

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

**ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCE OF INTERGROUP
CONTACT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS IMPACT
ON IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY**

A dissertation presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
M. Ed (Educational Psychology)

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ABSTRACT

This research study presents an enquiry into adolescents' experience of the process of intergroup contact in South Africa, with a particular emphasis on the impact of such contact on adolescent identity development. A particular instance of intergroup contact is examined, namely a drama project which brought together ten high school pupils from two very different school and home environments. Literature from both developmental psychology and social psychology was accessed to shed light on the research area, and an attempt was made to integrate the various bodies of literature, using a social constructionist perspective. A conceptual framework was developed to depict the integration between the various areas of literature. A qualitative methodology was adopted in order to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the participants' experience. Multiple methods of data collection were used, namely participant observation, interviews, pieces of writing (essays and biographies), questionnaires and video material. A computer programme, Ethnograph, was used to analyse the data and generate codes, which shaped the categories used in reporting the findings. Further, the findings were integrated with the conceptual framework developed from the literature. This integrative framework is depicted diagrammatically. The findings focus primarily on the complexity of processes involved in the impact of the intergroup situation on adolescent identity, with a particular emphasis on the relationship between personal and social identity.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Identity represents the intersection of individual and society" (Josselson, 1994:12).

1.1 BACKGROUND, ACTUALITY AND MOTIVATION

The issue of identity is currently attracting a great deal of attention in the psychological and educational literature worldwide. Perhaps this is a function of the times in which we live, since as life becomes more complex and technologically advanced, individuals are subject to a wider variety of influences and the question of 'who am I?' becomes both more crucial and more complicated to address. In South Africa, the notion of identity is even more salient. We live in a country that is forging a new, post-apartheid identity as a nation, and within this individuals who are now free to label themselves in new ways are grappling to come to terms with what it means to be a South African, a member of a particular social group, and an individual in the 'New South Africa'. As Barnes (1992:131) claims, the "sense of identity in South Africa seems to be undergoing constant change and negotiation." This is all the more true in adolescence, where change is the order of the day and the development of identity is the central developmental task to be negotiated (Erikson, 1968). Furthermore, adolescent identity is assumed to have a significant impact on one's later life (Kinney, 1993). Therefore a comprehensive understanding of the development of identity in adolescence can prove illuminating, if not essential in these times in South Africa.

A thorough discussion of the meaning of the term 'identity' is undertaken in the literature review. For the moment however, it seems opportune to provide a definition of this concept. Adams' (1992) definition is useful since it is comprehensive and includes reference to both personal and social aspects of identity, which is central to the understanding of identity embodied in this study. He defines identity as

an internalised self-selected regulatory system that represents an organised and integrated psychological structure that requires the developmental distinction between the inner self and outer social world. Identity formation is seen as an evolutionary process of differentiation and integration, synthesis and resynthesis, and increasing cognitive complexity (1992:1).

During a time of social change the question can be asked as to how social and personal change interact and interrelate. Does social change in South Africa enhance changes in individual identity, or as people grow and develop are they more able to absorb and react to social changes? Is it only one's social, or group identity that changes with social change, or is one's personal identity also affected? These questions cannot be definitively answered. However, what this research attempts is to gain a greater understanding of the dynamics involved in such processes. This is attempted not through looking at macro issues, but

rather through focusing in on one particular experience of intergroup contact and examining how this experience magnified issues of identity for adolescent South Africans, and in so doing provided a more complex understanding of such processes. Through this magnification of micro instances it is hoped that a more in-depth, albeit non-generalisable, understanding will be achieved.

The importance in an educational psychology context of examining adolescent identity development in an intergroup contact situation lies in the fact that educational psychologists often concern themselves with adolescents. Through working in and with schools educational psychologists are confronted with a wide variety of situations where adolescent identity is pertinent, both in individual work with pupils and teachers, and in working with groups of pupils. In the South African context formerly homogeneous schools are increasingly becoming sites where heterogeneity is far more apparent, hence providing a number of intergroup contact situations. If a more thorough understanding of such situations can be attained, educational psychologists may be able to work more effectively in school environments characterised by diversity. In so doing, they could intervene in such situations in a manner which serves to optimise both individual development and positive interactions between groups. Archer (1994:4) argues for intervention in adolescent identity development based on her claim that

individuals who explore alternatives and subsequently arrive at self-definitional commitments are more likely to express personality characteristics, cognitive and interpersonal stages, and other behaviours that are deemed healthy and sophisticated relative to individuals who do not make commitments or do so without considering alternatives.

This provides a powerful rationale for intervention in adolescent identity development, which I would argue is all the more true in South Africa where adolescents are subject to a rapidly changing society and a wide variety of influences such as the high crime rate and the ready availability of drugs. Since this current generation of adolescents can be seen to be leading this country into the twenty-first century it is important that any intervention which does take place serves to optimise their development and encourages values and ideals which will promote the well-being of our country and its citizens. However, in order to intervene in this area one needs to have a thorough understanding of the processes involved, hence the importance of studying and researching adolescent identity in an intergroup context. Despite this, much of the research conducted into identity development, and into intergroup contact has occurred in foreign contexts, primarily the United States and Britain. Although such research can serve to inform our own situation, South Africa's dynamics are unique, and we thus need local research to provide a sense of what is happening here.

My own interest in this area stems both from the work I have been involved in with adolescents, particularly in school contexts, as well as prior research I conducted into the potential of open schooling for prejudice reduction in South Africa (Druker, 1991). This research examined various theories of intergroup contact and applied these to the open schooling situation, in an attempt to gain a more thorough understanding of the dynamics of open schooling in reducing prejudice. It appeared from this research that simply increasing contact between different groups did not guarantee that positive intergroup attitudes would result. This intrigued me and sparked my interest in understanding the processes involved in intergroup situations. The current research study thus examines one such situation in great depth, in an attempt to more fully grasp the complexities involved and apply these to understanding adolescent identity development.

1.2 AIM

The focus of this study is an examination of how adolescents experience the process of intergroup contact in South Africa, with the emphasis being on how it impacts on their identity development. The research was conducted within the context of a particular drama project where two groups of high school pupils were brought together and drama methods were used to explore issues of relevance to their lives as South Africans and to facilitate contact between the members of the groups. One group of pupils came from an exclusive private school in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs, while the other group were from a relatively underresourced state school based in the Cape Flats. The research aimed to gain a deep understanding of how the participants in this drama project experienced the intergroup contact situation and how they understood and constructed its impact on their identity development.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this respect the literature in two major areas was reviewed, namely the developmental psychology literature on adolescence and identity development (theorists such as Erikson and Marcia), and the social psychological literature which focuses on intergroup contact. Within these areas there was a particular focus on the literature concerning female identity development (primarily the work of Gilligan and her colleagues), as well as that concerning ethnic identity development (primarily Phinney's work). Where intergroup contact is concerned the emphasis was on social identity theory and how this informs our understanding of the processes involved in such contact. Social constructionist literature was also reviewed and this approach was used to integrate the other areas of literature in the context of this particular piece of research.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, the research was located within a qualitative approach. This approach claims that reality and meaning are socio-psychological constructs, hence its link with social constructionism, and that relationships and events are interconnected, multidirectional and complex. This understanding of reality militates against a quantitative or reductionist analysis, and thus situations are examined in a micro fashion, where smaller events are examined in great depth. Such an approach yields in-depth data as opposed to statistical findings. These findings are not considered to be generalisable, but provide depth of understanding as opposed to breadth (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In the context of this study this was particularly relevant since the research aimed at attaining an in-depth understanding of adolescent experiences, letting the voices of the subjects be heard, and examining the complexities involved.

There were ten participants in the drama project, and they constituted the subjects of the research. Five participants came from each school, and there were nine females and one male. The methods used in data-gathering comprised interviews (two interviews were conducted, midway in the drama project process and approximately three months after the process had terminated), participant observation and field notes (I observed the entire process), essays written by the drama project participants, biographies written by the participants, questionnaires, and video material of sessions. Multiple methods were used to achieve triangulation (Denzin, 1988). Once the data was collected it was processed through the use of a computer programme, Ethnograph, which is designed to allow the generation of codes from the data. The codes were then grouped according to topic areas generated by a focus on the research title (namely adolescence, identity and intergroup contact). This grouping was used as the basis for analysis and interpretation of the data. The data was interpreted in the light of the literature in the various areas, with a constant focus on the complexities of the processes involved, particularly in the interrelationship between personal and social identity. An attempt was made to integrate the data with the literature and in so doing to generate a conceptual map of the topic area.

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The dissertation is organised into the following chapters:

- Chapter One: Introduction
- Chapter Two: Literature review
- Chapter Three: Methodology
- Chapter Four: Findings and discussion
- Chapter Five: Conclusion.
- References
- Appendices

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

"For this is the journey that men [and women] make: to find themselves. If they fail in this, it doesn't matter much what else they find." (Michener, The Fires of Spring, in Kroger, 1989:193).

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Josselson (1994:12) writes that "identity is both process and product." This acknowledgment that identity involves both the journey and the destination is critical in understanding identity development. It constitutes an acknowledgment that there are different aspects to identity, and that these have both individual and social components. The individual aspect involves an ever-developing understanding and awareness of oneself as a unique person, while the social aspect involves discovering oneself in relationship with and in relation to others, as well as ascribing meaning to one's memberships of social groups. Since aspects relating to the social environment, family relationships and culture are involved one cannot interpret the process of identity development as purely an intrapsychic one (Markstrom-Adams, 1992). One could argue that the 'product' is never fully achieved, and that identity continues to develop and change throughout one's lifespan. Having said this, adolescence however constitutes a pivotal time in the process of identity formation. This research involves a study of adolescents' experience of a particular intervention which related to issues of identity. This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the literature related to understanding adolescence development. As one cannot adequately study identity without some understanding of what this concept involves, an analysis of the meaning of identity and identity development is presented below.

In exploring the literature on the issues involved in this research it became evident that very little literature was available in this specific field, namely literature which combines adolescent identity development and intergroup experience, either internationally or in South Africa. This presented a situation where literature needed to be sought in different topic areas, the two central ones being adolescent development and the theory of intergroup contact. These two areas are very different however, in terms of the theoretical and philosophical traditions in which they are located. The adolescent development literature is located primarily within a developmental psychology tradition. This tradition has generally been characterised by individualistic, often psychodynamic theoretical perspectives. The intergroup research on the other hand, has its roots in social psychology and its focus is more group-based, social and context-driven. (However, even in social psychology there has tended to be until recently a bias towards an individualised approach). Brought together, these two traditions provide a point of entry into the personal

and social dimensions of identity. In attempting to draw these two research threads together in a manner which made conceptual sense considering the aims and focus of this research, a number of difficulties arose. As a consequence the literature from these two broad areas is outlined separately and an attempt is made in the conclusion of this literature review to integrate the two through linking them to this particular study. The means by which this integration was operationalised was through the adoption of a social constructionist perspective to inform the overarching conceptual framework.

2.2. ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT : AN OVERVIEW

Adolescence is seen as that period of development beginning with puberty - usually approximately age fourteen-and-a-half in boys and age twelve-and-a-half in girls (Atkinson, Atkinson, Smith & Hilgard, 1987) and ending with entry into the adult world, an exit point which is socially defined and varies from culture to culture. Adolescence is generally viewed as an extremely important time of one's life in that "it is a product of one's childhood, as well as a determinant for later periods of life" (Burns, 1988:34). Theorists from different disciplines understand adolescence in different ways. Freudian theory for example, sees adolescence as a period ruled and determined by biological impulses which create stress (Burns, 1988). An anthropologist such as Mead on the other hand, sees adolescence more as a cultural strategy used by society to delay the onset of adulthood (Burns, 1988). Whatever one's approach to understanding adolescence however, this developmental stage is universally characterised as a time of change. The changes that occur tend to be both discontinuous and relatively rapid, as opposed to smooth or synchronous. Changes occur in a variety of areas of development, primarily the physical, cognitive, social, emotional, and moral spheres. The changes that occur in these different areas are moreover inextricably interconnected since changes in one sphere dynamically affect changes in another. One cannot study any aspect of adolescence without a grasp of these changes and of the developmental expectations of this life stage, hence these changes are outlined briefly below.

Physical changes are the most obviously noticeable changes in adolescence. These are heralded by the onset of puberty which is that period when the reproductive system matures, secondary sexual characteristics develop and reproduction becomes a possibility (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). Another physical characteristic that occurs is the growth spurt, with the rate of growth in many young adolescents as much as doubling (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). These physical and hormonal changes have particular psychological consequences relating to aspects such as body image, moodswings and

sexuality. In this respect they relate also to changes that occur in other spheres of development.

On an **emotional** level changes are also apparent. Adolescents are subject to frequent and unpredictable mood changes and irritability, particularly those who find adolescence an especially difficult time. This has led to the characterisation of adolescence as a period of 'storm and stress' (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). "Adolescents come to know and define themselves largely through social interaction" (Hart, 1988:71). This awareness of others sometimes leads adolescents to experience acute self-consciousness as a result of adolescent egocentrism. Egocentrism results in adolescents believing that they are more unusual and important than they actually are, and seeing themselves as subject to scrutiny and judgement by an imaginary audience (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). **Socially**, adolescence is often a time of conflict as teenagers move away from their parents and families and the peer group becomes increasingly important. Adolescents face the task of achieving autonomy from their families "without removing themselves so far that they feel isolated, enraged, depressed, or guilty" (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987: 622). As a result they test the limits set for them by authority figures, particularly parents, and often appear resentful when their burgeoning independence is curtailed. Increasing amounts of time are spent with their peer group, conformity to peers becomes a matter of importance, and adolescents begin experimenting with romantic relationships.

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Another area of change relevant to adolescence is the growth of **moral** maturity, namely the ability to understand the reasons for behaviour, to sympathise with others, and to develop an advanced sense of personal guilt and social injustice (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). This moral development occurs in tandem with an increase in **cognitive** abilities. Cognitive growth is a crucial aspect of adolescent development and major strides in thinking processes characterise this period. During adolescence the stage of 'formal operations' is reached according to Piagetian theory, and this was seen by Piaget as the primary cognitive achievement of this developmental stage (Keating, 1980). Formal operational thought implies the ability to reason abstractly, which frees the adolescent from exploring only the tangible and concrete. They are now able to think about what might be, not simply about what is and "reality is now secondary to possibility" (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958 in Keating, 1980:212). Formal operations is also characterised by the ability to reason speculatively, plan ahead, generate and think through hypotheses and their logical consequences, and debate abstract issues such as religion, politics and the meaning of life. It also allows for an increase in introspection (Braun, 1992; Clarke-Stewart & Friedman,

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1987; Keating, 1980). Keating sums up these changes and their link to other aspects of development as follows.

The spark for such consideration is not purely cognitive, of course, there are many lines of development converging with special significance for the adolescent. But at least some of the motivation for this stretching and breaking of old limits is probably cognitive in the purest sense In addition, the cognitive skills that can be applied to the task are much sharper, which makes the enterprise all the more exciting and attractive (1980:215).

2.2.1. ADOLESCENCE AS A PERIOD OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:

Linked to all of the developmental changes discussed above is the fact that adolescents are more attuned to the question of "who am I?" (Kroger, 1989), a question which was particularly relevant to this research study. The development of a positive and coherent identity is generally seen to be the central challenge and goal of adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Myburgh & Anders, 1989; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). A positive sense of identity is assumed by most identity theorists to result in a more unified and integrated personality, and thus more consistent and stable behaviour patterns (Erikson, 1968; Côté & Levine, 1987). The notion of a transition in terms of identity during adolescence is expressed by Marcia (1980:190), who notes that adolescence is a time of change "from others' expectations and directives to one's own unique organisation of one's history, skills, shortcomings and goals."

Erikson's theory outlines eight major life stages, each of which poses a particular psychosocial challenge which needs to be successfully negotiated and resolved for optimal psychological health. The fifth stage is the adolescent period, and the psychosocial crisis during this time is that of identity versus identity diffusion (Atkinson et al, 1987). Thus adolescence is construed as a crucial period for the development of identity, although one should note that identity development does not begin in adolescence, nor does the process end there (Côté & Levine, 1987; Goodenow & Espin, 1993; Marcia, 1980; Wires, Barocas & Hollenbeck, 1993). It is, however, during this stage that "commitments are made which provide a sense of continuity with the past yet construct a pathway toward the future" (Aries & Moorhead, 1989:75). Burns (1988) claims that the formation of personal identity during adolescence is essentially a universal task, although it may be differently defined and prioritised in different cultures.

The reason why adolescence is particularly important for identity development is that

this is the first time that physical development, cognitive skills, and social expectations coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesise their childhood identifications in order to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood (Marcia, 1980:160).

In other words, physical changes focus attention on the body of the adolescent, emotional changes result in an increased repertoire of feelings, social changes offer a variety of conflictual as well as supportive relationships, and cognitive and moral changes allow the individual to think and reason about what is happening to him or her. The combination of these factors results in the focus of adolescence being largely concerned with the self, and in turn, with identity. As Phinney and Rosenthal (1992:161) note, "adolescence is a time of intense preoccupation with the self." There thus seems to be a general agreement amongst researchers that in adolescence there is a progressive movement from "an amorphous, relatively unstable set of ideas regarding work, ideology, family roles etc., toward a relatively clear delineation of identity-related goals, values and beliefs" (Waterman, 1988:195).

Boyes and Chandler (1992:278) argue that "it regularly happens that at precisely the same developmental moment when young adolescents first begin to reason in ways that are truly adult-like they also suffer a crisis of personal identity." Although theorists such as Piaget and Erikson imply that the reaching of formal operational thought constitutes a prerequisite for identity development, research has not shown this link to be as conclusive (Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Marcia, 1980; Markstrom-Adams, 1992). Furthermore, an argument such as this may be problematic in that not all individuals necessarily attain formal operations, and those that do may reach formal operational thinking in one area (e.g. school work) but not in another (e.g. moral reasoning) (Boyes & Chandler, 1992). However, what advanced cognitive capacities do make possible is to allow adolescents to reflect upon themselves more extensively, as well as to reflect on the relationship between the self and society. Such processes are central to identity formation since it is in the process of such reflection and through the benefits of enhanced understanding that they may redefine themselves (Ward, 1990).

The period of adolescence, at least in Western industrialised society, offers a psychosocial moratorium when issues relating to identity can be explored and experimented with and the 'identity crisis' of adolescence resolved¹. During this period individuals are seen neither as adults nor as children and thus have the freedom to experiment within certain limits (Barnes, 1992; Erikson, 1968; Josselson, 1987; Kroger, 1989). Failure to successfully negotiate this phase leaves the individual with a diffuse identity, whereby they do not have

¹ The participants in this study can be considered to be Westernised, since they lead western lifestyles in an urbanised environment, hence the concept of a moratorium can be applied in their case.

a solid sense of who they are and are confused about their place in the world (Braun, 1992; Kaplan & Sadock, 1988).

2.2.2. REASSESSING ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

The manner in which adolescent development is construed has changed and evolved over recent years and it is important to make these changes apparent in the context of conducting research with adolescents. Until approximately the 1960s the 'turmoil' theory of adolescent development was accepted, namely, that adolescence was seen largely as a time of 'storm and stress' where pathology was almost inevitable due to the dramatic changes that were occurring in an individual's life (Archer, 1989a; Kroger, 1989). The notion of adolescence as a time of identity 'crisis' further perpetuated the idea that adolescence was necessarily a problematic time period (Coleman, 1980). From the 1970s however, many adolescent researchers began to acknowledge that they could find little evidence of psychopathology in large groups of adolescents and a shift occurred whereby adolescence was studied more in terms of development in general, in relation to the normal (as opposed to the clinical) population, and more recently within a framework of resilience theory (Kroger, 1989; Stern, 1990). It became acknowledged that adolescence need not necessarily be stormy and that many adolescents in fact cope well with the transitions that they endure (Archer, 1989a; Rosenthal, 1987). This perspective is being expanded through the development and use of theories other than those that are psychoanalytically based, such as social-cognitive and ecosystemic approaches, utilised by researchers such as Waterman, Grotevant and Phinney (Adams, 1992). Commonsense notions still tend to construe adolescence as a stressful and turbulent life stage however, despite the fact that research does not generally bear this out (Coleman, 1980).

A further development relevant to changing notions of adolescence has been the work done by feminist researchers in broadening popular ideas of adolescence (which were developed primarily from a male perspective and using male subjects) to include a female perspective Gilligan (1982; 1988b). For example the 1980 *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology* acknowledges that "girls have simply not been much studied" (Gilligan, 1988b:xi). One of the foremost researchers in this field is Carol Gilligan, who claims that women's perspectives have largely been ignored in understanding psychological development. Her aim has been to provide "a clearer representation of women's development which will enable psychologists and others to follow its course and understand some of the apparent puzzles it presents" (Gilligan, 1982:3). The implications of this perspective and the impact it has had on understanding female's adolescence is

discussed in greater depth in section 2.3.4 below, and is especially relevant to this study since nine of the ten participants were female.

2.3. IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

2.3.1. DEFINING IDENTITY AND IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The construct of identity is a highly complex and debated one, and its meaning may vary depending on the theoretical emphasis or framework one adopts. Furthermore, the use of the term in a theoretical context may be different to its commonsense usage. Indeed, Archer (1992:32) claims that "there is no one definitive definition of identity" and that "the construct is so complex that practitioners and scholars have concluded that it would be wrong to develop a single operationalisation of this overarching entity" (Archer, 1994:3). Different definitions of identity tend to have different emphases. Hence, before embarking on a study which focuses on identity and identity development it is important to gain some clarity as to the meanings embedded in these concepts. It should be noted at the outset however, that most researchers in this area are likely to agree that identity is a multilayered and multidimensional concept which cannot be simply defined or operationalised. Indeed, according to Blasi and Milton (1991:218) its "complexity can only be grasped by bringing together different levels of analysis and different domains of experience." In South Africa no overarching theoretical framework or tradition of work in the area of identity has been developed thus one needs to rely primarily on international work in this area (Soudien, 1996), while bearing in mind that it cannot automatically be generalised to the South African situation.

It seems fitting to begin a discussion of identity with Erikson's (1968) definition of identity since so much of the research conducted into identity and identity formation stems from his theory, and since he himself acknowledges the changing nature of the concepts' meanings. Erikson (1968:15) begins his definition by stating that the term identity has become in popular usage a term that sometimes "circumscribes something so large and so seemingly self-evident that to demand a definition would be petty," while at other times designates "something made so narrow for purposes of measurement that the over-all meaning is lost" (Erikson, 1968:15). This sums up the slippery nature of the concepts involved. Erikson (1968) then goes on to define identity (or 'ego identity' as he termed it) as "the perception of the selfsameness and continuity of one's existence in time and space and the perception of the fact that others recognise one's sameness and continuity" (1968:50). This idea of continuity is central to the concept of identity since, for Erikson, identity is essentially predicated on a sense of inner sameness that is consistent, and is founded upon the

successful resolution of the conflicts presented by the psychosocial stages prior to and including adolescence (Lavoie, 1994; Patterson, Sochtung & Marcia, 1992).

Marcia (1980), whose work on identity is based on Erikson's, elaborates on this in his definition of identity as

a self-structure - an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history. The better developed this structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and of their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way to the world (Marcia, 1980:159).

Waterman's (1988) definition of identity rather than focusing on continuity, as Erikson does, or on structure as Marcia does, places the emphasis on content. He defines identity as

having a clearly delineated self-definition comprised of those goals, values, and beliefs to which the person is unequivocally committed. These commitments evolve over time and are made because the chosen goals, values, and beliefs are judged worthy of giving a direction, purpose and meaning to life (1984, in Waterman, 1988:187).

Despite the differences in focus all three definitions have in common the emphasis on the wholeness of self, the sense of uniqueness and the notion of the individual in relation to others as well as in terms of her/himself. According to Kroger (1989),

identity invariably gets defined ... as a balance between that which is taken to be self and that considered to be other ... Adolescence encompasses one phase of heightened activity for most in this intrapsychic juggling act (1989:6).

Most authors acknowledge that identity is a dynamic and constantly evolving aspect of one's psychological makeup (Kroger, 1992; Marcia, 1980), and thus that although the development of identity may be pivotal during adolescence it continues to develop throughout one's life.

Identity is also not necessarily a concept with only amorphous properties but at times its definition focuses on broad aspects to the detriment of what particularly is involved.

Josselson (1980) expresses this well in her claim that

identity is a result of minute, seemingly inconsequential choices: whom one chooses for friends, what school one attends, what courses one takes, what one reads or does not read, whether one learns to play tennis or fly airplanes, whether one takes drugs or robs a store. Choice and action, however transient or impulsive, become part of one's life history and part of one's meaning for society (Josselson, 1980:202).

Having examined the meaning of identity it becomes appropriate to examine what is meant by identity formation, or identity development. "Identity formation proceeds gradually, unconsciously, and often unintentionally" (Josselson, 1980:202). Where identity can be

seen as a characteristic, identity development is the process whereby it is formed and transformed with time and experience (Côte & Levine, 1987). [Erikson defines the process of identity formation as follows.]

[It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration, which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society ... identifies the young individual, recognising him (sic) as somebody who had to become the way he is and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted (1968:159).]

Thus the psychodynamic understanding of identity formation has much to do with one's prior identifications and how these are integrated into one's evolving identity. The basic idea is that early parental introjects and identifications are gradually replaced by an internal self-structure which determines one's direction (Kroger, 1988; Lavoie, 1994). [The processes involved in identity formation] are hypothesised as primarily [concerning exploration and commitment (to particular ideas, goals or actions)] These processes are central throughout development but are seen to be especially important during adolescence (Marcia, 1989; Waterman, 1988).

Definitions such as those given by Erikson and Marcia may at first glance imply that the concept of identity and the process of identity formation involve primarily intrapsychic and psychological factors. However [there is a strong social and historical component involved in identity formation,] and this is acknowledged by Erikson (1968). Erikson in fact highlighted the *psychosocial* nature of identity and integrated a sociocultural perspective with a psychobiological one (Burns, 1988; Kroger, 1989). According to Erikson [identity development entails "a culmination of experiences from the individual's developmental history and the history of the individual's society" (Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994:89), thus merging the personal, cultural, social and historical.] Despite this however, his theory is often construed as focusing overtly on the psychological aspects.

All theories of identity development, whether psychodynamically based or not, pay some heed to the factors that influence adolescent identity development. [Soudien (1996:37) construes adolescents as "wrestling with a multiplicity of influences," both internal and external. Where this issue is concerned the central debate tends to be whether identity has an inner psychological basis or an external social basis. [Josselson (1987) expresses this debate in stating that identity "is neither the sum of roles nor an intrapsychic process alone. Nor is it who one is for others or who one is apart from others. It is all these things" (1987:21).] Continual discussion over such an issue tends to become circular since it is difficult, if not impossible to argue that only one aspect is important to identity formation.

[The consensus in the literature seems to now be that both personal and social factors are

involved (Waterman, 1988) and are interrelated in a complex and multidimensional fashion. Since identity development occurs within a social and interpersonal context, but is impacting on an individual particularly, while the individual in turn impacts on the context, both personal and social processes must naturally be involved (Kinney, 1993). Aspects such as history, social context, gender, identity domains (e.g. vocational choice), culture, personality, and interpersonal interactions are all seen to be included in the process of identity formation (Archer, 1989c). However, this does not always come across in the literature, perhaps because "to keep both intrapsychic aspects of development and psychosocial demands and interests clearly in focus at the same time is an extraordinarily challenging task" (Josselson, 1987:21).

Waterman (1982) identifies a variety of antecedent conditions which could affect identity development. These include:

- The effects of identification with parents prior to and during adolescence;
 - different parenting styles;
- the scope of identity alternatives which an individual is exposed to;
- the availability of role models;
- social expectations and norms; and
 - preadolescent personality (e.g. resolution of issues relating to trust and autonomy).

It is clear that both personal and social factors are involved in these conditions and neither can be highlighted as more important since it is likely that the conditions and their effects will vary from individual to individual. Grotevant (1992) has proposed a process model of identity development which emphasises identity formation as contextualised and life-long. He incorporates personal influences into his model with his claim that "individuals bring their personalities, abilities and current self-concepts to the identity development process, which in turn influence their ability to explore" (Grotevant, 1992:76). Thus all aspects involved can be seen to be interrelated, making the unravelling of the process of identity formation an especially complex enterprise. A systemic perspective acknowledges such complexity in viewing the whole as more than the sum of its parts. Thus in order to understand the whole one needs to do more than merely understand its parts (Bateson, 1979; Flood & Jackson, 1991). Such an argument would oppose any reductionistic understanding of identity.

Blasi and Milton (1991) hypothesise that three basic aspects are involved in identity formation. These are:

- A structural aspect, whereby an unconscious reorganisation of needs, drives and past identifications occurs;

- ① a social aspect, namely the absorption and assimilation of social norms, values and expectations of one's society and culture; and
- ② a personal/phenomenological aspect, namely a new way of experiencing oneself and a new sense of individuality and purpose.

Again, as with other explanations of the process of identity formation, both social and personal aspects are involved.

With evolving theoretical paradigms and increased research, there have been a variety of shifts in the explanations and definitions of identity. More recently the social constructionist movement has emphasised the socially constructed as opposed to the intrapsychic nature of identity (Soudien, 1996). The general position currently appears to be that

[identity is not simply determined by racial, class or gender attributes, but is a product of each of these acting in unison in the context of an individual interacting with all of these forces (Soudien, 1996:34).

either 2/3
I think 2
then
flesh out

The social component inherent in identity formation becomes clear when one considers that [identity formation occurs within a context of social interaction and thus cannot be a purely individual process (Côte & Levine, 1987)] Josselson (1994:12) for example claims that "identity is the process of claiming membership in the social world." She also argues that a sense of identity confers "an experience of belonging in some valuable and consistent way to some ongoing reality outside of himself (sic), a sense of commitment that enriches the self" (Josselson, 1980:202). Kinney (1993:22) expands on this in claiming that

interpersonal interaction and concomitant self-feelings occur within and between groups, and these various groups constitute the relevant social structure and cultural landscape that provides the fertile ground for the growth of individuals' identity.

Thus identity incorporates and synthesises both external and internal forces and however one defines it the concept involves a complex interplay of micro and macro factors (Spencer, 1982; Wires et al, 1994). Since [identity as a concept embodies both the personal and the social] it thus becomes a useful medium through which to explore the interplay of these two aspects, as is done in this research. Conducting such an exploration during the adolescent period seems especially apt since identity is at issue during this time.

Furthermore, [the process of identity formation involves "a dialectic between relatedness and separateness" (Lavoie, 1994:21)] which are issues central to adolescent development.

Having focussed on the meaning of identity and identity formation a detailed discussion of the various theories of identity development which inform our understanding of this process follows.

2.3.2. PSYCHODYNAMIC THEORIES OF ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

The psychoanalytic view of adolescence is based on the physical changes of puberty which are said to lead to an increase of instinctual drives and in turn to an increased personality vulnerability associated with burgeoning sexuality and the growing use of psychological defenses to defend against the anxiety precipitated by instincts (Coleman, 1980). Generally psychodynamic theories highlight the processes of disengagement, individuation and detachment as these are seen as essential for the development of mature relationships (Coleman, 1980; Josselson, 1987).

a [The central theorist on identity is Erikson] whose "construct of identity has become the principal tool for understanding the development of personality from adolescence into adulthood" (Waterman, 1982:341). Erikson based his work on Freud's but diverged from him in that he placed particular emphasis on the ego (Kroger, 1989). Rather than focus primarily on biological factors, Erikson [argued that identity development involved biology in terms of the role played by puberty, but transcended biological aspects in incorporating psychological and social issues (Kroger, 1989).] Erikson conceived of adolescence as a time of identity crisis which optimally results in the development of a healthy identity.] Identity is seen to be achieved as a result of a process of exploration and experimentation that occurs during adolescence and results in a variety of commitments in areas such as occupation, family and political and/or religious ideology (Archer, 1989c; Phinney, 1990).

yes
b [Erikson conceptualised identity in an interdisciplinary way - "biological endowment, personal organisation of experience, and cultural milieu all conspire to give meaning, form, and continuity to one's unique existence" (Kroger, 1989:14).] He viewed identity formation in adolescence as a reorganisation of one's identifications which builds on childhood introjections and identifications and then in turn influences the developmental stages that follow (Kroger, 1989).

