

AN EXPLORATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN SELECTED WOMEN'S
DISCOURSES AND LITERACY RESOURCES IN THE WORKING CLASS
TOWNSHIP SETTLEMENT OF WESBANK, SOUTH AFRICA

A minithesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Magister Artium in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

FATIMA SLEMMING (Student no. 9127354)

Supervisor: Professor Charlyn Dyers

November 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Keywords	ii
Abstract	iii
Declaration	iv
Acknowledgements	v
1. Chapter One: Introduction to the Study	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the study	1
1.3 Geographical area under investigation	2
1.4 Research problem	5
1.5 Rationale for the study	6
1.6 Aims of the research	7
1.7 Relevant literature	8
1.8 Research methodology	12
1.9 Ethics statement	14
1.10 Delineation of chapters	15
2. Chapter Two: Literature Review	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Inter-disciplinarity	19
2.3 Important concepts in discourse and literacy studies	24
2.3.1 Power	24
2.3.2 Ideology and Voice	25
2.3.3 Participatory Citizenship	28
2.3.4 Identity	28
2.3.5 Space	29
2.4 Transportable literacies	29
2.5 Multimodality and Resemiotization	29

2.6 Appraisal Theory	30
2.7 Conclusion	31
3. Chapter Three: Research Methodology	33
3.1 Introduction	33
3.2 Working with knowledge	33
3.3 Research framework	34
3.4 Research orientation	35
3.5 Research methods	39
3.6 Triangulation of research data	40
3.7 Research sampling	41
3.8 Description of research sample and data gathering process	42
3.9 Working with the data	44
3.10 Analysis of data in relation to CDA and Multimodality	45
3.11 Conclusion	47
4. Chapter Four: Appraisal Theory	48
4.1 Introduction	48
4.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)	49
4.2.1 SFL as functional theory of language	49
4.2.2 SFL as a feature of New Literacy Studies	49
4.2.3 Social-constructivist approach to language	50
4.2.4 Contexts of situation and culture	50
4.3 Appraisal Theory	54
4.3.1 Background and development	54
4.3.2 Main constructs	56
4.4 Emotion words and Attitudinal Meaning	58
4.5 Conclusion	60

5. Chapter Five: Discussion of Selected Women's Discourses	62
5.1 Introduction	62
5.2 Discourse Categorisation	63
5.3 Evangelical/worshipping discourses	65
5.3.1 To praise	66
5.3.2 To warn	67
5.3.3 To judge	68
5.3.4 To help and support	68
5.4 Silencing discourses	72
5.4.1 Idealized history discourse	73
5.4.1.1 Living environment	73
5.4.1.2 Values and morals	74
5.4.2 Abandonment/non-recognition discourse	76
5.4.3 Abuse discourses	79
5.4.3.1 Abuse in the home and community	80
5.4.3.2 Structural abuse	82
5.5 Relationship discourses	84
5.5.1 Family / Intimate relationships	84
5.5.2 Child-rearing	85
5.5.3 The aged	87
5.5.4 The youth	88
5.5.5 In the community	90
5.5.6 NGOs and CBOs	92
5.6 Discourses of hope	94
5.6.1 Resource- or strength-based discourse	94
5.6.2 Alternative modelling framework/s	97
5.6.3 Wishful thinking	99
5.7 Conclusion	100

6. Chapter Six: Transportable literacies	102
6.1 Introduction	102
6.2 Summary of appraisal types in the data	103
6.2.1 Affect	103
6.2.2 Judgement	104
6.2.3 Appreciation	106
6.2.4 Engagement	107
6.2.5 Amplification	108
6.3 Transportable literacies	109
6.3.1 Multimodal literacies	111
6.3.2 Financial literacies	111
6.3.3 Community navigational literacies	112
6.3.4 Literacies of the self	113
6.3.5 Religious literacies	114
6.3.6 Organisational management literacies	114
6.4 Conclusion	114
7. Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations	116
7.1 Introduction	116
7.2 Reflection on research aims	117
7.3 Summary of research questions	118
7.4 Summary of the main findings in the data	119
7.5 Recommendations for further studies	121
Bibliography	124
Appendix 1: Informed consent form (Afrikaans version)	133
Appendix 2: Informed consent form (English version)	136
Appendix 3: Prompts for research interviews (Afrikaans/English)	139

Appendix 4: Information about participants in focus group interviews	140
Appendix 5: Extract of transcript: Focus group interview conducted in Afrikaans with members of a prayer group in Wesbank township, South Africa	143
Appendix 6: Extract of transcript: Focus group interview conducted in Afrikaans with members of Adult Education Centre Governing Body at Wesbank Secondary School in Wesbank township, South Africa	148
Appendix 7: Extract of transcript: Focus group interview conducted in Afrikaans with members of Senior Citizens' Organisation in Wesbank township, South Africa	153

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A view of Wesbank	5
Figure 2.1: How discourse is shaped by its context, and how discourse shapes its context	22
Figure 4.1: Points of view on discourse: from social activity and from grammar	53
Figure 4.2: Conceptual integration of ethnography, CDA and appraisal	55

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN SELECTED WOMEN'S
DISCOURSES AND LITERACY RESOURCES IN THE WORKING CLASS
TOWNSHIP SETTLEMENT OF WESBANK, SOUTH AFRICA**

KEY WORDS:

women

discourses

transportable literacies

identity

voice

space

working class

empowerment

participatory citizenship

resemiotization

ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN SELECTED WOMEN'S DISCOURSES AND LITERACY RESOURCES IN THE WORKING CLASS TOWNSHIP SETTLEMENT OF WESBANK, SOUTH AFRICA.

