

# **A Discourse Analysis of a Personal Narrative Told by an Adolescent Boy in a Cape Town Children's Home**

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of Master's in Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics at the University of  
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# Abstract

Storytelling serves many purposes. People often tell stories as a coping mechanism, as a way of self-representation, and as a means for self-reflection. Through stories, narrators construct identities and gain perspective on events in their lives. This thesis is a discourse analysis of a single narrative told by a young man staying at a children's home in Cape Town. The study explores how life events are presented and evaluated in narrative and analyses the construction of identities.

The objectives of the study are threefold. Firstly it aims to explore how the narrator draws on different social discourses in the telling of his narrative. Secondly, it analyses how, through the telling of these events, identities are constructed. Finally, the study assesses how the participant builds evaluation into his narrative. The study's overall purpose is to gain an understanding of narrative identities.

The analysis reveals that Lucas develops three Master Narratives relating to the themes of family, education and drugs. His attitudes towards all three are ambivalent and he weaves competing discourses into his narrative in relation to each. He seeks, through his story, to construct himself as a wise young man who – having experimented with drugs and dropped out of school – makes the decision to redeem himself by going back to school, rejecting drugs, and mending his ties with his family. In this sense, his narrative is like an archetypal Bildungsroman.

The study takes a qualitative approach and is situated within the fields of Discourse Analysis, more specifically, narrative analysis. The main theoretical influences in the study include Tannen (1989/2007; 2008) and Labov (1972). The analysis of this study focuses on identifying the Master Narratives that shape Lucas's story as well as the discourses and competing ideologies which support these Master Narratives.

# Keywords

Discourse

Narrative

Identity

Life history

Ideology

Self-representation

Involvement strategies

Evaluation

Dialogism



# Declaration

I declare that this mini-thesis, *A Discourse Analysis of a Personal Narrative Told by an Adolescent Boy in a Cape Town Children's Home*, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Galeema Davids

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: May 2009



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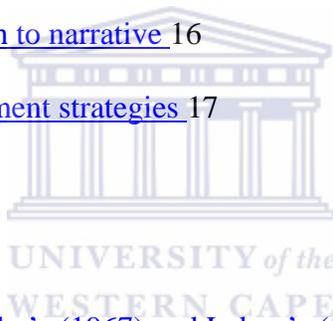
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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### *1.1 Introduction*

Often people turn to storytelling as a coping mechanism, as a way of managing emotions and changes. Our experience and memory of events are often organised in the form of narratives (Georgakopoulou, 2005; Bruner, 1991). Through narratives, people reflect on their pasts and are given the opportunity to psychologically plan for their futures. Thus, through telling stories people organise the events in their lives and gain better perspective (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Hall, 1997). Moreover, narratives allow for identity construction. Thus many scholars agree that there is a strong link between narrative and identity in that talking and organising one's ideas are part of exploring one's identity (Georgakopoulou, 2005; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006).

Barthes (1982: 251; cited in Hall, 1997: 5) further supports that narratives are evident amongst all kinds of people, young and old, in different cultures and societies, "in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative... it is simply there like life itself". Similarly, Denzin, (2000; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 130) suggests that we live in a "storytelling society". Furthermore, Jameson (1981: 13; cited in Hall, 1997: 5) refers to narratives as an "informing process", while Landau (1984; cited in Hall, 1997) as well as Bakhtin (1984; cited in Hall, 1997) support the argument that storytelling makes us human. From the above information, it can be concluded that narratives have an important place in individual lives, and it is in and through narratives that identities are constructed.

This dissertation argues that stories are not just used to communicate details, people and events. Rather, through storytelling, the speaker constructs a myriad of identities and is also given the

opportunity to gain perspective. Lucas, the participant in this study, constructs a number of identities during his interview; in particular, three emphasised identities and storylines are constructed, associated with his experiences of family, school and drugs. With regards to family, he constructs the identity of a loyal family member. He uses education to suggest that he is a keen student, and he uses his stories on drugs to indicate that he is a wise young man capable of reflecting on and ultimately establishing control over his life.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a background and motivation for the study. Thereafter, the research problem and objectives are formulated and the respective chapters outlined.

## ***1.2 Background/Rationale for the study***

This study is the analysis of a single narrative told by a young man at an orphanage centre in Cape Town. The direction this study takes is from a discourse analysis perspective, specifically focussing on how identities and evaluations are encoded in narratives. The place of collecting data was at an organisation/orphanage centre called Beth Uriel, which means “House of Light” in Hebrew, and is located in Salt River, Cape Town. Established in 1987, Beth Uriel is a home for young men only. The home opened its doors to young men whose parent(s) have died, abandoned them or no longer financially or emotionally provided for them. Some of the boys at Beth Uriel have mothers or parents who, however, might not have the means to support their sons. Thus they are cared for, financially and otherwise, by Beth Uriel. In such a situation the child visits his mother or family every other weekend. This is the case with the subject, Lucas<sup>1</sup>, whose story I have chosen to focus on in this study.

Beth Uriel is the home of twenty-six young men, aged between sixteen and twenty-four and functions like any other family. There are house rules, chores, time for homework and activities as well. Christian principles are encouraged, and as Beth Uriel is a place where education is recognised as the key to success, the young men there are offered basic school education as well as a tertiary education at no cost to themselves. Beth Uriel is an opportunity for young men who

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<sup>1</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant’s identity anonymous.

would possibly otherwise not have this opportunity to have a better future (Beth Uriel, 2008).

An important factor that I considered in this research was the age of the subject that would partake in this research. I preferred the subject to be of the age just before adulthood as I consider this to be a crucial time and transitional phase in an individual's life, in finding his place in the world and in forming his identity (Ghosh, 2009; Frankel, 1998). Once the participant agreed to participate in the study, I asked him to speak about himself, his life, his family, why he was at Beth Uriel and the events leading up to him being there. I aimed to assess the participant's evaluation of the events as he told his story. Having established that the boys at Beth Uriel came from an eventful past, it was presumed that the stories Lucas would relate would consist of rich detail, and so I was interested in seeing how Lucas, having experienced hardship and trauma, dealt with his life events in the construction of his story, and how he represented himself in his stories. I assumed that some of the stories Lucas would tell would be filled with pain, sadness and trauma. This assumption was particularly based on the fact that Lucas was away from his biological family, and, according to Mahler (Shane and Shane, 1989; cited in Train, 2002) trauma can occur when an individual experiences emotional and/or physical separation. It is further asserted that men withdraw from telling emotional stories (Eggins and Slade, 1997; Coates, 1995; cited in Eggins and Slade, 1997; Coates, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2003). I believed that the fact that I was an outsider would make it easier for Lucas to tell me his story, as well as the fact that this research was within an academic framework and that he would remain anonymous. Furthermore, it was the first time that Lucas and I had met, as well as the first time that I had heard his story; also, Lucas was telling me his stories in a place with which he was familiar and in which he felt comfortable. All of these factors, I believe, motivated the participant for this research.

### ***1.3 Research problem/question***

The participant was asked to tell me the story of the time leading up to him coming to Beth Uriel. This research aims to see how, when given the platform, this young man talks about and so deals with life events, and how identities and evaluations are constructed in and through his narrative.

## ***1.4 Aims and objectives of the study***

### **1.4.1 Aim**

The research adopts a discourse analytical approach whereby linguistic theories of identity and evaluation are used as analytical tools to explore how the participant uses language to construct his identity and position while evaluating his life story. Using mainly Tannen's (1989, 2008) theories, the study's overall purpose is to gain an understanding of how identities are embedded in narratives.

### **1.4.2 Objectives**

The objectives for this research include an exploration of:

1. how life events are constructed in the narrative told by the participant in this study;
2. how, through the telling of these events, identities and ideologies are constructed;
3. how he builds evaluation into his narrative.

## ***1.5 Chapter outline***

This thesis consists of five chapters. Following is a brief overview of the respective chapters:

### **1.5.1 Chapter One: Introduction**

Chapter One introduces the topic of the study. It highlights the main research aims and objectives. It identifies the purpose of the research and situates it within the broader framework of Discourse Analysis. The background and rationale for the study is discussed in this section, providing the study with a context and motivation. Thus the first chapter serves as an introductory explanation.

### **1.5.2 Chapter Two: Literature Review**

Chapter Two serves as the Literature Review section. It further situates the study within the field of Discourse Analysis. It reviews the relevant literature on Discourse Analysis and explains related concepts, such as ‘discourse’, ‘text’ and ‘narrative’. It formulates a framework that this thesis will work within and considers various theories on Discourse Analysis, personal narratives, identities, ideologies and evaluation in narrative. Literature on narrative identities, Labov’s (1972) types of evaluation and Tannen’s (1989, 2008) involvement strategies are presented.

### **1.5.3 Chapter Three: Methodology**

Chapter Three serves as the Methodology section. It focuses on the methodology that was chosen, the procedures that were followed and the ethics involved in this study. It situates the study within the research paradigm of qualitative research and substantiates the choice for this kind of research. It considers methods of collecting and analysing narrative data and offers a description of the participant and research techniques used. Furthermore, it discusses my personal journey through the collection and analysis of data.

### **1.5.4 Chapter Four: Data Analysis**

Chapter Four serves as the Data Analysis section. Applying the theoretical framework, it links the literature with the data. It analyses the data collected, using theories of Discourse Analysis, identity and evaluation. I consider Tannen’s (2008) analytical framework, of Master Narrative, Big-N Narrative and small-n narrative, to be the most suitable for the analysis of this study. Thus this is the framework that is extensively applied after adopting a similar approach to Menard-Warwick (2005) in outlining the themes in the narrative. Three themes and consequently three main identities are highlighted and explored. These three identities are what the analysis is centred around. Consequently, the analysis is linked to the Bildungsroman archetypal narrative

form.

### **1.5.5 Chapter Five: Conclusion**

Chapter Five is the last chapter and it concludes the thesis, discusses limitations and sums up the place of narrative in scholarly research. Furthermore, it highlights what I have gained from the experience of analysing this narrative.



## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### ***2.1 Introduction***

This chapter draws on literature from the field of discourse analysis and narrative theory. As discourse analysis is such a broad and ongoing study, I have drawn from different scholars across the field, attempting to consider both old and new linguistic experts in their contributions to the study of discourse analysis and narrative identities. I have combined their studies to form my research framework. I begin my literature review with a discussion on discourses and ideologies, thereafter exploring identity construction in discourse. As one of the foremost contributors to the study of linguistics, Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism is presented. As an extension of dialogism, an exploration of Tannen's ([1989]2007; 2008) narrative framework is discussed. For the purposes of providing a historical background to narrative, the chapter ends with a brief background of Labov and Waletzky's (1967) Narrative model and Labov's (1972) evaluative techniques.

#### ***2.2 Discourses and ideologies***

Although the precise historical origins are unknown and still debated, it is commonly agreed, that over the course of the last forty years, there has been the establishment and progression of narrative theorising.

This wave of narrative theorising was quickly followed by abundant empirical investigations that sought to analyse all kinds of aspects of individuals' and social lives by use of narrative methods" (Bamberg, 2007:1).

Narratives are studied in a wide spectrum of disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, literary criticism, history, cultural studies and of course communications and linguistics (Cameron, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2005; Bamberg, 2007). In linguistics, narratives are one of the most extensively researched areas of the multidisciplinary study of discourse (van Dijk, 1993; cited in Georgakopoulou, 2005).

Cameron argues that discourse analysis concerns the analysis of real communicative events, such as spoken, written or visual communication that has an authentic communicative purpose and that the consideration of the context of the text is an important part of its analysis. There are various categories of discourse. To start with, on the one hand, there is the written discourse and on the other hand there is spoken discourse, both resulting in either written or spoken 'texts'. The terms, 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are variously understood by researchers, for instance there is the social discourse paradigm (Cameron, 2001; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) define social discourses as the patterns of talk and statements that are drawn on in speeches and conversations, not the actual speeches or conversations themselves. The latter is recognised as 'texts'. Therefore one could state that particular discourses work within a particular text, or that the text draws on, or is informed by, these discourses (Cameron, 2001).

Gee (1990: xix) defines social discourses as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people". Gee (1999; cited in Tannen, 2008) distinguishes between two types of discourse, namely big-D Discourse and small-d discourse. While small-d discourse refers to the specific texts, spoken and written, big-D Discourse refers to cultural ideologies and assumptions, i.e. the social discourses. This is an approach recognised by Tannen (2008) as she adopts a similar technique in identifying discourses, referring to them as Master Narratives and Big-N Narratives. These concepts will be further explained later on in the Literature Review (see 2.5).

In summary, the key word in defining discourse is 'text'. Discourse can be any authentic, coherent text within a social context. The definition of a 'text' in its simplest form is language

that is functional. It has a purpose and meaning in its communication and it is within a particular context (Halliday and Hasan, 1989). As Halliday and Hasan suggest, even though a text might look like it simply consists of a number of words strung together, it actually consists of meanings grouped together. Halliday and Hasan describe a text as both a product and a process. It is a product in the sense that it is an “output”, something that is there to be studied and analysed (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 10). It is a process in that it consists of constant semantic choices and each set of choices constitutes meanings to be interpreted and analysed.

### ***2.3 Narrative identities***

Post-structural accounts argue that it is more accurate to speak of multiple identities (Blommaert, 2005), and in the study of narratives this becomes obvious as identities are managed within the narrative structure of an account (Abell, Stokoe and Billig, 2000; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Some scholars view narratives as a powerful and effective means of studying how identities are constructed and presented. Keller-Cohen and Dyer (1997) for instance, argue that it has been observed that people construct many identities in narratives, for instance in each story that is being told, there is the possibility of a new identity being constructed by the teller. Thus it has become a common practice for scholars to make use of narratives to analyse the construction of identities.

If selves and identities are constituted in discourse, they are necessarily constructed in stories. Through storytelling, narrators can produce ‘edited’ descriptions and evaluations of themselves and others, making identity aspects more salient at certain points in the story than others (Geogakopoulou, 2002; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 137).

Many narrative researchers suggest that people are in fact their stories. For instance, according to Cortazzi (2001: 388; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 138), as individuals make sense of themselves and their lives through narrative, telling who they are, who they wish to be and so on, they become their stories, and so, “they *are* their stories”. In agreement, Mishler, (1999; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 138) suggests that “we speak our identities”, while Riessman, (2003;

cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 138) also agrees, and emphasises – like Cortazzi (2001; cited in Benwell and Stokoe) – that we become the stories we tell. Furthermore, Benwell and Stokoe (2006), as well as May (2004; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) agree that it is not only through the use of language that identities are constructed in narrative; rather, identities are performed through narrative. Many aspects are taken into consideration before the structuring of a narrative, such as the historical location, cultural values and interactions with people. In the telling of a story, the individual refers to different, isolated events over a long period of time and somehow brings all these events together, while sticking to the theme of the story. At the same time, the individual's different identities are hinted at through the telling of these different events. Moreover, narratives can be contradictory, they can change and they are often determined by the present situation. Bennet and Woolacott (1987; cited in Hall, 1997), as well as Hall (1997) concur on this point. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 138) further suggest that narration involves the “doing” of identity, and as people tell different stories all the time, it can be assumed that different versions of the self are constructed.

Bruner (2001: 27) focuses on autobiographical narratives and summarises what an autobiography comprises of. It consists of a narrator in the “here and now” who takes on the responsibility of describing the development of the protagonist in the “there and then”. The protagonist happens to share the name of the narrator. The narrator should be skilled in eventually bringing together the past and present and connecting the identities of the protagonist and himself or herself in such a way that “the protagonist and the narrator eventually fuse and become one person with a shared consciousness”. In order to do this, there has to be a theory of growth or transformation as the story progresses. There needs to also be a turning point in the story. Bruner (2001: 31) defines “turning points” as:

Those episodes in which, as if to underline the power of the agent's intentional states, the narrator attributes a crucial change or stance in the protagonist's story to a belief, a conviction, a thought.

Thus, there is a change in the usual or previous flow of the story as the events in the story also take a new turn. Bruner suggests that turnings points are what make a life and a story unique.

In a paper on orientation in space and time in narrative, Georgakopoulou (2003) refers to Blommaert and Maryns (2000) in their discussion on identities, place and time. Blommaert and Maryns (2000; cited in Georgakopoulou, 2003) argue that identities go hand in hand with the concept of place and time. An individual will tell a story differently depending on the time frame in which he or she tells the story, the place in which he or she tells the story and the audience to which he or she tells the story. Both Baynham (2003) and Georgakopoulou (2003) argue that not enough attention is invested in orientation in time and space in narrative, even though, according to De Certeau (1988: 115; cited in Baynham, 2003: 1), “every story is a travel story – a spatial practice”.

Space and time are basic categories of human existence. Yet we rarely debate their meanings; we tend to take them for granted, and give them common-sense or self-evident attributions (Harvey, 1989: 201; cited in Baynham, 2003: 1).

Baynham (2003) establishes a link between space and time orientation and narrative action and shows how ‘narrative actors’ and ‘narrated selves’ are created in time and space. The time and place in which the story happens or unfolds, as well as the physical time and place in which the story is being told (i.e. both the temporal-spatial setting for the narrative and the temporal-spatial context of telling) shapes the identities of the ‘narrative actors’ and the ‘narrative participants’ (Baynham, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2003).

According to Blommaert (2005) and others (Cameron, 2001; Schiffrin, 1996), identity is a socially constructed characteristic of a person. The construction of identity is a constantly active process (Keller-Cohen and Dyer, 1997). As Cameron (2001) further illustrates, an individual’s identity is not attained right at the beginning of life and forever kept that way, rather identity is something that is constantly changing and is continuously being constructed. In daily encounters with different people and in encounters with the world, identities are being constructed and reconstructed. Blommaert (2005: 205) further attests that “people don’t *have* an identity”, instead Blommaert asserts that “identities are constructed in practices that *produce, enact, or perform* identity”.

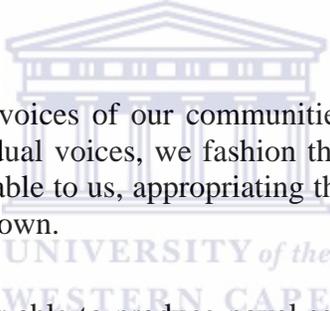
Blommaert (2005: 68) makes reference to Hymes's notion of "voice". 'Voice' refers to the ability of a speaker to let his audience understand him. The capacity to let people understand what one is saying "is a capacity to generate an uptake of one's words as close as possible to one's desired contextualisation" (Blommaert, 2005: 68). If the speaker is not understood this is referred to as "loss of voice". Speakers also lose their 'voice' if a discourse is placed in a different context. "Resources that are functional in one particular place... become dysfunctional as soon as they are moved into other places" (2005: 83). The result is thus "loss of voice". In understanding "loss of voice" in discourse, Blommaert (2005: 235) argues that factors in reference to "difference and inequality" should be considered.

Fairclough (2003: 160) adopts the term "style" to explain how speakers use language to make up their identities. He states that creating identity is a complex process and consists mainly of two points, namely, social identity and individual personality. From a post-structuralism perspective, Fairclough argues social identities, such as gender roles, social statuses etc, are created through language and discourse. He argues further that identity is not simply restricted to social roles because of the obvious fact that individuals each have a sense of self-awareness, a personality, which influences the way they engage with the world and with people around them. From this, it can, once again, be deduced that each person has multiple identities. There is no such thing as just one fixed identity per person. Fairclough concurs with scholars such as Cameron (2001) that identities are constantly changing: a major influence on identity construction is the cultural and social context of the individual.

Although identities change all the time and altering one's identity is something everyone is able to do, there are certain limitations on the development of identity. The reconstruction of identities depends on accessibility (Cameron, 2001; Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2003). Cameron (2001: 174) refers to these constraints in developing identities as "cultural repertoires" that people have access to. It can be deduced that different individuals have access to different styles or social practices, or "cultural repertoires", as Fairclough (2003) suggests in his theory of style. Blommaert further asserts that in any society or culture, the accessibility of these "cultural repertoires" differs. Each individual draws on his or her available resources or "cultural repertoires" in the construction of his or her style which also constructs his or her identity. It is

suggested that the more powerful in society usually have more access to powerful repertoires, whereas the less powerful usually only have access to the less powerful repertoires (Fairclough, 2003). Similarly, Foucault (1972; cited in Cameron, 2001) argues that people's understandings of the world are not simply shaped by their discourses. Rather, it is more accurate to argue that people's understandings of the world are expressed through the ways of using language that are available to them. An alternate way of putting this is to say that reality is 'discursively constructed' in that it is structured and restructured as people talk about events using the discourses they have access to.

Social researchers state that when we talk 'in our own words' these words are scarcely really 'ours' at all in the sense that these words are not unique or original to a specific individual. Rather, we borrow words from other social discourses all the time, as Lemke (1995; cited in Cameron, 2001: 15) points out:


 We speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own.

This is not to say that we are never able to produce novel sentences or that we do not have our own, individual ideas. However, language should be recognised as an 'intersubjective' process, rather than a completely subjective process. Hence, Lemke agrees with Fairclough and Foucault, that individuals make use of the resources around them to construct their identities through their language use.

Schiffrin (1996) explores narrative identities as she analyses two narratives told by Jewish-American women on the issues in their families. She explores how these women construct themselves against their cultural background and cultural expectations. In their particular Jewish-American context, Schiffrin explores the identities these women construct in addition to their social identities as mothers. She argues that the form our stories take, referred to as 'textual structure', the content our stories are made of and the way in which we tell our stories, referred to as 'storytelling behaviour', are all important indicators, not just of the personal representation of the person telling the story, but also of the social and cultural identities of the person. Schiffrin

compares the telling of a story to the painting of a self-portrait. In her comparison, she suggests that just like the form and composition of a portrait tells the audience something about the artist, so too do the words uttered by the storyteller and the narrative structure. These tell the audience something of the speaker, who is an artist in the linguistic sense. Schiffrin (1996: 199) suggests that stories provide a “linguistic lens” through which we as the audience are able to look into and consider the views “artists” have of themselves.

Schiffrin, as well as Blommaert (2001), argues that an identity has to be recognised or accepted by others in order for it to actually be considered an identity. Our identities are constructed through our interactions with other people. In these interactions, people do not always recognise or accept the identity that the person they are interacting with may portray. Cameron (2001: 176) agrees that identities are created through interaction and she refers to this process as “co-construction”. Moreover, she suggests that “our identities emerge not only from what we do ourselves, but also from the way others position us in what they say to and/or about us”. Similarly, Murray (2003; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) asserts that narratives are co-constructed in that the interviewer plays an important role in the construction and shaping of the narrative and so in the shaping of identity. He believes that the narrative is interactively produced between the interviewer and the narrator.

Supporting McDermott and Tylbor’s theory (1983; cited in Tannen, 2007) that conversational discourse is based on a secret agreement, which they refer to as “collusion”, Scollon and Scollon (1983) demonstrate that Athabaskan storytellers, a North American Indian group, shape their stories based on what their listeners’ responses are, while Kochman (1986; cited in Tannen, 2007) illustrates how, in certain ‘black’ speech genres, storytellers use ‘strategic ambiguity’ in that instead of the speaker giving meaning to the discourse, the listener determines the meaning and the speaker simply agrees. Much research has highlighted the active role of the listener in directing the conversational discourse.

## ***2.4 Dialogism***

Dialogism is a term first coined by Mikhail Bakhtin (1895 – 1975), a Russian linguist and literary theorist. Dialogism, also referred to as heteroglossia, refers to competing discourses and multiple voices that exist in any instance of linguistic performance, such as in a national language, a novel, or a particular conversation. Bakhtin addresses linguistic variety and competing discourses as social conflict that are reflected in the differences between the narrative voice and the voices of characters in the story being told (Answers.com, 2008).

Dialogism refers to the interweaving of different voices in a text. Bakhtin views all parts of speech, such as narratives, as parts of a chain joined together. He suggests that these utterances are all linked in the sense that they relate to past and future speech. Different social languages represent different social opinions and ideologies. People use different words, languages and so forth to express themselves. For instance, in the case of a novel, the author gives the character different opinions and ways of conveying these social opinions Bakhtin (1981). Menard-Warwick (2005) relies extensively on dialogism in the analysis of a narrative by a Nicaraguan woman who retells the story of her uncle signing up to take part in the Sandinista army during the war, and so violating their family values.

Contemporary scholars refer to dialogism as intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992; Ivanic, 1998; Kristeva, 1986; cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005), or interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992; cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005: 536). Barthes (1977; cited in Hall, 1997) also makes reference to intertextuality, focusing on the way novels borrow themes and genres from other texts. It is suggested that recent approaches to intertextuality show more interest in the relationship between the text and the context than in the formal structures of the text (Hall, 1997). Moreover, it is noted that narrative texts are not simply constituted by quotations from other texts, but also by historical and social discourses and genres. Similarly, Thibault (1989: 184; cited in Hall: 145, 1997) claims that whether the text is spoken or written, there are many other texts (historical, social) that determine the meanings behind, or the analysis of, a particular text. It is not to say that “a given text is meaningful in relation to a background of other texts”. In other words, it is

not the background texts that ultimately give a given text meaning. Instead, the construction of relationships and links between texts depends on how the analyst interprets it.

## ***2.5 Tannen's (2007/2008) framework***

While some use the term “co-construction” (Murray, 2003; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006), Tannen (2007) refers to conversation as a “joint production”. The speaker is a co-listener and the listener is a co-speaker, and they work together in creating meaning in conversation. Tannen points out that, although they use different terminology, scholars generally agree that conversation is a combined, active effort. McDermott and Tylbor (1983; cited in Tannen, 2007) refer to “joint production” as “collusion”, Bakhtin refers to it as “dialogism” (see 2.4 and 2.7.2).



### **2.5.1 Tannen's approach to narrative**

In agreement with scholars such as Blommaert (2005) and van Dijk (1993; cited in Georgakopoulou, 2005), Tannen (2008) emphasises the importance and effectiveness of narratives in conversational discourse. In a recent paper, she motivates that “all relationships are stories” (Tannen, 2008: 226). As she analyses “sister discourses” (Tannen, 2008: 207), Tannen shows that, by talking about her sister, the speaker not only reveals her relationship with her sister, but also reveals her perception of her sister as well as of herself (Tannen, 2008: 208).

By presenting themselves and their sisters engaged in activities that are culturally recognizable and interpretable, speakers dramatize their sense of their sisters; of themselves in relation to their sisters; and consequently of their sisters' and their own characters.

Tannen explores the ways in which stories are made up of narratives and discourses at different levels and generality. In exploring the over-riding ideology that sisters should be emotionally close, she distinguishes between three kinds of narratives, namely, Master Narratives, Big-N Narratives and small-n narratives. Master Narratives refer to cultural ideologies on which the

narrative draws. Big-N Narratives refer to themes or patterns around which participants construct their stories. Big-N Narratives support small-n narratives and are also referred to as “storylines” (Tannen, 2008: 214). Small-n narratives refer to specific, detailed stories, events and interactions that actually occurred and are elaborated upon. These specific events consist of scenes that speakers create “to support the point of their discourse” (Tannen, 2008: 208). The “Labovian narrative” model is typical of a small-n narrative (Tannen, 2008: 209). All of these narrative types are linked to each other. The culturally-driven Master Narrative motivates the themes in the Big-N Narrative. The Big-N Narrative supports the small-n narrative which consists of scenes. The involvement strategies – repetition, dialogue and imagery – create and reinforce these scenes in which “culturally identifiable and personally meaningful” messages are conveyed (Tannen, 2008: 207). These involvement strategies will now be discussed in further detail.

### **2.5.2 Tannen’s involvement strategies**

Tannen (2007) argues that linguistic elements, that were previously considered quintessentially literary, such as repetition, dialogue and imagery, are actually the essential meaning-making strategies of everyday conversation. Tannen argues that conversation provides a basis for other kinds of discourse genres, both spoken and written, and especially literary texts, in that many effective linguistic strategies are most apparent in conversational discourse and then often developed in other texts, such as narratives. Conversational strategies are planned in literary texts but in conversation they are spontaneous and pervasive. In this way interpersonal involvement is created.

Repetition, dialogue and imagery (detail) are some of the discourse strategies that create involvement. In her definition of involvement, Tannen builds on the works of both Chafe (1982; cited in Tannen, 2007) and Gumperz (1982; cited in Tannen, 2007). She explains that involvement is an internal and emotional connection between the speaker and the hearer, as well as between the speaker and the ideas, places, activities, words, etc. that he or she includes in the conversation. But this connection is not simply present at the beginning of a conversation; rather it is something that is achieved between the speaker and the hearer in their interactions. Tannen (1989: 12) argues that any conversation consists of two or more active participants. It is not

about two people alternating the roles of speaker and listener; rather, in a conversation, both participants are constantly both the speaker and the listener.

Both speaking and listening include elements and traces of the other. Listening, in this view, is an active not a passive enterprise, requiring interpretation comparable to that required in speaking, and speaking entails simultaneously projecting the act of listening.

This, she explains, is what the term ‘involvement’ in conversation is all about. There are many involvement strategies in conversation. However Tannen identifies three critical and recurring ones: repetition, dialogue and imagery. In fact, it is suggested that this kind of involvement is what makes for a “good narrator” (Hymes, 1973; cited in Tannen, 1989: 12).

### 2.5.2.1 Repetition

Tannen (2007; 2008) explores repetition in casual conversation and other non-formal texts. She questions why there is repetition in conversation. In answer to her question, Tannen suggests that repetition serves the function of **production, comprehension, connection and interaction**, which all encapsulate **coherence and interpersonal involvement**.