A major theorist of identity who built on and operationalised the work of Erikson was Marcia, whose central contribution to identity theory has been the development of four identity statuses. Marcia's model has generated a great deal of research and has lasted for over twenty-five years, becoming the dominant research paradigm in identity development (Josselson, 1987). Hence no discussion on identity is complete without a discussion of it. Marcia's identity statuses were designed to empirically test Erikson's theory. The statuses are essentially four modes "of dealing with the problem of fidelity, the crux of identity during adolescence" (Kroger, 1989:35). In other words, the modes offer an explanation of different approaches to issues of identity involving exploration and commitment during adolescence. Marcia used a semistructured Identity Status Interview which assessed individuals'

responses to questions on religion, politics and occupation. He thereby classified individuals according to the presence of either commitment or crisis, as well as categorised them into a particular identity status category. Commitment implied that a firm decision had been taken in a particular area for example, occupation, while crisis involved a period of questioning and struggle in reaching a commitment (Adams, Shea & Fitch, 1979; Bilsker, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Waterman, 1988). The four identity statuses can be outlined as follows:

Table 2.1: Marcia's Four Identity Statuses:
(Adams et al, 1979; Josselson, 1994; Marcia, 1980; Patterson et al, 1992).

| | Identity status | Description |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Diffusion</i> | No commitment to a consistent value set, specific ideology or occupation is apparent and there is a lack of exploration. Individuals are without a set direction. |
| 2 | <i>Foreclosure</i> | There is a high level of commitment to internal values and goals but this has come about without crisis i.e. individuals have taken on others' (usually parents') commitments without undergoing their own exploration process. |
| 3 | <i>Moratorium</i> | The individual is in the process of searching for commitment and building identity from amongst a variety of possibilities, therefore is currently experiencing crisis. |
| 4 | <i>Identity achievement</i> | Crisis has been experienced and resolved and commitments have thereby developed |

Most of the research done using identity statuses has classified individuals in one of the above four categories and then examined the relationship to aspects such as personality variables, developmental antecedents and consequences, and patterns of interaction (Marcia, 1980). Although Marcia construes identity achievement as the most adaptive of the four statuses (Marcia, 1989), and some research shows a relationship between higher identity statuses and positive psychosocial adjustment (Phinney & Chavira, 1992), it is problematic to generalise as to which identity status is healthier or healthiest. One should be cautious in doing this (Archer, 1989c), primarily since identity development is a dynamic process and it might be that one needs to experience the initial stages in order to attain identity achievement. Marcia does not claim that the stages necessarily occur in a fixed progression (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Generally however research has indicated that diffusion and foreclosure tend to characterise early adolescence, moratorium is more apparent in mid-adolescence, and achievement is generally only apparent in late adolescence. Development does however occur at different times and at different paces in

different domains, such as ideology or occupation (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Another important finding which tends to emerge from work based on identity status is that most adolescents do not necessarily explore options but rather tend to commit to the first major value or belief to which they are exposed. The exploration of alternatives seems to occur somewhat later in life (Archer, 1994). Marcia has been criticised on the grounds that he has provided an account of Erikson which is not comprehensive enough and is not true to his original theory, as well as for being too individually and psychologically based and not paying sufficient heed to social and historical factors (Côte and Levine, 1988; Lavoie, 1994). Others have argued that the research instruments which his theory has spawned do not do justice to the richness and multidimensionality of the concept of identity (Blasi & Milton, 1991).

There are other psychodynamic theories of identity, one of which is forwarded by Blos. Blos conceives of adolescence as the second process of individuation (the first occurs towards the end of one's third year of life) which is characterised by a need for psychological changes to help the individual cope with advancing maturity (Coleman, 1980). Blos argues that during adolescence one detaches from and relinquishes the internalised parent established in earlier years and thereby develops a new structure of self (Josselson, 1987; Kroger, 1989). Another psychodynamic theorist of identity development is Loevinger. Loevinger's ego-development model views identity as the "master trait of personality" (in Kroger, 1989:8). She describes a series of developmental stages of the ego, which occur in an hierarchical and invariant sequence. The ego is posited to develop from self interest and conformity to others, to a distinct and organised self which appreciates individuality and has a capacity for mutuality in relationships (Kroger, 1989). Using a sentence completion technique as an assessment instrument, Loevinger has found that the greatest gains in ego development occur during early and mid adolescence, and that girls reach higher stages earlier than boys (Kroger, 1989).

Although these theorists have a psychodynamic theoretical framework, one should note that none of these theories posit that identity is a purely intrapsychic process. They would, however, emphasise the psychological aspects involved. Rather than thinking of them as absolutes it is helpful to consider these theories as providing one part of a greater picture. None of the theorists discussed considers identity to be a unidimensional concept and all acknowledge its complexity. Hence the prospect of understanding identity solely in terms of its psychological components is not a constructive one. As Phinney and Alipuria (1990:171) note, ["an achieved identity is the product of one's personal history but also one's place in history."] - use in theories of SA youth.

2.3.3. OTHER THEORIES OF ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Kroger (1989) identifies five models of identity development, three of which are primarily psychodynamically based. These are the theories of Erikson, Blos and Loewinger discussed above. Other theories of adolescent development have been devised, which although acknowledging the importance of psychodynamic factors, emphasise other aspects as central to identity development. These are identified by Kroger as including Kohlberg's theory, which is cognitive-developmental in nature and which views identity development as a by-product of development in cognition and moral reasoning (Kroger, 1989). She also discusses Kegan's constructive developmental model. Kegan "views the formation of identity as a life-long evolutionary process of meaning-making" (Kroger, 1989:8), whereby the individual finds, loses and recreates balances between self and other. These balances, which are interpersonal and organisational in nature, result in the meaning that one makes of the world and one's experiences - "transitions involve the loss of an old way of knowing" (Kroger, 1989:166). Each of the five theories outlined by Kroger views identity as a developmental phenomenon which occurs in stages, and as a dialectic between self and other, as well as sees identity as a central concern during adolescence particularly (Kroger, 1989).

← Spencer (Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994) has devised a model of identity development which she applies particularly to minority youth, hence it may have particular relevance in South Africa. Her model is a phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory which "emphasises the meaning-making experiences of developing youth" (Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994:92). Rather than assuming a direct relationship between specific characteristics (such as gender or race) and outcomes in terms of identity, this five-step model takes into account at each step the active meaning-making processes engaged in by adolescents. Hence it is especially relevant for more qualitative type research where processes involving making meaning of experiences can be actively probed. Also, such a model taps into the recent emergence and application of systems theory to concepts such as identity that were previously examined primarily in an individualistic manner.

Sociological and socialisation theories of identity development also exist along with the psychological models. These theorists do not locate the impetus for adolescent transition within the individual, but rather see it as an external societal force, involving new role expectations and socialisation processes. New social demands are placed on maturing individuals and new roles are expected of them, which result in stress and sometimes in conflict (Coleman, 1980). However such theories tend to focus on social roles "as they exist

apart from personality development. To that extent these theories depict rootless beings taking a place in the world" (Josselson, 1987:21). This again highlights that to view identity development either as an internal or as an external process only is not particularly useful in terms of gaining a deep understanding of the process and its complexities.

2.3.4. IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN WOMEN

Gender is an extremely important aspect of one's identity development, since as part of this process one develops a sense of who one is as a man or woman and what implications this holds. Both intrapsychic and external factors are involved in this development, as with any other aspect of identity formation. However until recently women have largely been omitted in studies of adolescence, which has influenced the manner in which the theory of adolescent identity has developed (Gilligan 1988a; Josselson, 1987). "Understanding of female development in adolescence is a far more complicated task than the understanding of male development" (Josselson, Greenberger & McConochie, 1977 in Marcia, 1980:178). Archer (1989b) agrees and argues that identity development may be a more complex process for women than for men. Indeed, when one examines the literature in this area, there are a number of issues which become apparent in terms of the particular identity development of women. Despite this however, female identity development has been relatively underresearched (Josselson, 1987). As Josselson (1987:8) claims, "although the study of identity formation in men has been a relatively straightforward inquiry, the study of identity formation in women has been fraught with ambiguity and frustration." Since this research study involved primarily female participants, it becomes important to examine female identity development in particular.

NS [The initial research on identity formation and on identity status with adolescents was conducted mainly with males, and it was assumed that the process of identity formation in women was the same, although the content may differ (Josselson, 1987). Furthermore, research into identity status based on Marcia's work, is in turn based on Erikson's theory since Marcia's research is underpinned by Erikson. This is significant since Erikson's theory was developed largely as an account of male identity development and was then extended to include women. The results are that both Erikson's theory and the identity status approach work only more or less, when applied to women" (Marcia, 1980:178). In recent years (since the mid-1970s) in response to this situation there has been a marked increase in research conducted specifically into women's identity development, since many argue that the process and nature of women's identity formation is a different one (Gilligan, 1988; Lyons, 1990; Marcia, 1980). This interest has resulted in greater scope and flexibility in identity research.

Adolescent issues and the formation of identity in adolescence are generally construed as largely concerning autonomy, separation and individuation (Archer, 1992; Gilligan, 1988a; Goodenow & Espin, 1993; Stern, 1990). Maturity is seen as the ability to be independent and self-sufficient, hence to be separate (Gilligan, 1988b). This is embodied by the Freudian perspective on adolescence. Freud claims that "one of the most significant but also one of the most painful psychical accomplishments of the pubertal period ... is detachment from parental authority" (1905/1963 in Gilligan, 1988b:13). Should such detachment not be successfully negotiated, Freud would postulate that pathology is likely to result. A further related issue concerns the cognitive development of adolescents. Formal operational thinking is prized as the ultimate cognitive achievement attained in adolescence but such thinking implies a disconnection in that it requires objectivity and detachment (Gilligan, 1988b). Such tendencies may be more appropriate to men than to women and hence by prizing objectivity and detachment, one negates other, more subjective elements.

The study of adolescent females has shown that adolescence and identity development may be as much about the continuation of strong relationships as they are about separation (Josselson, 1987). Gilligan (1982; 1988) claims that identity development for men and women is a different process, and thus that the criteria for psychosocial health and development, commonly seen to be related to autonomy, agency and separation, cannot simply be applied to women. Women's development, argues Gilligan, relates more to intimacy and relationship (Streitmatter, 1993). Miller (in Gilligan, 1988b:xi) observed in the process of doing psychotherapy with women that their

sense of self is built around being able to make and then maintain connections with others and that a loss of relationship is experienced by many women as tantamount to a loss of self.

Stern (1990:73) comments on this in her claim that "by virtue of being female, adolescent girls especially value their connection, while by virtue of being adolescent, they are attending particularly to their separation." She goes on to argue that "for women, even a task as distinctly self-oriented as identity formation may mean defining oneself 'in relation and connection to other people'" (Chodorow, 1974, in Stern, 1990:74). Thus claims Gilligan (1988b), an understanding of attachment and connection needs to be integrated into the psychological theories of identity, since "a relational conception of self" (Lyons, 1988:42) is central to how women's identity develops, and this may not be as apparent in the identity of men.

On the whole however, it is argued that research tends to show that the patterns of identity formation in men and women are more similar than different (Streitmatter, 1993; Waterman,

1982). Studies by researchers such as Adams (1981; 1992), Archer (1989; 1992) and Grotevant (1992) examine gender differences in identity formation from an Eriksonian framework, tend to adopt a quantitative methodology, and generally have not found there to be differences between males and females (Streitmatter, 1993). Ackermann's (1990) study with South African adolescents also did not find support for Gilligan's theory in that relationship issues were not shown to be more important for females. Interestingly, it seems that the more ethnographic, qualitative studies tend to support Gilligan, while the more positivist based studies do not find a difference. This would suggest that the nature of those differences that do exist does not lend itself as readily to statistical analysis but have a more phenomenological nature. It may also be that data collection instruments and statistical measures are not sufficiently sensitive to gender variables. Streitmatter (1993) suggests that the findings may not necessarily contradict each other but may rather be complementary in that the research focus is on different aspects, and because the forces exerted on women in development are so complex and multifaceted. The fact that different methodologies are used results in a situation where only a partial picture is presented by a specific piece of research and this implies that further research, both quantitative and qualitative, is necessary to explore the issue in greater depth.

The work of researchers such as Gilligan has been criticised on a number of grounds, most of which relate to methodology (Kerber, Greeno, Maccoby, Luria, Stack & Gilligan, 1986; Nails, 1983; Skoe & Diessner, 1994). Her methodology is argued to be subjective and unscientific since her samples are small and non-random, she does not include control groups, no consistent test is used, and no rigorous or standardised scoring method is adopted (Colby & Damon, 1983; Nails, 1983). Critique such as this is not invalid but should be seen to be of a paradigmatic nature, i.e. work which stems from a qualitative paradigm cannot be judged by the same criteria as positivistic and quantitative research. By the same token, such research cannot claim to be as representative or generalisable as quantitative research. Despite the controversy which the work of Gilligan and her co-researchers has sparked, views such as these are significant in paving the way for a new, more inclusive construction and understanding of adolescent development.

2.4. ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

Aries and Moorhead (1989) point out that in the same way as one should avoid applying male findings on identity to women, one should be wary of applying findings from subjects of one racial group to other racial or ethnic groups. Hence there is a need for identity research with members of different groups and this has resulted in research being conducted on ethnic identity development in adolescence, although most of this research is

American and not a great deal of such research has been conducted in South Africa. Since this research study involved subjects from different ethnic groups it is necessary to review the literature in the area of adolescent ethnic identity development.

Phinney (1990:499) notes that "ethnic identity is central to the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial minority groups², but research on the topic is fragmentary and inconclusive." According to Greenstein (1993), racial or ethnic identity is one possible aspect of identity which emerges "in a process in which people come to define themselves, and are defined by others, as members of collectives" (1993:10). As with identity, there is no one widely agreed upon definition of ethnic identity. Rotheram and Phinney (1987a:13) define it as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perception, feelings, and behaviour that is due to ethnic group membership." This concept incorporates self-identification with a group, a sense of attachment to the group, attitudes towards the group, shared values and attitudes with other group members, and the adoption of specific group traditions and practices (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). The concept of ethnic identity, as with the concept of identity in general, is construed as a dynamic and multifaceted construct which changes over time and in different contexts (Phinney, 1990; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987b). However, it has not always been treated as such in the literature, and has often been seen as static (Rosenthal, 1987). Also, it is a concept which exists primarily in terms of its relationship to others. Heller expresses this in her claim that

ethnicity is based on boundaries; it does not acquire meaning except as a function of opposition to that which lies on the other side of the gap in social ties that differentiates one ethnic group from another (1987:182).

In other words, if one lived in a society where ethnic membership was meaningless, ethnic identity would be an irrelevant concept. This makes evident the point that ethnicity in itself is socially constructed.

Aries and Moorhead (1989), in their study of identity and ethnicity in black American adolescents found that ethnicity was the area of identity where the most questioning, exploration and commitment to a course of action occurred. They also found that ethnicity was the greatest predictor of over-all identity status, and was seen as most important in self-definition. This concurs with a study by Phinney and Alipuria (1990) which found that individuals did see ethnic identity as an important aspect of their identity. One could argue

² South Africa is fairly unique in that the 'minority' group i.e. that which has been discriminated against, has actually been in the majority, numerically. Thus in terms of applying this term to South Africa, 'minority' is taken to mean the previously disadvantaged groups i.e. groups who are not white. It should be noted however that much of the research referred to concerning minority groups is not South African, and thus refers to groups who are literally and figuratively in the minority.

that in a country such as South Africa where ethnic divisions are so salient and entrenched, this would be all the more so. Lastly, Aries and Moorhead (1989) found that ideological and sexual-interpersonal areas were not of central concern to the identity and self-definition of the adolescents studied, which was a difference from studies conducted with white adolescents. (The work of Straker (1992) is also relevant in this respect, although her findings are somewhat different.) Aries and Moorhead's (1989) study highlights two important points which are discussed below.

Firstly, the identity development of adolescents from different ethnic groups is not necessarily the same, and should not be assumed to be so. A South African study which demonstrated this was conducted by Hickson, Christie and Shmuckler (1990). Although the study examined worldview and psychological orientation, it can be argued that these aspects are essentially intertwined with identity. The study found that the worldview of black and white South African adolescent school pupils differed significantly, and that race accounted for the majority of differences that were apparent. These differences were explained as due to socio-historical context and thus highlight the effect of social factors on individual development. Since race was shown to be so central to adolescents' social constructions it is bound to influence their identity. Another South African study, by Dawes & Finchilescu (1993) found a "hardness of identity" (Soudien, 1996:28). In other words they found that racial labels had solidified for the adolescents they studied, who consistently showed preference for these descriptors. Somewhat unsurprisingly, considering the nature of South African society, "the subjectivities of young people were shot through with the racial inscriptions of the apartheid order" (Soudien, 1996:30), hence showing the extent to which ethnic divisions had become entrenched in their identity.

Secondly, considering that ethnicity was seen as important to the adolescents, it clearly is a relevant area for study when identity is researched. Despite this however, "ethnic identity has not been an important topic of study among adolescent researchers" (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990: 171) and there is a lack of studies focusing on the relationship between minority group membership and identity formation (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Rosenthal, 1987). One reason for this might be that initial research done on identity by theorists such as Erikson and Marcia tended to focus on individual or personal identity, with aspects such as vocational and ideological choice being emphasised. This personal focus, despite the acknowledgment given to the importance of socio-historical context, drew the emphasis away from more social or group-based aspects of identity, with ethnicity being one of the central components of these. Also, those studies that have been done on ethnic identity

development tended to adopt an individualised focus and not to address the issue of how the environmental context impacts on identity (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987).

For adolescents who belong to ethnic minority groups there is an additional aspect to their identity formation in that they generally grow up in societies where their culture and belief system may conflict with the dominant one. Thus their striving towards achieving identity may be made more challenging (Rosenthal, 1987), and research demonstrates that the impact of ethnicity on identity development is related to whether individuals are members of a minority or majority group (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Adolescents' increased cognitive capacity allows for greater awareness of ethnic identity, and increased demands in terms of societal expectations and norms related to ethnicity compound the general expectations and stresses of adolescents (Gay, 1978; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Rosenthal, 1987). Gay (1978) comments that society demands that individuals make a commitment to their ethnic group while at the same time commit to a common culture. This seems particularly pertinent to the situation in the 'New' South Africa, where the emphasis is on building a common and united nation while at the same time taking pride in one's group heritage. Research by Geber & Newman (1980, cited in Tajfel, 1982) with black high school pupils in Soweto illustrated the competing demands made by society.

The competitive school system encourages the adoption of achievement oriented behaviours, of skills and knowledge appropriate to a Western technological society. The wider society, implicitly in the segregation and explicitly in the political ideology, insists on the recognition of separateness and inequality (1980, in Tajfel, 1982:12).

This study was conducted in the days of apartheid, however it is difficult to deny that the erasing of apartheid laws from the statute books has still left the legacy of discrimination and separateness in the minds and lives of individuals and in the society at large, hence such a comment is still relevant today. Minority adolescents thus have to achieve the task of integrating their ethnic identity into their personal identity in a manner which allows for optimal development (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992), and in a context where they may receive confusing social messages. According to Ward (1990) individuals need to have a stable concept of self as both an individual and an ethnic group member in order to develop a positive and healthy identity. It is thus assumed that one cannot have a positive identity without a positively valued ethnic identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992), that self-concept and ethnicity are integrally related during adolescence (Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Rotheram-Borus & Fraser, 1994), and that the individual tends to internalise the group's self-understanding. Phinney & Alipuria (1990) found for example that self esteem is associated with the extent to which one has explored and resolved issues relating to one's

ethnicity. This would thus encourage initiatives which allow adolescents to explore such issues.

Adolescent ethnicity is said to play an important role in determining identity in that it influences and shapes exploration and commitment to various social roles (Rotheram-Borus & Fraser, 1994). Also, ethnicity may make the development of identity a more complex and challenging task for adolescents. Rotheram-Borus & Fraser (1994:63) express this as follows.

Adolescents must recognise their feelings toward their ethnic heritage, choose the intensity of ethnic identification, and acknowledge the salience of ethnicity in structuring their lives. These are complex decisions affected by factors such as the status of the ethnic group within the broader culture, as well as each adolescent's own community.

It thus appears that identity development in minority youth is made more complex by their ethnic status (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Tajfel (1978, in Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992:161) comments that

people who are members of minorities share one difficult psychological problem, which can be described ... as a conflict between a satisfactory self realisation and the restrictions imposed upon it by the realities of membership in a minority group.

In other words, it is not always easy to reconcile ethnic identity with positive personal identity and self-esteem especially if one is a member of a society where one receives negative messages about one's social group. Positive ethnic identity may however contribute to positive self esteem "by providing a sense of belonging and by acting as a buffer against the negative impact of experiences such as discrimination" (Phinney & Chavira, 1992:274). Social identity theorists argue that members of minority groups would strive to preserve a positive identity when confronted with experiences that threaten their group identity. A variety of self-protective strategies may be adopted in these circumstances, and those chosen could depend on the level of ethnic identity of a particular individual. In this respect Phinney and Chavira (1992:274) claim that "the correlation between self-esteem and ethnic identity development may be due to the fact that people at higher stages use better, more effective self-protecting strategies."

Despite the seemingly positive correlation between them, research as to the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem is inconclusive, and has failed to show definitively that the relationship between them is a direct one (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). What has been apparent through research in this area is that the relationship between ethnic identity and self esteem is a highly complex one, and is mediated by a wide variety of factors, such as gender role (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). It thus becomes important for research to examine the integration and intersection of factors which define identity, such as race,

language, personality and socio-historical context in a dynamic fashion which acknowledges the complexities involved and is non-reductionistic. Much of the research in this area has not tended to do this however and has focused on particular factors only. According to Spencer (1982:81) "research and theory in the area of minority group identity formation have assumed that personal identity and group identity were inextricably linked in a consistent fashion over the life course." In other words most of the studies have not problematised the situation sufficiently and acknowledged its complexity, and have not examined both personal and group identity variables in the same population. This situation is changing however, with the work of researchers such as Ward (1988; 1990), Archer (1989; 1992; 1994) and Phinney (1990).

Before moving on to discuss the theories of ethnic identity development it should be noted that generally much of the research into ethnic identity has occurred with children and has focused on racial identification and preference (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Many studies have shown misidentification and a white bias in minority group children, but this tendency seems to have reduced in more recent studies (since the 1970s), possibly as a result of historical changes and the growth of the black consciousness movement. Furthermore the data gleaned from early studies has been criticised as methodologically problematic (Spencer, 1982; Tajfel, 1982). Most of these studies were not South African.

Various theories as to the development of ethnic identity have been proposed. These generally constitute an extension or adaptation of general identity theory to the issue of ethnicity. One of the main theorists in this area is Phinney. Phinney sees ethnic identity as one aspect of identity development in general. Despite locating her work within the framework of developmental theory of identity as a whole she indicates the differences between ego identity and ethnic identity. The former is seen as located primarily within the individual, involves active choices, occurs across all groups, and is studied mainly by psychologists. The latter on the other hand is deeply socially and culturally embedded, is pre-designated (thus cannot be chosen), is more salient for certain ethnic groups (mainly minorities), and is studied within a number of disciplines (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

Phinney's theory proposes three stages of ethnic identity development, which do not occur in a linear sequence. Parallels with the work of Marcia are clear in examining these stages, and ethnic identity is generally hypothesised to occur in much the same way as ego identity. The stages are summarised in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Stages of ethnic identity development:
(Phinney, 1990:502-3; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992:151)

| | Stage | Description |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Unexamined ethnic identity</i> | Identity is adopted from others. For example, the in-group is accepted as a result of family influence, or the outgroup is preferred due to peer influences. There is often a lack of interest in or thought about ethnicity. |
| 2 | <i>Exploration of ethnic identity</i> | Exploration is usually triggered by a particular experience in which ethnicity becomes salient, and is equivalent to the moratorium phase in Erikson's and Marcia's theory. It may involve immersing oneself in one's own culture and rejecting the dominant culture. |
| 3 | <i>Resolution phase</i> | Contradictions that are posed by minority group status are resolved and the individual commits to being a member of their group. They thus achieve a clear and assured sense of ethnicity. |

Phinney highlights that it is the interplay and interaction of developmental and contextual factors that results in the development of ethnic identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992), and that as with identity in general a wide variety of influences are involved in impacting on ethnic identity formation. These influences include family, community, and general societal image of the ethnic group (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992).

Another stage theory of ethnic identity development has been proposed by Markstrom-Adams and Spencer (1994:90). Their model is depicted in Table 2.3 and proposes five stages, although not all individuals pass through all of the stages.

Table 2.3: Model of Ethnic Identity Development:
(Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994:90).

| | Stage | Description |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Conformity</i> | Preference of outgroup. |
| 2 | <i>Dissonance</i> | Conflicting experiences and increasing dissonance serve to challenge prior attitudes. |
| 3 | <i>Resistance and immersion</i> | Rejection of dominant cultural values and preference for own ethnic group. |
| 4 | <i>Introspection</i> | Concern with ethnocentrism towards other groups. |
| 5 | <i>Synergetic articulation and awareness</i> | Both own and other groups are held in high regard. |

As with Marcia's identity statuses it is evident from these models that ethnic identity in minority adolescents is seen to move through a diffuse or unexamined stage to one of achieved identity. Stage theories such as these tend to view ethnic identity as a domain of identity development, which can move through the stages and ultimately result in a sense of achieved ethnic identity, "defined as a secure commitment to one's group, based on knowledge and understanding obtained through an active exploration of one's cultural background" (Phinney & Chavira, 1992:272).

Rotheram-Borus and Fraser (1994) claim that there are a number of central factors which shape ethnic identity development. These include:

- The political and social climate of the particular generation of adolescents;
- the ethnic demographic balance and tension between ethnic groups in the school and community (since tensions are said to increase the salience of ethnicity); and
- the ethnic identities of family members and peers.

However, the meaning of ethnicity for adolescents is constantly changing as social and historical change transforms relationships within and between groups (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987).

While so often neglected or confused in the literature, this integration of the individual's personal identity with one's racial identity is a necessary and inevitable developmental task of growing up black in white America (Ward, 1990:218).

Views such as Ward's militate against an understanding of identity which is purely individual or personal. Group membership is by definition a social phenomenon, which reminds one of the interrelated nature of both personal and social, and micro and macro elements where identity is concerned. A theory must thus be sought where both components are encompassed in an holistic and integrated manner. Ward (1990) makes the point that in interviewing black American adolescents, they realised "that in the minds of white America, the blacks' individual identity and group identity would always be enmeshed" (1990:224). This indicates that for laypeople as well as researchers, the distinction between personal and group factors is not always apparent, and subconscious notions and stereotypes are likely to influence how one understands identity and how one interacts with others.

During adolescence the consciousness of belonging to a specific group increases, as does the need to identify with a sense of group identity (Ward, 1990). These processes occur by virtue of adolescent development and tend to be relatively universal. They may lead minority group members to question whether they should subscribe to what they perceive as majority norms and values, and to recognise that their identity has been devalued by the majority. This is very pertinent to South Africa, where Apartheid internalised a hierarchy

whereby 'white' was seen as necessarily superior, and African culture was devalued at worst or downplayed at best. Although in the 'New' South Africa African culture is no longer as denigrated and is often elevated, mixed messages do still exist, especially concerning the general glorification of Western (usually American) culture in the media, and competing messages and demands as discussed above. The recognition that one's culture is looked down upon may have differing results in different individuals - it could lead to an increased pride in one's own ethnic heritage or an internalisation of ethnic subservience (Tajfel, 1982). Ward expresses the challenge that such a situation presents as follows:

Resolution of the so-called identity crisis of youth requires that all adolescents proclaim 'I am not' as the first step to defining what I am. To the initial stages of the identity process the black adolescent, all too familiar with the demeaning stereotypes held about her (sic) and her racial group, must add 'I am not what you believe black people to be, *and I am black*' (1990:219).

Thus dealing with prejudice is an important aspect in the formation of ethnic identity (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). In this connection one needs to recognise that during adolescence "it can become increasingly difficult to separate one's own values and identity from those of the majority culture" (Ward, 1990:226). Hence the task of adolescent identity formation in minority youth is not a simple one. The adolescent needs to sort through two sets of values and norms - their own and those of the dominant culture - and either integrate these or choose between them (Markstrom-Adams, 1992). Highly complex issues are involved in such a process and it is certain to continue into adulthood. However, the fact that it is complexified in such adolescents by the ethnic component is not necessarily negative. Indeed, in Ward's (1990) study of black female adolescents in predominantly white schools, "the process of racial identity formation encouraged them to decide upon who one is and what one will stand for" (Ward, 1990:229), thereby actually enhancing the identity development process.

2.5. ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

All the issues discussed above, namely adolescent development in general, identity development in adolescence in particular, women's identity development and ethnic identity development, become relevant when examining the development of adolescent identity in the South African context. The factors relating to adolescent development in general have been found to apply as much to South African adolescents as to those in other countries (for example, Moodie, 1980), since there is an element of universality to certain of the broad foundations of development. However, since the South African context is a fairly specific one there are likely to be elements of adolescent identity development which take on their own specifically South African flavour. Unfortunately research in this area is

relatively sparse, particularly qualitative research, hence the importance of conducting such research. Research is especially scant in terms of examining the identity of minority group members. Barnes (1992:65) comments for example that "it is taken for granted that white South Africans exhibit an individualistic self and that black South Africans exhibit a traditional collective self," despite the lack of evidence to substantiate this.

Erikson (1968) forwarded his theory of identity development as a universal one, however notions such as moratorium and identity crisis become problematic when applied to different cultures and societies particularly in contexts characterised by a wide variety of groups. Although the basis of adolescent development may be the same for all adolescents, the particular way in which adolescent changes are experienced seems to differ among different groups. Burns (1988) expresses this in the South African context in noting that

identity may be easier to achieve in some groups than in others and each group provides a different ... setting within which an adolescent meets and copes with the particular demands and tasks of his (sic) cultural group (Burns, 1988:33).

This notion highlights the fact that one cannot assume that adolescents of different groups are experiencing identity development in the same way, and alerts researchers to probe such experiences in an in-depth manner in order to gain a deeper understanding of both the differences and the similarities. However, research findings are contradictory and South African research on adolescent identity formation is not as yet extensive enough to provide sufficient evidence. Myburgh and Anders (1989) for example found very few differences between black and white adolescents in terms of their identity formation. A finding such as this might suggest that the process of identity formation is similar for different groups, but does not rule out the possibility that the content might differ. Certain of the differences and similarities that do exist may be due to individual factors such as personality, while others may be a result of social aspects such as group membership. Unpacking which of these is relevant in particular contexts and instances is a highly complex task, and highlights again the nature of the personal-social interface provided by the concept of identity.

According to Greenstein (1993:3), "life in a racially-structured world shapes in critical ways the conceptions that people have about themselves, about others and about the social relations in which they are embedded." With this in mind it is clear that identity formation in South Africa is made more complex by the society in which we live and the history which we bear. South African identity research needs to take into account the group-based nature of South African society since aspects relating to group membership, especially racial group membership, have long been at issue in South Africa, and form an integral part of South African life (Greenstein, 1993). As such they are integral to the identity of South

Africans, since if a group characteristic is socially salient it is more likely to prove individually salient. This serves to make identity in South Africa an especially controversial and complex issue (Greenstein, 1993). Such factors would not have been lost on adolescents growing up in this country.

Furthermore, the historical context is important in understanding adolescent identity development. Erikson suggests that in order to fully understand identity formation one needs to consider the historical context and ethos (Aries & Moorhead, 1989; Kroger, 1993). South Africa has a unique history, characterised by racial and intergroup divisions which are bound to have an impact on those who bear the heritage of our past. In a time of historical change, such as that which is now being experienced in South Africa, the issue of identity can become particularly pertinent. Kroger (1993:372) notes that "when historical change is rapid, 'identity vacua' may appear and a sense of alienation may become widespread." The impact that historical change can have on identity is also acknowledged by Erikson (1968:22), who argues that "we cannot separate personal growth and communal change." A discussion of the implications of these notions for South African youth could constitute a dissertation in itself, and such a notion highlights the need for research on identity in South Africa during these times of rapid social and historical change.

Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) point out that identity development under any circumstances is a highly complex process, but it may be made more complex by racial distinctiveness, language differences and social stereotypes, all of which apply to the situation in South Africa. Identity development (from an Eriksonian perspective) is construed as proceeding via a process of self reflection, analysis of oneself in relation to and in interaction with others, and evaluation of oneself in terms of judgments made by others. If this is the case one could argue that minority groups that experience prejudice will internalise the negative images which in turn will negatively impact on their identity (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Research does not always show this to be true however (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990), possibly because the process of identity formation is such a complex one. This is an important realisation in that it cautions one against making assumptions as to how individuals will react or feel. Erikson (1964, in Phinney & Alipuria, 1990:171) claims that "true identity depends on the support which the young receive from the collective sense of identity which social groups assign to [them] ... [their] class, nationality, culture." This is relevant in the South African context since group membership tends to be such a salient issue. Erikson's quote also highlights the interrelatedness of individual and social components of identity, which is explored in this research.

2.6. INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

"Intergroup relations represent in their enormous scope one of the most difficult and complex knots of problems which we confront in our times" (Tajfel, 1982:1). Since the experience examined in this research provided a situation where different groups were brought into contact, it is relevant to explore the literature on intergroup relations in terms of how it relates to identity development. Furthermore, the demographic characteristics of the subjects involved in the research provided a number of intergroup, or socially based differences in terms of variables such as race, language and class. Time and again in considering the literature above, the point has been made that identity constitutes an intersection and intermeshing of personal/individual and social/group factors. A theory that considers these factors thus needs to be forwarded if a comprehensive understanding of identity is to be attained. One such theory which attempts this is social identity theory, which falls within a framework of intergroup relations theory. As was noted above however, this theory stems from the social psychology literature and thus stands somewhat apart from the developmental theories already discussed. This is not to say that either one or the other is more relevant or 'better', but rather to acknowledge that different theoretical histories are involved and the theoretical strands have evolved in different ways and as a result of different influences. However, a discussion of identity, particularly one which pertains to a study such as this where both personal and social aspects of identity were so prevalent would not be complete without an analysis of both the developmental literature and the social psychological literature.