F. Slemming (9127354)

MA Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

South Africa became a globally recognised democratic country in need of a development agenda after its first democratic elections were held in 1994. Democratising South Africa, however, requires rigorous attempts to open up spaces for and by the previously silenced and marginalised segments of society to become active and participatory citizens. Within the framework of New Literacy Studies and a “sociolinguistics of mobility” (Blommaert 2010), this study explored the link between selected discourses and literacy resources used by three groups of Coloured women in the working class township of Wesbank in Cape Town, South Africa. The study was framed as ethnographic, qualitative research and Appraisal Theory (a branch of Systemic Functional Linguistics) was applied to analyse the identified discourses. Based on the research findings, I also identified what literacy resources these women used for the purposes of empowering one another and the broader space of Wesbank. In addition, I proceeded to label several “transportable literacies” that my research participants from this hybrid community – where everyone “...is a migrant from elsewhere” (Dyers 2008) - appeared to be sharing in order to co-create the spaces which they use in Wesbank.

DECLARATION

I declare that *An exploration of the link between selected women's discourses and literacy resources in the working class township settlement of Wesbank, South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Fatima Slemming

November 2010

Signed:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following persons for their invaluable support during this project:

- Professor Charlyn Dyers, for her words of encouragement, active interest and constructive criticism of this work.
- The women of Wesbank who graciously gave of their time and shared their contacts and opinions with me during this study, in particular the key informants and literacy mediators who have been very helpful.
- The staff and fellow students in the Department of Linguistics for the constructive feedback and support while I was finalising this thesis.
- The National Research Foundation for funding this research study.
- Ria Olivier, for transcribing two of the research interviews.
- My family for their loving support and understanding during this process.
- My friends, for helping me to stay motivated.
- Last, but not least, my Creator, for everything.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is an exploratory study of a selection of discourses used by women in the working class township settlement known as Wesbank. Wesbank is situated in the Northern suburbs of the greater Cape Town area in South Africa.

1.2 Background to the study

The first democratic elections of South Africa were held in 1994, bringing global recognition and status to our country as a legitimate nation state in need of a development agenda. The need exists for lateral and futuristic thinking, and the boldness to act in ways that will effect positive social change. It can be argued that this will assist South Africans to transcend the hold of *apartheid* indoctrination which has arrested our population's development on multiple levels and in a variety of spheres. Democratising South Africa requires rigorous attempts to open up spaces for and by the previously silenced and marginalised segments of society to become active and participatory citizens. How to do this as a nation, however, is not a certainty. Hence, it is not surprising to find that a quest to understand more about who we are or have the potential to become in a post-*apartheid* South Africa lies at the heart of many current research studies.

My interest in human rights, especially women's rights, and my experiences as an applied linguist and academic development practitioner have provided the motivation to conduct a study about the discourses used by women in a working class environment. This social grouping is often homogenously referred to as a highly disempowered group in our society, mainly because they tend to be marginalised in terms of race, class and gender. In my interactions with these women, I engage with issues such as their physical, geographical and discursive location, positioning, and agency. My consideration of these terms will be in comparison to sociological and sociolinguistic resources that form part of these women's realities and that could be considered the resources available for use in their everyday lives.

1.3 Geographical area under investigation

Wesbank township is a developing community that was established in 1999, after the abolishment of *Apartheid*. Previously an informal settlement, it was known as Camelot and was occupied by people of mixed races in a dispute with the first democratic government. The main outcome of this dispute was the formal development of Wesbank, since 1999, that brought together people from mainly rural areas and of different races to co-habit, learn and work together in one of the first racially mixed housing developments in the Western Cape after the end of *Apartheid*. Moola (2002) as well as Achmat and Losch (2002) document how the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) decided in September 1995 to earmark Wesbank as an area to which minimum income / 'maximum subsidy' families could be relocated. This was their response to dealing with the growing crisis in housing

provision to the escalating influx of people from rural areas into urban Cape Town after the end of *Apartheid*.

Joncker and Newton (2004: 113-118), in Blommaert, Muyliaert, Huysmans and Dyers (2006: 3), have indicated that “Wesbank is by all standards a peripheral community, isolated from neighbouring communities and plagued by a variety of social and economic difficulties”. Wesbank can also be described as a hybrid community characterised by the fact that black, coloured and (some) white people are living in the same community (Joncker and Newton 2004). Joncker and Newton (2004, in Blommaert *et al.* 2006) also state that:

[d]ue to the dominance of socio-economic criteria in the selection of inhabitants, the population in Wesbank was and is very diverse: Wesbank houses people who lived in other townships in the Cape Town area (Khayelitsha, Mitchell’s Plain) and in the numerous informal settlements mushrooming around the city, as well as recent immigrants from the Eastern Cape Province and from further afield.

