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Local and translocal literacies in an urban 'village' – a sociolinguistic study

Frieda Coetzee
University of Cape Town
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award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

Abstract

The study investigates the practices that people, living on the socio-economic and linguistic margins of society, engage in when they create written texts for local as well as translocal uptake. In accordance with the New Literacy Studies framework (henceforth NLS), literacy is approached as a set of situated social practices. This project researches the literacy practices of two Coloured families living in Cape Town, and places their practices within the larger ecology of the literacy in their neighbourhood. The neighbourhood, called Maitland Garden Village, is a bilingual, yet Afrikaans-dominant working-class neighbourhood.

A broad variety of data was obtained and analyzed in this study. Data was collected as follows: (a) a neighbourhood survey, focusing on literacy engagement, was conducted with 100 residents in Maitland Garden Village; and (b) in-depth ethnographic data was gathered from two families in the neighbourhood, by ways of participant observation, interviews and documentation of literacy artefacts.

The study draws mainly on Blommaert's (2008) framework of 'grassroots literacies' which describes texts written by marginalized people who have restricted literacy repertoires and limited access to resources. He compares such practices with elite forms of standard writing. The latter are valued in terms of 'elite economies of information, language and literacy' (Blommaert 2008:7). These elite economies are usually found at the economic centres of society. In contrast, grassroots texts function locally. However, they may fail to be 'communicatively competent' if they are used on different social scales, and in different geographical places (Blommaert 2008:20). The translocal uptake of such texts, i.e. away from the locality where they were produced, may thus be constrained.

The focus of the analysis for this study is on texts written for religious, commercial and leisure activities. The findings of the study are as follows:

(a) The participants, although located away from the centre of society, negotiate their local worlds effectively through literacy. They have developed strategies to ensure the effective uptake

of their texts on a local and translocal level. If their literacies have to transcend the local, there are literacy resources within and outside their social networks, such as literacy mediators, that they draw on strategically.

(b) There are genres that may fall outside of Blommaert's categories of standard/elite versus grassroots non-standard/non-elite literacies. The study identifies one context where standard literacy repertoires can lead to constrained mobility: informal, interactive forms of digital writing which are prominent among the youth.

(c) The participants in the study are Afrikaans-English bilinguals, who speak non-standard varieties of English and Afrikaans. The data show that there is a preference for writing in English. Elements of (non-standard) Afrikaans are, however, found across a variety of texts, and locate the texts in the local setting where they are produced.

University of Cape Town

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Dedication

Maria Elizabeth van Baalen
7 December 1922 – 26 September 2011

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



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Frieda Coetzee (Student number: ctzfri001)

A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2012

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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NOTES

1. All the images in this thesis have been photographed by the researcher, Frieda Coetzee.
2. Names, addresses and contact details in Images 6.8–6.14 have been covered to protect identities.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

This sociolinguistic study focuses on the literacy practices of residents living in an Afrikaans-dominant, low-income Coloured neighbourhood in the Cape Town Metropole, called Maitland Garden Village. The aim is to identify, through ethnographic investigation, the ways in which individuals, living in a socio-economically marginalized neighbourhood, use writing in their everyday lives, and for a variety of purposes: religion, business and leisure.

The political and economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa have increased the social mobility of previously disadvantaged people, but many of them continue to live in the same semi-peripheral areas, and in the socio-economically marginalized circumstances that characterized their lives before 1994. Maitland Garden Village is relatively homogenous in terms of ethnicity, language use and educational history, and lends itself to an ethnographic case study of family literacy practices situated within the wider literacy activities of their community. The residents belong to the Coloured ethnic group and are Afrikaans-English bilinguals. Maitland Garden Village (henceforth MGV) is an urban neighbourhood that is geographically removed from, but socially linked to other Coloured areas in Cape Town. There are also strong social networks in the neighbourhood, for example, the majority of the residents attended the same primary school in the neighbourhood (see Chapter 2). The residents refer to MGV as the 'Village', or *dorp* ('village' in Afrikaans), and often describe its residents as the 'Villagers'.

The study investigates writing practices in MGV and analyses the texts produced by members of two families living in the neighbourhood. A variety of literacies are examined to understand the role that writing plays in the daily lives of the residents. The research focuses in particular on (a) religious literacies, (b) the everyday production of texts for socio-economic livelihoods, and (c) digital cellphone literacies. The texts are produced for local as well as translocal uptake. The 'uptake' of texts, refers to the process of interpretation of texts, i.e. if texts are meaningful and understandable to those who read them. Locality refers to geographical place, as well as to

spaces of different social scales. In this study, *local* uptake refers to the interpretation of the texts within MGV, as well as by people with the same socio-cultural, socio-economic and linguistic background as the MGV residents, for example, by people living in other working-class Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The translocal uptake of texts, refer to the interpretation of texts in spaces and on social scales that are different from where they are produced (cf. 1.2.3). For example, texts produced by bureaucratic institutions in the economic centre of society are interpreted in socio-economically peripheral neighbourhoods, such as MGV.

1.2 Theoretical framework

1.2.1 New Literacy Studies (NLS)

The research project falls within the New Literacy Studies (NLS) framework as articulated in the work of, for example, Scribner and Cole (1981), Street (1984, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2003), Heath (1986), Barton and Padmore (1991), Gee (1990), Baynham (1995), Prinsloo (2005) and Baynham and Prinsloo (2009). NLS has shown that literacy functions differently for people in different place, and has argued against the so-called ‘autonomous’ model that views literacy as a static competence, i.e. a cognitive skill that people have or do not have. In his groundbreaking work, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1984), Street criticized the ‘autonomous’ model that is typically used by institutions such as UNESCO and national governments to measure literacy levels. Furthermore, he argued against the ‘autonomous’ model, as advocated by scholars such as Lerner (1958), Ong (1980) and Goody (1986, 1987), who viewed literacy as a ‘neutral technology’ or ‘modernizing’ skill which endows people with certain cognitive capacities that lead to ‘social progress’ (Street 1997:133).

In contrast, NLS emphasizes how literacy functions for people, regardless of their literacy proficiencies. Street (1984) called for an ‘ideological’ model that sees literacy practices as rooted in social, cultural and political contexts. NLS approaches literacy as a ‘plural set of practices’ (Gee 1990:49) instead of a single mental function. These practices are always embedded within other human activities, that is, NLS focus on the function and purposes of literacy (Street 1984).

Studies of people's literacies are, therefore, investigations of how people use reading and writing to organize and produce social life.

Importantly, NLS addresses the common dichotomy between speech and writing. Ong (1980), for example, contrasts spoken and written language, and describes orality as 'natural' and 'unconscious', whilst literacy is seen as 'artificial', 'conscious', and 'contrived'. NLS, on the other hand, emphasizes that literacy is 'typically a mix of the literate and the oral' (Baynham 1995:55).

Traditionally, NLS differentiates between *literacy events* and *literacy practices* for the analysis of data. Heath (1986:93) describes a literacy event as 'any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and interpretative processes'. The observation and description of literacy events, is useful for describing literacies in specific contexts, for example, business or educational settings. Although it was not the primary source for data collection, I occasionally observed the participants of this study actively engage with literacy (see Chapter 5.3). Street (2000:21), however warns that the focus on observable events may remain descriptive, and does not tell us 'how the meanings are constructed'.

NLS thus extends the focus to what is known as literacy practices. Literacy practices, rather than events, are central to this study. Barton and Hamilton (2000:7) describe literacy practices as 'what people do with literacy'. Literacy practices are social norms that refer to people's 'ways' or patterns of behaviour related to reading and writing. Literacy cannot be approached as something that is neutral, as there are always social and cultural dispositions and processes that give meaning to texts. However, approached as an abstract concept, literacy practices are a widely debated term. Street (2003:79) argues that the term includes the 'broader cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts'.

Pennycook (2010:2), drawing on Bourdieu (1977), argues that practices are 'actions with a history' that are a 'central part of daily social organization'. According to Bourdieu, habitus shapes and produces practices. Bourdieu (1990:56) describes habitus as 'embodied history

internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history'. Habitus is our individual and collective experiences and practices that have happened before (history) – which is the basis for how we will interpret and appreciate all subsequent experiences. Bourdieu describes the habitus as 'durable', but not static, as our habitus changes constantly, as it is informed by new practices. Habitus is simultaneously structured by institutional forces, and practices are thus not neutral but always shaped by power-related ideologies. Habitus informs or conditions social practices and in turn, these practices continuously shape and inform the habitus. Baynham and Prinsloo (2008:6) explains that habitus 'dispose individuals in certain ways, rather than others, which both enable and constrain' to act along particular lines. Although habitus shapes our behaviour, it allows for 'structured creativity on the part of individuals' (Baynham & Prinsloo 2008:8). For example, when people write in a particular way, they comply with, and at the same time reproduce and inform, the 'dispositions' of how to write.

NLS is fundamentally a 'socio-cultural approach to literacy' (Lankshear & Knobel 2003:23) and promotes the idea of ethnographic, locally situated studies. Research has turned attention to vernacular literacies, defined by Camitta (1993:228) as writing 'which is neither elite or institutional, which is traditional and indigenous to the diverse cultural processes of communities as distinguished from uniform, inflexible standards of institutions'. Many studies of literacies situated in specific cultural contexts have been conducted. These include, for example, the seminal studies by Street in Iran (1984), Kulick and Stroud in Gapun, Papua New Guinea (1993), Besnier on the Nukulaelae Islands (1995), and Barton and Hamilton in Lancaster, U.K. (1998). These studies focused on local, self-generated 'vernacular literacies' (Camitta, 1993) that are rooted in everyday life and do not necessarily conform to the standard norms of schooled literacies.

Brandt and Clinton (2002:338) warn that a focus on the 'local' in NLS studies should not ignore global tendencies. Most importantly, they argue, expressions of 'seemingly local appropriations of literacies' may be 'culminations of literate designs originating elsewhere'. Pennycook (2002:3), however, argues that although practices may be recognizably global, they are used locally, albeit differently. Attention should thus be given to the re-articulation (localization) of global tendencies in local settings. Digital writing is of particular interest when analysing how

global practices are appropriated locally as on-line technology transcends the geographical distinctions of local, translocal, and global practices (see Chapter 7.2).

Scholars such as Warschauer (1999), Gee (2003), Lankshear and Knobel (2003) as well as Kress (2003) have shown that digital technologies, especially cellphones and computers, have opened up important new avenues for people to communicate through writing. A literature review by Mills (2010) shows the extensive research that has been conducted regarding 'sign-making practices' in digital technologies (2010:246). The emergence of new linguistic forms in the digital domain has spurred extensive sociolinguistic research, for example, Crystal (2001, 2004, 2008), Baron (2000, 2008) Androutsopoulos (2000, 2006), Thurlow (2003), Thurlow and Mroczek (2011), and in the South African context, Deumert and Masinyana (2008).

1.2.2 Multilingual literacies

Although MGV emerges as pre-dominantly Afrikaans-speaking in official statistics (cf. Chapter 2.6), the participants in this project are, in fact, all Afrikaans-English bilinguals. Alternation between the two languages and non-standard varieties thereof, is characteristic of language use in Cape Town's Coloured communities (McCormick 2002). The language and literacy practices of the case study families are conditioned by the multilingual habitus in their homes, as well in the wider spaces they move in as Coloured people in urban Cape Town (e.g. work and school).

In accordance with NLS, this study does not investigate the participants' literacy *proficiency* in Afrikaans and English, but starts from the assumption that the participants can be described as biliterate, as they have been taught to read and write in both languages at school. Alexander and Bloch (2003:98) note that educational language planning policies during the apartheid era ensured a measure of Afrikaans-English biliteracy among Coloured people.

Martin-Jones and Jones (2000:5) argue for the term 'multilingual' literacies in bilingual communities to indicate the different 'varieties' of language used in literacy, and the 'multiplicity and complexity of individual and group repertoires'. The majority of multilingual literacy studies have been conducted among migrant communities where so-called heritage

languages are used for specific domains, such as religion, or to communicate with family members in their homeland. These communities typically identify this language as part of their ethnic, cultural or religious heritage and henceforth tend to use it for specific purposes or domains. For example, Saxena (1994:195) studied Panjabi families living in London who employ more than two languages and several different scripts in their literacy practices. In his study of Arabic teenagers living in Sydney, Cruikshank (2012) found that technology (such as the internet and mobile phones) increased their engagement with Arabic literacies. Blommaert (2010:7) has drawn attention to migrant communities found in Northern European cities, where the ‘extreme diversity’ of linguistic repertoires (termed ‘superdiversity’, following Vertovec 2007) is displayed in commercial literacy artifacts.

Although the bilingual speakers of MGv might value English and Afrikaans differently, neither language represents a culture or country from which they have moved. The study explores how participants draw on Afrikaans and English as linguistic resources when they write, and how they combine them to achieve their communicative intent. As argued by Seargeant and Tagg (2011), the analysis of languages as ‘discrete entities’ may no longer be appropriate in the face of globalization and new digital practices which give rise to highly heteroglossic practices characterized by complex linguistic blending.

1.2.3 Grassroots literacies

Blommaert’s grassroots literacy framework (2008) describes vernacular literacies that are written by people living in semi-peripheral societies marked by deep socio-economic inequalities. The writers of grassroots texts typically have restricted literacy repertoires – often a result of truncated schooling. Blommaert argues that the ‘sub-elite’ texts that they produce reflect the unequal distributions of literacy and linguistic resources in society. Blommaert points out, that grassroots literacies function locally but may lose ‘voice’ if they are used translocally, i.e. in different geographical places and different social scales (Blommaert 2008:7). He emphasizes that voice refers to the *capacity* to make oneself understood, i.e. in this context, cause the meaningful reception (uptake) of texts. Blommaert follows the Bakhtinian understanding of the dialogic construction of voice, i.e. that meaningful interaction is a process of ‘*responsive* understanding,

one that includes evaluation' (Bakhtin 1986: 125; italics in original). Blommaert (2005:44) argues that models of communication can, however, mistakenly assume that there is a 'sharedness' or mutual understanding of language and meaning. Furthermore, because of social inequalities, one cannot pre-suppose that people have equal access and control over resources.

Blommaert et al. (2005:378) points out that grassroots writing is not 'good' or 'bad' writing, but rather characterized by specific linguistic 'peculiarities'. According to Blommaert (2008:7), the features of grassroots literacies are: (a) *heterography*; (b) *vernacular language varieties*; (c) *distant genres*; and (d) *partial insertion in knowledge economies*. A combination of these features, may lead to the (e) *constrained mobility* of texts.

Grassroots texts may contain non-standard orthographies, or what Blommaert (2008:7) refers to as *heterography*, which includes inconsistent spelling, spelling errors, or spelling that reflects 'accent'. Punctuation is inconsistent and the writing is often marked by the unguided use of upper and lower case. Visually, the texts may resemble drafts as they contain 'corrections and additions'. Furthermore, grassroots literacies show the use of *vernacular languages*, that is, code-switching between the dominant and the minority language, colloquialisms and lexical and grammatical non-standard features.

Blommaert (2008:7) points out, that grassroots literacies can become problematic when people write in *distant genres*. That is when, people write in a genre that they are only 'marginally exposed' to, or that they have inadequate experience of writing in. The texts thus produced typically lack the required 'register' that are normative for certain genres (Blommaert 2008:45). Blommaert (2008:123) analyses a historical document, the *L'Histoire du Zaïre* ('History of Zaïre') written by a Congolese artist. The analysis illustrates the writer's problem of assembling the type of data required for a historical document, as well as the inconsistent use of standard French required for uptake in Northern-Europe.

As a consequence, grassroots texts reflect a *partial insertion in knowledge economies*. The term 'knowledge economy' refers to the production or management of knowledge within specific socio-economic frameworks. In societies marked by socio-economic inequality, knowledge

resources, such as internet access, may be unequally distributed, and marginalized people may have restricted access to such resources. Blommaert (2008:7) argues that the knowledge resources that people draw on in marginalized communities may be restricted, and are largely based on local knowledge that people acquire 'by asking or listening'.

Blommaert reasons that the lack of translocal uptake of grassroots literacies leads to the *constrained mobility of texts*. Blommaert (2008:7) argues that grassroots texts 'are often only *locally* meaningful and valuable' (his emphasis) and fail to communicate effectively when they are used translocally, that is, away from the social and geographical spaces where they are produced. The mobility of the texts can be constrained when, for example, they have to function in elite socio-economic centres. He emphasizes that grassroots texts reveal how 'placed' certain 'linguistic and communicative resources and skills are' (Blommaert 2008:92). He offers, as examples, texts written by African asylum seekers (Blommaert 2004), as well as an 'autobiography' written by a Kenyan man (Blommaert 2008:27–96). The texts contain grassroots features, as listed above, and Blommaert illustrates the dissatisfactory uptake of these texts in Northern Europe.

Texts, however, do not only travel geographically, but also socially. Blommaert (2007) uses the metaphor of 'scales' to show that linguistic practices (including literacies) move between vertical, hierarchically layered social contexts. Such scales have their own norms and expectations; they are stratified, invested with power and some prevail over others. For example, a linguistic shift between scales would be when a doctor shifts to medical jargon within a conversation with a patient, thus strategically displaying his expert knowledge (Blommaert 2010:36). The locally produced practices may, or may not have validity on different scale levels. Grassroots texts, therefore, may not be able to make 'scalar jumps' to higher social scales. Research by Blommaert, Huysmans, Muyliaert and Dyers (2005) in an economically marginalized ('peripheral') Cape Town township called Wesbank, shows that there exists a locally 'embedded normativity' in school literacies. These local norms are different from the norms characteristic of higher social scales (especially the 'standard language'), and will constrain translocal uptake (2005:379). For example, Blommaert (2010:97) argues that the written English of the high school pupils (and in some cases, of their teachers), which is

characterized by features such as errors in concord, verb inflections and spelling, will not be an adequate tool to give them the ‘social and spatial’ upward mobility they expect.

1.2.4 Authorship, collaborative writing and literacy mediators

The texts that are analysed in this thesis are either produced for private use (such as record-keeping literacies), or for public uptake (e.g. signage) as well as semi-public uptake (e.g. status updates on digital platforms). An ethnographic perspective strongly focuses on authorship, i.e. who produced the texts under which conditions. The MGV texts are often products of collaborative writing. Shuman (1993:247) notes that the idea of collaborative writing offers an alternative to the ‘configuration of authority found in single-authored texts’.

Baynham (1995:39) describes literacy mediators as those who make their ‘literacy skills available to others on a formal or informal basis, for them to accomplish certain literacy purposes’. Literacy mediators can play different roles: they may be scribes (i.e. write on behalf of others), or they may support others when they are writing (Barton 2009:46). Many of the texts in this project’s corpus have been constructed collaboratively, i.e. more than one person was actively involved in the text-making processes.

The role of literacy mediators has typically been examined in the context of illiterate or semi-literate societies, for example, by Wagner et al. (1986) in Morocco. Furthermore, studies have illustrated the importance of mediators of literacy amongst migrants, i.e. in situations where people have to engage in literacies in a language in which they are not literate. Shuman (1986) illustrates how children in Puerto Rican migrant families in the United States mediate English literacies for their parents, and Baynham’s study (1995) of literacy in a Moroccan community in London shows the importance of interpreters and mediators in such minority communities.

In their research in Lancaster, Barton and Padmore (1991:69) found that people who are fully literate, as well as socio-economically empowered, may also seek help with the writing of texts. For example, people within family networks may offer specialized skills, such as the drafting of business or legal letters. To ask for help with literacy tasks is thus ‘part of everyday life’ for

many people, not only for those with limited educational opportunities. Fingeret (1983) emphasizes that informal mediators of literacies are often found in family and neighbourhood networks. The dense and multiplex social networks in MGv, and the extended families sharing homes in the neighbourhood, mean that individuals have access to knowledge, literacy skills and resources through other people.

Individuals within social networks may be used as mediators because they are interpreted as social 'characters' (personae) with particular skills in what Bartlett and Holland (2002:12) call the 'space of literacy'. They propose to extend NLS theory to include 'figured worlds', that is, 'socially and culturally constructed' 'narratives' which determine how people are interpreted within the 'space of literacy'. These 'figured worlds', are imagined, heuristic frameworks where people are recognized as having certain roles (as 'characters') to play in certain realms (Holland et al. 1998:52). For example, in the world of romance there is a socially constructed 'set of agents' such as boyfriends, fiancés, lovers, etc. (Holland et al 1998:52). The 'figured world' of literacy may include 'illiterates', or 'good readers' as central characters (Bartlett and Holland 2002:12). These roles come into being 'through artefacts, activities and identities in practice'. The interpretation, i.e. the significance, value and recognition of people in the figured world, shapes literacy practice. For example, people may ask certain individuals to help them with writing and reading because they play the role of the 'good writer' within the social world they inhabit. 'Figured worlds' is used in this study to understand why individuals use certain mediators within their social networks.

1.2.5 Multimodality

Blommaert (2008:7) notes the widespread use of *visual aestheticization* in grassroots texts, i.e. the use of visual means, e.g. drawings, to convey meaning and voice. Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal analysis of language and texts is thus necessary for this study. Multimodality argues that spoken language includes elements such as posture, gesture and facial expression (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:36). With regard to written texts, they argue that written language is just one among many resources for meaning-making. Elements such as colour, font, layout and images are equally important, and should be taken into account in textual analysis. Kress (2011:242) embeds a focus on multimodality within his theory of social semiotics, i.e. people do

not only simply use pre-existing signs (following Saussurian semiotics), but rather create signs within specific contexts, i.e. actively engage in sign-making. Consequently the meanings of signs are not fixed, but created and negotiated. Similarly, Iedema (2003:39) argues for sensitivity to the semiotic complexity of signs. Such an approach should take into account 'how meaning making shifts from context to context', or what Iedema calls 'resemiotization' (2003:40). This term includes the recontextualization, of, for example, design and language to mean different things in different places and genres. For example, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:371) illustrate the resemiotization of a 'product message' across different advertizing genres such as billboards, television and SMS to reach different age groups.

Blommaert (2008:11) reminds us that texts are 'material and visual objects' and that a visual reading of texts is 'crucial' for understanding such constraints. The material features of grassroots texts, i.e. what the texts are 'written *on*' and 'written *with*' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:41), are also of interest and part and parcel of a text's multimodal nature. The materials used in the production of texts can be indexical of the availability of resources and the economic conditions under which texts are produced.

1.3 Conclusion and chapter organization

The study, following the principles of NLS, approaches literacy as social practice. The texts in this study are analysed in terms of Blommaert (2008) grassroots literacies framework. The role of literacy mediators within the social networks of the neighbourhood is also examined. The participants in the study speak varieties of Afrikaans and English, and their literacy practices therefore need to be understood as multilingual. A multimodal approach (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) to the textual analysis will consider the visual aspects of meaning-making elements in the texts, including their materiality.

This introductory chapter outlined the theoretical framework and overall structure of the dissertation. The second chapter situates MGV within the larger Coloured population of the Western Cape. The chapter briefly discusses the complexities of describing Coloured people as a cohesive group. Thereafter, the neighbourhood (MGV) is described in terms of its history,

location, income, education and residents' spoken language patterns, drawing on the available 2001 Census data, and demographic data collected from the neighbourhood survey. The nature of MGV social networks are discussed as they are integral to the collaborative text-making practices of the participants.

The third chapter discusses the methodology for data collection for this study, i.e. a pilot oral history project, a neighbourhood survey, and participant observation in two family homes. The case study families are introduced, and the interviews, recordings, field notes, and the literacy corpora are discussed. Ethical matters that arose during the process of data gathering are also considered in this section.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the survey, focusing on writing practices, access to literacy resources, as well as the languages most commonly used for reading and writing. Evidence of the collective knowledge residents have of one another's literacy practices and proficiencies is also discussed in this section.

The social role of religious literacies is analysed in Chapter 5. This chapter discusses the circulation of cellphone-based chain messages with religious content within a local social network. Furthermore, the literacy practices of a lay preacher, with particular focus on the sermons he writes for delivery, are examined. His access to global literacy resources, and management thereof, are also discussed.

Chapter 6 focuses on commercial literacies in the informal economic sector, i.e. the text-making practices involved in the context of home-based enterprises. The chapter shows how a material structure affords a new space for literacy production and public displays of literacy. Furthermore, examples of record-keeping literacies for local as well as translocal use are discussed.

Chapter 7 focuses on the social role of adolescent leisure writing; in particular on a South African cellphone-based instant messaging service, called MXit. The diversity of standard as well as non-standard bilingual orthographies on MXit is discussed. Adopting a socio-semiotic

and multimodal perspective, the analysis examines how adolescents manage their identities through literacies.

In Chapter 8, the role of literacy mediators within in participants' social networks is discussed. The focus will be on how mediators within family networks are used to (a) interpret non-local, bureaucratic literacies, and (b) act as scribes for cellphone-based literacies using non-standard norms.

The final chapter summarizes the findings of this study, and points towards future research.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 2: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the MGV neighbourhood. I draw on the statistics of the 2001 Census, as the most recent full data set available for demographic information regarding the South African population. Additionally, I use the demographic data collected in a neighbourhood survey, conducted for this study in 2010. One hundred (100) MGV residents between the ages of 16–73 years participated in the neighbourhood survey. The survey focused on their engagement with a variety of literacies, as well as their access to literacy resources (see Chapter 3.3 for a discussion of the survey and its methodology, and the results in Chapter 4).

2.2 The Coloured population group in Cape Town

According to the 2001 Census data, 96% of MGV residents belong to the Coloured ethnic group. Coloured people form the largest population group in the Western Cape Province (Census 2001), with 2.4 million¹ living in the province (out of a total population of 4.5 million). Under apartheid, South Africa's population was categorized on the basis of 'race' and the following racial categories, namely Black, Coloured, White, Indian and Asian, were identified and enforced. Life opportunities were directly linked to such racial classifications. While White South Africans were advantaged in terms of full citizen rights, better health and educational facilities, and enjoyed better employment options, all the other population groups were excluded from such advantages at different levels.

In post-apartheid South Africa, racial categories continue to be used in official statistics in order to track socio-economic transformation. Although the term 'Coloured' may be viewed by some as derogatory, the families participating in this study self-identify as being Coloured and refer to themselves either as *Kleurlinge* ('Coloureds') or *Bruinmense* ('Brown people').

¹ According to the 2007 Community Survey, this number has increased to 2.6 million.

The classification of the Coloured ethnic group is problematic in the sense that people from many different ethnic backgrounds were classified under one label. Erasmus (2001:21) argues that Coloured identities were created in the colonial encounter between European colonists, slaves (from South and East India and from East Africa, Madagascar and Indonesia) and indigenous peoples, the Khoe-San. Historically, members belonging to these groups were politically and socio-economically marginalized in colonial South Africa, and their suppression was later institutionalized by the apartheid regime.

Coloured identity has come under scrutiny since the advent of democracy in the early 1990s. Adhikari (2005) states that, 'the overall sense' of Coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa, is that of 'fragmentation, uncertainty and confusion'. He argues that the role Coloured people themselves played in shaping their identity should be taken into account. Adhikari observes that a salient feature of Coloured identity emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, namely, assimilation to the dominant, Western bourgeoisie society. He points out that an association with 'whiteness' spurred hopes for future acceptance in colonial society (Adhikari 2005:8).

Although the term, 'Coloured', is contested and not embraced by everyone, there has been a strong emergence of loyalty to 'Colouredness' among sections of this population group in post-apartheid times. In Dennis's (2008:67) study of changing sociolinguistic identities, some Coloured high school informants asserted that it 'is cool to be Coloured, and to be very Coloured and proud of it'. This sentiment is echoed in numerous Facebook groups such as *Proudly Coloured*. Erasmus (2010), however, argues that "race" categories (quotation marks in the original) are neither stable nor homogenous. Heterogeneity is a salient subject in the debate around Coloured identity.

2.3 History and location

MGV has a population of approximately 1500 residents. Built in 1919, MGV was the ‘first major local housing development’ in Cape Town (Coetzer 2003:171). To combat overcrowding in the inner city, MGV housed Coloured municipal workers and their families (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999:144). The neighbourhood’s design followed that of the British Garden Cities Model. Coetzer (2003:230) points out that local administrators regarded the idea of single-family semi-detached cottages – with its ‘visions of universal Englishness’ – as a solution for housing the poor, and an ethical way for initiating segregation in Cape Town along racial lines.

In the 1950s, the apartheid government’s Group Areas Act, determined that people of different ‘races’ (as classified by the regime) should not live in the same areas. As a result, people were forcibly removed from their neighbourhoods and relocated further away from the city centre. Hence today, the majority of the Coloured population in the Cape Peninsula lives in neighbourhoods collectively known as the ‘Cape Flats’. These sprawling neighbourhoods were created by the apartheid government between the 1950s and 1980s (see Fig. 2.1). The residents of MGV, however, remain one of the few Coloured communities that were not forced to move away from where they lived during the Apartheid Era. The community stayed where they were, partially because of the City Council’s interest in keeping their workforce together, and in close proximity to the city centre. The devastating socio-economic impact of the apartheid regime’s forced removals has been documented by scholars such as Western (1981), Bickford-Smith et al, (1999), Field et al. (2007), and McCormick (2005). As such MGV differs significantly from the Cape Flats neighbourhoods as the residents have managed to live there for four to five generations.

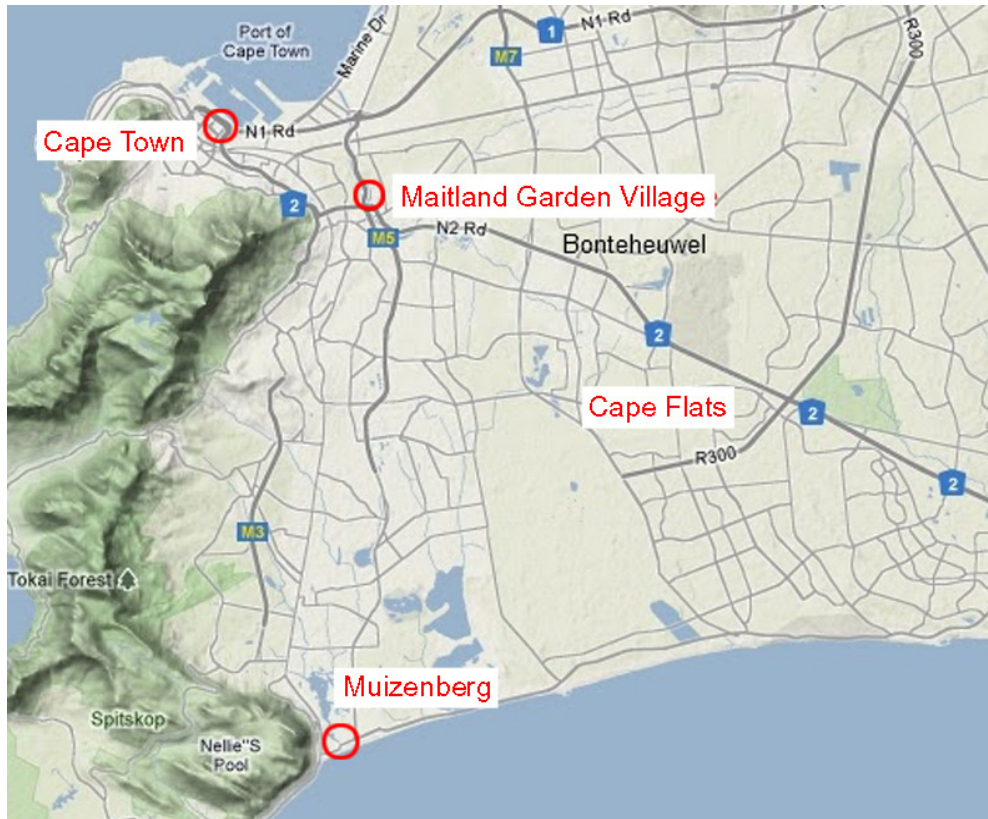


Fig. 2.1 Maitland Garden Village in relation to the Cape Town city centre and the Cape Flats.
Source: Google Maps (modified).

MGV is bordered by Black River Parkway, the industrial area of Ndabeni, and Oude Molen Eco Village.² The Alexandra Road thoroughfare and the Cape Flats railway line divide MGV from Pinelands – a previously White suburb (see Figure 2.2 below).

² The Oude Molen Eco Village is a group of somewhat derelict buildings (previously a mental hospital), which are now occupied by approximately 70 tenants who run micro-enterprises from the site.

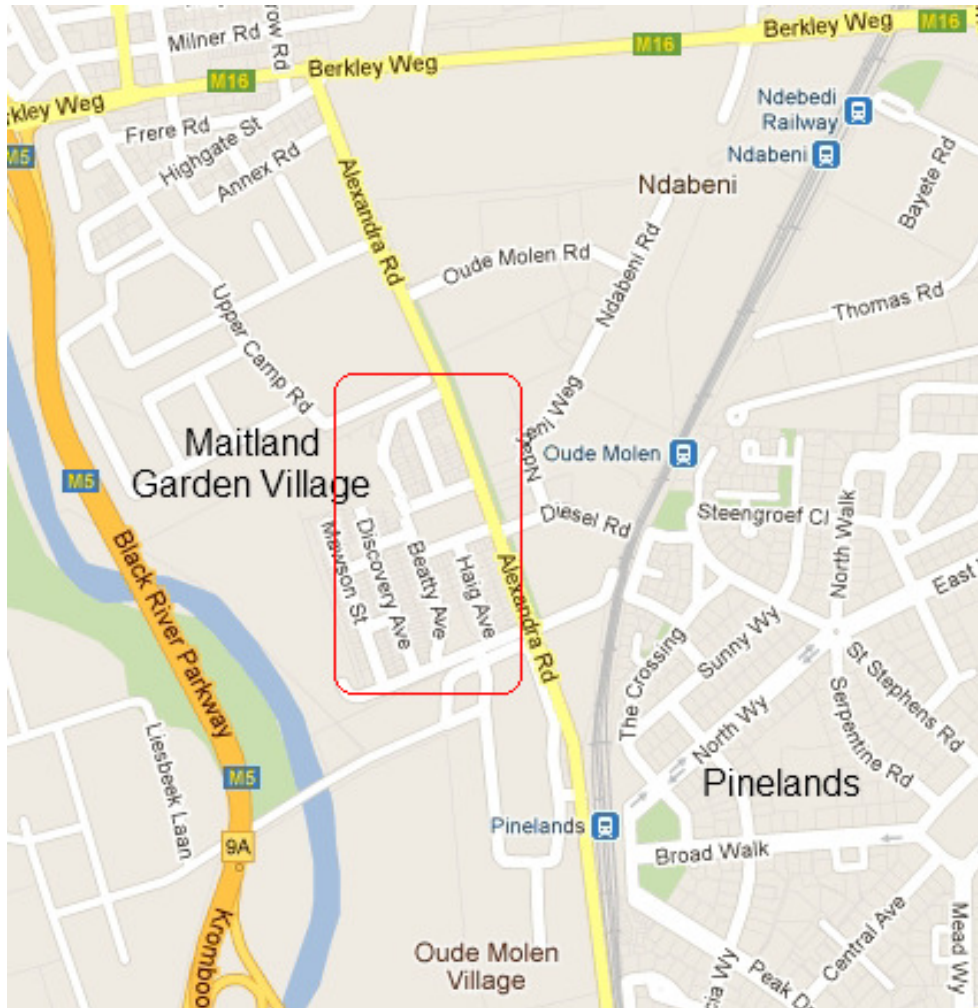


Fig. 2.2 Maitland Garden Village and surrounding areas. Source: Google Maps (modified).

2.4 Built environment

There are 240 plots in MGV, all consisting of the original two- or three-roomed semi-detached cottages built in the 1920s. In addition, there are many back-yard dwellers in MGV, who live in informal housing structures such as extensions, shacks and free-standing wooden or brick houses, erected in the backyards of the cottages (Image 2.1 below). Although there is a high density of people living in the neighbourhood, there are open fields in the ‘village’. These fields are used for recreational activities.



Image 2.1 The original garden cottages (seen from the back) with wooden extensions. April 2010.

The leases for the cottages are transferable within the families, and the residents pay a very low rental of approximately R300 per month to the City Council. They also have the option to buy their homes for around R16 000.³ According to the 2001 Census 2001, 60% of homes were owned by their occupants.

2.5 Employment, income, and education

The 2001 Census indicated a 31.3% unemployment rate in MGV – which is slightly higher than the 29.2% average rate that was recorded for the total Coloured population of the city. The 2010 neighbourhood survey, which was conducted as part of the study, shows that the unemployment rate in MGV continues to be high. The majority of MGV residents are employed as blue-collar workers, for example, several women living in MGV work as street sweepers for the City Council. There is however increased socio-economic diversity and upward mobility (see Chapter 4.2).

³ The re-sale value of the cottages are R400 000 but owners may not resell the houses within 5 years of purchase. In comparison, in the neighbouring area of Pinelands, three-bedroom houses are valued at approximately R3 000 000.

Table 2.1 (below) shows that in 2001 almost a third of households in MGV fell into the lowest income bracket and just over 50% into the second-lowest income bracket.

Income bracket per household	%
0 – R19 200	30
R19 200 – R76 800	57
R76 801 – R307 200	13
R307 201 – R1 228 800	1
R1 228 800 – more	0
Total	100

Table 2.1 Annual household incomes in MGV.

Source: Census 2001.

During the fieldwork, I observed that some households are entirely dependent on welfare grants and/or charity, and approximately 60 people collect food from the local soup kitchen on a daily basis. The neighbourhood is, however, not homogenous and some households are significantly more affluent than the average household in MGV.

Many residents also work in the informal economic sector, and offer services such as sewing, and the repairs of shoes, appliances, and cars from home. There is only one freestanding, formal shop in MGV, but there are 12 small informal shops run from private homes, selling a variety of goods. Additionally, some residents trade in specific items (e.g. cigarettes), or sell on specific days (e.g., homemade cakes on Sundays). Literacies associated with informal business will be discussed in Chapter 6.

There are persistent patterns of truncated education (such as high drop-out rates from school) in MGV. According to the 2001 Census, less than half of the MGV residents indicated that they had attended secondary school, and 10% held a matric certificate.⁴ This is slightly lower than the 14% matriculation rate for the total Coloured population of urban Cape Town (Census 2001). The 2010 neighbourhood survey indicates significantly higher education achievement: 27% of the participants had completed Grade 12 (see Chapter 4.2). This may point to increased

⁴ Matriculation, equivalent to Grade 12, is the last year of secondary school in South Africa.

opportunities for this socio-politically marginalized community in a democratic South Africa. Older residents often cited poverty as the main reason for their truncated education as they had to work from a young age to help support their families. Teenage pregnancy is another reason for dropping out of school (Field notes, October 2011).

The local Garden Village Primary School (henceforth GVPS) is attended by 440 children.⁵ The school is overcrowded as facilities consist of 11 classrooms in semi-permanent structures, as well as one small hall. In comparison, the primary school in the neighbouring suburb of Pinelands (which has the same amount of pupils as GVPS) consists of permanent buildings, and has 19 classrooms and a library.

An Edu-Care crèche in MGW provides care for approximately 100 toddlers.⁶ The GVPS school principal, Mrs October, said that in recent years, both the school and crèche have experienced an increase in the number of Black children – of South African descent as well as from other African countries – who live in other areas and commute to MGW to attend school.

2.6 Language repertoire

In the 2001 Census, 90% of MGW residents indicated Afrikaans as their home language. In answer to an open-ended question in the 2010 neighbourhood survey, ‘What is the language spoken the most in Garden Village’, 84% of the participants responded, that in general, Afrikaans is the most spoken language in MGW. This figure might be slightly lower than that of the 2001 Census, as the survey questionnaire did not restrict participants to choose between certain languages. Consequently, 11% of the participants wrote that they use both English and Afrikaans; or a ‘mix’ of English and Afrikaans. From my interaction with MGW residents in their homes and on the streets, it became clear that they are mostly Afrikaans-English bilinguals or Afrikaans-dominant with a good knowledge of English.

⁵ Western Cape Education Department, <http://wcedemis.pgwc.gov.za/wced/findaschool.html>.

⁶ According to government statistics (<http://wcedemis.pgwc.gov.za/wced/findaschool.html>), the crèche only accommodates 32 toddlers, but according to the teachers there are 100 children.

Participants were also asked to indicate the language that they spoke to different generations (see Fig. 2.3 below). Asked which language(s) they mostly speak to children, 52% of the participants indicated English, followed by 33% who mentioned Afrikaans (Fig. 2.3). The use of English with children is supported by the educational institutions in MGV. GVPS was previously an Afrikaans-medium school, but since 2001 it is officially Afrikaans-English dual-medium. The teachers at GVPS and the crèche, however, reportedly speak only English to the children (Mrs Jacobs: Field notes, March 2010). The primary school also advises parents to speak English to their children (Field notes January 2011, see Appendix H).

The results in Fig. 2.3 can be interpreted as a ‘change in progress’ (Chambers 2003:203), i.e. a possible language shift away from Afrikaans towards English. Within this interpretation, the intergenerational patterns of language choice in MGV are similar to Anthonissen’s (2009) findings in middle-class Coloured families. However, the results can also be indicative of a pattern of stable usage, where different languages are spoken with different age groups, generation after generation (‘age-grading’, cf. Chambers 2000:206).

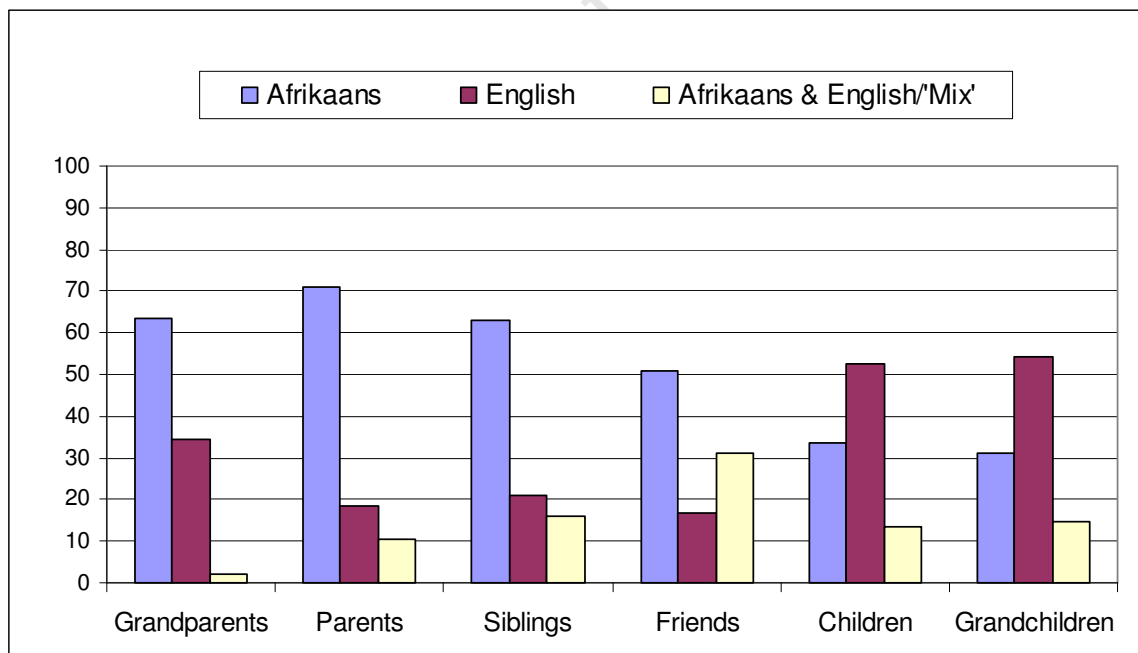


Fig. 2.3 Intergenerational spoken language choice patterns (in percentages). Source: MGV neighbourhood survey, 2010.

The MGV survey participants indicated that they speak mostly in Afrikaans to their siblings and friends. Afrikaans thus remains strong within peer groups. In her research in Wesbank, Dyers (2008) found that Afrikaans was the dominant language used by multilingual high school children with their friends. At an occasion during my fieldwork in MGV, I once observed a group of approximately 30 school girls, between the ages of 7–16, all speaking Afrikaans to each other while practicing for a dance performance (Field notes, August 2011).

I also noticed that pre-school toddlers and other primary school children, even though often addressed in English, would speak Afrikaans at those times when the adults were speaking to each other in Afrikaans. Noticeably, parents as well as children (in the case study families) spoke Afrikaans when they scold each other (also see Anthonissen 2009:65). Although the neighbourhood survey may show some evidence for language shift in MGV, and the use of English is institutionalized through education, Afrikaans is still used habitually in MGV by children and within peer groups. Deumert (2010a:17) discusses the possibility that the shift away from use of Afrikaans (and African languages) is not necessarily a language shift towards English monolingualism, but rather that English might be used in addition to other languages.