In terms of **production**, repetition allows a speaker to produce language in a way that requires less effort and is more efficient: “Repetition allows a speaker to set up a paradigm and slot in new information – where the frame for the new information stands ready, rather than having to be newly formulated” (Tannen, 1989: 48). Because the pattern has already been established the speaker is able to generate sentences by simply slotting in new information. Furthermore, repetition allows a speaker to produce fluent speech while formulating what to say next. Tannen (1989: 48) refers to this as “linking repetition”. Repetition and variations often then become automatic; they enable speakers to combine a conversation with relatively less effort, giving the speaker the chance to find the right words and formulate what he or she will say next.

Similar to production, repetition facilitates **comprehension** by supplying discourse that is semantically less difficult to process. If some words are repeated by the speaker there is less new information for the listener to have to understand. Tannen (1989: 49) notes:

This redundancy in spoken discourse allows a hearer to receive information at roughly the rate the speaker is producing it. That is, just as the speaker benefits from some relatively dead space while thinking of the next thing to say, the hearer benefits from the same dead space and from the redundancy while absorbing what is said.

Repetition of words and sentences connect present utterances to previous utterances and set up patterns of ideas across texts. Tannen refers to this as a “tying function” (Tannen, 1989: 50). Similarly, Halliday and Hasan (1989) concur that repetition is one of the devices that contribute to cohesion and **coherence** in a text. Repetition adds rhythm to the discourse while foregrounding and emphasising the segment that is different, as well as the segment that is the same.

In addition to the creation of meaning in conversation, repetition contributes to the **interactional** level of talk. This is perhaps the most important function of repetition in this study. Some functions of repetition on a social level include controlling the conversation, showing that you are listening and responding, stalling, preparing to answer or speak, as well as devices for humour, persuasion, linking ideas or speeches of speakers, showing approval of what another speaker has said and including a new participant in the conversation. Thus repetition not only creates meaning, through linking parts of discourses together, but it also links people together in their speech and conversations, bonding them in their speech and establishing relationships (Tannen, 2007).

Linguistically, **interpersonal involvement** is accomplished through the musical aspect of repetition. In the mutual participation of sense-making, words and sentences are often repeated, whether this repetition is exact or with variation, each time a word or sentence is repeated, its meaning is changed. The utterance gets interpreted in the context in which it is said. For instance, the physical context, where it is uttered, as well as the textual context, influences the interpretation of the discourse. Tannen and Jefferson (1972; cited in Tannen, 2007) suggest that upon hearing an utterance for the second time, people interpret it differently.

Repetition helps accomplish conversation in that it shows response to another’s utterances, shows acceptance or agreement to another’s utterances and ultimately shows evidence of

participation in conversation. While talk in itself is an act of involvement, repetition provides the resource to keep the involvement going. Tannen (1989: 52) suggests that the highest functional level of repetition could be the “metamessage”, which is the level at which messages about the relationships of conversation participants are communicated (Bateson, 1972; cited in Tannen, 1989: 52).

Tannen demonstrates how, through repetition in conversation, talk becomes interactional and predictive. This draws on Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of dialogism, also referred to as intertextuality (see 2.4). Tannen illustrates that repetition is evident everywhere, everyone repeats themselves (Tannen, 2007; Stein, 1935; cited in Tannen, 1989). Hymes (1981: 42; cited in Tannen, 1989: 36) explains that repetition and variation are simply part of the “structure” of a given text, and should not be considered as mistakes, or unnecessary information. Such ‘structure’, referring to repetition and variation, is essential to the meaning and effect of a given text. Similarly, Becker (1984b: 435; cited in Tannen, 1989) considers repetition as a discourse strategy that people constantly borrow from each other. Repetition constitutes the grammar of language through people remembering pieces of texts and actually using those same texts at a later time, altering the texts slightly to fit into other contexts. Concerning any language event, Becker thus deduces the following:

The real deep structure... is an accumulation of remembered prior texts... and our real language competence is access, via memory, to this accumulation of prior texts (Becker, 1984b: 435; cited in Tannen, 1989: 37).

In agreement, Bolinger accounts that up until today; there is no way of knowing the extent to which a single utterance has been repeated over time. Thus there is no way of knowing exactly how original or ‘creative’ (Hockett, 1994; O’ Grady, 1996; cited in Tannen, 2007) an utterance, or a sentence really is; whether it is indeed a newly produced utterance, or whether it is the result of repetition. Thus, Bolinger (1961: 381; cited in Tannen, 1989: 37) asks the question: “Is grammar something where speakers “produce” (i.e. originate) constructions, or where they “reach for” them, from a pre-established inventory...?” An alternative way of looking at this is not to say that there is no creativity in language, rather that it is a different kind of creativity. Speakers and writers use “prepatternning” (Tannen, 1989: 37) as a resource for creativity: “It is

the play between fixity and novelty that makes possible the creation of meaning” (Tannen, 1989: 37).

Scholars (e.g. Fairclough, 1992; Bakhtin, 1981) agree that repetition is not only the root of how a particular discourse is created, but it is the root of how discourse itself is created. As speakers and writers, we are borrowing from previous texts all the time. Thus from this, it is noted that the concept of repetition is broader than simply repeating oneself in an utterance. “Repetition is at the heart of language” (Tannen, 1989: 46; Bolinger, 1976; Becker, Hymes, 1981; Becker, 1984b; cited in Tannen, 1989; Bakhtin, 1981). Repetition is just one of the involvement strategies used by speakers to borrow from prior texts. I will now discuss dialogue and imagery.

### 2.5.2.2 Dialogue

Dialogue is so significant in storytelling that Hymes (1973: 14 – 15; cited in Tannen, 1989: 102) contends that it is dialogue that constitutes a good story and an effective storyteller.

All this detail, with voices for different actors, gestures for the actions, and, always, animation. For that, as people will be glad to tell you, is what makes a good narrator: the ability to make the story come alive, to involve you as in a play.

Tannen (1989) refers to direct and indirect speech as a form of involvement strategy. What has often been called “reported speech”, Tannen argues, should more accurately be termed “constructed dialogue” (Tannen, 2008: 208). Tannen explains that “reported speech” implies that the speaker is neutral and objective in reporting discourse that was created by a previous speaker, in a previous context. In contrast, Tannen (2008: 208) argues that any dialogue is primarily the creation of the speaker:

Dialogue – discourse framed as a speaker’s voice – is primarily the creation of the one who utters it, just as surely as dialogue in a play or a work of fiction is the creation of its author.

Constructed dialogues are a strategy for inserting different voices into the text. Once again, these are also examples of what scholars such as Fairclough (1992) refer to as intertextuality and what Bakhtin (1981) refers to as dialogism.

In Schiffrin's (1981) paper, she makes reference to direct speech as a form of the 'historical present'. She suggests that shifts into direct speech (a form of the historical present) are used by narrators to make the retelling of their experiences more real. This furthermore positions the audience as witnesses to the event. Moreover, it reinforces the direct speech as an event happening in real time.

### **2.5.2.3 Imagery**

Less work has been done on the study of imagery in discourse (Tannen, 2008: 209). However, imagery is similar to dialogue in that it evokes scenes. It enables understanding through these scenes as it consists of people interacting with each other and participating in activities that are culturally and personally recognizable and meaningful. In other words, interaction, mutual participation and co-construction contribute to creating and understanding the message.

Involvement strategies do not decorate communication, like frosting a cake, by adding something to the exchange of information. Rather, they constitute communication: they are the ingredients that make the cake. It is in large part through the creation of a shared world of images that ideas are communicated and understanding is achieved (Tannen, 1989: 136).

As Tannen (1989: 135) reiterates, "details create images, images create scenes, and scenes spark emotions, making possible both understanding and involvement". Images, as well as repetition and dialogue, are thus powerful resources which speakers use to communicate meaning and emotions through scenes in their narratives.

## **2.6 Code-switching**

In a multilingual context such as South Africa, it is nearly impossible to disregard the relevance of code-switching in the analysis of conversational texts. On the question of why people switch between languages, Appel and Muysken (1987) uses the functional framework of Jakobson (1960; cited in Appel and Muysen, 1987) and Halliday *et al.* (1964). Using this functional model, it is suggested that switching has six (6) functions. One of the functions switching has is the “referential function”, as it often occurs as a result of lack of sufficient knowledge or ability in one language. Moreover, a specific word in one of the languages involved may be more appropriate to use in terms of expression. All topic-related switching is suggested to serve the referential function of language. Switching could also serve as a “directive function” in that it involves the hearer directly. In this case, certain people could be included into the conversation by the participants using more of a common language that everyone can relate to, or certain people could purposely be excluded from certain parts of the conversation by participants speaking a language unfamiliar to those certain people. Switching also serves an “expressive function” when speakers highlight a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same conversation, as well as a “phatic” function when switching indicates a difference in the tone of the conversation. The “metalinguistic function” of code-switching features when switching is used to remark directly or indirectly on the languages involved. Lastly, switching may be “poetic” in that it makes use of switched puns and jokes (Appel and Muysken 1987: 118 – 120).

Included in the purposes of code-switching, Baker (1996: 87) indicates that code-switching may be used to emphasise a certain point or word in the conversation. He also states that if a person does not know or cannot find a word or phrase in a language, they may code-switch by substituting the word or phrase in another language (such as Afrikaans). Baker further argues that sometimes the purpose of code-switching is simply to bring attention to what is being said, as the word or phrase will then stand out from the rest of the sentence or conversation. In effect, code-switching is an ‘involvement strategy’, as well as a marker of evaluation (Bock, 2007). In addition to its evaluative function (Labov, 1972), code-switching is dialogic as the speaker switches to a different “voice”.

## ***2.7 Storytelling genres***

A genre is a form of discourse that is culturally and linguistically distinct, such as a narrative. Swales (1981, 1985, 1990; cited in Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, 2000) and Bhatia (1993; cited in Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, 2000) refer to genre as a communicative event characterised by a recognisable communicative purpose that can be identified and understood by the people in that specific field of study. The most important aspect in distinguishing between genres is identifying its communicative purpose. This is what shapes the genre and gives it internal structure. The communicative purpose of a certain genre is influenced by the broader social and cultural context of communication. Genre thus refers to the conventional ways and norms of communication within a certain society or culture. The genre of personal narratives goes back to Labov and Waletzky's (1967) narrative framework; however scholars such as Eggins and Slade (1997) and Martin and Plum (1997) have built on Labov's notion of narrative genre, introducing new genres such as anecdotes, exemplum and recount. I will not endeavour to discuss these new genres; instead, below I provide an overview of Labov and Waletzky's narrative model as this is the basis for much current work on evaluation and storytelling.

### **2.7.1 Labov and Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) narrative model**

In their study of narratives of personal experiences, Labov and Waletzky (1967) develop several devices to overcome the limitations of face-to-face interviews. They ask probing questions, such as "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself – '*This is it*'?" and "Were you ever in a fight with a guy bigger than you?" These questions in turn allow speakers to produce extensive data as they gradually relive the story in their retelling of the events. Labov and Waletzky suggests that the emotions that are revealed in the speaker's telling of the story and the experiences he chooses to include in his story are important in forming part of the speaker's biography. As the speaker relives the experience, for instance the experience of almost being killed, he becomes deeply involved in the event to the point that he forgets about monitoring his emotions, or his words. This is what makes the usual face-to-face planned interview different from narrative interviews. Furthermore, the extensive data produced in these narratives allow for the intricate analysis of how verbal skills are used to evaluate experiences (Labov and Waletzky, 1967).

Labov and Waletzky (1967) identify two main functions of narratives, namely, the referential function and the evaluative function. The referential function focuses on the content of the narrative, while the evaluative function is when the speaker assesses the events in his or her story in the context in which it is being told.

According to Labov and Waletzky, narratives are texts that progress in excitement or tension, leading to some kind of crisis, which, in narrative analysis, is referred to as the complication, and eventually leading to a resolution of that crisis. These texts deal with some problematic events experienced by the teller, and which he or she needs to overcome, and so, in his or her overcoming of these experiences, the text includes multiple evaluative clauses. The significance of these events as the teller articulates them is also suggested in their evaluative meanings. Personal narratives emphasise the narrator's evaluation of the happenings more than the description of the event (Labov, 1972). Labov further identifies evaluations as that part of the narrative that tells the listener what the teller's perspective is on the occurred happenings and the importance and relevance of these happenings.

Labov and Waletzky (1967) propose six narrative stages, or functional labels to describe the generic structure of a narrative. An outline of these stages is as follows. The first is called the *abstract*. The purpose of the abstract is to summarise what the story to follow will entail, to prepare the reader with regards to what to expect. The second stage is referred to as the *orientation*. The purpose of the orientation is to direct the listener to time, place and "behavioural situation" (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). The third is the stage called *complication*, which serves the purpose of presenting the problem or crisis that arises as the story unfolds. This is the main part of the narrative. The purpose of the *evaluation* stage, which is the fourth stage, is to disclose the narrator's attitude towards the story that he or she is telling: what are the reflective thoughts of the speaker as he or she tells about the events that occurred? The purpose of the fifth stage, the *resolution*, is to reveal how the story's protagonist reacts to the problem, and how the problem is resolved. Lastly, the sixth stage plays the role of summing up the story as a whole. It could play a further role of getting the teller and the listener back to the present time. This stage is known as the *coda*. Not all the stages are obligatory. The *abstract*, *orientation* and *coda*, for example are optional.

### **2.7.2 A brief critique of Labov and Walesky's narrative model**

While the research and linguistic contributions of Labov and Waletsky are highly commended and still used to date, their theory has been critiqued. Schegloff (1997) offers an assessment of Labov and Waltesky's narrative model. This assessment comes thirty years after the establishment of Labov and Waletsky's Narrative model. Two specific accounts of critique by Schegloff will be presented here. Firstly, Schegloff argues that Labov and Waletsky neglect to take into consideration that storytelling is a combined effort, that it is co-constructed and is a joint production, as scholars such as Schiffrin (1996), Blommaert (2001), Cameron (2001) and others argue (see 2.3 and 2.5). Instead of acknowledging storytelling as an interactional achievement whereby the context is as important as the story itself, Labov and Waletsky view narratives exclusively and separate from any other (external) factors. Thus Labov and Waletsky only focused on the narrative text itself and the shaping role of context. Secondly, the Narrative structure that Labov and Waletsky based their research on is very specific. Thus it cannot be applied to the study of all forms of narrative.

Martin and Plum (1997), for example, argue that there are other storytelling genres (anecdote, exemplum, recount etc.). It is the contemporary stance – that storytelling is an interactional effort – which I adopt in my analysis. However, I do not completely divert from Labov and Waletsky's framework, as I consider their evaluative techniques in my analysis of my data.

### **2.7.3 Labov's types of evaluation**

Labov (1972) explains that evaluation indicates the significance of a story – why it is worth telling. For instance, if someone were to tell the story of how every time he crosses a bridge, he or she nearly falls, the listener might respond, "So what?" On the other hand, if someone were to tell the story of seeing a man killed on the street, the telling of this story will be more interesting and will hold the listener's attention. The difference between the two stories is that the one is more unusual than the other, thus the one is more reportable than the other. The story about the

man slipping on the bridge is considered an everyday occurrence, whereas the one of seeing a man killed on the street is an uncommon story, which makes it more reportable. Hence “if the event becomes common enough, it is no longer a violation of an expected rule of behaviour, and it is not reportable” (Labov, 1972: 370 – 371). Labov argues that for a narrative to be effective it must include evaluative devices signalling why this narrative is reportable – what is so uncommon, strange and unusual about it that makes it different from other stories and that makes it worth telling? Labov identifies four types of evaluation in narratives. The first is called external evaluation, the second is called embedded evaluation, the third is called evaluative action and, finally, the fourth is called evaluation by suspension of the action. These are discussed below.

### **2.7.3.1 External evaluation**

This is when the speaker pauses in the narrating of the story and directly tells the listener what the point of a certain part of the story is. Labov suggests that this is a common evaluative strategy used by middle-class narrators in that they often interrupt the progression of the story by inserting a side point. Some narrators would simply narrate the story and be confident that the listener will get the relevant information out of the narrative and experience the story similar to the way the teller experienced it. But, in this case, with the use of external evaluation, Labov suggests that the speaker finds it difficult to remain within the boundaries of the narrative. This kind of evaluation is common in therapeutic interviews where evaluation is the main substance of the discussion. Basically, external evaluation is when the narrator steps out of the narrative to explain something in the story or to explain to the listener what he or she was thinking at the time that a particular event in his or her story took place.

### **2.7.3.2 Embedding of evaluation**

This is evaluation that the teller embeds within his or her narrative without breaking the dramatic flow of the story. So, in order to maintain the dramatic continuity of the story, the teller will instead convey in quote-form how he or she felt at the time of the incident, for example: “I

thought to myself ‘I have to get out of here’”. As indicated in this example, embedded evaluation includes the attribution of evaluative comments to oneself. It also includes evaluative comments to a third person, for example: “I said to Adam, ‘we have to get out of her’”. Thus, the teller stays within the parameters of his or her story rather than stepping outside it to explain that this is the way he or she felt at the time. Labov (1972: 372) indicates:

The first step in embedding the evaluation into the narrative, and preserving dramatic continuity, is for the narrator to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside of the narrative.

Labov explains that even though it is unlikely that all the internal dialogue that the teller includes in his or her story actually occurred at the time, the listener is willing to accept this dramatic fiction as part of the story. Another form of embedded evaluation occurs through a third person who evaluates the antagonist’s actions. Labov supplies an example of a seventy-four-year-old man who tells a story about a man who threatened to kill him based on the assumption that he was the cause of the man’s wife’s suicide. The narrator makes the following evaluation:

But that night the manager, Lloyd Burrows, said, “You better pack up and get out because that son of a bitch never forgives anything once he gets it in his head” (Labov, 1972: 372).

Instead of attributing this evaluative comment to him or herself, the narrator uses a third person in his story. Evaluation carries more dramatic force when it comes from a neutral observer. Labov suggests that this evaluative skill is mostly used by highly skilled narrators from traditional working-class backgrounds and that “middle-class speakers are less likely to embed their evaluative comments so deeply in the narrative” (Labov, 1972: 373); instead they are more likely to make use of external evaluation.

### **2.7.3.3 Evaluative action**

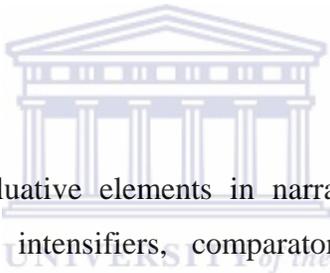
This evaluation focused on conveying what people did rather than what they said. For instance, the incident might have been so dramatic and eventful that, in the telling of the story, more

emphasis will automatically be placed on the actions of individuals rather than on what they said.

### **2.7.3.4 Evaluation by suspension of the action**

This evaluation in narratives happens with the suspension of the action in the narrative. Even though, at the time of the actual event, the actions and emotions of the speaker occurred simultaneously, in the telling of the story, the speaker separates the action from his emotions, and so the action is put on hold. Temporarily stopping the action attracts attention to that part of the narrative where the action has stopped and suggests that this part of the narrative has an evaluative function. This kind of evaluation typically occurs in the evaluation stage of Labov and Waletzky's six-point structure.

### **2.7.4 Evaluative devices**



Labov (1972) classifies four evaluative elements in narrative, which also serve to embed evaluation within the narrative: intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explications. Intensifiers indicate a linear series of events which are presented in the narrative in the same order as they occurred. An intensifier selects one of these events and reinforces it. There are several sub-types of intensifiers that Labov refers to, namely gestures, expressive phonology, quantifiers and repetition. Gestures are when the narrator's words are emphasized by a gesture or the gesture replaces a word. Expressive phonology indicates the lengthening of certain vowels. Quantifiers are the most commonly used intensifiers. It entails the application of an intensifier, such as 'all' at a critical point in the narrative. Lastly, Labov adds the device of repetition in narrative. Repetition is effective in narrative in two ways. Firstly, it intensifies an action. Secondly, it suspends the action.

Comparators compare the events that did occur to those that did not occur. In so doing, the narrator considers an alternative way as to how the story could have unfolded. While comparators compare two events, one of which did not occur, correlatives join two events that did occur. These two events are presented in one clause. Finally, contrary to correlatives,

explicators present additional information in separate clauses. This additional information is not directly relevant to the progression of the narrative, but explains the point of the story. Labov (1972: 392) sums up the above evaluative devices:

Most of occurrences of these features are closely linked to the evaluation of the narrative: they intensify certain narrative events that are most relevant to the main point; they compare the events that did occur to those which might have but did not occur; they correlate the linear dimension of the narration by superimposing one event upon another; and they explicate the point of the narrative in so many words.

## ***2.8 Bildungsroman narrative model***

An alternative, literary genre is the Bildungsroman, which is also referred to as Erziehungsroman. Because this will be useful to the analysis of my data, I present a brief overview here. This genre is a literary mode established by writers such as K.P. Moritz, Goethe and Dickens. Bildungsroman and/or Erziehungsroman are both German terms meaning “novel of formation” and “novel of education”. It is a novelistic genre that was established during the German Enlightenment. The focus of these novels is on the development of the protagonist’s mind and character. In these stories the protagonist, who is usually young, progresses from childhood experiences to maturity and adulthood as he finds his identity and place in the world (Abrams, 1988: 119) through the moral, psychological and social shaping of his personality (Wikipedia, 2008).

There are several criteria that a story has to conform to for it to be considered a Bildungsroman. For the story to be a Bildungsroman, it first has to have a protagonist who has to have a reason to embark upon his or her journey. Something has to cause him or her to move away from his or her family and home. The second feature is the process of maturing. In this process there is a constant clash of personal goals, as well as the influence of society’s views and judgments on these aims. The third feature of Bildungsroman is when society’s values eventually become

manifest in the protagonist. In the end, the protagonist evaluates his life and position in society (Wikipedia, 2008).

## ***2.9 Conclusion***

This chapter has outlined the literature that the analysis is based on. It has explained the concept of ‘social discourses’, identified different kinds of ‘texts’, as well as provided a discussion of narrative identities. It thereafter linked the concept of narrative identities to Tannen’s (1989[2007], 2008) framework of narrative analysis, explaining what is meant by ‘involvement strategies’ and how this is linked to Master Narrative, Big-N Narrative and small-n narrative. Tannen’s narrative theory of Master Narrative, Big-N Narrative and small-n narrative is the main framework used in the analysis of data.

A brief section on code-switching was also presented in this chapter. This is not a major point of reference in the study but is touched upon as it is considered a factor that cannot be ignored in a multilingual society such as South Africa. Towards the end of the chapter, storytelling genres are discussed. This is where Labov and Waletzky’s (1967) and Labov’s (1972) narrative model comes in. Labov’s types of evaluation are explained. The chapter ends after offering an alternative, literary genre, that of the Bildungsroman archetypal narrative forms, as this more appropriately fits the participant’s narrative format.

The next chapter introduces the methodology used to conduct the research. The approach this research takes is situated within the broad paradigm of qualitative research in the social sciences.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology**

#### ***3.1 Introduction***

Before beginning with the data collection, I immersed myself in literature on methods of collecting narrative data. This helped me to decide on the specific approach I would take in conducting my research. Once the approach was decided upon and I had collected the data, I transcribed the narrative interview and prepared the transcript for analysis. This chapter explains the processes I went through in gathering the necessary data. Having narrowed my research within the paradigm of discourse analysis, I introduce this chapter by drawing on Cameron (2001) and Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter's (2006) explanation of discourse analysis as a qualitative research methodology within the study of social sciences.

#### ***3.2 Research paradigm***

My methodology is placed within the landscape of qualitative research. Qualitative research entails the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data by observing the actions and conversations people part-take in. It is different from quantitative research as it collects data through individual, in-depth interviews and focus groups. The nature of this type of research is exploratory and open-ended, focusing on the meanings and descriptions of findings, whereas quantitative research focuses on systematic procedures, such as enumeration. Quantitative research involves the application of structured questions. The response options to these questions are preset and a large group of participants are involved. By design, measurement must be objective, quantitative and statistically valid. In summary, it is about numbers and 'objective' data collection and analysis. Qualitative methodology adopts a different approach, that of acknowledging subjectivity in research and suggesting that the fact that research is subjective

cannot be avoided, much as researchers would like to believe otherwise (Sanghera, 2003; Sha, 2009).

The research paradigm I am working within is discourse analysis. Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary subject; it is used in anthropology, cultural studies, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and by students of the media, education and law (Cameron, 2001). Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) argue that discourse analysis is one of the most common approaches within the social sciences paradigm. It is popular partially because it is not focussed on determining whether or not the speaker is telling the truth; rather, its focus is on the function and effects of the produced texts, such as the evaluation and identity it reflects. Discourse Analysis is specifically concerned with how an individual understands an event; while it is not particularly concerned with what is factually true, it is concerned with what an individual believes to be true. Moreover, this approach views reality as socially constructed in that the speaker draws on social discourses in constructing his or her reality.

Many linguists and other scholars interested in Discourse Analysis adopt the stance that “life is in many ways a series of conversations” (Cameron, 2001: 7). This suggests that a speaker’s utterances reveal information about other aspects of his or her life. Cameron recommends interviews, focus group discussions and ethnographic studies focusing on participant observation as methods which produce discourse data. Focusing on spoken discourse, she suggests that these methods all involve verbal interaction, either between the participants themselves or between the participant and the researcher. Thus, the analysis will involve listening to talk, transcribing the data and reflecting on its meaning and significance – such is the approach I took with the spoken discourse in this thesis. Discourse Analysis is, however, not limited to spoken discourse. Discourse entails a broad range of material in any channel or medium. Discourse analysts work with a variety of data such as written data, sign language data, textual graphics and images, as well as spoken data.

As opposed to using standardised instruments, such as questionnaires which deliver statistical data, discourse analysis offers a research method that allows the researcher to spend time talking to the participant, explaining the necessary information, while also encouraging the participant to

elaborate on the topic at hand in his or her own way and in his or her own words. The participant's talk would be recorded, transcribed and analysed in order to make deductions about the participant's identity, recurring themes and so on, as opposed to pointing out statistical generalisations, as would be expected in a quantitative research method. The method used by discourse analysts is sometimes criticized though, as it is argued that this method is too subjective to accurately portray the truth. While this criticism is valid, it can at the same time be said of any other research methodology. When a researcher's question is being answered, whether it is in the form of a questionnaire or face-to-face interview, the participant is constructing a certain representation of himself or herself that he or she thinks the researcher wants to hear or that he or she wants the researcher to believe. It could be argued that this is an unavoidable element in all communicative acts, as, before answering a question, it is common for people to first make an assessment of who is asking the question and why (Cameron, 2001).

Moreover, discourse analysis pays attention not only to what people say, but to how they say it, as this gives additional insight into people's understandings of events. It is not so much about whether or not what is being communicated is factual, but rather about analysing the interpretive processes. Asking people to fill out a multiple choice questionnaire obliges them to choose one option from a set constructed by someone else. It might not necessarily be that the participant disagrees with the other options given, but he is expected to stick to one answer only. Discourse analysis realises that matters are often more complicated than just that. There is not always one set answer. An advantage that discourse analysis claims is that it generates data by getting people to engage with each other (Cameron, 2001).

Data within a discourse analytic project needs to be understood within its context, for instance, the analyst needs to be familiar with the ways of speaking within the culture from which the data is being collected. Also, in the event of analysis, the analyst should adopt as much of an objective approach as possible and distance himself or herself from the text as far as possible (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006).

Schiffrin (1994; cited in Cameron, 2001) suggests two definitions of discourse. The one focuses on formalism, or structuralism, dealing with abstract forms and structures in language, while the

other, called functionalism, deals with assessing the purpose of language, the role it plays in conveying meaning. However, Schiffrin points out that because both the meaning of the language, as well as the form and organisation thereof is of crucial significance, discourse cannot be restricted to either a formalist or functionalist analysis alone. Thus, meaning in discourse is not restricted to the forms of the language but consideration of the contextual factors which have shaped these.

In summary, Discourse analysis is a holistic study and is an increasingly popular method of conducting social research. Cameron (2001: 17) summarises:

It is the home of various theories about the nature and workings of human communication, and also of theories about the construction and reproduction of social reality. It is both about language and about life.

The spoken discourse that I have collected in this study is presented in a narrative form. In the next section, I provide an overview of the methods of collecting narrative data.

### ***3.3 Methods of collecting narrative data***

This thesis focuses on evaluation and identity construction in narrative. The primary means of data collection for this research was an interview. The aim of narrative interviews, also referred to as life history or biographic interviews, is to produce long accounts of the teller's life.

Personal narratives emphasise the narrator's evaluation of the happenings more than the description of the event (Labov, 1972; cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005). According to analysts, narratives, also referred to as personal storytelling, are often used to manage transgression and to help the mind cope with this transgression of social expectations (Bruner, 1990; Schiffrin, 1996; Ochs and Capps, 2001; cited in Menard-Warwick, 2005). Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that narratives are personal recounts of an event that has happened. In this regard then, narratives will be subjective as opposed to objective.

Some well-known methods of collecting narrative data include that of McAdams's (1993; cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In McAdams's method participants are asked to think of their lives as a novel, wherein there are a series of chapters. They are asked to give each chapter a title and to outline each chapter. Thereafter they are asked to identify the key events in their entire lives, be it positive or negative, such as their very first memory, their first adolescent memory, their first adult memory and so on, and then one more important memory. Thereafter is a question designed to initiate a narrative about the people in the teller's life, and then a question about the future, future ambitions, plans to come and so on. The next question concerns narrative accounts of problems, conflicts, unresolved issues and their possible solutions. The penultimate question is about the ideologies of the teller in order to get an idea of the teller's religious and political stance. Finally the teller is asked to identify and elaborate on his central life theme.