According to the Foundation for Contemporary Research (2002, in Dyers 2009), the socio-economic profile of Wesbank is mainly caused by the fact that employed people living in Wesbank tend to fall within low income brackets. There are also huge skills deficits due to low levels of education and a lack of work opportunities as a result of historical factors. Most of the residents in Wesbank make use of minibus taxis as it is the cheapest mode of public transport, especially for those whose work is in the more prosperous suburbs of Cape Town. The unemployment rate in Wesbank is very high and people either have to start their own small businesses or leave the community to find a job (Blommaert *et al.* 2006). The average education

rate in Wesbank is also very low, with only about 10% of the inhabitants having finished Grades 11-12 (Blommaert *et al.* 2006). In the interviews I have conducted, it also became apparent that literacy levels among members of the community are very low.

The following description of Wesbank summarises what Havenga (Metropole East Education Provision Plan 2006) and Dyers (2009) have indicated about the demographic profile of Wesbank:

[O]f a total population of approximately 29, 000 people, approximately 73% are mixed-race, mainly Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people, 25% are Xhosa people and a further 2% are White, Asian or foreigners from other parts of Africa such as Somalia, Nigeria and the Congo. The township consists of small housing units, a high school, three primary schools and a supermarket.

Since then, public amenities such as a community centre known as the Multi-Purpose Centre and some sports fields have been added to the area. Blommaert *et al.* (2006: 4) state that the houses in Wesbank “are uniform and excessively simple in structure – people call them ‘matchbox houses’. The bright colours in which they were painted quickly gave rise to another nickname: ‘Smarties town’, after the coloured chocolate Smarties (see figure 1)”.

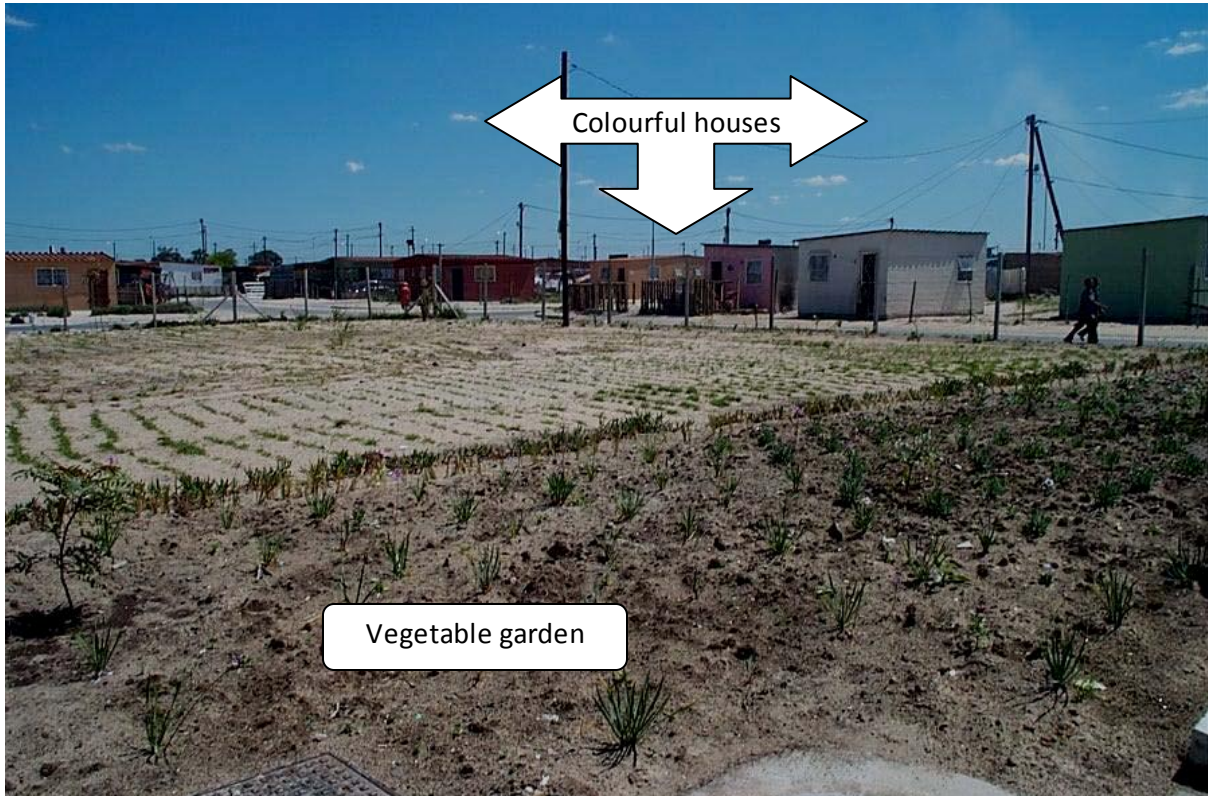


Figure 1: A view of Wesbank (Blommaert *et al.* 2006)

It can be seen from Figure 1 and it also came to light in the interviews I have conducted that vegetable gardening projects and life skills projects have been initiated in attempts to beautify the area and help the community become more self-sustainable.

1.4 Research problem

Previous work in the community of Wesbank by the UWC Culture, Language and Identity (CLIDE) Project has produced evidence of linguistic resources in use by members of this hybrid community. Journal texts produced by unemployed working class women in a skills development course and texts by a group of high school

learners indicate there are assumptions about how language and, in particular, English, can be a vehicle to accessing economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2001) and, hence, bring about upward social mobility. This study assumes that there is room for further exploration of these initial indications that power or control over language is perceived to be linked to power, authority, and identity in other spheres of life. Further probing would be necessary to ascertain whether there, indeed, is more to be uncovered about the ways in which these texts act as forms of discourse.