2.7 Social networks

A high level of regular face-to-face interaction between residents suggests strong social networks in MGV. A constant flow of relatives and friends, arriving or leaving the cottages, was common in the homes that I visited. Neighbours regularly drop by to deliver messages or to stop for a quick chat. The streets are generally busy with pedestrians as they are spaces of interaction for all age-groups. Children play games on the open fields and in the streets, and adults gather on the streets or chat with passers-by from their front yards (Image 2.2 below). The social networks in MGV are of a high density, as an individual's contacts typically also know each other (Milroy 1987:20).



Image 2.2 MGV residents socializing on the street. March 2011.

Network ties in MGV are also multiplex as individuals are ‘linked to others in more than one capacity’ (Milroy 1987:21). Apart from living in the same neighbourhood and having extensive kinship ties, it is highly likely that residents have attended the same primary school or even work together (Field notes, August 2011). Additionally, residents are members of local groups such as the neighbourhood’s Pensioners, Youth or Soccer Clubs. Home-based commercial activities contribute to residents walking to one another’s homes to buy goods or use services (see Chapter 6). Religion plays a pivotal social role in MGV, and membership in the local congregations strengthens the network ties in the neighbourhood (see Chapter 5).

Social networks are by no means limited to the spatial boundaries of MGV. There is a complex social economy of inter-household arrangements between MGV residents and friends and relatives living in the Cape Flats suburbs (Ross 2010:87). These social cross-city links usually remain within the Coloured group, i.e. although there are crossings between geographical spaces, the movements remain within the same social ethnic scale.

2.8 Conclusion

Drawing on Census 2001 statistics, the 2010 neighbourhood survey, and my observations during fieldwork, this chapter described MGV as relatively homogenous in terms of ethnicity and language repertoires, i.e. the residents mostly self-identify as Coloured, Afrikaans-English bilinguals. Afrikaans, however, is the dominant language in most neighbourhood interactions. The neighbourhood is socio-economically marginalized, and similar to the broader working-class Coloured population of Cape Town, there are consistent patterns of unemployment and truncated education among the residents.

The high volume of face-to-face interaction between residents creates dense and multiple social network features in MGV. The literacy practices of the residents will be analyzed in Chapters 4–8, keeping in mind the spatial and social characteristics of neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To enable me to understand how participants engage with literacy and produce texts, the methodology for this study had to generate data that allow an insight into their daily lives. Adopting an ethnographic perspective, I attempted to ‘understand the meanings and dynamics’ of their writing practices (Rampton et al. 2004:2). The aim of ethnographic investigation is to get an impression of participants’ habitus, in order for the researcher to form an impression of what people draw on when they act (cf. Chapter 1.2.1). Ethnography looks at ‘situated particularities’ (Rampton 2006:394) and the empirical data should point to particular theoretical issues, and not the other way round (Blommaert & Dong 2010:12). Rampton (2006:392) also emphasizes that ethnography has to take into account the researcher’s ‘personal subjectivity’ through-out the research process and data analysis (see Section 3.7).

The methodology for this project was threefold:

- (a) The sociolinguistic research was preceded by an Oral History project that I conducted as a pilot project in the Department of History at the University of Cape Town in early 2010.
- (b) A neighbourhood survey was conducted to obtain a bird’s-eye view of literacy practices of MGW residents in September 2010 (see section 3.3 below).
- (c) Ethnographic research, in the form of family case studies, regarding the literacy practices of two MGW families was conducted (see section 3.4 below).

3.2 Oral History Project

My first contact with MGW and its residents was in the form of oral history interviews. In April 2010, I recorded semi-structured life-story interviews with eight residents between the ages of 34 and 72 years. The interviews (each lasting 1-2 hours) gave me extensive insight into the history

of MGV, how the neighbourhood has changed over time, as well as the nature of its social networks. Towards the end of the interviews, I included questions regarding the literacy practices of the participants. During the project, I informed residents of my intended sociolinguistic research and thus tested their response to help me find families for the case studies. During this period, I also visited the local primary school and crèche, as well as the mobile bus library that services MGV weekly.

3.3 Neighbourhood survey

I conducted a questionnaire-based survey with 100 residents over a period of one week. The survey provided a general overview of the literacy engagement of MGV residents (see Chapter 4). The two-page questionnaire (see Appendix C) was available in English and Afrikaans and partially based on the *'Mobile literacies – digital communication in a multilingual society'* questionnaire, a survey funded by SANPAD 2010–2012, and developed by Deumert in 2010.⁷ The survey gathered data regarding the participants' reading and writing practices, and focused on the types and frequency of literacy engagement, as well as language choice in literacy activities. Additionally, the survey assessed the participants' access to technological literacy resources such as cellphones and computers, and included a section on language choices in spoken interaction. It should be considered that the survey results (see Chapter 4) are based on self-reported data, which may not be accurate.

3.4 Family case studies

The focus of this study are the literacy practices of two families living in MGV, i.e. the Davids and the Jackson families.⁸ Three generations of an extended family live in each household. All family members are briefly described below, but the analysis concentrates on the texts produced by certain family members only (indicated in Figs. 3.1 and 3.3 below). The fieldwork is best described as participant observation. Informal visits to the respective homes commenced in March 2010 and the fieldwork formally lasted until November 2012. I recorded an additional

⁷ SANPAD: South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development.

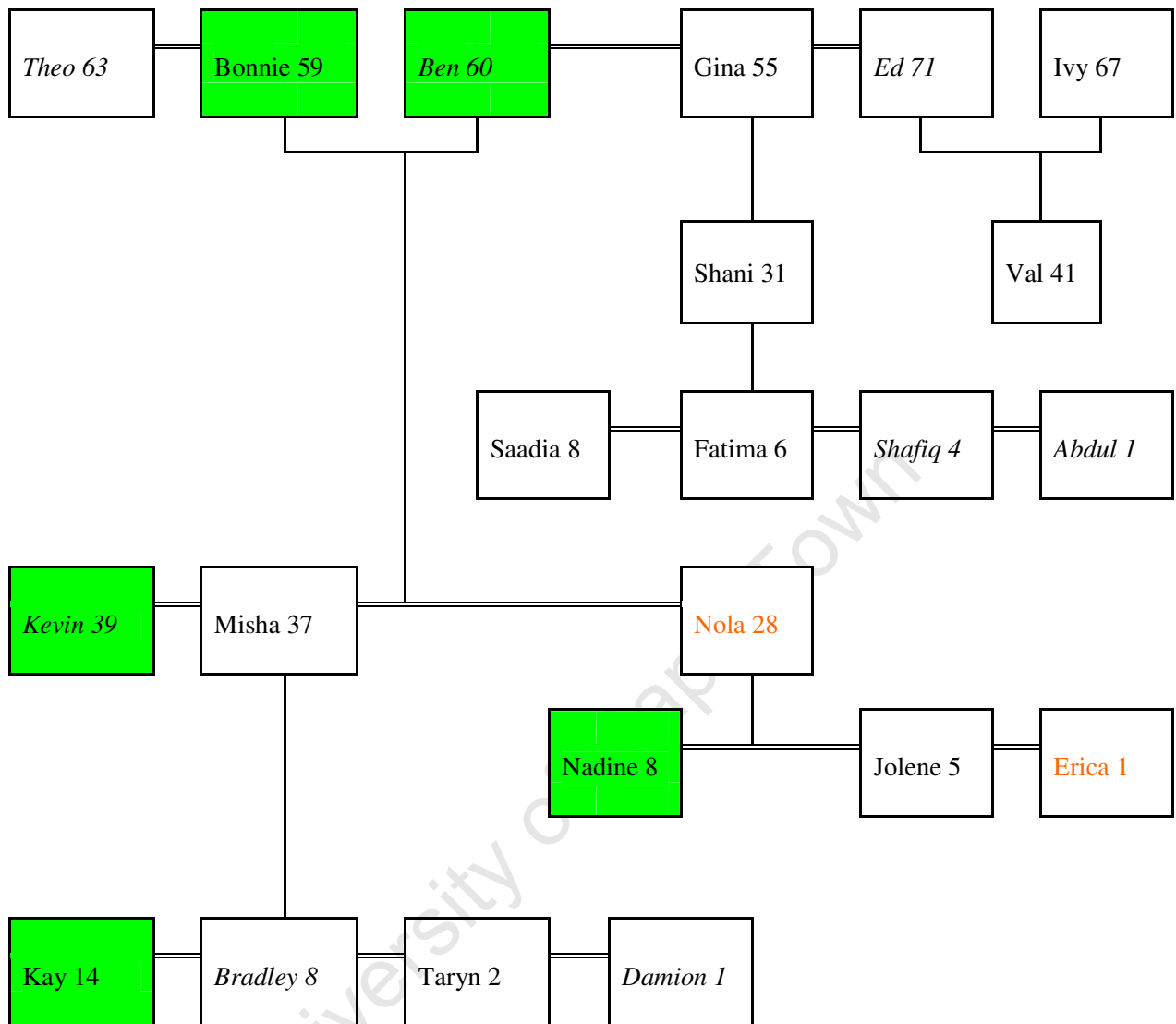
⁸ Pseudonyms have been given to all participants for anonymity.

conversation with Ben Davids in March 2012. Equal amounts of time were spent with both families. The length of my visits depended on the situation at the homes, i.e. if I felt it was appropriate for me to remain there or not. Sometimes I popped in only for a few minutes; longer visits would last up to two or three hours. I paid approximately 50 longer visits to each home. Visits were conducted during the week as well as on weekends. Apart from home visits, I joined family members in watching soccer games on the local field, and attended funerals, church services and the Village Day Fair.

During the visits, I interweaved questions concerning literacy and language into my casual conversations. For example, during a discussion of the arrangements for an up-coming 60th birthday party, I asked the participant if they wrote a guest list (Field notes, November 2010). The families gradually accepted that I had this dual role: a family friend with a special interest in what they were reading and writing.

3.4.1 The Davids family

The 90m² Davids home can be described as over-crowded, as 19 members of an extended family live in the house (see Fig. 3.1 below). None of the occupants own a car and they rely on public transport for intra-city mobility. All the primary-school-going children in the house attend the local Garden Village Primary School (henceforth GVPS).



- Double horizontal lines indicate sibling relationships.
- Single horizontal lines indicate marital relationships.
- Green blocks indicate participants whose texts are discussed.
- Red names indicate those who do not live in the house but visit daily.
- The numbers indicate age.
- Males are indicated by italics.

Fig. 3.1 The occupants of the Davids home.

The leaseholder of the home is Theo Grey (63). He works as a caretaker at a local institution in MG. Theo has his own bedroom and a small workshop where he mends shoes for additional

income. I saw him rarely, as he spends much of his time at another family's house in MGV (where he also eats his meals).

Theo's sister, Bonnie (nee Grey) Davids (59), has lived in MGV since birth. Bonnie used to be a factory and domestic worker, and now assists her husband, Ben Davids (60), in their home-based enterprises. Ben is a butcher by trade, and is originally from Crawford (an English-dominant neighbourhood in Cape Town). Ben is unemployed, but runs a *boerewors* stand (South African equivalent of a hot dog stand) in Muizenberg (a coastal suburb, situated 22 km from MGV, see Fig. 2.1) on Saturdays. During the research period, Ben built a small shop in his front yard (see Chapter 6.2). Ben is also a lay preacher, and organizes the small Church of Christ congregation in MGV (see Chapter 5.3). He has a second-hand desktop computer that he has not used as it has never been in a working condition. Both Ben and Bonnie left school in Grade 9 (the approximate age for Grade 9 is 15 years).

Two of Bonnie and Ben's children, namely Kevin (39) and Misha (37), live in the house. Kevin sleeps in a cluttered, one-roomed dwelling in the back yard. He attended the UCT Ballet School, but did not complete his degree. He occasionally works as a tour guide in Cape Town, or in restaurants. He is computer literate and he occasionally assists his friends in their business ventures, doing basic administration. He regularly crosses over from the socio-spatial and socio-economic boundaries of MGV to the wider social sphere in Cape Town (see Chapter 8.2 for discussion of Kevin's role as literacy mediator).

Bonnie and Ben's second child, Misha (37), is a factory worker. She has four children: Kay (14), Bradley (8), Taryn (2) and Damion (who was born during the research period). Kay is the only teenager in the house and commutes to Salt River by train to attend high school. In the afternoon, she either works in Ben's shop in the front yard, or spends time with her friend, Tammy (14), who lives next door. Two more of Ben and Bonnie's grandchildren, Nadine (8) and Jolene (5), live in the house with them. Their mother, Nola (28) and her baby, Erica (1), live in Bonteheuwel with her husband, Andy, and travel to MGV by train on most days to visit the family.

Several of Ben's relatives live in the house as well. They do not pay rent, but make small contributions to the utility bills. Ben's older brother, Ed (71), his wife, Ivy (67), and their mentally-disabled daughter, Val (41), survive on pension and disability funds and have been living in a room in the house for three years. Ben's sister, Gina (55), her daughter, Shani (31), and Shani's four children, Saadia (8), Fatima (6), Shafiq (4) and Abdul (1) moved into the home two years ago. Gina cares for her grandchildren and Shani is a part-time hairdresser.

The family also provided shelter to a White homeless person, called Harry (40), during the research period. Bonnie took pity on Harry and allowed him to sleep in the front yard and to use the facilities in the house. Harry told me that he has a Master's Degree in Psychology and that he is HIV positive. His medical condition and drug-addiction rehabilitation problems have prevented him from working. After living with the Davids for six months, Harry disappeared, and the family has not heard of him since (Field notes, August 2011).

Ben says that, although the house is overcrowded, it is 'love that binds it together' (Field notes, June 2011). At times, however, he complained to me that the presence of the relatives *saai onmin tussen my kinders* ('causes strife among my children'). There is additional tension, as his brother-in-law, Theo, is not pleased with Ben's relatives living in the home.

The mutual living and sleeping areas in the Davids home overlap, and there are no private spaces for most of the occupants. For example, Ben and Bonnie and two of their grandchildren sleep in the front room in two single beds (see Fig. 3.2 below). This room is also used as a communal lounge, i.e. to watch television, or to chat with visitors. Another room, with two beds, accommodates Gina, Shani and her four children, as well as Misha and two of her children. The cousins, Kay and Nadine, sleep in a fold-out bed in the kitchen. Theo's room and workshop are always locked i.e. it is not accessible to other occupants.

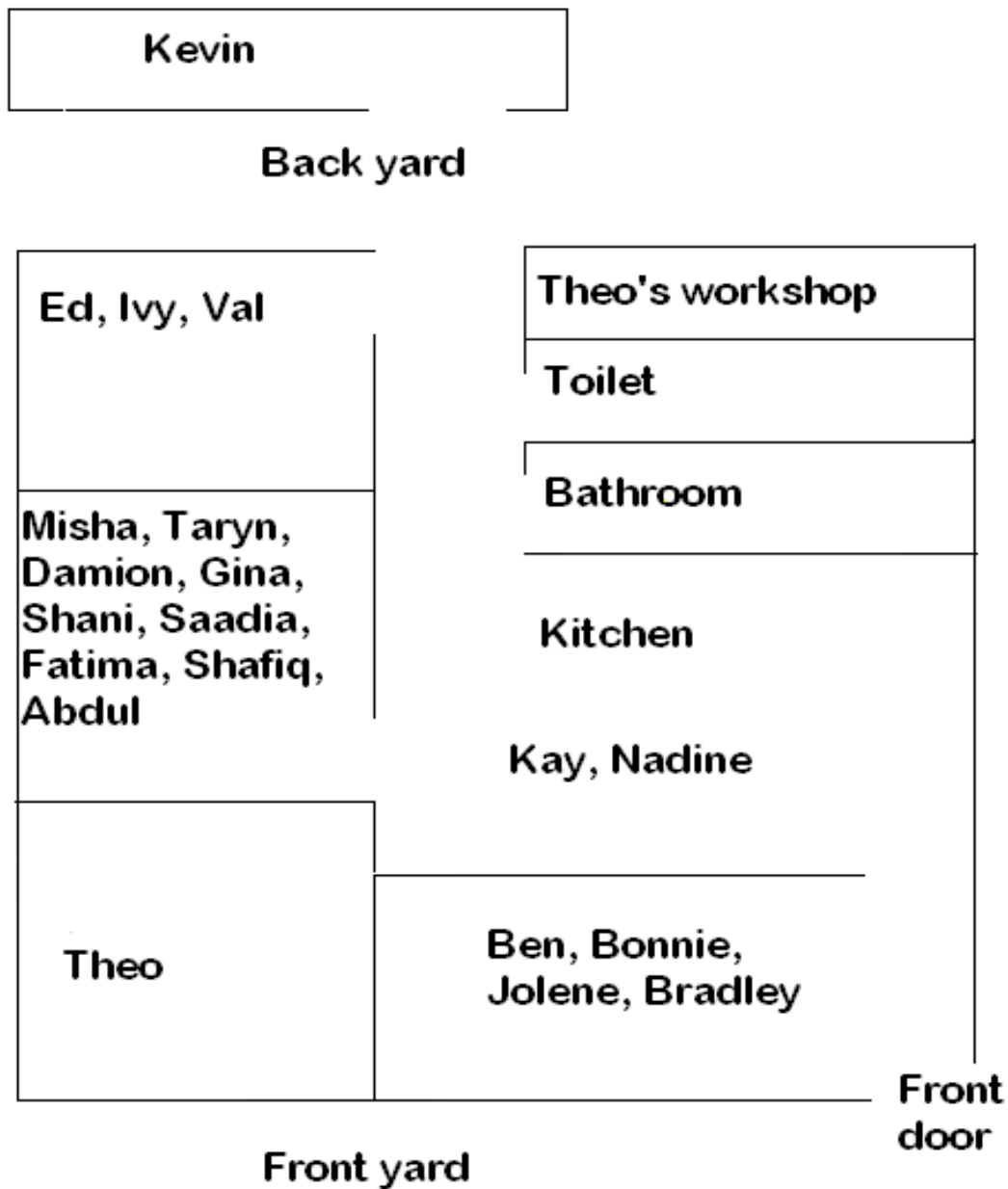


Fig. 3.2 The overlap of sleeping and communal living areas in the Davids home.

The sound emitting from the five small television sets in the home, together with the traffic noise from the busy thoroughfare, means that it is rarely quiet in the Davids home. Consequently, there is an absence of silent space for solitary reading and writing. There are no desks and writing activities (including homework) take place either at the kitchen table, and often sitting and lying on beds. Kevin, however, said that before all the relatives moved in, his parents and sisters

'always read a lot', and I often observed Bonnie, Kevin and Misha reading tabloid newspapers, magazines and novels. The current over-crowded and noisy living conditions thus affect the occupants' literacy practices. For example, in the evenings, Misha (whom Kevin and Kay describe as a 'bookworm'), reads novels in the toilet, as she shares her bedroom with eight other people (Field notes, August 2011). Two single mothers (Misha and Shani) and their children, as well as the children of another mother (Nola) live in the house. None of these children's fathers live in MG. There is no structured routine with regards to completing homework and the mothers rarely help their children with homework. They rather receive occasional assistance from their uncle Kevin.

3.4.2 The Jackson family

There are ten family members living on the Jackson's property (see Figure 3.3 below), which is located in the centre of the neighbourhood. The Jacksons are somewhat more affluent than the Davids family, for example, two family members own cars (albeit secondhand vehicles). Compared to the Davids's, more adults in the Jackson family either work full-time or have stable incomes (from their home-based enterprises).

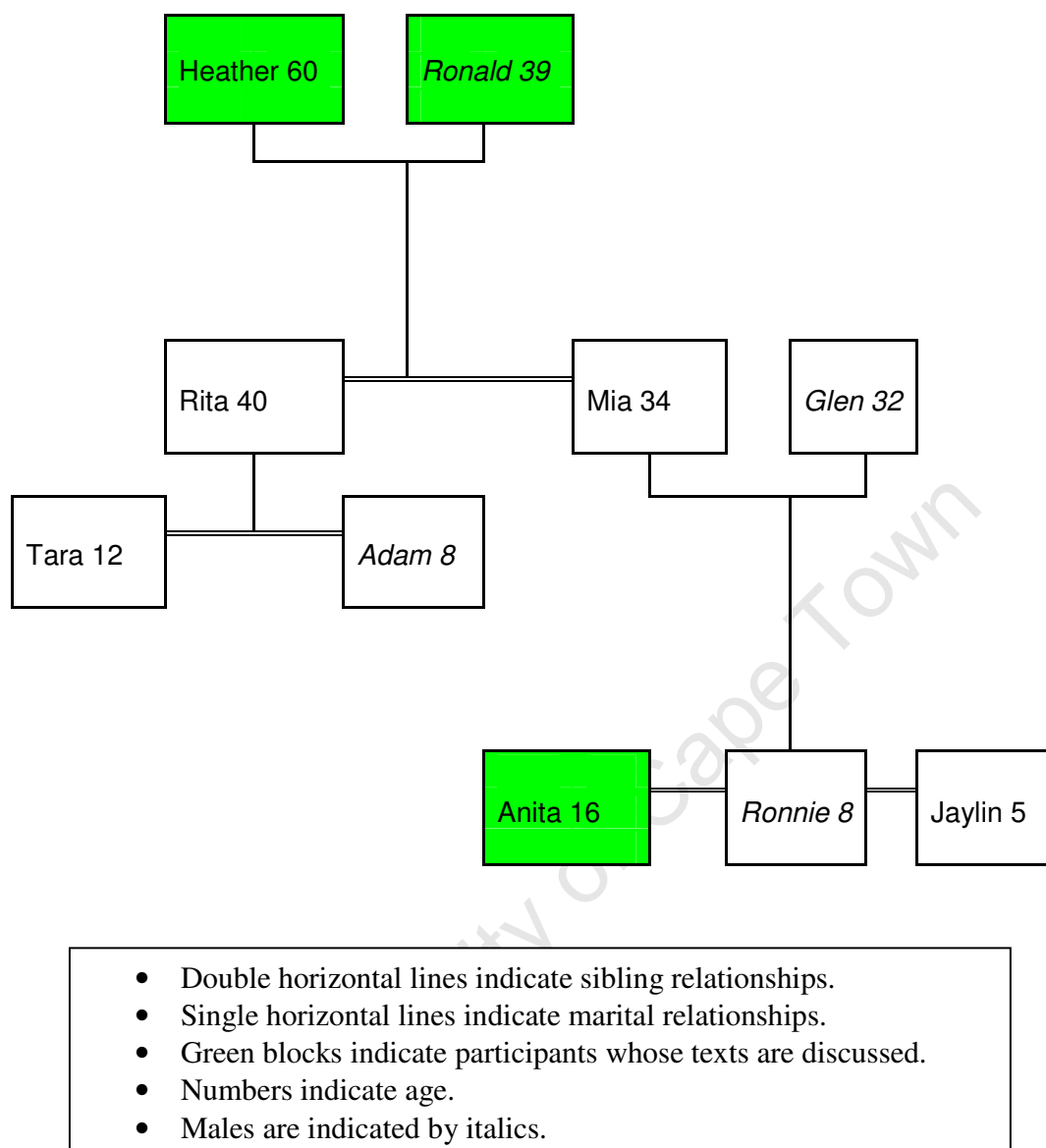


Fig. 3.3 The occupants of the Jackson home.

Heather Jackson (60) has always lived in MG. She left school at the age of 16, not for economic reasons, but because she was bored and wanted to start earning money (Oral History interview, April 2010). She used to be a factory seamstress, but has been living on a disability grant for the past 10 years due to a car accident injury. Heather has difficulty with walking and uses a crutch for longer distances. She does sewing jobs from home, and sometimes sells frozen fish to generate additional income. Heather is highly respected in MG because of her organizational role in a variety of community and church activities (see Chapter 5.2). She runs a

thriving pensioners' club, coaches the local drum majorettes, and cooks and distributes food for soup kitchens. Heather is married to Ronald Jackson (58) who also grew up in MGV. Ronald worked in a blue-collar position for the City Council for 35 years. Nowadays, he buys vegetables at the fresh produce market in Philippi, to sell from home, and runs a local taxi service (See Chapter 6.3).

Ronald and Heather's eldest daughter, Rita (40) and her children, Tara (13) and Adam (5), live in a pre-fabricated three-roomed wooden house in the back yard. Such houses are common in local marginalized communities. Tara attends GVPS, and Adam the Educare crèche. Rita obtained a B.Com. (HDE), and is a Grade 12 high school teacher in Elsies River (a suburb 11 km away from MGV). She is a Sunday school teacher, hosts Youth Evenings for the Methodist church, and is on the local Ratepayers' Association. Rita has an active social life and often attends events in other areas in Cape Town.

Rita's sister, Mia (34), left school in Grade 11 when she fell pregnant. She attended a basic computer literacy course but she never used a computer since the completion of the course. Mia is married to Glen (32), who works as a machine operator. Mia and Glen have three children: Anita (16), Ronnie (10) and Jaylin (5). Mia is unemployed and mostly stays at home, cares for her children, and assists her mother in community activities. She takes an active interest in her children's education, and spends an hour a day helping them with their homework. Anita attends the high school in Elsies River where her Aunt Rita is a teacher. Anita also spends a lot of her spare time with her 19-year-old boyfriend who also lives in MGV. Ronnie and Jaylin attend GVPS.

In general, there is less of an overlap of private and communal space in the Jackson home than in the Davids home (see Fig. 3.4 below). For example, the Jackson's front room is exclusively used as a lounge, and there are fewer people sharing bedrooms.

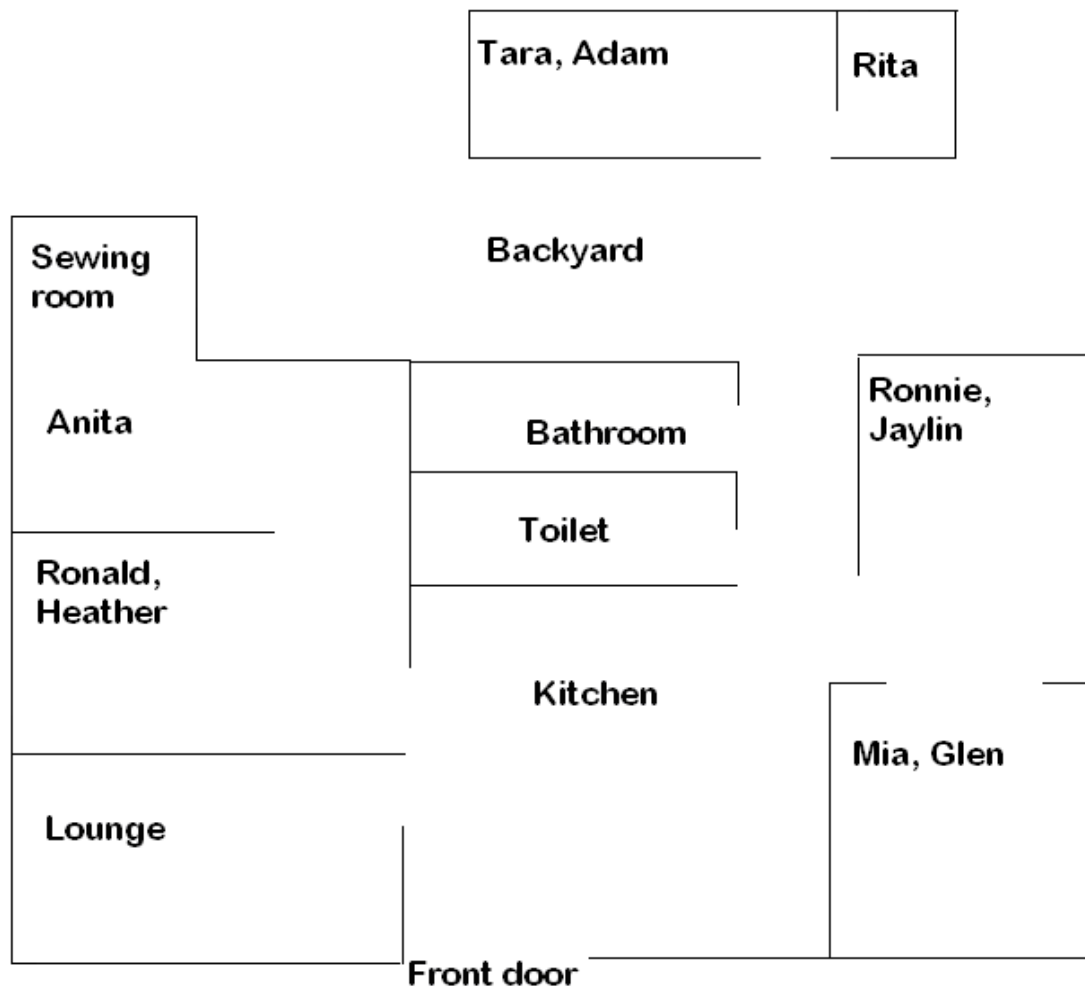


Fig. 3.4 Sleeping and living arrangements in the Jackson home.

Anita does her homework in her own room, and Ronnie and Jaylin do their homework on a couch in their bedroom. Ronnie and Jaylin's room is also used by the entire family to receive friends and watch TV, as the lounge is only used for more formal visits and meetings. There are six small television sets in the home. The writing of shopping lists, greeting cards, and the reading of the post and newspapers usually takes place at the kitchen table. Compared to the Davids' home, the Jackson family members have more private space to engage in writing. There are far less children in the Jackson home and I observed that they receive more individual assistance with their homework from adult family members than the Davids children.

3.5 Field notes, interviews and recordings

I made brief field notes in a notebook during the visits but usually wrote more detailed entries after the visits (see Appendix H for examples of field notes). I conducted two semi-structured interviews but most of the recordings are in the form of casual conversations. Street (2000:21) argues that it is often ‘meaningless’ to just ask people about literacy alone, or even about reading and writing. He points out that what might give *meaning* to literacy practices may actually be something that is not, thought of in terms of literacy at all. I had the impression that the participants found it hard to reflect on their literacy practices in interviews that only focused on literacy. The rest of the recordings were thus conducted spontaneously. If my conversation with family members steered towards literacy-related activities, I took the opportunity to ask them if I could record the conversations. I describe such recordings as digital field notes. The participants did not regard these recorded conversations as interviews, and would sometimes end the conversation abruptly (hence some of the recordings are very short). Table 3.1 lists the recordings that have been transcribed for the study.

No.	Interviewees	Length	Date	Type
G.1	Ben Davids	0.03.20	10/2011	Digital field note
G.2	Ben Davids	0.08.05	3/2012	Digital field note
G.3	Heather & Mia Jackson	0.06.50	01/2011	Digital field note
G.4	Bonnie Davids	0.06.06	11/2010	Digital field note
G.5	Kramer, Jenny and Bella	0.20.24	11/2011	Informal interview
G.6	Kay Davids	0.20.19	09/2010	Semi-structured interview
G.7	Kay Davids	0.05.34	01/2011	Digital field note
G.8	Kay Davids	0.15.46	10/2011	Informal interview
G.9	Kay Davids	0.06.48	10/2011	Digital field note
G.10	Anita Jackson	0.22:00	12/2010	Semi-structured interview

Table 3.1 List of recordings (G.1–10 refers to the order of the transcriptions in the Appendices).

The semi-structured interviews, focused on the role and frequency of a range of literacy activities in interviewees’ daily lives. Additionally, I recorded three conversations with Kay Davids regarding her engagement with a mobile instant messaging service (MXit). An interview was also conducted with a non-family member, named Kramer. The commercial literacies that he

produces are of interest for this study (see Chapter 6.4). His wife, Jenny, and Kramer's landlady (Bella) joined the interview.

3.6 Corpus of literacy artefacts

A variety of literacy artefacts, produced by the occupants of the two homes, were collected during the fieldwork period. As I did not want to influence, for example, their style of writing, I refrained from asking them to save all texts they produced for me. When I came across a text, I asked family members if I could keep it, or if I could record it by means of digital photography. Lists of the literacy artefacts collected from each family are provided in Appendices A and B.

Artefacts included handwritten literacies, such as letters to friends, shopping lists, notebooks for record keeping, sermons written for church services, and signage for home-based commercial activities. Apart from the face-to-face interaction with participants, I developed and sustained relationships with the participants through on-line literacies. The digital corpora consist of SMS messages, mobile instant message conversations and Facebook status updates. Many of these texts were written to me by the participants, and in my interpretation, I take into account that being the recipient of these texts might have influenced the participants' writing.

From my first visits, I used a digital camera to capture literacy artefacts and activities in the families' homes. I photographed party invitations, greeting cards, certificates, books, homework and handmade signs. The photographic data gives a general impression of the literacy environment in the homes, as well as insight into what is important to the families. For example, the Jacksons laminate and display school certificates, as well as certificates for the completion of Bible study courses on their walls. This suggests that the family values religious studies and education.

I also took pictures of family members for their own amusement. My intention was to make the participants comfortable with the presence of the camera and I was gradually able to take photographs in their homes, without asking permission every time. I obtained permission from the participants to use the images. On occasion, I was able to capture participants engaging in

literacy activities: for example, Heather assisting a pre-school child to write her name (see Image 3.1 below).



Image 3.1 Heather Jackson assists her pre-school grandchild to write her name. May 2010.

3.7 Ethical considerations

As this is a small community with strong social networks, I omit some details about certain family members (e.g. the name of employers) in order to protect their identity. To conduct ethnographic research in the privacy of their homes and to gain insight into people's daily lives also meant that I had to be an accessible friend and not merely an academic observer. It was important to build relationships with family members in order to win their trust, learn about their lives, and have access to the texts they produce. Placing myself in this intimate position with my participants meant that the fieldwork was a complex and, at times, an emotional process.

Linguists such as Milroy (1987), Zentella (1997), Patrick (1999) and McCormick (2002) discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the insider or outsider status of the sociolinguistic researcher. Being a White, female South African, made me relatively conspicuous in the

neighbourhood, as there are no Caucasian residents living in MGV. The White people that I noticed were charity or social workers, or foreign students volunteering at the primary school. The common perception of White people as welfare workers was evident when I was asked by one of the families to pose as a social worker in order to 'scare' a relative who was using recreational drugs (I refused). Milroy (1987:54) discusses the importance of 'naming a friend' to guarantee 'good faith' when one enters the field as an outsider. I often mentioned that I was a friend of Heather Jackson, a well-known and respected figure in MGV. This strategy helped me, for example, to recruit participants for the survey.

Literacies often contain confidential information and the participants were sometimes reluctant to show or give me examples of their writing because of the information it contained. Although I gained an intimate perspective on the participants' lives, this close role may have limited the type and number of literacies I was able to collect. For example, I formed close friendships with Anita Jackson's mother and grandmother, and this may have resulted in Anita not feeling comfortable in showing me her instant messaging conversations with her peers.

I did not conceal any part of the project from the participants, and discussed the research openly with them. Written consent was given by Ben and Bonnie Davids, and Heather Jackson on behalf of their families. I recorded verbal consent from the participants at the beginning of interviews. I obtained verbal consent from Kay and her mother to use Kay's instant messaging conversations for this study.⁹ Some of the family members were interested in the purpose of my study and occasionally asked me questions about the research. They enquired, for example, why their everyday literacies (regarded by them as mundane objects) were of interest to me.

The participants gradually displayed an awareness of what I was interested in and would sometimes spontaneously hand literacy materials to me to look at, or photograph. They also assisted me with practical tasks pertaining to the research; such as measuring the rooms in the house and drawing floor plans. To treat the families, and to show my appreciation for their participation, I often brought small gifts such as cake, colouring-in books and *kimbies* ('nappies') for new-born babies. Second-hand clothing and appliances were accepted at the Davids' home,

⁹ The research design for this study was approved according to UCT rules, and conforms to them.

but they were an inappropriate gift to the more affluent Jackson family (cf. 3.4.2) as they said they would donate such items to less fortunate people.

3.8 Language choice during fieldwork

I initially alternated between English and Afrikaans when I addressed the MGV residents, as I did not want to impose a language choice on them. As time progressed, I followed the language choice patterns of families: I spoke Afrikaans to all the adults, both Afrikaans and English to teenagers (depending on their language choice) and I addressed small children mainly in English. Patrick (1999:66) notes that it can be as ‘perilous’ to attempt to approximate the language variety of participants (as he had done in his research on Jamaican Creole) as there can be large variation in non-standard vernaculars. I noticed, however, that I certainly increased the number of English insertions when I spoke Afrikaans in MGV.

3.9 Conclusion

The methodology for this project allowed me to collect data that provides insight into the literacy practices of the participants. The neighbourhood survey provided a general overview of literacy engagement in MGV. I visited the case study families regularly, participated as a family friend in everyday activities, and obtained rich and varied data in this way.

The families can be described as socio-economically marginalized, and they trade from home to supplement their incomes. The combination of the marginalized economic circumstances and patterns of truncated education are factors that points to the possibility that the family members will produce texts that can be described as ‘grassroots’ literacies. The home environments of the two families, however, differ: whilst the crowded conditions in the David’s household do not afford private space for solitary literacy engagement, the Jackson’s are more affluent and the occupants have spaces, such as bedrooms and a lounge, to engage with literacy.

Individuals in the households also draw on different linguistic and literacy resources. There is a white-collar worker with a university degree (Rita, the teacher) living in the Jackson house –

whilst none of the other adults in the home have completed high school. Similarly, Kevin Davids has attended (although not completed) university, whilst his parents and siblings have no tertiary education. The role of individuals within the families as mediators will be discussed in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 4: NEIGHBOURHOOD SURVEY

4.1 Sampling methodology

The survey conducted for this study, drew on a cross-section of MGV residents to obtain a general view of engagement with literacy in the neighbourhood. The survey focused on informal literacies for personal communication or leisure rather than on school or work literacies. Participants for the survey were recruited in three ways: Firstly, I invited people that I met on the street, or who were sitting in their gardens, to complete the questionnaire. A few residents kept extra questionnaires overnight to give to family members who were at work. Secondly, I conducted the survey with people who collect food at the soup kitchen at midday. This ensured that data was obtained from the most economically disadvantaged residents in MGV. Thirdly, a member of each of the case study families, Anita Jackson (16) and Kevin Davids (39), assisted me in conducting the survey. Anita collected 25 questionnaires from her younger social network, and Kevin conducted the survey with 13 of his MGV acquaintances.

The participants could choose to complete either English or Afrikaans questionnaires. A few insisted on one of the languages, but most of the participants said that 'it did not matter'. This may be an indication that they are comfortable with completing a literacy task in either language (Field notes: September 2010).

4.2 Sample description

The 100 survey participants range between the ages of 16 and 73, with a gender ratio of 42 males to 58 females. I anticipated that there would be intergenerational differences in the participants' literacy engagement and wanted the survey to provide a broad overview of literacy activities across all age groups. However, different age groups are not entirely equally represented in the sample (Fig. 4.1).

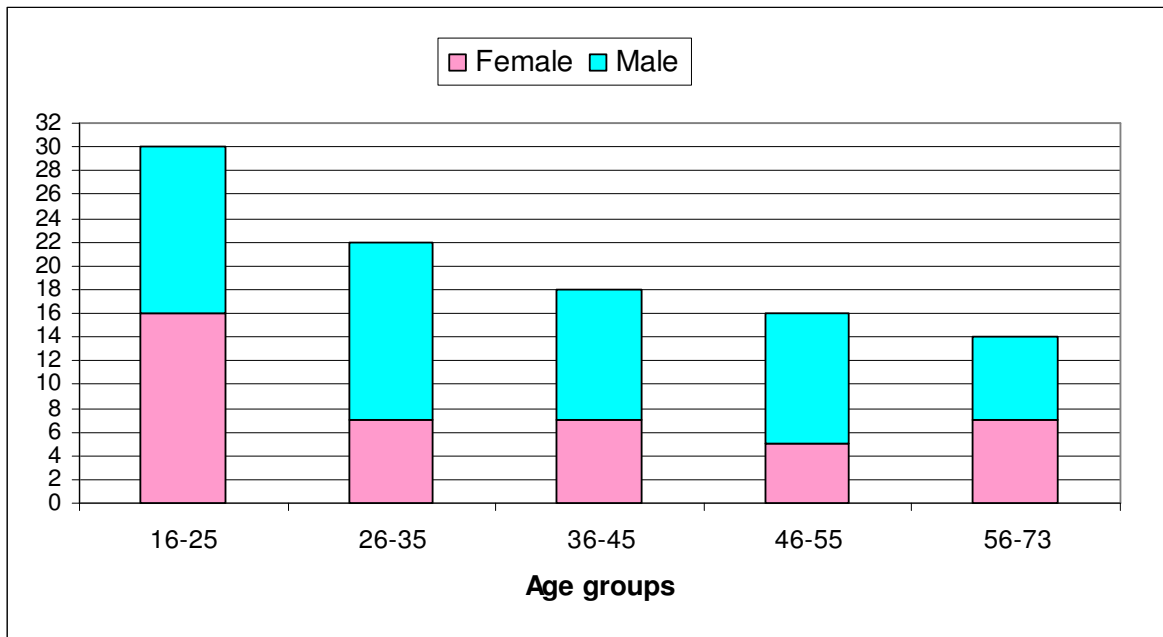


Fig. 4.1 Number of survey participants in age groups, showing gender ratio.

The youngest age group (16–25 years) has the highest representation, and the oldest age group (56–73 years), has the lowest. Seventy percent (70%) of the participants have lived in MGV since birth, while only 8% have lived in the neighbourhood for less than 10 years. The socio-economically precarious state of many households in MGV is reflected in Fig. 4.2. Forty-four percent of the sample are working (either full- or part-time), but 38% of those of an employable age (between 19–59 years) are unemployed.

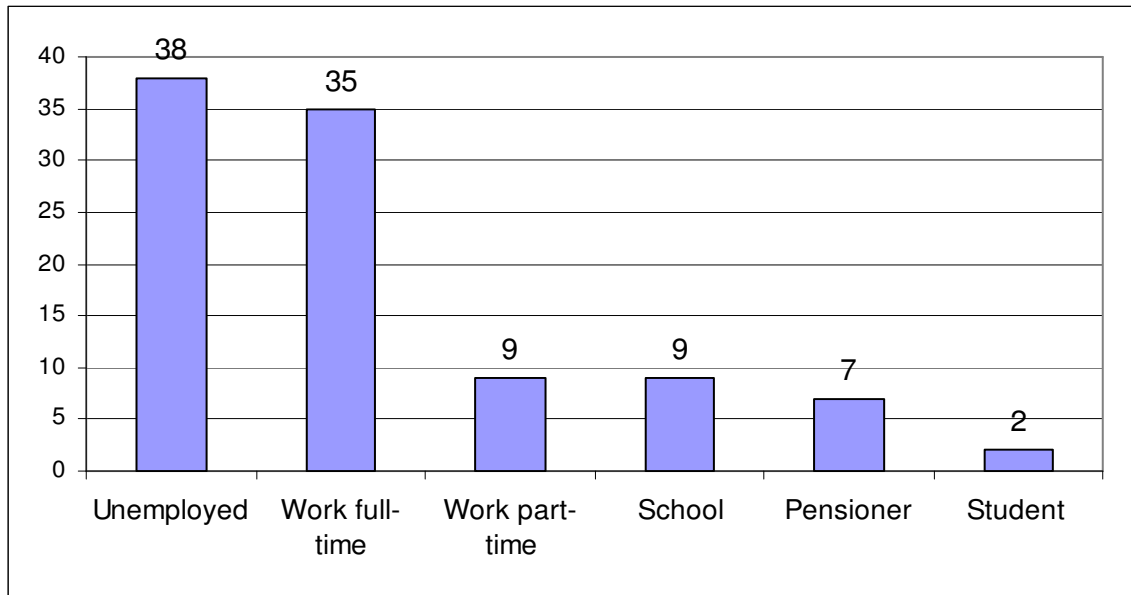


Fig. 4.2 Demographics of the survey sample, in percentages (N=100).

The survey participants are predominantly blue-collar workers in low-income jobs, such as security guards, factory workers and manual labourers. There are, however, also three teachers, four administrative clerks and two managers in the sample (see Appendix D.1–D.3). Only 54% of those who work indicated that they do some form of writing at work. Fig. 4.3 (below) indicates high drop-out rates from school. Fourteen percent (14%) had only primary school education, and one participant indicated that he had no schooling. A quarter of the participants had completed high school and 10% of the participants had some type of tertiary education or training (see Appendix D.4).

