakes her head*], wena [*points her finger at him*] mawulayikhaya uzo khuluma isiZulu kuphela. [*B, sitting back in the bean bag rolls his eyes upwards and brings his hands to his mouth as if suggesting disregard or 'heard it all before'*](No ways when you are at home you are going to speak isiZulu only.)

Noma: Suka la hamba uyowasha izitsha ngoba usuyabheda.
(Go wash the dishes because you are speaking rubbish)

Story 2: With Gogo

Sipho: Sawubona ma. (Hello mother)

Nandi: Yebo mfana wami, ngaphambi kokuthi sikhulume awukhumule lesiqgoko esisekhanda. (Yes my boy, before we talk about anything take off that hat on your head.)

Sipho: But why ma? It's fashion.

Nandi: Fashion yamanyala! Khumula Isigqoko! (To hell with fashion! Take it off!)

Sipho: At school...

Nandi: Esikoleni (*His grandmother corrects him to speak proper Zulu*)

Sipho: At school

Nandi: Esikoleni (*corrects him again*)

Sipho: I need a hundred rand

Nandi: Malini? We mfana asinayo leyo mali thina njengabelungu. Hhe! nicabanga ukuthi imali ikhula ezihlahleni yini? (How much? My boy we do not have that kind of money like the white people. Do you think money grows on trees?)

Sipho: I need to go to the movies with my friends

Nandi: Hhayi bo nawu nje umsakazo ngaphandle. (No we have a radio right here)

Sipho: Radio is so boring. Gogo that thing is old it needs batteries to work.

Nandi: Manje? (So?)

Sipho: It is way old I need new things.

Nandi: We mfana ungangenzi ngisukume la! (Boy do not make me get up!)

Sipho: Weeh! (His grandmother charges after him, he runs away)

Urban scene

[Minnie steps up to the front]

Minnie: Most of our lives is about conflict, home against school, Zulu against English and trying to fit into our traditional life. The place where the Western world fits in is our urban life. American music, basketball, dancing, this. *[gesturing widely with her arms raised to indicate the space on the stage.]*

Bonga: *[knocking on the door]* Where the party at!

Nandi: *[comes across and opens the door]* hey, welcome to my sleepover. Take a seat. *[gestures to the bean bags]*

Minnie: *[standing up and pointing her toes to show off her shoes and says in an Americanish accent]* Girls, girls , girls look at my shoes.

Girls: *[respond in an Americanish accent]* Damn girl
[There's a knock at the door and Nandi gets up to answer]

Nandi: I'm coming, I'm coming
[She opens the door to Sipho and Noma]

Nandi: Hello *[leads them inside]*

Minnie: Hey, it's the new kids

Nandi: *[to the newcomers]* Take a seat
[They all sit down on the bean bags]

Na: What would you guys like to eat?

Mi: Pizza.

Na: *[shouting]* Mom please order us some pizza! Lets get the party started.
[They all stand up and gather rather awkwardly on the floor waiting for the music to start which comes from a CD player to the right of the stage. When the music begins they make a semi circle and take turns to move into the centre and dance. First Minnie and Nandi face each other and dance, dipping their shoulders and clapping hands. Then Bonga comes through, one trouser leg pushed up in hip-hop style, doing a light footed skip and step across the centre of the circle. Then Sipho enters the circle as the 'new kid' and does a funny clap and side-step dance that imitates the TV character Carleton (the uncool character in Fresh Prince of Bel Air) and makes the others and the audience laugh. Then Nandi and Noma, the other 'new kid' step into the circle and begin to dance, dipping their shoulders and clapping.]

Pumzile and Minnie join in, in the background. Suddenly Nandi and Noma break into a hip shaking, arm jiggling, provocative dance. Minnie, looking on, bends over as if to hide her face in embarrassment as the audience laugh. The group now follow Nandi in a line off stage, around the piano and assemble to end the performance.