Intergroup behaviour is defined as occurring "whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members *in terms of* their group identification" (Sherif, 1966 cited in Tajfel, 1982:2). Barnes (1992) cites a 1980 Human Sciences Research Council study in South Africa which showed that intergroup relations were seen by researchers as the most important research area in South Africa. Despite this, most of the research done in this area is international rather than local. There is a wealth of research on intergroup behaviour and on the impact of intergroup contact on individuals' attitudes and prejudices. Because such attitudes constitute an integral part of one's identity - how one sees oneself is inextricably bound up with how one sees and values others - such research is relevant to this study. However, a caution is necessary before embarking on an examination of such literature, namely that it is essential in studying intergroup relations to recognise the complexity of the intergroup contact situation. The analysis of such situations is littered with a number of theoretical building blocks which

lack integration, thus militating against a complete understanding of the area or of a particular situation (Druker, 1991):

Much of the research into intergroup contact was conducted in the United States, and examined the legitimacy of the contact hypothesis. This theory was first outlined by Allport (1954) and posits that contact with members of another social group will result in more positive attitudes towards that group. The theory is that contact will result in interpersonal attraction and liking, thus reducing prejudice (Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Miller & Brewer, 1984). This is a relatively commonsense belief that has not always been shown to be historically correct (Druker, 1991). Contact *per se* is not considered to be enough to effect change, and a long list of conditions has grown up around the contact hypothesis. The most important of these are that:

- Contact must be of a close nature;
- group members must have equal status within the contact situation;
- outgroup members must disconfirm prevailing stereotypes;
- common goals must be pursued; and
- institutional sanctions must support the contact (Allport, 1954; Cook, 1978; Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991).

A massive amount of research has been conducted on the contact hypothesis, most of it from a positivist paradigm, but it has borne findings that are inconclusive and inconsistent. More recent findings have tended to be less positive, but some basic trends include that the more intimate, frequent, successful, and enjoyable the contact, the more likely the chance of a positive outcome in terms of attitude change (Amir, 1976; Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

The contact hypothesis has been criticised on a number of grounds, namely as outdated, vague, difficult to attain naturally, and overemphasising similarities as opposed to differences (Pettigrew, 1986). Perhaps its central problem however is that it is posited essentially on an interpersonal and individualised understanding of intergroup relations. The problem inherent in this approach is that intergroup relations are by definition a *group* phenomenon, and thus cannot be fully understood by adopting an interpersonal level (i.e. focussed on multiple individuals) approach only (Druker, 1991). Hewstone and Brown (1986) claim that enduring attitude change can only occur at a group level, in other words that group memberships need to be made salient rather than glossed over if they are to be adequately addressed. Since group aspects of one's identity constitute an integral part of identity as a whole (as is clear from the discussion of ethnic identity above) this notion applies to the development of identity in general, especially in adolescence when identity development is so salient. Indeed, Williams (1987) notes that turning a blind eye to an

individual's race and pretending it does not exist constitutes a denial of their identity. This would appear to be especially true in South Africa, where racial divisions are so entrenched and where race has become connected with culture. A more comprehensive understanding is thus needed, which incorporates both interpersonal and intergroup elements.

Tajfel (1982) argues that if the underlying structure of social relations in terms of power and status differentials is resilient in a particular society then piecemeal instances of intergroup contact are not likely to have a substantial impact. Although the social relations in South Africa are particularly entrenched after forty years of legalised separation and discrimination, the fact that our country is in a state of flux and that our social system is being overhauled indicates a potential opening where change might be brought about. In this respect it seems most opportune to attempt such change with young people since they are in the process of forming attitudes and beliefs about others that could be lifelong. Furthermore, since one's adult ideology seems to originate, in part, in the psychosocial experiences of one's adolescence, if such experiences are broadening and expanding one's ideological bent is more likely to be tolerant and inclusive (Bauer, 1988). Any change that is attempted however needs to be adequately researched to pave the way for future, more effective endeavours.

Initial research on intergroup relations tended to focus on individual aspects such as cognitive structures and attitudes. Research on the contact hypothesis constituted one aspect of this. The tendency in recent years however has been to incorporate social and group elements, thus changing the focus from the individual to the social, and to the relationship between them (Tajfel, 1982). Such research has gone some way towards highlighting the complex nature of intergroup relations as well as the constant movement between individual and social factors that they precipitate. However much research, particularly of a qualitative nature, still needs to be done in these areas, especially incorporating group aspects such as gender. Williams (1984:315) claims in this respect that "there has been a widespread and unjustifiable neglect of sex and gender in the literature on intergroup behaviour." A discussion of social identity theory is provided below as this theory, through its incorporation of social and personal elements is particularly useful in conducting such research.

2.6.1. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY - SOCIAL VS PERSONAL IDENTITY

Social identity theory was developed largely by Henri Tajfel in the 1970s and 1980s as a response to the limitations of earlier social psychological theories (De la Rey, 1991). It is chiefly concerned with "those aspects of identity that derive from group membership"

(Skevington & Baker, 1989a:1). According to the theory, society is composed of various social groups that are in different power and status relationships with each other. This group structure impacts on the formation of identity, which social identity theory claims is formed on the basis of social comparison between members of different social categories. The theory is founded on the basic assumption that "categorisation is the process by which people order, and render predictable, information about the world in which they live" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988:209). Thus, through the process of social categorisation individuals attempt to define themselves in relation to the world around them (Williams & Giles, 1978). Central to the theory is the concept of social identity, which is taken to mean

that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his (or her) knowledge of his (or her) membership of a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1978:83).

Individuals are posited to be striving for positive social identity, which is constructed mainly through social comparison i.e. individuals evaluate themselves and the value of their own group/s by comparing their group/s to others (Skevington & Baker, 1989a).

Another concept central to social identity theory is the notion of a continuum ranging from personal identity to social identity. Behaviour is also conceived as a continuum, from interpersonal behaviour to intergroup behaviour. In the former case interactions are determined by personal identity (i.e. individual characteristics and personal relations), while in the case of the latter social identity (i.e. group memberships) determines behaviour (Abrams, 1989). In a particular situation social or personal identity may be more or less salient depending on the circumstances. For example, in a political debate between a black and white politician on the future of interracial schooling the fact that the participants are of different races might be especially salient, resulting in behaviour that tends towards the intergroup pole of the continuum. However, a debate between the same two politicians on the issue of global warming may not result in the same degree of intergroup salience. The notions of interpersonal and intergroup are however inextricably connected (which social identity theory sometimes omits to emphasise). Duveen & Lloyd (1986:222) express this in relation to gender in claiming that "although 'male' and 'female' are terms applied to individuals, to be male or female also establishes a social identity for the individual as a member of a gender group." Kinney (1993) feels that the social and personal identity distinction is useful in studying adolescents particularly since "researchers have found that teenagers frequently impute social-type labels to their peers, while searching for a sense of personal identity" (Kinney, 1993:23). Barnes (1992) claims that the individual's personal identity is rooted in his/her social group/s, therefore if group identity changes - as is happening in South Africa - so will individual identity. She thus asserts that "social changes in this country will be reflected on an individual level - as to how a person defines himself

(sic)" (Barnes, 1992:12). This again raises the notion of the relationship between the personal and the social.

Since stereotyping is an important aspect of intergroup situations one needs to examine the social identity approach to this issue. The theory offers a functionalist approach to stereotypes, examining what purpose stereotypes serve. Tajfel (in Foster & Nel, 1991) postulates four main functions, the first being a cognitive one i.e. holding a stereotype is said to facilitate the ordering, classification and simplification of information in the social world. The second function relates to values, namely that stereotypes serve to protect an individual's value system which underpins his/her categorisation of the world. The third function is an ideological one, in that stereotyping "involves large-scale diffusion of group-based negative or hostile images which serve to justify domination" (Foster & Nel, 1991:136). Lastly, stereotypes are said to serve as means of intergroup differentiation, in order to maintain the positive distinctiveness of group identity.

Social identity theory also offers a particular understanding of ethnic identity. According to Tajfel and Turner (1978, in Phinney, 1990) group membership confers a sense of belonging which impacts on an individual's self-concept and identity. Ethnic identity however is a particular case of such group membership since one's ethnic group may be negatively viewed by the dominant culture. This may result in a negative self-concept for individuals if they identify with their own group, who in turn are identified as having low status in society. Social identity theory posits a number of solutions to this dilemma, such as passing for a dominant group member or adopting overt pride in one's group (the Black Consciousness movement is an example of this). Such solutions are interesting in that the dilemma they are precipitated by provides a unique interconnection of individual and group issues, again reminding one of the complexities involved.

According to Hogg and Abrams (1988:214), "a fascinating aspect of relations between the sexes is that they exist simultaneously at both intergroup and interpersonal levels." This is an acknowledgment that the linear notion of the continuum developed in social identity theory may not be adequate to understand certain complex situations. Although it may illuminate the dynamics involved in such situations it does not go far enough in describing and understanding their complexity. However, much of the work conducted into social identity theory is conducted in a primarily empirical and positivist fashion and does not offer this acknowledgment, leading one to suggest that further research is necessary to embroider the concepts and issues involved further. A further example of this interconnectedness and simultaneous existence is embodied by the slogan 'the personal is

political' which was adopted by a number of women's groups in the 1970s as part of the feminist movement (Gurin & Townsend, 1986).

Social identity theory has been criticised on a number of grounds. Firstly it is argued that the methods used (primarily empirical methods) have divorced the object of study from the social and historical context, as well as from the realities of a particular situation, and that social groups have been treated as relatively static and uniform entities (Skevington & Baker, 1989b). The theory has also been criticised as being sex biased, in much the same way as other psychological theories have been censured in that they were developed largely using male subjects and from a male perspective, and then it was automatically assumed that they could be unproblematically applied to women (Gilligan, 1982; Williams, 1984).

Williams (1984:313) claims that social identity theory has an inherent sex bias in that "it may be limited by an exclusive preoccupation with process of identity construction typically more important for males." What she means is that males may tend to define their identities through differentiation and social comparison, whereas females may have a tendency to define themselves through affiliation or attachment to others. Since social identity emphasises processes of differentiation rather than of connection it is said to paint a one-sided and 'masculine' picture of intergroup relations (Brown, 1984; Williams, 1984).

Williams (1984:313) thus argues that social identity theory is "an analogue of the type of personal identity encouraged in males." Support for this argument can be found in the work of Gilligan (1982; 1988; 1990) on women's moral reasoning, where she argues that men and women's basic orientation towards life differs. The cautions offered by such work are important in that they remind one to be wary of taking psychological research at face value where gender is concerned, and emphasise that there is a need for extended research using a social identity framework. One means by which such research can be enhanced is through the use of both positivistic as well as naturalistic or qualitative approaches, since the latter can more comprehensively develop both male and female perspectives and issues, and are often associated with more feminist-based research. Applying concepts of both connection (a female concept) and detachment (a masculine concept) to social identity theory implies a development of the theoretical framework which can enrich our knowledge. Williams (1984) expressed these concepts as embodying communality and agency, and claimed

that if social identities can be defined not only against other groups, but in the actual processes of relating to them, then a whole range of intergroup phenomena await further definition and investigation (1984:314).

It is clear then that more research is necessary and writers in the field of social identity theory urge that qualitative methods be adopted in future research, that research be embedded in its social context, that issues relating to emotion (as opposed to cognition) be addressed, and that the role played by macro ideological factors be examined (Skevington & Baker, 1989b).

Despite the usefulness of social identity theory in understanding situations involving intergroup relations and identity, and in the light of the criticisms outlined above, certain problems become apparent in applying the theory. Although the theory does go some way to resolving the individual/social dualism dilemma (Foster, 1991), one problem involves the linearity of the concepts embodied in the continuum notions which underpin the theory, as discussed above. Such notions are highly useful in that behaviour and identity are seen to be constantly undergoing a dynamic movement from one end of the continuum to the other, but despite this the reality often appears even more complex, especially when analysed in a qualitative fashion. It appears that the processes involved in identity and intergroup relations may be circular as opposed to linear, and may be operating at different levels (individual and social) simultaneously. Thus for the purposes of this study further theoretical illumination was sought and it appeared that where social identity theory was deficient, social constructionist theory might provide elaboration.

2.7. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

In recent years there has been an increasing concern to expand on the relationship between the individual and the social context, and to attain a more thorough understanding of the complexities involved in this relationship. This trend is reflected in the work of social constructionist writers such as Gergen, Harré and Shotter (Barnes, 1992). Social constructionism developed out of a critique of positivism and its emphasis on objectivity and value-free research. It has as its main concern the description and elaboration of "the processes by which people come to describe, explain or otherwise account for the world in which they live" (Gergen, 1985:3) as well as the clarification and elucidation of the common understanding of reality as it exists (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The basic assumptions underpinning social constructionist work are outlined by Gergen (1985) as follows.

1. What we take to be the experience of the world does not in itself dictate the terms by which the world is understood. What we take to be knowledge of the world is not a product of induction, or of the building and testing of general hypotheses; ...
2. The terms in which the world is understood are social artifacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people; ...
3. The degree to which a given form of understanding prevails or is sustained across time is not directly dependent on the empirical validity of the perspective in question, but on the vicissitudes of social processes; ...

Ward (1988) applies a similar argument to adolescents' understanding of violence (a particularly relevant issue in the South African context) in claiming that

there are few, if any, theories of how ordinary, everyday residents ... make sense of the violence surrounding them. In particular little data exist on the thinking of normal teens about violence in their lives and environments (Ward, 1988:177).

In order to consider such experiences it is necessary to adopt a more qualitative and in-depth approach to research on identity, so that these everyday processes may be ascertained and understood. Furthermore, it is important to let the voices of the subjects - in this case, of adolescents - be heard, since if they are active in constructing their identities, their views and understandings should be the researcher's primary port of call.

Such views would change constantly depending on time and context, and social constructionism emphasises this dynamism (Barnes, 1992). Human relationships and interchanges are seen as central in that the individual is always considered in her/his social context and any interpretation takes this into account. Gergen (1985:12) explains that "the question 'why' is answered not with a psychological state or process but with consideration of persons in relationship." Wilhelm Wundt, one of modern psychology's founders, expressed this social/personal interconnectedness in his claim that "all phenomena with which mental sciences deal are, indeed, creations of the social community" (1916, in Smedslund, 1985:85). The role of language is seen as centrally important to how reality and identity is constructed since language is a basic means of making sense of shared experience (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1985; Harré, 1985; Heller, 1987; Ossorio, 1985). This has implications for a situation (such as the one researched in this study) where individuals speak different languages. Also important is the role of culture and history in terms of how identity is constructed (Gergen, 1985). Thus social constructionism offers a means whereby individual factors and social factors (such as group membership) can be simultaneously explored.

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2.8. CONCLUSION - MOVING TOWARDS A THEORETICAL INTEGRATION AND CONCEPTUAL MAP

Theories of experience and learning teach that no individual will experience the same situation or event in the same way (Boud & Walker, 1990). The reasons for this lie in the fact that

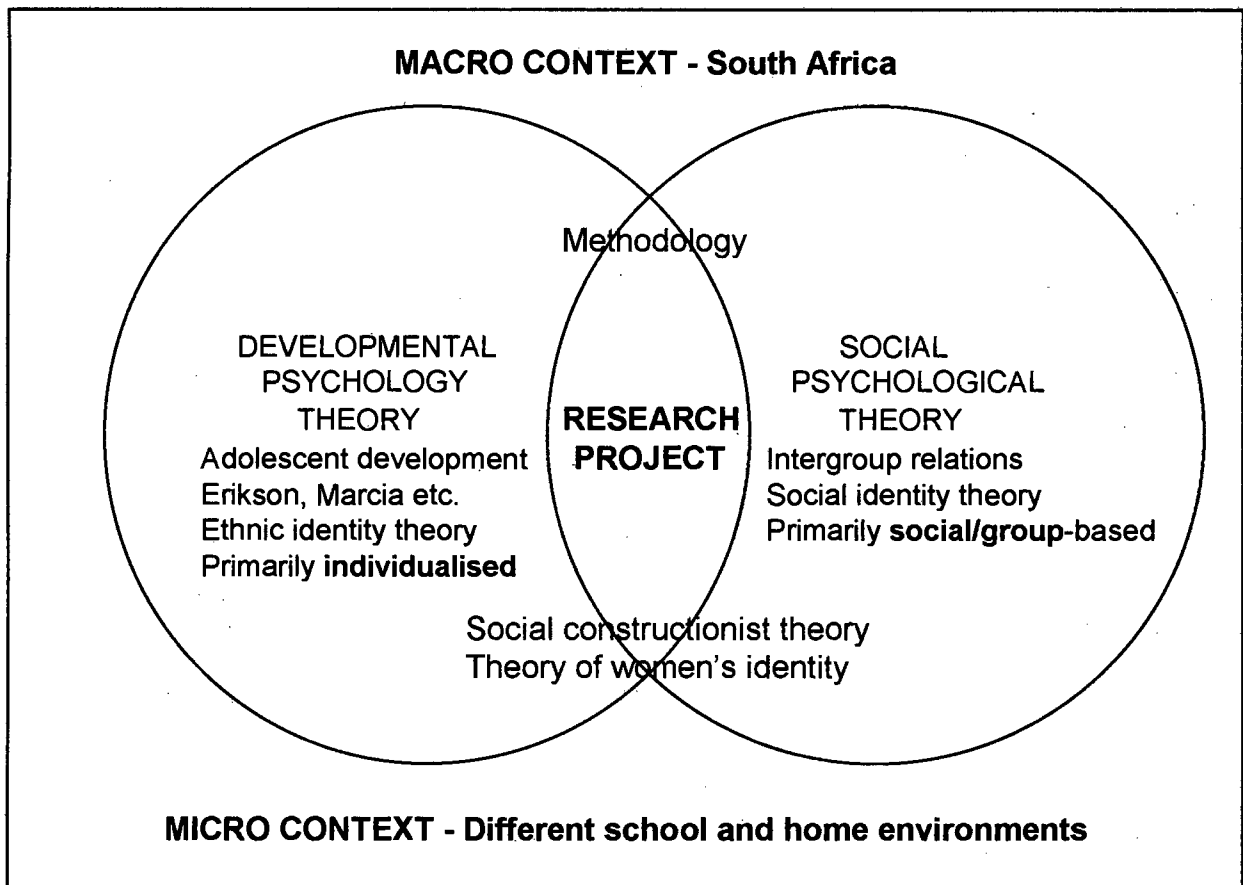
although it is the individual who learns, this individual is one who has a language, a culture, and a history, one who is, in other words, situated within the social world on discursive contexts (Usher, 1989 in Boud & Walker, 1990:63).

Thus each individual's construction of his/her reality, albeit of the same event, will be unique depending on who s/he is and what his/her collective and personal history is. These aspects control what s/he brings to the experience in terms of culture, assumptions, prior experiences, worldview, cognitive capacity, value system and background, as well as what s/he takes away from it. The cultural norms and values to which an individual has been exposed and has assimilated are said to "act as powerful constraints and form perceptual lenses" (Boud & Walker, 1990:63) through which the individual views the experience and acts within the context. The relevance of this for a situation where individuals come together from very different groups and contexts is patently clear. Boud and Walker (1990:63) thus claim that "every student will have a unique experience in any given situation ... there may be great variation even within an ostensibly homogeneous group."

Bearing this in mind, how then does one set about understanding the experiences of ten individuals who constituted a very heterogeneous group? This was the question which brought me to undertake this research and having delved into the literature in the relevant areas around the topic I was left with more questions than answers, which for the qualitative researcher is particularly exciting. The primary question is one of how to integrate the very different theoretical frameworks which inform the study in a manner which facilitates analysis and does justice to the research experience. Underpinning this question is the dilemma of resolving the personal-social interface which such research offers one in a coherent manner which adequately attends to both aspects, and does so simultaneously and in a non-linear and systemic fashion.

It appears that one means of beginning to answer such questions lies in developing a conceptual map to draw the theories together. Such a map is outlined in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1: CONCEPTUAL MAP OF THEORY BASE AS RELATED TO THE RESEARCH AREA:



The conceptual map integrates the literature by conceiving of the research situation - the particular experience involved - as a link between the social and the personal. Both the individualised developmental psychology research tradition as well as the more group-based social psychological research tradition are relevant (although social psychology has also been characterised by an individualised approach (De la Rey, 1991), hence the focus here has been on social identity theory, which was devised in an effort to overcome such a bias). In order to make this link however, certain tools were necessary above and beyond simply the research area and situation. There are two primary mechanisms which facilitated the connection, one of a theoretical nature and one of a methodological nature. The theoretical body of work drawn upon was that of social constructionist theory since this theory construes the individual as active in constructing reality, while at the same time acknowledging that the individual is both a product of previously constructed reality (history, traditions, norms and values imbued in her/him) and constructs meaning within a site which is socially and historically embedded. The most powerful benefits of a social constructionist understanding, and one which draws on the research of the other areas involved, is that it allowed for the simultaneous understanding of social and personal factors i.e. an

understanding which acknowledges the interplay of these two aspects rather than the either-or notions embodied in social identity theory. One research area which embodies this is that of women's identity. This area also can be placed at the individual-social intersection of the conceptual map since it places personal identity within a group-based context, and examines the personal-social dialectic. Although the analysis of ethnic identity should occur in a similar way since the personal-social dynamics are similar, the research that has been done in this area has been done primarily within an individualised framework. The second aspect which facilitated an understanding of the complexities of the personal and group factors involved in identity research was the methodology adopted in this study. The use of a qualitative methodology facilitated an in-depth understanding which allowed for a social constructionist approach and a more thorough analysis and acknowledgment of the complex nature of the factors involved. The rationale behind the methodology and methods chosen are discussed in chapter 3.

The theoretical knowledge informing the research, the methodology adopted, and the research site itself all fell within a particular macro context, namely the South African context, as well as within a more micro context of the very different school and home environments of the research participants. This constituted a backdrop for the research, but one which in some senses needs to be foregrounded. The importance of the particular context cannot be overemphasised since the nature of South African society coloured all that occurred in the research. This colouring occurred at multiple levels. At a micro level, I as the researcher have grown up in a racially divided society, and have developed particular ideas and values as a result. The same can be said of each of the subjects involved, as well as the research team. Also on a micro level, ten individuals were brought together to prepare a drama - a group activity - within a context which was patently an intergroup one (i.e. two groups of very demographically different school pupils). Within this micro context each related her/his personal story about growing up in South Africa - an example of the micro-macro (or personal-social) interaction yet again. On a macro level this interchange occurred in South Africa, a context with a particular history which imbues all that is experienced in this country. Hence the interplay of personal and social factors becomes ever apparent in considering the issues involved in this research and it is hoped that the conceptual map provided serves to draw together some of the diverse theoretical threads that were accessed in attempting to understand the impact of intergroup experience on the identity of South African adolescents.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Researchers who listen with a human ear, rather than relying on instruments of psychological and educational assessment, can readily hear in the voices of inner city children and teenagers what Maya Angelou calls 'rich exchanges', expressing a knowledge of human psychology that is based on experience and careful observation of people. The fact that such children and teenagers are often described by psychologists and educators as knowing little or having little to share is in itself a cause for major reconsideration. (Gilligan, Ward and Taylor, 1988:292).

3.1. PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND AND PARADIGMATIC CONSIDERATIONS

It is essential when conducting research to locate it within its relevant and appropriate philosophical and paradigmatic context. A paradigm can be defined as "a worldview, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world" (Patton, 1990:37). In this respect, two major research paradigms are apparent and acknowledged in methodological discussion. These are the positivistic and the naturalistic paradigms. The former generally focuses on empirical and quantifiable study and aims for generalisation of findings, while the latter emphasises a more holistic, naturalistic, interpretative and qualitative approach which is more context-specific (Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Husén, 1988; Keeves, 1988; Maykut and Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 1990). Although initial debate on these paradigms tended to focus on which was the more effective, current views tend to indicate that either may be appropriate in different situations, that neither is necessarily 'better', and that the two may actually prove to be complementary (De Landsheere, 1988; Schofield & Anderson, 1987). As De Landsheere (1988:15) claims "it is now widely acknowledged that no one research paradigm can answer all the questions which arise in educational research." Keeves (1988:22) agrees in his claim that "both quality and quantity are misconceived if they are considered to be alternatives and antithetical to one another."

The choice of paradigm for a study is determined by which seems to be more methodologically appropriate in the light of the aims and context of the particular piece of research. Having located oneself paradigmatically,

the issue [for the researcher] then becomes not whether one has uniformly adhered to prescribed canons of either logical-positivism or phenomenology but whether one has made sensible methods decisions given the purpose of the inquiry, the questions being investigated, and the resources available (Patton, 1990:39).

In the light of the above I have chosen to locate this study within the naturalistic or phenomenological inquiry approach, for a number of reasons. Firstly, my aim was to obtain an in-depth understanding of how ten individuals experienced a particular process. I intended for this understanding to acknowledge and investigate the complexities involved. This seemed more appropriately achieved through the use of naturalistic and qualitative

methods. [Secondly, my goal was not to generate generalisable findings but rather to gain a deeper understanding of how the experience impacted on the participants' identity. Thirdly, my role as observer of the process under study provided an ideal opportunity for a more in-depth analysis, and also enabled me to gain the trust of the participants over time.] Fourthly, the fact that I was working with a team allowed for much discussion of the process and hence enriched my understanding as it unfolded. A qualitative and phenomenological research framework allowed for the incorporation of this richness, as well as for an acknowledgment of the fact that who one is as an individual impacts upon the research process in a highly complex fashion. Lastly, the naturalistic paradigm most closely approximated my own understanding of the world and of issues such as the possibility of objective truth. My personal philosophy is one of acknowledging and seeking to make sense of complexity, and embodies the notion of truth as "evasive and multifaceted and cannot be pinpointed in simple terms" (Lieblich & Josselson, 1994:ix). [Locating myself within this paradigm thus made personal as well as methodological sense.] As Cziko (1989:17) claims "the most we can ever realistically hope to achieve in educational research is not prediction and control but rather only temporary understanding." It is such an understanding that I seek in this research.

Having located my research paradigmatically it becomes important to examine what this choice involves. Within the non-positivistic approach a number of theoretical traditions and orientations are incorporated. These include ethnography, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, systems perspectives, chaos theory and orientational qualitative inquiry (Patton, 1990). What connects these orientations is the fact that research done under their 'umbrella' generally tends to be qualitative (although this need not necessarily be the case), to the extent that this paradigm is sometimes referred to as 'qualitative'. Qualitative research allows for studying issues more holistically and in greater depth, and generally results in a situation where fewer cases lead to greater understanding but reduced generalisability (Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Qualitative research has become increasingly popular over the last twenty years, and in this time has become applied to areas of study that "heretofore had ignored or even scorned such methods" (Schofield & Anderson, 1987:252), particularly in educational research. It is an especially useful approach if one is seeking to describe an experience or situation, rather than explain, predict or control outcomes. In this respect the claim is made that "educational research should focus on providing descriptions and interpretations of educational phenomena to provide findings that can be used to improve our understanding of learning, development, and education" (Cziko, 1989:17).

Certain research problems lend themselves more readily to qualitative methods, namely "research that attempts to uncover the nature of persons' experiences with a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:19), as this research does. The data such methods produce is "rich, personal, close to the real world, and contain a depth of meaning that more abstract forms of evidence lack" (Sowden & Keeves, 1988:513). The subtleties and complexities inherent in human relations are more able to be expressed through the use of a qualitative approach. Such complexities have often been ignored in identity research in the past (Soudien, 1996). Much of the identity research that has been conducted with adolescents has been devoted to classifying their responses according to one of Marcia's (1980) four identity statuses, as outlined in chapter two. A notable exception has been the work of Gilligan (1988) who studied identity and development through listening to how people speak about themselves and their choices and conflicts. Archer (1992) questioned the lack of qualitative approaches to identity development in asking "why are we not attending to and sharing the actual content of these interviews, which are rich with stories about the context and motivation surrounding identity development" (Archer, 1992:33). It is only through the adoption of a qualitative approach that this can be achieved, and that we can truly hear the voices of those we seek to understand.

Adolescents have a tendency to feel misunderstood and unheard, and an understanding of youth culture depends largely on hearing the voices of the teenagers (Workman, 1986), which is something that this study strives to do. However, research on identity, specifically in relation to young people in South Africa, has generally not done this. As Soudien (1996:24) explains, "seldom were explanations constructed from research conducted within small-scale settings involving individual people." This became evident as a gap which needed to be rectified, since no understanding can be complete with only a macro or a micro focus. Since it is the latter which has been neglected in identity research in the past, the need for more small-scale, in-depth studies was apparent. The importance of approaching this topic from a variety of angles also became apparent in examining the gaps that exist in the literature on intergroup contact. Amir (1976:289) noted in this respect that "despite a substantial amount of research ... our theoretical understanding of what contact involves as a potential agent of change and what are the underlying processes is still very limited." Twenty years on the volume of research has grown but the depth of our understanding remains limited. This could as aptly be applied to the relevant areas of the literature examined as a whole and indicates the essential nature of conducting research that approaches the topic area of identity in new and different ways (Schofield & Anderson, 1987). Patterson et al (1992:22) offer the following challenge in this regard.

Moving identity research farther out of the university and into the broader world may ultimately challenge the values and assumptions that underlie the research itself. How might the relatively impersonal context and methodology of identity research affect the articulation of interpersonal processes in identity formation ... the next challenge may be to ... employ a methodology that illuminates the context of observation (Patterson et al, 1992:22).

Soudien (1996:24) claims that "in taking an identity, people do so within a taut dialectic of choice and compulsion." What this quotation highlights is that individuals have choices, and are active participants in making meaning of their experiences and constructing their identities. They are not simply passive recipients of events. A qualitative methodology allows for a more thorough exploration of how meaning is constructed, and how individuals construe their choices and compulsions. Qualitative methods are thus often associated with social constructionist theory (Schofield & Anderson, 1987).

Since this research adopted the use of a qualitative methodology it is worthwhile to outline the characteristics or themes of qualitative inquiry, each of which applied to this study.

These are outlined by Patton (1990:39-63) as follows:

- Naturalistic inquiry - Situations are studied within the real world.
- Inductive analysis - Themes and categories emerge from the data rather than being imposed upon them.
- Holistic perspective - "The whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts" (1990:40).
- Qualitative data - detailed and in-depth data is gathered.
- Personal contact and insight - The researcher is close to the phenomenon under study and her/his own experiences and insights are an integral part of the research.
- Dynamic systems - Process is attended to as important.
- Unique case orientation - Each case is seen as unique and worthy of study.
- Context sensitivity - Findings are viewed within the social, historical and temporal context and are only tentatively, if at all, seen as generalisable.
- Empathic neutrality - Complete objectivity is seen as unattainable, but neutrality is seen as desirable. The researcher is acknowledged as an integral part of the research process.
- Design flexibility - As the research process proceeds designs may need to be adapted i.e. the methods may need to respond to the circumstances involved.

The specifics of context, subjects and methods utilised in this research are grounded in its philosophical background, since the rationale behind the choices made in these areas stems from its paradigmatic orientation. These areas will thus now be addressed.

3.2. CONTEXT AND SITE OF STUDY

This research took place within the context of a project (hereinafter referred to as 'the drama project') which was designed to utilise drama methods to facilitate contact between adolescents of different groups. The drama project operated as follows:

Two high schools were chosen, one of which is an exclusive private girls' school located in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs. These are primarily middle and upper class suburbs, formerly (under apartheid) open only to residence by whites. This school shall hereinafter be referred to as 'Southern Suburbs High'¹. The other school, hereinafter referred to as 'Cape Flats High', is a state school located in an area of Cape Town's Cape Flats, a working class region characterised by poverty and gangsterism. These areas were developed in the 1950s and 1960s to house coloured people who were relocated from areas designated 'white' in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950. Volunteers were requested from both schools to participate in the drama project, which was put to them as an extramural drama activity. The groups met after school hours approximately twice each week for three months, hence the process was relatively intensive.

The drama project was headed by a psychodrama facilitator who holds a masters degree in drama. He was assisted by a research assistant who is trained in both drama and education. She subsequently documented the drama project in order that it could be replicated by others (Koch, 1995). I became involved as a consultant to the drama project from an educational psychology perspective. This was a result of my interest in the area of intergroup contact and education, reflected in research I had conducted during my honours year (Druker, 1991). My role was one of participant observer and consultant, as well as researcher. The drama project was funded by the University of Cape Town (U.C.T.) Street Law Project since one of the themes developed through the drama project was an understanding of rights in terms of the new South African Constitution. A Street Law facilitator, who was a U.C.T. final year law student was also involved in the drama project, both as a facilitator and as a legal consultant. The four drama project personnel met approximately once every two weeks to discuss the process, raise issues that were seen as problematic, debate options for developing the process further, and suggest ideas for inclusion in the drama project.