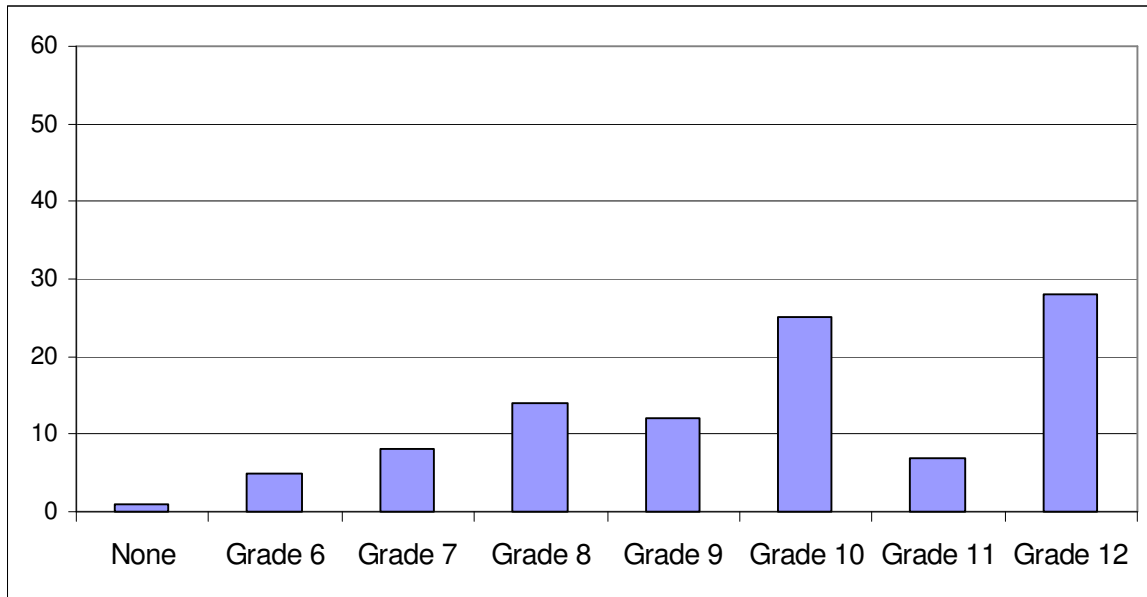


Fig. 4.3 Levels of schooling in survey sample, (in percentages). N=91, as participants who are currently at school are not included in the graph.

4.3 Survey results

4.3.1 Reading

In the survey, 88% of the participants indicated that they ‘enjoy reading’ in general, and 40% indicated that they make use of a public library. Half of those who visit a library indicated that they use the mobile bus library which services MGV once a week. The questionnaire also asked participants to indicate the approximate number of books there are in their homes (Fig. 4.4 below).

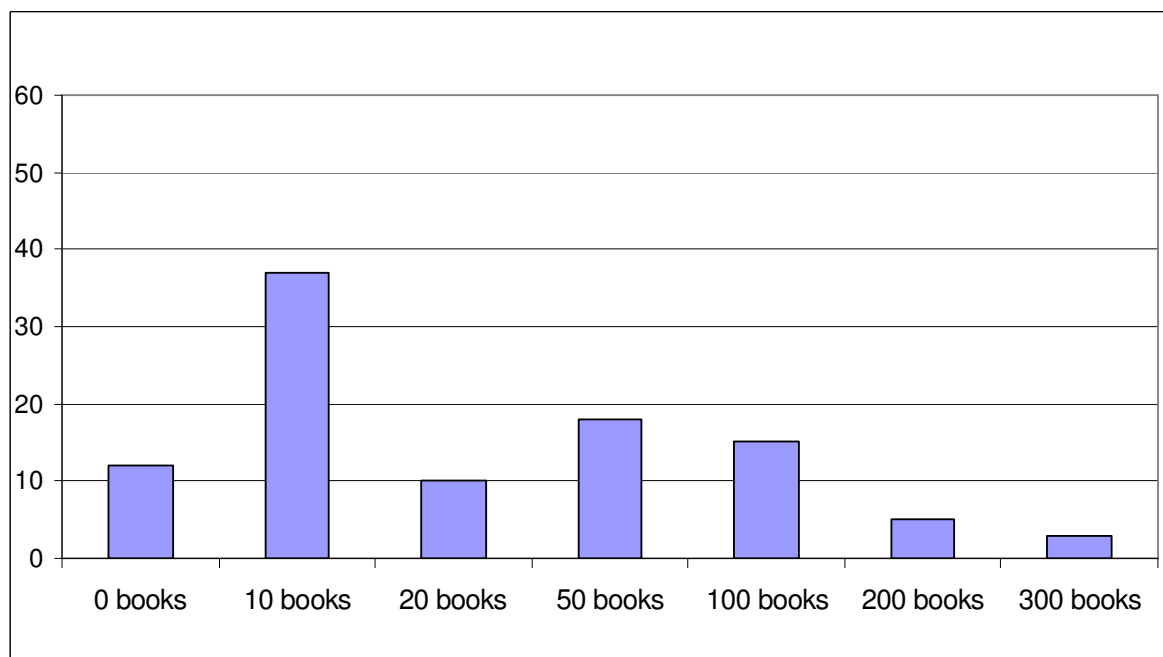


Fig. 4.4 Book ownership among participants, (in percentages).

Twelve percent (12%) of the participants responded that they had no books in their homes, while most of the participants indicated that there are fewer than 10 books. Fifteen percent (15%) indicated that they have approximately 100 books at home. In a national survey conducted in 2007 by the *South African Book and Development Council* (henceforth SABDC), 51% of participants indicated that they had no books at home, and only 6% had more than 40 books at home.¹⁰ The MGV residents thus appear to have relatively more books at home than other households in South Africa. It should be kept in mind, however, that participants often referred to magazines, television programme guides, chain store catalogues and comics as ‘books’ (Field notes, September 2010). For example, the only participant to respond that she had 300 books at home, included ‘magazines’ in her description of her books. The folk understanding of what the word ‘book’ signifies thus may include anything that is a collection of sheets of paper that are bound together, and not necessarily a durable object with a spine and encased between two solid protective covers.

¹⁰ The SABDC was conducted across all provinces and ethnicities in South Africa.

The majority of participants mentioned that the *bona fide* books that they have at home are religious books, such as Bible(s), prayer and hymn books, Bible study books, or the Quran, *Kitaap* and *Soerat*.¹¹ Some of the participants who indicated that there are ‘less than 10 books’ at home, explained that these are all religious books (cf. Chapter 5.2). The second-most commonly owned type of books mentioned was fiction, i.e. ‘novels, ‘story books’ or ‘romances’.

The questionnaire asked participants ‘how often’ they read informal printed texts, including newspapers, magazines and books as well as the Bible or the Quran (Fig. 4.5).

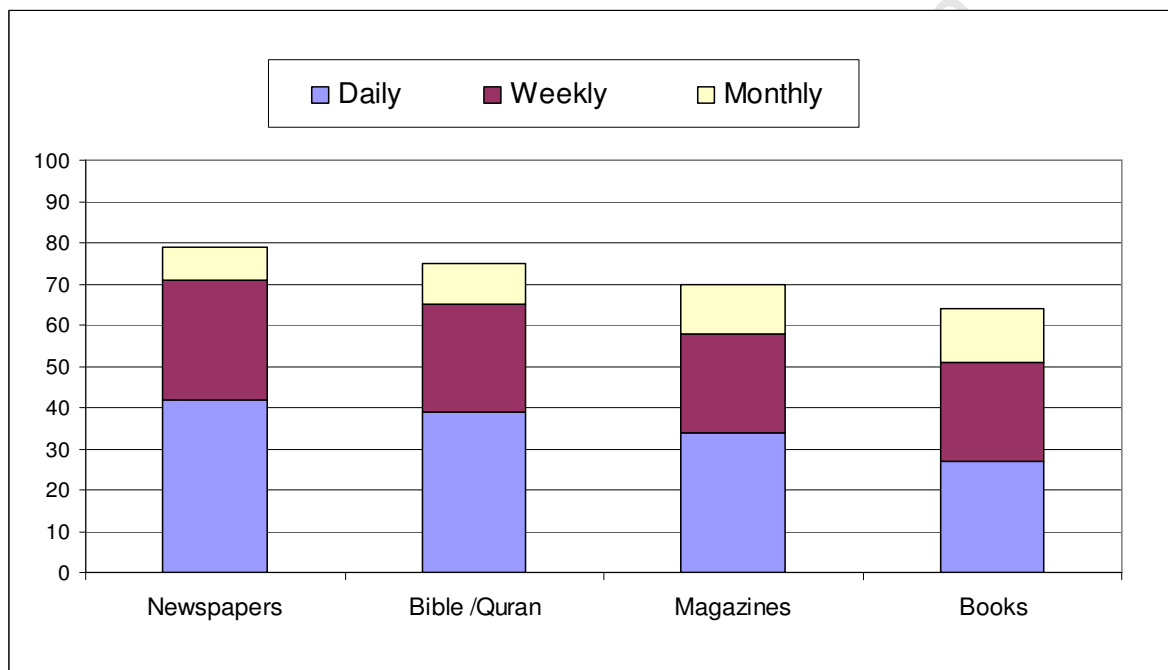


Fig. 4.5 Frequency of reading of informal print literacies (in numbers).

Newspapers are the print literacy read by most of the participants, and it is also the print literacy that most participants read on a daily basis. Participants mentioned two tabloid newspapers, *The Voice* (18 participants) and the *Son* (14 participants) most frequently.¹² These tabloids are targeted at the working-class Coloured population in the Western Cape (Wasserman 2007:1), and

¹¹ The spellings for ‘Surat’ and ‘Kitab’ are as provided by the survey participants.

¹² The questionnaire did not allow participants to specify which newspapers and magazines they read. This additional information was elicited during conversations I had with some of the participants.

are published respectively in English and Afrikaans (the latter with heavy English admixture; see Coetzee 2010). Residents can buy these tabloids from the shops in MGV, but no broadsheet, middle-class titles are on sale in the neighbourhood.

Magazines are also popular reading material, although participants said that they have become expensive. During the fieldwork, I observed that magazines are circulated amongst households. Participants mentioned *You* magazine (9 participants), its Afrikaans equivalent, *Die Huisgenoot* (3 participants), and *TV Plus* (4 participants) most frequently when they spoke about magazines. Free publications, such as weekly community newspapers, and as catalogues from chain stores, were also mentioned. The shops in MGV do not stock magazines, and residents thus have to buy them in other areas. Old Magazines and newspapers are also obtained for free from places of work, such as offices or private homes (Heather Jackson, April 2010). These include broadsheet, middle-class, publications such as the *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus*, and *Die Burger*; as well as national and international fashion, décor, travel and sport magazines. Residents thus obtain non-local, even global texts from the geographically and socially translocal spaces they move in for purposes of employment.

These print literacies are read by participants across all age groups, although to varying degrees (Fig. 4.6). In general there is a high engagement with reading amongst the residents.

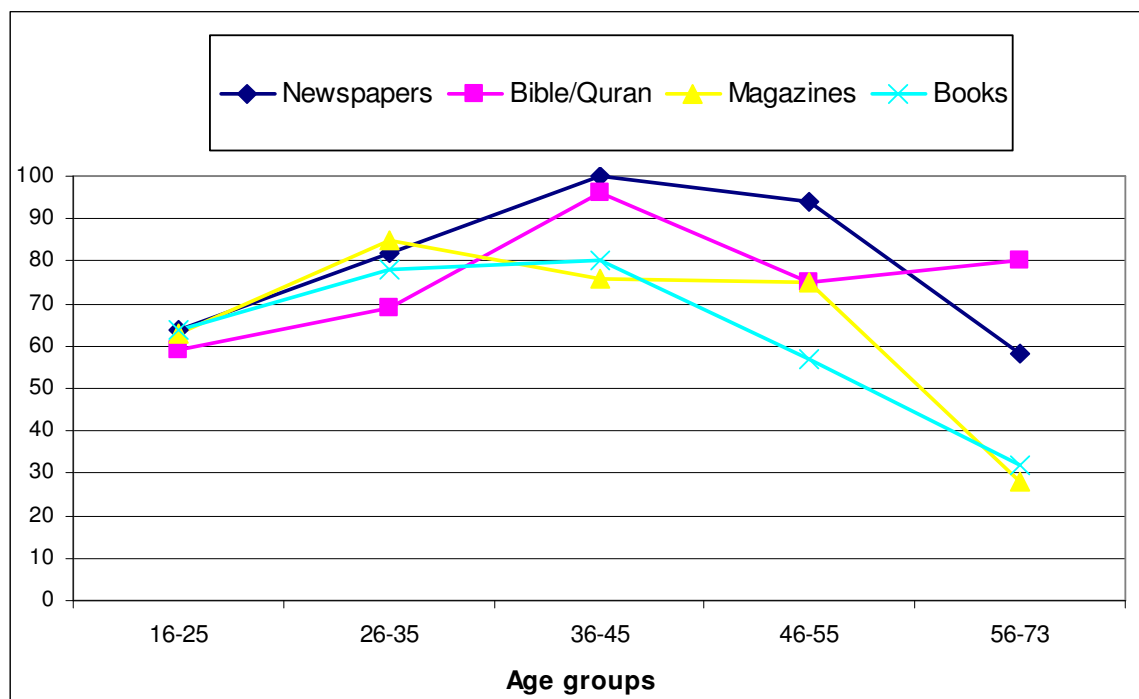


Fig. 4.6 The reading of print literacies across age groups, (in percentages). (The frequency of reading is combined in this graph).

The survey shows that 60% of participants in the youngest age group (16–25) indicated that they read media publications, books and religious texts. Banda (2010:116) found similar results in his survey conducted amongst students between the ages of 19–22 in Cape Town. In the MGVS survey, the reading of leisure literacies increased in the 26–35-year age group, and the participants between the ages of 36 and 45 are the most prolific readers of newspapers, religious texts and books. Participants older than 55 years mostly read religious texts and newspapers, but fewer of them responded that they read magazines and books. In general Fig. 4.5 and 4.6 show that there is generally a high engagement with reading amongst the residents of all age groups.

4.3.2 Writing

Participants were asked to indicate ‘how often’ they write different types of informal literacies (Fig. 4.7). In terms of pen-and-paper literacies, 46 participants indicated that they handwrite notes.

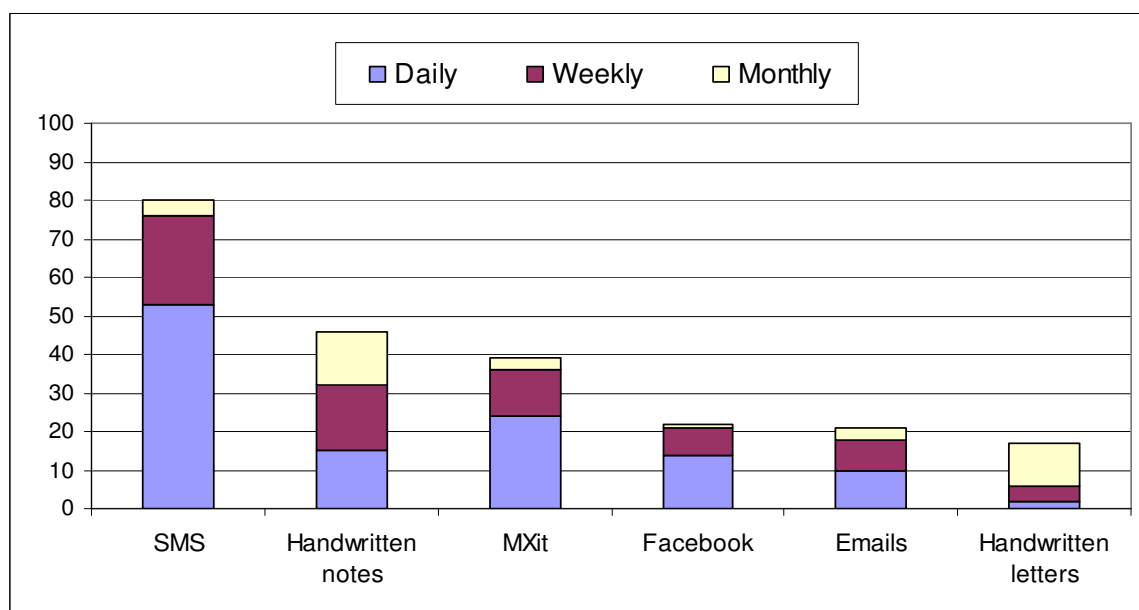


Fig. 4.7 Frequency of writing digital and handwritten literacies (in numbers).

Seventeen participants claimed that they write letters by hand to people living in other towns or to pen pals (mostly on a monthly basis). The dominant writing activity is, however, texting on cellphones: 80 participants said that they send SMSs on a regular basis, and most of them indicated that they do so ‘a few times a day’. Participants mentioned that they mostly text their friends and relatives, and five stipulated that they use SMSs for business purposes, i.e. ‘for work’, or to contact their colleagues or clientele. Younger participants also specified that they send text messages to their girlfriends or boyfriends. The results for the reading of digital literacies only differed marginally from the digital writing practices which are summarized in Fig. 4.7.

Kreutzer’s (2009:42) research indicates a high percentage (77%) of mobile phone ownership among youth living in marginalized low-income areas in Cape Town. Despite the relatively low levels of income and high unemployment in MGV, 84% of the participants indicated that they have their own cellphone. Only 7% responded that they ‘never’ use cellphones. James and Versteeg (2003:122) note the high occurrence of the sharing of cell phones in some African

countries. According to their research, 62% of cellphone owners in Botswana share their phones with their families. Only 9% of the MGV participants indicated that they 'share' someone else's phone. The question may have been misinterpreted as 'co-ownership'. I frequently observed the members of the case studies using one another's cellphones – depending on the availability of phones and air time (see Chapter 8.4 for discussion). In their research in India, Donner et al. (2008) show that relatives do not only co-use mobile devices for economic reasons but that 'sharing' is part of family mores.

The majority of cellphone owners in the survey (70%), indicated that their phones are GPRS-enabled, i.e. that they can 'go onto the internet' or 'onto MXit' via their cellphones. MXit is a South African mobile instant messaging service that allows users to 'chat' one-to-one or with multiple friends (the latter is called 'Multimix'). In addition one can participate in public chatrooms. The service is very popular with the youth in South Africa as service providers offer this service at a very low cost (Chigona et al. 2009:2). Most of the MXit users in the MGV survey, log onto MXit on a daily basis (see Fig. 4.7 above).

Writing on MXit is most popular among younger survey participants (16–25 years), and there is a significant drop in MXit users amongst participants older than 35 years (see Fig. 4.8 below). Participants in the youngest age group are also the most prolific writers of SMSs. The writing of SMSs is the only digital literacy used by participants in the oldest age group (see Chapter 8.4 for discussion of texting practices by older participants).

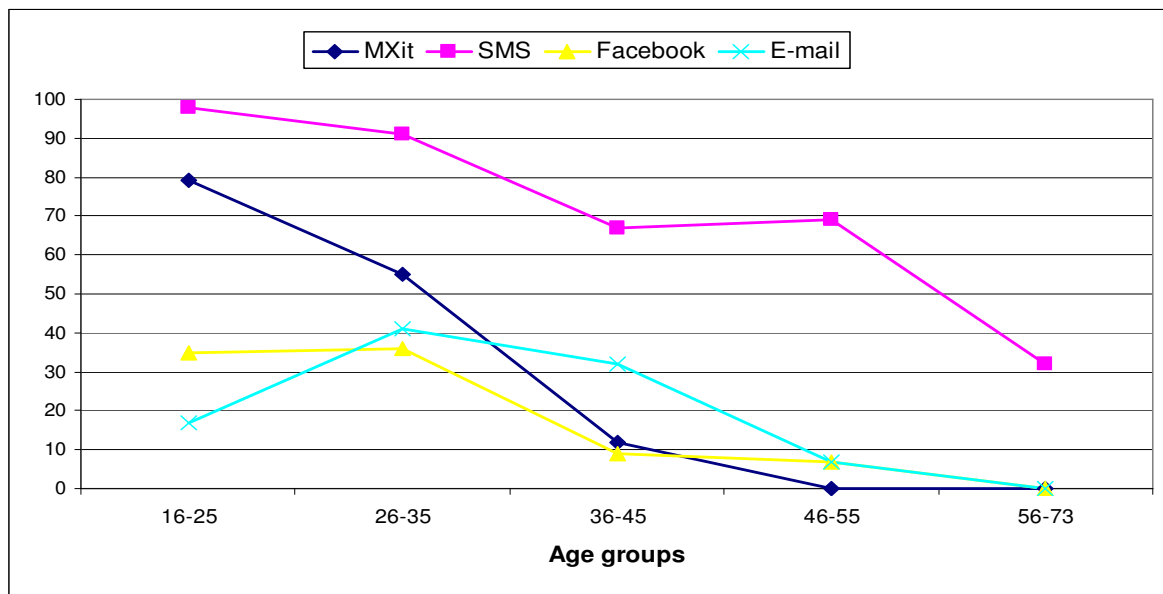


Fig. 4.8 Writing of digital literacies across age groups (in percentages).

Less than half of the respondents (42%) responded that they have used a computer, and 29% have accessed the Internet via a computer. Ninety percent of the participants who indicated that they have used computers are employed. Facebook is most popular in the two youngest age groups (participants between 16–35 years). Writing emails is done mostly by participants between the ages of 26 and 35 (Fig. 4.8). This may be due to the fact that emailing requires computers and is thus easiest for participants who are employed, who have access to computers, or who write emails for business purposes.

4.3.3 Language choice in reading and writing

In open-ended questions, participants could indicate which language(s) they use ‘mostly’ when they read print literacies (see Fig. 4.9). English emerged as the dominant language. Reading in Afrikaans occurs mostly with newspapers and religious texts.

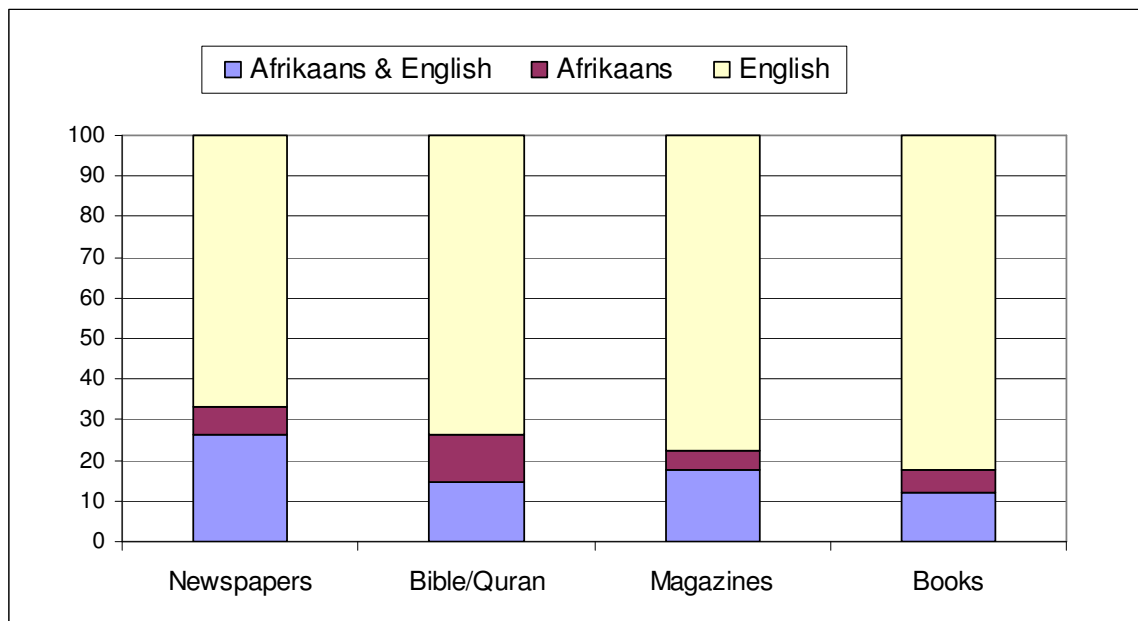


Fig. 4.9 Language patterns in reading of print literacies, (in percentages).

Participants were also asked in which language they mostly write informal literacies (Fig. 4.10 below). Again the data shows that participants conduct their informal literacies chiefly in English. However, there are spaces of bilingual use in SMSs, MXit and handwritten literacies. This bilingual use may be alternation, i.e., they sometimes write in English or sometimes in Afrikaans, or they might write in a mixed code of English and Afrikaans (see Deumert 2005).

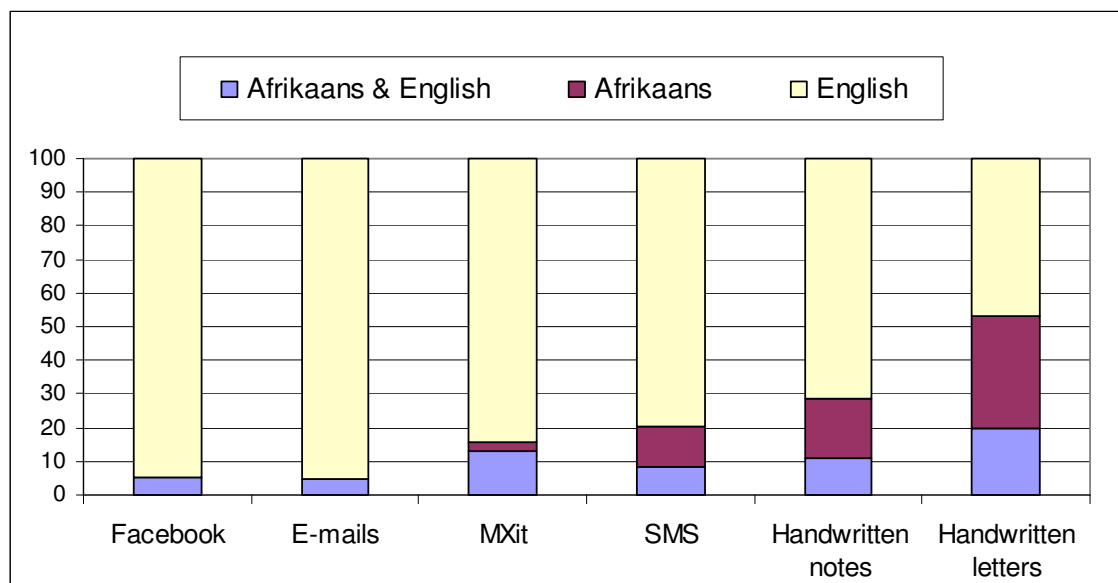


Fig. 4.10 Language patterns in informal writing activities (in percentages).

In a survey amongst students in the Western Cape, Banda (2010:112) found that Coloured students preferred to read and write in English only. The students indicated a preference for the monolingual use of the dominant language (in this case English). Bilingual writing (English and Afrikaans) was also preferred above monolingual writing of the minority language (in this case Afrikaans).

Alexander (2004) argues that the socio-cultural and political history of South Africa has resulted in English rather than Afrikaans becoming the language of aspiration in the country. English is dominant in the white-collar economic sector and institutionalized in education. The language choice in informal literacies may be affected by the institutionalization of English education: 9 out of the 11 participants who are at school or studying responded that they mostly write in English for their studies. Furthermore, the participants who write at work indicated that they do so primarily in English.

The survey results show that this habit of using English spills over into the writing of informal literacies. The dominance of writing in English amongst the MGW participants is particularly strong when they write digital literacies such as Facebook and emails. This is not surprising as English has historically dominated the internet. The preference for English may be the wider

norm for bilingual speakers in South Africa to write techno-literacies in English (for a discussion of the South African context see Deumert and Masinyana 2008, and Deumert 2010b). Afrikaans is, however, used on cellphone-based techno-literacies, such as SMSs and MXit.

The overall dominance of English as a language of reading and writing, is striking in the responses, if compared to the Afrikaans-dominant status of MGv as reflected in the census data, as well as the survey results regarding spoken language practices (see Chapter 2.5). Some of the members of the case study families, who always speak to me in Afrikaans, use both English and Afrikaans when they write SMSs to me (see Chapter 8.1). The types of English and Afrikaans used in digital literacies, however, deviate from standard norms (see Chapter 7 for discussion of adolescent digital literacies).

4.4 Collective knowledge of literacy practices and proficiencies

Owing to the relatively high occurrence of social interaction on the streets, the questionnaires were usually completed in the presence of other participants and bystanders. About half of the participants struggled to complete the questionnaire. They had difficulty with navigating the questionnaire, and did not understand all the questions. Their friends frequently offered to help them. The completion of the questionnaires was thus achieved collaboratively. In Image 4.11 (below), a young man (who had already completed his questionnaire) assists his friend by reading the questions to him and showing him where to fill in the answers.



Image 4.1 Participants helping each other to complete the survey. September 2010.

It was evident that residents had knowledge of one another's literacy practices and proficiencies, as they often commented on each other's answers. For example, when a vociferous, 41-year old woman, enthusiastically informed me that: *Wanneer ek alleen is dan skryf ek short stories en poems en baie ander dinge* ('When I'm alone I write short stories and poems and many other things'), her friend immediately interjected: *'Ga! Jy is dan nooit alleen nie!'* ('Hmf! But you are never alone!'). The friend might indeed have a point: because of the general over-crowding in MGTV homes, it is possible that people hardly ever find themselves alone (see 3.4.1.), and may not engage in what are regarded as solitary writing activities.

While conducting the survey on the streets, I approached a man, called Gert (54), and asked him if he wanted to complete a questionnaire. A young man who had already completed the questionnaire, shouted from across the street: *Hy kan nie dit doen nie, hy kan nie lees nie!* ('He can't do it, he can't read!'). Gert then told me: *Ek kan nie skryf en daai dinge nie* ('I cannot write and those things'). Gert is thus constructed as an 'illiterate' character in the 'figured world' of literacy within the MGTV social network (Bartlett & Holland 2002; cf. Chapter 1.2.4). During her fieldwork amongst adult literacy learners in Brazil, Bartlett was struck by the 'acts of literacy

shaming' of those considered as illiterate (Bartlett & Holland 2002:15). In the young man's opinion, Gert does therefore not qualify to participate in the survey. When I consequently conducted the survey verbally with Gert, he told me that he had only one year of schooling. He said he had a Bible at home, which he cannot read. His neighbour, however, reads the newspaper to him daily. Thus, Gert regularly participates in a sociable literacy activity, i.e. the communal reading of a newspaper.

4.5 Conclusion

The survey shows that in general, MGTV residents of all ages frequently read a variety of print literacies. Although participants between the ages of 36–45 years are the most prolific readers, 60% of the youngest participants responded that they read printed texts. Furthermore, the participants produce a variety of texts. Overall, the writing of SMSs is the type of writing that most of the participants engage in. An analysis of the participants' engagement with literacy activities across age groups, illustrates that there are important, and expected intergenerational differences with respect to digital writing, i.e. a genre most commonly used by younger residents.

The MGTV residents indicated that they read and write overwhelmingly in English. In general, English has a higher social status than Afrikaans and it is institutionalized through education. The participants responded, however, that they use both English and Afrikaans in informal cell-phone-based literacies such as Mxit and SMSs. This practice may rather reflect the participants' bilingualism and spoken language practices. While I conducted the survey, I observed that residents had a collective knowledge of one another's literacy practices and proficiencies, and that participants often mediated the completion of the questionnaires for each other. The role of literacy mediators will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5: RELIGIOUS LITERACIES

5.1 Introduction

MGV residents are predominantly Christian, and there is only a small group of Muslim followers in the neighbourhood. During the fieldwork I observed that many residents regularly participate in religious activities. Most residents attend one of six Christian congregations in MGV, namely, Anglican, Methodist, Moravian, Old Apostolic, Baptist, and the Church of Christ. Those of the Catholic or Muslim faith, travel to other areas to attend mass, or go to the mosque. Religion is also socially practiced in homes, for example, prayer meetings are regularly hosted in domestic spaces. This chapter explores the social role of literacies with religious content in two MGV residents' lives. Firstly, cellphone text messages, known as chain messages, that are circulated among Heather Jackson and her friends, will be discussed (the writing of digital literacies is further discussed Chapter 7, with particular focus on teenage leisure writing). Secondly, the writing and delivery of sermons by a lay preacher, Ben Davids, are examined.

5.2 Expressions of faith and friendship

The Jackson family refers to themselves as *geredde* ('saved') and religion plays an important spiritual and social role in their lives. Heather Jackson regularly attends Anglican Church services, as well as special occasions, for example, confirmations in other denominations in MGV. Kapitzke (1995:5) points out that religion often has more to do with 'daily communication between ordinary people' than being a 'union with a divine being'. Heather's church activities, for example, keep her in communication with many people on a daily basis. She is on the committee of the local Anglican Church's Women's Federation (AWF), where she assists in the organization of prayer meetings, religious festivals. Heather says that although she receives letters from the AWF she does not often use writing for church 'business' (Field notes, June 2010). She explained that the AWF members see each other regularly at church services and meetings, as well as casually in the neighbourhood, and communication regarding committee activities therefore occurs verbally.

Texts with religious content, however, play a social role in Heather's life. She regularly receives chain SMSs from her friends that contain expressions of friendship, interwoven with references to religious faith. Kasesniemi (2003:187) describes chain messages as 'fixed, unchanging text messages that circulate from one mobile phone to another'. People often collect chain messages and share them among friends. The digital texts are not necessarily written by the sender, but forwarded from one person to the next. Chain messages are tokens of confirmation of shared values and interests between the giver and receiver – in this case, the shared value is that of friendship, and the shared interest is religion. The circulation of chain messages 'ties the group together around a common experience' and 'creates solidarity' (Laursen 2008:68).

According to Ling and Yttri (2002:139), messages which convey practical information can be described as 'instrumental messages'. In contrast, 'expressive messages' have a social function to communicate views on emotional issues such as, love, friendship and faith. The sending of the latter is described as 'a type of gifting' by Ling and Yttri (2002:159). Within this framework, the texts themselves are objects which are gifted from one friend to another. Mauss (1923:28) argues that gifts are never really 'free', and that the expectations to reciprocate a gift depend on (a) the relationship between the gift ('the object') and the giver; (b) the relationship between the giver and receiver; and (c) the particular cultural etiquette regarding obligations of reciprocity.

Laursen (2005:68) points out that chain messages do not demand a reply or acknowledgement. It is rather expected that the receiver will pass on the message to others. Heather says that she receives many messages but that she does not have time to respond or forward them all. Moreover, she struggles to navigate cellphone technology and only responds to, or forwards SMSs if her children or grandchildren are available to help her (see Chapter 8.4 for discussion of digital scribes). Although she only occasionally forwards the chain messages, she values these digital 'gifts' from her friends, and was very unhappy when she 'lost' them as a result of deleting her 'inbox' by mistake (see Appendix G.3).

Heather receives chain messages from friends and relatives in her local social network: (a) to (c) are examples of such messages¹³:

- (a) Lord help me to not allow things to get on top of me help me to stand in the confidence i have in you
- (b) Dear God, the woman reading this is kind and I'm proud of her. Pls help her to live life to the fullest and bless her in her chosenfield. Help her shine in the darkest places and let love flow in her path. Pls protect her at all times and lift her up when she needs you most.
- (c) Jesus take the wheel, take it from my hands because I cant do this on my own anymore...I,m letting go.

Although the messages are circulated within a local network, they are not necessarily locally composed. For example, message (b) is found on global websites that archive and supply chain messages (for example on *textbuff.com*). Message (c) are lyrics from a gospel song performed by the American country music singer, Carrie Underwood. The messages are thus drawn from a global archive of electronic texts. The 'flow' of these messages is, however, not uninterrupted. There are examples of non-standard punctuation in (c), i.e. the omission of the apostrophe in 'cant' and the use of a comma instead of an apostrophe in 'I,m'. In (b), 'chosen field' appears as one word.

Due to economic constraints, the family members in both the case study households buy very small amounts of pre-paid credit at a time, e.g., two or five Rand (Field notes, February 2011). Instead of forwarding chain messages, friends and relatives show each other the messages, and the texts are then re-typed onto other phones, or written down on paper and re-typed later. Ling and Yttri (2003: 156) discuss how teenage girls in Sweden write their text message on scraps of paper, or in special notebooks, to 'counter' the 'perishable quality' of text messages. Heather's daughter, Mia, for example, told me that she wrote down (*afgeskryf*) a message from a friend, and then typed and forwarded it to another friend (Field notes, June 2011). Such practices of copying have the potential to introduce orthographic variation in the texts.

¹³ I retrieved the messages from Heather's phone in bulk in July 2011, and consequently, the exact dates she received them are not available.

The chain messages circulated in Heather's SMS network show a variety of spellings and orthographies. There are, however different degrees of typical features of SMS writing in different types of chain messages. For example, messages (a)–(c) all open with direct appeals, such as 'Lord', 'Dear God', and 'Jesus', and can be described as 'prayers', (Chiluwa (2008:7). Such digital 'prayers' contain few non-standard features such as the use of the lower-case 'i' for 'I' in (a), and the abbreviation 'Pls' (for 'please') in (b). The word, 'please', also appears in its abbreviated form, 'Pls', on *textbuff.com* (see <http://www.txtbuff.com/text-message-9569-the-woman-reading-this-is-kind.html>).

The religious messages that Heather receives, may also contain direct quotes from the Bible:

- (d) For he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all his ways¹⁴
- (e) *Johannes 15 vers 13 en 14 Niemand het groter liefde as dit nie:dat hy sy lewe vir sy vriende aflê, Julle is my vriend as julle doen wat Ek julle beveel.*
- (‘John 15 Verse 13 and 14 There is no greater love than to lay down one’s life for one’s friends. You are my friends if you do what I command.’)

There is a lack of contractions and abbreviations in (d) and (e) that are typically found in SMS orthographies (see Chapter 8.4 for additional messages sent from Heather's phone). There are, however, two punctuation errors in (e): there is no spacing after the colon, and there is a comma instead of a full stop after *aflê* ('lay down'). Furthermore, the second occurrence of *vriende* ('friends') is written as *vriend* ('friend'). However, the writer made an effort to use the diacritic 'ê', which takes five more keystrokes to type than the simple, common 'e'. This may be an orthographic indicator that the correct standard spelling was intended.

Message (f) consists of a Bible quote, tagged by a personal greeting in Afrikaans, i.e. *lekke slap* ('sleep well'):

- (f) Isaiah 41.14 the lord says small as you are i will help you i the holy god of isreal am the who saves you *lekke slap xx*

¹⁴ Example (d) is an extract from Psalm 91:11.

Although the Bible quote lacks the appropriate upper case for ‘I’, ‘God’ and ‘Isreal’ (and ‘Israel’ is spelt incorrectly), the verse is written without typical SMS abbreviations or contractions. In contrast, the personal wish has an r-clipping (*leкке* for *lekker*), and a contraction (*slap* for *slaap*).

Religious messages that are neither addressed to God, or include Bible quotes, show a more informal orthography. Example (g) was sent to Heather by a female friend who also resides in MGv.

(g) *Sst. hoor jy? Di glag a ggigel by jou deur. Dis GOD se engele wt so opgewonde is, om vanag sy koningskind op te pas. vi antie heather a mia ek mis jule.*

(‘Shh. Do you hear? The laughter and giggling at your door. It’s GOD’s angels who are so excited to look after the king’s child. For aunty Heather and Mia. I miss you’).

The standard Afrikaans spelling for the message would be:

Sst. Hoor jy? Die gelag en gegiggel by jou deur. Dis GOD se engele wat so opgewonde is, om vanag sy Koningskind op te pas. Vir auntie Heather en Mia. Ek mis julle.

Message (g) is a popular Afrikaans text, for example, it appears on a Facebook page (in standard orthography) called, *Onse Vader* (‘Our Father’).¹⁵ Several of the words in (g) are contracted. Although religious, the humorous message is addressed to a (mortal) friend and thus allows for an increased use of non-standard, informal orthographies. On the other hand, Bible quotes and those that are ‘prayers’, adhere more closely to formal, standard writing.

5.3 From ‘Pa’ to ‘preacher’

Ben and Bonnie Davids are members of the Church of Christ (an autonomous global religious movement). The movement originated in America and strictly follows the teachings of the New Testament. Ben is the leader and preacher of the local Church of Christ congregation in MGv. The congregation has approximately 14 members (including children), mostly consisting of the Davids family. Ben conducts the services at the local community hall or at the Davids’ house

¹⁵ See <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Onse-Vader/146747348690747-users>, a social page where members can post texts with religious content, e.g., prayers (as well as request for prayers for loved ones), poems and pictures.

(Field notes: Church of Christ services, April 2010 & March 2012). The relatives to whom Ben provides shelter are expected to attend the services – even those (such as Shani and her children) who belong to the Muslim faith through marriage. There are usually one or two visitors from other congregations at the services. Ben and Bonnie attend Bible study and prayer meetings twice weekly at a large Church of Christ branch in Muizenberg –where they also run their *boerewors* stand on Saturdays (see Chapter 3.4.1).

Ben has completed several Bible study courses through correspondence with the Church of Christ in America, and he regularly receives American books on the interpretation of the Bible via the Muizenberg congregation. He owns 12 Bibles, which he keeps on a small table next to his bed: there are two Old King James Bibles, seven New King James Bibles and two Afrikaans Bibles. Goody (1986:20) points out that in many religions, the ‘written word’ is a ‘conserving force’ which secures the continuity of beliefs, interpretations and institutions. Ben regularly hands religious tracts to people visiting his home, and lends out his interpretative and Bible study books to MGV residents (also to non-Church of Christ members). In October 2011, he told me that he had asked a friend to build a bookshelf in the front room. Ben wanted to display his religious books on the shelf, and start a private ‘library’ to manage the flow of literature from his home (see Appendix G.1). He expresses a feeling of duty to give his community proper access to the religious texts: ‘*want dit is actually wat ek vir die mense moet gee, man*’ (‘because this is actually what I should give to the people, you know’). He intended to re-create the lending system of a public library, for example, by issuing *kaartjies* (library cards) to ensure that his books are returned (see Appendix G.1). However, by March 2012 the bookshelf had not yet materialized.

Ben writes expository sermons, as favoured by fundamentalist and evangelist preachers (Ward 2009:2). Owing to the lack of private space, Ben writes the sermons in the communal front room sitting on his bed (cf. Chapter 3.4.1). The sermons are written on a memo pad, distributed for free by the Department of Agriculture (Image 5.1 below).

③ God Challenges Christians to ATTEND ^{to} Assemblies Heb 10:25

10 NOT forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another and so much more as ye see the approaching

⑤ God Challenges Christians to be Faithful. LEV 2:10

11 FEAR NONE OF THOSE THINGS WHICH THOU SHALT SUFFER BEHOLD THE DEVIL SHALL CAST SOME OF YOU INTO PRISON, THAT YE MAY BE TESTED, AND YE SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION TEN DAYS. BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH, AND I WILL GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE.
(IF you stay faithful nothing will happen to you)

① Now God will reward those who accept the

② Challenge ~~that~~ OF SALVATION MARK 16:16
HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED SHALL BE SAVED BUT HE THAT BELIEVETH NOT SHALL BE DAMNED.

② Now God will reward those who accept the challenge

③ WITH ALL SPIRITUAL BLESSING EPH 1:3
BLESSED BE THE GOD & FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WHO HATH BLESSED US WITH ALL SPIRITUAL BLESSINGS IN HEAVENLY PLACES IN CHRIST

(Blessings we have is from God the Father)
(So Count your blessing)



Agriculture + you =
opportunity

Image 5.1 Ben's sermon written on a governmental memo pad. April 2011.

The pad is conveniently lined, but a third of each page is covered by an image of a strawberry and a slogan that reads: *Agriculture + you = opportunity*. There is a disparity between the governmental socio-political message and Ben's use of the pad to write religious sermons. Blommaert (2008:27) argues that the materiality of grassroots literacy is indexical of the availability of resources. The use of the *gratis* pad reflects Ben's practice of incurring as little cost as possible when producing literacies (see Chapter 6.2 of Ben's use of second-hand or recycled resources in the production of commercial literacies.)

Ben's oral performances of the written sermons are classic examples of what Heath (1986) terms 'literacy events' (see Chapter 1.2.1), i.e. speech events where there is a 'mix' of literacy and orality (Baynham 1995:55). Ben is originally from Crawford, an English-dominant neighbourhood of Cape Town, and he said that he mainly spoke English as a child. Now as an adult he mostly speaks Afrikaans at home and to his friends. He writes his sermons, however, only in English. The Church of Christ is mainly an American movement, and all of the tracts and interpretative literature that Ben consults, are in English. This constitutes a global influence on his language choice for the writing and delivering of the sermons in the local Afrikaans-dominant MGW setting. Thus, at the beginning of a particular church service in March 2012, Ben chatted to the congregation in Afrikaans, but switched to English for the opening prayer and the rest of the sermon. During the sermon, he once switched to Afrikaans to read an Afrikaans Bible verse, and told the congregation that the particular verse *klink beter* ('sounds better') in Afrikaans.