Wengraf's Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) (Wengraf, 2005; cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) is another method of narrative interviewing. Unlike the "active interview" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 142), that focuses much on the interviewer as the co-constructor of the accounts given, the BNIM suggests that the interviewer only retells the narrative after the teller has finished. So throughout the narrative the interviewer should take on a passive role (Jones, 2003; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). The Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) introduced by Hollway and Jefferson (2000; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 142) is adapted from the BNIM that brings together "features of narrative theory with the psychoanalytic principle of free association". The aim of the BNIM is to have stories told with very minimal interruptions. Some scholars however say that this puts the teller in an unnatural position of telling a story without the 'interaction' of the audience (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Furthermore some scholars, such as Bulow (2004) and Hseih (2004), prefer getting narrative data from natural, everyday conversations as opposed to planned interview questions. This introduces another debate concerning the value of interview material as opposed to natural conversational data. Regarding the research at hand, the nature of the interview, as well as role of the researcher, are recognised as shaping factors.

### ***3.4 Description of subjects***

A sample of adolescent males staying at Beth Uriel was the participants for this research. The boys were aged between nineteen and twenty. Three subjects were interviewed. I, however, later decided to focus this research on just one narrative interview and decided to keep the others for further research. The interview I focused on was with a nineteen-year-old boy from Parktown, a residential area in Athlone. Lucas is the pseudonym of this boy. The interview was 1 hour, 42 minutes and 20 seconds. The reasons for choosing Lucas's narrative for analysis amidst the rest was because I considered Lucas's story as one that could be related to. Lucas offered a lengthy and eventful story; this gave me much data to work with. Moreover, as a student of linguistics, as I listened to Lucas's narrative, I anticipated that there were many theories that I could work with in the analysis of his story and that no matter which theory I settled with, there would be many interesting and new findings.

### ***3.5 Description of research techniques and instruments used***

This study was of a qualitative nature. The subject's involvement was voluntary and anonymous. An unstructured interview, which elicited an extended personal narrative, was used to gather the necessary data. The subject was encouraged and given the opportunity to speak with minimal interruptions. Where necessary, clarity was requested. Data was recorded electronically, using a digital recorder, as well as manually, by writing. Non-verbal data was observed and manually recorded as well, as this was an important aspect to the research. The subject was asked to give a personal account of the time leading up to him being at Beth Uriel. In initiating the narrative, the subject was asked to talk about his family, and how he came to Beth Uriel.

### ***3.6 Procedure***

After receiving verbal and written permission from Beth Uriel to conduct this research, with the aim of first getting the formalities of the research out of the way, and to allow participants to get acquainted with me, I met participants individually, introduced myself and explained the nature of my research a day before I actually interviewed them. I then asked permission from suitable subjects, chosen by Beth Uriel management, whether they would volunteer to be interviewed for

the study. In all respects participants were assured of the anonymity of the research. Once the consent form was understood and signed by the participant, I proceeded with the research early the next day. Before conducting the interviews though, I played an American movie that predominantly deals with women and family issues. The name of the movie is “Madea’s Family Reunion”, which is a comedy. The aim of showing subjects this movie before interviewing them was mainly to get into a comfortable atmosphere, as it was taken into account that some people may need to feel comfortable and secure before confiding in another person, especially when it is a person whom they barely know. Another reason for showing the movie was to offer participants the chance to speak about similar issues in their own lives, if relevant. If they could not relate to the issues in the movie, then they were encouraged to identify the differences in the movie, in comparison to their families. This was used as a way to prompt their individual narratives. The movie was 107 minutes long. After subjects had watched the movie together, I began conducting interviews with each subject individually. In the end, however, only one participant was selected.

After the collection of data, I engaged in the time-consuming task of transcribing the data. I started with organising the narrative into clauses. Thereafter I went about highlighting key themes throughout the narrative as well as making points about interesting details and quotes supporting these themes.

### ***3.7 Methods of analysing narrative data***

Just as there are different methods of collecting narrative data, there are also many different ways of analysing the data. There is not one method that all scholars agree upon. In the following paragraphs I will thus look into and discuss various scholars’ approaches to analysing narrative data.

Labov’s (1972) approach focuses on the textual structure of the narrative. The other methods focus on the mind of the storyteller, such as the psychodynamics. Some analysts use narratives to explore the identity of the narrator, using language as a means to see into the mind and experiences of the storyteller. Others view narratives as a construction between the interviewer

and the interviewee. Most agree though that narrative analysis is an “interpretative tool” used to holistically assess the storyteller’s life, thoughts and identities through the stories they tell (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 143).

In Murray’s (2003) research, narrative data was collected through a “life story interview” aimed at eliciting the telling of an extended personal narrative (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 144). Murray, unlike Wengraf (2005; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006), believes that the interviewer plays an important role in the interview and in the shaping and production of the narrative. He believes that the narrative is interactively produced between the interviewer and the interview participant. Murray interviewed women with breast cancer and asked them to tell a story about how they get on with their day to day activities having breast cancer. He directed the narrative not only to include details of the interviewee’s condition of breast cancer but also to encourage the interviewee to talk about her life as a whole. Murray examined how these women’s stories connected to broader social aspects.

Murray illustrates two main steps in analysing narrative data. The first step, identified as the ‘descriptive’ phase, concerns getting familiar with the data, the content and the structure, identifying the beginning, middle and end of each narrative and summarising them as such. The second step, ‘interpretative’ phase is about identifying and using theoretical lenses to support the analysis and interpretation of the narrative.

Furthermore, Murray identifies common narrative structures across his interview data and categorises them. Murray found a pattern occurring in all the narratives. Each narrative started with a beginning, which consisted of the narrator talking about life before cancer. In the middle, the narratives consisted of diagnosis, surgery and the response of family and friends. In the end, interview participants reflected on their story and redefined their identities. Murray highlights three types of analysis in the narratives. The first is at a personal level in the way the narratives reflect upon the different experiences presented by the narrator. The second is at an interpersonal level in the way the narratives are structured and produced, what is emphasised, what is said first and so on. The third is at a societal level in connecting the narratives to broader contexts and/or issues in society.

I have found Murray (2003; cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) helpful in the analysis of my data, which was a long and thorough process. The steps I undertook in the analysis of my data included reading, identifying recurring words, highlighting and grouping themes and distinguishing between Master Narrative, Big-N Narrative and small-n narrative. The Master Narrative is identified as the worldview, the Big-N Narrative is the theme and the small-n narrative is the specific scene.

### ***3.8 Ethical concerns***

The place of collecting data was at an organization called Beth Uriel, a home for young men only. Following strict ethical procedures, I received verbal and written permission from the management of the organization to conduct this research. I explained the nature of the research to the organization and then asked if I may interview young men in the home, who were over the age of eighteen. One of the reasons that it was preferred for subjects participating in this research to be over the age of eighteen, as opposed to younger subjects, was to avoid the possible complication of needing the signature of the parents or guardians to allow subjects to participate in this project.

I then asked the management of Beth Uriel to identify suitable subjects. Once suitable subjects had been identified I spoke to participants individually and asked for their participation. I explained the nature of research to each participant. In all respects participants were assured of the anonymity of the research and that the data collected was private and confidential. As it was expected that this might be a fairly sensitive subject participants were assured that I have background and training in counselling. Thereafter, I handed the participant a consent form, which was a typed version of everything that I had just explained orally. Once the consent form was read, understood and signed by the participant, I proceeded with the research early the next day by conducting interviews with each subject individually.

During the conducting of research it was reiterated to participants that if so preferred, they and/or the organisation need not be identifiable in any way when the results of the study were

published. It was also explained that all recordings and interactions with the participants would remain anonymous and that participation was entirely voluntary. Participants were free to withdraw at any time. Furthermore, participants were informed that they may have a copy of the transcriptions once the research is completed.

### ***3.9 Researcher position***

Finding my way through this research, I found myself talking about my project to many people, mostly academic scholars that I came into contact with. A conversation would initiate and somewhere in-between the chit-chat of everyday life, I would be asked the question concerning my research, the focus of my research, how far I have developed in my thesis and so on. On several particular occasions, through talking about my data and the angle I intended to adopt, I would often gain additional insight, and my focus became clearer. It was through these conversations with different people that I was able to position myself in this research.

#### **3.9.1 Reflexivity**

My interest in narrative and interaction led me to begin observing the development of casual conversation in my everyday life. I began really listening to people, searching for and identifying the three involvement strategies that Tannen (1989) argues are evident in everyday conversation. And I found at least one, or often all of them, in everyday, casual conversation.

I began interpreting conversation on many levels as I engaged in or just observed dialogue. In particular, I became aware of the fact that meaning is created between two or more people when engaged in conversation. I have found that, in conversation, meaning and sense-making are created on two levels: on an interpersonal level, and an intrapersonal level. On the interpersonal level, meaning and sense-making is created between the speaker and listener. On the intrapersonal level, meaning is created in the mind of the speaker as he makes sense of his world through what he is saying (Halliday and Hasan 1989). This is also where evaluation (Labov, 1972) plays an important role. As the speaker tells his story, he makes sense of his world and his

identity through evaluation. The three involvement strategies of repetition, dialogue and imagery appeared as crucial elements that make conversation evaluative, and that makes discourse meaningful.

Through my conversations with people, I have become more alert to the dynamics of conversational strategies and the identities individuals adopt in the stories they tell. As much as I was trying to be 'objective' in analysing the data collected, I realised that there is no such thing as complete objectivity. As much as I am a researcher in this project, I am also a participant. I have an impact on the data that I elicited in the interviews. I am part of the context. The speaker, or interviewee, would probably have constructed a different biography, including different events in his story, had he been speaking to a different person, in a different context. And thus he would have created a different identity of himself. As a listener, being part of the context, I influence the speaker's identity in the story he constructs. As soon as I stopped separating myself from the research process, and instead allowed myself to become part of the process, once I had acknowledged myself as a participant in creating meaning in discourse, the direction that this research took became more meaningful for me, and not just for the speaker or interviewee. I was transformed from the role of 'objective' interviewer and researcher to the role of subjective participant and listener. I moved from being a passive observer, an outsider to the world of my participant, to becoming an active participant, becoming part of the story he told, living in the moment of the events as he told them. And it became clear to me that had he not made use of the effective involvement strategies of repetition, dialogue and imagery in his story, I might not have been drawn into his world as easily as I was. Once I had established the landscape of this research and positioned myself in the process of analysis, everything else fell into place.

### **3.9.2 The researcher as context**

The role I undertook in this research is understood to have had a major influence on the result of the research. It is clear that the way I presented myself impacted on the data I received and the events described in the stories Lucas chose to tell me. It could be that because I represented myself as an educational scholar, in the process of completing my Masters degree at university, Lucas made a particular point of making education a theme in his narrative, and highlighting that

he appreciates the value of education, as it is clear that I do. In so doing, Lucas borrows a certain conversational strategy of positive politeness (Scollon and Scollon, 1983) of establishing solidarity (Brown and Levinson, 1987), whereby he agrees with the views of the other person in conversation in order to create a sense of belonging and/or acceptance for himself. If another person was presented as researcher and asked Lucas to tell the story of how he landed at Beth Uriel, he might have told the story differently to the way he told it to me. For example, he might have included different events and illustrated them differently or might have used different language. In the course of his narrative, Lucas often struggled to express himself adequately in English, and although I encouraged him to switch to Afrikaans, he insisted on continuing in English. Even when he briefly switched to Afrikaans, he would soon switch back to English. English is often viewed as the language of education, so it is suggested that this is part of the influence that the researcher brings to the research.

Factors such as the age, race, culture, religion, class status and the presumed background of the researcher all influence the way the narrative unfolds and the direction it takes. That I am female and of Islamic faith, holding an outward Muslim identity, which could have been perceived as conservative, are factors that could have restricted Lucas' narrative in certain ways. However, like Lucas, I am also of 'coloured' background and furthermore, I was not that much older than him. Therefore, while the participant was aware of the significance of education as part of the context, at the same time, it is suggested that the similarities in age and ethnicity might have helped him feel comfortable enough to express himself, using slang, broken English and code-switching. These factors not only influenced the data collection, but also the interpretation and analyses of the data received.

### ***3.10 Conclusion***

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodology, the processes involved, observations and my position in the study. The first part of this chapter focused on providing insight into the discipline of qualitative research and offering a brief description of the subject involved. The study followed a qualitative paradigm and considered various approaches to data collection and data analysis.

The second part of this chapter addressed the ethical concerns of the study. It thereafter offered a personal account of my experience as the researcher in this study. I discussed my position in the research and how it might have impacted on the outcome of the research, taking into account the viewpoint that the interviewer is as much a part of the research as the interviewee is.

In the next chapter, the narrative interview will be examined and analysed.



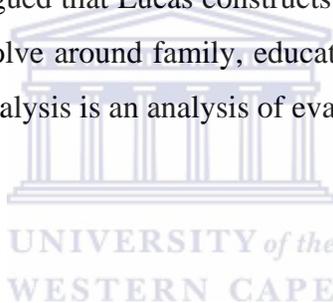
## Chapter Four

### Data Analysis

#### *4.1 Introduction*

This chapter begins with a summary of the narrative and places it within its context. Lucas's narrative is then explored before a thematic analysis is provided, which is primarily based on Tannen's (2008) approach to narrative. This thematic analysis attempts to determine the identities Lucas constructs. It is argued that Lucas constructs three specific identities in the story he tells. These three identities revolve around family, education and drugs respectively. Each is explored below. Inclusive of the analysis is an analysis of evaluation.

#### *4.2 Summary of the narrative*



This section offers a summary of Lucas's story. Lucas mentions many things in his narrative and refers to a series of events (a transcription is provided as Appendix B). I will highlight what I consider the most significant points that make up his narrative.

Lucas, a pseudonym for the participant in this study, is a nineteen-year-old boy from Parktown, a working-class suburban area near Athlone. He left his home and family in Parktown to move to Beth Uriel, a home for young boys, situated in Salt River, just outside the city centre of Cape Town. Lucas comes from a family of gangsters, drug dealers and drug users. So, growing up, he was often surrounded by this way of life. The drug addicts in his family however always encouraged him to finish school and make a success of his life. Lucas's uncle in particular, who was also a drug addict, constantly told him that he should strive for a better life for himself. Despite the positive advice surrounding him, Lucas ignored their advice, saying that he wanted to make his own mistakes, as opposed to learning from others' mistakes. In November 2006, at

the age of sixteen, Lucas began engaging in drug-related activities while he was with some friends at a birthday party. As a result of drugs, Lucas got into much trouble; for instance, he failed a few grades, was suspended from school and dropped out.

Some time after being expelled from school, Lucas returned to his former school, Bridgetown High, when he realised that his key to success was indeed education. But the principal refused to accept him back and instead recommended a few other schools that he could attend. Lucas agreed to leave Bridgetown High and requested a transfer to a school that he was interested in. This school was School of Hope, a private school. Lucas describes this school as a school that helps you to “do stuff with your hand”. This is the turning point (Bruner, 2001) in Lucas’s story. As he progressed at school, Lucas made new friends. One particular friend, named William,<sup>2</sup> suggested Beth Uriel to Lucas and motivated him to give up drugs. Lucas became interested in Beth Uriel and eventually informed his parents that he wished to move from his home in Parktown to live at Beth Uriel, where he could get away from the influence of drugs. He explained that his friends and family were a bad influence on him. It took much persuasion to get his parents to agree, but eventually they understood and allowed Lucas to move. A week before he was to move to Beth Uriel, Lucas was well on his way to giving up drugs. He describes, in much detail, the night he smoked his last drugs. It was the night that the Springboks won the World Cup. Lucas was doing drugs in a wendy house with some friends as usual and then all of a sudden he thought that this was not the life he wanted for himself. He then warned his friends that if anyone were ever to offer him drugs again, he would hang himself. This was merely a strategy used to show his friends how serious he was. Since then, Lucas has not taken drugs.

An important focus of Lucas’s narrative is that of family. Lucas has ambivalent feelings towards his family. He distinguishes between his immediate family, that being his mother and father, and his extended family, that being his parents’ siblings and their children. Furthermore, he distinguishes between his maternal and paternal family. His paternal aunts upset him because they were not accommodating when his family was in need. Lucas had trouble understanding this as he felt this was not the way family should be towards each other, especially when Lucas’s father had been nothing but supportive to his siblings. As a result of incidents in which the

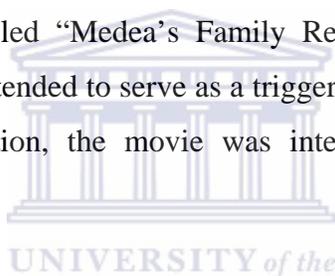
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<sup>2</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant’s identity anonymous.

paternal relatives showed a lack of concern for him and his father, Lucas refused to visit them. However, for the first time since 2007 (the year prior to the interview), Lucas was planning to visit his family after our interview. The previous day, his father had called to ask if he would like to join him to visit the family. After some hesitation, Lucas had agreed. Thus, in the end, Lucas has redeemed himself through education and mended ties with his family. He has continued to stay away from drugs and looks forward to a bright future.

### ***4.3 Narrative context***

The narrative interview took place in an informal setting. The participant and I started a somewhat casual conversation in the lounge at Beth Uriel on a Saturday morning in the year 2008 after watching a movie called “Medea’s Family Reunion”. The movie, which was a comedy about family trials, was intended to serve as a trigger to prompt the speaker to talk about himself and his family. In addition, the movie was intended to help the participant feel comfortable, or at least at ease.



It appears that showing the movie to the participant before speaking to him could have had some impact on the direction the narrative took. It could be argued that the themes of the movie are subtly present throughout the telling of Lucas’s narrative, and it is perhaps a backdrop against which his narrative is positioned. A common theme in both the movie as well as in Lucas’s narrative is the theme of family, particularly, the relationship between the parent and the child, which is eventually mended. In the movie, the mother/daughter relationship is emphasized, while in Lucas’s narrative it is the relationship between mother and son, as well as between father and son. As previously mentioned, (in 4.2 above), Lucas’s narrative tells the story of his family and his journey through drugs and gangsterism.

In the movie, one of the main characters, a young female, named Lisa, is in an abusive relationship with the man she is engaged to marry. Despite knowing that her daughter is being abused, Lisa’s mother encourages her to stay in the relationship as Lisa’s fiancé is successful in his career and so Lisa will have a rich lifestyle. In the end, Lisa chooses not to listen to her

mother. Instead, she seeks emotional support from her aunt, Madea, and her sister, and ends her abusive relationship. In the end, Lisa's mother accepts her daughter's decision and embraces her. Similarly, when Lucas decided to stay at Beth Uriel, his mother and father did not support the idea. In the end, however, his mother understood and Lucas and his father were reconnected. Thus, both the movie and Lucas's narrative ended happily, despite all the trials in between. As the movie was part of the context that surrounded Lucas's story, it can be argued that the way he structured his story was influenced, whether consciously or subconsciously, by his interpretation of the movie. The extent of this influence can only be speculated.

#### ***4.4 Bildungsroman narrative model***

Lucas's story in many ways represents a typical Bildungsroman and/or Erziehungsroman. In these stories the protagonist, who is usually young, progresses from childhood experiences to maturity and adulthood as he finds his identity and place in the world (Abrams, 1988: 119) through the moral, psychological and social shaping of his personality (Wikipedia, 2008). Similarly to this narrative model, Lucas, the young protagonist in the story, matures as the story develops.

There are three particular features of the Bildungsroman model that Lucas's story conforms to. For the story to be a Bildungsroman the protagonist has to have a reason to embark upon his or her journey. Something has to cause him or her to move away from his or her family and home (Wikipedia, 2008). Lucas's fundamental reason for moving from home is to get away from the unhealthy environment of drug addiction and gangsterism and to instead pursue a serious education. However, Lucas's experimentation with drugs forms part of his 'journey'. It is a stage on his path of self-discovery. In this sense, his journey is both the experimentation with drugs as well as his eventual breaking away from his home and family, and the life of drugs associated with these.

The second feature of Bildungsroman in relation to Lucas's story is the process of maturing. In this process there is a constant clash of personal goals, as well as the influence of society's views

and judgments on these goals (Wikipedia, 2008). As Lucas embarks on his journey, he faces many trials concerning drugs and school. There is a clash between his ambition to attain an education and his desire for drugs. In addition, he struggles with society's values and judgments. While society informs him that drugs are bad and education is good, his drug addiction conflicts with these values.

The third feature of Bildungsroman that strongly relates to Lucas's story is when society's values are eventually realised and affirmed by the protagonist. In the end, the protagonist evaluates his life and position in society (Wikipedia, 2008). Lucas is now a young man who conforms to society's values and expectations. He is determined to stay away from drugs and eager to attain a good education so that he can have a successful career. He ultimately evaluates himself as a wise young man, able to offer something valuable to society. This leads to the title I have chosen for Lucas' narrative – 'Redemption Narrative'. As Lucas's narrative develops, he finds ways of elevating his identity from that of a 'druggie' to that of a wise young man, invested in education and a bright future. In the end, I think it is fair to say that he has redeemed himself. He is no longer a drug addict; he has rejected the environment of drugs and instead aspires to improve himself through education.

## ***4.5 Thematic analysis***

### **4.5.1 Introduction to thematic analysis**

For the analysis, I draw on Tannen (2008) and Menard-Warwick (2005). I found many contradicting or competing ideologies, which manifest themselves in the form of discourses, which in turn represent particular identities that Lucas constructs. I will introduce these themes in the analysis. At present, the term 'themes' is used broadly (as Menard-Warwick uses it) to identify the different shaping ideologies and concerns of the narrative. Once these themes have been identified, I will refer to them as Master Narratives. I will also then distinguish between the Big-N Narratives and small-n narratives, which make up the Master Narratives (as illustrated by

Tannen, see 2.5).

In Lucas's narrative, which lasted for 1 hour, 42 minutes and 20 seconds, I have identified three major themes, which consist of competing discourses that reflect particular ideologies and identities. I have labelled these three themes **Family Unity**, **Educational Advancement** and **Drug Addiction**. I argue that Lucas constructs particular identities around these three themes. In terms of Family Unity, he considers himself as a person who values the unity of family. He constructs himself as a loyal family member, as long as he is not betrayed by his family. In terms of Educational Advancement, he constructs himself as a young man who recognises and appreciates the value of education. He is in pursuit of happiness and success and realises that the key to all this lies in education. Lastly, much of his identity is shaped by his experience with drugs. Through his discourses on drugs and gangsterism, I argue that Lucas constructs two identities. Initially he constructs an identity of himself as 'the macho man', a drug user, 'cool' and in control. He is confident in his actions, and proud of the trouble he is able to create. This identity is, however, superseded by his portrayal of himself as a young man who wishes to reject drugs and advance himself through education. In my analysis, I explore each of these themes and the competing discourses and ideologies that constitute them. These competing discourses further indicate Lucas's constant battle in determining who he is as he enters adulthood.

While all three of the major themes introduced above are significant, I propose that Lucas's discourse on family is most important in his narrative. Thus much of his identity is to do with his idea of family unity. He constantly situates himself amidst his family, whether positively or negatively, as will be indicated later (see 4.5.2). As this is the most significant theme in his narrative, I focus more analysis on this particular theme than on others. In doing so, I offer a closer look at the construction of scenes in this theme, whereas I have not focused so much on this in my discussion of the other themes. The three major themes mentioned above are used as a guideline, shaping the analysis of the narrative (Menard-Warwick, 2005). Thus these three themes are used as sub-headings in the following analysis and are linked to Tannen's (2007, 2008) narrative framework.

Tannen's three narrative types and involvement strategies are used as the framework to explore

the respective identities Lucas constructs. I will now discard the use of the general term ‘themes’ and instead use it in reference to the terms ‘Master Narratives’, ‘Big-N Narratives’ and ‘small-n narratives’ respectively, to identify the specific parts of the narrative. To recap, Master Narratives, as defined by Tannen (2008), are culture-wide ideologies that shape the Big-N Narratives. Big-N Narratives are themes that the speaker develops in his or her story. These themes, in turn, support the small-n narratives that focus on specific scenes. These scenes entail the three involvement strategies: repetition, dialogue and imagery.

#### **4.5.2 Family unity**

The story is shaped by a Master Narrative or culture-wide ideology that is based on the belief that **families should be close and intimate**. This closeness is of both a physical and an emotional nature. The one implies that the members of a family (the nuclear family members, as well as extended family members) should be emotionally close and supportive of one another. The second implies that the nuclear family (constituting parents and children) should be physically close thus they should live together in the same space. Thus, the two go hand in hand and ultimately determines healthy family unity.

This Master Narrative is revealed early in Lucas’s narrative upon me asking what he thought of the movie he had just watched. Lucas compares his family to the family in the movie and repeats that his family was different; his family was not the same as the family portrayed in the movie. Rather, his family was good to him (see Appendix B, Turn 4):

#### **Extract 1:**

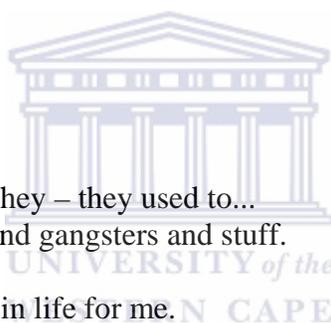
For me it wasn’t the same,  
for me it wasn’t like 'gat.  
For me it was like a family,  
for me my family o'right.

The words, “like a family” suggests that family is a naturally close unit. This Master Narrative is developed throughout Lucas’s narrative and shapes the Big-N Narratives. The Big-N Narratives

are the themes developed from the Master Narrative. I have identified **five Big-N Narratives** relating to the Master Narrative that family should be close and supportive of one another. The first Big-N Narrative is that **Lucas's family was close and loyal**. On some occasions, Lucas refers to his family as a 'proper' family that sticks together no matter what. He considers his family to be consistent with the social norms of a family. He assumes that this care and concern he talks about in his family exists in all families. As previously argued, these views are conveyed in the line, "for me it was like a family, for me my family o'right". Furthermore, Lucas particularly refers to his mother's side of the family as an example of the closeness and unity that should be displayed in a 'normal' family. He implies that he has a close relationship with his maternal family because they show concern for his well-being. Even though they engage in drug-related activities, they would constantly advise him not to follow their ways (see Appendix B, Turn 4):

**Extract 2:**

My mother's side, how can I say – they – they used to...  
 they do – they were used to drugs and gangsters and stuff.  
 But they always told me  
 that, ya I must choose better things in life for me.



While explaining why he considered his relationship with his maternal family as a close one, Lucas draws in on his relationship with his gangster uncle (his mother's brother). Lucas's uncle was particularly interested in Lucas's well-being. Even though Lucas was not interested in taking note of his uncle's advice, his uncle remained persistent in encouraging Lucas to strive for a better life: "my uncle, he used to everyday talk to me". Note that Lucas suggests two important ideologies in this Big-N Narrative. The one is that in order for family to maintain a close relationship, they should show concern for each other. The second is that they should be persistent, especially through the tough times, such as when Lucas was not interested in listening. It is clear then that this Big-N Narrative aligns with the Master Narrative. However, as will be indicated next, Lucas uses a competing discourse to distinguish between his maternal and paternal family.

The second, contrasting, Big-N Narrative is that **Lucas's family was not close and loyal**. Lucas particularly refers to his paternal family in this regard. Note that opposed to his maternal family, Lucas's paternal family did not meet the criteria he had set up for an 'ideal family'. His paternal family did not show concern and they were unreliable in difficult times. Lucas offers two separate small-n narratives in support of this Big-N Narrative. I will supply a background to the scenes before giving the small-n narratives. The one event Lucas describes is when his father needed money to pay for a speeding ticket. As an indication of his father's loyalty, Lucas explains that his father would steal goods from work to give to his father's sisters. However, when Lucas's father had no food or money, no one was there to help them. His father was a truck driver and he had received a speeding ticket on the job. He had no money and asked his family to pay the ticket for him. They refused and Lucas had to involve his teacher at School of Hope to pay the speeding ticket. Lucas's anger towards his family grew because of their lack of concern. Whenever his father would ask him to visit the family, Lucas would refuse, describing in detail how they were never around when needed (see Extract 3 below). The second event Lucas mentions towards the end of his narrative. Again, he refers to the many times his father had asked him to visit the family and each time he refused. He justified his refusal by telling me about a time when he and his father had visited the family. They did not have a lift home. Instead of taking them home, Lucas's paternal family dropped him and his father along the road, saying that petrol was expensive. Lucas complained "that's not family" and that true family would not worry about petrol being expensive (see Extract 4).

Below are the two small-n narratives in support of the Big-N Narrative that Lucas did not have a close relationship with his paternal family because they were unconcerned and disloyal. Small-n narratives consist of specific scenes. These scenes in turn consist of the involvement strategies of repetition, dialogue and imagery. The involvement strategies give substance to the small-n narratives. As Tannen (2008) argues, scenes are the context in which meaning is conveyed and understood in interaction. Furthermore, it is argued that the small-n narratives below reveal that Lucas recognises he is constructing a competing discourse to his previous Big-N Narrative, and more broadly to his Master Narrative. Thus, he offers these two small-n narratives (see Appendix B, Turns 144 and 180 respectively) in order to explain and justify this contrast. (Words in italics indicate dialogue, words in bold indicate detail, the underlined words indicate repetition, while

capital letters indicate emphasis in data. Non-verbal information is indicated in square brackets. Translations are included in brackets.)