1.5 Rationale for the study

The UWC Culture, Language and Identity (CLIDE) Project yielded potentially rich data about the linguistic resources that are available among members of this hybrid community. In preparation for this study, I have looked at how certain resources that have been channelled into journals and other artefacts by the earlier projects indicate perceptions about power, authority, identity, voice and agency. One of the main interests in this study is to consider indications about inhibitors or facilitators of their empowerment in relation to societal structures such as family, community, local government and the economy. Additional data that focuses specifically on these women's articulations of their roles, responsibilities and relationships within these settings have also been gathered and analysed.

1.6 Aims of the research

This study seeks answers to specific aspects of the research questions posed by the “Township women’s discourses and literacy resources” project that is being sponsored by the National Research Foundation.

The aims of this study are, however, modest and seek merely to illuminate what it can about how the discourses and literacies of a specific social grouping can be better understood, given the lack of general knowledge about self- and community-identities in post-*apartheid* South Africa that I have referred to at the outset. While it may not be possible to generalise the findings of the study, data generated during interactions with the participant sample may still be instructive for the development and transformation agenda of our country.

The study explores responses to the following research questions:

- What are the types of discussions and texts that women who live in Wesbank interact with most frequently?
- Which literacy resources have the women in Wesbank brought along with them from their previous areas / communities?
- In which contexts do the women in Wesbank share these literacy resources with other women?
- How is the space in Wesbank being created by the literacy resources that the women have brought along with them?

By means of focus group interviews, I attempted to gather data about some of the discourses that feature most prominently in three groups of women's literacy texts so that I could identify (a) which aspects of those discourses appear to impede their full participation as citizens and (b) which components of these discourses or literacy resources can empower them and/or other women, leading to changes in their life situations. More narrowly, I attempted to identify the types of literacy resources the three groups of women have brought to the new space or community which they now share with people from different backgrounds. In the final analysis, I reflect on how the space of Wesbank is being created by the linguistic resources that the women have brought along with them and are sharing with others in their community.

1.7 Relevant literature

According to Foucault and Bourdieu, the ways we think, talk and write about social matters are influenced by the historical, social and cultural contexts in which we live. Foucault (1980: 100), in his description of how institutions name, define and regulate their practices, views the term discourse as the place where "power and knowledge are joined together". Foucault (1993) further argues that we are linked to several discourses and that dominant discourses affect the way we move, think and speak about ourselves. His interest is in uncovering the extent to which discourses can be identified in everyday practices. Positioning ourselves in relation to accessible discourses is possible, but limited or not possible if the discourse is considered to be too dominant or not seen at all. Bourdieu (1991; 2001), on the other hand, refers to our "habitus" (how we think, speak, move, etcetera) and how it is formed and informed by our access to economic, social and cultural capital. In a familiar social

environment, our habitus would flourish but, if we encounter an unfamiliar social setting or field, his argument would be that it could change and transform.

Whether oral or written, it is not possible to separate language from the culture in which it is used as any culture “both elicits and shapes a distinctive use of language (Ballard & Clanchy 1988). Similarly, Barton & Hamilton’s six propositions about the nature of literacy revolve around the view that “[l]iteracy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies become more dominant, visible and influential than others (1998: 7). In the context of a ‘university culture’, Ballard & Clanchy (1988) argue that literacy acquisition involves the ability to ‘read’ the culture by becoming familiar with its discourse made up, in most cases, by certain implicit rites and rituals, behavioural expectations, values and norms, and linguistic styles. Consequently, student illiteracy is usually a misreading of this culture which, according to Lea (1998: 159-160), “embeds conflicts of identity as students struggle with the dominant discourses and practices of the university and its different socio-cultural settings”. In general, then, literacies can be understood as “social action through language use that develops us as agents inside a larger culture” (Shor 1999).

Fairclough (1995: 7) defines discourse as the “use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice.” He outlines a three-dimensional framework for the critical analysis of discourse, where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto another. This framework consists of an analysis of (spoken or written) language

texts, the analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and an analysis of discursive events that can be characterised as instances of sociocultural practice (Fairclough 1995: 2). See Chapter Two for a more elaborated discussion of this framework.

This study finds interesting the various types of discourses which may be prevalent in a working class township community such as Wesbank, which is made up of people of different race, gender and schooling level categories as well as differential economic status. Gender, age and educational levels are of particular interest as women in working class communities are internationally the most marginalised as far as access to capital, in Bourdieu's terms, is concerned (Bourdieu 2001; Rockhill, in Street 1993).

Power is about relations of difference in social structures (Kress 1989) and has a particular discourse attached to it and discourses of power have the potential to determine access to literacy. 'Emancipatory discourse' suggests that there are people who need to be emancipated from someone or something (Janks and Ivanič 1992). They argue that critical language awareness (CLA) is not liberatory enough and that CLA can only be emancipatory if it is turned into the kind of action that empowers people to "successfully contest the practices which disempower them" (Janks and Ivanič, 1992: 305).