Ben's sermons mainly consist of Bible verses. In Image 5.1 (above), his (somewhat inconsistent) use of personal pronouns such as *thee*, *thou* and *ye*, as well as verbs such as 'believeth' and 'availeth', suggests that he is quoting from the King James Bible. Ben's concluding comments on the verses (that he writes in brackets) are written in modern English, e.g., 'If you stay faithful nothing will happen to you'. There are some hints in the sermons that Ben did not copy the verses from the Bible, but rather wrote them from memory: his use of the King James Bible personal pronouns is inconsistent and there are spelling errors such 'atend' (for 'attend'), 'ecept' (for accept) and 'batized' (for baptized). There is also inconsistent use of punctuation, i.e. colons and semi-colons that appear in the original King James Bible version are omitted, and an

ampersand is used for 'and'. Ben later confirmed that he writes most of the Bible verses from memory. The inconsistencies in spelling and punctuation are features of grassroots texts as described by Blommaert (see Chapter 1.2.3). Additionally, Blommaert's (2008:7) description of the draft-like appearance of grassroots texts is found in the sermons: Ben writes the verses with a black pen, but his remarks and corrections are made with a blue pen. This suggests that he added comments to the texts at a later stage. This practice frames the text as a work-in-progress.

Burgess (1998:71) argues that 'modern people' may find the language of the King James Bible 'archaic' and 'inaccessible'. Ben thus writes and delivers the sermons to his relatives in a language and register that is different from what he uses habitually at home (Field notes: April 2010). The 'sternly grand language' of the King James Bible (Alter 2010:15), creates a distance between Ben and his congregation, and his (almost) verbatim quotes establish him as an authority on the Scripture.

Although Ben's written sermons contains features as outlined by Blommaert's (2008) 'grassroots' framework, the oral delivery in the King James Bible register, lifts the sermon to a scale level that may be not as accessible to his audience (Blommaert 2007:7). Ben thus has the 'capacity to produce a certain register that affords particular power-and-identity tactics of exclusion and hierarchical ranking' (Blommaert 2007:7). He transforms himself (albeit temporarily) from a family member (*pa*) to a preacher, during the delivery of the written sermons. This scale-jumping during his delivery is possible in the local context, where he is regarded as an authority on the Scripture. In other spaces, for example, in congregations at the social centre of society, his performance (as an instrument of establishing religious authority) is less likely to be successful.

Ben consults global resources (American books and tracts) and thus draws, at least in part, on a translocal 'knowledge economy' when he writes his sermons for local delivery in MGV (Blommaert 2008:9). The Church of Christ in America also distributes sermon outlines to its many lay preachers around the world via the internet. In an interview (see Appendix G.1), Ben expressed his frustration that he only has access to the American literature and information, via the Church of Christ Muizenberg branch. He said that: *nou ek kry alles van hulle af maar ek wil*

hê dit moet direk na my toe kom. Raymond's Corner wat deur die land, deur die hele wêreld gaan. ('now I get everything from them [the Church of Christ Muizenberg branch] but I want it to come directly to me. *Raymond's Corner*, that goes through the country, the whole world').¹⁶ He wants a laptop computer, and an email address *vir die korrespondensie met Amerika* ('for the correspondence with America'). Ben wants to have direct access to the global knowledge economy that the Church of Christ offers its members via the internet. He wants to be less dependent on the Muizenberg Church of Christ, and wants to establish autonomous relationships with individuals in America. A direct link through literacy communication is also desirable for financial reasons, as Ben would like to raise money directly from American Church of Christ resources, rather than relying on the Muizenberg Church of Christ branch (see Appendix G. 2).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how religious texts are used for social purposes. Cellphone chain messages with translocal content (e.g. American gospel song lyrics) are digitally passed on as 'gifts' between Heather and friends in her local social network. The texts create a sense of connectivity between senders and receivers. Although chain messages are usually forwarded between cellphones, they are also copied by hand during their circulation within Heather's social network (as a cost-saving strategy). The texts are thus re-produced and preserved in a more durable form (on paper). This practice has the potential to introduce variation in the orthographies and spelling in the messages. The medium of SMSs is transient and ephemeral, but in this case they are stored on cellphones, or more permanently onto paper for future use. This indicates that the chain messages are valued as symbols of friendship and religious devotion.

The use of informal and formal orthographies in the chain messages was also discussed. The examples illustrate that the messages contain non-standard features, typical of the SMS genre, but to different degrees. For example, prayer messages and Bible quotes conform to standard orthographies, whilst texts which foreground sociality rather than religion, show greater use of

¹⁶ *Raymond's Corner* is a blog written by a Church of Christ preacher and missionary who travels the world and reports on his missionary work (see http://groups.yahoo.com/group/coc_campcumberland/message/678).

non-standard features. This shows a cultural orientation that non-standard language is not appropriate for sacred texts or addressing a deity.

A lay preacher (Ben) draws on global resources when he writes his sermons for local delivery. The written sermons have the typical draft-like appearance of grassroots texts and contain grassroots features such as spelling errors (Blommaert 2008). Ben delivers the sermons in English to an audience to whom he usually speaks Afrikaans. His use of the formal English of the King James Bible, allows him to up-scale his sermons and his personae in a local setting.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 6: BUSINESS AS USUAL: COMMERCIAL LITERACIES

6.1 Introduction

The operation of home-based enterprises is a wide-spread phenomenon in poor urban areas in South Africa. Such 'micro-enterprises' usually involve the owner and a few family members (who often work for free) (Rogerson 1996:170). Furthermore, Rogerson (1996:171) points out that in South Africa, informal enterprises, 'usually lack all the trappings of formality, in terms of business licenses formal premises, operating permits and accounting procedures'. To supplement their incomes or government grants, the Davids and Jackson families trade in goods and/or offer services from their homes. None of the businesses are registered or licensed.

6.2 The construction of a public space through grassroots signage

During the research period, Ben Davids erected a 12m², free-standing shop in the front yard. The shop sells cold drinks, sweets, crisps, a few groceries, and newspapers. Ben, his wife Bonnie, and two of their grandchildren, Kay (14) and Brintley (9), take turns to serve in the shop. There was a flurry of literacy activity in the first month of the establishment of the shop in December 2010. Consequently, the front yard became infused with written texts on public display, to form part of the 'linguistic landscape' (henceforth LL) of the environment (Landry & Bourhis 1997). The study of LL entails the study of signs in public space (Backhaus 2007:9). Quantitative studies of LL usually document the distribution of the material manifestations of language used in public signs in multilingual settings. On the other hand, qualitative studies of LL have an ethnographic approach. Such studies focus on the 'relations between the languages observed and the uses in their given place' (Barni & Bagna 2010:4). In this chapter, I will use a qualitative approach to explore the construction of meaning in commercial signage in MGTV.

In the Davids' front yard, homemade signs were set up to advertise the products sold in the shop. In effect, the signs also served to indicate that the structure in the front yard was a shop, as there was initially no other signage displaying a name to attract potential customers. In their study of

linguistic landscape in a township in Cape Town, Stroud and Mpendukana (2009:376) distinguish between economic ‘sites of luxury’ and ‘sites of necessity’. The former are ‘economically advantaged spaces’ while the latter are low on the economic hierarchy. Typically, signage that is found in ‘sites of necessity’ is ‘built around available technologies and materials’ (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009:376). The front yard of the Davids house can be described as such a site and the practices around the production of texts reflect this status. Ben did not spend any significant amount of money on signage: the signs are all hand-written and made from materials, already lying around the yard, e.g., pieces of wooden board. Due to economic constraints he used what was ‘available’.

Ben-Rafael and Shohamy (2006:7) suggest that linguistic landscapes are the ‘symbolic construction of the public space’, and that one of the considerations of the language used in signs is that it will be ‘attractive’ to the public and clients. On the first day of trading, Ben wrote (with a black felt-tip marker) directly onto the interior and exterior walls of the shop, listing some of the products for sale and their prices. The products are all listed in English – with the exception of *worsies* (‘vienna sausages’). This item appears in an Afrikaans phrase (on an interior wall) as: *rooi worsies 6 vir R10.00* (‘red sausages 6 for R10.00’, Image 6.1), as well as in a multilingual phrase on the shops’ exterior (see Image 6.2).

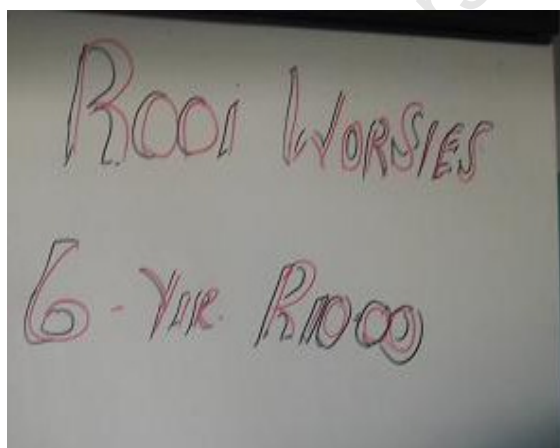


Image 6.1 Afrikaans sign (interior of shop).
December 2010 (both images).



Image 6.2 Bilingual sign (exterior of shop)

The use of multiple languages and vernacular terms are typical for signage in sites of necessity (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009:376). On his spice list (left-hand side of Image 6.3 below), Ben uses the standard Afrikaans term, *borrie* (from the Malay *boreh*) for ‘turmeric’, and the term *jerra* (from *jeera* – a Hindi word), for cumin. *Borrie* is used in standard Afrikaans, but *jeera* is usually associated with Coloured and Indian communities.



Image 6.3 Ben’s shop on the third day of trading shows (from left to right): a spice list (written by Ben), ‘Kevin’s sign’, and Coca-Cola signage. December 2010.

Several people were involved in writing the signage for the new enterprise. We are thus looking at an example of ‘collaborative writing’, as Ben gave instructions to, and then supervised the ‘scribes’ of the signage. For example, on the second day of trading, Kevin (instructed by Ben) wrote a price list on a piece of white plastic board (see centre of Image 6.3). Kevin wrote with a red, non-permanent marker, in a neat and legible hand. His writing smeared off after three days and Ben then retraced some of the writing and added some products (in smaller writing, with a permanent black marker) in the top corners of the sign. Once again, Ben used the local term, *worsies*, on the sign. Ben removed the sign after a few weeks and used it to cover a bin in the yard. Scollon and Scollon Wong (2003:135) contend that the types of materials used to produce

signs, are indexical of their permanence or durability, temporality or newness. All of the handmade signs in Ben's yard, were on display for a few days or weeks only, and then removed or recycled.

Ben's neighbour, Natalie (23), who is a regular visitor to the Davids' home, wrote a product list during the first week of trading. Ben hung the sign in a tree next to the shop (Image 6.4 below). Again, the sign was written collaboratively at the Davids' kitchen table: Ben wrote some of the products on an envelope (Image 6.5 below) which Natalie then copied onto a wooden board. In exchange, Ben gave Natalie a chocolate bar. Natalie regularly acts as a scribe for Ben. She said that she has been writing texts for his businesses and church activities 'for a few years' (Field notes: October 2011). Ben uses Natalie as a scribe, because, as he remarked, she has '*n mooi handskrif*' ('a pretty hand-writing'), indicating that he values the aesthetic appearance of texts for public display.

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Image 6.4 Natalie's sign
December 2010 (both images).



Image 6.5 Ben's instructions for Natalie.

Natalie's sign starts in English (AIRTIME AVAILABLE), but includes locally used names for products i.e. *kimbies* ('nappies'), *bompies* ('ice pops') and *spookies* ('Ghost Pops' crisps). These terms will only be understood locally, i.e. in MGV and other working-class Coloured neighbourhoods in Cape Town. The uptake of the sign will, however, be problematic in other types of social spaces in Cape Town. Ben removed the board when his low cash flow prevented him from stocking airtime vouchers, as pre-paid cellphone credit ('airtime') is prominent on the sign.

Harry, the White homeless person who slept in the yard during part of the research period, also wrote a notice for Ben (Image 6.6 below).



Image 6.6 Sign written by Harry, informing customers that cigarettes are not for sale. April 2011.

The notice has aesthetic value, as Harry wrote each letter in a different colour (with pens he borrowed from Kevin). Harry had clearly invested considerable effort into the writing of the sign, probably as a gesture of appreciation to Ben.¹⁷ Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 375) found that the language used in signs in sites of necessity, is often constructed around ‘peripheral normativity’ (as described by Blommaert et. al 2005). For example, Harry’s sign contains a common non-standard form of verb-marking in Afrikaans English (AfkE) (Watermeyer 1996:114), i.e. the single subject verbs ‘stock’ and ‘sell’ lack the suffix, *-s*. McCormick (2002:227) found similar concord patterns in her corpus of ‘District Six English’, and Blommaert (2010:84) found that high school pupils had ‘difficulty’ with ‘singular and plural marking’ in the marginalized township of Wesbank (cf. Chapter 1.2.3). Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 375) argue that the language on signage is ‘indicative of the local scale or a descaling of the discourse’. As the verb-marking in Harry’s sign is a common local non-standard form, this unintended ‘descaling’ is unlikely to be noticed in the local uptake of informal literacies.

¹⁷ During the winter months, Ben allowed Harry to sleep in the shop.

The Coca-Cola Company supplied Ben with free retail advertising as soon as he started trading. He mounted the mass-produced signage alongside his homemade signage. The Coca-Cola signage is produced from a 'site of luxury' and is considerably more durable than Ben's homemade signs. The red and white signage is globally recognizable and has greater visual impact. Ben gave preference to the Coca-Cola signage, by placing them over his spice list (Image 6.7, below) after a month of trading.



Image 6.7 Coca-Cola signage placed over homemade signage. January 2011.

In October 2011, Ben excitedly awaited signage from the Coca-Cola Company that would display the shop's name. He said that it would make his shop look *ordentlik* ('proper'). The signage, reading, *Ben's Tuck Shop*, covered most of the shop exterior with images of Coke bottles. Consequently, most of the handwritten signs were no longer visible (Image. 6.8 below).



Image 6.8 Ben's shop covered in Coca-Cola signage. October 2011.

The structure, now emblazoned in iconic signage, made the shop more visible to customers. The Coca-Cola signage locates the shop in a recognizable, global advertising discourse, something that the smaller, eclectic group of homemade signs was not able to achieve.

The family members working in the shop spend many hours with no customers to serve. To pass the time, they often engage in literacy activities. I observed both Bonnie and Ben reading newspapers and Kay chatting on MXit. Kay and Bradley, as well as Saadia started doing their homework in the shop. The small service counter thus became a new place for solitary literacy practices, formerly restricted by the cramped living conditions in the house. The shop also created a literacy-rich public space, as Ben allows posters that advertise community events – such as karaoke evenings, and the annual Village Day Fair, to be displayed on the shop walls (Image 6.9).



Image 6.9 A poster displayed on Ben's shop exterior, advertising a community event. October 2011.

Literacy thus transformed the front yard from a domestic space into a commercial and public space while also creating a new context for private literacy practices.

6.3 Record-keeping practices in the informal economy

As mentioned, Ronald Jackson sells vegetables from home and runs a local taxi service (cf. 3.4.2). Ronald does not own a cellphone and residents phone the Jackson's landline to ask if Ronald is available for business. Additionally, he has standing arrangements to fetch children from schools in other areas.

Buying on credit is a common practice in the low-income, informal, economy sector. Ronald records the money people owe him for the two enterprises in size A5 exercise books. Maddox and Overa (2009:40) point out that the commercial literacies produced in Bangladeshi fishing communities are not subject to 'external rules and standardization' by formal institutions. The record-keeping texts of the 'fisher folk', are often produced as 'personal records' and for 'face-to-face' communication. Similarly, Ronald's record-keeping literacies are for informal, personal use, and not for scrutiny by translocal authorities. Nevertheless, he records the debts in bound books that can be produced as evidence if a dispute arises.

Maddox (2001:141) points out that a low status is often attributed to informal record-keeping literacies. For example, stallholders and farmers trading at the Nilphamary Bazaar in Bangladesh (whose record-keeping practices are similar to Ronald's) do not consider themselves as literate. I observed that Heather, Ronald's wife, is the person in the household who deals with official correspondence, such as letters from the City Council. I asked Heather about Ronald's schooling, as he usually kept to himself and only occasionally joined the conversations. She described him as *ongeleerd* ('uneducated'). Breier (1994:152) points out how people in another Cape Town Coloured township (called Ocean View) use the term *ongelerendheid* (roughly translatable as 'uneducatedness') to refer to those who had not received a 'socially acceptable level of education' or 'basic schooling'. According to Heather, Ronald is ashamed of his lack of education, and, out of respect for her husband, she refused to discuss the matter with me. She also advised me not broach the subject with him (Field notes: December 2010) as she did not want her husband to be 'shamed' (Bartlett & Holland 2002:15) for his apparent lack of literacy proficiency.

Notwithstanding his apparent lack of literacy proficiency, Ronald has developed a functioning system to record his customers' debts. Only Ronald uses the notebook, as the rest of the family are not allowed to make credit sales (Field notes: July 2011). Ronald assigns a page to each person (or family) who buys on credit (Image 6.10). He writes the initial letter of the day of the week, (e.g., 'M' for Monday) next to the sale, but there are no other dates in the notebooks. Debts are cleared more or less weekly but there are no totals written at the bottom of each credit week. Once a debt is paid, Ronald crosses out the amounts.



Image 6.10 Ronald's record-keeping of his customers' credit purchases. October 2011.

Maddox and Overa (2009:42) point out that informal record-keeping may only be ‘understood by the author’: they may not conform to a ‘conventional code of genre – but are functional for the writer.’ Ronald controls his business successfully by means of his somewhat idiosyncratic record-keeping system. For example, there are additional single letters (circled in Image 6.10) but Ronald was vague about their function. His daughter, Mia, said that the rest of the family does not completely understand Ronald’s system. Brandt and Clinton (2002:341) argue that ‘literacy does not shape people, but people shape literacy for their own purposes’. Ronald’s ‘code’ thus prevents the family from interfering in the credit system and, at the same time, exempts the family from going into negotiations with customers who ask for credit.

Although only Ronald uses the notebook, Mia contributes to its gestation. When a page or the notebook is full, Ronald asks Mia to write the debtor’s name on a new page (Mia’s handwriting is indicated by an arrow in Image 6.10). The outline for the record-keeping system is thus achieved collaboratively, as Ronald instructs Mia, and she partly acts as a scribe for her father.

6.4 Literacies for a mobile business

Other commercial literacies produced by the residents may have to travel outside the spatial boundaries of MGV where they have to function on different social scales. There are people living in MGV, known as *skarrels* who make a living by walking around neighbourhoods with carts, to collect items (mostly appliances) that have been discarded by businesses and households. People leave items on the street, or donate them directly to the *skarrels*, who repair the items and/or sell them to someone else.

Kramer (51) is a *skarrel* who lives a backyard dwelling on a property belonging to one of the Jackson’s neighbours. Kramer left school in Grade 5, at about age 10. He used to be employed as a painter, and taught himself how to do electrical work. For the past few years, Kramer has supported his family as a *skarrel*. He has a homemade wooden cart and carries tools with him to repair electrical appliances (e.g. kettles and microwaves) on the spot, or he takes them home and

returns them to the customer later. Kramer has written his name, cellphone number and his services on his cart (Images 6.11 and 6.12 below).



Image 6.11 Kramer's cart loaded with old computers. November 2011. (Kramer's real name is covered by a white strip trip)



Image 6.12 Kramer’s cart outside his back-yard dwelling. November 2011 (Kramer’s real name is covered by pink strips).

Kramer artistically enhanced the signage by stylizing the writing on the back of the cart (Image 6.12). The writing personalizes the cart and it is an attempt to transform the cart into a mobile business premise. The writing can be described as grassroots (Blommaert 2008), as it features, for example, inconsistent spelling. The word, ‘electrical’, appears four times on the cart, but in

one instance, it is realized as 'elictrical' (Image 6.11). The writing and information are, furthermore, 'unevenly distributed' (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009:375), and vital information, such as Kramer's contact details, appear on a small board fashioned similarly to a number plate (Image 6.12).

An appreciative supplier who owns a computer repair shop, designed and printed 'business cards' for Kramer (see Image 6.13). This literacy is translocal in origin: it was mediated by someone outside the 'site of necessity' of Kramer's back-yard dwelling, and does not contain any proto-typical 'grassroots' features.



Image 6.13 Kramer's business card. October 2011.

The cards are an attempt to formalize the Kramer's informal enterprise. Kramer shows the cards to potential suppliers in order to win their trust. Apart from supplying Kramer's cellphone number, and the services he offers, an image of a figure that is 'on-the-go' with his cart, depicts the mobile aspect of Kramer's business. The cards are printed on conventional writing paper and are approximately A7 in size – bigger than standard business cards. In comparison, professional business cards are conveniently small in size and are made from thicker (more durable) paper. Thus, although produced in a translocal 'site of luxury', Kramer's cards are only an approximation of business cards.

Although the cards are an attempt at rescaling the informal trading activities to the level of a proper business, they are not fully functional. Kramer usually carries the cards with him, and also proudly displays one of them in a frame in his backyard dwelling. However, he does not give them away, as is common practice with business cards, but only shows them, as he does not have the funds to re-print the cards (Field notes, November 2011).

Because *skarrels* do not only trade and provide service locally, they need to produce literacies that can function in other social networks and thus legitimize the business. This is achieved by the use of a so-called *skarrelboekie* (*skarrel's* notebook). The latter plays an important and legitimizing role in transactions in the informal economy. The term refers to a notebook in which the *skarrels* record who donated second-hand goods to them. They ask the original owners of the goods (their suppliers) to make entries into their notebooks. Kramer uses an old diary as his *skarrelboekie*. Each page contains several entries of transactions, written by Kramer, or his suppliers (Image 6.14 and see Appendix B.1).

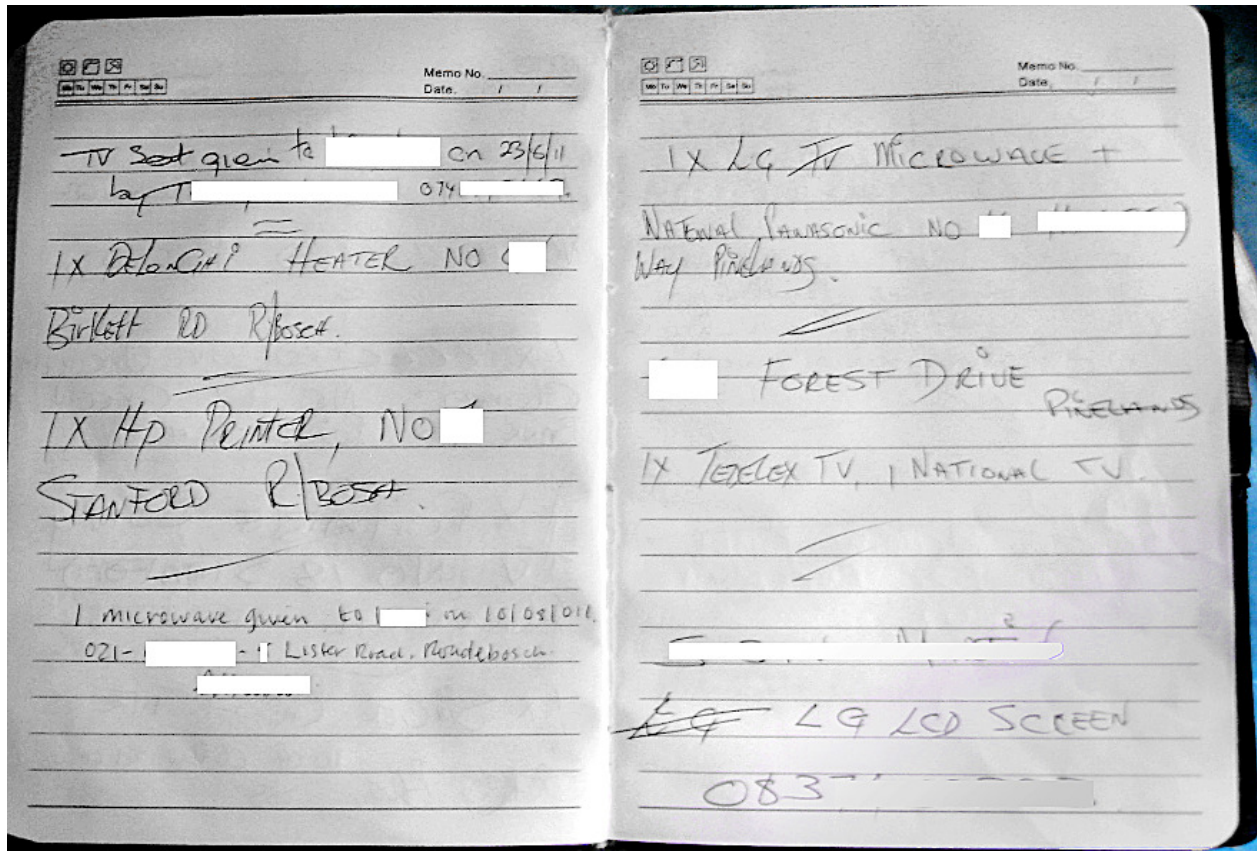


Image 6.14 Kramer's *skarrelboekie*: showing entries made by himself and his suppliers. November 2011.

Kramer uses the *skarrelboekie* to prove to potential buyers of second-hand goods, as well as to the authorities that might stop him, that he is not trading in stolen goods. The entries are legitimized by the fact that they are written by the suppliers. Kramer says that those who donate the goods are 'baie happy' ('very happy') to write in his book as they know he is making an 'honest living' (see Appendix G.5). The first entry, on the top left of the page reads: '1 TV set given to Kramer on 23/6/11 by...' (followed by a name and telephone number). At the bottom of the same page, another person copied the format of the first entry: '1 microwave given to Kramer on 10/8/11...' (followed by telephone number, address) and a signature – a feature that further legitimates the transaction. The rest of the entries in Image 6.14 are written by Kramer.

When Mia Jackson showed me a second-hand laptop that her husband had bought from a *skarrel*, she said that they had 'seen' his *skarrelboekie* to verify that they are not buying stolen goods.

Mia said that if the police came to her house and found the laptop her family could not be accused of theft because of the *skarrelboekie*. The written ‘proof’ of handing over legitimate ownership serves to protect the parties in the transaction from being accused of a criminal offence.

Kramer says that he always carries the book with him as the police have stopped him *baie keer* (‘many times’). He shows the police the entries in his notebook, and/or directs the police to the homes of the previous owners of the items. The written endorsements by the public are meant to convince the police that the goods are not stolen items. Kramer and his wife, explained, however, that the police are not always interested in looking at his notebook. If the *skarrel* is jailed, his friends or relatives use the book to find the original owner of the goods, and to ask them to write a letter to the court to confirm their donation to Kramer. According to Kramer, he has previously, and successfully, used a written statement by the previous owner of the goods, as evidence for his legitimate possession of the goods. This grassroots form of ‘evidence of transfer’ (Goody (1986:77), is thus able to make a vertical ‘scale-jump’ (Blommaert 2007:6) from the informal trading of second-hand goods (lower social scale), to a higher level of law-enforcement and as legal proof in a formal court of law (higher social scale).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated how grassroots signage turned a formerly domestic space into a public, commercial space. Ben’s business is run from a ‘site of necessity’ (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009) and the locally produced signage was made of available, second-hand materials, which are indexical of the economic constraints under which the business is operated. Several people were asked to contribute to the sign-making because of their handwriting skills – a local technology which Ben obtained for free (from Kevin and Harry), and for a small gift (from Natalie). The signs, were not permanent fixtures but were modified or removed, and in the end made way for generic mass-produced signage sponsored by a global manufacturer, produced from a ‘site of luxury’.

This chapter also showed that Ronald uses informal record-keeping to regulate his business. The records are, however, for local use only. Grassroots forms of record-keeping are informal but can be used on power-invested scale levels as illustrated by Kramer's use of his *skarrelboekie* as defense when he is apprehended by the police. The entries in the *skarrelboekie* have credence mainly because they are endorsed by people who are more socio-economically empowered than Kramer. Kramer also uses business cards, provided by a supplier, as an attempt to upscale his business. The cards, however, are inferior in their materiality to conventional cards, and only imitate the idea of business cards. His attempt at re-scaling is thus only partially successful.

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CHAPTER 7: ADOLESCENT LEISURE WRITING

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the social role of writing among adolescents. The focus is on texts written on a mobile instant messaging service, called MXit. The use of multilingual and multimodal resources in on-line conversations is discussed. A quantitative analysis of the MXit corpus is presented to establish the emergent normativity of non-standard writing in digital texts. Furthermore, adolescents' self-presentations through writing will be explored, illustrated here by their construction of on-line profiles and handwritten posters on a bedroom walls.

7.2 The social role of instant messaging

Writing on the instant messaging (IM) service called MXit plays an important role in Kay Davids' (14) life. She uses MXit to sustain relationships with her friends as well as young adult family members, and to interact with people that she has never physically met. Chatting and flirting with her contacts is a leisure activity that helps Kay to combat the boredom she experiences at home. She does not have access to computers, and although the cellphones that she uses are GPRS-enabled, she does not use other on-line literacies such as Facebook.

According to Kay, she has approximately 180 MXit 'contacts', i.e. people to whom she is connected to via MXit. She chats with friends and relatives who live in MGW, but mostly with teenagers living in neighbourhoods across Cape Town. Kay identifies the vast majority of her contacts as Coloured (see Appendix F: 28 November 2011). Her MXit network is thus defined socially and as well as spatially, and her texts are designed for peers who share her historical-cultural and linguistic background. The uptake of Kay's MXit texts is thus local but not translocal. Furthermore, the on-line technology of instant messaging blurs geographical distinctions as it 'transcends the spatial boundaries of home' (Chigona et al., 2009:8). Thus, when Kay 'goes on-line' to chat, she is instantly and intimately connected to a social network of teenagers across Cape Town.

The frequency with which Kay writes on MXit fluctuates, depending on her access to cellphones. At the beginning of the research period, Kay chatted on her own phone, which was given to her by a friend from a more affluent family in MG. She reported that she starts 'MXiting' as soon as she wakes in the morning, that she continues chatting on-line after school in the afternoons as well as 'throughout the night'. Kay said that apart from going to school she has 'nothing else to do' other than watch television and chat on MXit. Kay only has one close friend, living in MG. This friend, Tammy (14), lives next door to Kay. When the two friends are together, they spend much of their time chatting on phones with other MXit contacts, or in Multimix chatrooms with the same people. Barton and Hamilton (1998:8) emphasize that there is usually 'talk around' texts in what NLS describes as literacy events (cf. Chapter 1.2.1). This is what happens during Tammy and Kay's communal MXit sessions: while they chat individually on-line, they simultaneously discuss their MXit conversations with one another.

Ling and Yttri (2002:152) describe how communication on mobile phones enables adolescents to interact with others without the monitoring of their parents. Chigona et al. (2009:11) found that parents and educators are concerned that MXit is 'addictive and hinders the youth's concentration on academic work'. They are also concerned about the dangers of their children communicating with strangers. The same study found, however, that adolescents consider MXit as a useful tool for communication and that they believe that there are much worse social evils that can be addictive (Chigona et al. 2009:9). Kay justifies her MXit activities as follows: '...and for me it keeps me away from the people outside, like, so you're just going to catch on nonsense, like people that's on drugs and that, it [MXit] keeps me away from them' (see Appendix G.6). MXit is a mobile literacy: teenagers can carry their cellphones with them, and can stay in constant communication with their friends. The popular discourse in the media that MXit is 'addictive', resonates in Kay's description of her on-line habit in terms of 'dependency' (see Chigona et al., 2009, for discussion). After her phone was stolen (during the research period), she decided not to use MXit again. She claimed that she is 'trying to stay away from it because it is like addictive', and continued that 'it's just going to happen again, it's like I'm craving for it' (see interview, December 2010).

However, without access to MXit she feels emotionally isolated from her friends: 'When I am on MXit I am near to them, I know what they are doing there and they know what I'm doing. Now I

don't know' (see Appendix G.7). Kay's attitude to MXit is therefore ambiguous. After she had lost her phone, Kay managed to 'stay away' from MXit for a few days, but then started to borrow her relatives' phones to chat on-line.

Despite popular perceptions among South African parents and educators, Kay and Tammy's MXit conversations are not limited to trivialities or flirting. Kay said she used MXit to ask her friends about school assignments (see Appendix G.9.) It is also a communication tool to obtain news from a wide variety of contacts, for example, relatives living in other neighbourhoods.

The high frequency of writing among adolescents is not necessarily a phenomenon brought on by on-line literacies. Shuman's (1993:247) study of adolescents' pre-digital writing practices, found that adolescents 'did more reading and writing at home than people of other ages'. Additionally, they used writing as 'resistance to authority', as well as a way to say things that could not be said 'face to face'. Similarly, Camitta's (1993:228) study of pre-digital adolescent literacies shows that teenagers maintained 'intensive correspondence to friends' and regarded writing as 'central to transacting social relationships'. The social purposes of traditional and on-line literacies are thus similar. The technology of instant messaging, however, is unique, as it provides a platform where users can constantly be available (Baron 2008). This allows for the potential immediacy of response, and thus intensifies the social role writing plays in teenagers' lives.

7.3 Language mixing in on-line writing

Kay's MXit texts exhibit linguistic features, such as bilingualism, that are generally associated with the varieties of English and Afrikaans spoken by Coloured people in Cape Town. Although she draws pre-dominantly on her English linguistic resources (83%), she inserts Afrikaans words or alternates to Afrikaans. This correlates with the neighbourhood survey results, i.e. that 84% of the participants write on MXit in English (see Chapter 4.3.2). Kay's MXit conversation, (a) below, with her cousin, 'Devil' (D), who lives in Manenberg (a Cape Flats neighbourhood), shows how she uses MXit to stay in touch with relatives living across town.

- (a)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|
| D: | Ey | (‘Hey’) |
| K: | Hw u dng | (‘How are you doing’) |
| D: | <i>Dik gevriet</i> | (‘Stuffed myself’) |
| K: | <i>leka ne</i> | (<i>lekker nê</i> : ‘that’s nice’) |
| D: | <i>J wmjn</i> | (<i>Jy, wat maak jy nou</i> : ‘You, what are you doing now?’) |
| K: | Jc nd u | (‘Just chatting and you’) |
| D: | Lodc | (<i>Lamming</i> (‘chilling’) ‘on the couch’) |
| K: | kwl s0 wts ur plans 4 2day | (‘Cool so what’s your plans for today’) |
| D: | Yr cuz dnt knw nd urz | (‘Your cousin doesn’t know and yours’) |

A salient feature of the conversation is the switches between Afrikaans and English, corresponding to alternate code-switching (as described by Muysken 1997:361). Alternational switches to Afrikaans in the MXit corpus tend to occur when conversations take a humorous turn (also see (b), below). Seargeant and Tagg (2011:497), however, argue that the idea of language as ‘discrete historical products’ is inadequate to describe situations such as digital writing, where ‘language practices are rapidly evolving’. Traditional code-switching models may thus not serve to analyse multilingual digital writing. For example, in (a), the acronym, ‘lodc’ (*lamming* on the couch’) can be approached as belonging neither exclusively to English or Afrikaans.

7.4 Vernacular writing on MXit

Androutsopoulos (2011:149) points out that one of the main dimensions of innovation in digital language is that of conceptual orality. These include all aspects of ‘casual spoken language in written discourse’. In a conversation with her uncle Andy (23), in (b) below, Kay (K) takes Andy’s (A) cue and jokingly replies to his teasing:

- (b)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--|
| A: | were yr aunt | (‘where is your aunt?’) |
| K: | c ere at hme we gna ride nw nw | (‘she is here at home we are going to ride now now’) |
| A: | K | (‘OK’) |
| K: | Yip | (‘Yip’) |
| A: | Is my baby sleepin | (‘Is my baby sleeping?’) |
| K: | npe c is awake sittin by us | (‘Nope she is awake sitting by us’) |
| A: | <i>moetie my kin knypie j</i> | (‘Don’t pinch my child, you’) |
| K: | <i>Ja ek m0er ha dan</i> | (‘Yes I’m punching her’) |

Blommaert (2008:10) argues that the spelling conventions in grassroots literacies ‘often reflect accent’: the way in which words are pronounced in spoken vernacular varieties. Saal and Blignaut (2011) note that spoken Coloured Teenage Cape Afrikaans may include ‘typical’ Cape Afrikaans phonological features that can be approximated in writing. Such a feature is the post-vocalic /r/-deletion as realized by Kay *ha* for *haar* (‘her’) in (b), above. Furthermore, both Kay and Andy contract words to represent morphological clitics in their speech, such as *moetie* for *moet nie*, and *knypie* for *knyp nie*. Example (c), below, is a MXit conversation, between me (F), and Kay (K). Kay switches to Afrikaans and uses a common Cape Flats expression, *k0ep gevriet*, to indicate that her grandfather wants to appease her after they had a fight:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|
| (c) | F: Whose fone u using | (‘Whose phone are you using?’) |
| | K: my <i>Oupa</i> | (‘My grandfather’) |
| | F: did u make peace | (‘Did you make peace?’) |
| | K: lol <i>hy k0ep gevriet</i> | (‘Laugh out loud’ <i>hy koop gevreet</i>)
(lit. ‘he is buying face’) |

Dialect features such as monophthongization and vowel raising, i.e. [oə]>[u]) and ([e]>[i]) are reflected in her spelling of *koep gevriet*:

Standard Afrikaans pronunciation:	[koəp xəfræt]
Stereotypical Coloured pronunciation:	[kup xəfrit]

Kay thus manipulates her Afrikaans writing (on MXit) towards a local norm. The English words in Kay’s corpus, however, do not reflect a local accent. Her non-standard spellings include global texting features similar to those identified by Deumert and Masinyana (2008:127) in their South African corpus of English text messages produced by isiXhosa-English bilinguals. In some instances Kay approximates stylized African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Deumert & Masinyana 2008:125). For example, there are a number of g-clippings (see Table 7.1, below), and the –er suffix is repeatedly replaced with –a (see Table 7.2, below). Furthermore, Kay realizes ‘the’ mostly as ‘da’ in her conversations (see Table 7.3 below). These spellings, together with Americanisms such as ‘gna’ (for ‘gonna’), ‘npe’ (for ‘nope’) and ‘yeah’, orientate Kay’s writing towards a global norm.

The extracts from Kay's MXit conversations (in a–c above) show a profusion of alternative orthographies and approximations of vernacular language, i.e. non-standard features that Blommaert (2008) ascribes to grassroots literacies. These linguistic elements, however, do not constrain the uptake of texts amongst her peers who use similar linguistic forms. If the texts, however, are to be read translocally or globally by contacts who do not understand Afrikaans, or who are not familiar with on-line orthographies, the uptake of the texts will most likely be constrained.

7.5 Non-standard spellings on MXit

Androutsopoulos (2000, 2006, 2011), Thurlow (2003), and Crystal (2001, 2008) have shown how new communicative environments are changing the established rules of 'standard' writing practices. Barasa (2010:109) approaches alternative spellings by analysing the linguistic processes or mechanisms that are applied to obtain a particular orthography. For example, in Kay's corpus, /h/ is omitted in *wu* ('who'), *wen* ('when') and *wat* ('what'). Furthermore, /w/ is clipped in *r0ng* ('wrong') and *ritn* ('written'). In some cases Kay applies a linguistic process to some words but not to others, for example, /th/ is reduced to /d/, in 'that', 'there', and 'the', but never in 'then'. Linguistic processes are applied thus applied regularly. The processes are, however, not applied uniformly, i.e. not always to all possible words. For example, Kay replaces *-er* with *-a* (in both English and Afrikaans words) in examples 1–9 but not in 10–14.

	Standard spelling	Kay's spelling
1	finger	finga
2	weather	wetha
3	owner	owna
4	sister	sista
5	number	numba
6	<i>lekker</i> ('nice')	<i>leka</i>
7	<i>gister</i> ('yesterday')	<i>gista</i>
8	<i>seker</i> ('probably')	<i>sieka</i>
9	<i>sommer</i> ('just because')	<i>suma</i>
10	gangster	gangster
11	answer	answer
12	soccer	soccer
13	shower	shower
14	vibrator	vibrater

Table 7.2 Replacing of *-er* with *-a* (1–9); and retention of *-er* in the MXit corpus.

Similarly Table 7.3 (below) shows that /g/ is dropped from most words ending in *-ing* in the corpus (examples 1–11), but not to all of them (examples 12–17).

	Standard spelling	Kay's spelling
1	morning	mornin
2	ending	endin
3	going	g0in
4	nothing	nthn
5	cooking	cookin
6	<i>lamming</i> ('chilling')	<i>lamin</i>
7	coming	cumin
8	helping	helpin
9	eating	eatin
10	something	sumthn
11	chatting	chtn
12	doing	dng
13	being	being
14	boring	b0ring
15	<i>skrifting</i> ('screwing')	<i>skrifting</i>
16	flirting	flirting
17	saying	saying

Table. 7.2 G-clippings and retention of final /g/ in MXit corpus.

An analysis of Kay's MXit conversations (a corpus of 1591 words) shows that she uses non-standard spellings in 68% of English words and in 41% of Afrikaans words.¹⁸ The higher percentage of non-standard English spellings versus that of non-standard Afrikaans spellings may be due to the global conventions of on-line language that Kay draws on. Furthermore, there is a high occurrence of certain English words, that are always realized in non-standard forms, i.e. 'u' for 'you' occurs 68 times, and 'kwl' for 'cool', 26 times. Jaffe (2000:13) notes that 'few texts that make use of non-standard orthographic forms apply these forms consistently and rigorously'. Table 7.3 (below) shows that Kay uses standard as well as non-standard forms of the same words in her on-line interactions.

¹⁸ The corpus is small and the quantitative analysis in this section is tentative.

No.	Standard		Non-standard		Non-standard		Non-standard	
1	again	0%	agen	100%				
2	back	0%	bck	100%				
3	cool	0%	kwl	100%				
4	don't	0%	dnt	100%				
5	how	0%	hw	100%				
6	her	0%	ha	100%				
7	I'm	0%	im	100%				
8	right	0%	ryt	100%				
9	she	0%	c	100%				
10	your	0%	ur	100%				
11	when	0%	wen	100%				
12	where	0%	whr	100%				
13	why	0%	y	100%				
14	but	7%	bt	93%				
15	did	9%	dd	91%				
16	its	62%	itz	38%				
17	of	4%	ov	96%				
18	like	10%	lyk	90%				
19	the	37%	da	63%				
20	that	14%	dat	86%				
21	then	89%	thn	11%				
22	there	33%	der	66%				
23	who	33%	wu	66%				
24	and	0%	nd	85%	n	15%		
25	is	45%	iz	37%	Izz	9%	izh	9%
26	just	0%	jst	90%	j	10%		
27	know	0%	knw	87%	no	13%		
28	now	0%	nw	78%	neow	22%		
29	that's	0%	dats	75%	datz	21%		
30	what	0%	w0t	73%	wat	20%	wt	7%
31	you	0%	u	90%	uU	10%		
32	was	2%	wrz	67%	w0z	33%		
33	with	3%	wif	75%	wit	21%		

Table 7.3 Examples of standard and non-standards spellings in the MXit corpus (in percentages).

Kay consistently spells some words in the same non-standard form (examples 1–23); whilst other words (examples 24–33) have several non-standard forms. For example, she writes ‘was’ in its standard form but also realizes it as ‘wrz’ or ‘w0z’. Although the non-standard spellings are to some degree conventionalized, the digital space allows for variation, as well as the occasional use of standard forms. Deumert (2004:3) points out that although ‘linguistic variability and heterogeneity are indexical of non-standard varieties’, this does not imply an absence of norms. Spellings on MXit are non-standard, but at the same time, conventionalized. We can describe this as the ‘emergent normativity’ (Blommaert et al., 2005) of language use on cellphones. The alternative linguistic forms deployed by MXit users are regulated by so-called ‘oughtness norms’ (Hechter & Opp 2001). They argue that the sanctioning of oughtness norms is not institutionalized but rather ‘informal’ and ‘internal’. The particular configuration of standard and non-standard features that Kay deploys, is dependent on her ‘competence’ or ‘capacity’ to make ‘adequate judgment calls’ (Blommaert & Varis 2011:5) on what will be regarded as ‘cool’ language use on MXit within her peer group.