### **Extract 3:**

He actually needed money for a job  
like the one – uh – what was it – **280 rand** or what for speeding – drive...  
**those big trucks** – drive the big trucks  
and there was no one there.  
But at the **School of Hope**  
you see,  
I told **the principal** the sir  
and **the principal** told  
and the sir paid for that  
and then my dad gone back to work  
and then it was like they –  
then the family was like  
yay, uhm – my father said – my father –  
*you can come 'n visit,*  
and my father – my father told me  
*yay! you must come with,*  
I told him yay [clicks tongue]  
*wat praat deddy (what's daddy talking about)*  
*van EK moet daan toe gaan? (about me going there?)*  
*Hulle was nie 'aar vir my*  
*wanneer ek stukkende skoene, (They weren't there for me when I broken shoes) stukkende klere*  
*gedraa het 'ie (when I wore broken clothes)*  
*so ek gaanie terug nie – (so I'm not going back)*  
*ek gaan nie daan toe nie, (I'm not going there)*  
*hulle kan hie' kom, (they can come here)*  
*hulle het kare, (they have cars)*  
*hulle kan hie' by ons kom, (they can come here by us).*

In this small-n narrative, repetition plays an important evaluative function. Repetition adds suspense and intensifies the events as the story unfolds (Labov, 1972). Moreover, repetition of the word “stukkende” (broken) focuses attention on the extent to which Lucas’s family struggled without any support from his paternal family. The word “stukkende” suggests poverty.

In the following lines from the above extract, Lucas repeatedly asserts that he will not go to his paternal family. Instead, they will have to come to him.

*So ek gaanie terug nie – (so I'm not going back)*  
*ek gaan nie daan toe nie, (I'm not going there)*  
*hulle kan hie' kom, (they can come here)*  
*hulle het kare, (they have cars)*  
*hulle kan hie' by ons kom, (they can come here by us)*  
*hulle kom dan hier – (they come then here)*

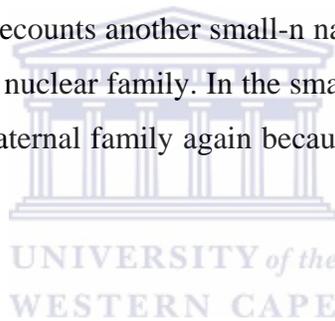
Lucas uses repetition to set up a polarity between himself and his paternal family. By repeating the words “ek” (I) and “hulle” (they), he separates himself from his family. This separation is reinforced by the words “daan toe” (there) and “hier” (here). By referring to different spaces – here and there – Lucas emphasizes that there exists a difference between himself and his paternal family. He uses a narrative strategy of setting up oppositions between different spaces (Baynham, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2003). Disunity is emphasized as well as Lucas's unwillingness to unite. Moreover, the word “hulle” is said accusingly, as if he is accusing his paternal family of the offence of being disloyal to family.

Embedded in the above extract is Lucas's evaluation of the dialogue between his father and himself. By constructing his conversation with his father as if they were presently in a verbal interaction – as direct speech – Lucas makes the event more vivid and real (Schiffrin, 1996). This is enhanced through his code-switching to Afrikaans. Lucas's code-switching focuses the listener's attention on the conversation between him and his father. Moreover, Lucas constructs his dialogue this way for the purpose of emphasis. People code-switch for several reasons (see 2.6). It is suggested that here Lucas switched from English to Afrikaans for three specific reasons. The first, that he is more comfortable in expressing himself in Afrikaans on this particular point that he feels so passionate and emotional about, as his fluency in English might not have enabled him to express himself well enough or he might not have had the resources to encode the utterance at that specific moment when his emotions were heightened, so instead, he conveys the utterance as it was told, in 'direct speech', and trusts that the listener will understand and discern the value in the utterance. Secondly, I presume that he switches from English to Afrikaans in order to emphasise what he is saying, to draw attention to what was uttered at the time of the incident, so as to make it so much more real for the listener as for him (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1996). Thirdly, and perhaps the primary reason Lucas code-switches, is

because the dialogue originally happened in Afrikaans. That Lucas chooses to relay this dialogue in its originality adds to the authenticity of his story and marks it as quoted speech, as someone else's words.

Through dialogue, Lucas also adds detail. Particular details are given to create an image of how Lucas had to dress because his family was struggling financially: “stukkende skoene... stukkende kleren”. Moreover, at the beginning of the small-n narrative, Lucas supplies detail by saying exactly how much his father's speeding fine was: “280 rand”. He gives further detail by describing his father's job, particularly the kind of vehicle his father drives: “those big trucks”. Lastly, Lucas gives the name of his school that ended up helping his father pay the fine: “School of Hope”. These details help to make his narrative more real and believable.

Further on in his narrative, Lucas recounts another small-n narrative which depicts the disloyalty of his extended family towards his nuclear family. In the small-n narrative below, Lucas tells his father that he refuses to visit his paternal family again because they did not have the decency to take Lucas and his father home.



**Extract 4:**

They don't even drop us by our house [laugh]  
 they drop us – **maybe from here to... Rondebosch**  
 and we must walk home you see  
 and then I told him –  
 they done that once – once to us you see  
 and after that I told him  
*I'm NEVER gonna visit them again you see.*  
Why they care about petrol and stuff?  
*But we their family you see*  
*they know*  
*we don't have money*  
*but why they drop us that side?*  
that's not family  
*they don't care.*  
 My dad's like yay...  
*you mustn't care*  
*what they do wrong*  
*you must just... be –*

*do the right thing.*

I was like yay [clicks tongue]

*Daai's 'ie familie daai nie, (That's not family)*

*hulle's a klom gemors, (They're a bunch of crap)*

*hulle's pretenders (They're pretenders).*

Once again, Lucas makes use of the three involvement strategies. Through repetition, Lucas emphasises the notion of family. By saying “that’s not family”, Lucas is also saying what family is. This links back to his previous words “it was like a family”, in support of the Master Narrative that families should be close. In both these instances, Lucas suggests that family should show concern for each other and maintain a close relationship. Moreover, that Lucas repeatedly questions, “Why?” – “Why they care about petrol and stuff? / Why they drop us that side?” suggests that his paternal family contradicts his views of what a family should be like. It further indicates that the fact that his paternal family does not meet these basic rules of family unity bothers him, he cannot understand it.

As in Extract 4 (and 3), above, dialogue is constructed to create dramatic impact. This is especially indicated in Lucas’s code-switching to Afrikaans, once again, giving the listener the idea that these were the exact words spoken when the dialogue occurred. In Extract 4, detail is added in the illustration of his paternal family dropping him and his father a distance from home equivalent to the distance from Beth Uriel (Salt River) to Rondebosch. Note the particular detail in naming the residential area, “Rondebosch”. By naming the residential areas, Lucas clearly demonstrates the distance. By illustrating why Lucas and his paternal family are not close, the above small-n narratives is contrasted with the Master Narrative that families should be close. In addition, it is the combination of repetition, dialogue and imagery that contribute to the impact of Lucas’s narrative.

An extension of the Master Narrative that family should be close is that mothers should have a close relationship with their children. However, the third Big-N Narrative is that **Lucas and his mother did not have a close relationship**. Lucas suggests that his mother did not support him; instead she constantly discouraged him, “bringing [him] down” and making him angry. Once again, contrasting discourses are noted as he demonstrates this in his small-n narrative (see Appendix B, Turn 48):

**Extract 5:**

My mother, ya, my mother was always... telling me stuff,  
 bringing me down,  
 told me  
*you gonna become a gangster,*  
*you wanna become like – just like Americans,*  
*you wanna look like your uncle huh,*  
*you gonna become like your uncle you,*  
*if you keep on drugging,*  
 me – and my friend was sitting there,  
 uh my friend was sitting there.

Using the impact of direct speech, Lucas inserts his mother's voice into the narrative. He emphasizes the way she criticizes and discourages him by reinforcing the idea that his life will be like that of a drug addict's.

The repetition of the words “you gonna become” followed by “a gangster”, “Americans” (a gangster group) and “your uncle” sets up a parallelism by which it no longer matters what comes next, it will most likely be something along the lines of “you wanna become like...” By repeatedly comparing her son to these respective drug addicts, his mother's fear is revealed, and thus also her concern. She does not want her son to be a drug addict and fears that he will end up as a gangster. Her concern is conveyed through repetition; however it is mistaken as an indication that she is unsupportive or unloving. Furthermore, the repeated reference to Lucas's uncle suggests that he spends considerable time with his uncle, thus his uncle has an influence on his life. Lucas adds detail to the scene in naming a gangster group called, “The Americans”, and by mentioning that his friend was present while his mother criticized him: “and my friend was sitting there”. Lucas repeats this line, suggesting that it affected him that his mother humiliated him in front of his friend. Lucas constructs his mother as critical of drugs, although also as a mother who was not close to her son and one who did not show particular concern for him. However, it could be argued that her concern for Lucas comes through in her criticising his drug habit.

Lucas's portrayal of his mother stands in contrast to his description of a young woman he meets. She seems to represent some kind of "ideal woman" to him. She is street-wise, familiar with the ways of gangsters and drugs, while also proficient in the kitchen. Contrary to his mother, this girl buys him things, cooks for him, cleans the house and, to top it all, she understands the gangster lifestyle, something his mother does not understand. Also, this girl does not discourage him, as his mother does. Instead, she motivates him and encourages him to make something positive out of his life, as in the small-n narrative below (see Appendix B, Turn 158).

### **Extract 6:**

This girl, from the **Bontheuwel**. she... like – ya she do drugs  
but... she – me and she we – we always talking  
but we didn't see each other –  
we didn't see each other,

I told her ya

I like you you see,

I don't LIKE you – like like you as a girlfriend,  
just as a friend,

she said

ya, me I like you as a brother,  
told her

ya I like you as a sister,  
then when the time when she come

we can talk WHOLE day,

we can sit whole day

and talk and what what,

ya, we can talk whole day

and then ya, for me she was a influence

because... ya she was just yaw

she was amazing girl,

she sommer take me out,

**ya buy m – buy me something to eat,**

**buy my mother also something to eat,**

**at our house, sommer** wash our dishes,

**clean our house**

**and... make something to eat,**

**sommer** buy the whole house **something to eat,**

she was like that girls that

*no I don't eat fish,*

**I don't eat this tuna fish –**

**I don't [laugh] –**

**I don't eat tuna fish**



and I don't sit uh –  
 when we buy **KFC** –  
 then like some girls wanna sit inside and that,  
 she was a other dingese – (thing/type)  
 she was a totally different girl,  
 she say yay –  
 but she look cute and that stuff,  
 she was – ya she's a beautiful girl,  
 every man that saw her wanted to be after her –  
 she was like  
 yay, we can go sit on the corner  
 and eat you see,  
we go sit anywhere outside,  
 I'm like ya,  
 at one 'o clock in the day, you see.

...

Ya she was like that, totally different girl,  
 do stuff differently

...

Ya, she was like half man [laugh].  
Half man half dingese, ya,  
 and she – she was – she don't speak  
 like women supposed to speak,  
 she was like –  
 I don't know what –  
 if she was a gangster or what ya  
 but she could understand  
 what the gangsters was speaking and stuff  
 and ya and sometimes she gave me advice, she and her boyfriend...

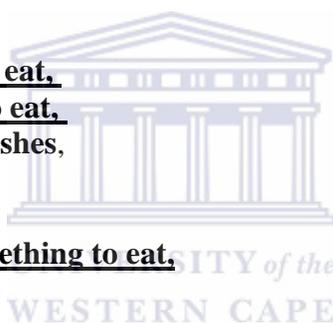
For Lucas, this girl possesses all the qualities he admires in a woman. He emphasizes that she is not an ordinary woman. He does this by repeating, each at different points in the narrative, that she is a “totally different girl”.

She was amazing girl,  
a totally different girl,  
she's a beautiful girl,

totally different girl

In his small-n narrative on the girl, Lucas describes and joins three different images of her in substantiating what makes her so amazing and different. The first image that is conveyed is that she is unconventional and man-like in her ways. He demonstrates that she would eat outside KFC, whereas other girls would want to sit inside: “we can go sit on the corner and eat you see, we go sit anywhere outside”. Her unconventionality is demonstrated in that she would sit and eat with him on the corner of the road and talk like a gangster. It is also emphasized in the statement that “she don’t speak like women supposed to speak”. Even though she was an unconventional girl, Lucas emphasizes that she was still a girl – “amazing” and “beautiful”, and her unconventionality just added to her being “amazing”. Moreover, below, Lucas gives a vivid picture in describing further what makes this girl special.

**Ya buy m – buy me something to eat,**  
**buy my mother also something to eat,**  
 at **our house,** **sommer wash our dishes,**  
**clean our house**  
 and... **make something to eat,**  
 sommer **buy the whole house something to eat,**  
 she was like that girls that  
**no I don't eat fish,**  
**I don't eat this tuna fish –**  
**I don't [laugh] –**  
**I don't eat tuna fish**



In contrast to the first image, the second image that Lucas constructs of this girl is a stereotypical one. He constructs the girl as a stereotypical young woman by creating a housewife image through the detail of her washing dishes at his house, as well as in the image of her cooking and ensuring that his family had a meal to eat. He emphasizes particular attention on his mother, “buy my mother also something to eat”, suggesting that the ideal woman should be able to get along with and take care of his mother as well. She should have the ability to be independent and to take care of a family. This is further demonstrated in the repetition that she would take Lucas out and buy him “something to eat”. The repetition on “something to eat” suggests that Lucas and his family were not wealthy and that this girl made sure they had something to eat is also what makes her “amazing” to Lucas. Moreover, Lucas’s ideal woman should be able to give

good advice. The girl meets this standard as well.

The third and final image that Lucas constructs is the image of this young woman as unconventional and ‘classy’. This is hinted at in his direct speech and detail that she does not like to eat “tuna fish”, and is intensified as his small-n narrative of her progresses. Tuna fish is tinned food that you can buy at the odd supermarket and this makes it unattractive and ‘un-classy’. That this girl refuses to eat tuna fish reinforces that she is not like any ordinary girl and particularly supports the ‘classy’ image of her.

Lucas describes his relationship with this girl as a very close one, as he repeats: “me and she we – we always talking”. Further in the discourse, he again states:

We can talk WHOLE day,  
**we can sit whole day**  
**and talk**  
and what what, ya, we can talk whole day

In order to emphasize the closeness of their relationship, Lucas recounts a dialogue between himself and this girl. In the dialogue he tells the girl that he likes her as a sister and she responds that she likes him as a brother. This simile – “as a brother”/“as a sister” – reinforces the bond between them and affirms the Master Narrative that families should be close. Their relationship – although not really ‘familial’ – is an example of how family members should be. Again, he uses a simile in relation to family, as he did earlier in his description of his relationship with his (maternal) family: “it was like a family”. I have presented instances of dialogue in a conventional literary form in order to assist with readability and to better indicate turn-taking.

I told her, “Ya I like you you see, I don't LIKE you – like like you as a girlfriend, just as a friend.”

She said, “Ya me I like you as a brother.”

Told her, “Ya I like you as a sister.”

Lucas’s construction of this girl suggests his ideology of the perfect woman – a combination of being independent enough to be able to take care of the household while simultaneously being

unconventional and unique in that she should be able to relate to a man's/gangster's lifestyle. This girl meets all Lucas's criteria for an ideal woman. Thus he states: "she was like half man [laugh]/Half man half dinges". The repetition, dialogue and detail supplied focuses Lucas's small-n narrative on what this girl did that made her who she was and that consequently caused Lucas to admire her so much.

The second part of the Master Narrative that families should be close is the belief that the nuclear family should live together, under one roof. So families should not just be emotionally close, but physically close as well. This is indicated in Lucas's parents' reaction when he informed them that he would like to move out of their home. Therefore, the fourth Big-N Narrative is that **a family should live together under one roof**. Evidently, this Big-N Narrative aligns with the Master Narrative. Moreover, moving away from home at Lucas's age is considered strange and unacceptable to the people around Lucas. This is supported by the small-n narrative below. In this small-n narrative, Lucas informs his parents that he wants to move to Beth Uriel. They do not receive the news well and ask why he wants to leave home. They assume that they have failed as parents. It being difficult to convince his parents, Lucas invites Linda<sup>3</sup>, one of Beth Uriel's staff members, to talk to them. He informs his parents that it is important for him to leave home because of the distractions impeding his educational advancement. Eventually his father allows him to move to Beth Uriel (see Appendix B, Turn 118).

### **Extract 7:**

Before I came here  
my dad – [laugh] my dad ask me, "*Why you wanna go there, don't I show you love?"*  
I told him, "*Yay, you don't tell me, I'm just gonna go 'cause I want to go.*"

Further on in the same scene, Lucas recounts a dialogue to illustrate his mother's reaction (see Appendix B, Turn 122):

### **Extract 8:**

My mother say, "*Ya but don't we give you love – enough love and stuff?"*

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<sup>3</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

I was like, “*Ya, you give me – I love you's but, why don't you wanna let me go?*”

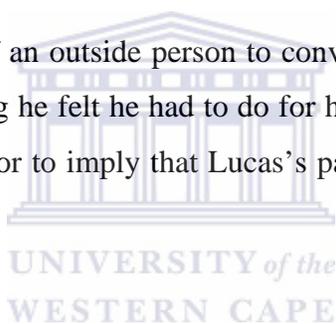
*“No the people, the family's gonna think this and –”*

*“Yay the family – leave them let them think what they want to. You see me I'm gonna go, nothing's gonna stop me”*

My mother said, “*Ya, you speak to your father first.*”

Through dialogue, Lucas constructs narrative immediacy and is able to give a detailed account of his parents’ reaction. He repeats the word “love” in both his father and his mother’s dialogue with him. This suggests that if a family does not live under one roof, particularly if a child chooses to move out of his parents’ home, there is something wrong with the bond between parent/s and child. His parents’ assume they have failed to effectively convey their love to him, thus this is the reason he wants to leave. Similarly, the word “go” is also repeated, indicating Lucas’s determination to leave home.

In the end, it took the influence of an outside person to convince his family of his intentions to move, that it was simply something he felt he had to do for his personal development and that it was not meant to show disloyalty or to imply that Lucas’s parents had failed him (Appendix B, Turn 122).



### **Extract 9:**

And then **Linda**, the owner of **BU**, she came there and talked – talked to my father.

My father tell me, “*Ya Lucas – it's almost like we not giving Lucas enough love, we not giving him enough stuff*”

And then, I was like, “*Yay, you not gonna tell me, you can tell her. I'm gonna- I'm gonna go on my OWN, I'm gonna go there to Beth Uriel. You don't tell me.*”

In the above small-n narrative, Lucas supplies detail by giving the name of the person, “Linda”, who came to intercede between his parents and himself, as well as the place where she is from, “Beth Uriel”. This extra information adds to the credibility of what Lucas is saying. Once again, there is reinforcement on the word “love” and determination through the words, “I’m gonna go”. Furthermore, the reaction that Lucas gets from his extended family as well as his community reinforces the Master Narrative that family is supposed to live together. Lucas’s extended family and community are shocked as though this is not normal. As Lucas indicates in the dialogue

below between a community member and himself (see Appendix B, Turn 172):

**Extract 10:**

But, ya, even the community, they was like, “*Ya where do you live?*”

I say, “*I live in Pretoria.*”

They say, “*Ya I heard you live at a home.*”

I say, “*Yay, it's a home. Now what's wrong?*”

“*Why you live at a home?*”

I say, “*Huh, I told them what's wrong.*”

They say, “*Now why you living at a home... what your mo – what your father think?*”

I say, “*I don't care what my mother and my father think, I don't care what you say, me I just want to live there and klaar.*”

The guy told me, “*Okay, because of problems, stuff is getting bad at your house?*”

And I said – I just said, “*Uh ya uh ya, it's fine. You can think what you want to but me I'm gonna stay here.*”

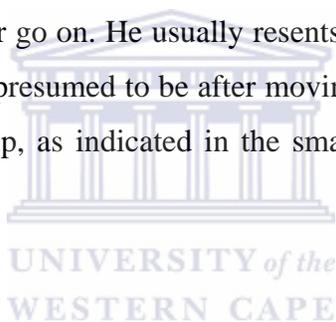
Despite their previous lack of support, his extended family even invites him to stay with them if there is any trouble at home that is causing him to move away. Not living under the same roof as your family is suggested to be so odd and unacceptable to the point that his extended family, who were previously unsupportive, are prepared to assist (see Appendix B, Turn 134). Lucas even tries to avoid discussion on the topic by joking that he lives in Pretoria, upon being asked where he lives. Obviously, the person asking had already known that Lucas was staying at a ‘home’, thus the person continued to pry.

Furthermore, the above dialogue sets up a distinction between two kinds of homes. The one is a family home that you are brought into by your parents. The other is an orphanage home. In the dialogue above, the repetition on the words, “live” and “home” have negative connotations, as if there has to be something majorly wrong to cause an adolescent boy to move out of his parents’ home and into an orphaned home. Hence, this Big-N Narrative supports the Master Narrative that family members should be both emotionally and physically close, and that if a family is physically close, they are considered a good, healthy family. Whether this physical closeness actually does determine the well-being of Lucas’s family will be discussed in the analysis of his following Big-N Narrative. From the above analysis, it is clear though that, ultimately, in order for Lucas to become a better person he needs to reject his Master Narrative that family lives

together and so pull away from his family, friends and community in order to pursue a better life.

Once again, an extension of the Master Narrative that family should be close is that fathers should have a close relationship with their sons. Finally, the fifth and last Big-N Narrative is that **a father should be close to his son**. Initially, Lucas's relationship with his father is strained. However, it is later repaired, as Lucas develops a better relationship with his father while he is away from home. Therefore, ultimately, this Big-N Narrative is an affirmation of the Master Narrative that family should be close.

Lucas indicates in his narrative that he has never really had a close relationship with his father, nor his mother, however Lucas also explains that his relationship with his father has developed since moving away from home. He illustrates this in a story he tells of one of the regular trips to Johannesburg that he and his father go on. He usually resents this time spent with his father, but on one particular occasion, that is presumed to be after moving in at Beth Uriel, Lucas describes bonding with his father on this trip, as indicated in the small-n narrative below (Appendix B, Turn 254):



**Extract 11:**

When we come to **Jo'burg**  
**and then we took a walk –**  
**me and him took a walk**  
**and then we talk** about ya stuff that's happening at the house now  
 And I told him  
*ya imagine if **the house get burned down,***  
*my mother's not there*  
 and he's like  
*ya and **the house got burned down.***  
 he's like  
*ya it's your house –*  
 he told me  
*yay it's your house*  
 And then we were laughing about it  
 and then me and him – we getting close to each other –  
 after that we getting close to each other,  
 we were talking about ya –  
we were getting close to each other and – ya [clicks tongue]

how can – we getting close to each other.

Lucas creates an image of him and his father. He provides detail of him and his father taking a long walk in Jo'burg. The dialogue Lucas creates further illustrates the new bond between his father and himself, as is more effectively presented below:

And I told him, “*Ya imagine if the house get burned down, my mother's not there.*”  
 And he's like, “*Ya and the house got burned down,*” He's like, “*Ya it's your house,*” He told me, “*Yay it's your house.*”

In his conversation with his father, he provides an image of his mother's house burning. This imagery is intended to be humorous and acts to create a bond between him and his father. There is only one instance of dialogue. The direct speech, in the voice of Lucas's father, depicts Lucas's pride in knowing that the house he grew up in is still considered his house by his father. The words “me and him”, repeated twice, reinforces this new bond. Lucas further uses repetition to emphasize the bond developing between him and his father through words such as “we were getting close to each other”, repeated thrice, as he perhaps struggles to express this new connection with his father in any other way. This repetition also suggests that connecting with his father was important to him.

From the above discourses, it is deduced that Lucas counters the ideology which promotes the idea that in order to portray an intimate, close family all the members of the family have to live under the same roof. In summary, five Big-N Narratives were outlined against the Master Narrative that families are both physically and emotionally close, and that this setup is what constitutes a healthy family. In his narrative, Lucas distinguishes between his maternal and paternal family. The first Big-N Narrative concerns his maternal family and aligns with the Master Narrative that families are close, while the second Big-N Narrative, that families are not close, concerns his paternal family and counters the Master Narrative as well as his previous Big-N Narrative. The third Big-N Narrative also counters the Master Narrative that families are close, in this instance, particularly focusing on the mother-son relationship, as Lucas and his mother were not close. The fourth Big-N Narrative aligns with the Master Narrative that a nuclear family should live under the same roof in order for it to be considered a healthy family. This is however contrasted in the fifth, and last, Big-N Narrative that Lucas and his father did not have a close

relationship, as, towards the end of the narrative, Lucas and his father have bonded, thus ultimately affirming the Master Narrative that family should be close, especially father and son. The above analyses illustrate that, as Lucas's journey progresses, his family ties are healed and strengthened. This will be further motivated in the analyses that follow. Lucas's narrative expresses contradictory and ambivalent positions in relation to his family and their values. This ambivalence is continued in relation to the other Master Narratives and all forms part of a typical Bildungsroman literary model.

### 4.5.3 Educational advancement

The second Master Narrative is that **education is the key to success**. In Lucas's story, education and drugs, which will be discussed after this section (see 4.5.4), are intertwined and often cannot be separated. Thus, in this section, occasional reference will be made to the Master Narrative of drugs, but will be elaborated further upon in the section that follows. Education is hinted at throughout the discourse, such as in the random statement Lucas's friend makes after Lucas's mother scolds about his drug-related activities. Lucas explains that his friend told him to disregard his mother as she is not qualified to say anything as she is not educated (see Appendix B, Turn 48):

#### **Extract 12:**

He told me, "*Yay, don't take note of your mother. She didn't even go to school and whatever.*"

This establishes the Master Narrative and critical role of education in Lucas's discourse. Furthermore, there is a constant positive "voice" of education; different significant characters adopt this voice at different points in the story.

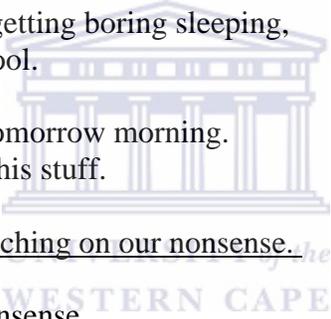
There are **two Big-N Narratives**. One, that school is boring and 'un-cool'. Two, that school is the symbol of hope and the key to happiness and success. As can be seen, the one is a counter-discourse, while the other is aligned to the Master Narrative. Lucas constantly shifts between these two Big-N Narratives. In the end however, education proves to be the key to success and

Lucas recognises this as will be elaborated upon below.

At the beginning, Lucas constructs the first Big-N Narrative, that **school is boring and ‘un-cool’**. Lucas often socialises by using drugs. He stays up late using drugs and when he needs to go to school he is tired and demotivated, as he recalls in the small-n narrative below (see Appendix B, Turn 7):

**Extract 13:**

When I go – I don’t actually go to school –  
when I go to school,  
 supposed to be in school,  
 but bunking outside man  
 so that was being a problem.  
 And then afterwards for me it was getting boring sleeping,  
 every time bunking outside the school.  
 So I check naai, wait,  
 I’m gonna break down the school tomorrow morning.  
 I don’t care about this teacher and this stuff.  
 For me that time it was fun  
 because we were a LOT of boys catching on our nonsense.  
 And then ya, and then it was –  
 everything was nice catching on nonsense.



In the above extract, Lucas applies repetition on the words “school”, “bunking” and “catching on nonsense”. These words actually summarise the above extract. These words suggest some sort of achievement for Lucas as he proudly announces that this is what he and his friends did at school. Through the repetition of these words he creates a particular identity. He creates a collective identity for himself as part of a gang, suggesting that he is the leader of the gang, the ‘the man’ at school, macho and popular, and brave enough to go against the rules and break down the school. Again, this is a counter discourse as though he acknowledges that education is fundamental he still gets some satisfaction by subtly gloating about how he caused trouble at school. Another indication of this assumption is that he laughs often during this episode. Therefore, this small-n narrative supports the Big-N Narrative that school is uninteresting and boring. Instead of school being an institution of learning, Lucas uses school as a means of socialising.

It is when Lucas enters School of Hope, a private school that his previous school, Bridgetown High, transferred him to, that a new Big-N Narrative emerges. Just as the name implies, it is suggested that School of Hope is where Lucas rediscovers ‘hope’. The second Big-N Narrative suggests that **school is the key to a successful future**. Lucas uses many ‘voices’ to motivate the significance of education, such as the voice of his teachers, his uncle, his gangster or drug addict friends as well as his father.

In the extract below, Lucas realises that school is important. He returns to Bridgetown High, after being expelled. The principal refuses to accept him back after all the trouble he had caused, such as breaking down the school and being accused of sexual harassment. Lucas then asks the principal to give him a transfer to another school. The teachers and principal suggest Lucas and his fellow troublemaker should enrol at School of Hope (see Appendix B, Turn 44).

**Extract 14:**

They gave us a transfer from **Bridgetown High**.

They gave us a transfer to go to that **School of Hope**,  
and when I came to that school,

I was like

*Yay **this is a small school**,*

*it look like a **JAIL** and what,*

*yaw it's **small***

I was like yay

my friend was like

*yay minuuute for this school man,*

***this school's not Bridgetown High, lotta children***

I was like

*ya man, it's fine man.*

*It's fine,*

*I can cope with this*

**The first year he – the first year** ya, he didn't evens go like **six months** to school.

He sommer just drop out.

**The fourth month** he drop out of school...

and then me I just kept on going,

I just kept on

and, kept on trying,

the teachers, they were telling me

yay go to school man.

In Extract 14, above, Lucas makes use of all three involvement strategies. Using repetition, he refers to School of Hope as “that school” separating the school from him while he and his friend align themselves to Bridgetown High. Through constructed dialogue, Lucas illustrates how they compared School of Hope to Bridgetown High.

I was like, “Yay, ***this is a small school, it look like a JAIL and what, yaw it's small.***”

I was like, “Yay –”

My friend was like, “Yay, *minuute for this school man, **this school's not Bridgetown High, lotta children.***”

I was like, “*Ya man, it's fine man. It's fine, I can cope with this.*”

Lucas's initial unwillingness to attend School of Hope is indicated by specific detail, imagery and emphasis that School of Hope is “a small school” that looks like a jail. Lucas soon shifts his thinking though, as indicated at the end of the constructed dialogue, and he becomes more positive about starting a new school and attaining an education. He then sets up a contrast between his gangster friend and himself. He moves from using the collective pronoun, “us” at the beginning of the extract, to “I” (and “me”) and “he”. He negatively describes his gangster friend's attitude:

He didn't evens go like **six months** to school.