Conclusion

- Nandi: I would like to thank everyone here today especially my mom, my dad, brother, sisters and uncles...
[Noma steps in and pushes her out the way, seeming to chastise her in Zulu. Pumzile steps up and tries to cover the interruption of the other two]
- Pumzile: Anyway, thank you guys I hope you enjoyed the show.
[Sizwe pushes her out the way and just stands in the front grinning shyly at the audience. Bonga steps in says to Sizwe in Tsotsi taal]
- Bonga: Yo Phili mfowethu uyabona ukuthi uyabheda. Hhe bafethu sicela ukubona useven phezulu! (Phili my brother can't you see that you are not doing this properly. Guys please can we see seven in the air!)
[The audience respond immediately with shouts and whistles]
- Minnie: No, no shut up – the end
[Noma steps in and ends in Zulu]
- Noma: Cosi, cosi yaphela (That is the end of our story.)

Appendix F:
Language Analysis Table

University of Cape Town

Theme Analysis 1: Language through the Scenes

SCENE		LANGUAGE
Traditional Scene	Song and Dance	The insiders sing in isiZulu with no English being spoken at all.
	Boys Herding	The two insider boys speak isiZulu. The Model C character speaks English only and does not understand the isiZulu spoken to him.
	Water Carriers	The insiders sing in isiZulu. The courting boy speaks only isiZulu but understands English. The Model C character speaks only English and does not understand isiZulu.
Shift	The language does not shift much from the Traditional scene to the School scene. In both scenes the insiders speak isiZulu and the 'Model C' characters speak English and do not understand the isiZulu spoken by the others. The main difference is the introduction of the teacher figure. She speaks only English and expects the students to do the same. The students address her in English but no one else.	
School Scene		The teacher speaks only English and does not understand isiZulu. The Model C character speaks only English and does not understand isiZulu. The insiders speak isiZulu to each other and to the Model C character but English to the teacher.
Shift	The isiZulu spoken in the school scene is subversive, a choice to speak only isiZulu as a direct challenge of the teacher's authority. At home though, it is the parental figure who speaks isiZulu and the child who chooses to mix their English and isiZulu or only speak English. It could also be a challenge of parental authority though the action and register suggest not.	
Home Scene	With Ma	The mother character speaks only isiZulu. The son code switches between isiZulu and English but understands the isiZulu spoken by his mother.
	With Gogo	The grandmother (Gogo) speaks only isiZulu and understands the boy's English. The grandson speaks only English and understands his grandmother's isiZulu.
Shift	The main shift in language that takes place between the Home and Urban scene is the abandonment of isiZulu in the latter where all the characters speak only English. Also of importance is the shift in the type of English spoken. In the Home scene the characters speak the kind of English spoken by South African white people. In the Urban scene the characters speak English like American black people.	
Urban Scene		All the characters speak only English and do so with American accents, colloquialisms and exclamations.
Shift	The shift between the Urban and Closing scene are as marked as that between the Home and Urban scenes. From speaking only English, the actors now shift to speaking a mix of languages as they jostle for their moment to speak.	
Closing Scene		Nandi speaks the English that her Model C character from the school scene spoke. Noma speaks only isiZulu. Bonga speaks a mixture of Tsotsi taal and isiZulu Sipho speaks isiZulu to the audience and English to Bonga. Minnie and Pumzile speak only English.

Appendix G:
Register Analysis Tables

University of Cape Town

SCENE		REGISTER		
		FIELD (what)	TENOR (who)	MODE (how)
Traditional Scene	Song and Dance	The song content is formulaic and ritualised. It is sung without understanding the literal meaning.	Power is signalled by knowledge of the songs and the appropriate movements. It is the insider group who have this power and the 'Model C' character who does not.	Meaning is carried through song and movement and particularly through the group's cohesion in these. The 'Model C' is marked by her separateness.
	Boys Herding	The language is made up of commands which closely follow the action.	Power and authority are held in the knowledge and experience of the action and the language. The 'Model C' has no experience of herding cattle and can not understand isiZulu. He is disempowered.	Meaning is carried through the actions of pushing and blocking the 'Model C'. Meaning is then carried through the verbal rebuke by the insider to the 'Model C'.
	Water Carriers	The song is formulaic and independent of the action. The courting language is idiomatic and formulaic. The 'Model C' response is not in keeping with the idiomatic courting language.	Power is signalled through knowing the songs and knowing the activity of collecting water. Power is asserted by the courting boy's male status as he approaches and courts the girl. Power is asserted through the boy's knowledge of isiZulu. The 'Model C' character does not understand the activity or the language and is therefore disempowered.	Meaning is carried through the cohesion of action across the insider group. They walk, carry their containers and sing together while the 'Model C' walks slower, carries her bucket differently and does not sing. Meaning is also carried through the verbal interaction between the courting boy and the 'Model C', through the misunderstanding that takes place.
Shift		The content of the language shifts from being ritualized and formulaic to being multilayered talk.	In the Traditional scene the insider group has clear authority over the 'Model C' character. This shifts slightly in the School scene where the teacher has official authority which the insider group attempts to subvert. The 'Model C' character is in allegiance with the teacher but still has no authority.	In the Traditional scene, meaning is carried through the closely connected actions and language. In the School scene, because the students sit throughout the scene, the action is limited to hand gestures and body positioning in their chairs.