Although Kay uses a configuration of standard as well as non-standard forms of writing on MXit, only using standard writing may constrain entry within on-line peer networks. Kay reported that she can recognize ‘new’ MXit users, because they write ‘full out’ (standard spelling) and the fact that they do not understand her texts. At times, this ‘bores’ her and she ‘ignores’ such contacts (see Appendix G.9). The following episode illustrates this point: during a visit to the Davids’ home, I asked Kay if I could join one of her ‘Multimix’ conversations (Field notes: July 2011). Kay agreed and invited me to join the on-line chatroom. However, she immediately took my phone and said it would be better if she wrote on my behalf as the way I write ‘is boring’. In other words, Kay offered to mediate this literacy activity for me, as she was of the opinion that my standard orthography (or my attempts to emulate MXit language) would constrain my interaction with her MXit contacts. Non-standard orthographies thus hold power among Kay’s peers on MXit, while the use of standard orthographies only, and may, to an extent, ‘lose voice’ within her peer group.

7.6 Creativity and innovation on MXit

Blommaert (2008:144) notes that ‘deliberate deviations from norms’ can be creative devices to aestheticize writing. Kay’s creative deviations include, among others, the alternative use of upper and lower case letters. She also replaces the /o/ quite regularly with the numerical zero, ‘0’, for example in (d) below.

- (d) ja y0ng n0u sTaAn dIe aPpLeS eN waG vI bEta daYz
(‘yes man, now the apples are standing and waiting for better days’)

Jaffe (2000) and Androutsopoulos (2000) point out that there is a relationship between orthographies and how people want to present themselves. Jaffe (2000:10) argues that ‘once people step out of the framework of standard orthographies with categorical authority’, they use writing to project a certain kind of self. In his study of German punk fanzines, Androutsopoulos (2000:527) argues that writers use non-standard spellings because of their ‘indexical or symbolic value as cues of sub-cultural positioning’. Orthographic variation is therefore, features that are *indexical* of social meaning, i.e. ‘notions such as originality, radicality or toughness’. Kay’s orthography signifies that she wants to be regarded as a skilled and creative digital writer.

Barasa (2010:46) argues that non-standard forms of on-line writing are used for expressions of peer identity and to ‘show off’. MXit users write status updates – similar to those on Facebook – and ‘farewell messages’ which are visible to all of their contacts.¹⁹ By creating a chaotic orthography, Kay makes these semi-public texts as attractive as possible to her peers (see (e)–(g), below).

- (e) Dnt pla¥ B!CTHzz Wu KnwZz Hw 2 PlAy DeM Be+a:-)
(‘Don’t play bitch who knows how to play them better....:-’)
- (f) WeN d@ w!nD bLoWzZ n1 nWz wHr K@Y GoEzZ
(‘When the wind blows no one knows where Kay goes’)
- (g) M€N\$€ €K Mæ€+ NæU K@VO€G@ M¥ BT !\$ P@P... €N DC \$€ M@\$€
(‘People I must go now my battery is flat... and disconnected, mother’s’)

¹⁹ ‘Farewell messages’ are texts that are automatically displayed when MXit users go off-line.

Kay replaces alphabetic letters with symbols, similar to the practices found in *leetspeak*, a writing system that uses symbols and numbers as substitutes for alphabetic letters (Blashki & Nichol 2005:71). However, Kay is not aware that these practices are established global non-standard orthographies associated traditionally with so-called ‘nerds’ and ‘geeks’ in the US. She simply uses them to aesthetically enhance her writing, i.e. the Euro (€) for ‘e’, Yen (¥) for ‘y’, Dollar (\$) for ‘s’, ‘+’ for ‘t’, exclamation mark (!) for ‘i’, and ‘@’ for ‘a’. Thus what might look like a global practice (*leetspeak*) is, in this context, an example of locally meaningful usage (Pennycook 2010:14). Kay simply uses the symbols because they have visual impact.

7.7 Identity management through literacy among adolescents

Martinez (2008:95) points out that ‘bedroom walls have historically been the space in which girls have been able to develop their own sub-culture’. Anita Jackson (16) has her own small bedroom – a wide passageway between her grandparents’ bedroom and the sewing room (see Fig. 3.4). The ‘room’ has no doors and family members access the sewing room via this space. Anita uses literacy to claim the semi-communal space as a private living area, and at the same time displays different elements of her identity. She has decorated the walls with a poster of an America teen band, photographs of herself and her boyfriend, and handmade posters. The handmade A4-size posters, are written on pages torn out of school exercise books. Anita has written words and slogans expressing romance and sexuality on the posters. For example, ‘Summer of love’, ‘Broken Heart’ and ‘Sexy’ appears in decorated scripts. On the ‘Sexy’ poster (Image 7.1), Anita imitated an artist’s signature by writing, ‘Done by Anita Carolyn Jackson’, inside a border (indicated by red arrow in Image 7.1).



Image 7.1 A poster made by Anita, reading 'Sexy'. June 2011.

Whereas the children in the Jackson home have their own relatively private spaces, the Davids children share rooms and beds with other adults or children (cf. Fig. 3.2.). None of the Davids children, including Kay, have put up any posters or drawings on the walls as a means to 'claim space' in their house (Gallagher 2007:165). The overlap of living and communal, utilitarian space (e.g., Kay and her cousin, Nadine, sleep in the kitchen) does not make it possible. Nadine has, however, carved her name into the kitchen cupboard with a knife, and wrote it on the side of their fold-out bed with a black marker. Writing on furniture is an example of 'transgressive' literacies – literacies that are unauthorized, and unsanctioned in the context within which they appear (Scollon & Scollon Wong 2003:146). Nadine's writing of her name is similar to the 'tagging' practices of graffiti, used by adolescents to 'write themselves into the world' (Moje 2000:652; cf. Camitta, 1993). Nadine told me that she 'wrote' her name because she was 'bored'. Yet, at the same time, her writing made an important symbolic statement: it can be read as an attempt to leave a mark of her presence, her very identity, in a house where she did not have personal space. Her grandparents scolded Nadine for her transgression, but she got off lightly.

Kay uses an on-line writing platform (in this case MXit) to claim virtual space and project parts of her social identity. Kay's on-screen name is *Aggressive Bitch*. This tough, 'don't-mess-with-

me' name encapsulates a social identity that she projects to her peers. For example, Kay identified *kavoega* ('to go/to fuck off') in (g), above, as gangster slang. By using this word in her public message, Kay 'shows off' that she has knowledge of how gangsters speak. She then expresses her annoyance at losing her on-line connection with 'se ma se', which is the beginning, of the transgressive insult, *se ma se poes* ('mother's cunt'). This derogatory insult is generally associated with transgressive Coloured identity, but its abbreviated form (as used by Kay) has also been used to humorous effect in media to index 'localness'.

The MXit interface provides limited space for self-description on low-end cellphones. For example, users can only display one image (a profile picture) at a time. Kay, however, uses her 'profile' details to presents a particular identity to her contacts (see (ii) below).

- (ii) Display name: ◇pReC!oUs L!L D!aMoNd◇ (Precious lil' Diamond)
 First name: pR!vAtE...x (Private...x)
 Last name: VrA diE nAai wA+ mY uiT gEkakiT (Ask the asshole who shat me out)

The abbreviation in Kay's name, 'L!L' (for 'little'), imitates the stage names of African American rap artists such as Lil Wayne and Lil Kim – who are popular among Cape Flats teenagers. Part of Kay's display name, 'Diamond', is a reference to the sub-culture of the Stupas, a criminal Cape Flats gang who uses a hand gesture signifying a diamond as one of its emblems. Moje (2000:654) describes how teenagers affiliate themselves with gangs, and use gang-related literacy practices (such as graffiti and tagging) 'to represent themselves as being part of a group' and 'to be part of the story' of the dangerous but also thrilling gang sub-culture. Evoking gang names and emblems in adolescent writings are a way to portray a particular identity: tough and streetwise. Kay frames her name with pictorial images of diamonds (◇), and thus uses more than 'language' in her texts to communicate this identity (Kress 2003). Kay said that she, and her friend Tammy, are 'Stupa girls' (the Stupas is a Cape Flats gang), but that they have no direct contact with gangs and are not involved in gangsterism (Interview, August 2011). Kay thus plays with a gang identity on MXit. However, she admits that she will not tell someone face-to-face that she belongs to a certain gang for fear of 'making an enemy'. MXit may therefore be a safe platform where identities can easily be slipped on and discarded.

Kay explained that being a ‘Stupa girl’ is similar to becoming a fan of football club. Her gang loyalties are probably best described in one of her status updates (November 2011): ‘Im n0t a gAngsTeR I jUst sImpLy LoVe British’. Several Cape Flats gangs (including the Stupas) employ the British flag as a ‘visual symbol’ (Pinnock 1984:11).²⁰ Kay uses the red and blue colours of the Union Jack for visual effect, and constructs a multimodal sign in the sense of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Similarly, Anita Jackson uses the slogan ‘British Babe’ in a poster on her wall (see Image 7.2).



Image 7.2 A poster made by Anita, reading ‘British Babe’. June 2011.

The ‘symbols’ of Britishness are global but they have different social meanings within the gang sub-culture in Cape Town. The ‘British’ gangs (including the Stupas) are collectively in opposition to the ‘American’ gangs in Cape Town. These two groups of gangs use the cultural symbols of these nations e.g. flags. The symbols are, however, not indexical of patriotism but have been recontextualized: in the gang sub-culture they ‘serve’ as markings of particular gang factions (Iedema 2003:50). Furthermore, they are symbols of aspiration to affluent (first world)

²⁰ The ‘British’ gangs also include the Hard Livings, Fancy Boys, Bad Boys.

lifestyles). For Kay and Anita, the expression of ‘Britishness’ in informal semi-public literacies, is a way to present themselves as having street credibility.

The response to her ‘last name’ *VrA diE nAai wA+ mY uiT gEkakiT* (‘Ask the asshole who shat me out’) is a subversion of the conventional idea of a surname. Kay’s retort is deliberately rude, and shows an attitude of disrespect to one’s parents. The word, *gEkakiT* is a contraction of two words *gekak het*, and represents the morphological clitics in Kay’s speech (i.e. accent, see section 7.4 above). Notwithstanding Kay’s self-presentation as an ‘aggressive’ gang follower, and rebellious to her parents, she also presents herself as a loving, proud sister, as she writes her baby brothers name, ‘Damion’ (in multi-coloured letters) as her status update (October 2011), and posts photographs of him as her profile picture.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how adolescents use literacy for leisure activities, to claim spaces as their own, and to project their social stances and identities. I have argued that the social purposes of digital online writing are similar to pre-digital adolescent writing, although on-line technology intensifies the social role of writing as users can be constantly available, and receive immediate responses to their texts.

Although the writing on MXit is conventionalized, the variation of the linguistic forms in Kay’s MXit corpus, illustrates that diversity, creativity and change are features of digital writing. The writing on MXit displays features of grassroots literacies, such as vernacular language and heteroglossic orthographies (Blommaert 2008:10). Certain linguistic forms hold more social currency than others, and the use of purely standard orthographies may constrain uptake in certain genres and specific social networks that require a ‘high standard’ of non-standard orthographies.

Adolescents use literacies to manage their social identities. Whilst Anita has space within her home environment to display personal literacies, Kay share has no private space at home for such a practice. Instead, she uses the on-line platform of MXit to mediate multiple aspects of her

identity. Both girls show an affiliation to gang-subcultures through their texts. These are, however only projected identities as they have no direct contact with gangs.

CHAPTER 8: LITERACY MEDIATORS

8.1 Introduction

Members of the two families regularly make use of literacy mediators. Chapter 6 already discussed literacy mediation from outside MGCV, i.e. in the case of Kramer's *skarrel* literacies. This chapter will explore the ways in which the participants make use of literacy mediators within their families and local social networks. These practices will be illustrated by showing how relatives help each other to engage with bureaucratic literacies which are located at the 'centre' (Blommaert 2010:99) of society. Also, individuals ask their relatives to act as digital scribes, i.e. write cellphone-based literacies on their behalf.

In their study of literacy mediation within socio-economically deprived, migrant Mexican families in the US, De la Piedra and Romo (2003:58) show that there is a 'relationship between literacy practices and other social and cultural resources, such as social networks, common knowledge and mutual help found in the local community'. In the overcrowded homes of the migrant families, the social values of sharing and reciprocity extend to the distribution of literacy resources and knowledge (De la Piedra & Romo 2003:58). The engagement with texts in non-mainstream households is often collective and collaborative, and interpretations of texts are co-constructed. Baynham (1995:68) points out that the role of networks in literate and non-literate practices should be approached as 'a source of strength, not necessarily dependence'.

People living in low-income communities may engage in relationships of reciprocity out of necessity. The practice of seeking help within social networks is often part of their collective habitus (Bourdieu 1977). To ask for help from others is one of the strategies that MGCV family members depend on when they write and interpret texts.

8.2 A local cosmopolitan

Different levels of education, employment, and incomes afford the MGCV family members varying levels of access to literacy resources and knowledge economies. Fingeret (1983:137)

notes that there exist individuals – who may or may not be economically successful – who have ‘extensive contact with the institutions, norms and systems’ of ‘cosmopolitan’ networks. Kevin Davids is an example of such a person who regularly acts as a literacy mediator for members of his family and for people within his social network. Kevin’s room is strewn with novels and non-fiction books. Kevin has travelled to Europe and holds a TEFL qualification, (Teaching English as a Foreign Language), although he has never worked in this field. He owned a second-hand laptop which broke during the research period and could not be repaired. Kevin is a Facebook user. As he has no internet access at home and cannot access the internet via his cellphone he writes posts on the on-line social network from friends’ phones or computers approximately once every two weeks as (see Appendix E.3 for Kevin’s Facebook corpus). Kevin never saves any money, as he spends his occasional cash-income on socializing with his friends. However, his tertiary education, previous travels abroad, and his broad, cross-neighbourhood social networks make him an important ‘cosmopolitan’ actor in his local MGV social network.

He is openly homosexual, and his linguistic behaviour is quite different from his family. For example, when speaking English, he orients towards global norms (RP English). The Davids family regards Kevin as ‘educated’ and well-spoken and they regularly ask him to make phone calls on their behalf. For example, Kevin’s mother, Bonnie, asked him to phone a school principal when one of her grandchildren failed their school year (Field notes, July 2011).

8.3 Mediating literacies for translocal uptake

Kevin especially assists his relatives when they have to engage with ‘bureaucratic’ literacies. He volunteered to help his sister Misha, as well as the father of her baby, to register the birth of Damion at the Home Affairs Office in the city centre, Kevin completed the necessary forms on the parents’ behalf in order to ‘speed things up’ (see Appendix H: Field notes: May 2011). Kevin also reported that he sometimes writes ‘business letters’ for his father Ben. When Ben received a letter from the City Council, he asked me to interpret the letter (Field notes: June 2011)²¹. The letter warned Ben that the electricity source for his shop does not comply with safety measures.

²¹ As I became part of the families’ social networks, family members occasionally asked me to mediate literacies on their behalf, or, for example, asked me how to spell words.

Ben subsequently obtained forms from the Council to apply for an additional electricity source. He showed me the forms and asked me to take the forms to Kevin, so that we could complete the forms on his behalf. Ben was aware that the information that he had to supply in writing had to move vertically, to a higher scale (Blommaert 2007) of an institution which has the power to shut down his business. Ben did not trust his own 'knowledge economy' to complete the forms and regarded Kevin and me (a university student) as being better equipped to complete the forms.

When I showed Kevin the forms, he put them aside and said that he would complete them the next day. After a week, Ben complained that Kevin had still not completed the forms. I subsequently asked Kevin if he had done so, and he told me that his father had obtained the 'wrong' forms, so there was no point in completing them, and he did not further assist his father in the matter. Thus, although the family uses Kevin as a literacy mediator, he is also a somewhat unreliable resource. He regularly leaves home and moves out of the spatial boundaries of MGV, only to return days later. The family cannot keep track of his movements, and he is not always available to assist them with literacy activities, or he sometimes fails to complete them. For example, Kevin assists his nieces and nephews with their homework, and encourages them to read (Field notes, August 2011). His niece, Kay, however, complained to me that Kevin had started to write a school project for her on his laptop, but that he had disappeared for a week (with his laptop) and she could therefore not complete or submit the assignment. Having to rely on an unreliable resource can be frustrating and constraining for the family.

He is also seen as a valuable persona in the 'space of literacy' (Bartlett & Holland 2002:12) within the wider MGV social network. For example, on the morning of the annual *Village Day* in MGV, the organizers asked Kevin to assist them in the last-minute design and printing of the programme for the day's activities (Image 8.1). Kevin helped the organizers without remuneration, as the fair is an event to raise money for the MGV community (Field notes, October 2011).

Village Day

Programme.

SATURDAY

29 October 2011

09H00 – 10H00.

- Drum Majorettes Parade Through Street
- Roaring Sixties
- Club Gardenia
- Sunshine Entertainers Band
- Woodstock Starlights
- Walkers

Opening at 10H15

Welcome: Cecelia Fouché
Opening Prayer: Melchoir Petersen

Drum Majorettes Exhibition

10H30

DJ

10H30 – 11H00

Dog Show



Pinelands



Police:

11H00 – 12H00

DJ

12H00 – 13H00

Variety Show - Cheryl Gombaard

13H00 – 14H30

Leroy (Back Kensington)

Rasiaad Davids

DJ

14H30 – 15H00

Fun & Games and Prize Giving

15H00 – 16H00

Village got talent

16H00 – 17H00

Dance Group Lynn and Lana

CIA

ICON

Image 8.1 The Village Day programme made by Kevin. October 2011.

8.4 Mediation of digital literacies

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Heather does not write SMSs, but asks her children or grandchildren to do so on her behalf. I occasionally communicated with Heather via SMS messages, and received the following texts from her:

- (i) Hi girl thinking abt u an we stil love u HEATHER AN FAMILY
- (ii) Ok but cnt rememba da exact prize bt let me nw wen
- (iii) Hi gal wen u bringing da pictures
- (iv) *Di limo ht gekm net na j weg was 'n baie groot en hoe 1*
(‘The limo came just after you left, it was a big and high one’)
- (v) Dnt u wanna sponser 4 hats 4 da drummies plze
- (vi) *Is daar a toilet by green point park*
(‘Is there a toilet at Green Point Park?’)
- (vii) *Die man se is fine jy kan mar kom*
(‘The man says its fine you can come’)
- (viii) r u stil cumin an wen?
- (ix) Hi Freda can we make our date for a other day. Very busy today. Luv heather.
- (x) Yes im at home

Heather later explained to me that the messages were all written by her daughter, Mia, except (ix), which was written by her 38-year old son, Mike (who lives in another home in MGv), and (x) was written by her granddaughter, Anita. According to Heather, she gives general instructions as to what she wants to convey, and her ‘scribes’ then write this in the style and language of their choice (also see Appendix E.1 for SMSs written from Heather’s phone to other recipients). Mia or one of her grandchildren is usually available to act as a digital scribe.

Mia told me (in front of her mother), that ‘after all this time’ and after she showed her how, Heather could still not write SMSs. When Heather had deleted her text messages by mistake (cf. Chapter 5.1), Mia jokingly said that her mother should rather stay away from ‘internet and

Facebook' (see Appendix G.3). Heather is thus constructed as a 'semi-literate' figure in the 'space' (Bartlett & Holland 2002:12) of digital literacies. This was however, openly discussed and does not seem to carry the same 'shame' as her husband, Ronald's, *ongelerendheid* (cf. Chapter 6.2). Heather does, however, mediate literacies for others. For example, she is the chairperson of the local Pensioners Club. When the Club enters a sport event, the pensioners come to her home, one by one, and she completes the entry forms on their behalf (Field notes, March 2011).

James and Versteeg (2003:119) describe the common practice in the low-income economies in Africa of buying a SIM card and borrowing someone else's phone to use the card. SIM cards are swapped between phones and used by different individuals in the Davids family – often depending on whose card has credit on it, and whose phone is available. I also communicated via SMSs with the Davids family, and received the following SMS from Kevin's phone number:

(x) We Sympathise ur lost of ur granny we love nd keep u in our prayers from the davids family.

From previous SMS and Facebook communications with Kevin, I, however, knew that he does not use many abbreviations (see Appendix E.2–4).²² I recognized Kay's writing style, as she uses the same abbreviations – 'ur' (your), 'nd' (and) and 'u' (you) in her MXit conversations (cf. Chapter 7.3). On my following visit, however, Bonnie asked me if I had received 'her' message. She explained that she had asked Kay to write the message on her (Bonnie's) phone, using Kevin's SIM card. Bonnie's desire to express her sympathy was achieved by using a combination of resources available to her: her phone, Kevin's SIM card, and Kay as a scribe.

Although she intermittently receives SMSs from her friends and children, Bonnie said that she does not know how to send SMSs (see Appendix G.4). Heather and Bonnie are only able to communicate with others through digital literacy by relying on intergenerational mediation. According to the neighbourhood survey, 46% of the participants over the age of 55 years indicated that they write SMSs (cf. Chapter 4.3.3). This figure, however, does not indicate

²² Kevin told me that he does not use the predictive text setting when he writes SMSs.

whether the participants write the texts themselves. Heather, for example, indicated in the survey that she 'wrote' SMSs a few times a day.

8.5 Writing as 'others'

It is common practice for teenagers to use someone else's account (profile) while they chat on MXit. They may do so when their own account runs out of MXit airtime (known as Moola). Kay also explained that her friend, Tammy, chats on her account because she (Kay) has 'better contacts' to chat to (see Appendix g.8). When one is chatting on another person's profile you, can indicate this in the status update, or reply to a contact by, for example, writing, 'Nt da owna chtn' ('not the owner chatting') (see Appendix F: 3 April 2011).

Kay Davids often acts as a scribe for her friend Tammy on MXit. When Tammy has to do chores at her home, she sometimes leaves her phone with Kay and asks her to continue to 'chat' on her behalf to 'keep MXit alive' (see Appendix G.9). Kay says that she also writes for Tammy when Tammy 'is in a corner' and 'does not know what to write' (Appendix G.8). Kay thus chats as 'Tammy' – without the other person in the conversation (often Tammy's boyfriend) being aware that the author has changed.

In his analysis of the construction of false identities in fraudulent emails, Blommaert (2010:128) points out that whilst the writers of these emails can skillfully navigate on-line technologies, their 'literacy skills' and language proficiencies often fail to construct convincing identities. Kay is, however, able to hide her authorship, and convincingly chat under Tammy's identity, because, she says, she knows how Tammy writes. Whilst Kay says she writes 'short, very short' (i.e. using abbreviations), Tammy on the other hand writes 'full-out', and does not capitalize alternative letters (see Appendix G.8). Moreover, Kay is familiar with the expressions Tammy habitually uses, e.g., 'kwljazz' (see Appendix G.9). Chapter 7 has shown that amongst Kay's peers, orthographic variation is a feature of writing on MXit. Kay can approximate Tammy's writing style: she can imitate Tammy and at the same time, variation gives her lee-way to pass for someone else.

8.6 Conclusion

The chapter has shown that family members and friends act as scribes and mediate standard, as well as non-standard forms of writing for one another. Individual family members are aware that there are others in their social network that possess skills, resources and knowledge that they can draw on when they produce literacies. The family members showed an awareness that their 'partial insertion in knowledge economies' (Blommaert 2007:10), or literacy skills do not always equip them to engage with literacies produced or required by powerful institutions in society. They therefore make use of mediators to complete forms or interpret official documentation. Although their insertion in knowledge economies may be partial (Blommaert 2008), the insertion is collaborative. Knowledge economies thus function differently in semi-peripheral communities.

The family members often use one another's cellphones and SIM cards – depending on availability of handsets and airtime. Furthermore, the grandmothers in both the case study families depend on their children and grandchildren as digital scribes. The scribes write and send SMSs on behalf of the women, as they do not know how to do it themselves. One of the women, namely Heather, acts as a mediator of formal, handwritten literacies for pensioners in the neighbourhood. Heather's inability to write SMSs does not carry the same 'shame' as that of the so-called semi-literacy of her husband.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

The study has discussed the literacy practices in a socio-economically marginalized community in Cape Town. Following the NLS framework, the study investigated literacy as social practices. The participants produce texts for local and translocal uptake, i.e. their texts are interpreted by people who may or may not share their linguistic and socio-geographical backgrounds. The study focused on locally situated practices, and considered how global practices and texts are locally appropriated. The practices around the production of religious and commercial texts, as well as leisure literacies that are used for social bonding and social identity management, were explored. This concluding chapter will outline the general findings of the study and its contributions to the scholarship of literacy studies.

Despite the socio-economic mobility experienced by some people in the area, MGV generally remains socio-economically marginalized. It is a low-income neighbourhood, with high levels of unemployment and persistent patterns of truncated education (see Chapter 2). The residents are Afrikaans-English bilingual speakers. Their spoken language shows various elements of non-standard Afrikaans and English.

The methodology for data gathering for the study consisted of a neighbourhood survey and ethnographic case studies conducted with two families living in MGV. The questionnaire-based survey was conducted with 100 participants between the ages of 16 and 73 years (see Chapter 4). The survey focused on the reading and writing practices in the community and access to books, cellphones and computers. Information regarding spoken language patterns as well as language choice in literacy activities was also elicited.

Participant observation in two families over the period of 18 months gave me an understanding of the literacy practices as well as the socio-economically marginalized circumstances of each family (see Chapter 3). Extended families live in both households. The two families differ with respects of affluence, and the number of people accommodated in the homes. The Davids family live in over-crowded conditions and their home environment affords limited private space for

writing activities. Only one of the adults in the household works full-time, and the rest depend on welfare grants and home-based enterprises for their income. In comparison, the Jackson household is more affluent, living conditions are less crowded, and there is more space for solitary writing practices.

Although one family member in each household has attended university, the rest of the adults in the families did not finish high school. There are thus different levels of education and type of employment within the families.

9.2 Findings

9.2.1 A bird's eye view of literacy practices in MGV

The survey indicated that the printed texts most frequently read in the community are newspapers. Tabloid newspapers are for sale within the neighbourhood, but broadsheet newspapers, and national and international magazines are obtained for free from places of work. Translocal and trans-national literacies thus enter the community from outside the geographical boundaries of the neighbourhood.

An intergenerational comparison of reading practices showed that most readers of print literacies such as newspapers, books and religious texts fall in the 26 and 35-year age group. Sixty percent of the younger participants indicated that they read these literacies, although more of them read magazines. The older survey participants (over 55 years) mostly read newspapers and religious literacies, but only few of them read books and magazines.

Cellphone ownership among the residents is high (84%), whilst access to computers is limited. Residents typically gain access to the internet via their cellphones, and computers are mostly used by those who are employed. In general, the writing of SMSs is the form of writing that most of the participants engage with. The younger participants (between 16–25 years) are the most prolific writers of digital cellphone-based literacies, and the instant-messaging service, MXit, is a popular means of communication among the youngest participants. A lower percentage of participants (mostly between the ages of 26 and 35 years) write emails, and use Facebook.

The residents responded that Afrikaans is the language that is mostly spoken in the neighbourhood. There are, however, signs of intergenerational language shift towards English. The survey indicated that the MGV residents read and write informal literacies overwhelmingly in English. In South Africa, English has a higher social status than Afrikaans. English is institutionalized as the language of literacy in education. English is also dominant in the economic sector, and seen as the key to social and economic success. The hegemony of English is particularly noticeable in writing on Facebook and the writing of emails. Cellphone-based literacies such as SMSs and MXit (as well as handwritten literacies), are, however, spaces where Afrikaans, or both Afrikaans and English are used.

9.2.2 *Grassroots literacies*

The participants' texts were approached from the perspective of Blommaert's (2008) notion of grassroots literacies. The framework is useful for describing texts written by people living on the socio-economic and linguistic margins of society, who have restricted literacy repertoires and limited access to resources. Blommaert (2008:7) argues that grassroots texts 'are often only *locally* meaningful and valuable', but that the uptake of such text elsewhere, or on higher hierarchical social scales, will be constrained. The study has shown that some of the literacies generated by MGV residents contain grassroots features. For example, Ben Davids writes sermons which he delivers locally in a small congregation, consisting mostly of his family (see Chapter 5). Whilst Ben usually speaks Afrikaans to his family the sermons are written in English and draw on the elevated language of the King James Bible. The written sermons contain grassroots elements, such as spelling difficulties and draft-like features. The texts are, however, important in establishing Ben's persona as a religious authority within his family and small congregation. Ben achieves this through the oral delivery of the sermons, mediated by his 'grassroots' texts.

Blommaert (2008:7) argues that grassroots texts reflect a partial insertion in knowledge economies, and that the knowledge resources that people draw on in marginalized communities may be restricted, and are largely based on local knowledge. Ben, however draws on global

resources such as American books when he composes the sermons. He has not direct access to internet resources which are supplied by his religious movement, and he aspires to greater insertion in a global knowledge economy through acquiring a laptop and access to the internet.

Informal record-keeping practices in home-based enterprises are also successfully used to control a small home-based enterprise. Ronald Jackson has an idiosyncratic system of recording his customers' debts in notebooks. The texts are used for local face-to-face interaction with his customers only. Although the rest of Ronald's family also serves his customers, they do not extend credit, and do not completely understand his record-keeping system. Ronald is thus able to exercise exclusive control over this aspect of his business.

The sign-making for a home-based shop showed how grassroots, homemade signage transformed a physical environment from a domestic to a commercial space (see Chapter 6). Blommaert (2008:27) argues that a material reading is necessary to understand grassroots literacies. The materials used by the participants to write with, and write on are indexical of the economic constraints under which the literacies are produced (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:41). Ben Davids' front yard can be describes as a 'site of necessity' as it falls on a low end of the economic hierarchy (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). The homemade signage that was produced for his shop reflected his use of resources that was available. Furthermore, the English used on the signs is constructed around 'peripheral normativity' (Blommaert 2005) and there are non-standard vernacular terms that place their production (and uptake) on a local scale. The local terms for products are familiar to those living in MGTV, but the product names will not be recognizable translocally. Mass-produced signage, sponsored from a 'site of luxury' eventually replaced the homemade signage. The globally recognizable signage was given preference as Ben regarded as a way to make his business look *ordentlik* ('proper').

9.2.3. *Digital texts for social bonding*

Religious texts are used within Heather Jackson's social network for social bonding (see Chapter 5). Some of the messages are part of a stock of messages circulating the internet and mobile phone chain networks translocally. The messages, however, do not enter Heather's social network without mediation, as they might be re-written and modified during their circulation.

The practice of countering the temporary quality of digital messages, i.e. writing the messages down on paper, stems from an effort to save airtime, and to record the messages for future use. Although not personal, and sometimes produced by unknown authors, the digital messages are valued. This was apparent by Heather's distress when she inadvertently deleted all her saved messages.

An analysis of chain messages on Heather's phone showed that some contain more features of non-standard SMS writing than others. Chain messages containing Bible quotes and those that are 'prayers' addressed to God, contain only a few non-standard features of prototypical cellphone-based writing. Non-standard informal orthographies are, however, deemed as appropriate for religious messages that are addressed to the reader. Thus, writers make an ethical consideration when choosing orthographies for messages that are regarded as having sacred content.

Chapter 7 described how adolescents use digital literacies for leisure and social bonding. Kay Davids uses MXit to stay in perpetual contact with a network of 'contacts' across Cape Town. Her attitude towards MXit is ambiguous: she feels isolated from her friends without it, but also tries to 'stay away' from it at times. She describes her on-line practices within the broader popular discourse, i.e. that MXit is 'addictive'. I have argued that although the technology of instant messaging on cellphones differs from pre-digital handwritten literacies, the social purposes and practices of the two types of literacies are similar. The technology of MXit, however, allows for instant and constant connection between users.

Kay predominantly draws on English linguistic resources when she writes on MXit, although her texts also make use of Afrikaans – usually in the form of code-switching and code-mixing. The spellings in Kay's MXit chats also reflect a non-standard 'accent' (Blommaert 2008:07). Half of the words in Kay's MXit corpus are realized in non-standard forms. She does not, however, use the non-standard forms consistently. For example, Kay uses linguistic mechanisms, such as g-clippings in some words, but not in others. Furthermore, she uses standard as well as several non-standard realizations of the same words. The MXit-platform allows writers to use standard and non-standard orthographies and spelling, as well as the freedom to create new forms.

Both Kay Davids and Anita Jackson express aspects of their social identities through literacy. Whilst the living arrangements in the Jackson home, allows Anita to mark out her social identity through posters on her bedroom walls, Kay uses the virtual platform of MXit to manage her social identity. Both girls use local gang emblems, slogans and nicknames to project a tough and streetwise identity.

9.2.4 Literacy mediators

The study found that the participants use literacy mediators as an attempt to ensure the successful local and translocal uptake of their texts. I have described the dense and multiplex (Milroy 1987) nature of the social networks in MG. The networks enable residents to draw on different proficiencies, material resources, as well as different knowledge economies of people in the neighbourhood when they engage with different literacies. Observations during the survey and the ethnographic data collection showed the residents have collective knowledge of one another's literacy proficiencies, skills, and resources. The production of texts often occurs collaboratively within the households and the co-sharing of literacy resources, such as cellphones, are common.

I have used Holland and Bartlett's (2002) framework of 'figured worlds', to illustrate how the MG residents construct each other as 'characters' in the realm of literacy. The participants seek help from those who are constructed as valuable literacy resources within their social networks (Holland & Bartlett). Chapters 8 discussed how relatives (and members of larger social networks) act as scribes, or mediate different types of literacies. Mediators are chosen for particular skills, such as a nice handwriting or for access to resources. Within the case study households, individuals have different levels of education and knowledge of translocal standard English that they draw on. Kevin Davids is a 'cosmopolitan' mediator, who assists his relatives with bureaucratic literacies from the economic and social centre of society. His relatives, however, regard him as an unreliable resource, as his availability is unpredictable.

The residents also act as digital scribes for each other. For example, the grandmothers in both households, namely Heather and Bonnie, struggle to navigate the technology to write text

messages. Their children and grandchildren therefore write SMSs on their behalf and enable their elders to communicate through a digital literacy. Adolescents also write for each other on digital platforms. For example, Kay sometimes acts as a scribe for her friend, Tammy, on MXit. Kay can approximate Tammy's writing style and can chat with Tammy's contacts without them knowing that Kay is the writer.

9.3 Contribution to scholarship

Blommaert (2008:10) reasons that grassroots features may lead to the constrained mobility of texts in different geographical and social spaces. The study shows that Blommaert's grassroots literacies framework should be extended to take into account, that people who live on the socio-economic and linguistic margins of society do not only draw on local knowledge and resources when they produce texts.. They may not have direct access to translocal resources but rely on mediation by others outside their local networks to help them produce literacies. For example, grassroots texts, such as Kramer's *skarrelboekie*, are produced by people who work on the low end of the informal economic scale. Kramer successfully uses the *skarrelboekie* in translocal spaces and on higher social scales. The *skarrelboekies* can, to a limited extent, give 'voice' to the economically and socially marginalized when they have to defend themselves on power-invested scale levels in the centre of society. This is possible as the texts are co-constructed and endorsed by the writing of people who live in the social centre of society. Furthermore, texts that formalize Kramer's economic activities, such as informal business cards, are produced for him by a supporter outside his local social network. The cards are not, however fully functional as they are only approximations of business cards, and reflect the informality of Kramer's business. Symbolically, Kramer's commercial literacies, therefore, afford at least partial scale-jumping.

The study has also shown that there are literacies that fall outside of Blommaert's fundamental dichotomy of non-standard writing (regarded as sub-elite), and standard writing (regarded as elite). Within Kay's on-line peer network, the use of standard norms does not hold social currency and can lead to constrained uptake within the MXit network. For example, Kay said that she gets irritated if new MXit-users do not understand her 'short' (abbreviated) writing. That the use of non-standard forms is preferable, and, indeed, required was also illustrated by Kay

mediating my chats with her friends. Although the non-standard features of Kay's on-line writing may render her texts to be 'grassroots' (and will fail to communicate competently elsewhere), they have social currency within her peer group. Only using standard spellings and orthographies does not have social status within Kay's on-line social network.

Within Blommaert's framework, grassroots literacies are produced by people who live on the margins of society, who mainly draw on local knowledge economies when they produce texts. Brand and Clinton (2002:338) argue that a focus on the 'local' in NLS should take into account translocal and global practices. They point out that local expressions may be 'culminations of literate designs originating elsewhere' (2002:338). The MGV study has shown that although the literacies produced by the residents draw on local knowledge, they are not necessarily locked within such knowledge economies. For example, Kay decorates her status updates on MXit by replacing certain letters with symbols. This is an established global practice originating in *leetspeak*. Kay has, however, localized the practice: the local use of the symbols does not have the social index of 'geekness' as they have on the world-wide-web, but are used for their aesthetic value. Similarly, Heather Jackson's social network circulate global chain messages, yet these messages are appropriated by being re-written locally. Ben Davids draws on trans-national books when he writes his sermons. He is also aware that technology can help him to have greater insertion in a global knowledge economy. The study has shown that writers of grassroots texts, living in societies where resources and knowledge are unequally distributed, nevertheless draw on global texts and practices when they produce texts.

9.4 Limitations and future studies

The neighbourhood survey in this study aimed at gathering data on the literacy practices of a community. Although the survey gave me a general impression of literacy engagement, the ethnographic component of the research suggests that the practices may not have been accurately reflected in survey. For example, although Heather responded in the survey that that she sent SMSs 'a few times a day', ethnography showed that she does not write these messages herself, but used scribes to do so on her behalf. An ethnosurvey methodology (Massey 1987) may provide more insightful data of literacy practices in a community. The recording of semi-

structured interviews during the completion of questionnaires, and guiding the interviewees into conversations regarding their literacy practices, can shed light on folk categories of literacies. For example, when I conducted the survey verbally with a few of the participants, I realized that the category of 'book' in the MGV questionnaire has a different meaning to participants that I anticipated. Furthermore, the use of a questionnaire that people have to complete by writing, may exclude participants who do not regard themselves as literate, as well as those who are not confident in their writing skills.

The ethnographic focus of the MGV study was on family networks. Extending the research to broader networks within MGV may provide further insight into communal, collaborative literacy practices. During the fieldwork period I became aware of a community event, the annual Village Day Fair, which generates a wide range of literacies, often collaboratively produced by various stakeholders in the community. For example, emails are sent between the Ratepayers Association, the *Village Day* Committee members and the municipal authorities. Posters are displayed within MGV and in other neighbourhoods, and the event is advertised on Facebook. Local stallholders produce homemade signage for their stalls, print labels for the homemade produce they sell and keep records of their profits. Researching the literacy practices around such an event can shed light on how literacy is used within the close-knit community, as well as to attract visitors and sponsors from outside MGV. It may also provide insight on the uptake of literacies in a community where people have different levels of literacy proficiencies.

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APPENDIX A: CORPUS OF LITERACY ARTEFACTS – DAVIDS HOME

A.1 Literacy artefacts from the Davids home

Images of handwritten literacies

- Notepad with notes that Ben wrote for his sermons
- 2 x shopping lists written by Ben
- 1 x ‘tuck shop’ notebook
- 1 x small sign reading: ‘The shop is not open’ – written by Bradley (8)
- handwritten doodles and drawings by Kay in the back of her mathematics
- 1 x decorated letter written to me by Saariqa (8)
- Inventory of the books in his room – written by Kevin
- Inventory of books in the front room – written by Kevin, Ben and Bonnie (with my collaboration)
- Handwritten texts on Kay’s school backpack written in white ‘Tipp-Ex’
- 1 x pricelist written on a plastic board for Ben’s kiosk – written by Kevin
- 1 x pricelist written on wooden board for Ben’s kiosk – written by a female neighbour
- 1 x product (*kimbies*) and price written on the fridge – written by Kay
- 2 x notices written on paper for the shop – both written by Harry
- Products and prices written on wall of shop – written by Ben
- Notices on the exterior wall of the shop – written by Ben
- Nadine’s name scratched onto kitchen cupboard

Digital literacies

- 4 x MXit conversations between Kay and her friends
- 1 x conversation between Kay and her Uncle Andy
- 2 x multi-mix MXit conversation between Kay, her friend Tammy, and myself
- 25 x conversations between Kay and myself
- 2 x posts Kevin wrote on friends’ Facebook walls
- 4 x Facebook on-line conversations between me and Kevin
- 4 x Facebook status updates from Kevin
- 2 x Facebook inbox messages from Kevin
- 9 x SMS’s sent to me from Kevin’s SIM card²³
- 2 x SMS’s sent from Bonnie’s SIM card
- 5 x SMS’s sent from Shani’s SIM card

²³ SMS’s are indicated by SIM card, and not sender, as the authorship is not always clear (see 7.1)

APPENDIX B: CORPUS OF LITERACY ARTEFACTS –JACKSON HOME

Images of handwritten literacies

- 1 x shopping list written by Mia
- 3 x handmade posters by Anita
- 1 x letter written to me by Heather (which accompanied a gift)
- 3 x letters written in school by Anita and a friend
- 1 x Valentine's card to Anita from her grandmother, Heather
- 1 x page with spelling exercises written by Jaylin
- Pages from Ronald's record-keeping notebook
- Literacy artefacts displayed on Mia's fridge
- 1 x Sunday school exercise written by Adam
- Homework written by Adam
- Drawing and writing of a cellphone by Jaylin

Digital literacies:

- 15 x SMS's received from Heather's SIM card
- 7 x SMS's sent from Mia and Glen's SIM card to friends
- 2 x SMS sent to me from Mia's SIM card
- 2 x SMS' sent to me from Rita's SIM card
- 9 x SMS's sent from Anita's SIM card to her friends
- Facebook messages by Rita
- Flyers made by Rita for Village Day

APPENDIX C: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Maitland Garden Village Questionnaire

This is an anonymous questionnaire. Your answers cannot be traced back to you.

Year of birth _____ Male Female Unemployed Pensioner
 At school Student On government benefit

I work full time as a _____ I work part time as a _____

1. How long have you lived in Garden Village? _____

2. School grade completed: _____

3. Post school qualification
(specify): _____

4. Do you ever go to the library? No Yes, I go to the bus library
 another public library
 school library

5. If yes, how often do you go to the library? Every day Once a week
 Once a month Twice a month

6. Do you enjoy reading? No Yes, I enjoy reading: Stories
 Information books Newspapers Subtitles on TV

Anything else? _____

7. Do you enjoy writing? No Yes Do you ever write for fun? No Yes

If yes, I enjoy writing _____

8. How many books do you have at home? _____

9. What type of books?

10. Do you read these books? No Yes

Which language(s) do you mostly speak to...

Your grandparents? _____

Your parents? _____

Your brothers or sisters? _____

Children? _____

Grandchildren? _____

What is the language spoken the most in Garden Village? _____

Do you ever use a computer? No Yes

If yes, please indicate where you use a computer and the internet:

	Home	Friend's home	School	Work	Home	Somewhere else
Computer						
Internet						

Cell phone: I have my own cell phone I share friends' or relatives' phones
 I never use a cell phone

Do you have a cell phone contract or buy airtime

How much money do you spend on air time per month? _____

Can you go onto the internet via your phone (for example for MXit?) Yes No

How often do you send Please Call Me's? several times a day once a day
 once a week rarely never

How often do you make voice calls? several times a day once a day
 once a week rarely never

Who do you usually send SMS's to? _____

Do you spell or write in a different way when you write SMS's or on MXit? Yes
 No

If yes, how would you describe this way you write? Or write an example:

How often do you <u>WRITE:</u>	Every day	A few times a week	Once a month	Never	Which language(s) do you <u>WRITE</u> this mostly?
SMSs					
MXit					
Facebook					
Ou/Nuwe toiletpot					
E-mails					
Letters that you post					
Lists or personal notes					
For work or trading					
Homework/studies					
Something else? E.g.					

How often do you <u>READ:</u>	Every day	A few times a week	Once a month	Never	Which language(s) do you <u>READ it in</u> mostly?
SMSs					
MXit					
Emails					
Facebook					
Ou/Nuwe toiletpot					
Books					
Newspapers					
Magazines					
Letters from friends/family					
Bank statements/Invoices					
The Bible or The Quran					
Religious materials					
Something else? E.g.					