He sommer just drop out

Painting his friend in a negative light, he provides detail in mentioning the exact number of months that his gangster friend lasted at the school. He reinforces his friend's lack of commitment and contrasts it to his full commitment. He does this by repeating the words “drop out” contrasted against “kept on”. The words “sommer just” precedes “drop out” and thus add to its negative connotation, whereas when speaking about himself, and his determination, Lucas stresses the words “kept on” thrice, as illustrated below:

He sommer just drop out.

**The fourth month** he drop out of school...

and then me I just kept on going,

I just kept on

and, kept on trying

Thus, in separating himself from his gangster friend, he now constructs himself as a better, reformed person, and takes on the role as a young man interested in education and a better future. This is the turning point (Bruner, 2001) in Lucas's narrative.

Moreover, Lucas uses intertextuality, or dialogic voicing, as he weaves different voices into his narrative. He creates an 'intertextual' echo to all those conversations which have shaped his life. As previously mentioned, Lucas includes many 'voices of education' in his narrative. For instance, in Extract 14, above, an effective 'voice of education' was Lucas's teachers. He conveys their motivation and concern for him in direct speech, which makes it more effective and illustrates the impact it had on him:

The teachers, they were telling me, "*Yay, go to school man.*"

Similarly, there are also many unconventional 'voices of education' in Lucas's narrative. Lucas speaks about a good friend of his. He conveys how good this friend was to him through the words, "I never had a friend like 'gat'" (see Appendix B, Turn 92). However, in the extract below, he refers to this same person as "not a good friend" because he was a gangster. Despite being a gangster though, he often gave Lucas good advice. Thus the ultimate image Lucas gives of him is that of a good friend. The good advice he gives is linked to success through education, as indicated in the extract below (see Appendix B, Turn 62).

### **Extract 15:**

And I had this – ya –  
it's not a good friend.  
I couldn't say  
it's a good friend and stuff.  
He always – **he was funny** –  
**he was funny** –  
he was a gangster.  
But we always used to drug together at work.  
He told me,  
*yay if you want* –  
he told me,  
*if you want to* – what –

*if you... want to be something in life...  
 then you must always live up to the rules  
 that – that YOU wouldn't WISH to live up to  
 so... stop drugging,  
 go to school,  
 you see, this that – this – this that we doing now,  
 you see, this you can get again,  
 but I'm telling you  
 getting education you not gonna get again.*

In Extract 15, above, Lucas makes use of repetition and detail to describe the character of his gangster friend. He repeats that his friend was “not a good friend”. However, in the small-n narrative above, Lucas constructs his gangster friend in a positive light. Thus, while logically knowing, based on society’s standards, that this friend is not a good friend, as he was a gangster, Lucas cannot deny the positive advice this friend gave and the positive impact that this friend had on his life. The most effective part of the above extract though is the direct speech that Lucas constructs in the ‘voice’ of his friend:

He told me, “*If you want to – what – if you... want to be something in life... then you must always live up to the rules that – that you wouldn't wish to live up to so... stop drugging, go to school, you see, this that – this – this that we doing now, you see, this you can get again, but I'm telling you getting education you not gonna get again.*”

In the above direct speech, Lucas repeats the words, “live up to”. The words, “live up” suggest that education will offer a much better lifestyle if the rules are followed. With certain pauses and repetition, Lucas conveys the message of his friend in an almost rhythmic way. Lucas’s friend is just another one of the positive ‘voices’ in his life, motivating him that education is essential for a successful future and whether you want to or not, you should follow the rules in order to make something of your life.

Lucas’s uncle and his uncle’s (older) friends also take on a significant ‘voice’ in the educational Master Narrative. In the small-n narrative below, Lucas socializes with older friends in the activity of smoking drugs. They ask him why he is smoking drugs and Lucas responds that it is simply “for the fun of it”. These older men, who also happen to be drug addicts, offer Lucas

priceless advice. Though he unwillingly listens, their advice proves to shape his life in the end. Vividly remembering the conversations, Lucas repeats their words through constructed dialogue (see Appendix B, Turn 100):

**Extract 16:**

*“Why are you doing drugs?”*

Then I'm like, *“Ya, I'm just doing drugs for the fun of it.”*

Then he told me, *“That's gonna bring you nowhere in life, I'm telling you, you just gonna be like me, going to jail in jail out and... not having a life you see.”*

...

And they were like, *“Ya okay... what can you tell me about what YOU have in life?”*

I say, *“Me I have a mother a father.”*

They told me, *“Yay, we don't mean like have a mother and a father, it's like what did YOU achieve in life, what do you have... what we don't have...”*

And I was like, *“Ya I got a TV, I got a room, got a DVD, got my own clothes, got a cupboard, ya I got everything.”*

They were like, *“Yay man you don't have everything, YOU... must still get more than what you have.”*

And I was like, *“Yay I have the basic”*

*“Ya see alright, we were- me I went to jail, I dunno for how many years, I come out, you see I have nothing but I'm thirty years old. So that two years I wasted, you see, so I'm stupid. So YOU, when YOU reach twenty-one I want to see you have this, you have the thing that you wanted, in life.”*

...

*“Now we want YOU to finish school, you see. If you want to become a gangster we gonna beat you personally up because no you mustn't be stupid, you see because ya you can be a gangster, you not gonna have your free – actually you not gonna have your freedom and you want it, you see so, think smart and do stuff smart.”*

Repetition on the words “have” and “got” emphasize the human desire to attain, to possess, and to achieve in life. When asked what Lucas possesses, or what he has achieved, he responds by listing material items:

*“Ya, I got a TV, I got a room, got a DVD, got my own clothes, got a cupboard, ya I got everything.”*

He thus equates these material items as something he has achieved in his life. Furthermore, he measures life by material possessions. The repetition on life and years reinforce that life is restricted to so many years, and you have just so many years to work to achieve what you can. The personal example given by the speaker in Lucas's dialogue, having wasted two of his years, because of drugs and jail, reinforces the time constraints on life and the pressure to achieve. He sums up success in basically two words: "stupid" and "smart", thus discarding the notion that life is about how many material possessions you have. Rather, he reinforces that life is about educational success, and the extent to which you exceed in education determines whether you are "stupid" or "smart". The direct speech Lucas provides further indicates embedded evaluation. Within the structure of a dialogue, he supplies the detail of what these older men had told him. Thus he embeds evaluation within his narrative, without breaking the dramatic flow of the event. Moreover, the effect of these men's words on Lucas's life is indicated through his evaluation and constructed dialogue, which composes of repetition and detail.

The above discourse is positioned just before Lucas mentions his decision to return to school. The structure of his narrative as well as the selection of 'voices' motivate that these 'voices' eventually influenced Lucas's decision to return to school and work towards a successful future. It is noted that, ironically, even though Lucas constantly replied that he did not want or need advice and appeared to not be listening to their advice, their constant advice paid off in the end.

Later, Lucas also mentions the role of his father. It becomes evident that his father is also a significant voice. In the short discourse below, Lucas again draws on the time he and his father bonded while on vacation in Johannesburg. During this trip, his father motivated him to strive for a better future than he (his father) had and that education was the key to a successful future (see Appendix B, Turns 262 – 264):

**Extract 17:**

Ya when we were talking to each other,  
 he's like  
*ya your dad **could've been rich,***  
***I could've ride my own truck,***  
*be my own person,*

*why am I working for other people?*

...

My dad told me ya,  
I must just keep on,  
*keep on going to school and stuff*

...

Ya, now I'm still at school,  
I'm fine,  
I'm happy,  
but not – how can I say –  
I'm not too happy,  
ya I'm just satisfied.

In his constructed dialogue between his father and himself, Lucas shows how his father uses the evaluative device of comparator (Labov, 1972) comparing two events in one clause, one event which did not occur and the other that did occur. This comparison is highlighted through repetition of the word “could’ve”. The reality is that his father is poor as opposed to rich and works for someone as opposed to working for himself. However, had things worked out differently, his father could have been rich; he could have driven his own truck and worked for himself. He is thus evaluating how and why his life played out the way it did: “why am I working for other people?” and what could have been as opposed to what is. Again, using embedded evaluation, Lucas presents his father’s evaluation in constructed dialogue. Simultaneously, Lucas presents his own evaluation of the event by aligning himself with his father’s voice.

As the dialogue between himself and his father continues in Extract 17, above, Lucas continues using embedded evaluation as he recounts how his father motivated him to persevere with his education. He however concludes the dialogue with external evaluation as he reflects on his current emotional state. This is indicated by the word “I’m”:

Ya, now I'm still at school,  
I'm fine,

I'm happy,  
 but not – how can I say –  
I'm not too happy,  
 ya I'm just satisfied

Emphasizing the word “happy”, he suggests that happiness is what he is ultimately searching for in life. That he links school to his current state suggests that he considers education to be some kind of key to happiness, or that educational success will ensure his happiness. Throughout, education is linked to success and success is linked to wealth and riches as Lucas’s father mentions that he could have been rich today with his own business if he had made better choices for his future. Being surrounded by positive ‘voices of education’, Lucas offers his own advice. He captures what the major figures in his life have advised him (see Appendix B, Turn 86).

**Extract 18:**

Ya, life is – yaw- life – life can be a bitch  
 but it’s the way YOU wanna live it  
 and how you – how you – what you – what you – huh, how you do and stuff  
 and what you make in life,  
 so it’s either you become one of that people  
 that – not – how can I say, not stirvy people,  
you gotta finish your education,  
you gotta finish your matric  
 even if you don't like you see, so...

Repetition on the word “life” suggests that Lucas is offering some kind of philosophy. He conveys his motto: that everything in life basically rests upon you as an individual; it is up to you to make a difference in your life. This is emphasised through his repetition on “you gotta finish...”

Lucas explains what he means by “stirvy”, drawing, once again, on the ‘voice’ of his friend (see Appendix B, Turns 89 – 92):

**Extract 19:**

Like – HE told me –

Like – *ya – like some rich children, like ya they stirvy and stuff...*

...

*And like never mind if they stirvy but as long as they finish their school and stuff.*

Once again, Lucas links success in life to education through the words, “education”, “matric”, and “school”, emphasizing that you should always finish what you have started, whether you want to or not. This advice echoes the advice that was given to him earlier by his gangster friend (see Extract 15). Moreover, based on the above, Lucas conveys that, regardless of whether someone is arrogant, or “stirvy”, the fact that that person has an education precedes anything else. This discourse suggests a power and status that education brings. Lucas concludes, in his discourse on education, that education is indeed the key to a successful future and a life of ease and happiness. To fully embrace this stance however, Lucas has to reject drugs and a part of his identity surrounding drugs. This is discussed next.

#### 4.5.4 Drug addiction

The third and final Master Narrative is that **drugs are bad for you**. The Master Narrative consists of Big-N Narratives which are, once again, contradictory. The one is that drugs give you friends and status, thus this Big-N Narrative contradicts the Master Narrative, while the other is that drugs hinder educational advancement and destroys your future, and therefore, this Big-N Narrative supports the Master Narrative that drugs are bad.

The first Big-N Narrative, that **drugs give you friends and status**, will now be discussed. As previously mentioned, there is a strong link between Educational Advancement and Drug Addiction which leads to competing discourses. For instance, school is a place for educational development, yet Lucas uses this place as an opportunity to develop his status and power as a gangster (see Appendix B, Turn 13):

#### Extract 20:

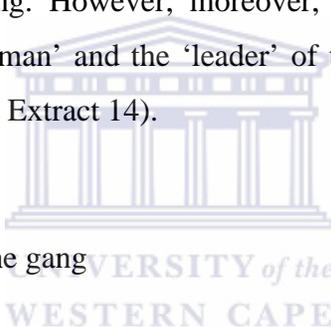
I wanted to be the –  
 how can I say, **the number one in the gang**

...

We were like – not –  
 what you say –  
 not overpowering the school,  
 but we were recognised  
 by EVERYONE in the school, you see,  
 they knew us.

Lucas uses the school to construct a particular identity of himself – that of the ‘main man’, feared and respected by others. Again, Lucas constructs a collective identity, as part of a gang. Everyone at school knew his gang. However, moreover, it is suggested that, again, Lucas enforces his identity as the ‘main man’ and the ‘leader’ of the gang in constructing himself as more important than the others (see Extract 14).

I wanted to be the –  
 how can I say, the number one in the gang



This is further illustrated in Extract 21, below, as Lucas creates a superior identity of himself, separate from the group of gangsters at his house. However, the extract below also further supports the Big-N Narrative that drugs are the key to resources, socializing and meeting new friends, thus enhancing his collective identity and also giving him status. It is thus suggested that Lucas shifts between a collective identity and an individual identity. Preceding the extract below, he explains that although he cannot entirely blame his uncle, he is actually responsible for Lucas’s drug habit as he attracted gangsters to Lucas’s house. In the end however, Lucas suggests that he benefited from the resources and status that came with this arrangement (see Appendix B, Turn 56).

**Extract 21:**

Ya... And then, ya, for me it was fine because...  
 like for them **selling drugs at our house**,

for me it was fine.

You see they telling me –

they tell me

*ya this is your house,*

*can I smoke a pipe*

And I'm like

*ya, smoke a pipe,*

*come we go.*

Go smoke in the yard [laugh]

And everyday it go like that,

and I met a lot of people, you see, and then ya,

and then my family they were labelling me as a druggie, **walking with the gangsters** and stuff.

In the extract above, Lucas repeats “for me it was fine” suggesting that he was the one they had to ask permission from. He emphasizes that it was up to him to grant or deny permission for them to use drugs in his house. This is indicated through embedded evaluation in constructed dialogue as Lucas relays that they told him that it is his house, upon asking permission to smoke a pipe. This event gives Lucas particular power and status.

Lucas gives an image of his house with drug addicts occupying it: “selling drugs at our house”, “smoke a pipe”, “smoke in the yard”. The repetition on “smoke” adds to the image of the house filled with gangsters and drugs.

The second Big-N Narrative is that **drugs destroy your life and hinder educational advancement**. Lucas acknowledges that drugs hinder development, and in his case, it particularly hindered his educational advancement and family relationships. This Big-N Narrative clearly aligns to the Master Narrative that drugs are bad. Once again, several influential ‘voices’ emerge in the discourse supporting the Master Narrative that drugs are bad, as indicated below.

Lucas’s father, who was not as influenced by drugs as Lucas’s maternal uncle, also gives him positive advice to stay away from drugs and to finish school (see Extract 17). The extract below is a continuation of the conversation between Lucas and his father on their trip together to Johannesburg. The advice Lucas’s father gives him to stay away from drugs is not as direct as his uncle’s, (which will be elaborated upon further below, see Extract 24), perhaps because Lucas’s

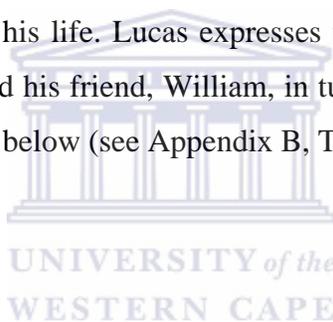
father was not that heavily influenced by drugs. However, the stress on the importance of education emphasised by Lucas's father (see Extract 17) subtly relays the message that drugs are bad. Lucas soon realises that the one negates the other. He cannot have both, it has to either be drugs or education and as the story goes, Lucas chooses and sticks to education as illustrated below, in a dialogue between his father and himself (see Appendix B, Turn 264):

**Extract 22:**

I was like, “*Ya, I'll try, you see*”

And he was like, “*Ya, you mustn't try, you must just believe in something, you see...*”

Lastly, that drugs are bad comes through in the voice of another of Lucas's friends, namely William, as well as in the voice of Lucas himself as he evaluates – through embedded evaluation – the bad effect drugs has had on his life. Lucas expresses that drugs are bad while he is with some friends at School of Hope and his friend, William, in turn concurs that drugs are bad. This is illustrated in the reported speech below (see Appendix B, Turn 114).



**Extract 23:**

I was telling him *naai man*,

I told him

*I want to stop everything*

He's like *ya broe, it's up to YOU, you see,*

*what you wanna do*

told him – an' – we actually spoke for half of the year, about that you see,

and I told him

*nah, I WANT to stop drugging,*

*but I can't man,*

*I dunno how, you see*

and then I told him

*naai it's not the atmosphere where I'm living in,*

*it's me myself*

And he was like *naai man,*

*ya you can blame yourself,*

*it's you,*

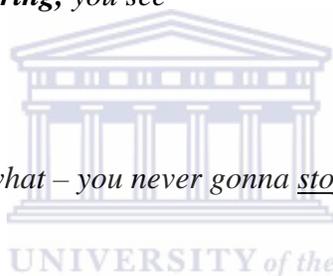
*why do you do it?*

I say *naai*

*I just do it for the fun.*

And my friend laughed,

my friend said  
*yaare do it for the fun ya,*  
*we gonna see how long*  
*the fun's gonna last.*  
 I told him  
*ya man [clicks tongue] see I don't worry – I must – even if I must drug me dead*  
*it's my own problem, you see.*  
*You must just get me at my funeral*  
 and then he laugh  
 and then William told me,  
*nah you see, you, it's up to you,*  
*the atmosphere where you in also affect you,*  
*because... ya you can stop doing drugs*  
***but just the fumes** and the stuff will make you*  
*lus for doing it, you see every – like – ya like you could stop doing drugs*  
***but every time that someone's drugging, you see***  
***you gonna – you gonna sit there***  
***but your mind – you gonna get boring, you see***  
*then you want to – want to do it,*  
*ya I'm gonna taste,*  
*it's a long time*  
*I'm gonna taste it okay*  
*and then you never – ya the thing what – you never gonna stop doing it.*  
*That's gonna be the problem.*



Through repetition and imagery, Lucas constructs a dialogue wherein William convinces him that he has to move away from his unhealthy surroundings if he is serious about quitting drugs. Repetition on the words “it’s up to you” and “stop” once again reinforce that it all lies within Lucas to change his situation and to strive for a better future. The effect of imagery adds to the dialogue in that two scenarios are illustrated, both beginning with the words, “you can/could stop doing drugs but...” Lucas illustrates how his friend was trying to convince him that in order to seriously quit drugs, he would have to move away from his surroundings of drugs. So, once again through embedded evaluation and through the evaluative device of comparator, he illustrates that if he stays in the surroundings of drugs, the “fumes” will eventually get to him and he will give in. Another scenario is that he will constantly be around people who are smoking drugs and he will not be strong enough. So, eventually, he will give in, thinking that it has been a long time since he smoked and he will just have a small taste. This will then be the start of a never-ending battle. The scenarios given convey the same message but stresses on the need for Lucas to make a decision.

These are all the ‘voices’ that, in the end, contributed to Lucas diverting from drugs and pursuing an education: the voices of his teachers, his friends, his father and his maternal uncle. Both the voices of Lucas’s drug addict uncle as well as Lucas’s father are evident in the discourse that drugs are bad. In the extract below, Lucas’s uncle tells him to learn from his uncle’s mistakes and not make a life out of drugs (see Appendix B, Turn 4).

**Extract 24:**

And... ya and like, everyday, my uncle, he used to everyday talk to me.

*Told me*

*yay you can see the stuff  
that I go through*

I dunno,

*I’m a – what – **I’m a mirror for you.***

*Why can’t you learn from my mistakes?*

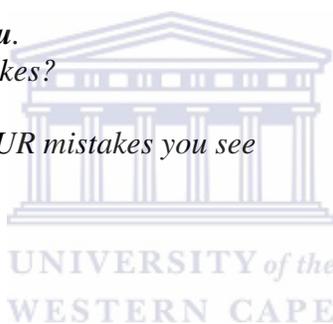
And then I’d be like

*naai, I don’t wanna learn from YOUR mistakes you see*

*I want to, like,*

*they always say*

*seeing is believing.*



In the above extract, Lucas emphasizes his uncle’s constant advice to him by repeating the word “everyday”. He uses direct speech to relay the advice his uncle gave him. He struggles to correctly convey the metaphor: “I’m a mirror for you” and so breaks in-between the direct speech:

Told me, “*Yay, you can see the stuff that I go through*”

I dunno,

“*I’m a –*”

What –

“***I’m a mirror for you.** Why can’t you learn from my mistakes?*”

Moreover, Lucas uses embedded evaluation to explain this metaphor as meaning that he should learn from his uncle’s mistakes. The word “mirror” indicates that his uncle has been through similar experiences as Lucas is now going through. His uncle has made the same mistakes and neglected his education. He now wishes to help Lucas not repeat the mistakes he made at

Lucas's age.

Lucas's transmission from the 'cool guy' to the wise young man is an important shift. This is particularly highlighted in his construction of dialogue and his use of embedded evaluation by using the voice of certain characters to convey his personal beliefs. One example is in his response to his uncle's advice. While his uncle tells him he should take heed of his uncle's mistakes, Lucas responds that he does not want to learn from anyone's mistakes. Rather, he wants to make and learn from his own mistakes. He uses this conversation with his uncle to evaluate his ignorance. Using embedded evaluation, Lucas again makes use of a metaphor: "seeing is believing", demonstrating that he wanted to make and learn from his own mistakes.

And then I'd be like naai, *"I don't wanna learn from YOUR mistakes you see, I want to, like, they always say seeing is believing."*

Furthermore, as he tells his story, he lives in the particular moment that the particular incident occurred. Labov refers to this as an evaluative device called 'historical present' (Labov, 1972: 381). Lucas uses this evaluative device in the scenes and images he depicts, and particularly through the dialogue he creates. He puts himself in the present tense as he evaluates the views he held at the particular time of the event, such as, when Lucas states that he does not want advice: "I don't wanna learn from YOUR mistakes you see". However, his uncle never stopped giving Lucas advice. In reference to another example, a friend is giving Lucas advice. He responds in a similar manner, rebuking that he does not need to be advised. Lucas externally evaluates his ignorance in the statement: "but me I didn't listen". The mere reason that he chooses to tell these particular events, shows that Lucas now values the advice that was given to him.

The selection of events that Lucas tells conveys that his views have changed since doing drugs. He does not directly state that his views have changed though, instead he makes use of the voices of the characters in his story, through constructed dialogue, to orchestrate his personal views. The characters in his story, the voices and the constructed dialogues have a purpose. They enable him to construct particular positions for himself and others in his narrative. The inclusion of these events and voices in Lucas's narrative suggests that the final identity Lucas aims to construct is that of a mature, wise young man. He is open to receive positive advice while before

he was closed to any other voices besides his own.

#### ***4.6 Conclusion***

In the above analysis, I have argued that Lucas's narrative is interwoven with a number of competing discourses. There are competing discourses which set friends, family and educational opportunities in opposition to drugs. Yet, the very people who tell Lucas that drugs are bad, giving Lucas positive advice to change his lifestyle and maintain a good education and successful future are drug addicts and gangsters themselves. It is possible that they have lost hope for themselves as they perhaps consider themselves to be too deep in their drug habits and too old to change and strive for a successful life through education, so instead they choose to pass on their wisdom to Lucas and encourage him not to make the same mistakes they have, but rather to strive for a better future. Ultimately, Lucas realises that he cannot have the best of both worlds. He cannot have drugs as well as education and a successful future, and so he breaks ties with the world of drugs, takes the advice of the drug addicts, and opts for a successful future through education and hard work. This thus links back to the Bildungsroman narrative genre and affirms the title of Lucas's narrative: 'Redemption Narrative'. It is evident that Lucas has indeed redeemed himself through education and mending family ties.

Moreover, Lucas uses the narrative strategy of space. In his narrative, different spaces symbolise different kinds of values, life styles and expectations; his movement from one space to another, for instance, from his home to Beth Uriel, from Bridgetown High to School of Hope, is part of how he represents his 'life journey' from gangsterism to educational achievement and redemption

Further contradiction between the discourses is that, despite the Master Narrative that drugs are bad, Lucas cannot avoid the positive influences that drugs had on his life. Had it not been for his drug addiction he might never have met the people that make up his story. Thus he might never have received the positive advice to attain education, particularly from the drug addicts themselves, and he might never have been motivated to take action to improve his lifestyle. So, in Lucas's narrative, there remains a conflict between the two Big-N Narratives, the one

suggesting that drugs are good and the other that drugs are bad as Lucas cannot reject the mentors he gained through his life of drugs.



## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

This thesis was situated within the broad discipline of discourse analysis and focused on a single narrative told by an adolescent boy, named Lucas, staying at Beth Uriel, a children's home in Cape Town. The aim of this dissertation was to consider various linguistic theories of identity and evaluation in order to explore how the participant uses language to construct different identity and positions, while evaluating his life story. The findings suggest that, through the characters he chooses to incorporate in his story, Lucas simultaneously chooses to construct particular identities for himself, aligning himself with certain ideologies and rejecting others. The context, a crucial factor that cannot be overlooked in identity construction, influences Lucas's identity construction. An indication of this is in aligning himself to education, creating discourses of education, while being in the context of a student conducting research for an MA. The extent and specific factors of influence however can only be guessed and justified to a point. It is clear though that we all have multiple identities and create different kinds of identities and representations of ourselves depending on who we are conversing with, who we want to be, who we want to impress at a particular moment and in a particular context.

As illustrated and discussed in this thesis, Lucas constructs three dominant personae in the telling of his life story. These three personas in turn centre around three Master Narratives that constitute his narrative and reveal his worldviews while shaping his identity. The first identity that Lucas creates is around his ideology of family, representing himself as a family member, particularly as a son and nephew, who values the unity of family. The second identity centers on his ideology of education; he represents himself as a student who values education. Lastly, through the discourse on drugs, Lucas presents himself as having two particular identities influenced by drugs; one is prior to him quitting drugs and the other is after he decided to quit drugs. As a drug addict, Lucas constructs himself as 'the cool guy', brave and fearless. Having abandoned the world of drugs and gangsterism however, he constructs as having an almost

opposite identity, that of the wise young man, who, having had valuable life experience, is able and qualified to offer advice to others. This is the identity that Lucas adopts as he sits before me as the teller and creator of his life story. It is thus argued, based on the findings of this study, that stories do indeed serve as a means of self-representation, reflection and evaluation. Although Lucas's journey is not complete, he has, following the Bildungsroman literary model, clearly redeemed himself, hence the title I have assigned his narrative: Redemption Narrative.

As the multi-disciplinary study of narratives develops within the social sciences and humanities, new theories and methodological approaches constantly emerge. Narratives are, at present, such a popular study that one has to wonder, what is it about narratives that attracts scholarly attention? Two aspects are suggested. Narratives allow the researcher access into the personal experience of the storyteller, while giving the storyteller insight and the chance to organise and evaluate his or her experience. Narratives contribute to the methodology of qualitative research by paying particular attention to the unique and individual aspects of life. While simultaneously focusing on the social aspects of life, narratives contribute significantly to the discipline of linguistics and communications as it provides much data to be analysed. Because of the overflow of data provided through storytelling, narratives encourage the development of new theories and approaches to analysis.

Stories bring perspective, not just to the storyteller, but also to the listener. Moreover, as much as any researcher tries to remain objective in his or her research, we can never be neutral. Therefore, while I tried to limit subjectivity, I have not pretended that this research was unbiased; just the selection and deletion of certain parts of Lucas's narrative implies subjectivity in the data collection and analysis. Therefore, rather, from the onset, I have acknowledged the subjectivity of the study. Moreover, it is through the nature and subjectivity of this research that I was able to allow myself to be a part of it and to identify myself as a participant, as, in storytelling, the storyteller is not the only participant. Rather, as my literature review has argued, storytelling is a process between both the storyteller and the listener. Therefore, this thesis has not only served an academic purpose, and it has not only provided the storyteller with a deeper understanding. This process has also taken me through a personal journey as I entered a new world. This is another benefit of storytelling; it allows the coming together of two worlds, and

thus two journeys. I have experienced a new world and encountered a new life. So, I too, have benefited on many accounts, educationally, socially and introspectively.



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## Appendices

### *Appendix A: Transcription keys*

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
.	Certainty, completion
No end of turn	Non-stop; no final intonation
,	Breathing time
?	Uncertainty; wh-interrogative
!	Surprised intonation
( )	Inaudible speech
(Words in brackets)	Transcriber's guess
[Words in square brackets]	Non-verbal data
= =	Overlap; talking simultaneously
...	Short hesitation (less than three seconds)
[Pause – 5 seconds]	Indication of pause length
Dash – then talk	False start/restart

Extracted from Eggins, S. and Slade, D. (1997: 5)

## *Appendix B: Transcription of Lucas's narrative*

T – Turn

Capital letters indicate emphasis in data.

### **T1 – Interviewer:**

Start anywhere.

### **T2 – Participant:**

Anywhere?

### **T3 – Interviewer:**

Okay, if you want to think about it a little bit, then take a few minutes just to think about what you wanna say. Is there anything in the movie that you can relate to?