The drama project proceeded in a series of phases, which are outlined in Appendix iv. In summary, the first phase involved working separately with a group of pupils from each

¹ This pseudonym was used also by Soudien (1996), but referred to a different high school in his study.

school. These groups were then brought together and through the use of drama methods developed further the themes that had been explored separately. The emphasis was on issues relating to intergroup interaction in South Africa, views of different communities, and identity as South Africans. The large group was then reduced to ten pupils, five from each school. These ten pupils, over a period of two to three months, further explored the themes and issues involved and also related their individual life stories. The ultimate product was a piece of forum theatre which related to two of the stories told by the participants. Forum theatre is an interactive drama technique whereby a problem is presented dramatically and the audience then becomes involved in solving the problem and suggesting different ideas to use in the situation, which the actors then dramatise (Boal, 1979). The final phase of the drama project involved presenting the drama to a variety of different audiences. These comprised school pupils, parents, non-governmental organisation employees, and participants in a programme for adolescents with emotional and behavioural problems.

In general the context involved a four month process of intergroup contact between adolescents from very different home and school backgrounds working together towards a final goal. The group sessions alternated between the two schools, hence both groups were able to experience the others' environment.

3.3. SUBJECTS

The ten drama project participants were the subjects of this research. There were five subjects from each school, and these included nine females and one male. All subjects were high school students of varying ages and their biographical profiles are set out in Table 3.1 below. The permission to conduct research was obtained from each pupil and their parents at the outset of the research process. This permission was predicated on the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality, as well as a guarantee of transparency and openness i.e. the subjects had access to the research materials if they wished, and will be informed of its completion should they wish to read it. It is important to note that the names of the pupils have been changed for the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality. It is recognised that this could be seen as a problematic strategy since the central focus of this research involves identity, and changing somebody's name could be seen as a denial of their identity. However, the assurance of anonymity is seen as primary and hence the decision was taken to change both the names of the pupils and their schools. The school's pseudonyms have been chosen since they reflect particular class and geographical characteristics which are indicative of the subjects involved.

The fact that the subjects were not pre-selected distinguishes this study from an experimental study. This results in a more open-ended piece of research, where the rationale is not to test a specific hypothesis or hypotheses, as might be the case were one utilising Marcia's (1980) identity status interviews, but rather to use a naturalistic approach to generate new ideas and new data.

Table 3.1: Biographical profiles of subjects:²

| NAME | AGE | STD | GENDER | PLACE OF RESIDENCE | RACE | FIRST LANGUAGE |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------|--------------------|----------|----------------|
| <i>Southern Suburbs High</i> | | | | | | |
| 1. Jo | 15 | 9 | F | Claremont | coloured | English |
| 2. Margaret | 16 | 8 | F | Newlands | white | English |
| 3. Emma | 15 | 8 | F | Bishopscourt | white | English |
| 4. Nicola | 15 | 8 | F | Claremont | white | English |
| 5. Cathy | 16 | 9 | F | St James | white | English |
| <i>Cape Flats High</i> | | | | | | |
| 6. Miriam | 16 | 8 | F | Guguletu | black | Xhosa/Eng |
| 7. Bonita | 16 | 6 | F | Manenberg | coloured | Afrikaans |
| 8. Janet | 21 | 10 | F | Manenberg | coloured | Afrikaans |
| 9. Dawn | 14 | 7 | F | Manenberg | coloured | Afrikaans |
| 10. John | 19 | 10 | M | Guguletu | black | Xhosa |

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

One means of enhancing the trustworthiness of qualitative data is to make use of triangulation. This refers to the combining of various methods in studying one phenomenon, and then comparing the data gained from these methods (Denzin, 1988; Patton, 1990). Denzin (1988) explains why triangulation is important.

The social world is socially constructed, and its meanings, to the observer and those observed, is constantly changing. As a consequence, no single research method will ever capture all of the changing features of the social world under study ... By combining multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources, social scientists can begin to overcome the intrinsic bias that is bound to come from single-method, single-observer, single-theory investigations (1988:512-513).

² It should be noted that race is included in the biographical profile because it was a signifier of difference which was relevant to the issues involved in this particular project and to the subjects involved in the project, not because it is seen as a worthy basis of differentiation. In South Africa race is a very real basis of differentiation due to our history of racial discrimination, and hence it cannot be ignored where identity is concerned.

There are a variety of types of triangulation, with two of the most important being data triangulation - the use of different methods of data collection - and investigator triangulation - the use of multiple observers (Denzin, 1988). Both these types of triangulation were utilised in this study. As far as the latter is concerned, a team of researchers and facilitators was involved in the drama project, as explained in section 3.2. above. Regular team meetings allowed for much discussion and sharing of ideas which enhanced the research process. What was especially beneficial was the fact that these individuals were drawn from different disciplines, spanning psychology, education, drama and law and thus the variety of perspectives was particularly enriching.

As far as multiple methods were concerned, the following methods were used:

- ✓ Interviews - two open-ended structured interviews conducted at different points in the process.
- ✓ Questionnaires - completed by the subjects.
- Essays - written by the subjects at the completion of the process.
- Biographies - written by the subjects.
- ✓ Field notes - taken by the researcher and the research assistant throughout the process.
- Video material - filmed at different points in the process.

3.4.1. Interviews:

Two open-ended structured interviews were conducted with each of the ten participants. The first interview occurred at the point in the process where the large group was reduced to ten people (i.e. prior to phase three). This interview was drawn up in consultation with the rest of the team, and was based largely on our observations and team discussions up to that point in the process (as opposed to a particular theoretical perspective). According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994:83), "team involvement in interview development can yield more interesting ideas than one might think of alone." The interview comprised twenty questions and the duration of the interviews was generally twenty to forty minutes. Where the subject's first language was Afrikaans, the interview was conducted in Afrikaans. Interviews were conducted on the schools' premises. Although notes were taken, interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed. (Two interviews could not be taped, since they were conducted when no tape recorder was available.) The interviews were divided between myself and the drama project's research assistant, with each of us conducting five interviews. The two of us were in close consultation, both in the drawing up of the questions and in debriefing after the interviews. The research assistant was able to speak

Xhosa so she conducted the interviews with the two Xhosa-speaking subjects (although both could speak English).

A copy of the first interview schedule is included in Appendix i (a). As can be seen, the questions focused on a variety of areas, primarily the general impact that the drama project had had on the participants up to that point in the process, both in terms of their views of themselves and in terms of how they viewed their own and the other group's community. The rationale for this emphasis was twofold. Firstly, since this research concerned the impact on identity development of an intergroup experience, the questions tapped into the intergroup nature of the experience in order to gain some understanding of the perceptions and assumptions involved. Secondly, an awareness of how participants were experiencing the impact of the drama project was important since if it had appeared to be having no impact there were implications for the ongoing nature of the research. Also, the drama project facilitators were eager to have some understanding of the impact of the experience up to that point, in order to carry the process further and improve upon it.

The second interview (see Appendix i (b)) was conducted by myself with each subject approximately two to three months after the drama project was complete. The rationale for the wait was the hope that it would allow for a crystallisation of ideas and thoughts about the drama project, diffuse some of the initial effusiveness and enthusiasm which might have coloured the data, and enable participants to reflect on their experiences with some sense of distance. Also, any impact that was apparent after a wait of a few months would be more suggestive of the lasting effects of the experience. The second interview was conducted at the University of Cape Town so that each participant was interviewed under the same conditions. Interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed. The duration of the interview was approximately thirty to forty minutes.

The second interview was drawn up in a more systematic and theoretically focused manner, with the specific research aims more clearly in mind. This is reflected in the questions, which were concerned primarily with identity and the impact of the drama project on identity. The fact that the research focus was on adolescence is also evident in the questions, in that participants were asked directly how being a teenager could have affected their experience. The involvement of specific theory is evident in that the distinction between social and personal identity was explained to the subjects (through the use of a diagram - see Appendix i (c)) and they were asked to comment on it. Another difference between the first and second interview was that certain questions in the latter were devised for specific subjects only, where they pertained to those subjects' specific

experiences. For example, the male subject was asked about how he experienced the uniqueness of his gender in the drama project context.

3.4.2. Questionnaires:

When the subjects participated in the second interview, they were asked to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix ii). The questionnaire was introduced in order to have another measure, along with the interviews, of the subjects' views on matters concerning identity. It was introduced primarily for triangulation purposes. This measure allowed for a written answer to the question of 'what is identity?' which was not directly asked in the interviews. This was seen as important since the written nature of the responses would allow for a more carefully calculated response than might be given in an interview. Also, the subjects were asked to indicate which aspects of identity they saw as more or less important. The information gained through the questionnaire was then compared with that gained from other sources, allowing for a richness of data gathering as well as a means of 'checking' for consistency across data sources. The questionnaire provided a more quantitative means of data-gathering, which could serve to enhance ideas and/or hypotheses developed from the qualitative data (Schofield & Anderson, 1987).

3.3.3. Essays:

At the end of the drama project process, immediately after the subjects had performed the last drama performance, they were asked to write essays on the topic of how their experience of the drama project had impacted upon them (see Appendix iii). This provided a data source which was immediate and could thus be fruitfully compared with their two interviews, one of which had the sense of immediacy since it was conducted during the process and the other which had a sense of distance, being conducted some time afterwards. The themes covered in the essay were very similar to those covered in the first interview and the essay thus provided a means for gauging whether ideas about the impact of the drama project had changed over the course of the process. Also, by being asked to put their experience in writing, the subjects had to actively reflect upon it, which was constructive in terms of it being a learning experience for them.

3.4.4. Biographies:

"The study of narrative is the study of the ways humans experience the world" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990:2). During the course of the drama project process each subject told their 'story'. This was either a general story about life as an individual and as a South African, or a specific incident which was life-changing or revelatory in some way. These narratives formed the backbone of the drama-creating process since the pieces which were

ultimately dramatised depicted aspects of certain individuals' stories. As such the stories were pivotal to the process as a whole. Furthermore, they were seen to be central to the notion that the process was underpinned by issues of identity since the stories related to individuals' lives and personal identity within the South African context where identity is often hotly disputed and a matter of concern. Furthermore, the individuals relating the stories were adolescents, who are generally seen to be confronting issues of identity due to their developmental stage (Erikson, 1968). For all these reasons it seemed important to utilise the stories themselves as a data source and thus the subjects were asked to write these down in biography form. Since the nature of qualitative research is often specific i.e. particular case studies are related in detail, it was also necessary to have a biographical account of the subjects for the purposes of accuracy and to have additional detail which assisted in understanding the individuals under study.

Lieblich and Josselson (1994:ix) argue that

listening to life stories of normal or outstanding people ... is a new, powerful way to study people and therefore to do psychological research. But the way of the narrative is subtle, complex, and more difficult than we expected.

The use of biography and life stories in this research led to the consideration of narrative usage in general as a method, since it is becoming increasingly utilised in qualitative research in education and psychology (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). Connelly and Clandinin (1990:10) claim that "the principal attraction of narrative as method is its capacity to render life experiences, both personal and social, in relevant and meaningful ways." Their mention of both personal and social issues became especially important in the context of this research. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) also outline how a variety of methods can contribute to a narrative approach, such as field notes, story telling and interviews.

3.4.5. Field notes:

This method of data collection refers to the research method of participant observation, which was utilised in this research as I was a participant observer throughout the process. According to Ball (1988:507),

the participant observer's task is that of attempting to share, and thus understand, the social world of the actors in the setting under study; to come to know the actors' social world as they know it themselves. The participant observer's primary strategy is being there.

The field notes constituted a vital method of data collection since they allowed for the immediate noting of events and impressions which could later be compared with the subjects' reflections from the interviews and written data sources, as well as compared with the impressions and thoughts of fellow team members.

3.4.6. Video material:

During the course of the process, videotaped material was made of certain of the sessions. Sessions at different phases of the drama project were videotaped, as were certain of the final performances. The video material provided a means for the team to reflect actively on the process using actual material rather than memory of the sessions, as well as provided another data source for comparison. It also allowed for both non-verbal and verbal communication to be noted after the sessions, which might have been missed in the process of taking field notes.

By conducting data collection throughout the research process, a situation developed whereby data collection and data analysis could proceed concurrently. This merging of the collection and analysis phases is recommended by Sowden and Keeves (1988) for two reasons. Firstly, in order to avoid a situation where so much data is collected that when one comes to analyse it at the end, the task is especially formidable, and secondly since gaps in the data can become apparent "and new hypotheses and relationships emerge before it is too late to collect relevant data" (Sowden & Keeves, 1988:518). This brings one to a discussion of how the data was analysed and interpreted.

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data analysis in qualitative research is often particularly difficult since one is confronted with a mass of data which needs to be processed.

The challenge is to make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal (Patton, 1990:371-372).

This is no small challenge. Although various methods of data collection are important for triangulation purposes the result is generally that a great deal of data is generated, and needs to be processed in a manner which makes theoretical sense as well as does justice to the qualitative nature of the data i.e. does not reduce data to the point where the 'flavour' is lost. In this study a computer programme named Ethnograph was used to analyse the data. The data analysis proceeded as follows, although not necessarily in a strictly linear fashion:

- Interviews were transcribed, and all other data was typed up using a word processing package.
- Once on computer, the data was adjusted to make it usable in Ethnograph, which is a DOS-based package.
- The data was then imported to Ethnograph and printed out.

- The print-outs were used to code the data. Codes were category names that grouped the data according to topic area. The codes were developed from the data i.e. they tended to emerge from the information, but were also developed with the theoretical perspectives which inform this study in mind. Thus the approach was not entirely one of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) but did have some of its elements, particularly an inductive focus.
- Once all the data was coded, 64 codes were evident.
- The codes were then entered into the computer.
- A frequency count of the codes was printed out and this was summarised into table format so that the codes and their frequencies could be clearly displayed (see Appendix v for frequencies of codes, as well as full names/explanations of codes).
- Two codes ('drama' and 'teachers') were discarded as they were deemed as not relevant to the research.
- Codes were then grouped conceptually in relation to the research focus as expressed in the title of the research, namely with an emphasis on identity, adolescence and intergroup experience. This grouping is reflected in Table 3.2 below. The grouping necessitated the repetition of certain codes in more than one category since they did not always belong in one category only.
- The remainder of the codes were printed out so that the data was available for interpretation.

Data analysis as far as coding was concerned was essentially both deductive, in that it was inevitably informed by prior knowledge and experience, and inductive in that the data collected was allowed to reveal its own elements and these elements coloured and modified the already existing knowledge and conceptual framework. The distinction between deduction and induction in such a situation tends to become blurred, which is not necessarily a disadvantage, and in fact is simply a reality of qualitative work. As Sowden and Keeves claim (1988:514) this blurring occurs when "it is recognised that the conception of the orientating constructs which were used in the process of deduction were themselves a product of induction." One further aspect to note here is that the process of abduction was also apparent in the data analysis. Such reasoning seeks analogical patterns and similarities in a more circular fashion (Plas, 1986) and is a property of ecosystemic thinking which concerns itself with a "web of indeterminate, interconnected patterns of mutual influence" (Van der Hoorn, 1995:166). Abductive and ecosystemic thinking thus acknowledge complexity and seek to attain a greater understanding without necessarily adopting a reductionist approach, hence their relevance in qualitative research.

Table 3.2: List of Codes - Conceptually grouped³

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| A: <u>Impact:</u> | | |
| • Impact | • Imp-contr | • Imp-race |
| • Imp-emotion | • Imp-ident | • Self-und |
| • Imp-pers | • Impact-no | • Selfgrow |
| B: <u>Intergroup:</u> | | |
| • Intergroup | • Ass-other | • Real-other |
| • Ass | • Diff | • Us & them |
| • Seperation | • Prej | • Race |
| • Class | • Lang | • Commnxn |
| • Exp | • Trust | |
| C: <u>Identity:</u> | | |
| • Identity | • Definident | • Soci ident |
| • Pers ident | • Soc v pers | • SIT |
| • Adol ident | • Imp-ident | |
| D: <u>Adolescence:</u> | | |
| • Adol ident | • Optimism | • Teen |
| • Teen/child | • Teen/adult | • Youth pwr |
| E: <u>SA issues:</u> | | |
| • Fut-SA | • Reality | • Rights |
| • SA | • SA- change | • Seperation |
| F: <u>General:</u> | | |
| • Friends | • Disclosure | • Alonevtog |
| • Complexity | • Solidarity | • Gender |
| • Personhood | | |
| G: <u>Other:</u> | | |
| • Acceptance | • Causation | • Change |
| • Conflict | • Coping | • Defin comm |
| • Doubt | • Family | • Frustration |
| • Fut- pers | • Past exp | • Process |
| • Rationale | • Role | |

As far as interpretation is concerned, a variety of theoretical perspectives relevant to the central focus of the study were consulted. As explained in the literature review, these were drawn primarily from developmental psychology - theory on adolescence and identity development - and social psychology - theory on social identity and intergroup relations. This approach of using more than one theoretical perspective is known as theory triangulation and, as with other forms of triangulation, is a means of enriching the interpretation. What was thus initially construed as a problematic dilemma in the development of the literature review, namely the fact that no one coherent theoretical perspective encapsulated the area of study, ultimately became a source of methodological strength, since the interpretation was enhanced through theory triangulation, and according to Denzin (1988:512) "triangulation is the appropriate way of entering the circle of interpretation."

³ Refer to Appendix v for the full names of these codes.

Various methods are suggested by Sowden and Keeves (1988:523) for interpreting qualitative data, and a number of these were used in this study. These include:

- Counting of responses or instances;
- noting of patterns and themes;
- clustering similar responses and/or subjects;
- combining categories (e.g. all categories relating specifically to identity were grouped, as were all those relating to adolescence); and
- using metaphors to enhance understanding.

In considering interpretation one of the chief concerns was whether data should be interpreted and reported in terms of each specific subject, or whether general similarities and differences should be the focus of attention. It was decided that in this study it would be most productive to do both, namely seek and report the general trends as far as similarities and differences were concerned and then focus on certain of the subjects whose data illuminated particular issues related to identity.

3.6. CRITERIA FOR VALIDATING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research cannot be judged by the same criteria as quantitative research, for the obvious reason that its methods are so different. Thus reliability, validity and objectivity, which are the hallmarks of good quantitative research, take on a different meaning when applied to qualitative research. One of the central differences is that the validity of qualitative research hinges largely on the researcher and her/his skill, knowledge, competence and rigour. As Patton (1990:14) claims, "the researcher is the instrument." He goes on to argue that this human element in qualitative inquiry is both its greatest strength and most basic weakness. This relates to the claim made by positivist researchers that research should be objective. Naturalist or qualitative researchers do not seek objectivity, since the human element is all too apparent in their work. They acknowledge that the social researcher cannot be free from her/his values and social constructions (De Landsheere, 1988). Rather, they aim for neutrality on the part of the researcher, as well as confirmability of the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1988). One means of achieving this is through the use of a confirmability audit, or audit trail, which demands that all data and documentation be kept in a coherent form for consultation by those who wish to confirm it (Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 1990). This was something that was aimed at in this study, and a separate audit trail booklet is available on request.

Guba and Lincoln (1988) also propose other means besides confirmability of ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative enquiries. These include credibility, transferability, and dependability. Credibility is the qualitative equivalent of internal validity and is "seen as a

check on the isomorphism between the enquirer's data and interpretations and the multiple realities in the minds of informants" (Guba & Lincoln, 1988:84). It can be achieved through a variety of techniques such as extended engagement at a site, persistent observation, peer debriefing and triangulation, all of which were utilised in this research. Transferability is the qualitative equivalent of generalisability, and this can be achieved through theoretical or purposive sampling, and/or

thick description, furnishing enough information about a context to provide a vicarious experience of it, and to facilitate judgements about the extent to which working hypotheses from that context might be transferable to a second, similar context (Guba & Lincoln, 1988:85).

The third criterion for trustworthiness is dependability, which is the equivalent of reliability. Dependability is ensured through triangulation of methods, as occurred in this research. It can also be enhanced through a dependability audit "whereby it is ascertained whether the data was collected and stored in a way which would meet the criteria of good practice" (Van der Hoorn, 1995:170). This relates to the confirmability audit discussed above and involves ensuring that one's raw data is available for scrutiny.

Patton (1990) sets out similar criteria for ensuring the credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research, namely: rigorous methods of data collection and analysis, researcher credibility (in terms of training, track record etc.), and a philosophical belief in the phenomenological paradigm i.e. "a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, and holistic thinking" (1990:461). He argues that since, unlike quantitative research, there are no formulae for determining significance and no tests for measuring reliability and validity, the researcher must strive to "do the very best with your full intellect to fairly represent the data and communicate what the data reveal given the purpose of the study" (Patton, 1990:372).

In conclusion, it is hoped that this methodological outline proves sufficient to offer the reader a thorough account of what was done methodologically, as well as why it was done. Since in qualitative research the researcher's account of the process is fundamental in offering some assurance of credibility and trustworthiness, a fair amount of detail was submitted in order to do this. It is incumbent upon the researcher to provide as thorough an account as possible. As Patton (1990:372) claims, "analysts have an obligation to monitor and report their own analytical procedures and processes as fully and truthfully as possible," and thus need to be especially aware of the research process as they experience it, and then as they reflect upon it.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

"Growth involves risk" (Phinney & Chavira, 1992:274).

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Analysis of the data presented a vast array of information, much of which provided valuable insights into the research area. The challenge of this study was to condense this material into a form which made it both manageable and comprehensive, and then to integrate it with a body of literature that emanates from a variety of areas, theoretical frameworks and histories. For this reason the emphasis in presenting the findings will be on those aspects most pertinent to the research topic.

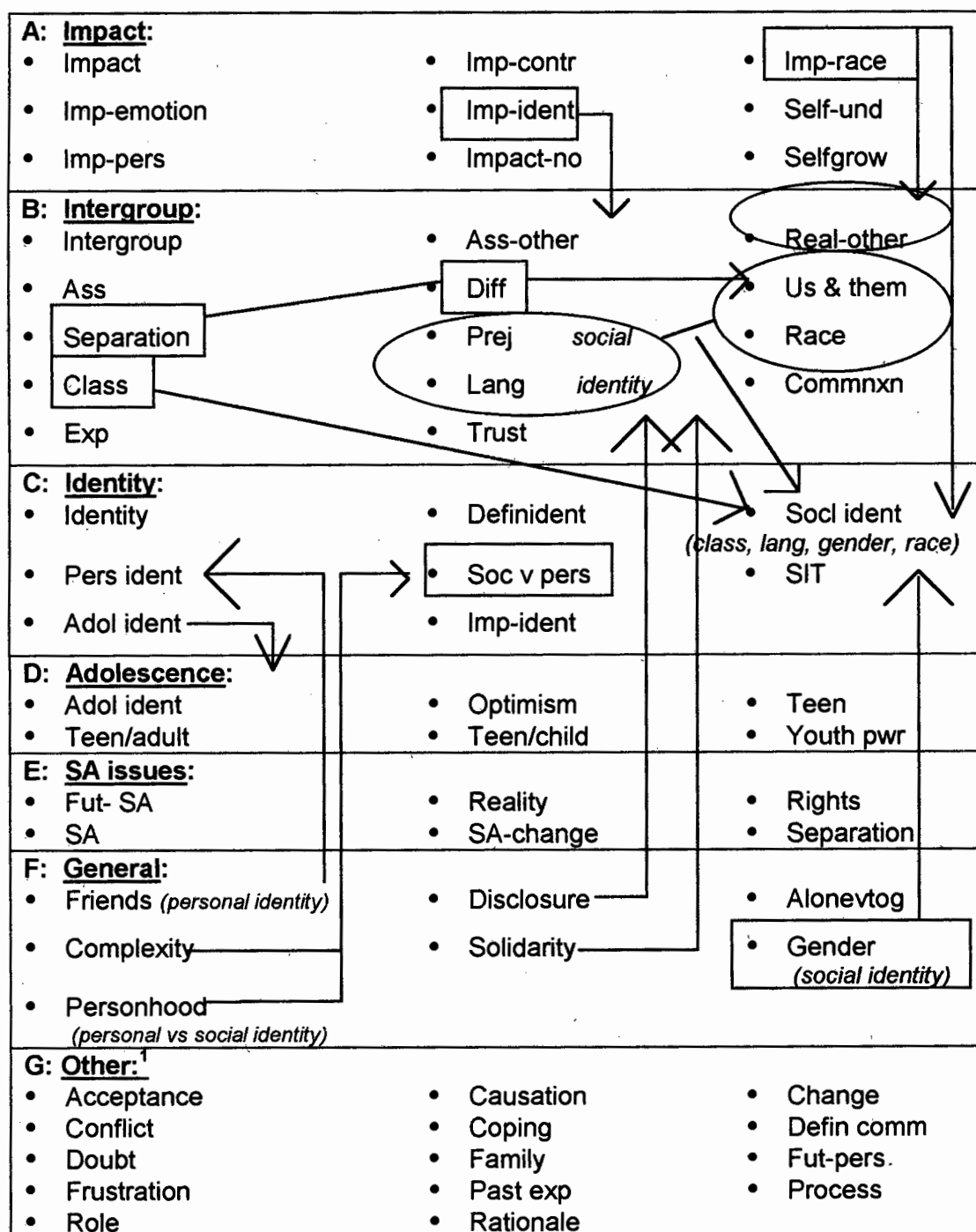
The areas of focus will be:

- The adolescent experience of identity-related issues;
- the impact of the drama project in terms of identity;
- the intergroup nature of the experience and the relevance of this for issues of identity; and
- the complexity of the interrelation of social and personal issues in understanding identity in the context of the specific drama project situation.

Table 3.2 (see Chapter 3), which was generated for data analysis and presented a conceptual grouping of the data categories in relation to the research focus, was used as a template against which to analyse and interpret the data. In the process the categories were further linked conceptually, and with more direct reference to the literature. Table 4.1 (see below) was then developed as a tighter framework from which to analyse the data, and interpret the data in relation to the literature. This table demonstrates the process of analysis whereby connections were made between and across categories.

Table 4.1: List of Codes - Conceptually grouped, with process of interpretation indicated:

(Arrows and comments in italics have been indicated to show the process of analysis, linkages and interpretation that occurred. The meaning of the codes is given in Appendix v).



¹ As noted in chapter 3, two codes were discarded initially, and at this stage codes under 'Other' were discarded as not specifically relevant to this research topic (although relevant to the drama project experience).

In the process of working with the data and the literature in tandem, I reached a number of realisations and formulated certain tentative hypotheses based on these. These ideas in turn affected the manner in which I scanned the data and highlighted particular issues for elaboration in writing up and interpreting the findings. Some of these observations and realisations were that:

- The process of events and the impact of the experiences which were facilitated by the drama project were highly complex, much more so than I had initially imagined.
- Social identity theory did not adequately enough encapsulate and explain this complexity, which led me to explore other theories, particularly social constructionism.
- The impact of the drama project in terms of the participants' attitudes towards one another's social groupings appeared more deep-seated than I would have thought.
- Each individual's experience and understanding of the drama project was highly unique and individualised. Despite the fact that each had undergone the identical situation and that there were many commonalities in the impact of the experience, each participant demonstrated a uniquely personal understanding which seemed to be strongly based in their individual histories, personalities, and salient issues in their particular lives.
- As acknowledged in the literature review there is a lack of literature available in this specific area (i.e. combining the various threads researched in this study). This became all the more apparent in interpreting the data since I had no one theoretical framework to refer to. This compelled me to draw on aspects of the literature from different areas in interpreting and discussing different sections of the data. Thus certain sections draw more on one body of work than another since it is more specifically relevant to those sections. This lack of an overarching theoretical or conceptual framework is problematic, and in concluding this chapter I will return to the framework provided in Figure 2.1. as one means of addressing this issue and integrating the literature in the light of the data.

This chapter will report on the data by focussing on the following aspects which emerged from the process described above, and which are directly related to the research topic:

- The meaning of 'identity';
- the adolescent nature of the experience;
- intergroup experience;
- the impact of the intergroup experience, particularly in relation to identity;
- personal and social identity; and
- the complexity of the experience.

Issues related to South Africa (Section E in Table 4.1 above) will be discussed across the different categories where relevant. From a process point of view, findings are reported both in terms of patterns noticed across subjects and illustrated in terms of individual narratives. Participants' voices are acknowledged through the use of italicised quotes, to distinguish them from my interpretations. The reader is alerted to refer to Table 3.1 where the biographical and demographic details of the research participants are given, since participants are referred to by name.

4.2. THE MEANING OF 'IDENTITY'

Soudien (1996) argues that individuals are active in the development of their identities and in making meaning around instances and sites where identity development is relevant. The drama project constituted one such site, and since the methodology employed involved understanding how individuals construct their experience it is necessary to examine how identity was constructed and understood by the participants involved in the research study.

Certain aspects were common to the definitions of identity provided by the subjects (in the questionnaire). A strong common thread amongst the subjects was an emphasis on the self, such as was expressed by Margaret in her claim that identity means: "*Yourself - the way you feel, the way you act and the way you are. The person that you have become and/or was born as.*" Her definition also embodies elements present in the nature/nurture debate (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987; Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1990) in so far as she explained that identity comprises both a genetic aspect as well as an environmental one. Another definition which expresses the emphasis on self was provided by Emma who described identity as "*your personal being, it involves your morals and opinions. Identity is the 'person' inside yourself that you talk and reason with, the 'person' who understands and relates to you.*"

In contrast to an emphasis on self, only three of the subjects incorporated more social aspects into their definitions of identity, which perhaps suggests that commonsense notions of identity privilege individualistic or personal, as opposed to social understandings of self. One definition which did embody both individual and social components was Janet's.

Eerstens is dit jou naam. Die soort ras waaraan jy behoort byvoorbeeld 'kleurling, wit (blank) or swart'. Dit is ook basies jou agtergrond, familie ens. Identiteit is ook die geslag wat ek is - vroulik/manlik. Die soort taal wat ek tuis spreek. From what country you are a citizen.

First it is your name. The race which you belong to, for example 'coloured, white, or black'. It is also basically your background, family etc. Identity is also the sex that I am - female/male. The language that I speak at home. From what country you are a citizen².

Few definitions gave a sense of the complexity embodied in the concept when examined more theoretically (Archer, 1994; Blasi & Milton, 1991), but a flavour of this was apparent in the fact that no subject gave one single sentence in defining identity. All definitions embodied a variety of concepts, as is expressed in Miriam's definition.

What I understand is that an identity is what and who you are. You as a person and your personality make up your identity. Sometimes people's personalities change but to me it does not mean that your identity changes. You will still be the same person. Still have the same age and colour. Most probably not the same ideas. So what I am trying to say is that an identity actually tells us what you are, who you are and where you come from.

Miriam appeared to be grappling with the notion of continuity in identity which is interesting in the light of Erikson's emphasis on continuity in his definition of identity (1968).

Waterman's (1988) focus on content in defining identity was also apparent in the definitions given by the research participants who spoke of identity as being about morals, racism, respect, personality, opinions and beliefs. The complexity of identity was perhaps best expressed by Nicola, who incorporated personal and social aspects, as well as process and content into her definition.

How you see yourself in terms of personality, character, the groups to which you belong (as in school, community, South Africa), and the role you play in it. As well as the views, morals, beliefs and opinions you hold as a person.

It was important for me as a researcher to have a sense of how identity was understood by the participants since the second interview particularly accessed issues related to identity. Had the participants had a very different understanding of the concept to that which I as the researcher held, many of my conclusions and observations may have been based on misconceptions. The participants were constantly reminded during the course of the drama project that identity was one of its chief areas of focus, but were only asked directly to verbalise how they understood identity in the interviews. However, it appeared from their definitions that, although somewhat individualistic, their understanding of identity was appropriate and thorough, and in some cases began to approximate certain of the complexities inherent in the concept.

² The quotations are provided in the language in which they were spoken since it was felt that a study on identity should be as true to the identity of the subjects as possible, and language is an integral aspect of identity. An English translation is provided below each Afrikaans quotation to facilitate understanding for those readers who do not speak Afrikaans.

4.3. THE ADOLESCENT NATURE OF THE EXPERIENCE

Since this research focuses on adolescence and adolescence has been highlighted (as discussed in the literature review) as a central period for the development of identity, the data gathered was analysed in terms of how, as adolescents specifically, the participants interpreted their experience. The rationale for this resided in the hypothesis that as adolescents, the participants would have a heightened sensitivity to identity-related issues, and the research question in this respect was whether they would recognise and acknowledge this. The drama project in which they were involved made identity issues salient, both overtly, through the intervention of the facilitators, and subtly, through placing the subjects in a situation where issues of identity were constantly being confronted by virtue of the intergroup situation and the processes of social comparison, as embodied in social identity theory (Skevington & Baker, 1989a).