ADDENDUM D: ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table D.1 White-collar occupations:

AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION
48	Female	Admin Clerk
51	Female	General Assistant
38	Female	Administrative Clerk
36	Female	Administrative Clerk
34	Female	Data Typist
34	Female	Manager
53	Female	Manager
40	Female	Teacher
28	Female	Teacher
45	Female	Teacher
29	Female	Kindergarten Teacher
30	Female	Call Centre Operator
38	Male	Sales Assistant
35	Male	Sales person
38	Male	Consultant
29	Male	Merchandiser

Table D.2 Blue-collar occupations (i.e. factory workers and labourers):

AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION
49	Female	Marker
38	Female	Machinist
46	Female	Checker
46	Female	Machinist
45	Female	Operator
33	Female	Factory casual
33	Female	Packer
32	Male	Operator
29	Male	Packer
28	Female	Packer
32	Male	Printer
35	Male	Manual labourer
42	Male	Manual labourer
37	Female	Manual labourer
53	Male	Driver
50	Female	Driver
42	Male	Security
51	Male	Security
24	Male	Groom (at horse stables)
22	Male	Groom (at horse stables)
22	Male	Works at the horse stables
24	Male	Works in home-based enterprise
60	Male	Butcher

Table D.3 Other occupations:

AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION/EMPLOYMENT
24	Male	Chef
39	Male	Waiter
41	Female	Cook
36	Male	Paramedic
34	Female	Entrepreneur

Table D.4 Tertiary education of survey sample

AGE	GENDER	Tertiary Education/Training
53	M	Apprentice
45	F	N 3 Educare
45	F	Teacher's Diploma
40	F	BComm. HDE
39	M	Ballet School (University of Cape Town)
38	M	Computer Course
38	F	Business Administration (NQF)
36	M	Diploma
36	M	Emergency/Rescue Course
35	M	Panel beating Course
28	F	N5 Financial Management
23	F	BComm Finance
21	M	Business and Secretarial Course
20	M	Apprentice
19	M	Welding Course
19	M	Commerce (Currently first year level)

APPENDIX E: SMS AND FACEBOOK CORPORA

E.1 Messages sent from Heather's phone (sent to the researcher in bulk in July 2010)

- (a) He dnt have
- (b) No airtym cum dwn
- (c) *Ons gan nie meer nie dit is uitgestel, mia*
- (d) The people say ys bt mus provide a letter fr da hall
- (e) Mrng... *Davie geluk met jou vajaarsdag en God se rykste Seen. Ps. 17 v 8 Hendricks fam.*
- (f) *Waar jy*

E.2 Kevin's SMSs

- 23/5/2011 Hi sweetie, if it is okay with you please come for lunch at 13.00. See you there unless you cannot make it. Kevin x
- 24/7/2010 Hi Frieda, hope you okay? I'm home so let me know 'cos I can meet up with u to discuss what needs to be done. I have also managed to eventually do a sim swop so this is my old/new number. Kevin
- 4/8/2010 Hi Frieda., hope you are well. My parents said u might b going to Elim tomorrow. I would really appreciate a lift if u are going. U can call me on this number Or on..... anytime tonight when u get this message. I'll b awake for a long, long time still. Thanks darling. Kevin Jacobs
- 9/3/2011: Hi sweetie, sorry to hear about your dad. I pray that you stay strong and that remember I am always there for you. Anytime, anytime, day or night. I will call you later when I'm a bit more compismentis. Love you my darling and drive carefully. Love Kevin
- 12/3/2011: What time are you leaving?
- 1/4/2011: Yes sweetie pie. I'm just up the road. Let me know when you are on your way. See you later.
- 4/7/2011: Okay darling but if you need a distraction you can always call me. Enjoy and get as much done then see how you feel. You might a need drink. Mwah x
- 15/7/2011 Hi sister, you were right...Brian is a fucked up nut case. Nola and I are no longer there. they have gone through so many staff in such a short space of time- clearly it cannot all be them at fault. He's rude, crude, arrogant and quite the sarcastic

bitch for a hetero. I thought that was reserved for queens only. Speak later and have a Brian free Day. love you more than jelly tots! Kevin x

23/8/2011 Hi frieda. Are u still in the village? I'm at home let me know. K x saw Mitch on Sunday but more later

27/10/2011 Frieda, I really need your help if you can. i want to make toffee apples for village day but now my friend who was going to lend me the money still doesn't have it. Can you lend me r250 until sunday. Let me know pls on way to train station now. Thanks Kevin

E.3 Examples of Kevin's writing on Facebook

Status updates

20/04/2011 Still not feeling too well. Too cold, don't think I will survive winter here. Soo, I'm thinking I maybe Amsterdam. Summer is about to start and the sunshine will do me good :)

28/04/2011 Lemon & Ginger Tea....

29 May 2011 Had an awesome party last night:-) thank you all for coming. you know who you are sweeties' Now I need to rest:-) maybe a spa?

2/06/2011 Had an amazing evening with Jens & Michaela last night and that fab. feeling kept me going all day. Mitch & I just got back from a drive in the country and a very late lunch and contrary to popular belief I was taking calls today (you know who you are). The jacuzzi's been on since 20h00 & should be perfect now especially with this bloody wind howling outside. Maybe tomorrow will be better... XXX

5/06/2011 Up now... Still glowing in the light from last nights' little get together with Michaela and the boogey via Skype with Dee. Just waiting for Jens who is about to land to bring the fresh bread rolls for breakfast. Life is sweet..

1/07/2011 Mountain is covered with dark clouds but I feel today is going to be just peachy...
the city is abuzz with the "Kings of Leon" fever... Thank goodness I got picked up on a motorbike... traffic is worst than Egypt...

Kevin's posts on friends' Facebook walls

- 29/03/2011 Een puss is genoeg! wat denk je?
- 1/06/2011 Bonne Anniversaire mon Ami- Bisous Mwah
- 11/07/2011 hi you two love birds- Bonne Anneé. Enjoy your vacation with the 's

E.4 Kevin's Facebook conversations with the researcher: K= Kevin, F = Frieda

1 June 2011

- K: hey honey!
- F: Hello darling, Mwah
- K: How are you?
- F: cleaning my flat...how did the clear-out at your place go?
- K: I'm doing some work for Barry and slept at his flat here in Sea Point last night. Mitch my man from San Fran is here. but his really working hard clinching this deal before friday, soo I still have not seen him even though I declined dinner with him and his colleagues on Monday and he cancelled on me last night... both for dinner and a little get together with my friend Kiko visiting from Soa Paolo.
- F: are you playing hard to get now or what? you were so excited to see him? why decline? it must be frustrating that you haven't seen him yet? a bit sad sweetie?
- K: No, I have some work to complete for Barry who is sitting in Namibia and I cannot lose focus now it's too important for him and Mitch also has to clinch this deal before Friday noon. So we are both on the same page but TONight is going to be a DIFFERENT STORY
- F: ooooh. what type of work you doing for tony?
- K: I have to formulate an updated resume for him and some admin stuff, etc... His also applying for a job with an events + fashion company after finishing the Namibian Music Awards next week
- F: nice How is the rest of the extended Jacobs family?
- K: Well, fine I suppose but as for Harry..... I lost it with him recently and warned him I'm not always a NICE person
- F: what happened?!
- K: I sat him down after offering him a cigg. and said we have to chat. I asked him if he loves sleeping in other people's alleys? If he had no self respect and how much money does he get pro month, etc... He said he did not really know so I told him he can bullshit and use cheap psychology on the others but I ain't no fool. I'll tell you the rest later... You are offline and I have to check mails now. Speak later
- F: ok darling, keep well x and keep warm!
- K: thank you and I'll call you later ar check if you on-line. If I decide to go for dinner at Marios maybe you can join us for a drink. Cheers
- F: that sounds like a good idea.. ciao bella x
- K: Che vidiamo

27 September 2011

- F: Hi darling
K: hi sweetie, how are you?
F: I will be scarce this week as my granny died yesterday
F: Please tell my Garden Village family....
K: Sorry to hear that. My condolences to you and your family on your bereavement
Are you okay?
F: Yes I am fine, we are sad but relieved that she has gone to rest.
K: sometimes that's for the best. You must just keep strong. When is the funeral?
F: You looked very down when I saw you at home the other day... Don't know yet about
funeral will let you know
K: I was a bit down but better now since I'm visiting my friends and spoke to Mitch on
Sunday night for almost an hour and a half. Skyped Dee in London last night and had a
boogey together with Michaela. Jens arriving from airport now with fresh rolls for
breakfast- me fine now. Have a great day... later X
F: Ok that sounds better... high rolling like the Kevin i know! Lots of love... x
K: feeling much better already.... I frustrated can't find the right job and miss my friends
sooo soo much. must go darling, breakfast has arrived. must go ... Ciao XXXX

APPENDIX F: KAY'S MIXIT CORPUS

General Notes

1. The MXit conversations are listed chronologically.
2. The writers' names are indicated by their initials, i.e. K= Kay; F= Frieda. Abbreviations for other writers are indicated when relevant.
3. Kay's status updates and farewell messages are included in the corpus. She did not however always display such messages.

Kay's profile: 10 December 2011

Display name: pReC!oUs L!L D!aMoNd

First name: pR!vAtE...x

Last name: VrA diE nAai wA+ mY uiT gEkakiT.

10 December 2011 (D = Devil b3hind bars)

D: Ey

K: Hw u dng

D: Dik gevriet

K: leka ne

D: J wmjn

K: Jc nd u

D: Lode

K: kwl s0 wts ur plans 4 2day

D: Yr cuz dnt knw nd urz

10 December 2011 (T = Tammy)

T: mwah y0u

K: mwahz

T: Hwa y0oo0u?

K: im kwl jst sad

T: Y

K: cuz my best friend dnt lum wit me enymre....:(

T: wu dat?

K: u wu els

T: Omw datz s0 swheet! gtg (Oh my word that's so sweet! Got to go)

Kay's farewell message: M€N\$€ €K M€€+ N€U K@VO€G@ M¥ BT !\$ P@P... €N DC \$€
M@\$€

22 March 2011

F: What u doing?

K: Lol im buzy cookin
F: Cookin what
K: Nt actually bt fish singers nd chipz
F: Soundz gd! My mommy here & I hv 2 cook 4 her 2!
K: Tel ha I say h!
K: Kwl I lyk... ☺
F: She sez hi!
K: Kwl

25 March 2011

K: Leka nd 4 u
M: Kak, coz I wrote bio!
K: Shme..Q u pr0b dDn+ \$+uD¥
M: Tanx, 4 remindin biach!
K: Lmk jst saying
M: Nai tanx realy
K: kwl
M: Do u have a bf
K: JA nd u

Status: Dnt pla¥ B!CTHzz Wu KnwZz Hw 2 PlAy DeM Be+a:-)

25 March 2011

Junky Funky: (Andy): were yr aunt
K: c ere at hme we gna ride nw nw
Junky: K
K: Yip
Junky: Is my baby sleepin
K: Npe c is awake sittin by us
Junky: moetie my kin knypie j
K: Ja ek mOer ha dan

30 March 2011

F: Hi
Why sad face?
K: Halo... suma jst the fun 0v it
F: U hd me worried
K: Wel im s0ri
K:Hw r u
F: Im fine bt rainy wethe mking me sleepy!
K: Ja m2 bt th!s wetha is fun 4 m0vies
F: Dnt hve any 2 watch nd u?
K: We g0t many lol
F: U watching nw or working in shop?
K: Brb means b ryt bck dnt go any where
K: I l0vE Nd lE@vE u Al mwah

F: OK

30 March 2011

K: mwa

F: Jst got hme

K: I thrt u dnt wna chat 2 me

F: Was @ my sistas house lookm afta m niece nina

F: Ws driving!

K: Oh kwl s0 hw is nina

F: Cnt chat nd drive yet ☺

F: C s rocking

K: Lol kwl

F: Wll bring ha again 1 day

K: Ohk then

F: Pls remember 2 ask a friend if I can mutlimix w u guys. Tell her or him I wont rite thr name.

Will be anonymous...

K: K

K: U hve xcept

F: How

K: Jst pres the xcept butt0n

F: OK ask me again

K: W8t a few sec0nds c wnt oflyn

30 March 2011 Multimix between Kay, Frieda and X= Kay's cousin)

Z: Slm salute

K: Mwa

Z: Watz up

F: Helo

Z: Hey u fresh

Z: Lmk

F: Pretty fresh n ths rain

Z: Ja

Z: Nd me

F: Whe u wrting frm?

K: Wot

Z: Ha

K: Neva mynd dat hwz da love lyf fresh

F: Garden Village or where I mean?

K: C is dat gal andy,s sista nola,s bf

F: So had a grt week so far!

K: Kwl I lyk I gues its ur bf

Z: Ja

F: Mayb

K: Lol

F: U hve 2 mke the boyz wrk hard!

K: Lmk Zani luk wot fresh sez

F: Hws baby Erica
F: Syt my hart gesteel
K: Er cindy hwz c

2 April 2011

F: Hey honey bunny
K: Mwahz
F: U @ home?
K: Ja nd u
F: Ja cleaning my flat nd u?
K: Helpin my pa wif da shOp On da field
F: Is thr soccer or what
K: Ja
F: Cn I cm end Cu thr?
K: Yes if u wnt bt im n0t gna stay On da field coz I dnt realy lyk s0ccer
F: Ok c u soon I wil find ya x

3 April 2011

F: ☺
K: Nt da owna chtn
F: Who thn
K: Lamees

4 April 2011

F: Mwah
K: salaam tietie
F: ☺
K: L0l ☺
F: Ja lag ma vr my
F:: S this lamees agn?
K: Ai fresh wat d) u expect
K: Npe its Kay
F: Kwl
K: Yip
F: Whe u 4 da holidays?
K: At hm jst y? Nd u
F: Dnt hve holiday now. Nina sleeping at my plce coz c on h-day frm school.
F: Gna sleep now coz she wakes up @ 4
K: L0l shme
F: Nite baby
K: Mwa bbez slp tyt
F: Zzzz
K: L0l

6 April 2011

F: Meisie
K: het 'n peisie
F: Lol
K: Lmk hs u
F: In bed
K: Ohk
F: Hows the hair lookin
K: Fantastic! ☺
F: Nina (heart emoticon) (love) it @ yr house
K: *J i saw*
F: Wll u c yr boyfriend ths week?
K: Npe nd u
F: Wht bf?
K: Ja
F: Dnt hve a bf
K: Dnt lie
F: Shoe man gn back overseas
K: Lmj ohK
F: Nyt swirlie
K: L0l, nyt 0u k0ek
F: My koek is vars
K: lol ai fresh
F: Ok keep it clean c u soon mwah
K: Mwah

3 May 2011

F: ☹
K: Wats r0ng swtypie
F: Miss u
F: Cant come nd visit too much work
K: M2...shame
F: Hw was yr holidays
K: Awryt leka nd urz
F: U still got bf?
K: Nope ☹ bt still g0t sum1 I flirt with ☺
F: By my gat niks an nie!
K: Lol
K: WEn d@ w!nD bLoWzZ n1 nWz wHr K@YI!N GoEzZ

8 June 2011

F ☹
K: hi swty pie
F: Hi
K: Wat u d0in
F: I lost all u wrote 2 Lucian
K: hw cum

F: Kevin distracted me
K: lol shme bt h!z Onlin nw
F: I wait n c
K: lmk ohk
F: Do u knw him
K: n0t really
F: He suspicious nw
K: w0t u mean
F: He asks wuz ths
K: then w0t dd u say
F: Dis djou bra
K: Lol dd u say dat
F: Wait wll let u know we r talking bout u now!
K: wot abOut me ;) frieda
F: He said he only bang 4 2 things. Kay nd God
K: lol hw d0es he mean lyk scard
F: He doesn't knw he talking kak
K: lol h0or vi j0u
F: He sed I musnt tel u!
F: So dnt say anytin 2 hm ok?
K: ja I wnt... bt w0t els dd he say
F: dat is all I promis
K: ohk lol mwa
F: Lekr doeks x
K Salute ja

10 June 2011

F: Bbz
K: mwa
F: Hope u start studying 4 nxt week
F: Lucian vrek vi foto v my!
K: lol s0 wot dd u tel hm... nd Only gna study da weekend
F: Tld hm he wll get the shock of hs life!
K: y dd u tell hm dat...s0 wt dd he say
F: I tld hm im old
F: He says u ignore hm
K: ask hm y?
F: Not nw I ws chatin wif hm yestrday
F: Jst say hi 2 hm
K: ohk then swty
F: Im gonna sleep nw
K: he 0n line nw cht 2 hm nd ask hm
F: Nei man... Jst say hi
K ohk then mwa slp leka ne nd dream 0v me ☺ ❁
K: slp tyd
F: He wll know dat I told u if I ask so jst say hi

K ohk then

13 June 2011

K: mwa swty

F: Hela

K: hwz u

F: FWND (laughs at my attempt?)

K: lol ohk kwl... it w0z my m0mz bBy sh0wer saterday...

F: Dd she get nice things?

K: mostly...kimbies

F: w0t shld I buy hr then

K: Uhm...☺ A few bby t0iletries...if u can ☘

F: U knw I (heart) babies!

F:Dd u write 2day?

K: lol...ja kwl then swty...s0 hw wrz ur day...yip we r0te 2a kwl ppr (ARTS ND CULTURE)

F: kwl day: my friend visit me nd I finish wrk nd watch my fave tv show

K: w0t iz ur fav0 tv sh0w

F: AMAZING RAVE ☺

K: I dnt lyk dat...

F: I jst lag at da stupid Americans. Bt I lyk seeing da diff countries.

K: * lokl dats reall kwl ☺

F: OK meisie I c u soon

K: mwa ru g0in ne0w

F: Ja Lucien wants 2 chat so im runnin away

K: lol ohk kwl

F: Praat jy ma met hm!

K:hy b0ring hy wil pic hee

F: J dats al

K: ja ne but im als0 gna slp ne0w

F: Mwa

F: Bye

K: mwa mwa slp leka ne

K:cya

F: ☺

F: Hi

L: Wmj

F: Ek se bye vr Kay moet nou gan

L: Ok mwa

11 July 2011

F: Hi Sweetie

K: mwahz

F: Hw r u? Hw is yr mommy?

K: im oOhk...c iz f9 nd u

F: im fine, writing my project about yr family!

F: Nd abdul is he better?

K: dats kwl...s0 wen r u gna visit agen...n0t abdul ebrahim ja he iz
F: Sorry ebrahim! Well my daddy is here so maybe bring him on Thursday late afternoon?
K: o0hk dats kwl
F: I hv 2 cook 4 my new bf 2nite
K: lol I lyk ☺... s0 w0ts ur plans 4 2day
Status: M!Z STUPA BITCH H2G CYA MWA*

12 July 2011

F: ☹
K: w0ts r0ng
F: Jst had big fight with my sister
K: y w0t hppn
F: Don't lyk the way she always speak 2 me. Bitchy
K: o0hk s0 u g0t cr0s nd gave ha a few punches
F Het ha papgeslaan!
F: No we don't punch just some nasty words
K: o0hk
F: Good night c u soon
K: mwa

20 July 2011

F: Hi
K: mwa
F: mwa
K: hwa u
F: My throat sore☹
K: shame dd u sh0ut 2 much
F: Lol
F: Tired frm family
F: was my dads bday
K: o0hk kwl
F: Hd a braai
K: leka ne
F: Dd u do yr hair
K: n0pe, wnt 2 my dad the wEekend so i,ll Only get da chance 2m0r0
F: U go2 skul 2day?
K: yip
F: Hw many subjects dd u pass?
K: dnt knw yet
F: shm
K: ja y0ng
F: who is writing with you other mxit name
K: hw u mean
F: K@YL!N
K: that's m0s Lucians mxit
F: Now I get it, luwie loves u or what

K: ja he d0
F: Pls invite me to multi
K: kwl
F: Gna sleep nw
K: o0hk swty
F: Luv u
K: Luv u 2
F: ☺
K: slp well

23 July 2011

F: Hey girl mwa
K mwa
F: wmj
K: lol lamin nd u
F: On face book
K: leka ne
F: Did u use da hair iron
K: n0pe d0in m9 2day kevin did h!z in the weak it wrz s0 straight he lukd real funy I hadt 2 laugh
F: Ha ha that's funny I wish I saw that! Is he at home?
K: yipz
F: Cool which numba can I fone u on?
K: uhm my ouma
F: OK
K:jap
F: Dnt hve ouma's numba lost it
K: fne 2 dis numba

K: wen u cumin I hv sumthn I ritn in the bck 0v my b0ok I dnt knw if its w0t u ne3d
F: K Pls keep it for me
K: yipz kwl
F: 00hk

27 July 2011

K: mwa
F: I brought ur boetie hme!
K: Ja tnx al0t w0t wuld we d0 with Out u swtpie... I appreciate u al0t
F: Hope he doesn't cry in the night!
K: ja I h0pe s0 2
F: is uncle K there
K: n0pe he jst left earlier On
F: ok
K: jap
F: is Lucian your bf?
K: y?
F: No I was jst wondering

K: o0hk n0 h1z n0t

F: Gotta go now

29 July 2011

F: wmk

K: lol lamin en j

F: Vriet pasta

K: lmimp y0h j het dam sterk gevriet gew0rd van die sterk lekkerz

F: R u saying I got fat?

K: n0 u g0t bitchy fr0m eatin all the str0ng sweats

F: ja ja

F: Lag me in my poes!

K: lol

F: I got sum questions 4 u do u hve time 2 answer?

K: yip

F: did you meet yr bf thru mxit

K: uhm the Batterie gna g0 flap nw n I charge it 1st

F: Ok

K: ja kwl

23 August 2011

F: Hi how u doin

K:mwa awryt nd u

F; fine, its late ne

K: ja it iz

F: Are you warm enough?

K: japz

F: y yr profile is now MUIS? :D

K: lmk wh0 t0ld u 2 luk der?

F: no one I landed der by mistake

K: lol funie bt anyway datz my bf

F: ;-)

F:Slaap almal?

K: ja

F; Whose fone u using

K: my 0upa

F:: did u make peace

K: lol hy k0ep gevriet

F: Koep?

K: nvm

F: gud nyte

K nyts

F: nvm?

F: ek domkop soos Clara jy my moet help

K: lol o0hkie d0kie ek jou help ja

F: jy my beste vriend

K: ja jy my speciala vriendin
K: ja
F: ek slimkop
K: h0ekom?
F: never mind
K: iemand underz j0u help
F: gud nyt x
K: wts da x for
F: That's old skul for mwah
K: Lmk Ohk

5 September 2011

Display name: *\$ pREc!ouS L!L D!aMoND\$*
First name: (){<>}sTuPaLiC!ouS{<>}
Last name: tSeK j WiL tEvEel W!Et..

K: Mwa...whR u s0 scars
F: Oh I am just working I Miss u mwah R u ok?
K: ja iM a 4 a waY nD uU?
F: Ja just trying to finish my work
K: o0hk kwl..tHen Hwz da l.l
F: no time for boyz nw
K: j mEan gal...u say u 2 buzy 4 play time
F: ja must concentrate on work. And u MUIS?
K: l0L pAp z0ne 4 b0ys neow, u ryt ima pull my s0ckz nD Work coz I kynda dD n0thn dis tErm
☹ got 3 assignments 2 finish I hvnt startd yEt
F:
K: I n0 ja... I jst nEed l0ts 0v inc0uragment evwi dAy bt nAh ntHn like dAt even yoh
F: Just try and do a bit of work its better than nothing
K: ja nE Im gNa g0 nw cAndyDrEamz
F: Stardreams and remember I love u
K: yip

6 October 2011

F: Waas jy skat
K: By my pa hoek0
F: Jst asking
F: Gedra jouslf in M.Berg
K: Lmj vi wat huh

10 October 2011

Status: !m Tw!cE dA B!tcH Uu tHnK uU r

F: Hi
K: hey

F: wmj
F: did kevin bring bck yr train tickt
K: lmk yipz
F: Skinnr jy lek sam met mkayla
K: h0ek0m
F: I c u both online
K: nah c izh chtn 2 ha bf m0st pr0b...nd im 2 m9
F: Isit nie bedtime nie
K: nai bedtime is 1:00
F: aha so u gota nw bf
K: yip
F: who
K: mu'izz
F: Alwier? Ek dog dis uit
K: NeE weer OpgeAak
F: ☺
K: n nw wts up wif da fce?
F: Glad u bck w muis
K: o0hk kwl
F: Gan slp nw
K: ja me2
F: mwhaz
K: ojb
F: op jou bek? Lmk
K: g0ed geleer
F: Goeie juffrou
K: lmjgat
F: Er
K: o0o yeta
F: lag my jagsgat
K: ai ja
F: Gan jy nog vr village day model
K: ek wietie ☺ wat dink j?
F: Dit sal cool wees
K: ne
F: Wld like 2 c u dressd up
K: I gt vewi nervis
F: Ek wiet! Ek ook as ek voor mense is
K: Ja RaShAd u Mke mE 4 kAk Ne iTs Kwl
K: ja yong
F: Oohk dink ma daroor
F: Leka slp
K: o0hk mwa

10 October 2011

F: mwahkies

F: Jst wanna say I miss my old name
K: lmk fresh cake?
F: Yip
K: u cn chnge it if u wna
F: Old fr3sh was a c0ol cHick
F: yip im gna
K: oOhk kwlabag
F: Nw I feel like mE agAin
K: lmj u kak madt
F: Yip mA1 soos n haAs
K: Nai mke ur status bwt me u nd tammy
F: is Kayla w u
K: nope c went OfF nw
F: Ok
K: Ja
F: Hpe u hve a nice wk nxt wkend vilage day
K: ja u m0s cumin ne
F: Ja sista, cu u den
K: airie gal...o0hk kwl
F: Gan slp u nd it
K: huh?
F: Sori! U NEED it!
K: lmk, o0hk kwl
F: mma
K: my pa ask if u cn fne quik
F: ok wots da hme numba again

23 October 2011

Status: Oh I m0s hAdT a MoST!n Nyt aFtA bEeInG BadLuCk TaNkz 2 GaYL!n Nd cRaIg

F: Wen u cumin hme
K: Only l8er se kante
F: U lookd pretty 2day
K: Kwl tanks gve ur cntc agen
F:

F: Gnyt c u nxt wkend
K: kwl mwa

25 October 2011

Status: Damion

F: How u
K: flu mahn
F: Hws Tamian
K: he awryt dd u c ma status
K: lukz kwl ne

F: jap
 K: japz
 F: did uncle kevin sell any toffee apples
 K: lmk dai was 'n julLe vLopP (initiates Afrikaans – humour)
 F: lmk y
 K: c0z da syr0p ddnt wna stiek 2da apple...
 F: o0hk kwl
 K: ja y0ng n0u sTaAn dIe aPpLeS eN waG vI bEta daYz
 F: Tell him he should bake apple pie and sell it
 K o0hk will d0o
 F: wu d0 u think paid for them
 K : omw ...s0o a disgrace
 K: y wat was the actual dEal?
 F: I lent him da money 4 it
 K: aI I geuSs u kNw iTz Gna tKe hIm a cEntury 2 pay bCk
 F: lmk lmk lmk
 K: yeah
 F: I had a bad feeling bwt it
 K: jaH ne
 F: anYwaY iF u r siCk u mSt sleep nw it aLwAys hElps
 K: dnt hve lis mahn
 F: tRy!
 K: n0t nw
 F: o0hk bt not 2 late
 K: kwl
 F: gdNyt
 K: sLp tIgHt
 F: kiss
 K: (lots of hearts and kisses)
 F: WOW dat looks cool
 K: o0vi0usly
 F: ja wInDgAt
 K: lots of emoticons!!!!
 F: smiling!
 K: yeah
 F: Gnyt
 K: slp lekatjies girLa n dream 0v me
 F: dat wil be a great dream!
 K: ja me nd u in butterfly world ☺
 F: hve u been there
 K: n0pe iwna g0o there
 F: wel as jy hard leer...u nva knw what cn hapn
 K: hw u mean nw
 F: if u pass well this year I will take u
 F: ok m0nkey I mst slp nw
 K: kwl...☺ o0hk

F: koebaai

K: t0edilz

27 October 2011

F: ☹

K: Wt kLap dan

F: Also siCk nw

F: Keel seer

F: Ore pyn

K: shame

F: J betr?

K: n0t realLy

F: Ek kani dink as ek siek is ni

K: ja y0h j wil net sLaAp

F: Hu ganit met di bf

K: ek hetie en j0u ne

F: is j en muiz weer uit ☹

K: jah

F: I ddnt know y had serious fight

K: ja

F: jamr skat

K: its kwl girLa

F: Ja men r not eVery Thin

K: yeAh w0men has it aLL ☺

F: At leaSt dey hv each Othe ♥

K: yipz ♥

10 November 2011

F: Hw u bb

K: awryt n u

F: Ok stil slpy

K: kwl g2g gna nke kLa 4 skul nw

F: Ok luvvue

Farewell message: *To bE c0nTinuEd...*

11 November 2011

F: Ja wats up gal

K: jst l0mb nxt 2 kayla n u

F: Tryin 2 do my studies

F: Y u sad

K: bt u 0n mxit

F: Ja ja im getting addicted nw

K: o0o yEna j mean j0u jilLie bean

F: Lyk wen I ws on da date it ws vry handy!

L: lmk isIt

F: Ja ws bord

K: shame find u a uda berk
F: Yip 4 da summer
K: isja leka r0mantic tym Onda beach...
F: Ja met my dik lyf
K: lmj is nikz 'n dik lyf wat leka tyd kan gie
F: lmk u hvnt seen me in da bikini yet
K: n0pe g2g

21 November 2011

F: Mwah
K: mwa
F: Hws exam goin
K: awryt kak ppr 2da
F: wat dd u ryt
K: e.m.s
F: Eat my sox?
K: lmj
F: I hve a kwestjin
K: nd wats it abwt?
F: Notin 2 deep
K: then let me knw
F: wat does Bapey mean, bf?
K: n0o lyk baby
F: o0o0o0l
K: ja
F: itz kevins bday 2moro
K: ja I thnk s0o
F: He iz 40 itz a big deal
K: ja ney...
F: g2g my sista gna fone me
F: y cnt I mxit nd talk
K: u cn jst answer we u end the call jst press n0 if itz sez endin java
F: Jis wat djy my alles leer!
K: h0e s0e?
F: Djy my techno teacher ☺
K: lmk
K: g2g gna wash g0u

25 November 2011

Status: Ai ja yoh I was skedl oUt earlier on 4 nonsense

F: stop flirting n gan slap ☺
K: lmk hw d0 u knw im FLIRTING
F: Who skeld u
K: my oupa...h!z mad he sieka thnk he gna vimAak me bt itz o0hk bt im g0na h!t da r0ad 2m0r0
F: Where u going

K: Im g0in with my friend 2ha fwends in lavis bt lyk he said I mus ask him nuth anym0re I w0nt...s0 I,ll stay Out 0v der way!

27 November 2011

Status: Im n0t a gAngsTeR I jUst sImpLy LoVe **British**

F: Morningz

K: m0rNin ☺

F: Wa is my koffie inni bed

K: iTz a swt tReat 4 gudt pLe

F: Lmk swtpie

F: Wat tym does oupa leave 4 steenberg

K: wen?

F: iz he goin 2day?

K: nEe gaL hy het al gista gegant al duh!

F: o0hk I gt confused

K; ja ek w0ne wate manz h0u j0u s0e biesag wan j raak teVeel c0nfused

F: Nai man dissie wYn!

K: lmj

F: Wat mk julle die nAwEek

K: Os m0et na die p0ols t0e gegant ma n0u werk ditie uitie im mah g0in wif my m0mi thm

F: o0hK

K: ja m0et n Outjie gemeatit ☹ ek en tammy.. nd u

F: Ek bLY m00i s0et byRie Hys

F: Ag sHame by wATse Po0ls

K: observatory

F: waTse OuTjiE

K: "berk"

F: Nai mahn ek wiet WaT OUTJIE means lmk

F: I MEAN wer u Kn0w hm from

K: heideveld his Oulik o0h ja he duznt luk gam

F: Dd u meet hm on MxIT

K: n0 in pers0n

K: g2g

28 November 2011

F: Hi girla

K: aweja

F: I got a cold

K: hi shame

F: do u also hve black contacts nd other whities or only me ☺

K: lmj I d0o hve a black class mate I cht 2 nd use 2 cht wif a witie bra

F: uc

K: N0o i use 2

F: hw mAny contacs u have

K: Al0t... bt n0o whities nd blackies... Kayla g0ta contkt 4 y0o... c gana giv it 2 y0o l8a

F: Iz he hot
K: Yes... hez dan a m0del... hs name iz Jason
F: blush
K: l0L yeAh
F: do u thnk u hve more dan 200 contks
K: uhm say 180
F: Wow I beta get s0mE m0rE ne
K: Ya
F: g2g mwah
K: mwa cya toetaz ☺

29 November:

Status: LyK hls rEaDin My mInd

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX G: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS

G.1 Interviewee: Ben Davids Date: September 2011

(The interview was conducted in the front room in the Davids' home. Ben is sitting opposite me on another single bed, the television is on, so there is some audio interference. Family members continuously enter and leave the room.)

B: Ek wil nie nou lank praat nie.

F: Nee, dis net dat ek dit kan onthou.

B: O ja, OK.

F: So wat moet hulle nou doen?

B: Hulle moet nou vir my 'n *laptop* aanstuur ja.

F: Van waar af nou?

B: Nee, net sommer hier uit die Kaap uit, ons doen mos...

F: En wat gaan jy dan doen?

B: Dan wil ek 'n *email* adres kry, vir die korrespondensie met Amerika, dan kan ek hulle ook, wat noem hulle dit nou weer, *Raymond's Corner*, nou ek kry alles van hulle af, maar ek wil hê dit moet direk na my toe kom. *Raymond's Corner* jy wat deur die land deur die hele wêreld gaan, ons het nou net nou, jy weet mos die, ons het mos nou net die *earth quakes* in die *Phillipines*, jy weet mos wat gebeur het daar, ons is nou besig om te help nou daar, en eh...

F: Baie mense kry mos swaar daar.

B: Baie mense ja, baie swaar, maar ek kyk nou die dag hier op die TV, is nie, soos jy jy jy gesê het op Stellenbosch? Jy kry net rykes, jy kry amper nie armes daar nie, maar dis wat hulle gewys het hier ook. Hulle wys net mense wat agtermekaar is, hulle wys nie daai *rural* areas daar agter nie, waar dit rerig swaar is nie.

F: Vertel my gou weer van jou boekrak wat Bobby gaan maak?

B: Ja Bobby, hy moet my 'n boekrak gaan maak.

F: Het hy hom al gemaak?

F: En wat gaan jy op die boekrak sit?

B: Die eh, al die Christelike boekies, jy kan sien die *literature* né, wat so val (*I bump a book off the table and we laugh*)...wil ek nou daar op die rak sit, dan wil ek 'n biblioteek maak man, soos die mense kom haal, dan gee ek hulle 'n kaartjies, en eh so kry ek my boeke terug, as om net te gee, want dan kom hulle nie terug weer nie, jy weet? Want dit is *actually* wat ek vir die mense moet gee man...en eh Kay moet ook lees, sy moet baie lees aan hierdie boeke.

F: Hier's 'n interessante ene.

B: Dis baie, baie interessant. Ek het die ander enetjie nou vanoggend weggee. Die kerk van die Bybel, waar dit ontstaan het, dan het hulle 'n skrif gegee en als, en as sy klaar gelees het, dan het sy 'n *questionnaire* daar, dan moet sy dit self invul. Maar ek het vir haar gesê sy moet dit met *pencil*, dan gaan ek dit nou net merk, dan kan ek dit weer aanstuur vir iemand anders man. Maar dis goed om te weet waarvandaan kom die kerk. Wanneer was die kerk gestig, ons kerk was gestig, *eighteen thirty three. The Day of Pentecost*. Toe was daar drie duisend, plus minus drie duisend siele, was gered. En dan sê hy, verder vir jou sê hy, in Mattewis sestien vers agtien, op

jou (*inaudible*)... bou ek my kerk, wie se kerk? Christus se kerk. En ek wil net sien hoe sy aangaan met dit, ek wil nie nou vir jou preek nie, maar...

F: Nee, ek lees nou die boek is baie oulik, die boek is oulik, want hy is soos vrae soos *questions and answers*, baie oulik.

B: Ja, baie... jy weet jy kan een neem as jy tyd het om te lees en dan... maar alles gaan nog hier wees nog, dit gaan net beter lyk, ek gaan die plek regkry.

(*Ben gets up and starts talking to Bonnie and they leave the room*).

G.2 Interviewee: Ben Davids

Date: March 2012

(*The conversation was recorded in the front room of the Davids' home. He said that as soon as Ed, Ivy and Val move out he will move into their room, and the front room will become his study, where he will have his computer and his email address, so that he can correspond directly with the Church of Christ in America. I started to record our conversation as Ben was complaining about the pastor, Peter, in Muizenberg, to whom he must report.*)

F: Maar is dit beter vir jou om direk met die mense in Amerika te praat?

B: Man, die mannetjie in Muizenberg, hy is siek, hy het nou 'n siekte. Kyk, die Bybel leer ons dat ons *humble* moet wees. Ons moenie onself ag nie, of jy nou siek is of wat.

F: Is dit beter om direk mense te praat?

B: Ja, dis beter. Kyk ons benodig 'n ryding, maar ek gaan dit nie uit hulle kry nie, want ek gaan nog altyd onder hulle. Ek het Peter ingelig, jy weet. Hy wil hê ek moet deur hom gaan, maar ek wil self met hulle praat. Ek gebruik nie vir myself die kerk se geld nie, dit hou ek eenkant. Dit gaan ek gebruik as die kerk gaan petrol, ja...dis nog 'n ding ons gaan petrol nodig hê en daarvoor moet daar geld wees. Kyk, ons het nie *maintenance* hier nie. So ek mag dit *free* kry. En die geld wat ons kry by die mense, dit gebruik ek, somtyds hou ek dit vir die kerk se goed. Soos ons gaan Bybelstudie toe en ek gebruik nie my geld nie, ek gebruik die kerk se geld om daar te kom. Vir net die twee van ons is dit die dertig Rand klaar. Maar die mense dink, hulle moet nie iets gee nie, dis vir my in my sak, om vir my te verryk. Ek is nie so, so soos die Bybel daar sê, in *Ezekiel three four* nie. Van die skaapwagter wat nie sy eie...jy weet. Daar is nie eers geld nie, want ek kry nie eers 'n salaris uit nie.

F: So julle wil 'n ryding hê?

B: Ja, ons makeer een vir die, vir die kerk. Hier is hoeveel mense hulle wil kerk toe kom, maar hulle kan nie. Nou as ons 'n bussie het, dan kan ons uitstappies maak. Ons gaan Elim toe, Goedverwacht toe, so ons moet geld insamel. En ook nie net vir my nie. Ek het 'n jong kerkbroertjie van Zimbabwe vir wie ek ook moet help, en jy weet eendag wil ek, eendag Amerika toe gaan. Dan moet daar geld wees...en ons gaan dit doen.

F: Gaan jy hier geld kry?

B: Nee, in Amerika. Miskien kan een kerkbroer vir my een keer 'n maand bietjie 'n honderd dollar stuur, want dis niks vir hulle nie. Hier het een gekom, dit het my bietjie ontstel man. Jy weet hulle het 'n dansgroepie hierso. En twee jaar terug was eh, Raymond hier, en hy het gekom en ons het gepraat hier in Pinelands in.

F: Raymond van *Raymond's Corner*?

B: Van *Raymond's Corner*, ken jy hom, ken jy hom?

F: Ja, ek het hom opgekyk. Is hy meer 'n *missionary*?

B: Ja, 'n *missionary*, hy het nou net van die *Phillipines* gekom. Hy het nou honderd-een-en- vyftig mense gedoop daar, dis verskriklik groot, maar (*addresses the children on the bed*) *hey hey*, jy sien ek praat nou! En eh, toe't Raymond saam met daai kinders gepraat, en hulle gaan haal. Toe't hy hiernatoe gekom en ek het saam met hom gepraat, en sê hy wil hulle help. En hy gee toe vyfhonderd Dollar. Maar toe vat Peter dit. Hy het die vyfhonderd Dollar hier, maar hy wil eers met die bestuurder van die *club* praat.

As jy self nie gaan werk nie, gaan jy mos nie vra nie. Toe sê ek hoe moet hulle nou vir jou bewys, daai man het gegee vir hulle, dis vir hulle. Ja, maar wat van die kerkmense sê hy? Ek sê dié man *reach out* vir die wêreld.

F: Was Raymond hier?

B: Hy was nou hier gewees? Ons het...

F: Hy's dan 'n *celebrity*!

B: Ja, maar hy's 'n *very nice* man. En jy weet, ek was hier, het hom *ge-welcome*, alles hier. Daar anderkant wat Peter gedoen het, moes ek hier doen. Maar *anycase*, hy sê: 'Ben, *I've got to buy you a new chalice, remind me when I get there*. Hy het teruggekom, toe vat Peter my nuwe ene en gee sy ou ene vir my.

F: En jy kan niks sê nie.

B: Nee, hy weet nie. Hy het gesê, *Ben I'll get you twenty Bibles*. Peter hou tien vir hom en gee my net tien. Weet jy praat ek daaroor, Raymond gaan net terug en dit alles weet. Ek hoop hy gaan my hoor, want ek kan nie dat hy van my ontnem nie. Peter's nou die middelman. Hy sê daai kinders kom nie eers kerk toe nie. Jy forseer niemand om kerk toe te kom nie.

(*Children enter the room and we greet them.*)

F: Ben, sê vir my hoe groot is hulle in Muizenberg, groot?

B: Muizenberg? Nee, hulle is taamlik groot, plus minus eh, tagtig tot 'n honderd daar. Is eh, die grootste is in Athlone, plus minus *two fifty*.

(Bonnie enters.)

F: *Morning*, Bonnie.

B: *Morning*, ek moet nog gaan regmaak.

F: Was jy siek gewees?

B: Eh huh.

F: *Shame* man.

B: Maar dit maak my alles weer 'n bietjie ongelukkig. Nou lê hy weer daar met 'n rug. Gister het ons weer van 'n sleg dag gehet.

F: Gister?

B: Gister ja, was bietjie af.

F: Was dit stil?

B: Baie stil.

(*Ben goes into the kitchen and starts to call the children together to walk to church.*)

(The interview was conducted in Heather's bedroom, lying on her double bed. Mia was chatting to me, but at first reluctant to let me switch on the recorder as she said she was too tired that day to answer questions. I promised to her only to ask her a few questions.)

F = Frieda M = Mia H = Heather

F: Ek wil net vir jou vra, het jy al 'n *computer* gebruik, ek weet jy skryf so mooi, maar het jy op 'n *computer* gewerk?

M: Ek is *computer literate*, maar ek het nog nooit my diploma gaan haal nie.

F: Waa't jy, het jy 'n kursus gedoen?

M: Athlone *Tech*.

F: En het jy nog nie op 'n *computer* gewerk *since then* nie?

M: Ja wat, ons het mos daai stukkende ding wat daar agter lê, altyd daarop.

F: Hoor hier (*laughs*), kan jy bietjie harder praat.

M: (*laughs*) Ja, maar ons het mos ene gehet, en Rita het ene gehet, en Glen het mos toe die *laptop*.

F: En wat het julle op die *computers* gedoen, toe julle dit gehad het?

M: Ek het ook meesal *games* gespeel, maar die ding was te stadig vir enige ander goete.

F: En het julle briewe geskryf of...?

M: Umm, eh (*shakes her head*)

F: *Flyers* gemaak?

M: Nee, nogal nie, want die goed het nie *geprint* nie, daar was mos nie 'n *printer* by nie, dit was mos nou maar net...

F: En nou die internet? Het dit 'n rol in jou lewe?

M: (*laughs*) Nie in my lewe nie, want ek gebruik nie internet nie, as ek my internet het, ja, dan sal ek dit gebruik, maar ek het nie, so ek gebruik dit nie.

F: En sal jy vir iemand vra wat die internet het, om vir jou iets te soek?

M: Ja, ek vra maar Rita, maar op die *phone*.

F: Vra jy vir haar op die *phone*, dan kyk sy daar? Soos wat soek jy?

M: Goeters vir Anita-hulle vir die skool...meeste van die tyd is dit vir die skoolwerk.

F: Soos wat, soos 'n taak?

M: Mmm, soos *job creation* goeters.

F: Wat's *job creation* goeters.

M: Dis mos wat die skool mos het man, wat hulle moet gaan, man ek ken nie die Afrikaanse name nie.

F: Praat dan Engels, asseblief.

M: Waar hulle moet gaan na plekke toe...of, of, of, *information* kry hoe word hulle *companies* *gerun*, wase tipe mense werk daarso, dan as hulle gaan vir 'n werk, dan weet hulle mos nou hoe om in te gaan en dan vir ... hulle somtyds vir *music* en daai.

F: So, jy gebruik soms die internet, maar deur Rita?

M: Mmm, *yes*.

F: OK, en jou ma? (*I turn to Heather*)

M: My ma hou nie van internet en Facebook en daai nie, sy hou niks van daai nie. My ma hou nie eers van Facebook nie...