### **T4 – Participant:**

Oh, ya, you see there the pieces of... not – the mother – the mother – the mother told the daughter that the mother want to give her all she want and she must just give her mother – pamper her mother and that, like... for me, ah, for me it wasn't the same, for me it wasn't like 'gat. For me it was like a family, for me my family o'right. My mother's side, how can I say – they – they used to... they do – they were used to drugs and gangsters and stuff. But they always told me that, ya I must choose better things in life for me and that time I was – I didn't want to have better things in life, I didn't want to do better things in life. For me it was just... being with friends, not gangsters, but friends doing wrong stuff, mixing with the wrong people, going to the wrong places, and... ya and like, everyday, my uncle, he used to everyday talk to me. Told me, yay, you can see the stuff that I go through, I dunno, I'm a – what – I'm a mirror for you. Why can't you learn from my mistakes? And then I'd be like naai, I don't wanna learn from YOUR mistakes you see I want to, like, they always say seeing is believing. And so, [laugh] I told him no, in my mind I told, ya, you can talk, you can talk, whole day you can talk, you can just tell me it will come here in it'll go out – come out – the other ear, so you can talk. Ya... so I started doing drugs, huh-uh, first I smoked – started smoking dagga, huh-uh, oka pyp, oka pyp, cigarettes and then dagga, er – what – mandrex and then tik. And then afterwards, ya, I hang out with my uncle, actually with my friends also when they (tiking), I was using tik with them. My friend – I used tik first on his birthday, sixteen or seventeen years old. They knew this thing that it was tik, I never knew. I was drinking wine we were drinking... that's why – so I was watching them WHOLE night, standing up whole night by the table, tripping and, they were like, yay, come try man. Naai man, don' want to [in response to friends]. I was getting tired. So they were like yay, come do it, you must tik if you want to be whole night awake. Ya, okay [in response to friends]. After that I was... ya I was, doing tik, for how long I was doing tik. Hoeveel? [Pause – 5 seconds, thinking.] I was sixteen... ya [thinks], I was sixteen years old. That was, [thinks] that was... November... 2006= =

**T4 – Interviewer:**

= =How old are you now?

**T5 – Participant:**

Nineteen years old. I hada – I should of been drugging for three years till here. But after that me and my friends, we broke apart, of... this drug issue, about tiking because see here when – we were – we also – as friends, we grew up together since... we were small we grew up together.

**T6 – Interviewer:**

Was this in Bridgetown?

**T7 – Participant:**

Parktown. We grew up together, but... we have far related family... and... like, we – they – we always told each other, yes, can't you see drugs is breaking the friendship down now and this, see my uncle and their friends, it happened to them, but we also didn't take note and... like, we were into this drug – drug tik, for us it was fun, you see we wanted to be – to feel cool, ya, we wanted to make new friends, so like 'gat, we just do our thing, we just don't know anyone, and after that our friendship broke, broke apart man. And... then, ya, and we just... me I went on my own, and my friend he went on his – my two friends – they went on their own, and after that aah friends, and then after that, me – I was wasted, I was – me I was with real gangsters, ya, real gangsters. I can't name their names. Then, for me it was fine, I didn't care, I didn't care with who was I walking, what the people say about me. Me I just, I just do my thing. Then I went to school, to high school. Ya, I went to high school, I was still tiking and then, that was 2000 – I dunno, I dunno what year, but I was tiking man so, this tik was so interfering with my schoolwork, everyday I went to school – everyday I went to school but... stay up WHOLE night and drugging and then when I go – I don't actually go to school – when I go to school, supposed to be in school, but bunking outside man so that was being a problem. And then afterwards for me it was getting boring sleeping, every time bunking outside the school. So I check naai, wait, I'm gonna break down the school tomorrow morning. I don't care about this teacher and this stuff. For me that time it was fun because we were a LOT of boys catching on our nonsense. And then ya, and then it was – everything was nice catching on nonsense.

**T8 – Interviewer:**

So did you break down the school?

**T9 – Participant:**

Yes, break down the school, got into big trouble [laugh].

**T10 – Interviewer:**

What school was it?

**T11 – Participant:**

Bridgetown High, Bridgetown High.

**T12 – Interviewer:**

So what did you do?

**T13 – Participant:**

The first time I went – the first time was – the first year, yune, I caught on nonsense and stuff. But that wasn't so – that wasn't uh – that wasn't SO heavy. The next year, so I druipe Standard Six, so I druipe man, so... that – the year after that, the next year – not actually the same – so everything was, for me, it was fine you see so I wanted to do more, I wanted to be the, how can I say, the number one in the gang, ya, I wanted to pull the gang, but we didn't, we told each other, no – what – we don't... have any leads and stuff, so we just do what we want to do. But we were a lot, we were like – not – what you say – not overpowering the school, but we were recognized by EVERYONE in the school, you see, they knew us. But they – actually – they thought we were American Gangsters, but we weren't, 'cause the place where I come from, there was American Gangsters, and they were labeling us ALL like 'gat. Now we were one like, see almost like our whole of our soccer club was... part of our friends at Bridgetown High, and my family – most of my family – was at Bridgetown High, now like that – my – and my cousins they – we had THEIR friends there, so we were one Coloured group coming there and, that time was racism. But me, I'm – I like any racism, I don't care about which colour you are, I like everyone, but my friends and stuff, my family they didn't like Xhosa-speaking people, African people and that was a problem. And so the second year at Bridgetown High I... caught on – they actually hate us because this girl – the friends that I'm with they did sexual harass this girl. But this girl did like me. I didn't want her, just wanted her for her money. Because I'm like if I don't like the girl, why must the girl like me, why must I go out with the girl. So I told her no. Naai, my friends everyday – like – they mos went on for a week – everyday, my friends they go to this girl, this girl was talking... something about ya, your thing's too small. And I was like ya, it's fine if my thing's too small, I don't want it, so my friend said, yay, mine's big why don't you come to me. And then like – as the periods change, we walk together from the one class to the other class, second class. They hooked up with the girl and stuff. Okay so I was always in the group, so they – when the cops came and they took the case and stuff and so they told me, you the oldest so you must be wiser, why didn't you tell them to not do that, I was like yay, I don't care. I didn't tell her to speak the way she speak, why must she bring up a subject like 'gat, about MY thing's small. They said no, you could've stop that so you witness we gonna take YOU. Come to the police station, I dunno what was it – I dunno who but, the superintendent told me we gonna lock YOU up because you the oldest, [rocks chair to the back] it's YOUR second year on the school, and, they were saying ya, your name YOU every time in trouble, me and my friend – we always – it's either him or me when there's nonsense on, when anything happen wrong in the school, it's only us two to blame and that, and then... I told – I explained to the superintendent – I explained to him naai – I told him no man y' see, I'M going nowhere, because I didn't touch the girl and he say no, you witness, you were with. I'm like no I didn't touch the girl. And then he – he gave THEM points for telling (notes) when I told him – I told him yous know who done it, and they said yes. Okay. Ya I was nervous that time, I was scared [laugh].

**T14 – Interviewer:**

So it was actually your friends who did it?

**T15 – Participant:**

Ya.

**T16 – Interviewer:**

And they wanted to arrest you? Ya they wanted to arrest me, because I'M the oldest, it's MY second year at school. They knew= =

**T17 – Interviewer:**

Ya.

**T18 – Participant:**

= =You see. I – ya – I know the things already. I know= =

**T19 – Interviewer:**

= =What grade were you?

**T20 – Participant:**

Grade Eight

**T21 – Interviewer:**

Grade Eight.

**T22 – Participant:**

Grade Eight. I was in Grade Eight.

**T23 – Interviewer:**

Your second year?

**T24 – Participant:**

Second year.

**T25 – Interviewer:**

What do you mean your second year?

**T26 – Participant:**

Second year at Bridgetown High. I did fail.

**T27 – Interviewer:**

Oh, okay.

**T28 – Participant:**

And so I was about to get up and so the superintendent said no okay, uhm, his gonna pull the case back and then ya, gonna pull the case back, and everything was fine. And after that I was STILL drugging I – I NEVER went to class, for like THREE MONTHS I never went to class, just outside, breaking down the school, throwing in the windows, knocking against the doors – the class doors – running.

**T29 – Interviewer:**

Did they know it's you?



**T30 – Participant:**

Ya, because when I'm outside the school every teacher can see I'm outside

**T31 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T32 – Participant:**

And then, ya, actually the principle also chasing us and that, and then he expelled me from the school. At the same time that year, like half the year, I didn't want to go in to the school, me and my friend, told my mother, I do' want to go to school, don' feel like going in to school, for a week everyday I go – after school I go to school, like, if anything happen to my uhm, cousins or friends, the friends that I make= =

[Brief interruption – someone entering the room to hand Interviewer something and then exits.]

**T33 – Interviewer:**

= = [To person entering.] Thank you.

**T34 – Participant:**

If anything wrong, if anyone touch my friends or family, and then ya, we there after school, just fight and stuff, fight with other boys and stuff

**T35 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T36 – Participant:**

Ya and then after that I go work and then we go work on uh, [clicks tongue] what you call this... the people that – how do you say brick – bricklayers= =

**T37 – Interviewer:**

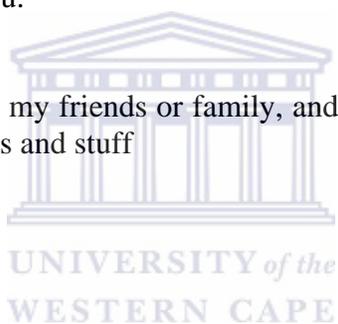
= =Okay= =

**T38 – Participant:**

= =We went, but I was mixing daga [laugh]. I was mixing this daga and stuff, me and my friend, everyday we tell each other, junk this, this is junk work. And everyday – this – this uhm – this was our coach we got, for work for. Our coach, he told us, yay, why don't yous go back to school. Naai, didn't want to go to school (in response to the coach). He said – now he told us, yous gonna work like this – he let us work EVERYDAY hard, he was shouting at us, me, I got – get angr – quick cross, I'm short-tempered, I was getting angry. And my friend he was making fun, everyday he was making fun. And so just one day, I was – made a mistake and just – this coach was our boss, he hit me. I told my friend naai, he must go on lunch, [claps hands] we run away. We working at Vangate Mall, we work that flats there.

**T39 – Interviewer:**

Okay.



**T40 – Participant:**

One of that flats. We were working there and then... I was getting angry. I told my friend, yay, one time, one o' clock I'm gonna run. Not run, I'm just gonna go home. My mother ask what, I just say naai, I work for THIS guy, he pay us two hundred rand, every Friday night, he don't give us our full money – fortnight – so why must I go, that work, [clicks tongue never-mindedly] mixing so much daga every night and then go home and my back pain. And then my friend's like, ya, ya, I told you. My friend EVERYDAY he make fun of me. And then I learnt, I leave for better work, and I went back to school – to School of Hope.

**T41 – Interviewer:**

To where?

**T42 – Participant:**

And then I went back to school.

**T43 – Interviewer:**

Okay. To Bridgetown= =

**T44 – Participant:**

= I went – ya – not – I got to Bridgetown, they told me no, go to this school, this school is like – you do stuff with your hand and stuff, ya you do stuff with your hand so it's better for yous two, me and my friend, to go there because the principle don't wanna accept me at this school, at Bridgetown High. So I said ya, it's fine, just give me a transfer then I go to NO other school if yous not gonna give me a transfer at this school here. They said okay go to Peakview, I said nah–uh, don't want to go to Peakview 'cause there's Africans there, there my friend got stabbed there so I'm not going to that school. They said okay then School of Hope, that's what they call private school. What's School of Hope, where's School of Hope? They gave us a transfer from Bridgetown High. They gave us a transfer to go to that School of Hope, and when I came to that school, I was like, yay, this is a small school, it look like a JAIL and what, yaw it's small. I was like, yay, my friend was like yay, minuite for this school man, this school's not Bridgetown High, lotta children. I was like ya man, it's fine man. It's fine, I can cope with this. The first year he – the first year ya, he didn't evens go like six months to school. He sommer just drop out. The fourth month he drop out of school... and then me I just kept on going, I just kept on and, kept on trying, the teachers, they were telling me yay, go to school man.

**T45 – Interviewer:**

So what did your family say about all of this, your mother

**T46 – Participant:**

Huh?

**T47 – Interviewer:**

What did your family say about all of this? Drugs, going from one school

**T48 – Participant:**

Ya, my mother – actually my mother was the one telling me, yay, you, ya... my mother, ya, my mother was always... telling me stuff, bringing me down, told me yay you – you gonna become a gangster, you wanna become like – just like Americans, you wanna look like your uncle huh, you gonna become like your uncle you, if you keep on drugging me – and my friend was sitting there, uh my friend was sitting there. We were always together, when we use drugs, we were always together me and him, we were always ya hustling for money, for drugs and that. He was also – he told me yay, don't take note of your mother. She didn't even go to school and whatever. I told him [clicks tongue] my broe you don't tell ME what to do. He was like ya I can't tell you, I'm just giving you advice. And my uncle came to me, talk to me, we were like talking whole night through, but me I didn't listen. I just sit, hmm, ya, and they – like when they finish talking, they ask me, yay, what did I tell you, I just say no you told me something about this and that I must listen to my mother. And then he'll be like, nah, this child is useless. I just say yay, you can't tell me, it's MY life, I wanna live the way I wanna live it. My aunties in my families, they were like ya – we had – I had a aunty that stayed in our road, got two children, police officers and ya= =

**T49 – Interviewer:**

= =Sons?

**T50 – Participant:**

Daughters

**T51 – Interviewer:**

What did you say? Who's police officers?

**T52 – Participant:**

My aunty's two daughters

**T53 – Interviewer:**

Oh, okay.

**T54 – Participant:**

Now – ya, my father's aunty [rocks backwards on chair], not my aunty. They were living in – in our road. Not opposite us but down the road. Now, THEY saw the people I was walking with – the people I was walking with were just going on here by our house here, people selling drugs. Actually now... I couldn't blame my uncle. But, my uncle selling drugs once there by us and then his friends come there and, the time when HE'S broke then HIS friends come drug by our house and that. Ya, for me it was fine because the drugs is free for me, you see.

**T55 – Interviewer:**

Is this the uncle that's telling you that you must...

**T56 – Participant:**

Ya... And then, ya, for me it was fine because... like for them selling drugs at our house, for me it was fine. You see they telling me – they tell me ya, this is your house, can I smoke a pipe, and I'm like ya, smoke a pipe, come we go. Go smoke in the yard [laugh]. And everyday it go like

that, and I met a lot of people, you see, and then ya, and then my family they were labeling me as a druggie, walking with the gangsters and stuff. And me, I was like ya

**T57 – Interviewer:**

They labeled you as a druggie?

**T58 – Participant:**

Ya, and I told them, fuck this man, I don't care man. You can go tell the whole family, I don't care. It's me= =

**T59 – Interviewer:**

= =And= =

**T60 – Participant:**

= =I'm living MY life

**T61 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T62 – Participant:**

And I had this – ya – it's not a good friend. I couldn't say it's a good friend and stuff. He always – he was funny – he was funny – he was a gangster. But we always used to drug together at work. He told me yay, if you want – he told me if you want to – what- if you... want to be something in life... then you must always live up to the rules that- that YOU wouldn't WISH to, live up to so... stop drugging, go to school, you see, this that – this – this that we doing now, you see, this you can get again, but I'm telling you getting education you not gonna get again. Ya man, I was telling him yay man don't – you see you don't tell me. Me and him. So HE was showing me the HARD way in life. If you wanna become – if you wanna live nice time, you see, don' wanna live with your family wanna live nice style you wanna live in the underground world. HE showed me THAT way so – yaw, and me, I was – I wasn't SCARED. My broer, at night we walk together. We walk with girls. We walk together in the road at night and we go... drug with the girls, go have nice time and stuff. But to come out with that money, it was very hard you see. For ME to rob people. For me to bribe people, even if it's girls and stuff, just to get that money.

**T63 – Interviewer:**

So that you can get drugs?

**T64 – Participant:**

Ya, so we can get drugs, you see. Even robbing your best friend.

**T65 – Interviewer:**

Now who's the friend that was telling you you should stick to the rules and have a better life?

**T66 – Participant:**

He's a gangster= =

**T67 – Interviewer:**

He also doing drugs with you?

**T68 – Participant:**

Ya.

**T69 – Interviewer:**

And he was telling you to...

**T70 – Participant:**

He was everyday telling me yay, you mustn't do this, and that, you young, he say, you can do soccer, play soccer and stuff. So go – stop drugging, go to school, play your soccer, don't... don't worry what your mother say, you see

**T71 – Interviewer:**

When he said that, don't worry what your mother says, what did he mean? Does your mother put you down

**T72 – Participant:**

Ya, my mother was – ya my mother was like 'gat.

**T73 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T74 – Participant:**

Everyday she was, yay, [clicks tongue] you gonna become a (koppe) [slang, derogatory term] you, yay, yaw, you gonna become a (koppe). You wanna look like your uncle huh?

**T75 – Interviewer:**

This is the uncle that's doing drugs= =

**T76 – Participant:**

= =Ya.

**T77 – Interviewer:**

The uncle that also spoke to you and told you not to do drugs?

**T78 – Participant:**

Ya – and he told – and all this sh – and me, when I get angry, I walk out the house you see, ya, and then I go – ya – I go drug and smoke with anyone. [Pause – 3 seconds.] But he was showing me the hard – the hardest way in life.

**T79 – Interviewer:**

Say again?

**T80 – Participant:**

He was showing me the hardest way in life= =

**T81 – Interviewer:**

= =Who= =

**T82 – Participant:**

= =Like= =

**T83 – Interviewer:**

= =Your friend or your uncle?

**T84 – Participant:**

My friend.

**T85 – Interviewer:**

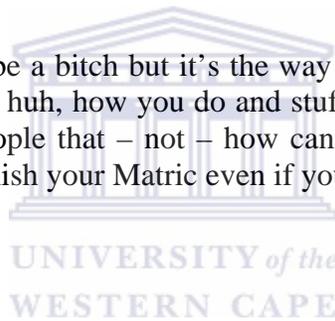
Your friend was showing you the hard way of life?

**T86 – Participant:**

Ya, life is – yaw – life – life can be a bitch but it's the way YOU wanna live it and how you – how you – what you – what you – huh, how you do and stuff and what you make in life, so it's either you become one of that people that – not – how can I say, not stirvy people, you gotta finish your education, you gotta finish your Matric even if you don't like you see, so...

**T87 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T88 – Participant:**

= =That's the only way= =

**T89 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay, what do you mean by stirvy?

**T90 – Participant:**

Like – HE told me – like – ya – like some rich children, like ya they stirvy and stuff= =

**T91 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T92 – Participant:**

= = And like never mind if they stirvy but as long as they finish their school and stuff. And I told him, ya I know, like me I come from the streets – not come from the streets but... me I'm ROUGH and I don't – I can't – for me it's fun to... mix with such people. They told me – they said yay man, never mind that, as long as you have friends that do – that show you the positive things in life. I was like ya man you see I don't know when it's gonna happen... and then afterwards... afterwards – every week there, he was also mixing with drugs and all that stuff, he –

ya he come – I never had a friend like 'gat ya, a gangster friend like 'gat, he come to you – YOU come to his house, he say ya, you can go shower you there= =

**T93 – Interviewer:**

= =You never met a friend like that before?

**T94 – Participant:**

Ya, that's my – that's actually my BEST friend's cousin, you see. He's twenty-six.

**T95 – Interviewer:**

And it's the same guy that was telling you= =

**T96 – Participant:**

= =Ya= =

**T97 – Interviewer:**

= =That you shouldn't do drugs, that you should go to school?

**T98 – Participant:**

Ya, and then – and I was coming to him everyday, making me something to eat, making me something to eat. He always tell me everyday go make you something to eat, go wash you whatever. This is YOUR house... also, like – like when I come in your house, then I feel comfortable so YOU make you comfortable. I was like, make me comfortable huh-uh no you see. And then he just told me this is the things that I face.

**T99 – Interviewer:**

Say again?

**T100 – Participant:**

Then he just told me this is the things that I face. If you – if YOU trust ME then you will MAKE yourself at home you see... and ya, but when the time – when it comes to drugs he always tell me, before we start he always tell me are you sure, you wanna do this drugs? WHY are you doing drugs? Then I'm like ya, I'm just doing drugs for the fun of it. Then he told me that's gonna bring you nowhere in life, I'm telling you, you just gonna be like me, going to jail in jail out and... not having a life you see. But the funniest part is THEY always – they always tell me when I come there, like ya man you see I like – I like the way you are as a young boy you see. Then I was like how do you mean? They were like yay... you see you – you don't talk a lot, you sit still listen to what WE speak, and stuff I'm like ya, I listen... to what you speak. I say I take in and they were like ya okay... what can you tell me about what YOU have in life. I say me I have a mother a father, they told me yay, we don't mean like have a mother and a father, it's like what did YOU achieve in life, what do you have... what we don't have... and I was like ya I got a TV, I got a room, got a DVD, got my own clothes, got a cupboard, ya I got everything. They were like yay man you don't have everything, YOU... must still get more than what you have. And I was like yay I have the basic, ya see alright, we were – me I went to jail, I dunno for how many years, I come out, you see I have nothing but I'm thirty years old. So that two years I wasted, you see, so I'm stupid. So YOU, when YOU reach twenty-one I want to see you have this, you have the

thing that you wanted, in life, although it's – it must just be something – thing that I don't have, you see... because... me – like they – like he said he don't have – he didn't have the chance – like he didn't have the chance to finish school you see, and me – before he – the time when they like, my uncles – ya my uncles were all sitting there and they told me ya you see the time when we reach high school you see I became a gangster and that, for me was nice, you have friends, you know a lot of gangster friends you see, we couldn't walk where we want to, we couldn't go to ANY school we want to, because naai there's gangsters, can't go to there, they my enemies, can't go to that school, they my enemies you see. And that uh and he told me ya made me drop out you see. Now we want YOU to finish school, you see. If you want to become a gangster we gonna beat you personally up because no you mustn't be stupid, you see because ya you can be a gangster, you not gonna have your free – actually you not gonna have your freedom and you want it, you see so, think smart and do stuff smart, and then at school I met – no – uh ya I met William<sup>4</sup>.

**T101 – Interviewer:**

Who's William?

**T102 – Participant:**

William. Also= =

**T103 – Interviewer:**

= =Is he also here= =

**T104 – Participant:**

= =Ya he's also here at BU.

**T105 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T106 – Participant:**

In my class I met him, he was in my class, my second year at School of Hope, I did fail that year, you see... I did actually drug me sick.

**T107 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T108 – Participant:**

Like I was sick of drugs and stuff... my body couldn't handle it= =

**T109 – Interviewer:**

= =What grade were you?

**T110 – Participant:**

Grade Nine.

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<sup>4</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

**T111 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T112 – Participant:**

It's now 2008, 2007, 2006 I came there at School of Hope

**T113 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T114 – Participant:**

And then I failed, ya I came to School of Hope 2006 and then 2000 – I failed and then William was Standard Six and he come – came to Standard Seven, him and my friend Niel<sup>5</sup>, and then, we met each other – ya and then William was telling me about BU and stuff and I was like yay! How's it there at Beth Uriel, and he was like the stuff is hectic there... because, you must obey by this – like he told me the white person's rules and I was laughing, I told him ya it's kak this see the white man's still ruling, and then he was laughing and he say naai man it's fine it's up to you... if you want to come to BU, I told him ya man, you see things is rough at home, you see [rocks backwards on chair]. And we were talking about this in class, debate, I was telling him naai man, I told him I want to stop everything, he's like ya broe it's up to YOU, you see, what you wanna do, told him an' – we actually spoke for half of the year, about that you see, and I told him nah, I WANT to stop drugging but I can't man, I dunno how, you see. And then I told him naai it's not the atmosphere where I'm living in, it's me myself. And he was like naai man, ya you can blame yourself, it's you, why do you do it? I say naai I just do it for the fun. And my friend laughed, my friend said yaare do it for the fun ya, we gonna see how long the fun's gonna last. I told him ya man [clicks tongue] see I don't worry – I must – even if I must drug me dead it's my own problem, you see. You must just get me at my funeral and then he laugh and then William told me nah you see, you, it's up to you, the atmosphere where you in also affect you, because... ya you can stop doing drugs but just the fumes and the stuff will make you lus for doing it, you see every – like – ya like you could stop doing drugs but every time that someone's drugging, you see you gonna – you gonna sit there but your mind – you gonna get boring, you see then you want to – want to do it, ya I'm gonna taste, it's a long time I'm gonna taste it okay and then you never – ya the thing what – you never gonna stop doing it. That's gonna be the problem= =

**T115 – Interviewer:**

Is William telling you this?

**T116 – Participant:**

Ya, and then I came here to BU – Beth Uriel.

**T117 – Interviewer:**

Through William?

**T118 – Participant:**


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<sup>5</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

Ya... But before I came here my dad – [laugh] my dad ask me why you wanna go there, don't I show you love and that, I told him yay, you don't tell me, I'm just gonna go 'cause I want to go=  
=

**T119 – Interviewer:**

How old were you?

**T120 – Participant:**

That was... last year. Eighteen years old

**T121 – Interviewer:**

So you were able to just go because you were eighteen?

**T122 – Participant:**

No my dad didn't want me to go, my mother said yes, I – I actually explained to my mother I told my mother look here if you want ME to succeed in life you see, then ya I'm gonna go there, you see I wanna do – ya I wanna come better – better person you see I wanna stop with all the wrong stuff, my mother say ya but don't we give you love – enough love and stuff. I was like ya, you give me – I love yous but, why don't you wanna let me go. No the people, the family's gonna think this and yay the family- leave them let them think what they want to. You see me I'm gonna go, nothing's gonna stop me, my mother said ya, you speak to your father first. And then Linda<sup>6</sup>, the owner of BU, she came there and talked – talked to my father. My father tell me ya Lucas<sup>7</sup> it's almost like we not giving Lucas enough love, we not giving him enough stuff and then, I was like yay, YOU not gonna tell me, you can tell her. I'm gonna – I'm gonna go on my OWN, I'm gonna go there to Beth Uriel. You don't tell me.

**T123 – Interviewer:**

When you were saying you can tell her, were you referring to Linda?

**T124 – Participant:**

... Mm? My dad spoke to – no, Linda came to us and I told Linda that she must get the permission from my dad for me to come here to BU. My dad told me yay – told Linda actually – ya, it's almost like we don't have enough... money to buy stuff for him for school and what he want, we not giving him enough and that's why he want to come to Beth Uriel, I told him no it's not about that, it's me wanna be AWAY because of the stuff that they- the stuff that I went through. I wanna stop – I wanna – ya I just wanna go out, be away from my friends and family and stuff and just go on my own, you see there is – there by our house, I told him – there by our house no-one- they – you can come to a drug addict ya but then they – they – the drug addicts – they finished school but only until – only until Matric you see they don't know all the work, they can't handle the stuff – with the schoolwork after school you see. They only there to sit by you every night, every day telling stories about ya – they IMAGINING now that – with you what you wanna come, they ask what you wanna come then you just doing your schoolwork. They were actually a disturbance for ME, 'cause they like ya you can come to me, I can – I can help you

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

<sup>7</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

with your schoolwork, and I was like yay, ya I'm gonna come to you, but in my mind I told myself yay, you a druggie man you just speaking now tomorrow I come to you you got nothing to tell me. Like that, my dad was like – my dad's like no man, I don't want you to go, I was like yay please man I wanna go, I don't care and when I came here – actually a week before I came here I start drugging... the night of the... when the Amabokke ya when the Amabokke won the world cup, and then I start drugging, was a Saturday night. We were sitting – ya we were sitting – I was sitting with the merchant me and my friend and then ya we were drugging in the... Wendy house – Wendy house – ya big Wendy house and then, we watched the match – the Amabokke match and then I was just thinking to myself hey [clicks tongue] fuck this, every time – ya you high now it's lekker, it's lekker when you high now but when that stuff is out you see you don't feel nice, you want more. I told my friend yay, this is my last man, if I'm finished here I'm finished you see and if I go back to drugging myself me – I told him – uh – just to make him scared [laugh] – just to make him scared like he MUST never give me drugs and stuff again, I told him yay if I'm gonna drug again I'm gonna hang myself, I'm gonna hang myself and he's like, ya if you serious, and then HE gave this thing that you tik with and I told him if you gonna give that thing again to me – but I was vies smoking – if you give that thing to me I'm gonna break it you see, I'm gonna break it. And then he said ya man you see, that's what I like about you, you see you actually taking what me and my uncle and everyone's telling you. I said ya my broe now I'm finished with this stuff... ya from that – that time when I stopped... actually one – ya – once ya the family came to us – on a Sunday – ya it was a Sunday they were coming to us, they had lunch at my... friend that's far related family from – from me, opposite our road where we were living in, they were like our neighbours, living opposite us. They family from us. Our family come lunch – did come and lunch by them, they did invite the whole family to come and lunch by them – by their house. For me it was work, my aunty's brother who live opposite, in our road, I was working with him, at their house and then the whole family came there, but I was dirty, my hair – ya I was thinner then [laugh]= =

**T125 – Interviewer:**

= =Huh?

**T126 – Participant:**

I was thinner

**T127 – Interviewer:**

Oh ok.

**T128 – Participant:**

I was more skinnier before I came here to BU. And my cousin was like yay you again doing drugs, I hear you smoke buttons, and I said yay [clicks tongue], talking shit man you see.

**T129 – Interviewer:**

Who's asking you this?

**T130 – Participant:**

My cousin.

**T131 – Interviewer:**

Okay, at the= =

**T132 – Participant:**

= =From my father's family.

**T133 – Interviewer:** Okay.**T134 – Participant:**

At my aunty's house they ask me yay – yay stop do – tikking, you walking with gangsters, you smoke buttons, I told him, yay... ya... that was when – that was when – where'd you hear that. He say I heard that last year, I say ya you see, you believing what they speaking, you mustn't believe you see, I'm gonna show you now, and he's like ya what you gonna show me, I said ya you see, come, walk with me, and then we took a walk to that place and he was like yay everyone know you I was like ya that time I was drugging everyone know me and there I was with everyone you see [clicks tongue], that time – ya that time I was like everyone must know ME so that I can know them and what they gonna do what they up to and he's like ya how can you live with this, and I'm like ya you see that was – that was my life and he's like ya come stay in our house, in my aunty's house, the aunty that like – ya, she's not rich, I won't say she's rich but she has a house, my cousin was staying by her, but she had children still, but she was living by my cousin, but my cousin was just – want me to stay there by her, and then HE told me come live here by my aunty and I said naai man yay I don' wanna live by my aunty, he's like ya come live here it's better, by your house... things is rough, I said yay I don't care, you see I wanna go on my own. I told him yay – I'm gonna go – I'm gonna put me in a – I'm gonna put myself in a home, I'm gonna live at BU, he told me NO, come live with us. I'm like yay, in my mind I – for me it was like, always – yes – you – the whole family, they actually talk like that, like the time that I'm there they care about me and that. For me it was like they strange man, like why this family they just come – like – my father – every time my father had money – for me it was – I was getting fed up inside, but I didn't get fed up 'bout my cousins, my father's aunties, they were like ya, there's only one aunty that I don't like, that lady she's like- when my father had money – he used to give them everything that he had, you see.