SCENE	REGISTER		
	FIELD (what)	TENOR (who)	MODE (how)
School Scene	<p>Formulaic greeting between teacher and class.</p> <p>Introduction of new boy to class.</p> <p>Command from teacher to class.</p> <p>Rebuke of 'Model C' by insider group.</p> <p>Telling tales by 'Model C'.</p>	<p>The teacher holds official authority but power is asserted by the insider group through their knowledge of isiZulu.</p> <p>The 'Model C' is, through her allegiance with the teacher and her lack of isiZulu, the outsider.</p>	<p>Meaning is carried through the verbal interactions that take place. With the exception of the interaction between insider group members, all verbal interactions are one way processes that do not receive direct responses from the receiver.</p>
Shift	<p>From being multilayered, multidirectional talk that takes place in the School scene, the content of the language shifts to a simple dialogue between parental figure and child.</p>	<p>A marked shift in authority takes place between the School and Home scenes. In the School scene, the teacher holds official authority and the insider group holds an unofficial, subversive authority. In the Home scene the parental figure holds a clear authority which means the child approaches her with respect.</p>	<p>The type of verbal interaction changes dramatically between the School and Home scene. Where the interactions in the School scene are one-way processes with no direct responses, the interactions in the Home scene are structured question and answer processes that driven by the parent.</p>

SCENE		REGISTER		
		FIELD (what)	TENOR (who)	MODE (how)
Home Scene	With Ma	Greeting initiated by mother Questions and answers initiated by mother Mother closes with her opinion	The mother initiates the entire interaction and ends it finally with her opinion. She is in control of the interaction and her son submits to her without overt protest. The mother has clear parental authority in this scene.	Meaning is carried through the verbal interaction of question and answer. It is also carried through the contrast between the mother's pure, fluent isiZulu and the son's mixed English and isiZulu.
	With Gogo	Formal greeting Etiquette correction by grandmother Zulu correction by grandmother Request for money by grandson in English Refusal and rebuke by grandmother.	The grandmother's authority is expressed through her directing of the conversation, her refusal of her grandson's request and her disciplining of him.	Meaning is carried through her stern tone and through the verbal interaction of her correcting his language, her refusal to comply with his request. It is also carried through the contrast between the grandmother's pure formal isiZulu and the boy's use of English.
Shift		From a clear question and answer type of dialogue in the Home scene, the meaning content changes to a more informal, colloquial talk followed by dancing to recorded music.	There is marked shift in tenor between the clear authority role of the mother and grandmother in the Home scene and the Urban scene. In the Urban scene there is no clear authority apart from the party hostess role. It is possible that in this scene the group holds power through their knowledge and experience of Urban discourses and their ability to act, dance and speak within this discourse.	In the Home scene, meaning was expressed predominantly through the verbal interaction that took place between parent and child. In the Urban scene meaning is expressed through the combination of language and action.