Ntete (2008), in her study with high school learners in Nyanga, another working class township in Cape Town, identifies particular ideologies that are carried in certain

discourses and are likely to impact on identities disadvantaged people may succumb to or revolt against, and my analysis is intended to provide more evidence of these potentially empowering / disempowering discourses. In Chapter Two, I discuss Ntete's identified ideologies in more detail in relation to the notions of ideology and voice.

In an investigation about literacies and discourses about power, Giroux's (1988: 199) argument that voice, in the context of a critical theory of education, is an indication of how individuals affirm their own class, cultural, racial and gender identities is also worth noting. The 'subaltern's view' (Spivak 1993) is a voice that has been virtually silenced from written as well as temporal texts during *apartheid*. A critical pedagogy about the phenomenon of voice may not be enough, as it does not necessarily signal an ability to move past locations in passivity, but it is an essential consideration in extending views about agency. For Blommaert (2005: 69), the "capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally, across different physical and social spaces" is a more accurate description of voice in this era of globalisation. But then voice has to transcend modalities, moving from multimodality to transmodality, "as a way of thinking about language use as located within multiple modes of semiotic diffusion" (Pennycook 2007: 44). Resemiotisation as a conceptual instrument may allow for a more in-depth analysis of the 'semiotic mobility' which Blommaert (2005) suggests.

1.8 Research Methodology

Habermas (1972) provides a description of different kinds of knowledge that can be constructed according to three basic human interests. He refers to these as “technical”, “practical” and “emancipatory” interests. For the purposes of this study, I shall model my thinking along the lines of M^cKenna (2004: 33), who aligns ‘technical’, ‘practical’ and ‘emancipatory’ interests with positivistic, interpretive and critical research interests, respectively. M^cKenna (2004) also adds another paradigmatic dimension provided by Lather (1991), namely, a post-structural approach that seeks to “deconstruct”. This study is not being positioned within the realm of positivistic research as it may hold little usefulness in satisfying the stated aims of the research and the methods identified for use in the research project fit more aptly within a qualitative research framework. It is also positioned as ethnographic research (Blommaert and Jie 2010), which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Three.

Qualitative research also places “emphasis on processes and meanings rather than measurement” (Quinn 1999) and examines “things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 3). I am applying an inductive reasoning approach, namely, by starting with a specific context or issue and then problematising it to identify connections and macro-issues. As scope of this research, my concern would thus be to identify meanings created by discourses, in this case the research sample’s discourses about their literacies, and not with whether these can be generalised or measured. I am also interested in exploring whether there is a link between the women’s discourses and their literacy resources

and whether it may be concluded that transportable literacies are being shared for the purposes of empowering other women and the broader Wesbank community.

In addition to textual analysis of the texts that have already been produced in a previous study with a group of unemployed women and a group of high school learners, I focused on interviews with three groups of women with whom I made contact via key informants at Wesbank Secondary School and the Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre in the time frame reserved for the field work component of this study. The women were grouped according to categories of age, social and professional involvements and belonged to the following three groups: (i) a prayer group; (ii) members of the Adult Education Centre governing body that is based at Wesbank Secondary School; and (iii) a Senior Citizens' Organisation.

This study can be characterised as case-based research, which can be described as research whereby "one or more cases of a phenomenon of interest are systematically examined with a view to achieving an understanding and developing or extending a theoretical framework" (Edwards 1998: 37). Leiblich (1998: 9, in Hutchings 2002) calls research resulting in descriptions that enable the above 'Narrative Methodology' because such an examination "results in unique and rich data that cannot be obtained from experiments, questionnaires, or observations". Responses were elicited through narrative interviews with specific individuals and analyses of texts that were produced by the participants in the various groups as a starting point and, as a follow-up, through focus group interviews to ensure triangulation of the data.

1.9 Ethics Statement

A number of ethical considerations have been addressed in the process of conducting this study, most notably in acquiring access to the data, receiving informed consent and in the interpretation of the data that was generated through this project.

In the focus group and narrative interviews, I began by framing the interviews with explanations of the purpose of my study, descriptions of how the interviews would be recorded, assuring participants of their anonymity and discussions of how the data would be analysed. This framing (Kvale 1996) was especially important in the interviews that were semi-structured (see Appendix 3 for guiding questions used to facilitate discussion in the interviews).

Informed consent forms (see Appendices 1 and 2) were also provided to indicate that participants understand the process. A transcriber assisted to type up the interviews and the need for confidentiality about the participants' identities was explained. All references to particular people from the data presented and analysed in the final thesis has been expunged. Participants were assured of anonymity in the textual analyses that were carried out as part of this study as the researcher's interest was to build a broad picture of the discourses identified in the study. Instead, I devised my own system of encoded identities that was used to refer to participants in the thesis.

1.10 Delineation of chapters

According to Connole (1998: 22), “meanings are found in language”. This study is primarily concerned with the language of the *discourses* used to construct the literacies of the women in this research sample. Hence, the following delineation of chapters in the thesis is followed.

An introduction to the emergence of my interest in this type of study is provided in the current chapter. I briefly outline the contextual background for the study as well as the research problem it poses. My research aims, the rationale, scope and limitations of this study are also included. Ethical considerations are outlined and the chapter concludes with a description of the way in which the thesis has been structured.