Most of the participants recognised that the fact that they had experienced this drama project during adolescence was particularly significant. Emma for example, noted that “*we did this project when it was like a developing part of our lives and it’s going to affect us ...*” She went on to recognise the importance of moral development during adolescence in describing adolescence as a time when

you’re very uncertain about the world and you’re not sure which path you should follow, and also you are influenced by lots of people around you and when you see something that you actually think ‘no, that is actually right, I think I should believe that’, or something it’s going to be long-lasting because you haven’t developed your morals, most of your morals yet

The developing sense of self in adolescence, and the grappling with the notion of ‘who am I?’ was poignantly expressed in the story of Miriam. Miriam is a black adolescent who lives with her coloured grandmother in Guguletu. Her life is overshadowed by her grandmother’s pervasive racism expressed in, ironically, hatred of black people. It is these sentiments that have resulted in Miriam attending a predominantly coloured school, and her grandmother violently opposes any attempt on her part to have black friends. The pressures of living with this situation appear to have had a number of results where Miriam is concerned. Firstly, she is a mature and wise youth who has a great deal of insight into her situation. Secondly, she is adamantly opposed to racism of any sort. Thirdly, and it is here that the issue of identity appears most pertinently, she has developed a public persona which she displays at school, while her home persona is totally different. At school she is bright and extroverted and is one of those pupils who is involved in all forms of school activities. She is also sought out by her peers for her ability to listen and help them with their problems. At home however she is quiet, sullen and withdrawn, constantly musing over the unjustness of

the situation with her grandmother. She described this situation and the development of her identity as follows.

At school I'm very cheerful, very happy, sort of lively person, I'm very active, when I'm all alone without my friends around me or without my fellow students around me then I'm very hostile, I'm not very intimate with other people.

Her plea as far as her grandmother was concerned was that

I want my grandmother to accept who I am, what I am, I don't want her to change me because no one is ever going to change me. I want her to accept my beliefs and just so that we can work together and understand one another. That's the most important thing. I want her to understand me and my thoughts.

Thus her bitterness has given way to a more profound sense of being misunderstood as an individual, something which adolescents tend to feel acutely in a variety of circumstances, and which reflects their changing cognitive and emotional status. Also apparent is the sense that Miriam's identity is solidifying in her feeling that no one should be responsible for changing her. She has struggled to reach this point and explains how until becoming involved in the drama project she had felt guilty and responsible for her grandmother's attitudes (*"I used to feel ... I deserve the treatment I am receiving"*), whereas it is evident that she is now developing a stronger sense, not only of who she is, but that what she believes in is 'right'. It appears that she is moving towards Marcia's (1980) stage of identity achievement, and that her involvement in the drama project has facilitated this. Miriam described the impact that the drama project had on her identity by claiming that *"it actually brought out more in people's identity because there are some people have a side of them which they do not want to show. And I think that's the important one."* She went on to say that *"in that environment [the drama project] I felt as a whole because there I could show my happy side and my sad side but at school I just show my happy side and at home again it's just the opposite."* Also, she explained that the drama project had offered her a sense of solidarity, *"because I have a sense of knowing that there are people out there who have the very same problem I do. So in a way it means that I'm not alone."*

In terms of cognitive development, Erikson (1968) indicates that adolescents have a tendency towards the absolute, resulting from a desire to reduce uncertainty and confusion in terms of the solutions they provide to problems. This tendency was apparent in some of the youthful idealism that was evidenced in the data. For example: *"we the young generation, we sort of say ag man, you white and I'm black so why care, we're friends, we're both humans"* (Janet); *"we could all live in peace and happiness, we could if we all tried"* (Margaret); *"daar is 'n oplossing vir elke ding ... alles hang van jouself af"* (there is a solution for everything ... everything just depends on you) (Bonita); and *"this will open people's eyes and they won't hate"* (Emma). In certain circumstances there was a reluctance to

problematise situations and a tendency to portray situations and solutions as absolute. This was particularly apparent during the early part of the process where participants were asked to provide solutions to the problems that different groups face in South Africa in terms of coming together and communicating. This tendency vacillated however with a more complex understanding of situations, particularly in the responses of certain individuals. As the drama project progressed and issues were developed in further depth the level at which issues were understood in a more complex fashion seemed to increase. This was apparent from the data (i.e. in comparing the first interview to the second) as well as from observations made by the drama project team. From a theoretical perspective this could be understood by reference to cognitive development i.e. certain of the participants may have been operating at a more advanced stage of formal operations than others, who may sometimes even have been utilising a more concrete operational style (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). It also illustrates that development in adolescence is not a purely linear process, and that in different individuals at different times and under different circumstances reasoning may be more or less complex.

This sometimes confused reasoning was also apparent in that some of the participants contradicted themselves when answering questions. Miriam, when asked whether she saw herself differently after the drama project than before, replied: *"No, I think I see myself as the same person, just more stronger that's all."* Thus although she did see herself differently, in her mind the difference was not enough of a change to warrant replying 'yes'. To the onlooker however, this change appears a profound one, particularly in the light of Miriam's situation. Another similar example of contradiction occurred in Dawn's comment, in her essay, where she claimed that: *"Ek het nie verander nie, maar ek het besluit gedoen wat reg vir my is"* (*I have not changed but I have decided what is right for me*).

The participants in the research generally recognised that the fact that they were adolescents impacted on their experience of the drama project, and that had they been adults or children, this experience would have been different for them. Most acknowledged that the similarities between them as teenagers helped to bridge the gaps and differences that existed in other areas. Cathy explained that

to talk to them about subjects normal teenagers gossip about, was amazing. Also just, I think to see they're exactly, that they have the exact same thoughts and fears and sort of teenage life ... enjoy the same things.

Nicola expressed a similar sentiment as follows: *"we were all teenagers and we had all been through different, similar experiences but in different places."* The participants generally suggested that as adults their ideas and prejudices might have been too

entrenched to change as much as they had, and that as children they would not have had the capacity or maturity to benefit as much from the experience. As adolescents the general consensus appeared to be that they were more able to learn and gain from the drama project, more open to the experience, and more willing to risk and share of themselves than they might otherwise have been. Dawn explained that *“as tiener het ek baie vry gevoel om te praat want daar was ook tieners om to kan praat saam met hulle”* (as a teenager I felt very free to speak because there were other teenagers to speak with). Bonita expressed this as follows: *“Maar ons is nou groot genoeg en weet wat aangaan het ek nou eintlik rerig dit kop toe geneem en dit het sense begin maak vir my”* (But now that we are old enough and know what is going on, I really took it seriously and it began to make sense to me). Bonita's statement raises the interesting issue of how certain experiences might boost or propel adolescent development, cognitive and otherwise, by placing individuals in a situation where they are compelled to contemplate and experience issues that they might otherwise not have been faced with. There seemed to be a general idea that adolescence was an opportune time period for an intervention such as the drama project to occur. Emma claimed that *“it's like a growing process when you're a teenager and we sort of grew through the group.”* Jo explained that

being a teenager and everything you're trying to discover who you are and this whole project you look at yourself and that's how it actually helps you ... it actually puts a whole lot more on your shoulders, but it's not a bad thing ... I think it helps you a lot even to deal with the things that are already.

The participants also generally seemed to feel that they were more impressionable in that their ideas were still developing and changing, and that the ideas they developed during their adolescence would impact on their future views - for example, *“it's going to affect my future life, it's going to affect the way I see things”* (Cathy). Erikson's (1968) and Marcia's (1980) notions of moratorium and experimentation are apparent in such recognitions. Cathy aptly summarised the general views on how being an adolescent impacted on the experience of the drama project in the following explanation, embedded in which is not only her perception of the link between adolescence and identity but also a picture of how adults are construed.

I think as a teenager you're sort of developing your own identity ... when you're a child you're still living pretty much under your parents' roof and you're agreeing with their ideas, and when you're an adult you've basically founded your ideas. So being a teenager it kind of allowed us not to be so critical ... we sort of were a lot more openminded and agreed to experience new things. It was also I think because we were all teenagers and we teenagers like to gossip together, it was quite easy to become friends because we all had things to talk about to each other, that could relate on the same basis of teenage life and stuff.

4.4. INTERGROUP EXPERIENCE

Since the aim of this research is to examine adolescent experience of intergroup contact, it is relevant to interpret the data in terms of a focus on the intergroup experience itself, bearing in mind that the research participants constituted two distinct groups from different schools with different demographic characteristics. Within the area of intergroup experience, certain sub-areas became evident as the data was analysed. These included:

- How the group members understood each other - what they expected and assumed the other group members would be like and how they actually found them to be, having met and worked with them;
- how the participants understood and constructed the idea of difference and commonality between the two groups; and
- how the group members interacted with one another on an interpersonal level i.e. issues of disclosure, communication and trust.

These issues will be discussed below. Other issues related to the intergroup nature of the experience did emerge during data analysis. These issues concerned aspects such as race, prejudice, language, class and group separation in South Africa. Such issues will however be discussed in other sections of this chapter, particularly in relation to personal and social identity.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE OTHER GROUP:

Before the group members met each other they had particular assumptions and ideas about how the other group might be. Such ideas are important from an intergroup contact perspective since they 'set the scene' for the initial interaction, and tend to be based largely on stereotyped views. In a society such as our's, in which separation and division have been embedded for so long, such notions hold particular importance. I had the opportunity to observe the effects of the Southern Suburbs High (SSH) pupils' assumptions and expectations on one particular occasion when the groups first met and were asked to portray images of their own community to each other through drama. I observed the preparation of the images of the SSH group where there was some debate as to whether they should portray the positive aspects of their community to the Cape Flats High (CFH) pupils. Underpinning this anxiety appeared to be an assumption that there were no positive aspects to the CFH pupils' community and therefore that the SSH pupils should be sensitive to this. There was also a general feeling among the SSH pupils that they should make their own community appear especially negative (through portraying excessive materialism and drug-taking for example), in order that the CFH images would not appear too negative.

Such assumptions were revealed further upon interviewing the SSH group who expressed the following expectations of the CFH group:

Before, I thought they would be much more hard-bitten than I was, and kind of seen a lot of life ... I expected normal people, underprivileged people, 'snobby' of us, they'd seen a lot more of violence ... in the beginning I thought it would be difficult to get to know them (Nicola).

"I didn't expect them to be as friendly as I found them ... I was expecting them to be a little more hostile I think" (Cathy).

"I was expecting they would resent us more, wouldn't know what we were trying to prove, I thought they would be more coarse and less educated" (Emma).

Well sort of rough and uneducated, we wouldn't be able to chat to them easily ... you see I used to live on a farm and there were lots of labourer's children and I used to go play with them (Margaret).

The SSH pupils acknowledged that they had fears concerning going to CFH and visiting the Cape Flats, since they had never been to these areas, had no friends from these areas, and conceded that their views were based largely on media reports. Furthermore certain of their school friends had been forbidden by their parents to participate in the drama project since it involved travelling to such areas. Margaret commented that *"it's so far out, we don't know about it, we hear about them and you only hear it from the newspapers, how bad it is."* My observation on travelling with them in the school bus was that the first few times we visited CFH the group went noticeably quiet and ill at ease as we drew closer to our destination. I also observed, however, that this atmosphere tended to wane as the visits grew more regular. One of the pupils noted that initially *"we were thinking 'oh dear' but when we got there it was divine"* (field notes).

The CFH pupils, on the other hand, generally expected the SSH pupils to be snobs, stuck-up and shy in relation to the CFH pupils. One pupil commented that she *"expected high class people who would look down on us ... I was scared"* (field notes). This was echoed by John who explained that *"the first day I met the SSH girls I thought I am going to meet high class people, like if we are doing something they shall stand away from us,"* and Bonita who said *"ek het gedink hulle sal meer met mekaar komunikeer as wat hulle met ons sal praat"* (*I thought that they would communicate more with each other than with us*). Other comments as to the CFH expectations were as follows:

"I thought they would be sort of scared to come here ... and feel guilty to be here" (John).

"I thought they would be snobbish and in actual fact I didn't think that they would welcome us the way they did" (Miriam).

"Very conceited ... wil nie saam mix nie ... bitchy, bangerig vir ons, vir die way ons is, onse attitude, ek het gedink baie van hulle het 'n attitude problem towards wat ons is" (*very conceited ... won't want to mix ... bitchy, scared of us, for the way we are, our attitude, I thought many of them would have an attitude problem towards what we are*) (Bonita).

"Ek het verwag hulle sal stuck up wees, hulle sal nie met ons wil praat nie, en anders optree as ons" (I expected them to be stuck up, they would not want to speak to us, and would behave differently to us) (Dawn).

"I never thought anything really because to have white friends is not something to me that's new" (Janet).

Bonita, whose cheek was badly scarred in an assault by her stepfather approximately one year before the drama project began, explained that

I thought they would be frightened of me, because maybe I am a gangster and maybe I am evil and I would hurt them. I was really shy because at the beginning I normally, when I started meeting with them I always sit like this [demonstrates her hand covering her scarred cheek], like closing my scar.

Bonita's identity, particularly as far as her appearance is concerned but also in relation to her gender identity (as will become apparent in later discussion), has been permanently altered by her disfigurement. It is interesting to note how her scar was one of the central influences on how she expected the SSH pupils to relate to her. This is as a result of the fact that she feels others will suspect she was scarred in a gang fight, thus believing her to be a gangster (which she is not). In her expectations of the other group an issue related to personal identity becomes foregrounded, rather than her ideas as to the social identity of the other group. However, the personal and social are enmeshed since her concerns about her scar are exaggerated when mixing with people who are so different to her. Also embedded in her anxieties is the notion that since gangsterism is so rife in her area, groups from other areas will automatically assume that the scar is gang-related. This is also an issue more prevalent to social than to personal identity, thus highlighting the interconnectedness of these concepts.

An interesting dynamic in the early contact between the groups related to Jo, the only coloured pupil in the SSH group. Jo had certain anxieties and insecurities as to how she would be viewed by the CFH group. As it happened, Janet explained later that *"when I first saw Jo I thought she was a tanned white person."* Underpinning this is the idea that the CFH pupils could not conceive that someone so like them where race was concerned would be a member of the other group i.e. they had assumed that all the SSH pupils would be white. Jo expressed her anxieties in this connection, explaining that

I thought they'd think um, traitor's not the right word, but something like that, like I'm a Coloured but I'm at a white school and things like that ... I was really affected by what they would think of me, how they would, if they would be accepting or not.

As with Bonita, Jo's expectations and fears inextricably link issues of social and personal identity. Her own particular situation affected her experience as far as the initial contact was concerned, but this situation was one where her social identity (i.e. her race) was of paramount importance.

As the drama project ensued the participants realised that their initial expectations and assumptions were not necessarily well-founded. The reality and the impact of the experience led all of them to modify their ideas of the other group. It appeared that the contact served to go some way towards diluting the stereotypes that the groups had of each other. As Cathy claimed,

the stereotypes, I think they build a barrier between them, and you can't, because you don't actually get to come into contact with these people normally, we can't destroy the stereotypes to everybody, only to people like us who are getting an opportunity to.

As far as the dynamics of this attitudinal change are concerned, contact hypothesis theorists and researchers would argue that such change was facilitated by the ongoing, enjoyable and close nature of the experience, the equal status nature of the contact (i.e. participants had equal status within the contact situation), the common goal of the drama project, and the institutional sanction involved (in terms of the facilitators and the school authorities) (Amir, 1976; Cook, 1978; Druker, 1991; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Social identity theorists would be more likely to argue that since group differences and attitudes were overtly addressed in the contact situation (through the issues explored by the drama project facilitators and in the drama presentation), social identity was made salient and this facilitated more positive attitudes (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Skevington & Baker, 1989; Tajfel, 1982). It is probable that both theoretical viewpoints are valid in this case, since a multiplicity of variables were operating over the course of the drama project and the situation appeared too complex to be explained by one factor or theory alone. What is also important to realise is that the drama project participants each constructed the situation in their own way, depending on both individual factors particular to them and the social factors inherent in the situation. Although the outcome was similar in most cases (as will be discussed further when discussing impact), each individual is likely to have reached his/her own conclusions and changes through his/her own unique process and through constructing and understanding micro events in his/her own way.

As was mentioned above, the actual experience of the other group was found to be different from the expectations embodied by the group members before the intergroup contact occurred. All of them expressed this change in some way, with many of them experiencing a reaction of shock, surprise, delight or shame at discovering that their expectations were not met. Nicola for example claimed that *"it was so wonderful to walk into [the Cape Flats], especially after all the warnings of violence etc., and get such a welcoming response."* Another SSH pupil, in describing her experience to a group of teenagers for whom the drama project participants had performed said, *"we didn't know*

what to expect but it was the most amazing surprise.” Cathy expressed her feelings of surprise as follows, also acknowledging the role that prejudice played in her expectations.

I was quite shocked, they seemed more friendly ... I found them to be a lot more like us than I thought they would be ... I was very surprised, they were normal people, which I knew they would be but I mean you have a stereotype of something and they weren't quite like I thought they would be.

The implications of Cathy's comment in terms of contact hypothesis theory are apparent. This theory posits that attitude change is more likely to occur in an intergroup contact situation when outgroup members disconfirm the prevailing negative stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Cook, 1978; Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991), which seemed to occur in this case if Cathy's comment is taken as representative of the SSH pupils in general.

Other comments describing how the SSH pupils actually experienced the CFH group were:

“They were very nice, they were very open, very friendly” (Jo).

“Actually they also have their soft side and their hard sides, like we do, you know, and that was the one realisation I had” (Nicola).

“They accepted us more easily than I expected” (Nicola).

“They were totally different to what I expected, more caring, understanding of our viewpoints, wanted to deal with the issues” (Emma).

Some of the SSH pupils also commented that they were having a difficult time convincing their friends and families to change their attitudes towards other groups. Margaret, for example, described an incident in class where she tried to explain that there is more to life on the Cape Flats than simply gang violence. Thus it appears that not only did the experience result in changed attitudes, but that an attempt was made to translate these attitudes into action. This proved difficult however, as Cathy explained.

It's very difficult to explain to other people what it's like unless they've met them, I mean you can tell them the people from CFH are fantastic, they're really nice, but they will never understand what you're saying till they've met them themselves.

Nicola described a similar experience with a friend.

I've got a friend from another school, she's my best friend, she's really sweet but she doesn't have any clue what goes on in the other communities, she views them as a totally different species to us and that is rubbish ... I get so angry with her and I tell her that she's racist and everything, but it's not actually racist ... she doesn't know anything about the community next door to her, how can she not be slightly kind of closed-minded if she doesn't know.

The CFH pupils were also surprised upon meeting and getting to know the SSH pupils. Dawn commented that *“I thought they would be stuck up but I found out they are really nice after all.”* She also expressed surprise that problems and difficulties were evident in the SSH pupils' community as well as in her own, stating that *“ek het net gedink dis 'n lekker lewe daar”* (*I just thought it was a great life there*). John expressed shame at his initial attitudes,

claiming that “*after I realised how they are I was very very disappointed about what I thought.*” Bonita also regretted her initial assumptions and explained this change as follows.

Ek was verkeerd met wat ek gedink het want hulle was baie different as wat ons gedink het hulle sal wees. Hulle was friendly, openhearted ... openlik saam met ons, ons het lekker mekaar verstaan.

(I was wrong in what I thought because they were very different to what I thought they would be. They were friendly, openhearted ... open with us, we understood each other well.)

Miriam acknowledged however that the contact situation was an awkward one, where individuals' feelings about themselves as well as their feelings about the other group were relevant. She commented in this respect that

some of us were shy towards each other because we didn't know what to expect of one another, and then you had some children who were friendly but they didn't quite know how to be friendly with one another. And some, well, I didn't feel that way but I'll say other children, they probably felt that the SSH students were more intelligent, superior to themselves.

This comment can be related to the literature on ethnic identity development and self esteem (Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992), since what Miriam appears to be saying is that certain of the minority (disadvantaged) group members felt themselves to be inadequate in comparison to the dominant group members (SSH pupils). An interesting issue to explore in this regard would be the dynamics that make Miriam able to resist this tendency and to feel positive about herself in relation to the dominant group. It appears that she is managing to do what Ward (1990) argues needs to be done in order for minority group adolescents to resolve their identity crises, namely to proclaim “I am not what you believe black people to be, and I am black” (1990:219). This is interesting particularly in relation to the fact that Miriam's identity and self esteem is divided in terms of her 'external' and 'internal' personas, as discussed above. Thus her personal identity appears to be in crisis in certain areas but not in others. It is as if she is able to draw on the strengths and resources apparent in her external persona to feel positive about herself in an intergroup situation. Although in-depth exploration of this issue was beyond the scope and brief of this research, what can be reiterated through Miriam's comments is that the relationship between ethnic identity and self esteem is a highly complex one, as is argued in certain of the literature in this area (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Spencer, 1982).

As mentioned above, contact hypothesis theory posits that positive attitude change results from the disconfirmation of stereotypical notions. In this connection the interaction between the SSH pupils and Miriam was particularly interesting. Miriam is highly articulate and verbal, and played a major role in the first meeting between the two groups. While returning to SSH from this session, the drama project facilitators and I overheard the SSH group discussing Miriam. Their response was one of overwhelming surprise and amazement, apparently because Miriam had proved to be so different from what they had expected. In

this respect Margaret commented in her first interview that *"there was one of them, I mean Miriam, she was so, um, I mean she was very educated, she came up with these amazing answers, they really astounded me."* There are a number of issues worthy of comment arising from Margaret's statement. The first is that the impact of this encounter stayed with her, probably because she had an emotional reaction to it as was evident in the adjectives she used. The second is the language used to describe Miriam - as "one of them." In terms of discourse it is clear that an 'us and them' situation was apparent for Margaret, and this relates to how the differences between the groups were understood, as will be discussed. The third issue of interest is that Margaret's comment is underpinned by the prejudicial notion that all the CFH pupils would be uneducated and inarticulate. Such a notion is not surprising if one considers the society in which Margaret has grown up, along with her early experience of outgroup members - as a farm owner's daughter. Again, the personal experiences that Margaret has had are inextricably interconnected with the society in which she has grown up, in a manner which serves to make her the individual that she is.

Cathy commented in reflecting on the drama project that *"that was one thing that really shocked me, that we all laughed at the same things, I didn't actually think that we wouldn't, it's just that to realise it, see it, was amazing."* This statement highlights the fact that one of the effects of actually encountering the other group members was that each one discovered that those who had always seemed different to them suddenly appeared similar in a number of ways. This notion of difference and commonality pervaded the interview responses and repeatedly arose during the course of the drama project sessions, and it seemed that the intergroup situation made this issue especially salient. This is not surprising if one adopts a social identity theory approach since this theory places emphasis on the processes of social categorisation and social comparison that occur in intergroup situations (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Williams & Giles, 1978). That such processes were occurring is evidenced by Cathy's comment that *"it was really an amazing experience because it made you compare your lifestyle to theirs and how you saw yourself."* This issue thus needs to be explored in greater depth in terms of the data.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFERENCE AND COMMONALITY:

One aspect of developing identity involves an increasing realisation of oneself as both unique and similar to others. This is embodied in Marcia's (1980) definition of identity where he claims that the more developed one's identity "the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness and similarity to others" (Marcia, 1980:159). An example of how the intergroup contact experience highlighted issues of identity was expressed by Cathy,

who described how *"we didn't know what they would think of us so it makes you very aware of yourself the whole time so you're very aware of your identity."* Gilligan, Rogers & Brown (1990:314) claim that

psyche or self, rather than being placed at stages, steps, or positions and marked off by borders and boundaries, can be represented as *in* relationship - relationships that exist in the medium of time or change.

This statement illustrates the connection between identity and intergroup experience, since it is in the process of the latter that relationships form with people whom one might not ordinarily associate with, and this provides opportunities for developing one's self and one's identity. During adolescence, individuals tend to become increasingly aware of their own uniqueness, but they often gain this realisation through social mechanisms (Myburgh & Anders, 1989), hence the importance of intergroup experience.

The tendency to see oneself as both unique and similar became apparent in analysing the data and the notion of social comparison reoccurred time and again. An interesting example of social comparison processes occurred in the case of Jo, a coloured pupil at SSH. Jo acknowledged her particular position and noticed that

we all had things in common but I had more things in common with my group than the others did and I had more things in common with the CFH group than my group did.

Gilligan (1988b) claims that during adolescence women become increasingly aware that attachment does not necessarily imply agreement, in other words, that "differences constitute the life of relationships rather than a threat to their continuation" (Gilligan, 1988b:153). This is intriguing in light of the fact that there was a strong focus on grappling with issues of difference and commonality in the data, especially since nine of the ten research participants were female. Although Gilligan is referring here to interpersonal relationships, the fact that these occurred in this research in an intergroup context not only makes the situation more complex, but also more interesting. What appeared to happen in this drama project was that the individuals involved expected vast differences, and instead found that there were also many similarities between them. This realisation seemed to surprise and shock many of them, as is expressed by Margaret: *"These people are so like us, you know, all people are so, just the same, have the same feelings and all of that...."*

What also seemed to occur over the course of the drama project was that the differences that did exist were explored and clarified, and it seemed were better understood and more carefully constructed after the intergroup experience was over. As the relationships deepened over the course of the drama project, it appeared to me as observer that the participants were more able to acknowledge the differences by virtue of the fact that these

now existed within a relationship context, and a context within which they had also explored and found similarities. Despite this however, there was still a strong 'us and them' component to the participants' reflections on their experience throughout the process, probably by virtue of the fact that despite their commonalities they were still leading different lives in different areas and different circumstances, and because they have grown up in a context which has perpetuated an 'us and them' mentality. This relates to the study by Dawes and Finchilescu (1993), discussed in the literature review, which found that racial labels had become solidified and entrenched for South African youth by virtue of the society in which they had grown up. These labels were probably paramount in the minds of the participants when they first encountered one another. Miriam's comment that "*the first thing we noticed when the project started was we had coloured, we had black and we had white. That was the first thing that all of us observed,*" would support such a view.

It appeared that the trend amongst the research participants in commenting on difference and commonality was that differences generally concerned issues related to social identity, while similarities related most often to personal identity. This was most striking from an observation point of view when participants told their personal narratives. Each participant was instructed to tell a story from their own life that had had a profound impact on them and that related an incident or series of events that most aptly summed up how they felt about themselves as teenagers in South Africa. Interestingly, the majority of the stories concerned some form of loss. Some examples involved the loss of one's roots through relocation, the loss of a family member through violence, the loss of physical beauty through violence, the loss of a significant care-giver through relocation, the loss of schooling through personal circumstances, the loss of the nuclear family unit through divorce, and the loss of identity as a South African through voluntary exile and opposition to the apartheid government. Once the stories had been told the participants commented extensively on how surprised they were that despite their different circumstances there were threads that were common to their lives. Thus within an intergroup context where social identity was salient, the participants' narratives made apparent the connections between them, of both an intergroup and an interpersonal nature. One is reminded here of Connelly and Clandinin's (1990:10) observation that narratives have the capacity "to render life's experiences, both personal and social, in relevant and meaningful ways" (emphasis added).

The narratives appeared to have an important impact on the process and on the impressions of the participants. Nicola explained her realisations as a result of the stories

as follows (when asked whether there was one particular moment during the process that precipitated a change in her).

It was the stories that everyone told, and that there'd all been sadnesses in everyone's story and some things that even people from the other community talked about that I could relate to that maybe I didn't discuss but I could relate to, and I think that they related to some of the things that some of us discussed like broken homes and things like that. That was the sudden kind of realisation that we were all teenagers and we had all been through different, similar experiences but in different places.

Part of Bonita's story focused on how she had been scarred by her stepfather. It was the process of relating the story that brought her to an understanding that she was not as different to the SSH pupils as she initially imagined, and it seems that this helped her in coming to terms with her experience. She explained that

when I started telling everyone what happened to me it was for me just like a happening which could have happened to any one of them, but unfortunately it just happened to me.

The stories were not only construed in terms of similarities however, evidenced in the fact that a number of the SSH participants (Margaret, Jo and Cathy) commented in their interviews on the impact that Bonita's story, particularly the fact that her brother had been shot and killed by a gang member on her front doorstep, had on them in highlighting the differences in their lives.

Field notes revealed that most of the participants had argued that the differences between the groups were superficial, and a result of differing environments. The general feeling appeared to be that they were all the same deep down (i.e. on a personal as opposed to a group level). This view seemed to become more entrenched as the drama project proceeded and the participants got to know each other personally. This was reflected in Margaret's interviews. In the first interview she emphasised the differences between the groups in terms of culture, background, language, moral values and education. In her second interview however, her ideas were very different and she acknowledged the commonalities more while still conceding that differences existed. In the second interview however, these differences related more to issues of social identity while the similarities were seen as a result of common humanity. The same trend, towards focussing on commonality as opposed to difference from the first interview to the second was apparent in Bonita's interviews as well. Both these pupils focussed initially on outward differences (such as the fact that the CFH pupils bunked lessons and smoked at school for example), and then moved towards emphasising personal similarities.

The trend of expressing difference in terms of social identity and similarity in terms of personal identity was evident in the essays written by the participants and in the interviews, as well as in my observation of the process. This trend was interesting in that it was not something that I found was commented on in the literature and may in some senses be a product of growing up in a divided society such as South Africa. Since children are socialised into seeing themselves as socially different to one another - in terms of race and class particularly - it is not surprising that these areas do not seem to be accessed in looking for commonalities. Rather, it appears to be the personal level, where individuals interact and form relationships, where similarity is noticed, particularly early on in a contact situation. Cathy wrote that "*I would never have had the opportunity to meet people who are so totally different to me culturally because we live so far apart and our social groups are so different,*" thus ascribing difference to social identity. Bonita also used social identity as a basis of difference and personal identity as a source of commonality. She felt that "*hulle het vir my vat as 'n persoon, my persoonlikheid was net soos hulle s'n, ek was niks different as hulle nie, behalwe my kleur en die taal wat ek praat*" (*They took me as a person, my personality was just like their's, I was not at all different to them, except for my colour and the language I speak*). From a commonality viewpoint, Cathy commented that "*I was amazed at how similar their activities are to our's,*" and Emma expressed that "*I learnt how similar everyone is, we have similar problems.*" These are comments which concern personal identity more so than social. Nicola also expressed this trend. She explained that

they are the same people with the same feelings and emotions, but because of the way they have lived and what they've been through they haven't had the opportunity to learn the things we have, and we haven't learned the things they have learned ... we are still the same people yet the way that you live changes your views and opinions.

Thus she understood their differences as being due to circumstance, lifestyle and upbringing, while she saw the two groups as fundamentally similar as human beings. This notion was shared by Janet, who realised "*that not all the people are against you, are worried about your skin colour and what you are, it's who you are.*"

An exception to this trend was Emma's perception that "*they are different - they are more honest and and not so scared about what we think of them.*" She thus noticed differences in terms of personal identity, although it would have been interesting for the CFH pupils to reflect on this comment since I suspect that they would not necessarily have agreed, and there is evidence in the data that most of them were indeed worried about what the SSH pupils thought of them. Another exception to the trend was Bonita who saw her central similarity to the SSH pupils as one of gender, a characteristic of social identity. She explained that she should fit in with the SSH pupils since "*ek is dan 'n vrou nes hulle*" (*I am*

a woman just like them), and that if John, who was male, could fit in with them, there was no reason why she could not. This foregrounding of gender as a basis for comparison was a result of Bonita's particular salient psychological issues at the time of the project, and will be discussed further below.

The trend of ascribing differences to social factors and similarities to personal ones is hardly surprising in light of the fact that the intergroup differences are very real by virtue of the society in which these adolescents have grown up. However, what seemed to occur was that as the process progressed the participants utilised (in their interactions with one another) the personal commonalities to bridge the intergroup divide. This observation surprised me as I did not expect that the interpersonal relationships would be carried through as extensively to the intergroup realm. Such an observation seems to offer support for contact hypothesis theory, but one should caution here that this research does not address the attitudes that the participants now hold towards other members of the outgroups, i.e. whether their positive approach generalised to other situations and other outgroup members. Furthermore, with only ten subjects one cannot draw conclusions on any larger scale. Nonetheless, what was interesting was the apparent trend of connecting interpersonal and intergroup aspects increasingly as the contact deepened and extended. Also interesting was the participants' own confusion where difference and similarity were concerned. They tended to vacillate as to whether and how they differed. Miriam expressed this clearly in her comment that

I think that you would find us as individuals very interesting because we have different beliefs, different cultures, um, we are different but then again we are the same at the same time.

There was also some degree of frustration embedded in this vacillation, as was apparent in Nicola's comment that

we are just so separate and insulated, and it's almost like a different part of the world, but we are two similar groups of people and you could be such good friends like your next door neighbour, but you can't.

The focus on commonality and difference that emerged in the findings may also have a gender dimension to it. Abrams (1989) forwards the hypothesis that men may tend to adopt intergroup strategies which increase distinctiveness between groups, while women may tend to focus on increasing cohesiveness and communality between groups. This is interesting since the majority of the subjects in this research were female. One cannot know what would have emerged had the majority been male, and whether in such a case there would have been less of an emphasis on finding commonality, but this may be an interesting issue for further research and exploration. Gilligan, Lyons & Hammer (1990:10)

claim that "the problem girls face in adolescence is also a problem in the world at this time: the need to find ways of making connection in the face of difference." This claim is made in the context of her theory that females have a particular moral orientation which is directed towards relationships, attachment and connection, as opposed to detachment and autonomy (Gilligan, 1982). Yet it seems particularly pertinent in light of the fact that most of the research participants commented (and this was apparent from all the data sources) on the similarities and commonalities that they experienced in terms of the other group's members, and how this surprised them. Despite this acknowledgement of a common humanity however, all the participants expressed that it would be difficult to continue seeing one another and having contact outside of the drama project context because of the logistical and practical problems involved (such as transport and parental concern), although some (Jo, Miriam and Nicola) expressed a commitment to try and continue contact despite the difficulties.