**T135 – Interviewer:**

Your father?

**T136 – Participant:**

Ya, you see he used to be a long distance driver so... things that he actually STOLE from the work he BRING and it was a LOTTA stuff so what must we do with it my father give it to them, you see and by the time that we- we were hungry there was no food, there was no one there for us you see... so= =

**T137 – Interviewer:**

= =So your father gave to the other family but not for you guys?

**T138 – Participant:**

For my mother's family= =

**T139 – Interviewer:**

Not – okay.

**T140 – Participant:**

Ya he was – he was like giving the whole – everyone= =

**T141 – Interviewer:**

= =So he was giving to your mother's family?

**T142 – Participant:**

And my – and his family= =

**T143 – Interviewer:**

= =And his family, but not to you guys?

**T144 – Participant:**

Ya... naai to us we were wasting the stuff, me, my father and my mother we were wasting the stuff... and then... ya then, they didn't give him back when he needed, he actually – he actually needed money for a job like the one – uh – what was it – 280 rand or what for speeding – drive... those big trucks – drive the big trucks and there was no one there. But at the School of Hope you see, I told the principle and the principle told the sir and the sir paid for that and then my dad gone back to work and then it was like they – then the family was like yay, uhm – my father said – my father – you can come 'n visit, and my father – my father told me yay! You must come with, I told him yay [clicks tongue] wat praat deddy van EK moet daan toe gaan? Hulle was nie 'aar vir my wanneer ek stukkende skoene, stukkende klere gedraa het 'ie so ek gaanie terug nie – ek gaan nie daan toe nie, hulle kan hie' kom, hulle het kare, hulle kan hie' by ons kom, hulle kom dan hier – they come to the neighbours here but they don't come to us as a family, they come to the neighbours and the neighbours tell them what's happening there by us and they like ya, then they go tell the WHOLE family, you see and they were labeling us wrong and me I was getting angry you see. Aft – the day time I stand on the corner, once I come there – my aunty come there, and then she cry, yay, your cousins they miss you, we never saw you, you must come – come visit the family, what's wrong, I say ya when I come – when I come visit the family – I'm gonna come visit the family when my dad get pay – when my daddy did pay, and then they laugh and in my mind I was thinking ya that's all he's worth ne, him come visit yours when he got lotta money. And... but= =

**T145 – Interviewer:**

= =Tell me= =

**T146 – Participant:**

= =So

**T147 – Interviewer:**

Hm?

**T148 – Participant:**

No it's fine.

**T149 – Interviewer:**

No, sorry what did you want to say?

**T150 – Participant:**

Nah, its fine. It's o'right.

**T151 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T152 – Participant:**

= =It's o'right.

**T153 – Interviewer:**

I just wanted to ask you more about the women in your family, like... who's the most sort of influential woman in you life?

**T154 – Participant:**

Uh, women?

**T155 – Interviewer:**

Ya, who has the most influence on you? The women.

**T156 – Participant:**

You mean the right thing or the wrong thing?

**T157 – Interviewer:**

Good influence or bad influence.

**T158 – Participant:**

The woman... [laugh] because this one gangster – uhm this girl, from the Bontheuwel. She... like – ya she do drugs but... she – me and she we – we always talking but we didn't see each other – we didn't see each other, I told her ya I like you you see, I don't LIKE you – like like you as a girlfriend, just as a friend, she said ya, me I like you as a brother, told her ya I like you as a sister, then when the time when she come we can talk WHOLE day, we can sit whole day and talk and what what, ya, we can talk whole day and then ya, for me she was a influence because... ya she was just yaw she was amazing girl, she soma take me out, ya buy m – buy me something to eat, buy my mother also something to eat, at our house, soma wash our dishes, clean our house and... make something to eat, soma buy the whole house something to eat, she was like that girls that no I don't eat fish, I don't eat this tuna fish – I don't [laugh] – I don't eat tuna fish and I don't sit uh – when we buy KFC – then like some girls wanna sit inside and that, she was a other dingese – she was a totally different girl, she say yay – but she look cute and that stuff, she was – ya she's a beautiful girl, every man that saw her wanted to be after her – she was like yay, we can go sit on the corner and eat you see, we go sit anywhere outside, I'm like ya, at one 'o clock in the day,

you see

**T159 – Interviewer:**

She what – sorry I'm not following, what did you say? She doesn't want to sit inside KFC?

**T160 – Participant:**

Ya she was like that, totally different girl, do stuff differently

**T161 – Interviewer:**

So usually other girls would want to sit inside KFC? = =

**T162 – Participant:**

= =Ya they don' wanna get them dirty and all that stuff= =

**T163 – Interviewer:**

= =But she would sit on the corner= =

**T164 – Participant:**

= =Ya, she was like half man [laugh]. Half man half dinges, ya, and she – she was – she don't speak like women supposed to speak, she was like – I don't know what – if she was a gangster or what ya but she could understand what the gangsters was speaking and stuff and ya and sometimes she gave me advice, she and her boyfriend. They told me ya you mustn't look – you mustn't look – ya... I'm not so good with English [laughs].

**T165 – Interviewer:**

If you not so comfortable with English it's okay, 'cause I do understand Afrikaans.

**T166 – Participant:**

Ya, and she told me you mustn't – you mustn't let this lifestyle you living in stop you... you see because what you want – you must concentrate on what you want not what you have now, what you don't have. I was like ya, and me I wanted to cry, I told them, You's making me cry here but me I don't – I don't – my tears didn't drop but I was – told them yay you's making my heart broken here, I feel like crying and then they told me yay, put on your coat and go buy us Gatsby, I was like yay, you's gonna walk with, they say ya, come we walk and then we walked, could've told me we going to walk in the middle of the night here across. [Pause – 3 seconds.] My dad told me you see like – HE told me – here was no gangsters in the street – my uncle's best friend – that time my uncle's best friend – he told me yay you see, here you can see now there's no one in the street, you see now imagine you wanna be a gangster, you have to break your family's trust, you have to break your girlfriend's trust, even when you go work you not gonna have – you not gonna get the work you want, you see, the work of your dreams, like... we must go mix daga, you must go do – you must do any work ne, work on the drains. He told me he daga'd, and I was like how can you, you look like a English boy, come from a rich family, he say nah-uh I don't come from a rich family, me I was a gangster since sixteen-years-old, I told him yaw and he's like ya, you see girls you can get quick – you can get anything, like material stuff, you can get anything but... depends on your family, if you don't stuck with your family you gonna be lost in life. I was like ya I don't understand, he told me yay, you see me, everyday I'm stressed, I'm a

bergie still, you see, you see you – me I will make you believe I'm your brother and die – ya we can live forever together you see, but huh-uh, when we go – when we go to jail you see me I go my way and you – you go your way. He say ya you see you make your own decisions – when you there you make your own decisions, you see. That gangs, there inside they gonna ask you why you here and then – and then you must answer and stuff and that's not a – that's not a place you want to go to, you see 'cause I've been there. And the girl tell me ya, you mustn't do stuff like that and you mustn't – go on with your school and stuff, I'm like ya.

**T167 – Interviewer:**

What did the girl tell you, you must go on with your school?

**T168 – Participant:** Ya.

**T169 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T170 – Participant:**

Most – not actually – most of the uncle's friends they like me or girls they told me yay go back to school man, me uh-uh I just wanna go sit on the corner – sit with my best friend on the corner, tease the people whole day, old people, can be who, sit whole day on the corner, catch on my nonsense, throw – break the people's windows, was a problem child, me and my friend, but me I always when I – when I was in trouble I was always the first one... uhm name that they mention or they always suspect me... and like my nick name – I'm not gonna say – ya I wrote my name everywhere on school, everywhere in the road, on the walls, at the back of the walls there's like a bush and there was like uh – how can I say – a gangetjie,

**T171 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T172 – Participant:**

To the bush, into our street, and everyday I was sitting there smoking, my friend never smoked, he never smoked a cigarette or – how can I say – dagga, he never smoked, but me I was smoking and that influenced him to sm – [laugh], that influenced him to smoke because I smoke a lot, ya for me it was nice and then he was like ya gimme a puff ma broe and then he couldn't smoke, and ya naai today we don't smoke anymore, we just smoke oka pyp and still ya, we still – still – for me it's fun talking about – me and him always talk about the OLD stuff like what we done what happened on school, what happened with us, and ya sharing that – sharing that memories with us – what happened with us was – ya was good his sister – his sister put me in School of Hope and his sister's like ya you stalking again SHIT what happened YEARS ago and we like no it didn't happen years ago it just happened last year and she's like ya [clicks tongue] yous gonna keep on reminding yourselves about doing that, yous gonna come nowhere, but, ya, even the community they was like ya where do you live. I say I live in Pretoria they say ya I heard you live at a home, I say yay, it's a home, now what's wrong. Why you live at a home, I say huh, I told them what's wrong. They say now why you living at a home... what your mo – what your father think? I say I don't care what my mother and my father think, I don't care what you say, me I just want to live there and klaa. The guy told me okay, because of problems, stuff is getting

bad at your house? And I said – I just said uh ya uh ya, it's fine you can think what you want to but me I'm gonna stay here and he say- now what- did you pass? Like last year he ask me did you pass? When the... exams were finished, I told him – I never knew I'm going to pass, 'cause I was still... yaw, I was still naugh – I was sill a problem. I didn't listen [laugh] I didn't do my work, I didn't listen but when it came to exams I still pass and my aunty – one Friday my aunty was asking me yay did you pass, I told her yay I didn't get my report but I pass and me I was un – I wasn't positive am I going to pass and then I pass and then I told her – ya and then... they were nice to me like – they say ya you getting fat, ya you mustn't come – ya you mustn't – stay there by dinges – like – how can I explain it man= =

**T173 – Interviewer:**

= = You mustn't stay where?

**T174 – Participant:**

Ya you mustn't – I mustn't – ya like – like – it's good for you, you mustn't – it's good that you there where you are

**T175 – Interviewer:**

Like – oh okay.

**T176 - Participant:**

Ya here by Beth Uriel, you doing good, you looking good... but, then – then why are your mother and father still getting this stuff happen at the house, why are they still like giving the people things to do what they want to with our house and all that and I'm like me I don't care man, where I am now I'm fine. And they were like yay how's it there I was like ya you see like that side there – here's also drugs and stuff, there's also drugs, but smoke is near you see and they like yay do you have friends, I say ya I have friends, they say what kind of friends, I say ya I have friends here there they – we smoke weed, we even have merchants – we sell weed, they even – I was lying to them [laugh] – I was lying – they even – their fathers and mothers even sell wine, they rich people. But me I make my decision I'm finished with everything, I smoke my cigarette, I do my schoolwork, I obey the Whiteman rules, like my friend mos say [laugh], I obey the Whiteman rules you see so me- if I can – ya I'm trying to cope – I'm trying to cope and they told me yay you short tempered man I say yay [clicks tongue] ya I'm short tempered ya. But me I'm gonna try man you see and that's why now I'm still at BU – my family – today I'm gonna visit my family for I dunno how long – they saw – I saw them last year.

**T177 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T178 – Participant:**

So I'm gonna visit them today.

**T179 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T180 – Participant:**

My father actually told me to go visit – this morning he phoned me – naai it was yesterday – yesterday he phoned me – and I was waiting for him to phone me 'cause at the end of the month his pay and that's why he go visit there and then he ask me yai you gonna visit there I told him... I don't know and then his like yai talk my airtime so I told him ya come pick me up and then he was like – for him it's happy cause now I want to go and other times I didn't want to go, he sommer – he – when he go visit the family he always ask and I tell him yai I don't want to go you see they just – they don't even drop us by our house [laugh] they drop us – maybe from here to... Rondebosch and we must walk home you see and then I told him – they done that once – once to us you see and after that I told him I'm NEVER gonna visit them again you see. Why they care about petrol and stuff, but we their family you see they know we don't have money but why they drop us that side that's not family they don't care. My dad's like yai... you mustn't care what they do wrong you must just... be – do the right thing. I was like yai [clicks tongue] daai's 'ie familie daai nie, hulle's a klom gemors, hulle's pretenders. My dad's like yai you can't talk like that about MY family. Ya I don't care, you see, I have family on the streets [laugh]. My dad's like ya, you gonna become a gangster like your uncle, I'm like huh uh wag jy... Ya but what I find funny about this... whole story of my life... old people... you see when you don't listen to them, they tell you something but ya the problem's so small don' wanna take note of it – they don't take note of the problem – like my – before everything was happening at our house you see and before the things that happened in MY life – before that things came in MY life – drugs and stuff, my grandmother used to told me you must watch the SMALL things in life – the small things that you can't eve – the stuff that you can't take note of you must take note of that, you must complain about that and talk about it you see because why – you can talk you must never forget what you say, it must never go up to a lie cause when something is small you not gonna take note of it you see like my dad he used to – before he used to smoke a pipe with my uncle – he used to smoke a pipe in the yard you see and he told my grandma naai, it's fine it's only for now you see, then he smoke a pipe every day, every week, one day when we come – when he come home – he smoke whole day, me... I was small that time, I know nothing about drugs and stuff, I was into soccer, I was very angry and then the thing like – the day when my grandma died, you see and then my grandma wasn't there to tell him every time and then after that he was smoking with a lotta friends and then my uncle that's a gangster come stay there by us and ya and then the gangster friends come there and then the things everything – not crazy but everything got out of hand and that, was the impact in MY life, even my brother – my brother was a gangster they did kill him, his birthday on the 21st 1999 and they killed him, he also told me you must listen to your mother

**T181 – Interviewer:**

Your brother?

**T182 – Participant:**

Ya, my brother was from a other child – other father. We was from one mother but different fathers. He used to stay by my aunty and he called my mother by my mother's name you see and that – and he told me one day – it was a Saturday – he told me yai, you must stop being stubborn you must listen to your mother... if you want – what – your mother's your precious – your precious gold, I told him yai she's not my precious gold, she every time wanna moer me [laugh], she moer me huh, he's like yai don't worry man she can moer you you see but you don't wanna listen, she gonna make you stubborn. I was like naai, wag man, you telling me that now, when

my dad call you to smoke a pipe, it's fine, and then you run, he tell me yay... I'm telling you, you gonna suffer if you don' wanna listen... to your parents... but after that, me I – today I still – still don't wanna listen to my mother and my father. I just listen to people that – if they give me positive things – if they tell me, like if I'm doing wrong, like if I'm stressful, like the people at school, ya... and – like Linda also, and William – that guy William, 'cause he's older then me you see, I respect my elders, that's why – when they tell me something to do, and then they tell me no not to do the wrong thing like – like when I'm stressful, I'm stressing me out, they tell me yay, don't do the wrong thing, don't think of doing the wrong thing, you must be the wise person you see, I was like yay man that person don't see me [laugh] – don't see me so I'm gonna MAKE that one see me, you see. I'm gonna make my family see they like yay... you just do your thing man do it the right way then everything will be fine, they are the losers, they the losers at the end of he day you see... ya, and then I was like ya okay. Start making the right decisions, when I'm here – also here when, I don't know when – when we got robbed in my OWN place, we got robbed, me and my friend got robbed, they – we came to this bus stop man they told me yay we go buy a cigarette, I told them yay my feet pain I don't know why this people buy me this KAK school shoes, I take it off and I was rubbing my big toe, my big toe was getting sore, I was carrying a paint – a tin of paint and I was sitting on it and my girlfriend was with and my girlfriend's cousin and my friend you see and Mandla<sup>8</sup> – also another boy here from BU, he was smoking a cigarette pipe, he was with us but that uh – we needed transport – he did ask us and me and him were stressing about that but for me it was fine 'cause I'm going home, I tell him yay I'm gonna get us taxi fare and stuff so [claps hands] if you wanna come with me [claps hands], then you can come with me [claps hands], we can walk, and he was like yay man I'm gonna go with you, but me and him didn't expect we gonna be in that, we gonna get robbed – actually my friend didn't get robbed – the first – the first bus stop that we went to and then I dropped my other friend he's gone to Worcester, he gonna go stay in Worcester, he actually like – how can I say – he went just back home

**T183 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T184 – Participant:**

But he was at – in our class since last year

**T185 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T186 – Participant:**

And this year he just – when was it Thursday? – Thursday ya... ya Thursday and then I told him yay man come walk to my side, there where I live, it's more nearer for us, we never gonna see you again, he's like ya my broe man, but he wanted this girl – he wanted something to kiss this girl or something – he wanted something about her – he wanted something for her, she= =

**T187 – Interviewer:**

= =Is this your girlfriend?

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<sup>8</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

**T188 – Participant:**

My girlfriend's cousin. This is my EX. My girlfriend's cousin's my ex and... – no... my girlfriend... that.. cousin

**T189 – Interviewer:**

= =Uh= =

**T190 – Participant:**

= =How can I say [laugh] actually the first girlfriend that I had was this girl, her name is Susie<sup>9</sup>, you see and then we broke up and then this year I met her cousin.

**T191 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T192 – Participant:**

And we went out and my friend in my class wanted that girl Susie, my ex= =

**T193 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T194 – Participant:**

= =You see and, we were like daring each other if you gonna get some – if you gonna get something right there then I'm gonna show you I'm also gonna do something and I was like ya come we bet each other and then he got nothing right and then he turn around at the second bus stop – ya the second bus stop he turn around and he said naai he's gonna jump in a taxi and we walked out we walk to our bus stop. We saw this two strangers, sitting at the bus stop but we – I didn't take note of that because it's my home town I feel comfortable, you see but before it came to our dinges – I told Mandla and this girl and my friend told him Jo- uhm nah Joseph<sup>10</sup> told him yay julle moet soner bags sit, here's drug addicts that come here you see me I live in Pretoria I dunno who come here, and who's who here, yous must watch out but... for them it was like a joke but Mandla – they – Mandla put his phone away and this girl put their phone away and then yaw we got robbed and then as I was sitting down we were walking I pick up the paint – I pick up this paint tin – two litre – ya two litre I dunno – five litre – maybe five litre and I pick it up I sit on it and then, as I was sitting I was sitting my back to the road and I was watching this guy sitting at the bus stop and I said yay my tone pyn and this girl told me yay do you have a two rand there go by a cigarette for us you see.. and I was like yay – I was thinking in my mind yay, you lazy but it's fine I'm gonna by you a cigarette and as I was standing up, I was walking – I think it was a metre – a metre away but it was trees in the way not big trees... and me and my friend got robbed with his phone [clicks fingers/claps hands] they were hanging onto me – this girl – grabbing me telling me yay something happened, just look there something happened with Joseph now, she was on my nerves, and I saw my girlfriend running and I told her yay what's wrong and I looked under her yay what's dogs chasing yous [laugh] and then she told me no the dogs not chasing us they robbing him and I saw this two guys, yaw they look like people who going to work or just getting from their work, I dunno if they gonna work or what, they were

<sup>9</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

<sup>10</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

sitting with old pantses ( ), ( ) on their back, in the taxi and then the taxi driver want to stab my friend and my friend- and then my friend told me yay I want my phone. I told him yay that driver – that people got knives, you wanna die over a piece of plastic. I must die 'cause of a piece of plastic, huh-uh, jy's mos mal jy. I just stand there, but I was getting angry from inside, I was thinking yay I brought my friends here and things was going through my mind, yay can't I grab one of those – one of those barstards and then, we were doing nothing the taxi driver took those two guys, they just jump in they told the taxi driver they – I dunno what – about – something about they... we owe him something and he just took it back and the taxi driver just drove off and then, me I was still stressing from the inside but I was laughing – I was laughing and this girls every time told me what – your – why didn't you do something, I tell her yay must I die because of a piece of plastic, in my mind I thought ya could've been now dead if I turn my back, but I don't want to tell them what I'm thinking, they were talking but in my mind I was stressing. They were like ya this old stupidity, and what what but the night – here the night me and William we were talking the whole – till two, three o' clock the morning= =

**T195 – Interviewer:**

= =Where were you talking, here at Beth Uriel?

**T196 – Participant:**

[Nods head]

**T197 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T198 – Participant:**

Sitting up, listening to music talking about, life and stuff – stuff that I already done and then... ya we talk about the next day, the Friday, yesterday, ya, I was still stressing... in- inside [laugh]. I was keeping in, me I keep stuff in... and so when I get – finally get angry... that one person, yaw it's THEIR own thing and then me and William were talking again, I was smoking a cigarette, I didn't eat yesterday – I didn't eat yet, I didn't eat the porridge. I went to school and I told – I didn't tell no one here – me and Mandla didn't tell no one we got robbed, you see the morning= =

**T199 – Interviewer:**

= =You and who?

**T200 – Participant:**

Me and Mandla. We told no one here we got robbed, we were now in a rob, we told no one we just – we were just, I was just fine, putting a fake smile on but inside [laugh] I was angry [laugh] I was angry and then, before school started... me and William went to the shop... to buy a cigarette... and then I told – and then I decided to tell him yay, we, got robbed. He was like yay, why didn't you tell me yesterday, I say yay I know you – I know why must I tell him yesterday and then everybody ask me there at BU you see and then I'm sick because I'm angry I don't... I'm... not feeling right man, I'm angry, you see, I didn't have the time for that, nonsense, yous asking a lotta questions and then... uhm they ask a lotta questions, I didn't have lus for that you see, that's a personal thing and they – then he said yay, Mandla – was Mandla with, I said ya Mandla couldn't speak Afrikaans – because they were Coloureds and he's mos – I dunno where

he come from – uh he come from Portuguese – uh Portugal. He was like yay – he couldn't speak Afrikaans but he was there I was there, I turn my back and then he laugh and I told him ya but... ya I thank God that I'm alive, that all of them are alive, because it was my hometown, if one of them were dead then the parents will ask ME... why did I bring them there, if I didn't do something, he was like ya they fine you see but, I'm not feeling fine, I'm still angry. Then at school, I almost – I dunno – I got hot flashes, I got hot flashes before the sem – ya the semi started, after five minutes I was getting hot, something here in my stomach but I was still stressed about – I was still stressed out about that, because for me... that girl – the girl – my girlfriend told me [laugh] she's never gonna come here again and in my – I didn't tell her yay, you don't wanna come – I don't care if you don't wanna come here I'm not gonna worry again in my mind I was thinking to myself yay, fuck them man, if you don't wanna come here again, you don't wanna come to my place again, it's fine it's over between us I was.. talking to my sixth senses you understand. Then I told her – and then I told my friend, I told William also ya don't worry, I'm still getting angry because that girl also told me ya she didn't wanna come to my place, now what did I do wrong, and I was sitting and I was sitting [rocks backwards on chair] whole time, I was sitting to the front [rocks backwards on chair] as I was getting hot, I couldn't relax because the pain was coming and I was just moving to the front and I was getting hot, pulling my jacket off, but, they were watching me because... everyday in assembly I just go on talk to everyone, don' wanna listen to the teachers talking there in front me I just wanna have my conversation here, but that day I was just, I was quiet, getting hot flashes and stuff and then I wanted to... just collapse and then I told Miss I'm not feeling fine, the Miss ask what, and as I was walking I'm falling, took my cap off, took my jacket off I went outside – outside – the school isn't big – I went to the outside tap, I rinsed my face with water, drink water and my Miss ask me what's wrong... and I was like nothing Miss, nothing's wrong, I was just getting hot flashes, but William even told the teacher and this girl also came [clap hands] and – the girl who were with me – my ex came with – who was with us robbed – she come Miss I know Miss, she told Miss, Miss I know what went wrong, we got robbed yesterday and the Miss said yay, so how do you feel now, I told, Miss, I'm stressed out about that day because we could've been dead, and the Miss said yay you must go see a doctor, you mustn't be you stressed out and that, she ask me why and I say Miss, that could've been the dead and then what do I do, the parents come to me and tell me it's YOUR stupidity for bringing them there, she told me no, you mustn't stress you out and I went to the doctor, the doctor was pressing here, pressing here, when he tell me to press here there was a pain there, dunno what – dunno what he said about – something about my stomach but then I pack up and then he gave me – I dunno – my blood was low – he gave me sugar – water with sugar to make my blood – to make my blood at the right level and then he told me I could've been in a coma [laugh] here he told me I could've been in a coma [laugh] when he told me I could've been in a coma I wasn't thinking about anything I was sitting in a own – in my own zone [laugh], I was thinking in my mind yay – I was still feeling – I wasn't feeling nice, I was thinking yaww-hoh... doctor [laugh] in a coma! Coma's mos a other thing and then ya, and then – and then they – they gave me the water and then they ask are you hungry, no I'm not hungry and then they say yay you must eat but me I was still- not shivering, I didn't show them I was shivering but I was from in – the inside – I didn't – I didn't feel nice – I was feeling nervous you see, 'cos I don't know – the doctor was talking about a coma [laugh hard] I was thinking yay I'm gonna die, talking bout coma [laugh]. Huh-uh and then I was gone and then we were talking about this – we were talking about this, me and Mandla – me and Mandla and my ex- we were talking about this, my girlfriend was also there but she don't wanna

come to school, the teacher ask who was all with, I say naai that girl and they say again they were looking for the girl's number, I say I have the girl's number, they say uh ya we will always find something from you, of another new girl at school. I was like ya Miss that girl's still shocked about what happened yesterday... and then... I told the Miss [mumbles words] and then they told me yay... that girl is still shocked come we phone her, see if she's fine, I said Miss, that girl told me it's over [laugh], she never wanna see my face again Miss, I'm still stressed out about that Miss and the Miss said yay, come we pray about it – we pray about this thing that happened that yous are still fine – everyone's still fine, it's only a piece of plastic thing that they took and, the boy Joseph that got robbed he's still fine – because he jumped in the taxi and when that girl told the tea – the principle that no Joseph jumped in the same taxi that the robbers jumped in but he jumped in a different taxi to come out by Manenberg police station for his phone and that and at the same time he soma block his phone and the Miss was worried and the Miss start praying about that and then they ask me yay are you fine – after that they ask me are you fine? Can you go write your test, and I said, ya Miss, and she ask are you feeling angry, I say Miss it's fine, I'm thinking of something – I dunno what I'm thinking but I'm thinking about something nice... thinking about something nice when I go write, Miss was like ya you see, don't... don't overwork but for me I was nervous because, just this coma, coma, why do I have to have all this stress. After that I was fine, doing my school work, everyone was asking me at school yay are you alright, nah I'm fine and then I laugh, I was still laughing about it [laugh] me I was still laughing about it and they were like yay, jy lag nog altyd, jy kan – jy kan in 'n koma gewees het, waarom lag jy it's printed op jou kop hie van koma, but I was – yaw – me I was not nervous [clap hands] then... everything was fine, stopped stressing

**T201 – Interviewer:**

How long ago was this?

**T202 – Participant:**

Yesterday it happened – Thursday

**T203 – Interviewer:**

Thurs= =

**T204 – Participant:**

= =Yesterday it happened at school

**T205 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T206 – Participant:**

And I still got... uh something for my blood, I must drink it when I'm finished eating.

**T207 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T208 – Participant:**

But I dunno, but me I stress quick, since yesterday, William told me yay you must... mustn't

stress, and then I was just telling myself yay, you don't wanna be in a coma, I was thinking about that – dunno what – I was thinking about my dream, what I want to be, where I wanna live and that stuff, thinking about something nice

**T209 – Interviewer:**

Ya

**T210 – Participant:**

And when – ya whenever I stress I'm just thinking about something happy or something funny, you see, ya

**T211 – Interviewer:**

Does it work?

**T212 – Participant:**

Ya it work. [Laugh.] It work! It work, so at the interview Maggie<sup>11</sup> told me yay – I told Maggie I can't do the interview today, I'm sick and Maggie told me you lie – I didn't actually tell Maggie – at first I didn't wanna tell Maggie we got robbed and stuff there at my place 'cause Maggie always told me if – I – I must must never go now near my house because she know the atmosphere, for her she know- she know the stuff, I must never go near to my house and stuff and then I told her yay what happened about= =

**T213 – Interviewer:**

= =Why does she say you shouldn't go to your house?

**T214 – Participant:**

Because what – the – the things that happen at our house

**T215 – Interviewer:**

Drugs and stuff?

**T216 – Participant:**

Ya, the people that I know and that, you see, she say I mustn't go there, ok, before weekends, I must never go there, during school times, they give me detention, I must come straight to BU, in my mind I said yay, you mad I'm still going there= =

**T217 – Interviewer:**

Is this at Bridgetown school?

**T218 – Participant:**

Huh-uh School of Hope.

**T219 – Interviewer:** School of Hope.

**T220 – Participant:**

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<sup>11</sup> Pseudonym used to keep the participant's identity anonymous.

She told me ya, every time you doing something wrong you in detention, you get punished for it, don't go home, you must go to BU, I told her how do you mean, in my mind I told myself yay people that I miss, friends that I'm missing, I'm just gonna go without yous knowing and then that's what happened to the girls – something wrong happened with them... and then ya, and... when I got home – to get taxi fare – the taxi fare for me and Mandla, and then my uncle came and he told me yay... you don't look right, [moves on chair] I say no I'm fine, he say yay you don't look right... I say naai I'm fine and then my cousin came, I didn't saw in a long time, from my mother's side, she came ya, I miss you, I never saw you, I was like yay, but in my mind I say no, you getting thin, I told her you getting thin, she say ya you look thin and I say ya, I stopped with everything. She say yaw – you alw – I always – me and she always talk about this thing like... we gonna leave this drugs, yay we gonna finish school. From my mother's side she was the only – first one that matriculated.