Chapter Two describes the conceptual framework used in this study by means of a review of relevant literature. Its focus will be to engage with particular concepts and terms that will be used throughout the thesis. I shall attempt to provide definitions, explanations and specific perspectives to core terms framing the discussion of language, literacy/-ies and discourses.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology used in this research project, which includes the paradigm(-s) utilised, methods and instruments. I shall also provide a description of the research sample and provide justifications for my choices in this regard.

In Chapter Four, I provide a discussion of the theoretical framework for this study, particularly a discussion of Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose 2007) and the identification of emotion words and emotion-laden words (Altarriba 2006) to identify expressions of attitudinal positionings.

Chapter Five provides a detailed presentation of the research data that were collected in the focus group interviews with the three groups of women in the research sample. The data is analysed according to the constructs of Appraisal Theory to highlight patterns and connections indicating similarities and difference/dissonance in the views expressed by the various groupings within the research sample.

Chapter Six presents an attempt to link the identified discourses and literacy resources used by the women participants to empower themselves and others. In this chapter, specific transportable literacies will be identified.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter to this thesis in which I attempt to restate the components of the findings of this study into a new, meaningful whole that can assist to reflect back to the stated aims of the research. I will also attempt to make recommendations for further studies. These can help illuminate the marginalised positions that have to be deconstructed and subverted to bring about transformation and change on a small scale, for a discrete grouping, who nevertheless form part of the emerging discourses pertaining to the general population, even if the findings in this study cannot be generalised.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework for this exploratory study of the literacy resources and discourses of women in the working class township of Wesbank. A particular aspect of this study is the transportability of linguistic and literacy resources in a conception of language as a *mobile* resource (Blommaert 2010) and how these linguistic resources can be used as tools of empowerment in relation to all the societal structures (family, community, local government, etc) people need to negotiate in order to become more powerful *agents* of their own transformation into full *participatory citizenship* (Stroud 2009).

Drawing on the theoretical lens developed by Kenner (2004) and Gregory *et al.* (2004) to look at multilingual literacy practices in homes and communities, the study will consider levels of education, methods of acquiring literacies, how these are passed on by the able to the less able, etcetera. In new shared spaces it may also consider conflicting voices leading to problems with intercultural communication and blocking of access to particular literacy sources.

Core concepts to be unpacked in this chapter in relation to the study are therefore the concepts 'discourse', 'literacy', 'literacy as a mobile resource', 'agency', 'citizenship', particularly participatory citizenship (Stroud 2009) and 'the spaces of multilingualism' (Kenner 2004; Gregory *et al.* 2004; Blommaert *et al.* 2005). The

analytical framework is informed by CDA (Johnstone 2008) as well as Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose 2007).

I begin with a review of literature in which the terms 'discourse' and 'literacy' feature as the central topics of research and discussion. This chapter sets out the conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework for this exploratory study of the literacy resources and discourses of women in the working class township of Wesbank. I begin with a review of literature in which the terms 'discourse' and 'literacy' feature as the central topics of research and discussion. Sociolinguistic and applied linguistic perspectives of the interplay between discourse and literacy as well as important points about key features of discourses and distinctions, to help clarify what discourses are and how they function, are presented. In doing so, I attempt to establish an understanding of the interconnectedness of these terms.

Theoretically, I outline aspects relevant to New Literacy Studies theorists' debates on the concept of literacy. This is done in relation to notions of power, dominance, knowledge, voice, ideology and the potential for transformation of identities, which are all, to some extent, embedded in discourse practices and prevalent in debates on social semiotics. Simultaneously, the influence of history, culture and gender on the application, interpretation and analysis of these terms are highlighted. Scholarly opinions of the variety of ideologies revealed through the use of certain types of discourses are also provided as well as brief discussions of the general requirements for certain discourses to function in practice. I also include some discussion of what counts as literacy resources. For this, I draw on literature in multimodal semiotics

that identify the need for wider conceptions of literacy, which include the existence and evidence of multiple literacies acting upon, and being enacted by, an individual or social system at any given time in a particular context as well as the transformative potential inherent in such conceptions, to bring about emancipation and progress.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Inter-disciplinarity

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a feature of research analytical work in a variety of disciplines. With the increasing permeability of disciplinary boundaries in a post-modern academy into inter- and trans-disciplinary modes of collaboration, suitable research tools and approaches have had to be found and developed for use in cognate disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. CDA is commonly used as a research tool in psychology, anthropology, sociology, political and cultural studies, linguistics and literature studies, to name a few. In fact, in any area of study dealing with human attitude and behaviour, it is not uncommon to come across CDA research (Johnstone 2008; Wodak and Meyer 2001).

The theoretical framework for this research project is informed by literature of the New Literacy Studies (NLS) movement and a social constructivist approach to the study of language. New Literacy Studies explore what it means to think of literacy as a social practice rather than merely an acquisition of skills, as in dominant approaches (Gee 1991; Street 1985, 1996; Cameron-Smith 2004). NLS recognises the existence of multiple literacies that vary and are contested according to time and space and in relations of power. NLS studies typically problematize what counts as literacy at any time and place and questions whose literacies are dominant,

marginalized or resistant (Street 2003: 77). According to Quinn (1999:22), “this approach to literacy shows an understanding of the nature of knowledge, reality, language and texts not as something “out there” but rather as *constructed* or created socially”. NLS studies are typically conducted as inter- and transdisciplinary projects.