INTERPERSONAL ASPECTS OF INTERGROUP CONTACT:

Within an intergroup contact situation interpersonal factors operate since participants interact both as group members and as individuals. Thus the two - intergroup and interpersonal factors - occur simultaneously, although one may be more salient than the other at a particular time. In analysing the data it became clear that certain matters of an interpersonal nature, relating specifically to trust, disclosure and communication, were apparent. Since these issues emerged particularly in relation to their process within an intergroup context they are discussed in relation to the intergroup nature of the experience. It is possible that in another type of situation such issues may have been less pertinent, or may have been directed towards other aspects of the contact situation.

We as the drama project facilitators were concerned as to how open the groups might be able to be with one another. This was a valid concern since not only were they meeting as total strangers initially, but also as people who saw one another as very different (as is apparent in the discussion above). Hence the participants were asked in the first interview about their levels of disclosure and trust. As the drama project progressed such aspects became less of an issue as it was increasingly clear to the observers that the participants were opening up and becoming more comfortable with one another, and this was reflected upon by most of the participants in the second interview and essay. This was not surprising since the contact was of a regular and close nature. Furthermore, midway through the process the group drew up a collaborative contract which included an ethos of openness, sharing, lack of judgement, and an imperative to speak and contribute. This facilitated the

drama project participants becoming more open as well as building trust amongst them, which is evidenced by Jo's statement in her essay that

at first it was very challenging to say how I felt Sometimes things were very personal that were expected to be 'broadcast'. But my fears were put at ease 'cos the contract we drew up and signed was taken so seriously.

In the first interview, some participants expressed that they had felt able to be open and to speak freely during the first part of the drama project, while others had felt more inhibited. When asked to rate themselves on a scale from one to ten, with 'one' being very inhibited and 'ten' feeling very free to speak, only two gave themselves a ten. Both of these were CFH pupils (Dawn and Miriam). The average score given was approximately seven, indicating that there appeared to be a fair degree of openness. The lowest score given was a four, thus no one felt completely inhibited by the situation. A number of participants commented on the reasons why they could not speak completely freely, and these tended to relate to an unwillingness to offend members of the other group, particularly on the part of the SSH pupils. For example:

So when we had to make the problem together in a group ... we wouldn't choose one that might offend them or they might offend us ... like if we had a stereotype of them we don't really want to say what it is ... I mean there were certain things you not going to tell them openly, I think it was more basically that the issues were avoided, it wasn't uncomfortably avoided, it was just that they weren't really mentioned (Cathy).

You have to be careful of hurting people, their feelings, and talking about us being more educated than them in a horrible way. You know if you're talking to people you can't just say 'I have a higher education than you' because I mean it's awful, imagine someone saying that to me I think you always have to be careful, it's a bit like religion It makes everything awkward and you're always on pins, you're not just yourself (Margaret).

Janet also expressed caution in this respect, explaining that

some of the things you hold back because we must consider each other's feelings like ... sometimes you might think before you speak, sometimes you want to say something of value but you frightened it's gonna hurt that person ... and it sounds like you still racist.

This seemed to indicate that the participants, particularly those from SSH, were sensitive to the intergroup nature of the contact, and this was especially true in the beginning stages of the drama project.

Ward's (1990) study of racial identity in female adolescents found a similar phenomenon.

One of her interviewees commented that

some of the girls are afraid of discussing ... racial differences for fear that either they will offend me ... I guess people are very afraid to face differences here. And what it could mean to them (Ward, 1990:225).

This fear of confronting differences is hardly surprising, since many individuals are reluctant to raise issues that could prove offensive. Due to South Africa's history race is a particularly sensitive issue that is often not confronted directly in interpersonal interactions. What was interesting to observe during the drama project was that very few of the participants spoke directly about race. They tended to skirt around the issue through the use of euphemisms or indirect references such as 'other communities' or 'people in other areas'. Cathy for instance referred to race as "*the colour issue*" and explained that "*I think it was something we were aware of but didn't want to talk about*" (in her first interview). Even as the project progressed race was rarely tackled overtly. One situation in which it was raised occurred when one of the coloured group members from CFH expressed indignation as to the fact that coloured identity and status tended to be ignored in South Africa. This resulted in a heated discussion which revolved around coloured and black tensions in this country, but little was said of white people's role in this issue (field notes). Bonita referred to this, as well as to a general skirting around the issue of race in her interview.

Wat nou nie eintlik nie goed vir my gewees het was toe sê die projek is eintlik oor die community en daar was baie mense - ek sal nie name noem nie - mense wat eintlik praat elke keer community, community, community, but they never talk about the coloured community as it is.

(What was not good for me was that the project is actually about the community and there were many people - I won't mention names - people who talk every time about community, community, community, but they never talk about the coloured community as it is.)

Other reasons why participants did not speak freely, apart from a desire not to offend, were also given. For example, issues were considered too personal to share with the group e.g. "*my besigheid is myne*" (*my business is mine*) (Bonita). However, Bonita does say in her second interview that she was relieved to finally be able to speak openly about what had happened to her, implying that her attitude changed from the first interview to the second. Certain participants also conceded that sharing with the group was not easy for them. Jo for instance, explained that "*the people in the group from SSH, I wasn't really close to them and telling them about my life ... it was very hard, it was not something I wanted to do.*" It seemed that as a result of this initial caution the decision that Jo made to share her feelings with the group proved an important self-growth experience. She explained in her essay that

this project has taught me about relationships - that it can be as intimate or personal as you want it to be. For me it has been a very intimate process - sharing thoughts and opinions that I would usually keep to myself But I learned to let go and simply open up.

This experience of Jo's is echoed in the words of a number of the others, particularly Bonita, Janet and Miriam, and has definite implications for how identity then developed in these individuals. Since intimacy, sharing and relationships are important components in terms of how one comes to see oneself, it is likely that such an experience will affect

identity, particularly since it occurs in adolescence. From an Eriksonian perspective, the next stage in psychosocial development after adolescence is 'intimacy versus isolation', where young people become able to commit to others, or find themselves increasingly isolated in the world (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987). In this respect the levels of trust that were established between the group members could have important implications in terms of how these individuals will interact with others after the project. John commented for example that he learned from his experience *"that to trust a black person it's the same as like you can trust a white person."* And Janet explained that *"I've learned that we must trust each other because a good relationship is based on trust, honesty and feelings."*

The language differences (English and Afrikaans) were mentioned by Cathy as an inhibiting factor, as was personality - Jo explained that she was naturally a shy person. Thus the factors inhibiting disclosure were of both a personal and a social nature, with interpersonal and intergroup dimensions being brought into play. However, as the process proceeded and the personal nature of the interactions deepened, this seemed to facilitate openness and sharing, in some respects overcoming both personal and social barriers. In some cases, such as Miriam's and Bonita's, the drama project allowed them to speak openly about their experiences and feelings for the first time, which was experienced as a highly significant event.

In Jo's case the interpersonal and intergroup nature of issues concerning disclosure and trust became apparent. Jo, a coloured pupil at SSH, felt torn between the CFH group, whom she claimed were similar to people that she had grown up with (since she had moved from a relatively poor area to the Southern Suburbs when she started high school), and the SSH group, who were her schoolmates. Thus she had a social link with the former group, and a personal connection with the latter. She explained that she felt more comfortable disclosing to the CFH pupils than to those from SSH,

because they knew where I was coming from, they, it was almost like they understood me more so what I did, it's not like I did anything major or anything but anything I would do or anything I would say they would take it from the point of knowing where I was coming from.

Thus Jo felt more understood by people she barely knew personally, since they understood her background more intimately and she had a social connection with them. This provides an illuminating example of the complex interrelationship between social and personal variables where identity is concerned.

4.5. THE IMPACT OF THE DRAMA PROJECT ON IDENTITY

It is clear from the above discussion that each participant in the drama project was affected by the experience in some way, some to a greater extent than others, and some to a life-changing degree. Having examined issues relating to how the participants in this research understood identity, related it to adolescence, and discussed the intergroup nature of the experience, it is important to examine further the impact that this intergroup contact experience had on those who participated in it, with a particular focus on its impact in terms of their identity.

In general it appeared that the project impacted on each individual participant in some way. In fact, the code relating to 'impact' occurred most frequently in the data (refer appendix v). The impact that the drama project had seemed to relate to a variety of different levels. The project participants had - to a greater or lesser extent - changed their views of themselves, learned about other individuals and communities in South Africa, changed their views of their own and other communities, and altered the way they felt about themselves. All these aspects relate to identity in some way since they concern individuals' views of, and feelings about themselves and/or their communities, environments and country. The impact of the experience became apparent through observing the participants talk about their experience during the drama project sessions, through observing the changing dynamics in their interactions over time (field notes and video material) and from the interviews and essays. When asked whether such drama projects should be repeated, all participants replied in the affirmative. When asked what they had learned and gained from the experience each participant gave a reply which signified that the project had been worthwhile for them personally. In the essay they were asked how they would describe their experience to friends and family members and some of the responses to this indicated the magnitude of the impact.

Examples of such responses included the following from the SSH pupils:

I would tell them that I have gained an understanding of people that I had never thought about before unless the media put an idea into my accepting head. I have gained knowledge about each individual that we were working with and discovered wonderful qualities about each of them (Margaret).

It has made me see people from other cultures as friends ... it made me ashamed in a way of how superior a lot of white people think they are in the way that if people of other colours come to our school they don't greet them or talk to them but merely see them as people who are underprivileged and who our school is helping along (Cathy).

"It has taught me not to believe everything the media says and how they portray things can be very far from the truth" (Jo).

I gained a lot of insight and experience, generally a greater knowledge of the country in which I live. It's scary to think that before this experience I hardly knew South Africa at all, I only knew my little insulated section and that seems kind of sad. I feel more like a South African now (Nicola).

I have gained knowledge of many different cultures ... it has definitely changed me as I will now not believe all I hear in the media etc. but will try and seek other sources to get the truth. It has also changed me in the way that I will not judge people by their colour, culture or appearance. I will look deeper to see what lies underneath I also now know and have learnt to respect other people and their feelings and to be as democratic as possible (Emma).

The examples below provide a flavour of how the CFH pupils wrote in their essays about how the drama project impacted on them:

I gained courage ... I've learned to put my feelings first ... I should be part of the decision making in my life ... I have gained hope ... I feel that there are actually people who care. You as a South African should stand up for your rights that you have and try and not let people dominate you (Miriam).

I have learned a lot ... things like how to write a contract, how to trust each other, about different cultures, religions and how to communicate with the person of your opposite culture (John).

"Ek het geleer om eerlik te wees oor my gevoelens, hoe ek voel, te vertel oor moeilike tye" (I learned to be honest about my feelings, to talk about difficult times) (Janet).

"Ek het geleer dit is nooit wat jy dink nie, dit is altyd die teenoorgestelde ... ek het baie confidence in myself begin kry" (I learned it's not what you think, it's always the opposite ... I began to gain much more confidence in myself) (Bonita).

It is clear from these quotes that each participant's learning depended on their own prior experiences, ideas and personalities (Boud & Walker, 1990). Miriam for example, gained most in terms of the light that the drama project shed on the situation she had been in regarding her grandmother, whereas certain of the SSH pupils realised the isolated lifestyle they had been living and the influence that the media had on their ideas about other communities. The impact on Miriam foregrounded her personal identity, while the impact on Nicola for example, appeared to be mostly in terms of her social identity. The experiences of the other participants could also be classified in this way. Some spoke primarily of personal gains, such as an increase in maturity, learning to open up to others, a realisation of how much they have to be thankful for in their lives, or a growth in self confidence. Jo, for example claimed that *"before I thought I knew myself pretty well but I didn't really."* Others spoke more of socially-related changes such as reduced prejudice, an increased understanding of how different people live, an awareness of issues in South Africa, or a new sense of their gender identity.

This highlights the complexity involved when discussing identity development. Such complexity militates against simply accepting a particular stage theory such as Marcia's

identity statuses (1980), Phinney's ethnic identity development theory (1990) or Markstrom-Adams and Spencer's model of ethnic identity development (1994). What such theories do is valuable in that they provide a framework through which to examine the process of identity development, but such a framework can only be constructively utilised by acknowledging the fact that each individual will be affected by identity-forming experiences in different ways, depending on their own upbringing, personality dynamics, salient psychological issues, and environmental influences. One is reminded here of the variety of antecedents outlined in the literature which are hypothesised as influencing identity development (e.g. Waterman, 1982). This is the value of qualitative analysis since the in-depth examination of micro experiences can add an element of clarity and flavour to theories which are designed to apply more generally. This indicates again that identity development is not a linear process and that although foregrounded generally in adolescence, within this life-stage certain experiences might be particularly pertinent in terms of how identity develops. It appears that this drama project offered one such experience.

Certain of the participants spoke directly of how the experience had impacted on their identity. Nicola explained in her interview that

somehow it made me feel more of an identity of being part of South Africa, the different cultures and the different people ... it made me feel more of a South African Developed my identity.

It appears that for Nicola, the experience of contact with other South Africans reinforced her social identity as a South African. This is interesting in Nicola's case since her history is one of confused nationality. Nicola was born in Johannesburg. Her father died when she was three and her mother married a Canadian three years later. The family then moved to Kenya, where Nicola was initially unhappy but eventually settled down. The family were active in the anti-apartheid movement and hid their South African identity when visiting this country under apartheid rule. They also hid their nationality from their Kenyan friends who "hated South Africans" (biography). At the age of ten Nicola relocated again, this time to boarding school in England. Then, after turning thirteen she moved back to South Africa when her mother's marriage ended. Thus she had changed countries four times within seven years, which had affected the way she felt about her national identity. The impact of the drama project on reintegrating her towards feeling 'South African' thus makes sense when viewed in the light of her personal history. The particular identity development focus facilitated for Nicola by the experience may not have been felt by any of the other participants, but because of who Nicola is, this has been her growth point in terms of identity. This highlights again the complexity of identity formation and the need to examine

experiences qualitatively in order to conceptualise theoretical perspectives through the lens of individual narratives.

If one views Nicola's identity development in terms of Marcia's theory (Josselson, 1994; Marcia, 1980), one could conceptualise her as being in the moratorium stage, searching to commit to a feeling of national identity from a variety of possibilities, and possibly, as a result of her drama project experience, attaining some sense of identity achievement in the domain of nationality. More research into Nicola's ongoing identity development process would be illuminating to ascertain how future experiences affect this identity achievement, particularly further experiences of relocation. It is probable that this is an issue which Nicola will grapple with throughout her life, reminding one that identity development is an ongoing process which extends beyond adolescence (Kroger, 1992).

Other theoretical perspectives also shed light on Nicola's situation in terms of the relationship aspect of her experience. This brings to mind the work of Gilligan and her colleagues (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al, 1988; Gilligan et al, 1990) who argue that developing identity, particularly for women, is not simply about developing separateness and individuation, as the early identity work emphasised (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). Rather, it is about development within the framework of connectedness and relationship. It is perhaps in this area that a link appears with the social psychological literature, particularly the contact hypothesis work (Amir, 1976; Cook, 1978; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Such work hypothesises positive attitudes occurring as a result of contact. Perhaps part of the reason for this is that contact develops relationships, and these relationships colour the way one views and feels about individual members of other groups as well as about oneself. Where such relationships deeply affect self-perception they will affect identity (as with Nicola), and in this respect they will affect how one interacts with and views others, facilitating the emergence of the self through interpersonal relationships (Attanucci, 1988).

Different theoretical perspectives thus shed light in different ways on the experience of Nicola. Can one claim then that one perspective is the 'correct' one? Such a pursuit would be self-defeating since each provides one aspect of the whole picture, and the different emphasis of each militates against its ability to encompass the whole and makes certain issues more conducive towards analysis within a particular theoretical framework. Seen within a social constructionist framework this is not necessarily a problem since the complexity inherent in each situation makes it inaccessible to simple explanation. From such a perspective one can travel towards the issue along different theoretical routes,

provided one returns all the time to the core, which is Nicola's own construction and understanding of her experience. It should be noted here that while acknowledging the contributions that different theories can make to our understanding of identity, certain epistemic problems could become apparent in attempting to reconcile these theories, as a result of their divergent theoretical histories, traditions and emphases.

The social and personal interconnectedness in terms of how the project impacted on identity was apparent in certain of the responses given by the participants. In attempting to explain how the drama project had affected them both Emma and Nicola offered insight into how a social experience of intergroup contact had a personal impact. In both the explanations given below they move between social and personal identity issues, seemingly grappling to fully articulate their impressions. This appeared to be an indication of the complexity involved.

It's good to get other people's opinions to have a broader spectrum of what other communities are about, and what you're about and you can also see your faults and other people's faults and you know you can sort of decide how you're going to live your life just through a tiny little project that took three months of your whole life (Emma).

It was about meeting a new community, and discovering actually stuff that we should all already know and therefore finding out, in a way it was identity, sorry, in a way that it was, you were actually finding out about yourself because, and the community you live in by seeing other people's communities and they way they live you learnt what kind of person you were in the way that you related to them, in the way that when you went back home the difference between your community and their community ... a whole lot of things came out that made you kind of put yourself into perspective (Nicola).

It appeared in these quotes that the participants were struggling to describe how a social experience could precipitate personal change, one of the questions which underpins this research.

Most of the participants directly referred to the self-growth and self-understanding they had experienced during the drama project. Bonita for example, explained that "*ek voel meer comfortable met who ek nou is teenoor wat ek gedink wat ek is ... my mind began to open and I felt actually more mature*" (*I feel more comfortable about who I am now than who I thought I was*). Janet expressed the impact that the experience had on her self-understanding as follows.

Sometimes you don't realise these things until people point it out for you. Because I didn't like, realise the whole thing about my life, how I want my life to be or what person I want to be in the community or what person I would like to be, and like somebody showed it for me, like here's a picture of your life and life, I stood there looking at my life.

Along with a feeling of self-understanding came an increase in self esteem for certain of the participants. This was most aptly expressed by Bonita, who throughout her second interview explained how she now felt like 'somebody', whereas before she had looked down upon herself and seen herself as inadequate. For her, the realisation that she was an individual with rights appeared to have been a turning point.

Toe ek begin dan to actually have political rights, toe begin ek deel voel aan Suid-Afrika en ek het begin, ek weet nie, ek het soos 'n individu gevoel, ek het groter, ek het, hoe kan ek sê, ek het meer as 'n tiener gevoel, ek het gevoel ek behoort in die parlement My mind began to open and I actually felt more mature. (When I began to have political rights, then I began to feel part of South Africa and I began, I don't know, I felt like an individual, I had more, I had, how can I say, I felt more than a teenager, I felt I belonged in parliament).

It thus seems that the participants' levels of self-understanding were enhanced as they were put in a situation where they were consciously compelled to think about themselves and others in a manner that they may not have otherwise done.

Jo also expressed her feeling of self-growth in explaining how,

being at SSH I have always sort of tried to fit in, to be like them, and I have found out that I should really not try to be like these people so much but just be myself ... I've found some soul-searching here.

Jo's comment alluded to the development of her ethnic identity - her sense of self as a coloured individual in a predominantly white environment. When viewed in terms of Phinney's theory (1990) the drama project appears to have triggered a movement for Jo into Stage two, the exploration of ethnic identity. This is a stage during which ethnicity and one's feelings about it becomes salient. However it took a situation where she was confronted with her own ethnic group in the context of being viewed as from the 'other' group (the SSH pupils) to begin and facilitate this exploration process. This brings one to a consideration of the relationship between ethnic identity and self esteem. If, as some of the literature suggests, these two are directly related (Phinney and Chavira, 1992; Rotheram-Borus & Fraser, 1994), then it would seem important to encourage contexts that precipitate the exploration of ethnic identity as has happened with Jo. This is important in the light of the finding that self esteem is associated with the extent to which adolescents have explored and resolved issues relating to ethnic identity (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Also, Phinney & Chavira (1992) found that *both* ethnic identity and positive self esteem are equally important in the development of minority youth, and thus that both need to be promoted for optimising development. With Jo it appears that ethnic identity was foregrounded while for Bonita for example, the development of self esteem (which was actually related to her gender identity, as will be explained) was most significant. "High personal self esteem may then provide the basis for individuals to explore their own cultural background and to develop a secure, positive view of themselves as minority group

members" (Phinney & Chavira, 1992:280). Thus the processes are related in a seemingly circular and complex fashion. From the comments made by the participants about the impact of the drama project on identity it appears that this experience did both i.e. it developed positive self esteem and facilitated the exploration of ethnic identity, but these effects varied for different individuals.

Many of the participants alluded to the fact that one thing the drama project had taught them was, as John claimed, "*you mustn't judge the book by its cover.*" I interpreted this as their having gained a fundamental understanding of each individual's personhood and humanity, which in turn provided them with a sense that every person is equal. This was frequently expressed by the participants, for example:

What I have learned is that everybody really has the same feelings and they all want peace and they want a stable community to live in and they just want to be generally just happy (Margaret).

I knew that I wasn't better than them, I knew that all people are the same but through this project I actually got to see it and realise it, make it more real But it's not necessarily about race, it's also about if somebody's wearing funny clothes they get ripped off, I just can't do that because what I've learned so much is that everybody is a person, everybody's got feelings and everybody has a right to, sort of, equality (Cathy).

You mustn't think negative of another person, you must rather go to the person and meet that person so that you get to know the person and see how the person is (John).

"Ek het geleer dat ons almal gelyk is as mens en daarom moet ons in ons se sosiale omgewing gerespek word" (Janet) (I learned that we are all the same as people and therefore we must be respected in our social environment).

We are all so similar and equal people, no one is greater than anyone else, although for some reason people seem to think because they are richer or have a better education they are more worthy (Nicola).

Coupled with the realisation of common humanity, it became evident from interviewing the participants that they had also gained a sense that they should trust in their own experiences, not let others sway their views, and that in order to really understand someone or something one needs to have first hand experience. All these aspects, as well as the other gains made by the participants and expressed above, are central in terms of identity development since they contribute towards a stable sense of self in raising an awareness of "their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way to their world" (Marcia, 1980:159) and defining themselves in terms of their commitment to particular values and beliefs (Waterman, 1984).

4.6. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Having attempted to provide a general sense of how the participants in the drama project experienced the project as impacting on their identity, the construct of identity will be examined further in terms of its social and personal components and how these were experienced and expressed by the participants. Various aspects of social identity, such as race, gender, language and class will be discussed. An attempt will be made to understand the drama project experience by reference to the interaction of social and personal identity, and the complexities thereof.

Much of what has been discussed thus far is relevant to understanding identity in the context of the drama project situation. However, this section of the chapter will devote itself specifically to elaborating further on personal and social identity, and thus adopts primarily a social identity theory perspective, since it is this theory that distinguishes these two aspects of identity and conceptualises them as two poles of a continuum (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Skevington & Baker, 1989; Tajfel, 1978). The impact of the drama project on the participants' personal identity has been discussed extensively above, in relation to its effects on their personalities, attitudes to and feelings about themselves and others, development of values, and interpersonal dynamics. However, a number of aspects more specifically related to social identity have yet to be addressed, thus the emphasis in this section is on these aspects and their interaction with personal identity. In this respect it is important to explain my view of how this drama project situation incorporated personal and social identity. Essentially I envisaged this experience as one which provided an interweaving of the interpersonal and the intergroup. It was basically a social identity context (two groups being brought together, with differences of race, language and class), but within that context personal identity was made salient through the relating of personal narratives and the interpersonal interactions of the participants. The members of each group learnt about one another as individuals, as well as members of different social groups. By the end of the process they had formed friendships based on personal identity, while still acknowledging their differences in terms of social identity.

PERSONAL IDENTITY:

Many of the participants discussed the friendships they had formed, and described this as one of the positive aspects of their experience. Cathy wrote in her essay that "*it has made me see people from other cultures as friends,*" and Jo claimed that "*differences shouldn't stop us from becoming friends, it shouldn't put us off people.*" Initially the participants appeared to seek common ground, such as issues related to teenage life, and used this as

a basis for forming friendships. As the drama project progressed these friendships seemed to deepen through the sharing of experiences and the opening up process that occurred in the telling of individual stories (field notes). Janet explained that *"you white and I'm black so why care, we're friends, we're both humans,"* thus arguing that racial identity issues had been overridden by friendship. John seemed surprised that the friendships had transcended the social barrier of gender - *"at the end we were very close although I was the only guy."* Certain of the participants offered an analysis of how and why friendships had formed, in the process alluding to the salience of personal identity that facilitated closeness. Cathy explained that

I think after the initial stages we all actually became a lot more on terms as friends, as person to person instead of group to group Also, when we were touring around going to all the different schools [to perform] we were like a group of people, we were not the CFH and the SSH pupils.

This is, in effect, a statement of what contact hypothesis theory argues will occur, namely that interpersonal liking will result in positive attitudes (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Cathy also commented that *"finding their personal identity over their social identity was the most amazing thing because you got to know them as people."* This would support the notion that it was personal identity that prevailed in the long-run in terms of how the group members interacted and what impressions they were left with regarding one another.

The participants acknowledged however that their social identities would make ongoing friendships difficult. At the end of the drama project, Jo wrote that *"I feel very sad because I have made such wonderful friends who I probably won't see as often again,"* and Emma expressed concern that they would not have enough in common to talk about once the project was over. This implies that for Emma, social identity issues (such as class differences) overrode personal identity in the long-term. During the second interview, which occurred three months after the drama project ended, I asked the participants whether they had kept in contact with the pupils from the other school subsequent to the project. Five of them had had telephonic contact with each other, and they were planning a get-together in the near future. Others spoke of the difficult logistics of keeping in touch and claimed that they were too busy. The ongoing contact that did occur appeared to me to have a personal flavour to it i.e. those who had made particular connections with one another had stayed in contact, while the others had not. Also, some individuals showed a willingness to overcome logistical difficulties such as transport, while others were less enthusiastic.

SOCIAL IDENTITY - GENDER, RACE AND CLASS:

There were a number of aspects relevant to social identity that emerged in the course of this research. Central among these were race, class, gender and language, each of which will be addressed. Race, class and language emerged as differences between the group while gender was particularly important for one person mainly - Bonita - and its emergence from the data was almost a 'surprise' for me since I did not expect that it would be an issue. Since it was an issue of unique significance in terms of the participants as a whole it will be discussed first. Despite its uniqueness however it offered some valuable insights into the dynamics of social identity and its links with personal identity.

Bonita was scarred on her cheek in an assault by her stepfather, an experience which appears to have radically affected her personal and social identity. The former has been affected in terms of her feelings about her appearance (*"it's like I'm not even beautiful now and I wasn't even beautiful before but it's like the scar has taken my whole beauty away"*), as well as in relation to her friendships. As a result of the scar she associated mainly with males (having already been a 'tomboy' before), feeling that she was no longer feminine enough to be with females. Herein lay the link to her social identity because it was her gender identity that was most affected by her scarring. This was not apparent to me until the second interview, since Bonita had not discussed gender during the course of the project. When I asked her whether the way she saw herself was different after the drama project than before she responded that

die way that ek myself nou sien is ek het baie gechange. Ek het begin so 'n lady begin te word, ek kan nou reg communicate met vroumense ... wat ook gechange het my way that ek altyd verbeel dat ek 'n mansmens is en dat dit nie eintlik die waarheid is nie Somehow is dit so hard vir my om te kan weet dat ek is nou iemand ... ek is nou soos enige vroumens, en somehow voel ek nou al proud van myself want ek dink dis al die best om 'n vroumens te wees.

(The way that I see myself now has changed a lot. I have begun to be a lady, I can now really communicate with women ... what has also changed is my way that I always imagined I was a man and that is not really the truth Somehow it is so hard for me to know that I am somebody ... I am now like any woman, and I now feel proud of myself because I think it is the best to be a woman.)

Bonita explained in her interview how the scarring occurred at a critical time for her as an adolescent female - *"Ek was op die stage om 'n lady te wees, nou moet ek 'n lady wees met die scar gaan mense niks dink van my nie"* (*I was at that stage of becoming a lady, now that I must be a lady with the scar people will think nothing of me*). She described that it had been a wonderful experience for her to be able to feel comfortable with herself in female company, despite her scar, having previously felt that she could not fit in with women. She explained how, ironically, *"ek het meer vroulik gevoel as om tussen hulle te sit as om met my gewone*

vriende te sit" (I felt more feminine sitting with them than with my ordinary friends). She also described how her behaviour had changed as a result. Before the drama project "ek was baie vulgar, baie nasty, baie lief vir bakle" (I was very vulgar, very nasty, very fond of fighting) but this was no longer the case after having undergone the experience -

my language het gechange, my style het gechange, ek het 'n different sense of humour as wat ek gehad het voordat ek in kontak gewees het ... I am a lady now. (my language has changed, my style has changed, I have a different sense of humour to what I had before I was in contact ... I am a lady now.)

Her discourse here is interesting since 'lady' has an upper class element to it, suggesting that Bonita's self-image has been enhanced to the point where she sees herself as equivalent to those whom she might otherwise have thought would have rejected her, both as a female and as a working class person.

It was thus contact with females (as opposed to with people from another race, class or language group) that initiated the changes for Bonita. This was a consequence of her own personal experiences and feelings about herself as a woman prior to the project. Her experience seems to support the contention that "gender is often one of the core aspects of identity" (Abrams, 1989:59), since it was her gender identity that was most affected by her involvement in the drama project. Gender, like other forms of social identity, is developed through a process of social comparison (Abrams, 1989) and Bonita, through comparing herself to a group which was essentially very different to her in many ways, appears to have been able to construct her gender identity in a new and more positive light. It is through a process of developing relationships that she has developed her identity (Josselson, 1987; Stern, 1990; Streitmatter, 1993). Her story offers support for Josselson et al's (in Marcia, 1980) and Archer's (1989) contention that female development in adolescence is a complex and complicated task. However, Bonita did not only reassess her gender identity through the drama project, but it appears that the entire construction of her identity, self-image and image of her personal future changed as a result. This is expressed in the following comment.

Jy dink mens bly in die Cape Flats (CF) en jy moet lewe soos CF, maar dan is dit nie so nie, jy hoef nie soos CF te wees as jy wil nie CF wees nie. Jy kan enige een wees as jy nie CF wil wees nie en daai het vir my kom change want ek nie meer kan sê ek is, soos ek het altyd gewees is van tevore nie. Ek is nou net someone else.

(You think a person lives in CF and you must live like CF, but that is not so, you don't have to be like CF if you don't want to be like CF. You can be anyone if you don't want to be CF, and that has changed for me because I can't say I am like I always was before. I am now just someone else.)

Bonita's experience provides a good example of how the dynamics of personal identity affected her experience of social identity. Bonita constructed the intergroup contact situation in a particular way because of her experiences prior to such contact. One could

not have predicted the impact that the experience would have on both her social and personal identity without an intimate understanding of what she was like as a person. Hence the complexity of the situation, and the multiplicity of variables involved becomes apparent.

The other person for whom gender was relevant was John, the only male member of the drama project. In terms of examining the link between personal and social identity in this intergroup situation, John made an interesting comment. When asked whether he felt shy to speak as the only male in the group he replied "*no, I didn't feel shy because I was the only boy. But I did feel shy because I'm a shy person.*" For me as a researcher this interchange highlighted the importance of not making assumptions based on one's perceptions of a situation. This is not a new realisation, but certainly is one that is worth being reminded of in the process of conducting and interpreting research. It highlights Gergen's (1985:4) contention that our experience of the world "does not in itself dictate the terms by which the world is understood." John's response also signified the interconnectedness of personal and social processes apparent in the situation and reminded me yet again of its complexity. This complexity was further highlighted in another response by John. I asked him whether he was surprised to be able to get along with the SSH pupils as well as he did. His reply was "*yes, it surprised me, you see I was the only guy there.*" One of John's comments thus denied the salience of gender while the other affirmed it. It appeared to me that this indicated an ambivalence within John as to how salient his gender was for him during this experience, and that he may have constructed it as significant and insignificant at different times and in responding to different questions. He also explained that he did not feel that he was part of the drama project as a 'boy' but rather as himself, thus foregrounding personal identity where gender was concerned, and echoing his earlier comment about his shyness.

Another issue of relevance to social identity was race. As discussed above, the participants tended to skirt around racial issues, although this tendency did dwindle somewhat towards the latter part of the drama project process. Race was generally discussed either in personal terms (i.e. in relation to how it had affected particular individuals' lives and families), in terms of prior contact with other racial groups, in terms of prejudice, or in relation to the impact of the drama project. In the interviews most of the participants actually spoke very little of race, with the exception of Cathy, Jo, Janet and Miriam. Jo, Janet and Miriam discussed race mainly in terms of their personal experiences at home, with family or at school, while Cathy discussed extensively the role that the drama project had in facilitating her reevaluation of racial differences.