H: Want hulle is te persoonlik.

F: Baie persoonlik.

H: Ek hou nie daarvan dat jou hele lewe moet op 'n Facebook lê nie. Somtyds is jou private lewe daar en ek hou nie daarvan nie.

F: Maar jy weet mens kan *Google* en goed opsoek.

H: Ja, ek weet ek kan dit doen

F: Het jy dit al self gedoen?

H: Nee, ek vra maar vir Rita.

(*Silence*)

F: Wie't vir my 'n SMS gestuur oor die skarrelboekie?

M: Ek het.

F: Het jy nog nie geleer om te skryf nie?

(*Heather shakes her head.*)

F: Nee wat, jy het mos mense wat vir jou kan skryf.

M: Wat daai vrou, sy *delete* sommer al haar boodskappe!

H: Frieda, ek het al my ou boodskappe *gedelete!*

M: Al haar ou boodskappies, goed wat jy nou... al haar ou mooi boodskappies wat ons *gesave* het...

F: Maar ek het nog van die ou boodskappies vir jou.

M: Nee, daar het nou nuwes bygekom. Mooi Afrikaanses van pampoens, eh en sulke goete, en dan *delete* sy dit. Dan vra ek vir my ma waar's al die goedjies, daar's dan niks op die ding nie, als is weg. Want ek wil daai een versie gedinges het. So laat sy maar liewers wegbly van internet af en Facebook.

H: Frieda, ek het al daai goed verloor.

F: As jy die goed beetkry dan *delete* jy dit.

H: (*laughs*) En nou gooi ek my eie goeters weg! (*laughs*) Frieda, ooo haa, nee!

M: En wat nog?

F: Umm, die kinders se huiswerk, hoe baie help jy hulle met die huiswerk?

M: Elke dag Frieda! As hulle huiswerk het.

F: Is dit baie werk vir jou, hoe lank vat dit?

M: 'n Halfuur vir een.

F: En *enjoy* jy dit?

M: Somtyds ja, ... maar somtyds raak ek kwaad. En as dit altwee op een tyd is dan stuur ek na my ma die ander ene.

F: Skryf jy vir hulle of moet hulle self skryf?

M: Nee, hulle moet self skryf, dis net nou en dan dat ek vir hulle sal teken.

F: Prentjies of wat?

M: Mmmh.

F: Hou jy van teken?

M: Nee, nie eintlik nie, ek sal krap op 'n boek en daai, maar ek teken op my eie manier.

F: OK dankie, dis al wat ek jou vandag sal vra. (*Jokingly, puts on an 'interviewer's voice'*) Jy weet, ek is nou amper twee jaar hier by julle, geniet jy nog die lewe hier in Garden Village? (*Heather and Mia laughs.*)

M: Geniet dji dit hier in Garden Village! Ek gaan nêrens heen nie, daarom moet ek dit geniet.

F: OK, oor en uit, dankie julle!

G.4 Interviewee: Bonnie Davids Date: November 2011

(The interview was conducted in the shop in front of the Davids' home.)

F: Kom ons kyk, dis nou eintlik sleg met die karre. Ek sit saam met Bonnie in die hokkie, dis hoekom die karre so raas.

B: *(laughs)*

F: Ek wil sommer vir jou vra, geniet jy jou nuwe selfoon?

B: O ja, ja ja ek geniet dit baie.

F: En wie gebruik dit die meeste?

B: Kyk hierso, Kevin gebruik dit, Kaylin speel *games*, Bradley speel *games*... ek bel net so af en toe.

F: Vir wie bel jy?

B: Ek speel ook *games*.

F: Watse soort *games*?

B: Op myne is *Karom* en *Soduko* en *Dual Quest*.

F: *Dual Quest*?

F: *Dual Quest*, ja.

F: Vir wie bel jy die meeste?

B: Umm, wel partymaal vir Kevin of vir Nola, en vir my vriend umm, Caron, jy't noggie vir haar ontmoet nie... Caron.

F: Waar bly sy?

B: Sy bly daar in die Matroosfontein.

F: Skryf jy SMS?

B: Nog nie.

F: Het jy nog nie een geskryf nie?

B: *(Laughs)* Ek het nog nie geleer nie *(softly)*.

F: Het jy nog nie geleer nie?

B: Ek moet nog leer ja, ek wil nog leer daai ja.

F: Maar skryf iemand anders vir jou?

B: Ja, Kevin skryf vir my.

F: Het jy al een gekry?

B: Ja, ek het al, maar ek het nog nie my nommer vir Caron gegee nie, toe ek my ander foon gehad het was sy lief om vir my te stuur ja, altyd, en my suster se dogter sy was altyd baie lief daarvoor om vir my boodskappies te stuur. Maar ek het mos nou 'n ander nommer, ek het nog nie my nuwe nommer vir haar.

F: Het jy voorheen 'n foon gehad?

B: Mmm, ek het voorheen gehad die *phone* ja. Dit was Kevin se *phone*, toe't Kevin 'n ander *phone* gehet, toe gee hy daai *phone* vir my... 'n Nokia. En ek *like* tog 'n Nokia, ek wou eintlik nie die *phone* gehad het nie, maar okey ek het hom gekry... *(laughs)*.

F: Ek het ook 'n Nokia. Hoekom hou jy van Nokia?

B: Kyk, kyk kyk...ek kan hom beter werk ja, ek werk hom beter, maar ek raak nou gewoon.

F: Kyk vir my is 'n Nokia makliker, want ek is gewoon daaraan.

B: Ja,.

F: En is dit die pryslys?
 B: Ja, dit is die pryslys.
 F: En die *stock* lys wat Kevin gemaak het?
 B: Kevin het *pies* gaan koop. En dan het ons vanoggend brood gaan koop, en melk.
 F: En kyk hieso wat se koerante hier is, Die Son en die Voice en die Times.
 B: Ja ja.
 F: En verkoop hulle?
 B: Ag, hulle gaan mos nou nog, dis mos die eerste dag nou wat ons hom gekry het, dis die eerste dag nou wat jy weet...
 F: Wie't die pryse geskryf?
 B: Ons het dit maar so uitgewerk met die prys, Ja umm, so maar uitgewerk.
 F: Maar dis maar moeilik.
 B: Nee, nie regtig nie, kyk ek sal jou wys iets, hulle hulle gee vir jou die, die, die, die, *unit*.
 (*A customer arrives and we end the conversation.*)

G.5. Interviewees: Kramer, Jenny and Bella **Date: October 2011.**

(*The interview was conducted in Kramer and Jenny's one-roomed backyard dwelling, rented to them by Bella, who lives in the main cottage on the same property*)

K = Kramer B = Bella (his landlady) S = Shane, Kramer's son J = Jenny, Kramer's wife

F: OK, ek praat hier met Kramer, en hy bly al 11 jaar hier in die Village.
 K: Dis reg ja mevrou.
 F: En is dit jou besigheidskartjie?
 K: Dis reg ja mevrou.
 F: En wat maak jy alles reg?
 K: Ek bou *computers* op en eh, en dan *microwaves*, *DVD players* en dan *cellphones* en dan enige *appliances*, ja meestal enige *appliances* wat ek regmaak.
 F: En waar verkoop jy dit dan weer?
 K: Ons verkoop dit in die Voortrekker *Road* in Maitland.
 F: Staan julle daar by die FNB?
 K: Oorkant die *pawn shop* ja.
 F: O, en gaan jy elke dag uit?
 K: Ek gaan elke dag uit om my goedere te *collect*. Ek gaan, umm, by mense om en vra, en dan gee hulle vir my goete en as ek dit kan regmaak dan vat ek dit terug. Dan sê hulle vir my OK, en dan betaal hulle vir my...
 (*Bella enters*)
 B: Ek kan luister miskien, want ek is die huis *owner*.
 F: Ja, kom in natuurlik.
 B: Want hulle woon by my.
 F: Ja, natuurlik.
 K: En dan sê hulle, O, OK, en dan *repair* vir myself en dan kan ek dit verkoop, of as ek dit moet terugbring dan bring ek dit terug. Dit is altyd *cheaper*, baie *cheap*.

F: Jy ken seker baie mense hier in die Kaap?
 K: Ek ken baie mense ja.
 F: En wat is jou lekkerste plek om te gaan? Waar kry jy jou beste goed?
 K: Ek kry orals my beste goed (*laughs*).
 F: By mense se huise?
 K: Ek gaan *computer* plekke toe, ook na *companies* wat *computers* goed doen.
 B: Kan ek gou *intervene* hierso?
 F: Ja, jy kan.
 B: (*addressing Kramer*) Jy kan nie net sê jy kry by almal nie. Jy moet sê presies. Sy vra *specific* by wie kry jy jou goed. Kry jy dit in Rondebossie, kry jy dit in Mowbray? Kry jy dit daar by *Mrs...*
 K: Nee wag, wag wag nou. Ek praat nou met mevrou.
 B: *She's asking you a question, you must tell her where. You must say which is the most people where you... the most.*
 K: Ja, maar...
 F: Ja, ek sal die goed stadig uit hom uit kry.
 K: OK, in Pinelands en umm...
 B: Dit sal nie stadig wees nie mevrou, want hy, hy kry, hy doen dit nie vir die eerste keer nie.
 F: O, OK.
 B: Hy doen dit al 'n geruime tyd. Want my kêrel doen dit ook. Daarom het ek gevra, wil u nie van hom ook iets doen nie. Hy doen vandag 'n ander *job*. *But he does the same.*
 F: Ek sal weer kom, dan sal ek met hom praat, ek sal weer kom.
 B: O nee, *all right* (*she remains standing in the doorway, watching Kramer*).
 F: (*to Kramer*) Sê nou eers vir my, hoe laat in die oggende gaan jy uit?
 K: Ek gaan so *two o' clock* elke middag, maar as iemand my *phone* en ek moet iets gaan optel, dan gaan ek maar onmiddelik.
 F: O, OK, en het jy 'n *cellphone* op wat hulle jou bel?
 K: Ja.
 F: Stuur hulle vir jou SMS?
 K: Hulle *phone* my, hulle skakel my.
 F: Sê vir my, het jy eers 'n ander *job* gehad?
 K: Ek was 'n *painter* ja. Ek het gewerk vir *Western Paint Assistants*. Ek het gewerk vir *ABC Painters* hier in Maitland.
 F: En waar het jy geleer om *electrical* goed reg te maak?
 K: Ek het myself geleer mevrou. Self geleer, aangevang met die oog. Ek doen eintlik 'n *qualified* man se werk, maar ek is nie *qualified* nie.
 F: Ja, so jy het jouself maar so geleer en opgebou?
 K: Ja.
 F: En waar was jy op skool gewees?
 K: Ek was standerd drie uit die skool uit, Laughton's Primary.
 F: O, waar was dit?
 K: In Ottery Road, daar waar die Makro nou is, daar oorkant was die skool gewees mevrou.
 F: En moes jy begin werk het?
 K: Ek het skool gelos en gewerk vir my ma ja, standerd drie uitgegaan.
 B: Dis nou selfde soos my eie seun, wat ek hier het vandag, wat 'n babatjie het. Sy geskiedenis is dieselfde. Kramer se geskiedenis is dieselfde as my eie seun.

F: OK.

K: O ja, OK.

F: Het ons nog net *five minutes* oor?

K: Nee mevrou, ek het gou met my seun gepraat mevrou (*he was on his cellphone briefly*).

F: OK, vertel my hoe het dit gekom dat julle nou so skarrelboekie het?

K: Mevrou sien, as ons goeters op die trollie het, miskien *valuable* goete, en die polisie kom, en hulle vra waar kry jy hierdie goete, hulle dink miskien dis gesteelde goete. Die *previous owner* wat die goeters wil gee moet bewys gee van die goete en hul *contacts* saam met 'n *phone* nommer, om te bewys die goete is nie gesteel nie.

F: En die mense teken dan in jou boekie?

K: Hulle is baie *happy* mevrou om dit te teken, hulle weet ek *make a honest living*.

F: En het die polisie jul al gestop?

K: Baie keer mevrou, baie keer, maar meeste van die polisie ken nou al vir ons, en baie van hulle van *ADT*, hulle ken ons daar van Observatory af, orals.

F: En hoe lank het jy al die skarrelboekie?

K: Vir jare al.

F: Kan jy vir my wys?

K: Umm, waar's die boekie nou, ja. Ek dra my *tools* saam met my as ek uitgaan, ek maak sommer die ding reg in die pad reg, mevrou.

F: So partymaal doen jy sommer *on the spot*?

K: *On the spot while you wait* (*laughs*) hier's my *tools*.

F: Lekker.

B: Sêlle met my *boyfriend*, wat saam met hom uitgaan...

K: Ja, hy doen dit ook.

F: Gaan julle saam uit, of is julle een een?

B: Nee, my eggenoot, my *boyfriend* gaan op sy *own*, en hy gaan op sy *own*.

K: Elkeen gaan op sy *own*, maar ons elkeen gebruik dieselfde goeters mevrou. Dis my boekie nou.

F: Laat ek sien. Ek sal nie mense se nommers wys nie.

K: (*inaudible*)

F: Kyk jou mooi *business cards*.

K: Ja, iemand het dit vir my *ge-issue* wat in Observatory bly, maar hulle het getrek nou toe maak hulle *copies* op die *computer*.

F: Het iemand in Observatory dit vir jou gemaak?

K: Steven Jones, ja.

F: Is hierdie 'n nuwe boekie?

K: Ja, die mense skryf hulle se adresse daarin, telefoonnommers en so.

F: Skryf jy ook hierin?

K: Ek skryf, ek skryf ook daarin ja.

F: Waa't jy geskryf?

K: Umm, ek skryf ook, as ek nie kan uitmaak nie, dan skryf ek dit oor.

B: My kêrel doen dieselfde.

K: Hy skryf ook oor, ja.

B: *But you mos now said you are only doing him now, but not my boyfriend.*

F: Is sy boekie ook hier?

B: Ja.

F: Sal jy vir my wys?

B: Ja, ek sal dit gaan haal.

K: Mevrou sien hierdie, umm, die se hierdie opskrif hierso, het ek gister al hierdie bokse gekry, dis 'n *office* in die Molenberg, nommer 5, hulle ken vir my al jare lank, hulle gee my *office equipment* en enige *computer equipment*.

F: Is dit mense se nommers hierso?

K: Ja, dis my nommers, en dis my *diagram* hoe om 'n *microwave* reg te maak.

F: Dis darem oulik jong.

(*Kramer's son enters*)

F: Hello, jy kan maar praat.

K: Dis my seun nou.

F: O, OK.

K: Ja, ek is baie slim, van kleins af al.

F: En jou seun, werk hy ook so hard?

S: Ja, ek doen *welding* mevrou.

F: OK.

S: *I went to Technical School.*

F: *Are you doing a course there?*

S: *No, I am finished at the moment.*

F: *And now are you looking for work?* Het jy werk?

S: *No.*

F: Ja, dis moeilik.

F: En sê nou vir my, kyk die polisie dan na die boekie?

K: Ja, hulle kyk, dan vra hulle...

(*Bella enters*)

B: Kom nou uit hier Shane, dis nou jou pa se besigheid, kom uit hier.

(*Shane leaves*)

F: (*to Kramer*) Ja, en kan jy dan vir hulle wys?

K: Ek kan vir hulle bewys, hulle kan die *previous* mense *contact*, of daarnatoe gaan.

F: En dink jy dit kan in die *court of law* ook gebruik word?

K: Mevrou, ek het al hof toe gegaan vir my eie goete.

F: En dan?

K: Dan hou hulle my aan mevrou.

(*Jenny, Kramer's wife enters*)

J: *Howzit.*

F: Hallo.

K: Dan kan my vrou dalk...

(*Bella re-enters and gives me her boyfriend's notebook.*)

B: Ek voel sy vrou moet ook maar insit op die ding.

F: Ja ja.

B: Laat sy ook maar insit, sy moet insit, maar ek sit in vir my *boyfriend*.

F: Is dit ook 'n boekie?

B: Ja, ja.

F: Kramer sê vir my wat het gebeur by die *court*, moes jy toe jou boekie gebruik het?

K: Mevrou sien, hulle het my gearresteer met goete wat ek nog nie bewyse gehet het van nie, voor ek die boekie het, het hulle my gearresteer met gesteelde goeters, het hulle my gearresteer vir vermoedelike gesteelde eiendom.

F: Mmm, hmmm.

K: Maar toe het my vrou die bewyse gaan haal, by die *previous* mense daar, en om die *contact* nommers te kry. Toe gaan ek hof toe, en toe en wys dit, toe trek hulle die saak terug.

F: Het daardie mense toe vir jou 'n stuk papier geskryf?

J: Ja, hulle het vir my uitgeskryf, toe is ek daar by die poliesstasie, toe sê hulle vir my hulle kan niks maak nie, toe wag ek dat hulle eerste vir my sê, dat ek weer hof toe gaan, toe sê hulle dis vyfhonderd Rand. Dit was eerste 'n duisend Rand *bail* gehad. 'n Duisend Rand borg.

F: Dis baie geld.

J: Toe sê hulle weer dis vyfhonderd Rand.

F: OK.

J: Toe't 'n ander persoon uitgekóm. Toe gaan ons weer hof toe en toe is die saak teruggetrek. Maar daar is baie mense wat verkeerde stappe neem teen ons, die polisie en so aan, want hulle weet dis nie gesteelde goeters nie, en so aan, verstaan u?

F: Hmm.

J: Maar baie keer, ek sien hulle arresteer nie meer nie.

K: Hulle ken al vir ons.

F: Hulle weet al wie is die *regular* ouens.

J: Sommige van die poliesmanne is baie *spiteful*, hulle wil van die goeters hê, en so aan né? Dan sê hulle, gee vir my ook 'n klein stukkie. Dan sê my man, dit is my lewe die wat ek maak. Dan sê hulle, ja die goeters is gesteel, die witmense sal nie vir julle hierdie goeters gee nie en so aan, verstaan?

K: Dit is duur goeters, duur goeters wat die mense vir my gee.

J: Soos u kan sien, die goeters wat hy kry en...

F: Ja, as hy nie werk nie, dan beteken hy niks, maar as jy hom regmaak, is hy weer baie werd?

J: Ja, ja, ja.

K: *Yes*, mevrou ek het die reggemaak vir my vrou (*gestures to a microwave.*) Dit het ingekom *as i,s* maar ek het dit reggemaak vir my vrou.

F: Werk hy lekker?

J: Ja, hy werk, hy werk.

K: Honderd persent.

J: Vyftig rand, daar was niks in nie, hy het almal die parte ingesit.

F: Nou sê vir my, dra jy nou liewers altyd die boekie saam met jou?

K: Ek hou dit altyd saam my, altyd saam my, ek gaan hoeka *two o' clock* uit, gaan ek weer uit met my boekie.

F: So as hulle jou arresteer, sal jy jou boekie saamvat en vir hulle wys?

K: Ja.

J: As hulle, die geval van die boekie storie, die polisie wil nie altyd dit vat as *legal* goeters nie. Hulle sê dis *illegal* goete. Dan neem hulle vir hom na die mense toe, dan sit hulle vir hom agter in die *van* in. Hy kan mos nie agter in die *van* vir hulle *explain* nie. Hy gee vir hulle die pad se naam, *whatever*, maar dan ry hulle, dan bring hulle vir hom terug en dan vloek hulle vir hom uit en *whatever*, dan sluit hulle vir hom weer toe. Hulle kan hom mos nie agter in die *van* sit nie, hoe kan hy agter in vir hulle sê dat hy bewys het.

F: Hulle is hard op die mense.

J: Hmm, hulle is baie hard ja.

K: Agterna dan raak hulle my *customers*, as hulle hoor dis *legal* goeters, dan wil hulle dit self koop.

B: *They do it, né, they do it once, when he left the stuff there, they lock him up, né? In the other house no, where they stayed. They lock him up, they take some of his kettles, or umm, a microwave, or they take a frying pan.*

K: *They take something, ja.*

B: *But when he comes back, they say he can just take his stuff, but there was no case against him, but they have already taken his stuff, you understand?*

F: O.

K: *Corruption.*

J: Ja, kyk die laaste keer, soos toe ons nou sy *property* nou teruggekry het

B: *Claim!*

J: Ja, en toe is daar baie van sy goed was weggewees.

K: Ja.

B: *He did come back to me and he said aunty Bella, I can't understand that, that was all on my trolley, he know what he collect, that's why he written it in his book. When he comes back, most of his stuff is gone. So they said they're going to give him some money. Which I think its wrong of any policeman that work for the government, me that also work for the government, to steal from here. If I come in here and I steal the kak from him, it's not right, because I work for the government. And they steal from him, he was very disappointed, because most of the stuff that he's selling, was gone.*

F: Ja.

B: *I'm just speaking on behalf of him.*

F: Ja.

B: *You know the reason why they are staying here, they didn't stay here in my house. His wife came here...*

J: Sy sal nie nou dit *understand* nie...

B: Ja, ja.

B: *Nee, nee Jenny, ek moet dit praat cause julle bly by my, julle kan mos nie vir altyd by my bly nie, jy hoef nie uit te stap nie, listen what I say, she don't need to walk out nê, you don't need to wing her eye, you don't need to wing her eye. Listen here mam, what you do now, I saw with my own eyes, so don't wing your eye to her.*

F: Ja, ek wil hê julle moet net rustig bly.

B: *Listen to what I say.*

F: *I know that you are the homeowner here, I understand how it works.*

B: *Kramer come here, they wasn't staying with me, they was staying opposite, the wife always come, because her daughter is involved with my son, they had a baby now, we'll show you the baby too, right? Now the thing is this, she always tell me, please Bella, take Kramer with me, because we want to start again as a family. She can say it in front of me now, am I right or wrong? She can say it now. She can say it now.*

F: Dis mos 'n groot probleem om behuising te kry in Suid Afrika.

J: Ja, dis 'n probleem.

B: *But the thing is this, I am not worried about the whole housing. This is my place where I stay, this is my parents' place, which I get from a daughter, r for working for them all the times. I don't*

know if you want to get rid of me, but I want to tell you this, this is my place, this is a homely place, nê?

F: *I respect that.*

B: *My house is in heaven, but I want to tell you this, she asked me, she never stay here, her daughter was staying here, for two, three years here, due to them having a relationship.*

J: *Sorry nê? Sorry. (Jenny gets up and leaves.)*

B: *Now that is what I don't like of her! To go out when I speak! 'n, o no mam! This is what I don't like!*

F: *Luister nou, jy skree nou op my, want jy is kwaad vir iemand anders, dis nie vir my lekker nie.*

B: *I don't scream on you! I don't scream on you! You must understand me!*

F: *Luister, ek wil glad nie met jou baklei nie, en wat ek hoor is dat jy met my wil baklei.*

B: *No, no, I can't fight you, all the people say that. One day they take me to court, nê? I went to court and that is what the court said. It's because of my nerves. I've got three drug addicted children in my house at this moment.*

F: *Yes? Dis baie erg.*

B: *I've got three. And her daughter and her son also do the same thing.*

F: *Dis baie sleg.*

B: *But I'm sorry, I'm gonna leave you now, cause all this what you said now, I'm gonna leave you now, you can maar talk. But I know what I have to do. So believe me what I tell you, I have three drug addicted children. I was eighteen years married to my own husband, and all through my children do the same for eighteen years.*

F: *Ek weet julle het 'n baie swaar lewe.*

B: *Here's her daughter and her son, they do the same things. So I have to stop, cause you said that I scream on you, so I have to leave then.*

F: *Nee dis reg.*

B: *Then I have to leave (Bella leaves).*

(I see that Kramer is upset and embarrassed.)

F: *Dis OK, dis OK. Dit maak nie saak nie. So moenie worry nie.*

K: *OK.*

F: *Moet glad nie worry nie, ek weet dis swaar dat julle so moet lewe.*

K: *Ja mevrou, maar ek het nie my eie plek nie, maar ek probeer maar altyd my eie plek kry. My kinders is groot, ek kan nie so lewe nie. Maar mevrou kan maar verder vra.*

F: *Nou goed, hoe lank skarrel jy al?*

K: *Vir jare al mevrou, ek was nog jonk, toe het ek die al. Ek het, ek het eerste crime gedoen, maar toe ek 'n familie stig, toe dink ek nee, maar dit gaan nie betaal nie, toe het ek my mind opgemaak om goed reg te maak, en toe het ek dit reggekry.*

F: *So was jy eers bietjie in die crime in?*

K: *Umm, ek het ek het, dis wat ek, wat ek eerste gedoen het voor wat ek nou doen.*

F: *OK.*

K: *Dis wat ek gedoen het om te sorg vir my familie, toe't ek, umm, ek stry nie, ek sê eerlik om te sê ek was in die crime.*

F: *Ja?*

K: *Agterna het ek vir ge-rehab en myself gesê nee, ek gaan nie meer nie.*

F: *En toe het jy jouself geleer? (I hear Bella shouting again outside.)*

F: *Is sy OK?*

K: *Ja mevrou, sy het'n doppie gedrink, sy is so.*

F: OK. Moenie *worry* nie. Weet jy, ek is baie goeie vriende met Antie Heather en Mia en Rita.

K: O, Mia ja.

F: Dan is ek goeie vriende daar by Oom Ben, ken jy Oom Ben en Bonnie.

K: Umm.

F: Daar waar Oom Theo ook bly.

K: Oom Ben op die voorpad?

F: Ja.

K: Daar waar die *caravan* staan?

F: Ja.

K: Ek het sy *microwave* ook reggemaak. Vra vir hom wie's Kramer wat hier reggemaak het? Dis ekke daai.

F: O ja? Ja, hulle is baie goeie mense.

K: Ja *kind*, baie *kind* mense.

F: Ja, ek gaan nou soontoe, dat sy dogter my hare kan doen.

K: O, is dit.

F: Ja, hulle is baie Christelike goeie mense.

K: Ja mevrou.

F: Behoort julle hier aan 'n kerk?

K: Die Ou Apostoliese.

F: O, OK. Is hier 'n *congregation* hier?

K: Hier is 'n Apostoliese kerk, soos jy inkom hier in die Village in, in Perseverance Road op die hoek.

F: Sê nou eers vir my, is dit lekker hier vir jou om in Garden Village te bly?

K: Mevrou, die bly is niks nie, maar die omstandighede. Kyk ek is 'n baie stil persoon, nie een vir moeilikheid nie... (*sniffs and wipe tears*).

F: Ek verstaan, maar jy moet onthou hoe werk die lewe. Jy is nog ouer as ek, jy weet nog beter as ek. Ek sien jou soos jy is, ek sien jou nie deur haar oë nie, hoor.

K: Dankie, *exactly* mevrou.

F: Ek sien jou deur my eie oë, my eie hart. Jy kan vir Tannie Heather vra.

K: Ja, Heather bly mos net hier af in die pad.

F: Ja, net hier oorkant ... ag wat, moenie *worry* nie. Dis nie dat ek nie met Bella wil praat nie.

K: Kyk, maar haar man is mos nou nie hier nie.

F: Nee, ek wil nou nie hê sy moet op my skree nie.

K: Kyk, haar man is mos nou nie hier op die oomblik nie.

F: Kom ons kyk na jou boekie, dis die ene nê?

K: Ja mevrou. (*He shows me a business card inserted in the book.*) Dis die ou wat my *sponsor*, die *PC Guy* in Observatory, *computers*, *computer* goeters. Ek *survive* met hierdie mevrou. Ek het vir myself gesê, ek sal oud raak met hierdie werk, vir my is dit 'n inkomste, ek *survive* op hierdie, want dis 'n *honest living* hierdie. (*He hears Bella shouting outside.*) Kyk hoe skel die vrou nou weer.

F: Gaan sy die hele naweek baklei?

K: Ek baklei nie mevrou?

F: Gaan dit weer oorwaai, of het ek nou groot moeilikheid gemaak?

K: Moenie *worry* nie. (*Kramer shows me something in his book.*) Mevrou sien, dis die dinges, die goete wat die mense, dis die mense in die Molen Road, wat gereeld vir my *computer parts* gee.

F: (*I hear Bella shouting and decide to end the interview.*) Is hierdie Bella se *boyfriend* se boekie?

K: Ja mevrou.

F: OK, ek sal dit nou na haar terugvat en *apologise*.

K: OK mevrou.

F: Baie dankie dat jy met my gepraat het.

K: OK Mevrou.

G.6 Interviewee: Kay Davids Date: December 2010

(*The interview was conducted sitting in my car as it was too noise in the Davids' home.*)

F: So, I'm here in Alexander Road at Kay's house and we are going to chat a bit. How old are you now?

K: I'm fourteen years old.

F: Yes, fourteen, and I just asked Kay's mom, Misha, if I can do the interview, and she agreed that Kay can do the interview. And Kay, you have also agreed to do the interview, and I will use the interview for my university work. No one else will know it comes from you, and you can just relax and enjoy it. Just tell me again which school are you at?

K: I'm at Salt River High

F: And which grade are you in?

K: I'm in Grade 8.

F: And how many classes are there in each standard about? Do you know?

K: Yes, like it's like grade eight class is like five, five grade eight classes.

F: And how many people are in your class?

K: From probably thirty-five.

F: And your school, is it more in English or Afrikaans?

K: English.

F: OK, and umm, what subjects are you taking?

K: All the, at the moment all the subjects, but then in a later stage I have to choose.

F: Oh, do you know what you are going to choose?

K: No, not yet.

F: What are your favourite subjects now?

K: Afrikaans and History

F: What do you do in Afrikaans?

K: Umm most...at the moment just the basics.

F: Do you read stories?

K: Yes, Afrik... but I'm not so good at reading... *ja*.

F: Do you have to write something about the stuff you read?

K: Yes, like they give you questions and you have to answer it.

F: And what book did you have to read this year?

K: *Bakgat*.

F: *Bakgat!* Who wrote that?

K: Mmm, no I can't remember.

F: What was it about?

K: It's about a boy that umm, his mom and his daddy is not together anymore, and he's going through trouble things like that and he ran away from home.

F: OK, what was the character's name?

K: That was his name *ja*.

F: *Bakgat*? Is that his name? That's cool... and History? You like History?

K: Yes.

F: And did you just write your exams?

K: Yes, we finished yes, last week already.

F: OK, and tell me which primary school did you go to?

K: Garden Village Primary.

F: Was it still an Afrikaans school when you started there?

K: English, it's...

F: Just English?

K: Yes.

F: But did you learn there to write in Afrikaans?

K: Yes, I did.

F: And when you were young, did you go to the library?

K: Yes, I did, but I don't attend anymore.

F: Why do you not attend anymore?

K: I'm just not into books.

F: But what type of books did you read when you were little.

K: Like story books.

F: And in what language did you read them?

K: English.

F: And magazines, do you read magazines?

K: I like magazines mostly, *ja*.

F: Which ones do you like?

K: I read the *You* magazine.

F: *Ja*? That's Nice, and where do you get it?

K: I get it from the library, you can buy it there also, or just bring it home.

F: Which library?

K: The mobile library.

F: Oh OK, so you can get your magazines there?

K: Yes.

F: OK, and tell me, do you watch TV?

K: Most of my times, yes.

F: Where do you watch TV?

K: At my house.

F: And do you watch mostly in your room or the front room?

K: In the room.

F: And who stays with you in the room there?

K: Auntie Glenda and them, and my mommy.

F: And your brother and sisters?

K: Yes. But my brother is with my *ma*.²⁴ He sleeps with my *ma*.

F: And umm, what is your favourite TV programmes?

²⁴ Kay uses 'ma' and 'pa' to refer to her grandmother and grandfather respectively.

K: *Sewende Laan*²⁵ and umm, Days of our Lives, that's all.

F: And The Bold and the Beautiful?

K: No.

F: And *Sewende Laan*, who do you like the most?

K: For Hilda, Hilda and Oubaas.

F: They are funny, *nê*?

K: Yes (*laughs*).

F: And in what language is *Sewende Laan* mostly?

K: Afrikaans, with English subtitles.

F: Do you read the subtitles?

K: Yes.

F: Always?

K: Not always, only the words that I don't understand, and them.

F: And tell me again what happened to your phone?

K: Oh yes!

F: Today I phoned and there was nothing, and then I sent you an SMS and you didn't reply.

K: The battery is totally finished and it doesn't want to charge anymore, so I need a totally new one.

F: A new battery or a new phone?

K: A new battery.

F: And what type of phone do you have?

K: A D900. Samsung.

F: A Samsung D900.

K: Yes.

F: And what do you do mostly on your phone.

K: Just MXit and music. Just sometimes music, but most of the time for MXit. If my battery goes flat, then I put it in the charger and I MXit, that's what makes my battery go flat.

F: And when do you start MXiting?

K: When I wake up, I start chatting yes.

F: And who do you chat to?

K: Friends, school friends, and friends at home, and new friends I've met, *ja*.

F: And do you have to pay, which network are you on?

K: *Cell C* is free, we chat free on *Cell C*.

F: Only if the only person is also *Cell C*?

K: No, it doesn't matter.

F: And when you chat, what language do you use?

K: Mix.

F: Mix, and will show it to me? When your battery is working?

K: Yes I'll show you.

F: Now that your phone is not working can you MXit from someone else's phone?

K: You can yes, there are different versions of MXit. Like um, 9.7 is a new one. If you have that, you can add another account. So for example, if you're on MXit you can add your account and you can MXit on my phone.

F: So whose phone are you using now?

K: Nobody's phone, I'm trying to stay away from it now.

²⁵ A South African soap opera.

F: Why?

K: 'Cause it is actually like addictive, and so *ja*. And my *ma* and them *skel* and so *ja*.

F: Oh, is it taking a lot of your time?

K: Yes.

F: And how many friends do you MXit to?

K: (*laughs*) A lot!

F: A lot!

K: Yes. And do you all MXit at the same time sometimes?

K: Yes?

F: And do you all use the same language?

K: Yes, they understand, everybody understands what that person says.

F: *Ja*.

K: And there's a Multimix, where you can put everybody on one...it's one contact but everybody chats in there. So you can see, whoever chats there in, you can see, everybody can see what you chat.

F: Oh, OK.

K: Yes, using the Multimix like.

F: And do you also MXit at school?

K: No, we are not allowed to, so we can't, you are not allowed to bring your phone actually. You have to bring a letter when you have it, like your mommy is going to phone you, then your mommy must write a letter.

F: But do people still MXit at school?

K: Yes, they do.

F: In class?

K: Yes.

F: And what happens if the teacher catches you.

K: They take your phone away and you can get it at the end of the year, or your mommy must come fetch it, but most children fetch it at the end of the year, because they don't want their mommy to know about it.

F: OK. Do you think all the schools are so strict?

K: *Ja*, but the children doesn't... *hulle gee nie daai draad nie*.

F: (*laughs*) *Hulle luister nie?*

K: No.

F: *Wil jy liever Afrikaans praat?*

K: No, I won't understand you, I only understand like, when I speak the way I speak then I will understand you (*giggles*).

F: *Praat ek 'n ander Afrikaans vir jou?* K: *Ja*.

F: *Verstaan jy my beter as ek Engels of Afrikaans praat?* K: English.

F: English.

F: And when I speak Afrikaans? How do I sound? You can be honest!

K: It's for me it sounds silly, because umm, we are like '*kombuis*', that *ja*.

F: And when the rest of the family speaks to me, do you think they speak the normal way the way they always speak?

K: Yes.

F: They don't speak different because I'm there?

K: They do speak different when you're there, yes.

F: Who speaks different to me?

K: My *pa* and my *ma*.

F: Now when they speak *kombuis*, how is it different?

K: It's like... it's almost like you're talking like in the outside world... it's like you, you know more in Afrikaans, like that, now we don't know like...we just learn like from each other, we make our own words up.

F: Are you ashamed of that language?

K: Yes, I actually am.

F: Why are you ashamed of it?

K: Because some words that are rude and like that.

F: And what do you speak at school with your friends?

K: Like a rude language, because they make you used to it, I never used to speak Afrikaans even, but my friends and then like that.

F: They speak Afrikaans?

F: More like a *kombuis* way?

K: *Kombuis* and that's like from Mannenberg and Bonteheuwel.

F: And when you MXit, is it more like when you speak to each other?

K: Yes, like the exact way, you're not going to spell it fully out, like you are going to say it like you are talking. Like you will say *vir*, like it's *mos v, i, r* but we will just say *v, i*. 'Cause we don't say, hear the 'r' like. We just have that.

F: And do you still send SMSs?

K: No, because MXit is cheaper.

F: Did you use to send SMSs?

K: Yes.

F: So how long have you been on MXit?

K: Umm, last year. This black phone is not actually mine. It is that boy's that was there with Bradley, he lives down the road, he's spoilt and so on. So I asked him will he give me this phone and he, his daddy, he is first going to ask his daddy, but I can use it. But you can actually say it's mine, because I have had it for a long time.

F: Oh OK. So you started to use MXit about a year ago?

K Yes, but that time I never use to know about the phone actually. Because my mommy... because that time when the phones came in you know, my mommy had a Nokia 3310 and that. So that was actually *kwaai* for us (*laughs*).

F: So what do you think about my phone?

K: (*laughs*) It's actually a joke for us.

F: (*laughs*) I understand.

F: How do you feel now that you don't have a phone?

K: Now I feel bored, because I have nothing to do, I actually do that because I have nothing to do like, *ja*, and for me it keeps me away from the people outside, like, so you're just going to catch on nonsense, like people's on drugs and that, it keeps me away from them.

F: Where do most of your friends live?

K: I don't actually have friends in the Village, like just one or two who will come sit by me, but I don't go further than my house.

F: And how do you get to school?

K: By train.

F: And do you walk to the train?

K: To the train station, yes.

F: And do you have a friend that goes with you?

K: Only one yes, who is in the same grade as me, I was with her from Grade R. And now we are in the same high school also.

F: OK. You know I have some more questions here (*looks at notes*). Umm, tell me do you like to write?

K: No, I don't like to write.

F: But you like to write on MXit?

K: Yes.

F: Is it different say, if you write for school, than when you write on MXit?

K: For me it is actually, not difficult but, when I am not *lus* to write, it's just, I *sommer* write MXit language, because it's shorter. And, because when it comes to tests when you have to write the right stuff, then it's fine.

F: But is it difficult then for you?

K: Sometimes yes, then I have to think is this now right or wrong, because then you lose marks. Especially in Language, in English and Afrikaans.

F: And tell me, do you still write notes to friends?

K: No, I used to, last year, like at school I had a pen pal from America, we used to write letters to each other and that.

F: And now?

K: Now not anymore, for me it's not. I'm not interested anymore in that, cause MXit is there...

F: *Ja*, do you think they have MXit in America?

K: Yes, they do.

F: And do you like write to your friends in school, like in class?

K: No.

F: Did you used to when you were younger?

K: Sometimes yes, but not all the time.

F: Do you still have some of those notes?

K: No.

F: And tell me, MXit, does it stay on your phone, or disappear?

K: It stays on your phone, it is like a game. It's by Java World. It's like games you download, you know like umm, how can I say, like internet.

F: Umm, but if I want to, if I want to go back and see what I wrote yesterday, is it still there?

K: No... unless you save it.

F: Can you save it?

K: No, I must have a, a phone, like a, the latest phones, that can do.

F: Oh OK, but you can't save it on your phone?

K: No.

F: OK, let's go back a bit. Did your mommy read to you when you were little?

K: I can't remember.

F: You can't remember. Yes, I saw her reading to Taryn.

K: My mommy loves reading. She sits on the toilet also (*laughs*).

F: (*laughs*) She loves reading. And tell me, is there a library at your school?

K: They do have, but they don't open it for us, I don't know why what the real reason is about it, but there is a library, a school library.

F: And if you do a school project, where do you get your information from?

K: I go into Athlone, there's a big library there, where you can copy and that.

F: And how often do you go to Athlone?

K: Only once in a while.

F: And do you ever use the internet?

K: No.

F: Do you have computers at your school?

K: Yes they do, but it's not open for us, I don't know why.

F: Do you ever go on Facebook?

K: No.

F: Do you have an email address?

K: No.

F: OK, let's see, do you attend the church?

K: Yes, every Sunday.

F: Do you have a Bible?

K: Yes, I do have a Bible.

F: Do you read your Bible sometimes?

K: No, no (*laughs*).

F: Not really (*laughs*). OK, but what language is your Bible in?

K: English.

F: And you do not buy any other books?

K: No, but sometimes I will get a book, like a present.

F: Who will buy you a book?

K: This lady next door, Auntie Josephine's daughter, she works in a library thingy...

F: Oh, I know she works in that book shop.

K: Yes that book store. And that word search thing, I like to do that.

F: What's word search?

K: That puzzles.

F: Oh, like puzzles.

K: Yes.

F: OK, and do you work in the *hokkie*, in the shop?

K: Yes, I do.

F: Every day?

K: Every day yes, but then if my *pa* goes and he comes back, then I can go like.

F: And then, do you have to write the things down that you sell.

K: Yes, I have to.

F: How do you do it?

K: If someone comes by and they need a coke, or bread or milk or so, then I have to write that down and the prices. So then the end of the day my *pa* just add up the prices, and see if it is the same in the box, the money box. And the stock he counts it, I don't know how he does it there.

F: And do you write any other lists? Like what you have to do, or what you have to remember?

K: No.

F: OK, tell me about what music you like?

K: Hip hop music.

F: Which artists?

K: Beyonce, Zahara, J Zee, Fifty Cents, Young Money. OK, not all of Fifty Cents, just some songs. Because he's mostly rude things and that.

F: And where do you get your music from?

K: Umm, some people will download music, then you can bluetooth it like to my phone, pass it on.

F: Do you have a hi-fi at home?

K: What's that?

F: Like a music centre.

K: Yes, a DVD plays them.

F: Oh, OK. And Kay, where do you do your homework? In the room?

K: I never do homework.

F: You don't do homework?

K: No.

F: What happens if you don't do your homework?

K: We get free periods at school, I do some of it then.

F: Do you get in trouble about it?

K: For me it feels like not real, because if it was like a few children, then they would worry about it and things like that, but the teacher is not going to worry, because you are not the only person there. So, so that's going to be your own problem.

F: And tell me, what are your dreams, what do you want to do after school?

K: I want to be a nurse.

F: Why do you want to be a nurse?

K: I don't know, my mommy says I'm mad actually, cause she can't even take the blood, and things like that and work in people's tummies, but I said no, I just feel like doing it. I want to first see how it goes.

F: Would you like to care for people? You don't mind the blood and things like that?

K: No.

F: Do you have to study to be a nurse first?

K: I think so yes.

F: And what are you going to do this holiday?

K: I'm not sure.

F: You're not sure. Oh, OK. Well, I think that is enough for now. Thanks for chatting, and I know much more about MXit now.

K: OK, thanks.

G. 7 **Interviewee: Kay Davids** **Date: January 2011**

(The interview was conducted in the Davids's backyard).

F: OK, I'm chatting with Kay again and she's back home. Where were you the holidays?

K: I was in Mannenberg with my daddy's family.

F: Oh, OK. And who went, you...?

K: Just me alone.

F: And how did you get there?

K: I travelled by train.

F: When did you go?

K: Before Christmas.

F: And when did you come back.
K: Saturday.
F: OK, and tell me did you miss your family here.
K: Yes, I do.
F: And what did you do in Mannenberg.
K: I just spent some time with my family there. My daddy took us out.
F: Where did you go?
K: To the beach and so on.
F: Which beach did you go to?
K: Sea Point and umm, Milnerton.
F: Oh, *lekker*. And does he have a car?
K: Yes, he does.
F: That's nice. And does he have children. Do you have stepbrothers?
K: Yes, one, one sister.
F: And did you take your phone with you.
K: No, I didn't. My phone is gone.
F: The old one? The one your friend gave to you?
K: I think they stole it.
F: Where? Here?
K: Yeah.
F: *Aggenee man*.
K: Really.
F: So you didn't have any phone.
K: No. But I used my daddy's phone.
F: What did you use his phone for?
K: MXit.
F: MXit. Who did you MXit with?
K: With my friends.
F: Who are here?
K: Everywhere.
F: And could you MXit as much as you want to?
K: Yeah, as much as I want to.
F: You could use his phone.
K: Yes.
F: That's nice. And now are you without a phone.
K: But I am trying to stay without a phone, because I want to concentrate going back to school.
F: So you are trying to stay without a phone. So you haven't had a phone since you have been back here?
K: No.
F: Have you MXited since you have been back?
K: No...but I'm actually cross about it.
F: What are you cross about?
K: Not MXiting anymore and the phone that's not evens mine.
F: Mmm, how does it make you feel?
K: Makes me feel sad, but I won't show it out like, I will keep it to myself.
F: Why do you feel sad about it?