In “What is Literacy?”, James Gee (1991:3) prefaces his attempt to explain what “literacy” means by defining, firstly, what a discourse is. He states that a discourse is “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or “social network”.” He describes discourse as an “identity kit” that helps one with “how to act and talk so as to take on a particular role that others will recognize” (Gee 1991:3). He refers to the necessary existence of a master discourse and sub-discourses, where the master discourse “is not just the sum of its parts, it is something also over and above them” (Gee 1991:3). He creates a visual picture of an umbrella-like formation (the master discourse, which he also calls Discourse) that envelopes and safeguards the existence and, perhaps, even the development of various sub-discourses (called discourses), within the parameters of its protective, encapsulating frame, of course.

Discourse, according to Barbara Johnstone (2008:2), “usually means actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language”, although she also states that some refer to it more broadly as “meaningful symbolic behavior” (Blommaert 2005:2), because communication can involve media other than language only such as photography, music, architecture, to name a few of

Johnstone's examples (2008:3). In earlier years of writing about discourse, the meaning attached to the term discourse by Foucault (1980) referred merely to "conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking" as a means of circulating power in society and not, necessarily, to subvert, overthrow or transform power. Foucault (1980: 100) views the term discourse as the place where "power and knowledge are joined together" in his description of how institutions name, define and regulate their practices. Foucault (1993) further argues that we are linked to several discourses and that dominant discourses affect the way we move, think and speak about ourselves. His interest is in uncovering the extent to which discourses can be identified in everyday practices. Positioning ourselves in relation to accessible discourses is possible but limited, or not possible, if the discourse is considered to be too dominant or not seen at all.

Foucault (1980) and Bourdieu (1991, 2001) similarly argue that the ways we think, talk and write about social matters are influenced by the historical, social and cultural contexts in which we live. Bourdieu (1991; 2001), on the other hand, refers to our "habitus" (how we think, speak, move, etcetera) and how it is formed and informed by our access to economic, social and cultural capital. In a familiar social environment, our habitus would flourish but, if we encounter an unfamiliar social setting or field, his argument would be that it could change and transform.

Thirty years later, Johnstone (2008) is suggesting that a more nuanced understanding of discourse is possible and she foregrounds the importance of

understanding context in relation to discourse as can be seen in Figure 2.1 below in the heuristic she provides for analysing the shaping of texts¹.

- Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world.
- Discourse is shaped by language, and discourse shapes language.
- Discourse is shaped by participants, and discourse shapes participants.
- Discourse is shaped by prior discourses, and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse.
- Discourse is shaped by its medium, and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium.
- Discourse is shaped by purpose, and discourse shapes possible purposes.

Figure 2.1 How discourse is shaped by its context, and how discourse shapes its context (Johnstone 2008:10)

Whether oral or written, it is not possible to separate language from the culture in which it is used as any culture “both elicits and shapes a distinctive use of language (Ballard & Clanchy 1988). Similarly, Barton & Hamilton’s six propositions about the nature of literacy revolve around the view that “[l]iteracy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies become more dominant, visible and influential than others (1998: 7). As a social practice, literacy is mediated by language and other cultural tools and artefacts when social actors both position and are positioned by sign-based exchanges (Prinsloo and Stein 2004:69). In general, then, literacies can be understood as “social action through language use that develops us as agents inside a larger culture” (Shor 1999).

¹ All references to “texts” in this thesis are meant in the wider sense of oral, written, visual or aural texts.

Discourses, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), are socially constructed knowledges about reality that reflect the values and meanings of any social group or institution. They echo earlier work by Fairclough (1995: 7), who defines discourse as the “use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice.” He outlines a three-dimensional framework for the critical analysis of discourse, where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto another. This framework consists of an analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, the analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and an analysis of discursive events that can be characterised as instances of sociocultural practice (Fairclough 1995: 2). Later, Fairclough (1995: 135) proceeds to provide the following useful summary of the main concepts involved in his view of critical discourse analysis:

<i>discourse</i> (abstract noun)	language use conceived as social practice.
<i>discursive event</i>	instance of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice, social practice.
<i>text</i>	the written or spoken language and consumption of a text.
<i>discourse practice</i>	the production, distribution and consumption of a text.
<i>interdiscursivity</i>	the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres.
<i>discourse</i> (count noun)	way of signifying experience from a particular perspective.
<i>genre</i>	use of language associated with a particular social activity.
<i>order of discourse</i>	totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relations between them.

This study aims to offer some perspectives on the various types of discourses which may be prevalent in a working class township community such as Wesbank, which is made up of people of different race, gender and schooling level categories as well as differential economic status. Gender, age and educational levels are of particular interest as women in working class communities are internationally the most marginalised group as far as access to capital, in Bourdieu's terms, is concerned (Bourdieu 2001; Rockhill, in Street 1993).

2.3 Important concepts in discourse and literacy studies

2.3.1 Power

Power is about relations of difference in social structures (Kress 1989) and has a particular discourse attached to it. According to Kress (1989):

language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: it indexes power, expresses power, and language is involved wherever there is contention over and challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language may be used to challenge power, to subvert it, and to alter distributions of power in the short or in the longer term.