The drama project did seem to impact on the participants' understanding of race and racial differences. John for example, claimed that through the experience "*I saw that to trust a black person it's the same as like you can trust a white person ... you mustn't look at the colour of a person you see.*" Cathy explained that the effect of the drama project was that

it has changed my opinion to the coloured and black community so much, instead of seeing them as underprivileged or as different I see them as people who are very dear to me and are my friends.

It appears that what Cathy has done is to reduce social identity to a situation where personal identity holds precedence. However, she is talking about the specific individuals with whom she worked and one cannot know whether this will generalise to people of other racial groups in other contexts. The drama project also impacted on some of the views that participants held of their own racial group, causing them to reassess previous ideas about their social identity. This was true for Cathy, who expressed that her experience now made it impossible for her to be racist or prejudiced towards others in any respect (a comment which was echoed by Emma), and who claimed that the drama project

made me ashamed of how superior a lot of white people think they are in the way that if people of other colours come to our school they don't greet them or talk to them but merely see them as people who are underprivileged and who our school is helping along.

The participants did not discuss class very extensively, although some made reference to it indirectly. It seemed that the mention of class differences was avoided even more so than racial differences, an observation which I made from observing the drama project process, as well as based on the interviews and essays. One could hypothesise that this was because the SSH pupils felt embarrassed of their privileged status and did not want to draw attention to this. This hypothesis cannot be supported or refuted by the data however, since this issue was not explored in the project sessions or in the data-gathering. Interestingly, where class did become apparent was that four of the SSH pupils commented that the drama project had made them far more aware of how fortunate they were to have opportunities and facilities that were denied to others, and this made them more determined to make the most of such opportunities. Thus it seemed that the process of social comparison made these pupils more aware of their class status.

Class differences between the SSH and the CFH pupils were very rarely mentioned by the CFH pupils. In fact, only Janet alluded to these differences ("*they are more privileged than we are*"). When such differences were discussed by the SSH pupils, these were often couched in euphemistic terms, for example related to different geographical living areas, different socialising areas, better school facilities at SSH, and differences in fashions. This was possibly because class was operationalised in these terms by the pupils. Class was

also alluded to by those who discussed their views of the comfortable, isolated and insular nature of certain of the SSH pupils' lifestyles. In certain instances it was apparent that the pupils were grappling with the relationship between race and class in South Africa, and were unsure which was 'appropriate' to mention. Cathy for example, explained that

because of the way it has been you find the white people, or, not necessarily the white people but the people with the money, they sort of mix in the sort of more wealthy area where people who don't have that much money wouldn't be able to mix because they wouldn't be able to go there, like they wouldn't really go shopping at Cavendish, they go shopping near their, near shops.

One last aspect of social identity that warrants discussion is language, particularly since language is seen as central by social constructionist theorists (Berger & Luckmann, 1986; Gergen, 1985). Language was a barrier to communication in the drama project process but efforts were made to make it as minimal a hindrance as possible. Bonita and Dawn had difficulty with English and the communication within the sessions was regularly translated into Afrikaans by one of the project facilitators, allowing for a bilingual process. Emma could not speak or understand Afrikaans and any Afrikaans conversation was translated for her. Participants spoke in the language of their choice, with the exception of John, who used his second language since only one member of the group spoke Xhosa. This bilingualism was important since linguistic distinctiveness is one means of achieving positive group identity (Tajfel, 1982) and by the same token denying someone the use of their language may be tantamount to denying their identity. Furthermore, language is a means by which "access to networks is regulated: If you do not speak the right language, you do not have access to forming relationships with certain people, or to participating in certain activities" (Heller, 1987:181).

The differences in language were not raised much in the interviews which seemed to indicate that this was not an aspect of social identity which was as prevalent as race, class or gender during the process. Where they were raised it was to concede that they served to hinder or slow down the communication process at times. Bonita acknowledged that she found the "higher English" difficult to understand at times but bravely claimed that "*it doesn't matter if my English is broken as long as I am communicating.*" Jo found that language allowed her to adopt the identity of both groups at times. She was the only member of the SSH group that could understand the CFH slang and the colloquial nuances of their Afrikaans, which allowed her to communicate effectively with both groups. The fact that she possessed this social identity characteristic of both groups facilitated her making personal identity connections through communication, and she was the first of the SSH group to integrate into the CFH group initially, although another social identity feature - her race -

probably facilitated this as well. Where language was concerned the social/personal identity distinction again became blurred, as was indicated by Miriam who explained that

the language was also a problem because some children didn't understand but then there were some who were shy as well because they weren't very outspoken the way some of us are.

Miriam's comment alerts the researcher again not to assume that a particular behaviour is a result of either social or personal identity in a particular situation, without investigating this assumption further.

LINKING PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY:

In interviewing the participants after the drama project I explained the basics of social identity theory to them through the use of a diagram (see Appendix i(c)), and asked them whether they could apply the theory to their experience in the drama project. The rationale behind this was to explore whether the theory made sense to a layperson who had undergone an experience to which the theory seemed relevant, as well as to gather the participants' input on personal and social identity. Despite the complexity of the theory, most of the participants appeared to have some understanding of it once it was explained. This might suggest that it did have some relevance to their experience. This certainly seemed the case in some of the responses that followed the explanation. All of the participants seemed able to distinguish instances relating to personal and social identity and to understand the difference between the two.

Nicola's descriptions of social and personal identity within the drama project were interpreted as having to do with how one was positioned in the discourse. Davies and Harré (1990) explain the concept of positioning as the process whereby, through discourse, individuals are located in particular positions as participants in conversation. Cultural and social stereotypes are accessed in this process, and individuals can either position themselves or be positioned by others. For example, when the situation under discussion had to do with issues which made social identity differences salient, such as one instance where the treatment of domestic workers was debated, Nicola felt as if the CFH group were seeing her as a privileged white person, and thus that she had to respond as such. What Nicola found confusing however was that in that particular situation she agreed with Miriam, who was from CFH, but felt that she should be agreeing with Margaret, who was from her own school. She thus did not speak up in the discussion because she was not sure how she would be viewed by her own and the other group. Personal and social identity appeared to intersect in that particular instance, causing feelings of confusion and uncertainty in Nicola. Nicola explained this positioning process as follows.

Sometimes I'd sit there and when they'd talk about our community suddenly I felt as if I was a white person living in an insulated community going to a privileged school, and the next thing when they spoke about views and your opinions towards situations then I'd think this is me, and this is what I think, and this is because I enjoy whatever, or I have very strong feelings about something, so they did, both of them came in [social and personal identity].

Six of the participants pointed out that the drama project began as an experience that was primarily about social identity but then as it progressed it became more about personal identity. However, in explaining this shift it became clear that the distinction was not that simple. This is evident in Emma's explanation.

When we first arrived at CFH it was almost like a white and a coloured/black situation ... I didn't know who they were, they didn't know who I was so ... the only thing that you could say that was definite was that I was white and they were a different colour, so I think that was social identity then And then once the project went on for a bit then it was personal because ... and also the stages between the performances, just before the performances, was also personal and social because all the things we were talking about, all the questions and all that, we were also talking about being a different community so it was more social then, but some of the questions were also personal because we had to tell personal stories, and at the end of the project it was personal definitely because it was saying goodbye and you were Emma or Miriam and whoever.

Eight of the participants described how the experience was about both personal and social identity together, and at different times may have been more about the one than the other. Emma claimed that *'the whole project was based on two different communities, so like it was social, but then you explored your personal feelings and stories.'* Nicola explained that social identity theory made sense to her since

I think when other people discuss you, you identify yourself with a group, not you as a person, when they're discussing you personally then you feel personal ... discussing about your own personal stories and stuff then you feel personal. When you talking about the way you as a group live and the way you see them as a group then you start differentiating the group and then a stronger social identity comes out.

This comment relates to the positioning process discussed above. Statements such as Nicola's indicate that what was occurring in the drama project situation was not about *either* personal identity *or* social identity but seemed to be about both simultaneously and intermittently, as if the situation swung from one end of the continuum to the other constantly. Hogg & Abrams (1988) acknowledge this simultaneity of personal and social identity in discussing gender relations. However, social identity theory does not always adequately cater for such instances, since it hypothesises that either social or personal identity is salient in a particular situation (Abrams, 1989; Tajfel, 1978), without always implying that such situations may be micro-instances and change rapidly and constantly. Perhaps it would be helpful to construe such processes as circular and three-dimensional,

rather than linear and two-dimensional, as has been done by Plas (1986) in understanding schooling. Such a view allows for processes to occur simultaneously, thus allowing for examining complexity in micro situations such as this drama project.

The complexity that seemed to occur in this situation also alludes to the arguments made by researchers such as Williams (1984) who encourages the examining of social identities *in relationship* with other groups, not only against other groups. This drama project provides an example of such a situation, since it was through the relationships that developed that identity processes became salient and identity was transformed in certain ways. In examining social identity in this respect processes of affiliation become as important as processes of differentiation and social comparison (Williams, 1984) and it would seem that this research provides support for broadening the theory in this way, since both comparison and affiliation were important processes for the participants (as is evident from the discussion of difference and similarity above). Incorporating the notion of connectedness into the theory of identity also relates to the literature on the identity development of women (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al. 1988; Gilligan et al, 1990).

The one person who for me as a researcher most aptly embodied the interconnectedness of social and personal identity and the complexity of the relationship between them was Jo. Jo was born and grew up in a lower middle class area bordering on the Cape Flats. Her parents, who are coloured, had been raised in the Southern Suburbs and were forced by the Group Areas Act to move before Jo was born. In 1993, with the dismantling of apartheid, they were able to relocate back to the area of the Southern Suburbs where they had grown up. Jo explained her feelings about this move in her biography.

Although I had already been coming to the Southern Suburbs to school for two years, I didn't want to live here. As the government uprooted them, they were uprooting me. All my friends lived in R. - since I was a child R. was my playground and home. It was the place where I felt most comfortable because it was where I came from, it held all my influences I have friends who live here now. But there's no sense of a neighbourhood and that is what I would like to get back to one day.

Jo had identified strongly with the place of her upbringing and changing schools - from a coloured primary school in her area to a private high school in the Southern Suburbs was a big adjustment for her. She described that

suddenly changing to a private school with all the facilities you could ever think of and who's majority of students come from families of the highest income brackets in Cape Town was a real shock to the system. Quickly I had to adapt to standards and people that were foreign, totally new to me. Often, when I had started at SSH already but still lived in R., I used to wish every night that I was back in primary school where I was familiar with everything and everyone and most of all where I was accepted.

Jo adjusted to life at SSH and adapted to her new environment. It appears that she had managed to bury her early anxieties and sense of loss, but that the drama project brought these feelings to the fore again, fortuitously at a time where her identity was in a crucial period in its development (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Myburgh & Anders, 1989; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). This is something she recognised in her biography which she concludes by saying that "*I don't know if I should count myself lucky for having had the best of both worlds or if this whole process has just further confused my already troubled teenage mind!*" The experience forced her to confront her identity since she was placed in a unique position. As a coloured person and one who was relatively less well-off than her schoolmates she could identify with the CFH group, yet as a SSH pupil and a friend of her SSH schoolmates she could identify with the SSH group as well. She explained the situation as follows.

I find I am between these two communities. I'm not really as poor as some of the people from CFH but I am also not as rich as some of the people here at SSH. So I'm inbetween and it's sort of difficult.

In this quote Jo has constructed the situation as primarily a class-related one, but she spoke also of racial issues. For example she claimed that one of the aspects she enjoyed most about the drama project was "*being with the people from CFH because it's been a long time since I've been with, OK, with other coloureds ... it's like part of my childhood coming back.*"

It was interesting to observe the reactions of Jo's fellow pupils to her position in this situation. I did not hear any of the SSH pupils make mention at any time of the fact that Jo was coloured and thus that the drama project might impact upon her differently. They spoke in the initial stages of the drama project together with Jo in an 'us and them' manner, in which Jo was clearly included among the 'us'. It thus appeared to me that Jo's class aspect of social identity was of primary importance to her schoolmates, since this seemed to give them common ground. Possibly Jo's personal identity also militated against her being seen as one of 'them' i.e. since she was known personally to the SSH group she was a part of it. The CFH group also did not accept Jo initially as sharing their social identity - Janet assumed she was a "*tanned white person.*" Thus the notion that someone who shared some of the social identity characteristics of the CFH group could be part of the SSH group was initially foreign to both groups.

The situation that Jo was in provided a particular web of personal identity and social identity connections which she needed to negotiate during the course of the drama project, and through which it appears that she learned a great deal about herself and her identity. This

was clear in her descriptions of finding her roots through her contact with the CFH pupils, while at the same time learning to appreciate what she has gained through being in the SSH environment. She also claimed to have learned about herself, having thought that she already knew herself and discovering something new. Her conclusion was that despite being a challenging experience, "*it was experiencing it maybe a whole lot more,*" having in effect, 'the best of both worlds'. Thus, through developing her relationship both with her own and with other groups, as well as with herself, Jo appears to exemplify Kroger's (1989) notion of identity as a complex balance between self and other, since it is somewhere in the relationship between the two that her identity has been forged. By the same token it is in the interaction between personal and social identity that Jo has come to a new understanding of herself.

4.7. UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEXITY

Goodenow & Espin (1993:173) claim that

although it is clear that 'becoming oneself' is a complex issue for all adolescents, it is obviously more problematic for some groups than for others. For ethnic and racial minorities, for outsiders of all sorts, and in some ways for girls and women, the process of identity formation may be especially complicated and difficult.

This was a phenomenon that became ever apparent to me during the course of this research. One of the comments made at the outset of this chapter was the fact that through observing the drama project and analysing the data I realised that the process and impact of this experience was a highly complex one, and hence that clear-cut explanations of, or hypotheses about the situation were inappropriate. This led me to embark on a process of attempting to understand this complexity, in a sense through constructing the situation in a way which made both conceptual and theoretical sense, and could be firmly located in the light of the literature in this area. Throughout the analysis and interpretation of the data the emphasis has been on the complexity of the processes involved in identity development, particularly in this context. In concluding this chapter an attempt will be made to address this complexity and draw it together in the context of the data and the research situation, and within a theoretical and conceptual framework.

What was noticeable was the fact that the complexities of the situation came through in the words of the participants as well as in my own observations, indicating that their constructions of their experience seemed to approximate some understanding of this complexity. As adolescents, their ability to access formal operations in their thinking (Clarke-Stewart & Friedman, 1987; Keating, 1980) contributed to a growing sense of the complexity involved in experiences in general, and this was possibly brought to the fore through being

in a situation where they were compelled to reflect on their experience. The drama project intersected with a period in the lives of the participants when they were most ready to begin constructing a more complex understanding of their experiences. Emma, for example, described how *"working together with them it was more of a community than I've ever really experienced a community to be,"* indicating an expansion of her notion of what a community is to include the fact that it need not be purely socially or geographically defined. Further evidence of how existing notions were challenged to incorporate a more complex understanding was apparent in Cathy's comment that *"we can learn as much from people in Guguletu as they can from someone living in Bishopscourt."*

The way in which the participants grappled with complexity was also evident in their attempt to come to grips with an understanding of similarity and difference. This was perhaps best expressed by Miriam's comment that *"we are different but then again we are the same at the same time."* Underpinning this there appeared to be a fundamental questioning of what difference really means, and whether perhaps it is not as straightforward a concept as it might have seemed. The growing awareness of the complex nature of experience was also evident in the growth and change that occurred from the first interview to the second, which occurred approximately five months later. Although most of the participants were enthusiastic about the process when initially interviewed, some were lukewarm as to what they had learned or gained in terms of their own development. However, by the second interview all felt that they had undergone an experience which had altered their mindset, opinions, or views of themselves and/or their communities. Also, by the second interview the participants were problematising issues in a more complex fashion, and examining them more deeply than had been apparent in the first interview.

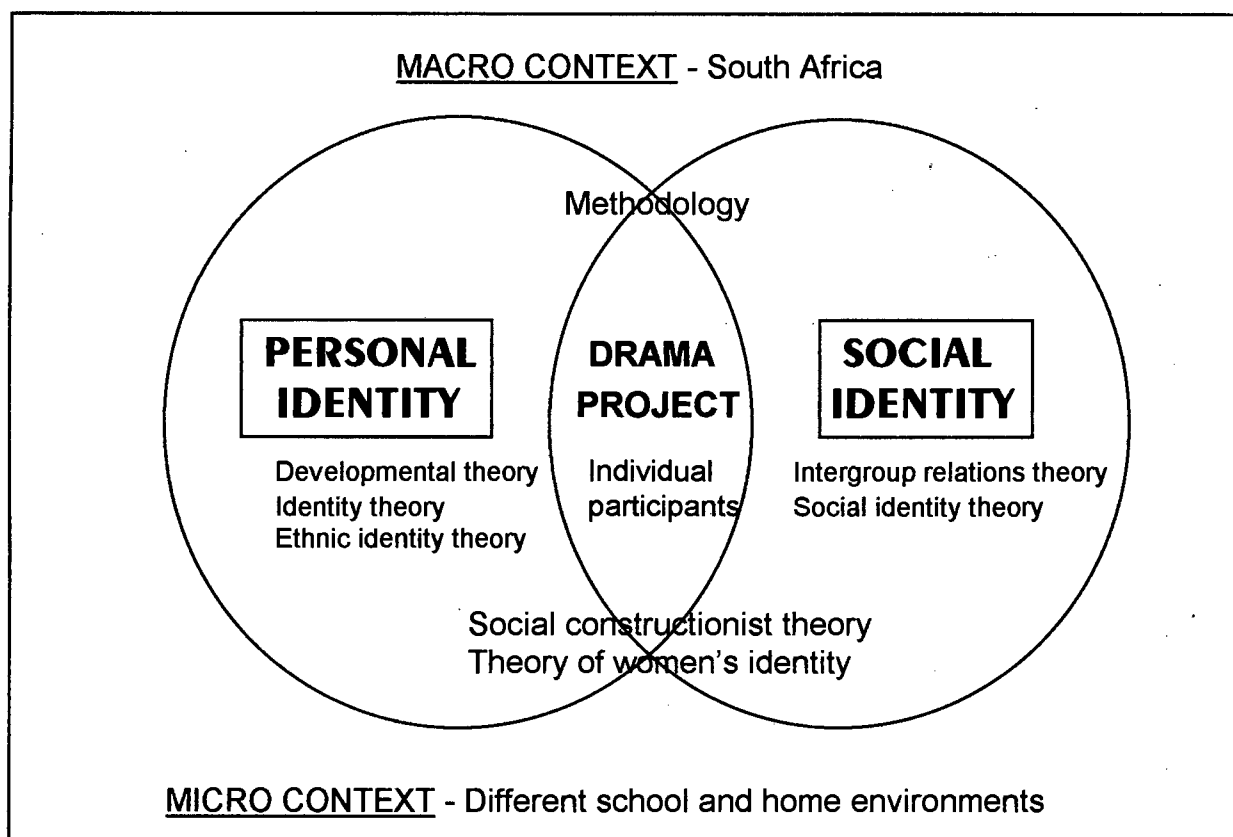
Complexity was also apparent within the areas of social and personal identity. There was no simple connection for example, between issues of race, class and gender, an aspect commented on by Abrams (1989). This is probably a reflection of the complex nature of these issues in South African life as a whole and it alerts researchers to the fact that no straightforward conclusions are likely to be forthcoming where such complexities are in evidence. The situation of Jo provided a good example of such interconnections, being a coloured pupil at SSH. What this research highlighted in this respect was *"how multiple group memberships evolve and coexist at the same time, and more importantly are given meaning by individuals as they live in society"* (Skevington & Baker, 1989b:196). It appeared from the data as well as from the literature (Soudien, 1996) that such complexity cannot be adequately understood without attention to a host of factors involved in the delicate interplay between the personal and the social that constitutes identity

development. These factors include social or group-based aspects such as intergroup experiences, ethnicity, gender, class, and language, as well as individual aspects, such as personality, family dynamics, particular past experiences, cognitive levels and developmental stage. Janet expressed the influence of prior experience in her realisation that

Some of the things that you do in the project made me realise how frightened we still are of each other, and it's not supposed to be like that, but we can't change it, these things that happened in the past, and I have learned that you can't leave your past behind, you can try to be a better person but your past will always be there and you must always look back to your past because that is the things that you left behind that are willing to push you forward.

In the drama project situation, personal and social factors interrelated within a context where both social identity and personal identity were made salient at different instances, and sometimes seemingly in the same instance. The data supported the fact that "individuals can simultaneously display both the personal and group aspects of their identity" (Skevington & Baker, 1989b:199), and that these interacted dynamically. Boud and Walker (1990: 78) argue that "learning from and through experience ... is an extraordinarily complex business. Unfortunately there is relatively little to draw upon to help conceptualise basic ideas and processes." I too found this lack of conceptual tools to be apparent, thus as a researcher I sought a way in which to understand this complexity more clearly. In order to facilitate my understanding I returned to the conceptual framework developed in the context of the literature (see Figure 2.1). I adjusted this framework to make evident how this particular context - the drama project - provided a dynamic intersection of issues of personal and social identity. This is depicted in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: CONCEPTUAL MAP OF THE DRAMA PROJECT DEPICTING THE LINK BETWEEN PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY



This diagram illustrates how the drama project constituted an overlap between personal and social identity, and how this overlap made the impact of the experience more complex for the individual participants involved, each of whom constructed the experience in a particular way, and related it to both personal and social identity. It incorporates social identity theory, in utilising the social/personal identity divide, but moves beyond this theory in envisaging the relationship between these two areas of identity as a circular rather than a linear one. In this way the movement between personal and social identity need not be a rigidly defined one, but rather these two aspects may exist simultaneously. From a systemic perspective this means that experiences may be punctuated at any point and given meaning of a personal or a social nature depending on how the situation is constructed (Dowling, 1985). Dowling (1985:9) explains how "no punctuation is right or wrong - it just reflects a view of reality," a comment which offers a social constructionist understanding of reality. Plas (1986) explains how Western thinking tends to rely on a linear concept in understanding the universe. In contrast to this, she promotes the notion of recursion, namely the understanding of phenomena as the product of multidirectional feedback. Recursion is nonlinear, and involves mutual influence and feedback loops. Although a

nonlinear concept need not be circular³, this seems to be one of the clearest means of depicting such processes diagrammatically since it gives the impression of mutual influences, multideterminism and dynamism.

The reconceptualisation of the relationship between social and personal identity as a nonlinear one enabled a depiction of the complexity made evident by the data. A precedent had been set for this in certain of the social identity literature, such as Skevington and Baker (1989b). Along with this reconceptualisation, the complexity of the data was accessed through the use of a qualitative and in-depth methodology. It was also more clearly understood through the adoption of a social constructionist approach (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1985), as well as by reference to certain of the literature on female identity, particularly the qualitative work of researchers such as Gilligan and colleagues (1988; 1990) and Josselson (1987). However, as was illustrated in Figure 2.1, a thorough understanding of the data would not have been possible without accessing the other literature in the relevant areas of developmental and social psychology. Broadly speaking, the literature in these areas tended to be more appropriate for elucidating *either* issues of personal identity (such as the developmental theory on adolescence and theories of identity such as Erikson and Marcia's) *or* issues relating to social identity (such as intergroup contact theory and social identity theory). The theories of ethnic identity, despite concerning themselves with a signifier of social identity, tended to be individually-based (as opposed to addressing themselves to relationships between people or groups), therefore are generally more relevant in understanding personal rather than social identity.

The data indicated that within an intergroup context the participants explored themselves and their own development in terms of their personal and social identity. Through the relating of individual narratives - a highly personal experience - in a context where different groups were represented, social and personal issues became interwoven, and a rich tapestry of relationships and connections evolved. These connections involved links to the self as well as to others, and accentuated the balance between self and other (Kroger, 1989). Where these relationships were personally based and where they were socially based became almost indistinguishable, since in each individual's construction of their particular understanding of the experience, both elements were foregrounded at different times and with regard to different aspects of the experience. Utilising a social constructionist framework (Gergen, 1985) this complexity can be encompassed, while at the same time an attempt can be made to elucidate it. Through the elaboration and

³ Plas (1986:59-62) points out that from a philosophical viewpoint, circularity is not necessarily the most appropriate means of understanding nonlinear processes, and offers a debate in this respect.

analysis of micro-interactions a clearer picture can be obtained of how the world is constructed, and in this case of how a particular experience of intergroup contact was understood.

Such interactions and meaning-making processes must of necessity be understood within a particular context, as is emphasised by Markstrom-Adams and Spencer (1994). In this case the context was the South African one. At this point in our history change is the order of the day and the youth are an integral part of such change since the next generation will be a product of the 'new South Africa'. Their identities will inevitably be bound up with the dramatic events that have occurred in the country in recent years, ensuring that their identities will in some sense be products of "historically situated interchanges" (Gergen, 1985:5) and of their socio-historical background (Erikson, 1968; Markstrom-Adams & Spencer, 1994). It was thus imperative that their understanding of the intergroup contact experience be seen against this background, both in a macro sense in terms of the wider South African situation, and in a micro sense in terms of the differences between the school and home environments of the drama project participants, as has been illustrated in Figure 4.1.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

"Say not, 'I have found the truth,' but rather 'I have found a truth.' (Kahlil Gibran, The Prophet, 1926:75).

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This research study set out to investigate how ten adolescents experienced a particular process of intergroup contact, with a focus on how this experience impacted on their identity development. The research was located within a qualitative methodology, and various methods of data-gathering were adopted in line with this methodology, namely participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, essay-writing, biographies and video material. The aim was to examine in depth how the research participants constructed and understood their experience in terms of identity development, rather than to generate generalisable findings.

This research focus was considered important in light of the fact that adolescence is a central period for the development of identity, and in South Africa identity is a crucial issue, particularly during this time of change. Both the mental health and education systems in this country face enormous challenges in facilitating adolescent identity development. One aspect of the changes that are occurring is increasing contact between different groups in this country. The education system particularly offers opportunities for this through the desegregation of schooling. This precipitates the need to confront a legacy of intergroup division, suspicion and hostility in a manner which promotes positive intergroup relations and optimises personal development. Thus it was relevant to examine the experience of intergroup contact in terms of identity formation. It was also hoped that an in-depth understanding of a particular intervention would shed light on the areas of theoretical relevance in relation to this topic, particularly since identity is currently a focus in the psychological literature worldwide (Archer, 1994).

In drawing this research to a close the contributions made by the research study will be highlighted. The research contributes in the following areas:

- The methodology;
- the literature or body of knowledge;
- the integration of theory; and
- the relevance of the research for South Africa.

The contributions offered are not merely in terms of the above areas discretely. An attempt was made to take on the challenge of researching a complex issue by engaging with the

complexity provided by a variety of theoretical perspectives and by utilising a diversity of methods. Viewed holistically, the research study makes a contribution to understanding and dealing with complexity since the very nature of the study was non-reductionistic. In this sense, the process undertaken in conducting and interpreting the research mirrors its content.

5.2. CONTRIBUTIONS

In terms of **methodological contributions** this study highlighted a number of issues. It reinforced the importance of triangulation of data-gathering methods, in that the multiplicity of data sources enriched the findings and contributed to a more holistic understanding of the experience. This allowed for an in depth analysis, which in turn facilitated the understanding of complex issues. In this respect it became apparent to me that different data procedures elicited a different nature of data. For example, the interview data was far more evocative and rich than the questionnaire data. This could highlight that when endeavouring to attain a truly human perspective, as well as a richness of data, interviews are invaluable methods of data-gathering. Furthermore, the process of conducting two interviews allowed me to build up a relationship with the participants which facilitated openness and trust, which was revealed in the interview process. This relationship was further facilitated by the fact that I was a participant observer throughout the drama project process, hence was not viewed as an outsider. One of reasons for adopting a qualitative methodology was to allow the voices of the adolescents to speak, and the use of interviews was especially valuable in this respect. This emphasis is not one which has often been apparent in South African identity research (Soudien, 1996), hence the importance of hearing the voices of our youth through research such as this.

In terms of contributions made by this study to the **body of knowledge/literature** in this area, the following is highlighted. Although a study on as small a scale as this cannot claim to have made 'discoveries' in terms of the literature, it can claim to have highlighted areas which would be worthy of further investigation. In this study these areas relate to the patterns and trends noticed through the course of data analysis. Amongst these is the observation that each participant experienced and constructed the situation in a different way, depending on her or his prior experiences, personality and a variety of other factors. This relates to the understanding of how experience impacts upon people, as is explored by Boud and Walker (1990). Another trend worthy of further exploration was the way in which notions of difference and similarity were constructed by the participants in the light of their intergroup experience. The observation that differences tended to be constructed in terms of social identity and similarity in terms of personal identity was not one that appears

to have been extensively explored in the literature. This brings one to a consideration of the relationship between personal and social identity, and in particular the approach provided by social identity theory in understanding these elements of identity. The study offers an argument for extending social identity theory, as has been done in some of the literature (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Skevington & Baker, 1989b), in a manner which encompasses situations where social and personal identity seem to be simultaneously salient. In relation to this, the application of theories of female identity proved useful in illuminating the issues explored in this research. This seems to indicate that gender is an area where issues of identity become especially complex, and thus provides situations worthy of further research. In this respect the incorporation of concepts of attachment and relationship into identity research seemed from this research to be worthy of further investigation.

Having approached the drama project fairly cynically in terms of its potential to effect attitude change, I was surprised at the extent to which it did appear to alter perceptions about other groups. Although no conclusions can be drawn in this respect since it was not the focus of the research, this suggested to me that intergroup contact theories can play a role in illuminating intergroup situations and in offering suggestions for enhancing the potential of such situations for reducing prejudice. Such theories should be approached inclusively however, taking into account the various approaches to the situation rather than just focusing on one theory.

A further contribution to the body of knowledge is the **integration** offered in this study. As noted at the outset, the primary problem faced from a literature perspective was the lack of literature in the particular area of this study, namely literature which combined issues of adolescent identity development and intergroup experience, and did so qualitatively. This was a particular problem when reviewing South African research, despite the pertinence of these issues to South Africa. This research study thus took up the challenge of reviewing the literature in all the relevant areas, and then integrating it in a manner which made conceptual sense in the light of the particular topic. An attempt was made to integrate literature from very different bodies of knowledge - developmental psychology theory and social psychology theory - in a way which overcame the problem of their different philosophical, conceptual and theoretical histories. Such integration is fundamentally important in psychology, since it provides a means of uniting the discipline, and in so doing shedding light on real-life situations. Reality cannot be comprehensively understood only through reducing the areas of focus, but rather should be approached in a way that acknowledges the multiplicity of influences impacting on a particular situation. The most appropriate way to do this seems to be to 'go small', namely to focus in on a micro-event

but to do so with a zoom lens that enlarges the influences and interrelationships at play in the situation. These influences and interrelationships can then be accessed through using the conceptual tools available to psychological researchers, namely the many theories and models provided by the literature in a particular area of study. It is not constructive to adopt a path which sets out to prove which of these theories is the 'best'. All have value in providing insight into those areas they were designed to explore and explain, and perhaps in illuminating other areas as well. Rather than isolating particular theories as most effective, we should work at integrating the value-adding aspects of a number of theories, and in so doing provide a framework that is all the more powerful and serves a more comprehensive purpose than one theory does alone. This is what was attempted in this research. Although this attempt was born of necessity, because no one theoretical tool was available to me, the move towards integration of the theories in understanding a micro-situation has proved to be one of the most valuable aspects of conducting this research. I do acknowledge however that there are epistemic difficulties inherent in this process. Since one cannot necessarily reconcile all the theories involved to the extent that they may be fully integrated, one could aim at utilising these in different areas, and possibly at different levels of analysis. This could be explored further in future research.

The research has also indicated the need for theories which acknowledge the complexity apparent in the human condition. Gilligan, Rogers and Brown (1990) explore this complexity through the use of a musical metaphor to conceptualise development as a non-linear process. They utilise the image of the double fugue, which is described as a "polyphonic composition on one or more short subjects or themes, which are harmonised according to the law of counterpoint and introduced from time to time with various contrapuntal devices" (Stainer & Barrett, 1880, in Gilligan et al, 1990:320). This image provides one with the notion of many themes, meanings and voices in the developmental process, occurring simultaneously. As such it is an attempt to avoid oversimplification while at the same time providing a metaphor for conceptualising psychological development. The diagrammatic conceptualisation of the processes apparent in the drama project provided a similar framework (see Figures 2.1 and 4.1). The contribution that this makes is that it takes complexity into account while at the same time providing an analytical basis by which to interpret it in terms of the literature.