K: Because of... Uh, about the phone now? Oh, it wasn't mine, it was a friend of mine's. But the people they know that it's not my phone, but then they still take the phone. Without letting me know even.

F: Do you know who it is?

K: No.

F: But how do you feel now that you don't MXit, how does it feel?

K: I'm trying, I try to feel normal. Because when I was in Mixit, I was just quiet, if my *ma* is looking for me, then she knows I'm MXiting, like I am I was never outside when I was MXiting.

F: Mmm, and now?

K: I'm still the same like I used to be, because I don't actually have friends, like just one or two, but I'm not normally with them.

F: So actually you haven't MXited for two days?

K: Yes, but for me it's a lot.

F: Yes, it's a long time. So how do you feel, does it affect your contact with your friends.

K: Yes, it does.

F: In which way? How does it feel?

K: For me, it's like when I am on Mixit I am near to them, I know what they are doing there, and they know what I'm doing, now I don't know.

F: Do they know that you are back here?

K: Yes, they do.

F: So are you going to try and get a new phone.

K: No, I don't want a new phone.

F: Why not?

K: It's just going to happen again.

F: You said the last time it's like an addiction?

K: Yes, it's like I'm craving for MXit like, *ja...*

F: So what are you doing now?

K: Yesterday I went with Nola to her home, and I only came back now.

F: Oh, that's nice. And did you go to the beach on Monday?

K: Yes I did, it was nice.

F: So when is school starting?

K: Monday, the seventeenth.

F: OK. Are you excited?

K: Yes.

F: Why?

K: I'm not really excited...it makes me sad when I think about school.

F: Why?

(Kay starts crying silently,)

F: You can tell me... Are you scared to go to school? It's OK. Let me switch this off.

(I end the recording)

G.8 Interviewee: Kay Davids **Date: September 2011**

(The interview was conducted in the 'front room' of the Davids' home. Kay's mother, and her mother's boyfriend, Sam, and their baby Damion (4 months old) are in another room, but cannot hear what we are saying).

F: What I wanted to ask is, what age do the kids get like an 'affiliation to a gangs, you said it's like a fan.

K: Yes, it actually starts when you are young, when you are very young like two years old like, for example like the Daddy's and so say 'hos' and stuff like that.

F: What does *hos* mean?

K: It like gets your attention like, 'Look here'

F: Oh, is it like gang talk?

K: Mmm, *ja*.

F: Like *hos ja!*, OK, then how does, is the kids the same as the daddy's then?

K: Umm, *ja*.

F: OK, so and your daddy?

K: No, my daddy's not a gangster (*laughs*).

F: OK, but when did you choose to be a Stupa.

K: No, I'm not a Stupa really.

F: No, I know you are not really, but but you use the name?

K: Mmm, *ja*.

F: OK, but why will you use the name Stupa and...

K: Because I just like them, 'cause like my friends...

F: OK, explain to me again how the gangs work, you get the Americans...

K: And the British.

F: So which are the British gangs...?

K: Like there's... there's a lot, there's a lot of them, gangs like Stupa, and Junky Funky Kids, en Fancy Boys, and, many more...

F: Hard Livings?

K: H-L's *ja*.

F: H-L's and Fancy Boys...

K: Bad Boys.

F: So if a girl writes, say it as her MXit name, British Babe, so then?

K: You can't say what, who she belong to *ja*.

F: But you know that's not an American.

K: No.

F: OK, and more people are they more of the British gangs? Or the Americans?

K: More British gangs.

F: Is that cooler?

K: *Ja*.

F: What's the difference between the two?

K: I don't really know.

F: OK, I mean like the image.

K: It's like the British flag and the American flag.

F: And what type of people is with the Americans?

(Kay laughs and does not respond, because Sam walks in holding baby Damion and gives him back to Kay. We wait for him to leave and then continue.)

F: So like at your school is it more...

K: No, there's hardly any gangsters there.

F: There's hardly?

K: Gangsters there by us, there's no gangsters there by us.

F: OK, but you say you are Stupa, the kids in your school, are more what?

K: NTK, Nice Time Kids...

F: NTK, it that a younger gang or...?

K: No, it is an old gang already. It's like in their community like and their families and so on, and they also stand up for their family

F: OK, and the 28's, is that different?

K: *(laughs hard)* Oeg, ha ha ha *(her mom's boyfriend, Sam, enters the room).*

S: *Wat lag jy so?*

F: *Sy lag vir aunty Frieda.*

S: *(asks something inaudible)*

K: *Ja (he leaves).*

K: The twenty-eights are *(laughs)*, you get a lot of 28's in jail.

F: That's the prison gangs.

K: Yes, they spit from the back *(laughs)*.

F: *(laughs)* *Nee, sif man.*

K: *(laughs)* Yes, they say if you see 'mum' *(gestures across her arm)* M, U, M and D, A, D *(gestures on the other arm)* it stands for, what now again? Men use men, day after day *(laughs)*. Men use men day after day *(giggles)*.

F: *(laughs)* So you won't be a fan of them?

K: No.

F: And the guys, not with them?

K: No, not really, but mostly when they come out of jail, yes *(laughs hard at her own joke)*.

F: And the 27's?

K: Umm, they are killers I think *(laughs)*, and the 26 is *skelms*.

F: OK, and then who...so you chose Stupas because your friends are...

K: *Ja*, but not really just for the fun of *dingeses*... but I won't still, maybe when you come here, I won't still say yes I'm a Stupa.

F: *Ja, ja.*

K: I won't do that.

F: And if someone asks you who're you with?

K: No, I won't because then you're actually, umm how can I say... you're making an enemy like so.

F: So at your age, it is not a big thing?

K: It is, 'cause you get gangsters my age also.

F: So do you rather not say anything, why do you then...

K: Because then they say, *Ok, ooh djy's ook 'n gangster*, and then the, the whole gang will come to you gang up on you and maybe run you on or something.

F: But does it work different on MXit, if you put it on MXit, is it like a statement you make you think?

K: Yes.

F: But is it then taken seriously or not?

K: No, not really, but you're making aware of yourself like, you're telling the people, *ja*...

F: So in a way it is a little bit...

K: *Ja*.

F: I want to ask you something else. You know I can have my opinion about things, but I just want to ask what you think about it. I have seen, not you, but for example you know I chat to other people you know, I see that they write a lot of sexual things.

K: Mhh.

F: But it seems to be a lot of talk, but they don't do those things in real life. Am I right that it's like that?

K: It is yes.

F: So is it more the boys, or the girls.

K: The boys.

F: And why do you think they do that?

K: I don't know actually, maybe it is a *lekker* feeling for them or something, but for me mostly is it because, then it's like... how can I say man, is, that's why I am more on MXit, because it keeps you busy and, and yes, that's only if I have like *lus* to chat like after exams now, then we're probably gonna be into MXit, because I *mos mis* MXit

F: Umm, and do you think you can tell people stuff on MXit that you can't tell them face to face or?

K: Yes, obviously *ja* (*laughs*)

F: Like what?

K: Like how can I say, like give a ... how can I say man...

F: Just the way you think about it?

K: Maybe things that I can't say, sometimes it is like friends of them or maybe boyfriends, then I can't talk to them like, it's on MXit, but when I come to them, I'm like speechless like...

F: *Is jy dan skaam?*

K: Yeah (*laughs*),

F: Shy then?

K: *Jaaaaa!*

(Sam comes in and sits down next to Damion and I pause the recording. After five minutes Sam leaves and we resume the conversation. We take turns to hold Damion. We have taken a photograph of Damion on my phone. Kay wants to post the photograph on her MXit profile. She sends it to her profile from my MXit account. She then starts chatting with her friend, Tammy, on MXit, using my MXit profile. I ask her to explain to me what she is doing.)

F: Kay, please explain that to me, my darling, what are you telling Tammy?

K: I'm telling her not to go on my MXit.

F: Why?

K: If she goes on, she must save the picture to my 'Gallery'.

F: Ah, OK, so why does she go on your MXit sometimes?

K: For contacts, my contacts is better than hers.

F: Does she chat from your MXit?
K: Yes, to my contacts.
F: Who does she chat as?
K: As her?
F: As Tammy? How do they know it is her and not you?
K: She will make it her status, 'Tammy chatting'.
F: So it will come up as 'Kay' to me?
K: But it's her chatting.
F: And I'll know it's not you, because...?
K: She will say it's her chatting
(*Damion starts complaining.*)
K: (*calls to her mother*) Mommy!

(*Sam enters the room, the conversation is interrupted as we tend to the baby and Sam takes him to Misha.*)

F: But does she sometimes chat as you? Or you chat as her?
K: I chat for her yes, she can't chat for me. I don't need her help!
F: Why does she need your help?
K: Sometimes she's speechless, but say *maar*, maybe they put her into a corner, like, and she can't get out, then I'll help her out, yes.
F: And you help her out writing to her boyfriend?
K: Yes.
F: Does he know it's you?
K: No.
F: Why not?
K: No, that I just keep to myself.
F: So he can't see it in the way you write?
K: No.
F: Can you write the way Tammy writes?
K: Yes, I can.
F: Is it similar or different?
K: Different.
F: Which way is it different?
K: Sometimes she writes full out.
F: Oh, OK, and you?
K: Short, very short.
F: OK, and the caps and stuff?
K: It's not always that she writes with capital letters, she just write it straight.
F: Have you been longer on MXit than her?
K: Her battery only have three bars, mine is four and it stays on longer, her battery goes quick flat, and I like, I am on MXit like, most of the day, throughout the night...
F: All right... and I have heard that a girlfriend will go onto her boyfriend's MXit, then you'll see if it's another girl...
K: *Ja*, if he have another girlfriend, *ja* his flirting with this and that one.
F: Have you done that?

K: Yes!

F: And then what happened?

K: I've changed the pins already.

F: What did you do?

K: I went on this boy's MXit.

F: Was he your boyfriend?

K: No, he wasn't my boyfriend and then I chat there on and everything and then...

F: Do you pretend that you are him?

K: No, but they ask who am I and so on, then I *sommer* say his girlfriend, then they say, no, I am *mos* his girlfriend. And then I catch them out like, and then *ja*, then I change the pin. And then say it's not me, I didn't change it (*laughs*).

F: (*laughs*) I didn't understand quite now, so you go on a guy's MXit.

K: Yes.

F: But you are chatting as Kay?

K: Yes.

F: And then?

K: Then they ask me, who am I.

F: OK.

K: I tell them who am I, and I tell them it's his girlfriend

F: Ahhh.

K: And they'll ask me, now, how do it comes that I'm his girlfriend? Then, if that person is his girlfriend...

F: OK, then the other girls are angry?

K: Yes (*we laugh*).

F: So MXit causes trouble sometimes?

K: And the Multimixes also.

F: Why?

K: 'Cause um, maybe now if you say to me, I heard, I don't like that child and stuff I give her a smack and that... let's put her on the Multimix and we can 'rol' her. You know what's *rol nê*? (*giggles*).

F: 'n Wat?

K *Rol* (*laughs*)

F: *Ril*?

K: *Rol!*

F: *O, jy rol haar?*

K: *Ja* like, like, I take her on now, *skel* her out and that. Then I put you in a Multimix with her and a lot of other friends, and then it's almost like you're insulting her.

F: Voor almal?

K: Yes, on MXit.

F: *Dissie cool nie, en dan, wat gebeur dan?*

K: Everybody just laughs, and they say, *yoh jy gee krag daai, jy gee krag weg*.

F: *Wat?*

K: *Krag weg*.

F: *O, wat beteken dit?*

K: Like...

F: *Jy kan maar Afrikaans praat.*

K: No man like, how can I say... like you say umm, like you're scared of her, like you don't say anything back. Then they say you give 'krag' weg, *Krag is te duur om weg te gee (laughs)... sy kry nie meer tien rand krag nie (laughs).*

F: *Is dit as iemand bang is?*

K: Yes, and they saying nothing to you.

F: Oh. OK, Kayley Cracks, thanks for chatting to me again. You must learn hard for your exams now, then you can MXit again.

K: I deleted my MXit.

F: Oh, is that why you are not on?

K: No, it is just like when I take the phone that I don't MXit. I just use it for the alarm in the morning and then I give the phone back.

F: OK, thank you.

K: Pleasure.

G.9 **Interviewee: Kay Davids** **Date: October 2011**

(The interview was conducted in my car, after I had given Kay a lift back from a shop.)

F: OK thanks, I want to ask a few more things about MXit.

K: OK.

F: So do you have to write in a certain way on MXit?

K: It doesn't matter how you write... it's like, it's just when you are bored, then now you'll write in a style also.

F: OK, and do you write in a different style than Tammy?

K: Yes, I do.

F: And how is different, your style and her style?

K: I can't explain it like that. It's because it's the letters are big and small like that.

F: Do you do it different from her?

K: *Ja.*

F: So how does she do it?

K: *(laughs)* I don't know.

F: OK, but when you write for her, do you do it differently?

K: Yes I do, but only sometimes, when she, like say, but umm, you don't say it's you chatting, I say it's her, then I now chat like she chats.

F: And how does she chat differently?

K: I can't explain it.

F: Is it the spelling?

K: No, it's not the spelling, the way it's written like, big letters and so on.

F: OK, do you think people will know that it is you, if you don't write like her?

K: No, they won't know it's me, because I know how, I'm too clever for them.

F: And why do you write for her?

K: Because sometimes she umm, she asks me to, because then she doesn't have anything to say, sometimes, somebody gets in a trap then, I'll help her out like that.

F: Like with the conversation?

K: *Ja*, and when she has to do things, like when she has to go wash up, or umm, maybe go to the shop or when she wants to talk, then I'll chat for her.

F: OK, and can you see if it is someone else is writing, when it is not that person chatting themselves?

K: Yes, I can see, umm, like if that person now say maybe, 'Hi Baby' or so, then I'll, I'll like *sommer* catch on that it is not that person, because I'll try them out, him or her... umm, like just to say something, and then they don't know what I'm saying, yesterday and so. Like, I say can you remember what we did yesterday? Then they can't answer me.

F: So people often write for each other?

K: Yes.

F: And why do you think it's that?

K: You have to keep MXit alive.

F: And what do you think is the most important thing about MXit... the purpose?

K: The purpose is actually, like umm, for umm, how can I say, for important stuff man like, like I said umm like, I was going to find out what we are going to write tomorrow, then I don't need to walk to friend or something, they'll get on MXit also, and it's cheaper.

F: So you ask about school work?

K: *Ja*.

F: OK, and do you think there is a right way and a wrong way to write on MXit, like the spelling?

K: Yes, there is a... because sometimes the next person, umm, won't make out what you are saying. You have to know how to write.

F: And I remember you wrote 'kwlabags' for me. I liked that very much.

K: Yes, I made it up. Tammy is 'kwljazz'.

F: Oh, so Tammy says 'kwljazz'.

K: Mmm.

F: And are there fashionable things to say?

K: Yes, like, when you say how you, you say now: fantastic, fantastic.

F: And are there sometimes a new way to write things?

K: No. Like how do you mean?

F: Umm, is there sometimes a new word and everyone starts spelling it that way?

K: Umm, how must I say, must I spell it for you?

F: Yes, you can spell it for me.

K: OK there is, like cool. It was first 'c' double 'o' and 'l'. But it's now, 'k', 'w', 'l'.

F: So it changed?

K: And school, was double 'o', but now 's', 'k' 'u', 'l', skul.

F: So when you started MXit, did you write it full?

K: Yes, full out. But now MXit language is in.

F: OK, kwlabagz, man. And can you see when someone is new on MXit?

K: Yes, when they write full out, when they don't understand what I say, like 'what can you tell me', 'w', 'c', 't', 'm'. They will ask, 'what'? But sometimes I get bored, then just ignore them, but I won't ignore you (*laughs*).

F: (*laughs*) Thanks. So you can see when people are new on MXit?

K: *Ja*.

F: Then how do they learn how to...

K: That's when I tell them how... we have to go to my Pa now.

F: Oh, OK, thanks.

K: Kwlabags.

G.10 Interviewee: Anita Jackson Date: December 2010.

(The interview was conducted in Anita's bedroom.)

F: So wat is die datum vandag?

A: Is dit nie die vyfde nie?

F: OK, dis die vyfde Desember en ek is hier saam met Anita in haar kamer.

A: Nee, dis nie die vyfde nie.

F O, die vierde?

A: Nee, more is die vierde, dis die derde vandag.

F: O, eers die...derde. Sê my gou wat is jou volle naam?

A: Anita Carol Jackson.

F: Anita Carol Jackson, en ons praat hier by jou huis, en ek wil jou net vra, jy gee my toestemming om die onderhoud met jou te doen? En ek sal nie jou regte naam gebruik nie, jy verstaan dit?

A: Ja.

F: Dankie dat jy my gehelp het my *survey*, het jy dit geniet?

A: Ja.

F: Wat daarvan het jy geniet?

A: Om so rond te hardloop en die mense te vra, want ek was al moeg al, want dit maak jou net moeg om so rond te hardloop, ja.

F: Maar baie dankie dat jy my gehelp het. Ek wil jou nog bietjie vra, waar was jy op skool?

A: Eh, laerskool?

F: Ja.

A: Ek was by Koeberg Primary in die Maitland.

F: Maar hoe het jy by die skool gekom?

A: My oupa het my geneem in die oggende en kom haal in die middag.

F: Nou hoekom het jy nie GardenVillge skool toe gegaan nie?

A: Eh, eh, my ma het my daartoe gestuur, my ma wou gehet het ek moet daarnatoe gaan.

F: Was dit 'n Engelse of Afrikaanse skool?

A: Dit is 'n Engelse skool.

F: Maar was hy toe ook net in Engels?

A: Nee, in Afrikaans ook.

F: OK, en sê vir my op laerskool het jy geleer skryf in Engels en in Afrikaans?

A: Ja, maar meestal in Engels.

F: Meestal in Engels, maar het julle in Afrikaans ook leer skryf?

A: Ja.

F: En jy hou ook van lees, nê?

A: Ja, nou en dan.

F: En watter biblioteek toe gaan jy?

A: In Pinelands in.

F: OK, en hierdie ene, die busbiblioteek?

A: Eh nee, ek gaan nie meer daar nie, ek het eerste daarnatoe gegaan.
 F: Hoekom gaan jy nou net Pinelands toe?
 A: Want umm, daar umm, soos as jy nou wil navorsing doen en goete dan gaan jy daar, daar kry jy al die goete, by die bus *library* kry jy nie maklik die goete, die boeke wat jy wil hê nie.
 F: Mm, so daar's meer, en hoe kom jy daar uit?
 A: Oupa vat my.
 F: Oupa vat jou...
 A: Ja, na die skool.
 F: So julle gaan in die week?
 A: Ja.
 F: En umm, watse boeke neem jy uit, behalwe die navorsingboeke?
 A: Soos *love stories* en daai van van tieners en daai soorte boeke.
 F: En lees jy meer Afrikaans of Engels?
 A: Engels.
 F: En het jy van die boeke hierso?
 A: Nee.
 F: Het jy ander boeke hierso wat jy lees?
 A: Nee.
 F: Wat is daai boeke daai alles?
 A: Daai is ander boeke, *dictionaries* en daai soorte boeke. Nou lees ek die *You magazines*.
 F: Koop jy dit of kry jy dit?
 A: Ek kry dit by mense. My ouma kry dit en dan lees ek die stories daarin.
 F: Wat lees jy die graagste in die *You magazine*?
 A: Die...soos wat gebeur het met die mense, hoe hulle doodgegaan het en ongelukke en all daai goete, sulke stories lees ek.
 F: Wys my bietjie wat is alles daar.
 A: (*Laughs*)
 F: Wys my...
 A: O, dis baie deurmekaar.
 F: Maak nie saak nie.
 A: Ok hier's klomp *magazines*.
 F: Ja, alles hier op die boekrak.
 A: Hier's nou *magazines* en hier's *files* met goete van, soos *photos* en prente wat ek uitgeknipt het uit die *You magazine* van rokke en daai goete.
 F: Ja.
 A: En dan's hier mos nou die fotoalbum van wat ek klein gewees het hierso, en hier's ook ene, en hier's nou 'n boek van wat jy inneem van die Bybel en sulke goete.
 F: Moet jy, het jy Sondagskool gehad, gaan jy nog?
 A: Uh, uh.
 F: Is jy aangeneem al?
 A: Ja, en die's nou die boek wat ek gekry het toe ek klein gewees het oor die Here en daai goete... en die...
 F: Die!
 A: Dis nou klaar nou wat ek klaar gelees het, en daai's nou 'n *dictionary* en hier's die boekie...
 F: Hierdie is nou 'n oulike boekie, nê? Dis 'n *Doctor Seuss* boek?
 A: Ja.

F: En sê vir my, skryf jy 'n *diary*?

A: *No*, nie nou nie, ek het eerste, daai tyd.

F: Toe jy kleiner was? Wat het jy geskryf?

A: Van (*laughs*), ek kan nou nie sê nie!

F: OK, en sê nou vir my, al hierdie *posters* is *nice*, wie is jou *favourite film stars*?

A: Soos J Lo, Beyonce, sulke soort mense hou ek van.

F: En wat is hierdie *fingerprint certificate*?

A: Hier't ons gegaan na die *military base* hier in Ysterplaat in met die skool.

F: En wat het jy daar gemaak?

A: Hulle het ons soos *different* goete geleer van wat hulle doen terwyl hulle weg is... en umm, soos hoe hulle die mense se lewens *save*, en daai goete.

F: En wie's Jordan?

A: Dis my *boyfriend* (*laughs*).

F: Is dit jou *boyfriend*?

A: Ja.

F: (*points to handmade posters*) En wie't daai gemaak?

A: Ekke.

F: Het jy dit gemaak?

A: Ja.

F: (*points to photograph*) En daai is jy?

A: Ja.

F: En hoe lank gaan julle al uit?

A: Drie jaar al.

F: Is hy, is dit sy van?

A: Ja.

F: Dis baie oulik.

F: So julle gaan al drie jaar uit? En wat doen hy?

A: Hy't uh, hy doen niks op die oomblik nie, maar sy ma het gesê hy moet gaan werk ander jaar. Hy gaan nie skool nie, hy werk ook nie.

F: En wie't hierdie '*British Babe*' geskryf?

A: Ekke.

F: En wat beteken dit?

A: Nee ek het dit net opgemaak, want ek is *boring*, somer net.

F: O en '*Summer Love*', en daai is '*Sexy*'. Baie mooi gemaak.

F: In watter graad is jy nou?

A: Graad 10.

F: En hoe oud is jy nou?

A: Sestien.

F: En wat wil jy doen as jy klaar is met skool?

A: Ek wil in 'n bank gaan werk.

F: Hoekom in 'n bank?

A: Ek wil eintlik klomp geld maak eendag.

F: En as jy eendag geld het, wat gaan jy doen?

A: Ek gaan mos 'n familie het, en 'n groot huis en 'n kar, goed wat ek wil hê.

F: En wat dink jy moet mens kan doen as jy in 'n bank wil werk? Moet jy gaan studeer?

A: Ja, jy moet *accounting* gaan studeer.

F: En waar kan jy dit doen?
A: Ek dink op UWC en UCT.
F: En watse vakke moet jy doen?
A: Ek dink dis *accounting*... *accounting*, en daai doen ek mos nou.
F: So wat doen jy nog?
A: *Busine,s* en dis mos nou wiskunde, *accounting* en ons het L.O.
F: Wat's L.O.?
A: Van jou liggaam en daai goed en *exercizing*.
F: En watter skool is jy nou?
A: In St. Andrews in die Elsie'sriver in.
F: O ja, jy gaan saam met jou antie, wat gee sy daar?
A: Sy gee soos *Business* vir die Graad Tiene.
F: Wat is jou geliefkoosde vakke?
A: Wiskunde en *CAP* dis eintlik die enigste waarvan ek hou...en L.O.
F: Is die skool in Engels of Afrikaans?
A: Daai's 'n Afrikaanse skool, soos daar is net twee Engelse klasse in elke graad.
F: Hoeveel klasse is in Afrikaans?
A: Daar is, so ek sal sê, sewe klasse in Afrikaans en twee is Engels. In Graad 11 en 12 is daar net een Engelse klas. In Graad 8 tot 10 is daar twee Engelse klasse.
F: In watter klas is jy?
A: In 10E, ek is in die Engelse klas.
F: Hoekom is jy in die Engelse klas?
A: Want ek kan nie so lekker Afrikaans lees nie...
F: Sukkel jy? Hoekom is dit swaar?
A: Want ek verstaan nie altyd die woorde wat daar staan nie (*laughs*), ek verstaan nie, dan sukkel ek.
F: En het jy gelees toe jy klein was?
A: Ja.
F: Watse boeke?
A: Sulke *baby* boeke, kannie onthou nie.
F: OK. En jy het mos 'n selfoon?
A: Mmm, ja.
F: En waarvoor gebruik jy jou selfoon die meeste?
A: MXit en Facebook.
F: So jy kan op die internet gaan?
A: Ja.
F: En as jy MXit, watse taal MXit jy?
A: Afr...in Engels in, en nou en dan in Afrikaans.
F: So in MXit skryf jy meestal in Engels?
A: Ja.
F: En gebruik jy *predictive text*?
A: Nee.
F: En is dit 'n ander tipe taal as wat jy gewoonlik skryf?
A: Ja, dis baie anders.
F: Sal jy my nog wys?
A: (*laughs*)

F: En op Facebook?

A: Facebook is dieselfde, amper soos MXit.

F: Hoeveel keer op 'n dag gaan jy op Facebook?

A: Sê maar so drie keer 'n dag

F: En op MXit?

A: Mmm, so een keer of twee keer 'n dag, somtyds in die week net een keer in die week en partymaal gaan ek die heel week nie op nie.

F: En moet jy betaal vir die MXit?

A: Ja, maar hulle vat soos twee sentjie of 'n sentjie af.

F: So dis nie so duur nie.

A: Hah a dis nie duur nie.

F: En skryf jou *boyfriend* vir jou?

A: Ons gaan op MXit, maar net in die oggende.

F: Voor skool?

A: Ja, maar hy gaan mos nie skool toe nie.

F: Werk hy in die winkel?

A: Hy staan in sy ma se winkel, ja.

F: OK. En wat hou jy van Facebook?

A: Umm, jy kan jou vriende *add* wat jy lanklaas gesien het, jy kan soos *pictures* sien van hulle, en sulke goete, en *like statuses*.

F: En wat skryf jy op jou *status*?

A: Ek skryf nooit 'n *status* nie, want ek het nooit ene nie (*laughs*).

F: Kan jy nie aan iets dink nie (*laughs*)? OK, kan ek jou Facebook vriend word?

A: Uh huh.

F: Wat is jou Facebook naam?

A: Anita Jackson.

F: Goed, ek sal jou kry! (*We both laugh.*)

F: Goed, en gaan jy op die internet vir iets anders of net vir Facebook?

A: Soos, ek gaan op die internet vir *songs*, en vir *movies* en vir *music videos*.

F: En vir watse *website* gaan jy daarvoor?

A: Daai is *Waptrick*.

F: *Waptrick*. Jy sal my moet wys wat dit is, OK?

A: (*laughs*) Ja.

F: En het jy net Facebook of *email* jy ook?

A: Nee, ek *email* nie.

F: En gaan jy op ander *chatrooms*, soos , *Outoilet* toe?

A: Huh uh (*negation*).

F: Het jy altyd daarop gegaan?

A: Ja.

F: En nou?

A: Nou gaan ons nie meer daarop nie.

F: En op 'n *computer*, jy het gesê julle het *computers* by die skool. wat doen julle daarop? Ons doen werk goete, ons doen *Excel* en so, en *calculations*, dit is soos wiskunde goete. En somtyds gee die meneer vir ons *activities* om te doen soos *like*, soos op *word process*, hy *explain* eers vir ons die *activity* en dan moet ons dit doen, en dan kom daai in die eksamen.

F: So op *Excel*, kan jy *graphs* maak?

A: Ja.
 F: O, jy kan my leer!
 A: Ja (*laughs*).
 F: So watse programme, *Excel*?
 A: *Word processor, Excel* en *Powerpoint* en al daai goete.
 F: Dis baie goed, is dit vir jou lekker om dit te leer?
 A: Ja.
 F: Gaan julle op die internet by die skool?
 A: Hmm, eh (*negates*).
 F: Het julle internet by die skool?
 A: Hmm (*yes*).
 F: Gebruik julle dit vir navorsing?
 A: Net nou en dan.
 F: So nou en dan.
 A: Ja, as ek goete het om te doen dan sal ek nou daarop gaan.
 F: Soos vir watter vakke?
 A: Sê maar nou vir, vir soos vir Engels. As ons nou 'n Engelse *poem* doen en ons moet dit nou gaan soek, die skrywer, waar is hy gebore en daai goete, dan gebruik ek die internet.
 F: Hou jy van die Engels as 'n vak?
 A: Nie eintlik nie. Maar ek hou van *poems* dit is oraait.
 F: En jy het jou eie Bybel seker?
 A: Ja, my ma gebruik dit op die oomblik.
 F: Is dit 'n Engelse of Afrikaanse Bybel.
 A: Engels.
 F: En in watter kerk is julle?
 A: *Anglican*.
 F: O ja, ek was mos al saam.
 A: Ja.
 F: So jy skryf MXit en Facebook, en op die computer by die skool, wat skryf jy nog? Skryf jy ooit briefies?
 A: Ja.
 F: Vir wie skryf jy?
 A: (*giggles*) Vir my ouma.
 F: En wat skryf jy vir jou ouma?
 A: As ek êrens wil na toe gaan, of ek mag kan gaan en daai goete.
 F: En in watter taal skryf jy dit?
 A: In Engels in.
 F: Kan jy vir my so briefie wys?
 A: My ouma het die briefies.
 F: As ek haar vra mag ek daarna kyk?
 A: Mmh?
 F: Ek wil daarna kyk, dit gaan nie oor die inligting wat daar staan nie, ek wil kyk hoe jy dit skryf. Mag ek dit gebruik?
 A: Mmm (*does not sound sure*).
 F: Ek sal nie sê dis joune of jou naam nie.
 A: Mmm.

F: OK, want sy het my vertel van die briefies, ek dink dit is spesiaal. Umm, en vir wie skryf jy nog behalwe jou ouma?

A: Ja, net vir my ouma... maar ek het vir my vriend ook geskryf.

F: Vir hom?

A: Nee, dis 'n meisievriend.

F: Die een wat oorkant jou bly?

A: Ja, sy bly oorkant.

F: Nou wat skryf jy vir haar?

A: Van goete as ek probleme het en daai met die *boyfriend*, maar daai was lankal, twee jaar gelede.

F: Wat is jou vriendin se naam?

A: Barbara.

F: Is dit die een wat die dag hier buite was?

A: Ja.

F: En hou julle die briefies, het jy nog briefies van jou vriendinne?

A: Mmm ja, kyk gou. (*Anita goes to the bookshelf and starts searching.*)

F: Skryf julle nog vir mekaar?

A: Ha a (*negation*).

F: Nie meer nie, hoekom nie?

A: Ek weet nie.

F: Skryf julle vir mekaar SMS?

A: Ons MXit vir mekaar.

F: En voor die MXit hoe het julle *gecommunicate*?

A: Ons het gepraat... ah, hier is die brief!

F: Dis 'n lang brief!

A: Ja (*laughs and shows me the pages*).

F: Dankie.

A: Hierso is nog, jis hier is baie.

F: Wanneer het julle hierdie geskryf?

(*Mia calls Anita and says there is a phone call for her.*)

A: (*to her mother*) Ek kom!

T: Hy is op die *phone*.

F: Is dit jou *boyfriend*?

A: Ja.

F: Maar gaan praat gou. (*Anita goes to the next room and talks briefly on the phone and comes back.*)

F: Ek kyk na die brief en weet jy wat sien ek nou, dis baie oulik. Het jy met die *pencil* geskryf?

A: Wag, kyk hierso, dis alles met *pencil* geskryf, dis ek hierdie. Ek het dié en dié geskryf.

F: OK, kan ek jou brief leen? Ek sal hom *copy* en vir jou terugbring.

A: OK.

F: Kyk jy skryf hier, *2 c me*. Dis interessant, jy gebruik SMS taal hierso.

A: Ja! (*laughs*)

F: So kan ek dit leen en vir jou terugbring?

A: Ja.

F: En het jy nog briefies daar?

A: Wag, laat ek nou kyk nou hier.

(Anita searches through her small bookshelf.)

F: So hierdie is in 2007 geskryf?

A: Mmm UH. Waar is daai *file* nou?

F: Hierso hierso, o nee nee. Ons het dan nou net gehad. Het jy saam met dit uitgeloopt? (Anita looks in the next room and asks her mom where the file is, but then I find it on the bed.)

F: Hierso Anita! Ek het dit.

A: O ja, hier is nog 'n briefie, die's nou die een wat ek geskryf het.

F: Wanneer het jy hom geskryf?

A: Die's ook 2007.

F: So jy was toe veertien?

A: Ja.

F: Wat is nog in jou pak hier?

(We look through her file.)

A: Die is nou *photos*. O en die, my ouma het dit vir my gegee vir *Valentine' Day*. (Shows me a card)

F: O, dis mooi. Is dit ouma se handskrif?

A: Ja. O, en hier is nog briefies wat ek geskryf het in die klas.

F: Wat staan hierso? *Personal do not open!*

A: Ja, en hierso is wat ek nog gedoen het vir *confirmation* klas.

F: OK, ek sal jou net 'n paar vrae vra, ek weet jy wil jou hare doen. Het jy nog penpêlle vir wie jy skryf?

A: Huh uh (*negation*).

F: OK, jy skryf vir jou vriende by die skool? En SMS julle by die skool?

A: Nee, ons mag nie, maar ons doen dit.

F: In die klas?

A: Ja.

F: En wat doen die onderwysers?

A: Hulle sien nie, ons sit so (*shows me how she uses an imaginary phone under a desk*).

F: O, so julle doen dit in die klas.

A: Ja.

F: En moet julle ooit vorms invul in die skool en so aan?

A: Nee, nie eintlik nie.

F: Ek sien jy doen *creative writing* in die skool. Skryf jy ooit jou eie *songs* of *poems*?

A: Nee.

F: En sê my lees jy ooit die koerant? Of net die magazines?

A: Ek lees koerant.

F: Watse koerant lees jy?

A: Die *Cape Argus* of die *Cape Times*.

F: En waar kry jy dit?

A: Ek lees dit daar by my *boyfriend* se huis. Daar's 'n man wat dit so elke dag bring. Dis syne eintlik, dan bring hy dit van die winkel af, dan lees ek nou so stories.

F: Lees jy elke dag die koerant?

A: So nou en dan, amper elke dag.

F: O, en jou Bybel? Elke amper dag?

A: Uh huh.

F: O, so nou en dan?

A: Ja.

F: OK. Dis eintlik al wat ek jou nou wil vra, ek weet jy moet gaan, baie dankie.

A: OK.

APPENDIX H: EXAMPLES OF FIELD NOTES

12 January 2010: Heather's house

I took school diaries for Tara and Anita. Tara is away on a camp

Mia lying on the bed with the *You* magazine: Open at the crossword puzzles. Mia is not filling them in but looking at them.

F: Doen jy die puzzles?

T: Ja partymaal as dit nie te moeilik is nie, party is makliker as ander.

Mia busy with her books for the pensioner's club but she is not keen for me to read them.

Between Mia and Rita's: (Tara) daughter

She asks the phone from Mia.

Tara says its her phone, Mia says no its Rita's phone. Mia asks me to confirm: *as jy nie daarvoor betaal het nie is dit nie joune nie nê?* I say I'm going to stay out of it ☺

Heather says if I really want to read something I can read the 'Lion' letter. Mia: *'weet nie wat de hel daar aangaan nie.*

Discussion from Lion insurance – lang discussion oor brief tussen hele familie

Ronald said to Heather: *jy weet ek is nie geleerd nie (want hy het mos nie jy weet) maar hy weet hoe hulle dit uitvind*

Want iemand soos Frieda kom hier en vra alles uit en skryf dit in 'n boek en sit dit in die varsity en dan het almal hulle informasie

Maar Ronald het my nog vriendelik gegroet

Ek help die brief verduidelik – Mia se haar ma verstaan dit nie.

Chat about library:

Hulle het nie bib. boeke nie want hulle moet nou re-register – they got forms to fill in

Shows me Anita's poems in Afrikaans boek and what she wrote about her *ouma*. (No switching only in Afrikaans no Mixit language – it is for school)

Mia het kursus gevolg vir stem-registrasie – she says she can't show me the literature on it as it is confidential. But then she discusses the logistics of if you are voting in an area where you do not live.

Hulle het 18 boeke nodig vir Anita se skooljaar. Hardeband boeke. Hulle vra of die universiteit dit nie uitdeel nie. Hulle gaan iemand vra wat by manufacturer werk om dit wholesale te koop.

Anita se foon gaan af – sms – hulle almal kyk – Mia vra vir my om foon aan te gee maar ek wil nie, Anita vinniger as ek. Mia en Heather sê ek is te stadig!

30 January 2011: Heather's house

Arrive at Heather's house in the afternoon. Ronald is outside and greets me.

Lying on bed with Mia and Heather (Mia's child was sick the night before so they are tired from washing the mattresses and linen. Heather is tired because she was ironing a lot.

Mia says : *Die skool hier (Primary school is nou mos net Engels). Hulle advise die ouers om net Engels te praat met die kinders. Die skool was mos Afrikaans.*

Afrikaans raak mos nou amper 'n tweede taal vir ons.

Die skool is Engels because of all die Africans wat nou daar is.

Die African gaan mos nou nie Afrikaans leer nie maar Engels.

Die Kleurling mense gaan mos nie African leer nie. En die wit mense gaan mos nou liewers Frans leer voor hulle 'n African taal leer.

Heather sê African languages se woorde is baie lank. Hulle moet baie woorde gebruik om een ding te se so dit is baie moeilik om te leer.

Ek vertel hulle dat ek by die konferensie gepraat het en date k nou besig is om die data van die survey te laai. Mia vra of ek geld kry vir die werk wat ek doen. Ek verduidelik date ek beurse kry en daarvan moet leef en my navorsing moet doen. Mia vra of ek 'n ekstra travel allowance kry. Mia vra oor hoe werk dit as mens 'n beurs by UCT kry vir Anita.

Ek verduidelik hulle moet vroeg aansoek doen - al in Matriek en nie tot die nuwejaar wag nie. Dan verduidelik ek dit hang af in watter fakulteit jy swot en daar is verskillende tipes beurse. Heather vertel van Rita se beurs en hoe die onderwyser hulle gehelp het. En dat dit elke maand betaal is. Ek verduidelik hoe die geld werk. Ek vra of sy oor Anita vra en Mia sê sy weet nie waarheen Anita wil gaan nie en sy vra ook nie.

Tara loer in en ek vra of sy die diary gekry het en sy sê dankie.

Mia volunteers that the most things that people write are cards (more than you will write letters)...*"Get well kaartjies is baie popular of as iemand vir jou iets gedoen het dank krap jy jou eie kaartjie uit". Mia sê dit is die mees popularste ding om hier te doen (this conversation points to their consciousness of my research and that they are happy to give info).*

You can use bookmarks to make cards and then write on the back as they are cheap and you can buy them in a pack. Or at Merrypack - the cut-off bits from the packaging.

You write a Bible text – or whatever you want to on the back. *(of whatever jy wil)*

Heather voluntarily shows me an example of such a bible bookmark that is used as a thank you card and then still used as a bookmark.

Get well soon, or *hoe gaan dit.*

Frieda says: yes I always see there are cards displayed in your living room. For example Heathers' birthday cards.

Mia: Yes well at the moment there is nothing.

F: do you keep the cards?

Mia: Yes we keep them for a year and then we throw them away because she is not 60 anymore!

It is Mia and Glen's anniversary and she gets up to go and get ready to go out. Glen also comes home and I congratulate him on his anniversary.

I ask Heather to tell me all the societies/work she is involved in. Heather explains she is involved with the: AWF – The Anglican women's church thing – she is only a member now but used to be the chairperson and ACVV – social worker. Pensioner's Club – bus (gets the bus for free from tramway (she has referred to this as 'my bus in the past and is proud of this) to get pension and once a month to Shoprite Checkers for tea and cake

NG Kerk: gee kos vir gemeenskap – cook food for the homeless people in Maitland once a week
Night shelter in Kensington – voluntary work – she goes and does religious meetings and talk about life skills en '*bemoediging*'.

Then Heather talks about her visit to Groote Schuur Hospital where she met two Muslim women and told them about the pensioners' club. These two women were very excited and wanted Heather to start one in their community. No Heather explained to them how to start their own club. Heather talks about the role the club can play in older people's lives. They are lonely and want to talk. 'Because sometimes your children do not have time to talk to you'. She says understands this as they are busy with their own things – their husband and children. She gives the example if she has to be helped by her children to the toilet (*ek het mos 'n emmer*) and they do not come immediately.

Now at the club you can talk to people and talk about these things. Everybody wants to listen.

Or you start a talk by asking the question: Where were you in 1950? Then the women will start to tell you I was on a farm, or I was here in the Cape and they tell you where they went and where they danced.

Heather: I am lucky because I love to read. *Ek is nie alleen nie want ek hou van lees*. I just even read those old magazines because each magazine has many stories that I read. (They lie on a heap on the chest) And then I only throw them out later.

She talks about Rita's birthday lunch and that she told Rita's friends that she has two other daughters that they haven't met. (Frieda is one of them).

The other one is Nora (she organized the limo and outing that day). Now Nora sms's her a lot. The 1st week she received a sms from Nora and she could hear the cry in the SMS. "*Ek kon sommer die huil in die SMS hoor*" Nora wrote about her back pain. Heather asked Sean what she should do and they recommended physiotherapy and acupuncture.

I asked Heather if she enjoys this sms's. Heather says yes, I ask Heather if I should sms her more and she says yes.

28 July 2011: Damion's birth

I woke up yesterday morning and switched on my cell, and saw that there were 5 missed calls between 10 pm and about 2 am from Ben's house and two 'Please Call Me's' from Bonnie's phone.

I phone Ben's landline and Bonnie answers. She says Misha went into labour last night and that they phoned me to take Misha to hospital. I feel very bad as I told Bonnie that they could call me when Misha went into labour. I never switch my phone off, but for some reason I did lat night.

Bonnie said that eventually, Sam, the baby's father, managed to organize transport and that Misha is in Somerset Hospital in Green Point. She is not sure if the baby has been delivered, as she has no air time to phone the baby's father, and her landline only receives incoming calls. She gives me Sam's number. I call him, and he says that the baby was born and everything is alright. I then phone Bonnie and tell her the news. She asks me to phone Kevin, because he is in Green Point, staying with Mitch, so he can go to see Misha. I phone Kevin and he says that he will walk to the hospital and go and see Misha.

I phone him later and he says that the hospital is keeping Misha and the baby in hospital for one night, and that they will probably be released the next day. I offer to take them home.

This morning I phone Kevin and he said that Misha and Damion (baby) will be released and I say that I will take them home. Kevin says that he will walk to my flat and then we can both go to the hospital and collect them. I meet him half-way down Somerset Road and we drive to the hospital. He says that Mitch is worried how we will take the baby home without a car seat. Kevin says that he told Mitch, this is Africa, we don't worry about those things! We find Misha at the hospital. She is up and signs out. The nurse brings the baby and I hold him. Sam also arrives. We all get into my car. As we leave the hospital, Misha asks me if we can stop in town at the Home Affairs Office to register the baby. I said are you sure that you want to do it now, as I can fetch her the next day to do it. She says no, she wants to do it now, as Sam is there and the baby must be registered in his name. Sam says, we must do it now, because they are all in town now.

There is no parking at Home Affairs, so I double park in the street. Sam and Misha go inside the office and Kevin and I stay with the baby in the car. After about 5 minutes Kevin says he is going inside to help them as Misha and Sam does not know how to 'handle these people'. He hands me Damion to me and goes inside Home Affairs. I sat there holding the baby, wondering how I will manage if the police asks me to move the car and I have a one-day old baby in my arms.

Kevin comes back after about 10 minutes and said that he filled in the forms for Misha and Sam, 'to speed things up' and that the queue is not too long. We wait about another ten minutes and then Misha and Sam comes back. They were not successful because Sam did not have his ID with him. Sam says he will try and come the next day again. We drive home. Bonnie and Nola and the children are home. Nola immediately takes Damion and Misha disappears. Nola puts Damion on the bed and takes all his clothes off and checks his body out, and declares that he

looks good. Aunty Ivy comes out and asks what his name is. We tell her is Damion. Ivy says: 'Oh no, another name that I do not know how to spell, can't you give the children normal names?'

I leave after a few minutes.

University of Cape Town