SCENE	REGISTER		
	FIELD (what)	TENOR (who)	MODE (how)
Urban Scene	<p>The language used is colloquial English with American accents. The content is made up of short of statements and responses.</p> <p>Hostess welcome Showing off shoes and girls' response Answering door Hostess asking what group wants to eat and group's response Hostess command to her mother The rest of the scene is taken up with the dance sequences, also acted out in pairs.</p>	<p>The hostess character directs the action by answering the door, asking questions and beginning the dancing. She has the authority of being the host of the party.</p> <p>There is no clear outsider and insider distinction in this scene but this could suggest that, for the very reason that it is not shown to be in conflict, the group has authority.</p>	<p>Meaning is carried through the American accents, the colloquialisms, the choice of food, the style of clothes, the type of music chosen and the style of dancing. All point to the urban discourses that are at work in this scene.</p>
Shift	<p>There is a dramatic shift between the Urban scene and the Closing scene. The meaning of the Urban scene is not easy to decipher while the Closing scene is very clearly an ending to the performance where the actors thank the audience but in doing so, again illustrate the tussle between languages and groups.</p>	<p>In the Closing scene authority and power are, like in the Urban scene, also difficult to assess. There is a significant difference between the two however. Unlike the Urban scene with it's single group, the Closing scene suggests multiple groups, all of which wield authority. Together they illustrate a complex collection of groups, all valid and all having some bearing on the actors.</p>	<p>In both scenes meaning is carried through spoken language and movement.</p>
Closing Scene	<p>Formulaic stage thanks in colloquial American English.</p> <p>Colloquial mix of isiZulu, English and Afrikaans (Tsotsi taal)</p> <p>Colloquial English to override isiZulu</p> <p>Final ending in isiZulu</p>	<p>Each actor has a chance to step to the front and speak. Each confronts the previous speaker and demands control of the space for the time until they are deposed.</p>	<p>Meaning is carried through the verbal statements asserted by each speaker.</p> <p>Meaning is also carried through the action of interrupting and pushing the speaker aside.</p> <p>Meaning is carried through the contrasting styles of isiZulu and English.</p> <p>Meaning is carried through the jumbled nature of the conclusion</p>

Appendix H:
Spatial Analysis Table

University of Cape Town

SCENE		USE OF SPACE
Traditional Scene	Song and Dance	The primary link between the actual space of the stage and the fictional spaces of a rural communal meeting place, a cattle kraal and a river are the actors themselves. The audience must depend on their imaginations and the actors' clues (cattle lowing, kneeling and scooping imaginary water into a bucket) to determine the setting. The only things on the stage itself to suggest the setting are traditional water pots that two of the girls carry and the actors themselves. There is no physical relation between the fictional and actual space.
	Boys Herding	
	Water Carriers	
Shift	The use of space changes between the Traditional and the School scene. From there being no relationship between actual and fictional space in the Traditional scene, in the School scene's actual space does relate to the fictional space.	
School Scene		The fictional and actual spaces in the School scene are closely related because the performance takes place in a school hall. The audience is made up of school children, dressed in uniform and the teachers sitting along the side of the hall as they do for school assembly. Actual school chairs are used for the actors to sit on and they position themselves in a classroom-like set up, with the students sitting in a row in front of the teacher who stands through out the scene.
Shift	When the fictional space changes from a school setting to a home setting, the relationship between fictional and actual space becomes more distant.	
Home Scene	With Ma	The fictional space of a lounge area in a home is cued by the comfortable bean bags that the mother, grandmother and boys sit on. The child, in both stories, comes through a door and enters to where the parent is, the most likely place for this to happen is at home. In the first story the mother is mixing something in a bowl, suggesting cooking. All of these features cue the audience to imagine that the stage is not a stage in a school hall but a home.
	With Gogo	
Shift	The use of space in the Urban scene is similar to that in the Home scene because both are set in a home. What creates the difference are the represented characters in the scene. In the Home scene a mother and grandmother were present and in the Urban scene it is a group of teenage friends that occupy the house.	
Urban Scene		Knocking on the door to come in and the door being answered as well as the collection of bean-bags to sit on suggest the home setting. The suggested presence of a mother also points to the fictional setting.
Shift	The shift between the Urban and the Closing scenes brings a dramatic shift in space from a clear fictional space to an actual space.	
Closing Scene		There is no fictional setting in this scene. The actors address the audience directly to thank them. Interestingly though some of the actors are still in character, highlighting the unusual shift between character and actor that has been occurring through out the performance.