Berger and Luckmann (1966: 195) argue that "identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society." Where the framework developed in this research has proved useful has been in conceptualising the interconnection of social and personal issues. This framework was born of necessity since the personal/social

interconnections were one of the most pervasive aspects emerging from the findings, and as such demanded a means by which they could be understood. This means was not provided purely by one or other of the available theories. The complexity of the connections found between social and personal elements in identity reinforces Duveen & Lloyd's (1992:20) claim that "individuals are so inextricably interwoven in the fabric of social relations within which their lives are lived that a representation of the 'individual' divorced from the 'social' is theoretically inadequate." This is perhaps one of the central realisations gained through the process of conducting this research - that rather than trying to separate and reduce personal and social elements we should be seeking ways to draw them together that acknowledge the dynamic interconnectedness of the two. As Gilligan (1988a:156) claims, adolescence is the time period when "the intersection of life history and history becomes most acute." This quotation indicates that there is a complex relationship between societal issues and the issues faced by individual adolescents. It is in coming to grips with this connectedness that qualitative research has been particularly powerful, since it appears unlikely that another research paradigm could have adequately elaborated and encompassed the complexities. Lyons (1988:43) suggests that "we need to move from a psychology of the individual to a psychology of relationships," a move which would be difficult, if not impossible, without embracing a qualitative and naturalistic methodology.

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In relation to complexity, perhaps what has struck me most through researching this process has been the unpredictable nature of the findings (Cziko, 1989). Cathy summed this up in her second interview, where she claimed that "*I think other people's opinions are something that nobody can predict.*" This is possibly the one factor that has reinforced for me the power of qualitative methodology, since by moving away from an attempt at prediction and generalisability one attains a richness of data that is nothing short of illuminating. One can return here to the work of Boud and Walker (1990), who make the argument that each individual's construction of reality will be unique, depending on who s/he is and what s/he has been exposed to in the past. This concerned me initially since in a sense it appeared to militate against my gaining a comprehensive understanding of the data. In actual fact however, the analysis, although reinforcing this point, also made apparent the threads of experience common to each person's construction of the drama project process. Since the aim of the research was not to draw conclusions based on generalisability, the analysis process offered the freedom to explore individual experiences as well as provided a means by which to draw these experiences together and integrate them with the literature.

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Although this research study did not set out to evaluate the drama project as an intervention, participants reported that the experience did prove valuable in a number of ways. It is here where the **relevance of this study for South Africa** is an issue. Hence research of an evaluative nature needs to be conducted into the many intergroup contact projects and situations that are taking place in this country. In this respect the findings of this study seemed to indicate that it is the power of lived experience that leaves a lasting impact in situations such as these. If this is so then further such interventions and further research are essential. This is most clearly expressed in Cathy's comment that

I'm not a prejudiced person so I never actually thought myself better than them so I didn't exactly learn that I wasn't I just, I got to see that I wasn't, it was an idea I knew that I wasn't better than them, I knew that all people are the same but through this project I actually got to see it and realise it, make it more real It's just kind of like you hear violence and you don't really know who it's happening to and then you meet the people and it's sort of like people, not those exact people but that sort of person that you do know now, so it makes it a lot more really for you, it makes it seem worse.

Tajfel (1982) argues that if the underlying structure of social relations in terms of power and status differentials is resilient then piecemeal instances of intergroup contact are not likely to have a substantial impact. Although the social relations in South Africa are entrenched after so many years of legalised separation and discrimination, the fact that our country is in a state of flux and that our social system is being overhauled indicates a potential opening where change might be brought about. In this respect it seems most opportune to attempt such change with young people since they are in the process of forming attitudes and beliefs about others that could be lifelong. Perhaps more opportunities such as that provided by the drama project could go some way towards creating a more positive future for our country.

5.3. CONSTRAINTS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While acknowledging the contributions of the research a word of caution is necessary where its limitations are concerned. These limitations need to be seen in the context of the methodology, namely the small-scale nature of the research aims. The use of only ten subjects allowed for an in-depth study which offered a more comprehensive understanding of a micro-situation, and the findings can provide suggestions of trends or patterns. The findings cannot offer generalisable conclusions, although this was not the intention of the research. Furthermore, nine of the ten subjects were females, which limits the findings to primarily being a commentary on female adolescent identity. Nevertheless this is in some sense a strength because this area has been neglected in the literature (Williams, 1984). Also, the drama project provided a specific South African situation using groups from two specific schools. While one cannot assume that a replication of the study conducted

elsewhere, even within South Africa, would generate identical findings, it is hypothesised that the categories of meaning that emerged from the data would be similar. The careful and systematic attention given to the data analysis process allowed categories to emerge which may well have generalisability beyond this study and could prove useful to future researchers in this area. In terms of suggestions for further research I would encourage similar studies, utilising projects that are underway in different areas and with different groups. Further research could serve a twofold purpose - firstly to see whether similar findings are apparent, and secondly to explore the usefulness of the integrative map provided for understanding and using the literature in this area.

One further area of caution involves that aspect of qualitative research which can be problematic, namely the influence of the researcher's bias on the process. In this respect my own demographic characteristics as a white middle class highly educated female could have come into play. Also, the fact that I had done prior research in a related area may have coloured my views and thoughts in a way which influenced the research process and my interpretation of the findings. However, the fact that data was gathered in a number of different ways provided a check on such influences. Furthermore, the openness of the participants seemed to suggest that they were not negatively influenced by any aspects of the research situation. How one views the limitations of this research depends largely on one's attitude towards qualitative methodology, since these limitations are in a sense a product of the constraints of such an approach. However, such limitations need to be seen in the light of the claims made by this approach, which does not aim at generalisability or objectivity but rather at an in-depth picture of reality. Quantitative methods cannot provide us as effectively with such rich detailed understandings thus it is in promoting both qualitative and quantitative research that one can hope to attain a better approximation of reality, in this case a more comprehensive understanding of adolescent identity development in intergroup situations. It is hoped that this study contributed towards such an understanding.

5.4. A FINAL COMMENT

When asked about her feelings at the conclusion of the drama project, Margaret wrote that;

Now that the project is over I'm a little sad - we're not going to have a place to just be ourselves and feel the way we want to. We're not going to carry on discovering each other and ourselves and what goes with that ... I loved doing and participating in this project. It was an experience I will NEVER forget.

I chose to conclude this research with this quotation because it gives a feel for the emotional and psychological implications of immersing oneself in a challenging situation and a learning experience. In a sense my feelings on concluding this research study are

similar, since through more thoroughly understanding the world and those in it one inevitably enriches one's own process of development. Although I am left with a sense of finality I realise also that the process undergone through undertaking the research will always remain with me, as will my new found respect for the complexities of the society in which we live. Along with this I have gained a renewed sense of hope for South Africa's future, for if the human qualities and willingness to learn and share apparent in these adolescents exists in even a fraction of our youth, there is much cause for optimism in this country.

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APPENDIX i (a) : INTERVIEW ONE (English)

1. Biographical data: Age, gender, standard.
2. What made you decide to get involved with this project?
3. What do you understand by the term 'community'?
4. What did you expect the SSH/CFH group to be like?
5. Having met them, were your expectations met or did they change? Elaborate.
6. Has your perception of yourself/your community changed through your involvement with the project? (*Probe issues of identity/culture*).
7. Do you think you could get to know the 'other group' outside the project? Explain.
8. Do you think that the SSH/CFH pupils are different to you? If so, explain in what ways they are different?
9. What issues do you think two 'different' communities face in South Africa today when trying to get to know each other? (*Probe general vs personal issues*).
10. Do you feel that the solutions to the problems raised and discussed in the sessions were realistic solutions to the kinds of problems we face in bringing groups together in South Africa? Why/why not?
11. Did you feel able to voice your opinions and feelings freely in the sessions? Rate yourself on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being that you did not feel at all free to speak and 10 being that you felt totally free to speak. (*Refer to small group work as well*).
12. What have you learnt through your involvement with the project? (*Probe self and community*).
13. Do you think it is important to have projects like this in South Africa? Why/why not?
14. Has this project made you think about / become aware of issues that you had not thought of before? Elaborate and give examples.
15. What did you enjoy most about the project?
16. What did you find most difficult or challenging about being involved with this project? Was there anything you did not like? Elaborate.
17. Has the project changed the way you think about issues in South Africa? If so, how? (*Race; violence; class*).
18. Do you feel you have gained anything by being involved with this project? If so, please explain what.
19. Do you feel that this project had any negative effects or disadvantages for you. If so, please elaborate.
20. Have you got any suggestions as to how the project could be improved or changed? Elaborate.

APPENDIX i (a): INTERVIEW ONE (Afrikaans)

1. Biologiese inligting: Ouderdom, geslag, standerd.
2. Wat het jou laat besluit om by hierdie projek betrokke te raak?
3. Wat verstaan jy onder die woord 'gemeenskap'?
4. Wat het jy van die SSH groep verwag?
5. Nadat jy hulle ontmoet het, het jou verwagtinge verander? Verduidelik.
6. Het jou waarneming van jousef/jou gemeenskap verander deur jou betrokkenheid by die projek?
(*Vra oor identiteit/kultuur*).
7. Dink jy dat jy die ander groep buite die projek kan leer ken? Verduidelik.
8. Dink jy dat die SSH leerlinge verskil van jou? Indien so, verduidelik in watter opsigte hulle van jou verskil.
9. Watter aspekte dink jy sal twee verskillende gemeenskappe deesdae in Suid-Afrika moet konfronteer, wanneer hulle probeer om mekaar te leer ken?
10. Voel jy dat die oplossings van die probleme wat julle in die sessies bespreek het realisties is vir die soort probleme wat ons het as ons probeer om groepe in Suid-Afrika byeen te bring? Hoekom/hoekom nie?
11. Het jy gemaklik gevoel om jou menings te lug en oor jou gevoelens tydens die sessies te praat? Valueer jousef teen 'n skaal van 1 tot 10. Een beteken dat jy glad nie gemaklik gevoel het nie, en 10 beteken dat jy heeltemaal gemaklik gevoel het. (*Verwys ook na kleiner groep werk*).
12. Wat het jy geleer deur jou betrokkenheid by die projek? (*Wat jousef en die gemeenskap betref*).
13. Dink jy dat dit belangrik is om projekte soos hierdie in Suid-Afrika te hê? Hoekom/ hoekom nie?
14. Het hierdie projek jou laat dink/bewus word van aspekte waaraan jy nie voorheen gedink het nie? Verduidelik en gee voorbeelde.
15. Wat het jy die meeste van die projek geniet?
16. Was daar enigiets wat jy moeilik of uitdagend gevind het deur jou betrokkenheid by die projek? Was daar enigiets waarvan jy nie gehou het nie? Verduidelik.
17. Het die projek jou mening oor toestande in Suid-Afrika laat verander? Indien wel, op watter manier? (*Ras, geweld, stand*).
18. Voel jy dat jy gebaat het deur jou betrokkenheid by die projek? Indien wel, verduidelik asseblief.
19. Voel jy dat die projek enige negatiewe effekte of nadele vir jou ingehou het? Indien wel, verduidelik asseblief.
20. Het jy enige voorstelle vir hoe die projek verander of verbeter kan word? Verduidelik.

APPENDIX i (b) : INTERVIEW TWO (English)

• Introduction

As you know, I am doing this research to try to develop an understanding of how you - as teenagers - experienced and felt about the drama project that you were involved in, especially the fact that it brought different groups of South African teenagers together. One of the things that I am focusing on is how it affected your identity.

Please be as honest and open as possible, and be assured that neither your name nor your school's name will be included in the written document.

When I talk about 'the project' in the questions that I ask you, I mean the three months that you have spent meeting with the SSH/CFH (Southern Suburbs High/Cape Flats High) pupils, and all the time you spent together preparing the plays and then performing them.

1. Identity

1.1. *General?*

- We have spoken a lot during the course of the project about identity: In what ways do you think that the project was about identity?
- Was it about identity for you? In what way? (If not, what was it about for you?).

1.2. *Impact:*

- In what ways do you think that this project has affected your identity? (Prompts: the way you think about yourself? How you think about your community?)
- Do you think that these effects will be long-lasting or temporary? Elaborate.
- Is the way you think about yourself now different from the way you saw yourself in the past, before you became involved in this project? Elaborate.
- Was there any moment during your involvement in the project when you suddenly thought about yourself or your community in a new or different way? Elaborate.

1.3. *Social and personal identity:*

- Psychologists say that there are two types of identity:
 - (1) The way you think about yourself as a person, or individual; and
 - (2) The way you think about yourself as a member of a group e.g. a member of a race group; a pupil of a school; a citizen of a country etc. (Give examples). Sometimes these are the same and sometimes they seem to be different. In this project you had the opportunity to experience yourself both as an individual and as a member of a social group, and sometimes both of these at the same time. What do you think about this?
(Visual input - attached)

2. Adolescence

2.1. *Impact:*

- How do you think that being a teenager affected your participation in the project, and what you learnt and gained from it?
- If you had been a child do you think that the experience would have been different for you? Explain.
If you had been an adult do you think that the experience would have been different for you? Explain.

3. Project

3.1. *Benefits of research:*

- What do you think I could learn from doing this research?
 - What might I discover?
 - What might be interesting?
 - In what other ways might I have been able to discover this information or learn these things?

3.2. *Recommendations:*

- Would you recommend to other teenagers that they become involved in projects like this? Why/why not?

4. Contact

4.1. *Ongoing contact:*

- Have you kept in contact with the other people who participated in the project?
 - How?
 - If not, why not?

5. Questions for individuals

5.1. *Questions for Miriam (CFH):*

- How did you feel about the fact that your story was one of the stories that was performed in the plays?
- Did this cause you to think about your situation in a different way? If so, how?

5.2. *Questions for Bonita (CFH):*

- How did you feel about the fact that your story was one of the stories that was performed in the plays?
- Did this cause you to think about your situation in a different way? If so, how?
- It seems that you were concerned that people should know that your scar is not a sign that you are a gangster - is this true?
 - Why does this concern you?
 - How would you feel different if the scar was not there?
 - What did you think the SSH girls would think about your scar when they first met you?
 - What would you have preferred them to think?

5.3. *Questions for Jo (SSH):*

- You were in a rather unique situation in the group, being 'coloured' at a school like SSH:
 - Can you describe how this made you feel?
 - How do you think it affected your experience of the project, if at all?
 - Did this affect the way you saw yourself in the group? Explain.

5.4. *Questions for John (CFH):*

- How did you feel about being the only male member of the group?
 - Do you think that this affected the way you participated in the group?
 - Did it affect how you felt about the project?

APPENDIX i (b) : INTERVIEW TWO (Afrikaans)

• Inleiding

Soos jy weet, doen ek hierdie studie om te probeer verstaan hoe julle - as tieners - oor die drama projek waarby julle betrokke was voel en hoe julle dit ervaar het, veral die feit dat dit verskillende groepe Suid Afrikaanse tieners bymekaar gebring het. Een van die dinge waarop ek wil fokus is hoe dit jou identiteit geaffekteer het.

Wees asseblief so openlik en eerlik as moontlik, en wees gerus dat jou naam en jou skool se naam nie by die geskrewe dokument ingesluit sal word nie.

Wanneer ek praat oor die 'projek' in die vrae wat ek aan jou stel, bedoel ek die drie maande wat jy saam met die SSH skoliere spandeer het, en die tyd wat jy saam deurgebring het in die voorbereiding en opvoering van die toneelstukke.

1. Identiteit

1.1. Algemeen:

- Ons het gedurende die afloop van die projek baie gesels oor identiteit. In watter opsigte dink jy het die projek gegaan oor identiteit?
- Het dit gegaan oor identiteit vir jou? In watter opsig? (Indien nie, waarom het dit vir jou gegaan?)

1.2. Impak:

- In watter maniere dink jy het die projek jou identiteit geraak? (Die manier hou jy oor jouself dink? Hoe jy oor jou gemeenskap dink?)
- Dink jy dat hierdie effekte blywend of tydelik sal wees? Brei uit.
- Is die manier hoe jy oor jouself nou dink enigsins anders as die manier hoe jy jouself in die verlede gesien het, voordat jy by die projek betrokke geraak het? Brei uit.
- Was daar enige oomblik tydens jou betrokkenheid by die projek waar jy skielik op 'n nuwe of ander wyse oor jouself of jou gemeenskap gedink het? Brei uit.

1.3. Sosiale en persoonlike identiteit:

- Sielkundiges sê dat daar twee tipes identiteit is:
 - (1) Die manier hoe jy oor jouself as 'n persoon of individu dink; en
 - (2) Die manier hoe jy oor jouself as lid van 'n groep dink, bv. 'n lid van 'n rassegroep; 'n skolier van 'n skool; 'n burger van 'n land ens. (Gee voorbeelde). Somtyds is dit een en dieselfde ding en somtyds kan dit verskil. In hierdie projek het jy die geleentheid gehad om jouself as individu sowel as lid van 'n sosiale groep te ondervind, en somtyds albei tegelyk. Wat dink jy hiervan? (Visual input - attached)

2. Adollesente

2.1. Impak:

- Hoe dink jy het die feit dat jy 'n tiener is jou deelname aan die projek geraak, en wat jy daaruit geleer het en voordeel getrek?
- As jy nog 'n kind was dink jy dat die ondervinding vir jou anders sou gewees het? Verduidelik.
- As jy 'n volwassene was dink jy dat die ondervinding vir jou anders sou gewees het? Verduidelik.

3. Projek

3.1. Voordele van studie:

- Wat dink jy kan ek uit hierdie studie leer?
 - Wat kon ek ontdek?
 - Wat kon interessant wees?
 - Op watter ander wyses sou ek hierdie inligting kon ontdek of hierdie dinge kon leer?

3.2. Aanbevelings:

- Sou jy aanbeveel dat ander tieners in sulke projekte betrokke raak? Hoekom/hoekom nie?

4. Kontak:

4.1. Kontak behou:

- Het jy kontak behou met die ander mense wat deelgeneem het in die projek?
 - Hoe?
 - Indien nie, hoekom nie?

5. Vrae vir individue:

5.1. Vrae vir Miriam (CFH):

- Hoe het jy gevoel oor die feit dat jou storie een van die stories was wat in die toneelstukke opgevoer is?
- Het dit jou anders oor jou situasie laat dink? Indien wel, hoe?

5.2. Vrae vir Bonita (CFH):

- Hoe het jy gevoel oor die feit dat jou storie een van die stories was wat in die toneelstukke opgevoer is?
- Het dit jou anders oor jou situasie laat dink? Indien wel, hoe?
- Dit kom voor dat jy bekommerd was dat mense moet weet dat jou letsel nie 'n teken is dat jy 'n gangster is nie - is dit waar?
 - Hoekom pla dit jou?
 - Sou jy anders voel as die letsel nie daar was nie?
 - Wat het jy gedink sou die SSH meisies van jou letsel dink toe hulle jou ontmoet het?
 - Wat sou jy wou gehad het hulle moet dink?

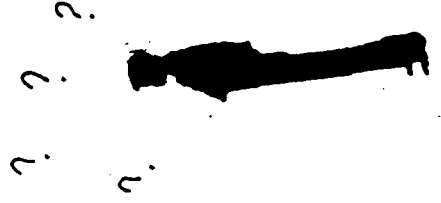
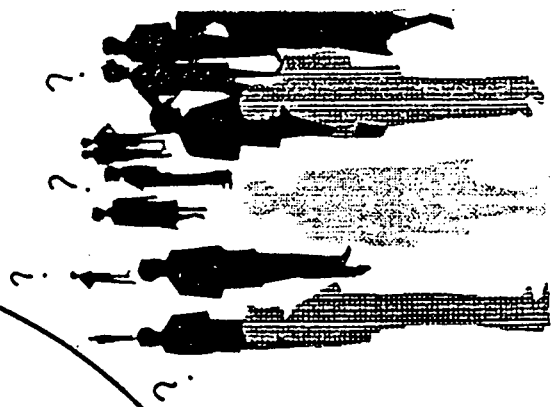
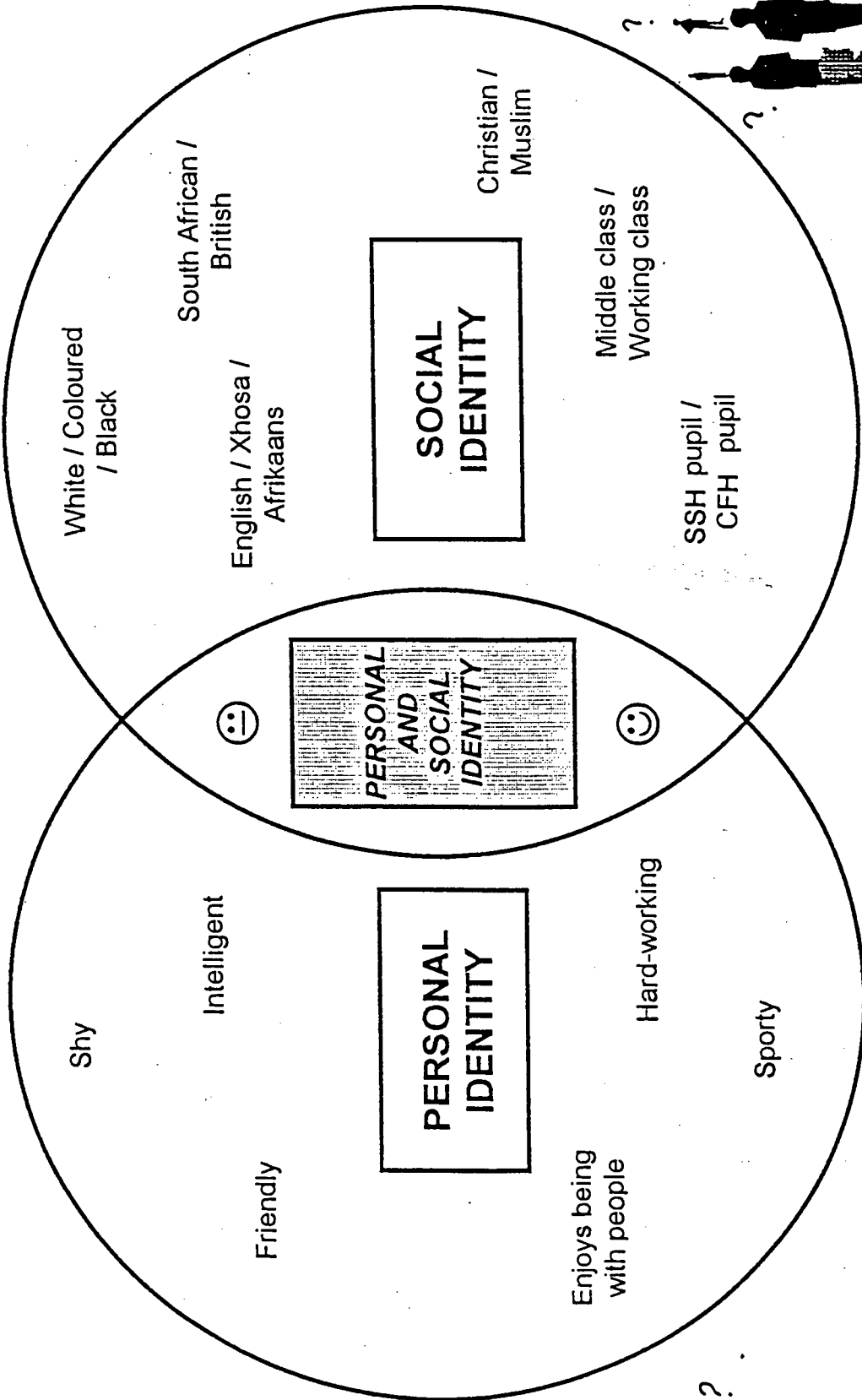
5.3. Vrae vir Jo (SSH):

- Jy was in 'n ietwat unieke situasie in die groep omdat jy 'n 'kleurling' in 'n skool soos SSH is:
 - Kan jy beskryf hoe dit jou laat voel?
 - Hoe dink jy het dit jou ondervinding van die projek geraak, indien wel?
 - Het dit die manier hoe jy jouself in die groep sien geaffekteer? Verduidelik.

5.4. Vrae vir John (CFH):

- Hoe voel jy daarvoor dat jy die enigste manlike lid van die groep is?
 - Dink jy dat dit die manier waarop jy aan die groep deelgeneem het geaffekteer het?
 - Het dit die wyse waarop jy oor die groep gevoel het geaffekteer?

**APPENDIX i (c) : DIAGRAM USED WITH INTERVIEW TWO TO
ELUCIDATE THEORY**



Appendix ii: QUESTIONNAIRE (English)

Please complete this as honestly as possible. You need not put your name on it.

School: (Tick the correct block)

CFH

SSH

1. What do you understand by the term 'identity'?

2. Psychologists suggest that there are different aspects which influence our identity:

Read the following list of aspects which can influence identity and then answer the questions that follow:

- Family
- School
- Religion
- Race
- Language
- Political beliefs
- Gender
- Interpersonal attitudes and behaviour
- Country where you were born

(PLEASE ask me if there are words that you do not understand)

- (1) Which aspect/s do you think are most important in defining your identity? Explain your answer.
- (2) Which aspects do you think are least important in defining your identity? Explain your answer.
- (3) Are there any other aspects or areas that define identity that you think should be on this list? If so, please name them.
- ♥ Do you have any other comments connected with the project, and/or my research? If so, please use the paper provided to comment.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

Appendix ii: QUESTIONNAIRE (Afrikaans)

Wees asseblief so eerlik as moontlik in die voltooiing hiervan. Jy hoef nie jou naam te gee nie.

Skool: (Merk die korrekte blokkie)

CFH

SSH

1. Wat verstaan jy onder die term 'identiteit'?

2. Sielkundiges voer aan dat verskillende aspekte ons identiteit beïnvloed:

Lees die volgende lys van aspekte wat 'n invloed kan hê op identiteit en beantwoord dan die vrae wat volg:

- Familie
- Skool
- Geloof
- Ras
- Taal
- Politiese oortuigings
- Geslag
- Interpersoonlike houdings en gedrag
- Land van geboorte

(Vra vir my ASSEBLIEF indien daar enige woorde is wat jy nie verstaan nie)

- (1) Watter aspek/te dink jy is die MEES belangrikste in die omlyning van jou identiteit?
Verduidelik jou antwoord.
- (2) Watter aspek/te dink jy is MINDER belangrik in die omlyning van jou identiteit?
Verduidelik jou antwoord.
- (3) Is daar enige ander aspekte of areas wat jy dink by hierdie lys gevoeg kan word dat identiteit omlyn? Indien wel, noem hulle asseblief.
- ♥ Het jy enige ander opmerkings wat verband hou met die projek, en/of my studie?
Indien wel, gebruik asseblief die papier verskaf vir die doel.

DANKIE VIR JOU SAMEWERKING!

APPENDIX iii : ESSAY TOPIC (English)**DRAMA PROJECT**

- Please answer the following question.
- If you need more paper please feel free to ask.
- You may write in English or Afrikaans.
- Don't worry about spelling or grammar!
- Please be as honest as possible.

You are coming to the end of the project, which has been running for nearly three months. If you had to describe to a friend or relative what this experience has meant to you, what kind of things would you tell them?

You may use the suggestions below to help you think of ideas if you wish:

- * *What have you gained/learned?*
- * *What have you found difficult or challenging?*
- * *How has the project changed the way you think about yourself, your community, or South Africa?*
- * *How are you feeling now that the project is over?*

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX iii : ESSAY TOPIC (Afrikaans)**DRAMA PROJEK**

- Antwoord asseblief die volgende vraag.
- As jy meer papier benodig, vra asseblief.
- Jy mag in Engels of Afrikaans skryf.
- Moenie steur aan spelling of taal gebruik nie!
- Wees asseblief so eerlik as moontlik.

Jy kom nou tot die einde van die projek wat vir amper drie maande aan die gang is. As jy vir 'n vriend of familielid moes beskryf wat hierdie ondervinding vir jou beteken het, wat sou jy vir hulle sê?

Jy kan die volgende voorstellings gebruik om te help as jy so verkies:

- * *Wat het jy geleer?*
- * *Wat het jy as moeilik beskou?*
- * *Hoe het hierdie projek die manier hoe jy oor jousef, jou gemeenskap en Suid-Afrika dink, laat verander?*
- * *Hoe voel jy nou dat die projek oor is?*

BAIE DANKIE!

APPENDIX IV : OUTLINE OF DRAMA PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND PHASES

INTERCULTURAL WORKSHOPS FOR COMBINED HIGH SCHOOLS - OBJECTIVES AND PHASES OF PROJECT

Written by Warren Nebe, Project coordinator and psychodrama facilitator.

Objectives

This series of workshops has been designed to bring South African teenagers from vastly different cultural, religious, economic and environmental backgrounds together in order to explore identity, culture, democracy and the impact of the new South African Constitution on their lives. The workshops use drama as the vehicle through which intergroup relations are developed and sensitive issues are explored within the 'New South African' context. In the final phase, the students select a relevant social issue, relate it to current law practice, and develop an educational theatre project known as Forum Theatre. This type of theatre encourages active debate and participation with regard to a pertinent issue. The students will then perform the Forum Theatre at selected schools and venues. This provides students with the opportunity of being the active educators of their peers.

Structure of project

- **Phase One:**
 1. Facilitators go to each school and meet the students and staff.
 2. Facilitators lead exploratory workshops with the two groups of students separately. They examine personal identity, community identity and perceived identity of the community they are about to meet.
- **Phase Two:**
 1. The two groups meet.
 2. The groups show through drama what they explored separately.
 3. Discussion and reflection on what the two groups expected and what they perceive.
 4. The big group is reduced through choosing ten participants to carry the project forward.
- **Phase Three:**
 1. The two groups of five students from each school explore through role play why their different communities have problems communicating/interacting/understanding one another.
 2. They focus on the problems. For example the following issues were discussed by students participating in the pilot project: racism, language, media propaganda, environment, class.
- **Phase Four:**
 1. Students tell their life stories, and contextualise these within the South African context and the problems faced in this country.
 2. Through drama the students examine the problems raised in phase three in relation to the new Constitution.
 3. The students are divided into two groups. One group devises a series of role plays which depict the complexities of the problems raised. The other groups has to try and solve the problems through an understanding of the legal system.

- Phase Five:

1. The participants reflect on their experience. They share their preconceived ideas of one another before they met, and they reflect on how/why their attitudes have/have not changed.
2. The group selects a relevant social issue and/or issue emerging from the life story of one or more of the project participants.
3. The group devises a Forum Theatre presentation based on this issue.

- Phase Six:

1. The group performs Forum Theatre at their schools and other venues.
2. Reflection, assessment and closure.

APPENDIX v: CODES USED AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THEY APPEARED IN THE DATA

(The full names and/or explanations of the codes are reflected in italics).

| <u>CODE</u> | <u>FREQ.</u> | <u>CODE</u> | <u>FREQ.</u> |
|---|--------------|---|--------------|
| • Impact | 119 | • Exp (<i>experience</i>) | 10 |
| • Intergroup | 72 | • Identity | 9 |
| • Diff (<i>difference</i>) | 67 | • Rationale | 9 |
| • Imp-pers (<i>impact of a personal nature</i>) | 54 | • Reality | 8 |
| • Race | 53 | • SA | 8 |
| • Soc v pers (<i>social vs personal identity</i>) | 49 | • Youth pwr (<i>youth power</i>) | 7 |
| • Pers ident (<i>personal identity</i>) | 43 | • Trust | 6 |
| • Disclosure | 34 | • Self-und (<i>self understanding</i>) | 6 |
| • Class | 31 | • Selfgrow (<i>self growth</i>) | 6 |
| • Ass-other (<i>assumptions about the other group</i>) | 30 | • Imp-contr (<i>contradictions in terms of discussing impact</i>) | 6 |
| • Complexity | 28 | • Acceptance | 5 |
| • Real-other (<i>reality of the other group</i>) | 28 | • Solidarity | 5 |
| • Teen (<i>adolescent-related issues</i>) | 28 | • Imp-race (<i>impact in terms of race</i>) | 5 |
| • Soci ident (<i>social identity</i>) | 23 | • Conflict | 5 |
| • Personhood (<i>notion of common humanity</i>) | 22 | • Fut-SA (<i>future of South Africa</i>) | 5 |
| • Friends | 20 | • Adol ident (<i>adolescent identity</i>) | 4 |
| • Communication | 18 | • Alonevtog (<i>alone vs together</i>) | 4 |
| • Defin comm (<i>definition of community</i>) | 18 | • Imp-emotn (<i>impact in terms of emotion</i>) | 4 |
| • Prej (<i>prejudice</i>) | 17 | • Causation | 3 |
| • Rights | 16 | • Doubt | 3 |
| • Imp-ident (<i>impact in terms of identity</i>) | 16 | • Family | 3 |
| • Lang (<i>language</i>) | 15 | • Fut-Pers (<i>personal future</i>) | 3 |
| • Impact-no (<i>no impact</i>) | 15 | • Ass (<i>assumptions</i>) | 2 |
| • Optimism | 14 | • SIT (<i>social identity theory</i>) | 2 |
| • Past exp (<i>past experience</i>) | 14 | • Change | 2 |
| • Teen/Adult (<i>difference between teenage and adult experience</i>) | 13 | • Coping | 1 |
| • SA-change | 12 | • Frustration | 1 |
| • Definident (<i>definition of identity</i>) | 12 | • Process | 1 |
| • Us & them | 11 | • Role | 1 |
| • Teen/Child (<i>difference between teenage and child experience</i>) | 10 | | |
| • Separation | 10 | | |