**T221 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T222 – Participant:**

In Matric, from the cousins like from my age up till twenty-five, ya up till thirty-seven, she was the only one that matriculated, my other cousins they dropped out everyone dropped out, you see and the time she was in Matric everything was hectic for her, she was living by my aunty and this guy my aunty's husband, he treated her – he treated her – yaw – he treated her – he didn't give her a nice ti – nice life and that – every – like – we always sit on the corner, she come to the corner and she CRY about it, and I told her she must go to the Lord and the Lord will sort out her problems you see, and she's like yay you talking to ME about the Lord, jy's dan nie eers in die kerk nie, ek se jy ek glo in die God man ma wat moet ek maak, ek glo in die Woord van die Here, niks kan hom stop 'ie ya and then he – it happened actually a few times to her and me I was getting angry and my uncle was also getting angry about this thing= =

**T223 – Interviewer:**

What happened to her a few times?

**T224 – Participant:**

Now this- she told me this – yay this – this guy= =

**T225 – Interviewer:**

= = Your aunty's husband?

**T226 – Participant:**

Ya it's like he harass her, he touch her, it's almost like he want to have SEX with her so she stubborn and then he want to throw her out, you see and she can't handle it, she always come crying by me, come to me crying about it

**T227 – Interviewer:**

How old is she?

**T228 – Participant:**

She's now twenty – ... twenty. That time she was... nineteen. Me I was – I was eighteen... eighteen?... seventeen, ya seventeen years old. But she was older than me, we were just talking about it and I told her yay don't cry man, why do you want to run away and the whole time go to other places... and she go live by other people, first sort out your problem and then you go but me I soma make it my OWN problem, you see and then I got her to talk about it, Mandla still took a photo about her and she had to remind me... that... she still there for me but we never see each other and that and then [claps hands/rocks backwards on chair] we talking about, I told her yay= =

**T229 – Interviewer:**

= =Is this when you saw her?

**T230 – Participant:**

Ya... ya, I told her yay we got robbed in my place and I was laughing. She say yay, jy lag nog, is jy nie bang jy's geskiet nie, ek se ek loop nie met 'n phone nie, ek loop met niks op my nie, ek's honger I eat my money up, I don't care, 'cause I know you can even kill over a fifty cents, they kill you over a fifty cents and you say you don't have a cigarette, they say yay, you MUST, almost like you MUST have and then they smack you and then ya you get angry and then that's a big fight... and then she and me were talking about her problem a lot and that ya= =

**T231 – Interviewer:**

= =What's her problem?

**T232 – Participant:**

Uh this guy, how do you say a (onyaagen) – he's a (onyaagen), it's almost like a – not a priest – under a priest – like a... under – a undertaker – he's a undertaker [laugh]

**T233 – Interviewer:**

Is he in the church?

**T234 – Participant:**

Ya like= =

**T235 – Interviewer:**

So he's a very well known person in the church?

**T236 – Participant:**

Ya, you first get him – first the Sunday – the Sunday school teacher and then you get a – a (onyaagen), I don't know how to say in English – a undertaker [laugh] – a undertaker, and then you get a priest, then you get a – uh... ( ) and then you get (settler) ya, it's like five... different people you get, now he was in charge of our community, to make sure our people do God's work and do things God ask us, you see because of where we living in but – now that's why WE never went to church, me, my uncle, my family from my mother's side, we didn't like him, we don't like him, because we were like yay this guy's talking nonsense in front, he never go to church, but when we get this guy, one day is one day, my uncle told me yay, I'm not going – my uncle's not going to church, it's this guy, he's making him angry, every time he see him, his temper, push

it up, then he's like naai man it's fine, then he see – because they actually threw my uncle out the house, everybody – my mother's cousins and aunty's, they all living at my aunty, at my greatest grandmother, ya, they living in that house, my greatest grandmother died and he married my aunty and he threw like the family out- the whole family then he and my aunty lived there and my cousin and her... sister and another small cousin and he threw them all out. Not threw them out he just kept them – kept on leaving them at school and throw the others out and that's why the family don't like him from my mother's side, no one like him there, but me I like him because that's the problem you see you must deal with such problems, they were like yay you fake in front of that guy, I say yay you also fake in front of me, but I like it, you see and they were like ya one day he's gonna die in hell, I say yay he's gonna die in hell, why don't you go to him and TALK to him, they like naai daai ding gaan vrek [laugh] hy gaan vrek in yell [laugh], I'm like, ya it's fine man... because like, you see him... he's like THEY say, like HE open the door to heaven, when you come there, when you confess...

**T237 – Interviewer:**

Mm – okay.

**T238 – Participant:**

By him [rocks backwards on chair] God will forgive you [rocks backwards on chair]... like for me [clicks tongue] at first I never – ya [pause – 5 seconds] I play soccer and then I ya actually I play good soccer and then afterwards he told me yay you must – you mustn't consider more about soccer because if you consider more about soccer you gonna lose your legs and I told him yay you cursing me, and he said no I'm not cursing you I'm just warning you, you see 'cause that is famous soccer players, they go to church, they don't consider more – soccer more than God... and then – and that was – ya that was – I was getting frustrated about that, I was always thinking about that, I'm playing soccer and then I'm when am I gonna lose my legs, that guy did curse me, you see and then, ya they did kick me in my leg I couldn't play for a whole year and then ya I was thinking about that, when I this year – when I – actually ya this year, I played soccer again, and then I went to him and I told him what he – I – what I think – what I'm thinking about him you see and he told me yay you totally – you totally got everything different – wrong

**T239 – Interviewer:**

What did you tell him?

**T240 – Participant:**

I told him yay you curse me.

**T241 – Interviewer:**

Oh.

**T242 – Participant:**

He's like no... I'm not cursing you, I'm just reminding you that the will of God is stronger than... that you think, you see God is strong, YOU mustn't think about any other stuff, even your mother also, you mustn't... first God, then your family, and then your friends and then everything else, you see and I was like ya okay, I'm gonna try but I knew... and so when I go there – when I go to him, I talk to him and his like ya I'm gonna pray for you and I was like ya, okay

**T243 – Interviewer:**

And now what was the situation between him and your cousin? – was it your cousin?

**T244 – Participant:**

Ya, she went to work for the police force. He – not – actually my aunty threw her – threw her – not my aunty – he threw her out and my aunty agreed, you see my aunty agreed and then – and she went to go stay at the other= =

**T245 – Interviewer:**

= =Is this the same priest guy – this man in the church that spoke to you= =

**T246 – Participant:**

= =Ya

**T247 – Interviewer:**

He threw her out?

**T248 – Participant:**

Ya he threw her out and she's like no it's fine, I'm getting tired of this shit, I'm gonna go live on my own and then the priest told her – the other priest also told her yay she can live there by him in Stellenbosch and she said yes okay and then she go work at the police force and ever since – I only saw her once – I saw her once ya... I saw her once and she was like – almost she WANT to keep her – she walk in the sand she don't wanna make her slipper dirty [laugh] she don't want to make her slippers dirty, walking with her bag, I was like yay, other day when we were still small you didn't walk – you didn't think about walking with bags stuff but nou wil jy soma loop met bags, gee 'n rand da, no I don't have change, and my friend laugh, he's like yay jy kak ice-cream [laugh], and she say no, I don't kak ice-cream, it's net ek het skool klaar gemaak so dat ek kan – ha – ek kan goete dra wat ek wil he. And so we say hokay, almal draai ook uit and she say huh-uh ek draai nie uit nie, it's julle, julle MAAK dat ek uit draai, julle moet gaan werk vir 'n ding.

**T249 – Interviewer:**

This is your cousin that you saw on Thursday?

**T250 – Participant:**

Ya

**T251 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T252 – Participant:**

Maar ek dink ya it's – it's fine, YOU... it's fine but me also I still think about problems with... me – like – ya as long as you say (this lady's song) always you can get a lot of advice about life. We thought you must always think about the things that – always think about the unexpected, you mustn't just ya everything's gonna be fine, tomorrow I do this, tomorrow I do that, I – ya you can write everything out, you can think in your mind you gonna do it but God decide – God is the

person that decide yay this gonna happen to you, gonna take you – when you must die, you must die, you see. And then... you must live the life, YOU MUST LIVE THE LIFE as if tomorrow you not gonna wake up... that's why... me I'm fine – I'm always excited, sometimes I'm nervous [laugh].

**T253 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T254 – Participant:**

Sometimes I'm nervous and like that ya [claps hands] so okay, my life is okay now, but when I'm here I'm also worried about my – ya about my parents and stuff because there – there come – there's gangsters that come there... like OLD friends, my uncle's old friends they always come – yay where's Lucas, is it nice there and stuff and they – like how can I say... my mother – she get worried about that, but – ya, me I don't care about her you see, that's why she smoke drugs and stuff, we don't care about her, don't care – my – my father also don't care about her... so... she's doing her own thing, you see. That's why like – they ask – they ask my mother where's Lucas and dinges, I got a lotta friends, you see and the gangster friends of my uncle they all know me and when they come there they reminding her like yay, my mother is useless, in my mother's mind I don't – I don't think for her – for me it's like this, she still think yay I'm useless... my child, he don't even care about me, my husband don't care about me, so, I'm gonna ma smoke me dead you see and the FIRST time I went home my mother was arguing about that, you see and I told my mother, it's not about ME going there and yous telling me yous – I'm not giving- yous not giving me love, you giving me love, but you can't give me... the education that I really want, you can't give me the space that I really want, you see so it's fine... with me I'm gonna go, finish my school, come back home and then be what I want to be and then my mother – ya she was fine, then – when she heard that she was fine but me and my dad still argue about that thing... he got to work now again – I don't think it's a permanent job but this boss he's working for uhm... they... come from a rich family... this boss he's working for – uhm trucks ya big trucks – so they have money... but my dad is like a driver who get – my dad work long – sixteen? – sixteen-years-old and truck – driving trucks, long distance but... my dad wasn't – by the law he was supposed to be eighteen and then my dad got his license at seventeen-years-old and then my dad drive for this guy from – from thirty odd for this... guy my aunty got, they call this people war, they like to buy this trucks that's called war, like to buy that, my dad helped them out ever since but they were also skelm you see they don't pay you bonus, they don't pay you the right amount, they give you cash, they give your money cash in your hand, not pay slips and stuff, but that wasn't a permanent job, my dad worked for them and then my dad leave them, then my dad work for them and then my dad leave them and then my dad work for – also one of the family members – he work for them now – he started last year... ya it was last year and then now it's a permanent job, that guy's a good guy, you see I went to Jo'bur – to Jo'burg always with my dad in the holidays... but, before I went [laugh] – before I went – I was like yare whatever, whatever up to now, this is gonna make me crazy, being with my dad, every – everything, like – is like that with parents, if you – if you a naughty boy – naughty person then, dinges the naughtiest one in the family then they always like yay you mustn't do something too slow, you mustn't say something wrong... you mustn't even – it's almost like you mustn't fart, you must be still, you must be quiet, you must be the sweetest person in their eyes you see otherwise – yaw my dad he stress – he stress quick and when he stress... me I try to cool myself down but I can't and then we argue –

we argue from – where can I say – [laugh] from here – from Cape Town to Jo’burg and when we come to Jo’burg and then we took a walk – me and him took a walk and then we talk about ya stuff that's happening at the house now and I told him ya imagine if the house get burned down, my mother's not there and he's like ya and the house got burned down he's like ya it's your house – he told me yay it's your house and then we were laughing about it and then me and him – we getting close to each other – after that we getting close to each other, we were talking about ya – we were getting close to each other and – ya [clicks tongue] how can – we getting close to each other

**T255 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T256 – Participant:**

That – was almost like a wall keeping us away then but that didn't work and then ya we were just talking about everything and then my dad's still talking about women and I'm like uh-ya, uh-ya

**T257 – Interviewer:**

About what?

**T258 – Participant:**

Talking about women.

**T259 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T260 – Participant:**

Like, I told him yay there's a lotta girls that like me, he's like ya [clicks tongue] you got that from your father, I'm like yay I got that from my father, it's a new generation, he's like ya I was also like that, because they – my father them – my father don't come from a rich family – they had – everything that they had – they had everything, they didn't – they had like a big piece of farm... but... my grandmother's uhm – my grandmother had sisters and brothers, they actually – they lent money – this farm is like six hundred thousand rand, it's a big piece of farm, it was a flour farm, my father lived there, my father was also naughty that time, they didn't listen... like to their elders, 'cause today they would've had their own business and stuff, they didn't do that, listen to their family, their uncles, they always catching on nonsense, smoking their pipe... and then the... farm got sold and then, everything got split up between the sisters and they ended up buying their houses in different places and ya and my grandmother – my grandmother didn't buy her house from that money that they inherit, she did buy her house out of her own pocket that she worked for and my father didn't have a father, his father... just – it's almost like that – he just come – he just come for – he just make a child, he go, you see and then ya, my dad also told me – that also affect my dad 'cause his dad was never there for him and that's why he didn't listen

**T261 – Interviewer:**

Was he telling you this when you guys were talking= =

**T262 – Participant:**



= =Ya when we were talking to each other, he's like ya your dad could've been rich, I could've ride my own truck, be my own person, why am I working for other people= =

**T263 – Interviewer:**

= =Was this in Johannesburg?

**T264 – Participant:**

Ya and he was like yay, why am I working for other boss, I thought someone could've worked for me and you could've just be a boss now, I'm like ya, it's too late, my dad told me ya, I must just keep on, keep on going to school and stuff, I was like ya, I'll try, you see and he was like ya, you mustn't try, you must just believe in something, you see... ya, now I'm still at school, I'm fine, I'm happy, but not – how can I say – I'm not too happy, ya I'm just satisfied

**T265 – Interviewer:**

You satisfied?

**T266 – Participant:**

I'm satisfied with everything that I have. Ya, stuff that I don't have I don't care about [pause – 5 seconds.]

**T267 – Interviewer:**

So your father's also okay with you being here now?

**T268 – Participant:**

= =Ya, he's now okay ya. He even told his boss – actually the boss – his boss – he told his boss yay my child's wanna go to a home – a home ya – Beth Uriel and then the boss told my dad yay, let him go because the boss was also- the boss was also at a place like this that I went to, he told my dad it's fine let the boy go, if you not gonna let him go he's gonna become a gangster and my dad said how can he – and he say naai, and my dad's boss told my dad yay that my dad's boss also went that stuff through life, he also went to a home and then he came back... just doing positive stuff, stop doing the wrong, and now... he's living his life, he's living his dream that he want to live, ya

**T269 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T270 – Participant:**

= =That [laugh] that's all.

**T271 – Interviewer:**

()

**T272 – Participant:**

Ya.

**T273 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T274 – Participant:**

It's like a – how can I say – for me me it's not still a happy ending because [rocks backwards on chair] – ya me also I wanna live my dream [rocks backwards on chair]

**T275 – Interviewer:**

So you still waiting for your happy ending but you satisfied for now= =

**T276 – Participant:**

= =Ya I'm satisfied, I'm satisfied.

**T277 – Interviewer:**

Okay. And the people here at Beth Uriel?

**T278 – Participant:**

Who= =

**T279 – Interviewer:**

= =Are you happy here?

**T280 – Participant:**

= =Ya= =

**T281 – Interviewer:**

= =Did you tell Maggie after all about the incident, the rob= =

**T282 – Participant:**

= =I think so – I – I – was I dunno if I told her

**T283 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay. She doesn't know= =

**T284 – Participant:**

= =Ya me and she did talk

**T285 – Interviewer:** Hey?

**T286 – Participant:**

Before uhm you came

**T287 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T288 – Participant:**

= =Me and she had a conversation and then= =



**T289 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T290 – Participant:**

= =I dunno if I told her or what because= =

**T291 – Interviewer:**

= =You can't remember? = =

**T292 – Participant:**

= =I just told her I'm sick

**T293 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T294 – Participant:**

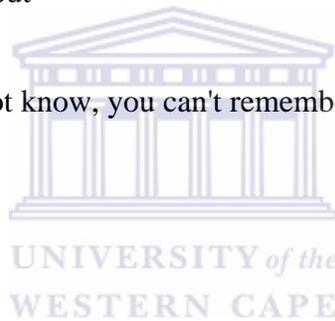
I told her I'm sick and then I went out

**T295 – Interviewer:**

So she might know or she might not know, you can't remember

**T296 – Participant:**

I don't know if I told her or what



**T297 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T298 – Participant:**

'Cause I don't want her to know, she's gonna= =

**T299 – Interviewer:**

Oh, you didn't tell her

**T300 – Participant:**

I dunno= =

**T301 – Interviewer:** = =Okay= =

**T302 – Participant:**

= =I don't actually know, I was too mixed up yesterday [pause – 7 seconds] but, I dunno, yaw life, life is so... not a bitch, life is ( )

**T303 – Interviewer:**

Say again?

**T304 – Participant:**

Life is life, you see, because you learn from your mistakes

**T305 – Interviewer:**

Ya

**T306 – Participant:**

If you don't... learn from your mistakes, ya then you gonna die rotten

**T307 – Interviewer:**

You gonna rot in the world?

**T308 – Participant:**

Ya [laugh] you gonna rot in the world

**T309 – Interviewer:**

Okay, and the people here are nice with you and you like everybody here

**T310 – Participant:**

Ya, because I'm a friendly person

**T311 – Interviewer:**

Okay, and the women in the house?

**T312 – Participant:**

Women in the house [laugh]

**T313 – Interviewer:**

I mean the people that take care of you= =

**T314 – Participant:**

= =Ya, but especially the women, me I always wanna [laugh] I always wanna charm the women [laugh] I always wanna charm the women, I'm telling the truth now, always wanna charm the women – me and William, almost everyday [laugh] everyday we talk about – we talk about yay Maggie, you see Maggie's old man, I'm like yay [clicks tongue], it's fine with me [laughs hard] it's fine with me, then he'll be like naai man I don't like her, I'm gonna look for a other girl man, then I'm like okay and then I tell him naai I don't like this Whities man, then he tell me yay you racism, I tell him yay [knock at door] and then he laugh and then I tell him naai it's fine, me I like girls= =

**T315 – Interviewer:**

= =Come in, come in

**T316 – Participant:**

I – uhm

**T317 – Interviewer:**

[Talk to guy at door] Do you wanna – oh there's a phone call for you [to participant], sorry.

**T318 – Participant:**

[Exits, after few minutes comes back.]

**T319 – Interviewer:**

Do you have to go? Was it your dad?

**T320 – Participant:**

Ya.

**T321 – Interviewer:**

You're late hey.

**T322 – Participant:**

Ya, where did I stop?

**T323 – Interviewer:**

We were basically finished but I just wanna to ask you did you have any kind of programme to get you off drugs or did you do it on your own?

**T324 – Participant:**

On my own ya.

**T325 – Interviewer:**

So you didn't go on a = =

**T326 – Participant:**

Ya I told myself... ya I say I can do it, so I'm just gonna – I'm just gonna do it.

**T327 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T328 – Participant:**

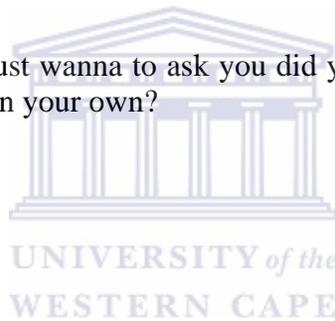
I'm just gonna do it, but I don't – there was cravings ya – a afterwards there was cravings – cravings and stuff like I want to ya, I'm craving it, you see when you out of it you get those cravings to want –

**T329 – Interviewer:**

Mm.

**T330 – Participant:**

To want to do it again, and I told myself huh-uh, leave it, just leave it, stop – put a stop to it and klaa and



**T331 – Interviewer:**

Okay but were there times when you went back and then you stopped again, were there time like that?

**T332 – Participant:**

Ya there were times like that, but I actually stopped – the longest that I stopped doing drugs was for six months, you see.

**T333 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T334 – Participant:**

This that I stopped now was – when Amabokke – I dunno, I'm going into two months, this is still short, that time I did stopped smoking cigarettes, stopped drugs and wine and everything and just played soccer and I had – actually got a certificate for that, best player of the year, I got for that and then afterwards I was on drugs drugs and off drugs but then I told myself I wanna go further in my education, I'm gonna smoke my brains away – I'm gonna tik my brains away so just stopped with everything and then= =

**T335 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T336 – Participant:**

= =Ya

**T337 – Interviewer:**

So you just stopped on your own basically?

**T338 – Participant:**

Just stopped ya, believe in God and God will carry me through everything and

**T339 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T340 – Participant:**

Ya, I think it's okay.

**T341 – Interviewer:**

Okay, so there's nothing really in you life at the moment that you're unsettled about= =

**T342 – Participant:**

= =No= =

**T343 – Interviewer:**

= =Unhappy about = =



**T344 – Participant:**

No, no I'm happy, even when wrong things happen to me I don't say it's funny – I don't say – like me I don't say I know it's gonna happen that if – if something wrong happen, like now, I say ya, that is reality – face reality, ya.

**T345 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T346 – Participant:**

Can be where, can be what... but ya

**T347 – Interviewer:**

And what year are you in school now?

**T348 – Participant:**

Now uhm, what year?

**T349 – Interviewer:**

Ya, like what grade?

**T350 – Participant:**

Grade 10.

**T351 – Interviewer:**

Grade 10.

**T352 – Participant:**

I'm supposed to be finished, maybe first year university now I dunno, ya.

**T353 – Interviewer:**

Okay, and what do you want to do when you're finished with school?

**T354 – Participant:** Me, I wanna be**T355 – Interviewer:**

Do you know already?

**T356 – Participant:**

I wanna be – I wanna be something – I wanna be something that that's fa – not someone that's famous but I wanna have – not a lotta money, me I wanna help the poor, you see me I wanna talk to children – to... youth, youth boys and girls, I wanna – how do you say spoke – spokesperson=  
=

**T357 – Interviewer:**

= =You want to speak to them? = =



**T358 – Participant:**

= =Ya talk about drugs and life and stuff, you see I wanna also like- like this – like this home – like the home – I also wanna have my own thing but I wanna have children who come= =

**T359 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T360 – Participant:**

= =Better person in life, achieve what they want to achieve, but everything must happen in the sport, it must be like in a sport, you see like for me soccer, uhm, they must like stay like here, you see everything must be like this, but, maybe that time it will be more- technology will be more better so= =

**T361 – Interviewer:**

= =Mm= =

**T362 – Participant:**

= =For them it will be more nicer, staying at a sports school, can stay on school, playing sport but the club that I – that we have must be well-known so for them it could be a – can give them a better opportunity to become famous soccer players, professional soccer players, that's all I want, take the children from the street into something like 'gat.

**T363 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T364 – Participant:**

Ya, since I was small, the first day, in standard one they ask me that so I told them ya I want to do something like that, help the poor.

**T365 – Interviewer:**

Okay, and I was asking you about the women in the house, are there any men around as well?

**T366 – Participant:**

Ya= =

**T367 – Interviewer:**

= =Like is it just women that run this place?

**T368 – Participant:**

Ya= =

**T369 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T370 – Participant:**

= =It's women that run this place so basically when we see – when we see the women, even me –

when I see the women yay... me and William [laugh] daar's sit nou and then William say ya= =

**T371 – Interviewer:**

= =Would you prefer more men around here?

**T372 – Participant:**

Me...

**T373 – Interviewer:**

So it's not= =

**T374 – Participant:**

= =No, it's better to talk to them, you see they calm me down.

**T375 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T376 – Participant:**

Yous see – men – when men talk to you – me I'm a man, I won't agree with... what the next man say= =

**T377 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T378 – Participant:**

= =Because, like yay you not my father, you don't tell me, but when a woman talk, me I respect any woman= =

**T379 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T380 – Participant:**

= = Because... I respect my mother and that's why I respect any woman.

**T381 – Interviewer:**

Okay, so is it mainly young women around here?

**T382 – Participant:**

Ya.

**T383 – Interviewer:**

Okay.

**T384 – Participant:**

Like twenty-one, only Linda – ya – no – ya Linda's thirty years old, Wednesday was her birthday, the other one's thirty-nine, Emy's young, they still young, but they talk, me I listen

[pause – 5 seconds.]

**T385 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T386 – Participant:**

But they got a (broad) dream, they got their life, some people nah they don't – we as people – me I also said ya this Whities ya they just wanna control everything but... me also I'm stupid, I'm doing my own nonsense things but... I – they always take us out and stuff and I'm like ya, see how nice they live, when they finish their schooling and they pass their education stuff, see they got nice life, to live in their life. We just see, we just see that in their rich house and stuff but we don't know what stuff they go through you see= =

**T387 – Interviewer:**

= =Mm= =

**T388 – Participant:**

= =What problems they face and so... for me now I can cope with any life throws at me. My English – I don't know about my English, if it will improve.

**T389 – Interviewer:**

Your English is not so bad

**T390 – Participant:**

[Mumbles something]

**T391 – Interviewer:**

Really it isn't, but uhm, were you always this – sort of – uhm wise about things, when you were doing drugs also, looking into situations= =

**T392 – Participant:**

= =Ya= =

**T393 – Interviewer:**

= =And drawing the wisdom from every situation?

**T394 – Participant:**

Ya

**T395 – Interviewer:**

Were you always like this?

**T396 – Participant:**

I was always like 'gat. I was the – for me – I was like the – under our group of boys... they were always making fun of me, pointing a finger, making fun of me and stuff, but me, I don't care

**T397 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T398 – Participant:**

Just fight a lot with my own friends, my own cousins, my family... and... ya in the road me I was still small running with a knife [laugh] in the road= =

**T399 – Interviewer:**

= =Running with a knife?= =

**T400 – Participant:**

= =Chasing my friends and making fun about me but when I was – when I was older – me I was the youngest with the – I was the only boy sitting with older people, doing drugs with REAL gangsters= =

**T401 – Interviewer:**

Okay= =

**T402 – Participant:**

= =You see I was the first one mixing with real gangsters and stuff and that's like when they – me I don't – I always listen, I can listen to anything, you see, you say the right thing, you see I take in for the right thing

**T403 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T404 – Participant:**

And then ya I first – like when you say something I pick- say, now, when I'm on the road you see and the thing happen, I tell my friend ya you see that guy told me last night about a situation like that and there it happen you see... so

**T405 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T406 – Participant:**

Ya, that's what

**T407 – Interviewer:**

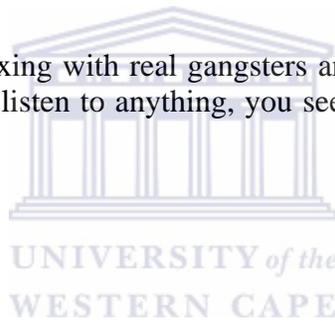
The way you're reflecting now – God, drugs and leaving all that behind you and moving on, none of these things occurred to you while you were doing drugs?

**T408 – Participant:**

= =[Mumbles some words]= =

**T409 – Interviewer:**

= =( )= =



**T410 – Participant:**

==( )

**T411 – Interviewer:**

It occurred to you while you were doing drugs?

**T412 – Participant:**

While I was doing the drugs= =

**T413 – Interviewer:**

= =No I mean like while you were doing drugs did you ever think of the things that you're thinking of now... or is it only after, when you left the drugs that it sort of- that these things occurred to you, the bigger things in life, education uhm, you know there's a better life out there, all of that? Did that only come to you after – when you left drugs? You know what I mean?

**T414 – Participant:**

No, ya, no it went through my mind when I was also a drug addict, it went through my mind like say now like someone, when one of my uncles say – when I was in school, my uncle he always told me= =

**T415 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T416 – Participant:**

= =You see that boy that's driving there now ne= =

**T417 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay, so= =

**T418 – Participant:**

I always kick him, I always kick his ass and what what. He was always a lus for me, but today he's driving the best car of his dreams and I told my – and then I make – make fun of my uncle, I told him ya now you standing on the corner, he's driving pass you [laugh] he's driving where he want to go – where he want to, you can't, you must just... ya be with your friends, be with YOUR gang, you can't go anywhere, my uncle's like ya... but... ya for me it was always like – not hard to see the next person riding with anything they want but for me I just wanna – when I was in that – every time I wanna – when I see – even when I see a family and then I – and then I – and then I reflect – their – their things reflect on my things almost like the same you see and then I'm like ya you see this is not right this IS not right you see... but... me I'm not gonna – I'm not gonna pass that life that I lived – pass on to MY children you see. I don't want them to live that life, you see, and that's why me, I'm gonna put a stop to everything= =

**T419 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T420 – Participant:**

But I will tell them one day

**T421 – Interviewer:**

You will tell who one day?

**T422 – Participant:**

My children

**T423 – Interviewer:**

Okay

**T424 – Participant:**

I'm gonna tell my children= =

**T425 – Interviewer:**

= =About your life?

**T426 – Participant:**

Ya= =

**T427 – Interviewer:**

= =Okay= =

**T428 – Participant:**

About my life, what I went through.

**T429 – Interviewer:**

Okay, and you said your mother is fine with everything now, she's motivating you to stay here or what?

**T430 – Participant:**

Ya, she's motivating me to finish school.

**T431 – Interviewer:**

And she's happy that you're here?

**T432 – Participant:**

[Nods head]

**T433 – Interviewer:**

Okay, cool, so you have a good ending.

**T434 – Participant:**

So far [laugh]

**T435 – Interviewer:**

So far.

**T436 – Participant:**

[Laugh]

**T437 – Interviewer:**

Thank you very much, Lucas.