Discourses of power have the potential to determine access to literacy. Rockhill (in Street 1993: 162) argues that "literacy is treated as though it is outside the social and political relations, ideological practices, and symbolic meaning structures in which it is embedded". What she is implying, is that literacy is viewed as being acquired in a vacuum and its presence or absence is solely dependent on an individual's motivation or capacity. She maintains that an "important bridge in the

agency/structure, empowerment/power dichotomies is the idea that literacy is socially constructed in the practices of everyday interaction” (Rockhill 1993: 164). Where women speak little English, because access to schooling is highly problematic, the gendered nature of literacy also comes sharply to the fore (Rockhill 1993: 165).

‘Emancipatory discourse’ suggests that there are people who need to be emancipated from someone or something (Janks and Ivanič 1992). They argue that critical language awareness (CLA) is not liberatory enough and that CLA can only be emancipatory if it is turned into the kind of action that empowers people to “successfully contest the practices which disempower them” (Janks and Ivanič 1992: 305). It is implied, through their argument, that how society values what should be dominant should be questioned and contested in order to make it difficult for this kind of power to be maintained. When texts are read, for example, meaning “lies not simply in the text but in the social relations in which it is embedded” (307); hence, awareness is necessary about when a text enters the realm of discourse in order for the discourse to be challenged and, possibly, changed.

2.3.2 Ideology and Voice

Ntete (2008) conducted CDA research into discourses of empowerment and disempowerment in the life-histories written by Grade 11 learners in a township school situated in Nyanga in Cape Town, South Africa. Ntete (2008: 11) notes that Nyanga township “is one of three mainly black townships in Cape Town” and in this

study with two groups of high school learners, she identifies particular ideologies that are carried in certain discourses and are likely to impact on identities disadvantaged people may succumb to or revolt against. The discourses include:

1. Discourses in the low socio-economic status (SES) home environment, e.g. 'the place of the woman is in the kitchen'; 'education gets you nowhere';
 2. Discourses in the school setting, e.g. what Kozol (2005) calls 'the soft bigotry of low expectations' practised by some teachers;
 3. Discourses emanating from peer pressure, e.g. the lack of support from women in the same position;
 4. Discourses in the community (e.g. 'folk theories' which tend to instil a sense of inferiority in black communities); and
- Discourses in the media and system (e.g. the often negative portrayal of black people as criminals, outlaws, comedians, etc.).

The discourses identified by Ntete (2008) are possibly relevant for the research which I have conducted with Coloured women in the township of Wesbank as this area is inhabited by people of different races with presumably similar histories during the Apartheid years.

In any study with previously marginalized members of a society, such as the women of this study, it is thus also important to take into account the concept of voice. In an investigation about literacies and discourses about power, Giroux's (1988: 199) argument that voice, in the context of a critical theory of education, is an indication of

how individuals affirm their own class, cultural, racial and gender identities is also worth noting. The 'subaltern's view' (Spivak 1993) is a voice that has been virtually silenced from written as well as temporal texts during apartheid. A critical pedagogy about the phenomenon of voice may not be enough, however, as it does not necessarily signal an ability to move past locations in passivity, but it is an essential consideration in extending views about agency.

According to Blommaert (2005:4), "Voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts that are specified to conditions of use". For Blommaert (2005: 69), the "capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally, across different physical and social spaces" is a more accurate description of voice in this era of globalisation. It is this form of strategic competence (Starfield 2004) that can activate collective potential. But then voice has to transcend modalities, moving from multimodality to transmodality, "as a way of thinking about language use as located within multiple modes of semiotic diffusion" (Pennycook 2007: 44).

The theoretical framework of this project also takes into consideration the work of Kenner (2004) and Gregory *et al.* (2004) who have indicated, among other:

- Recognition that culture and cognition create each other
- Acknowledgement of the role of important mediators of language and literacy in different contexts

- Giving a voice to those whose voices would otherwise not have been heard.

2.3.3 Participatory Citizenship

The notion of **participatory citizenship** is important for the success of a democracy, especially in relation to the societal structures (of family, community, local government, etcetera) that people need to negotiate in order to become full participatory citizens (Stroud 2009; Ten Dam and Volman 2004; Sutton 2008). Women in working class communities are internationally the most marginalised group as far as access to capital, in Bourdieu's terms, is concerned (Bourdieu 2001; Rockhill, in Street 1993). Rockhill also argues that literacy is socially constructed in the practices of everyday interaction and the gendered nature of literacy comes sharply to the fore where women speak little English and when access to schooling is highly problematic (1993: 164-165).

2.3.4 Identity

Another concept commonly explored in NLS studies is that of Identity, which can be defined as "a negotiated process of exposure and interpretation of social positions, affiliations, roles, status and other social categories (Ochs 1992, 1993, cited in Bastos and de Oliveira 2006:189). According to Weiss (2004), in Dyers *et al.* (2009), the identity of Coloured people is not a fixed phenomenon. Weiss (2004: 20-26) argues that it is necessary to re-imagine "Coloured" identities as more than 'mixed race' identities, that complicity should be acknowledged and confronted, and the "manifold bodies of knowledge, traditions and cultures, religions, and other influences which are not only white imposed" should be embraced as well.

2.3.5 Space

This thesis also explores the notion of space. McCormick (citing Mayol, in Baynham and De Fina 2005: 152), has stated that “space, time and social relationships are experienced in terms of one another, and that individual identity is enacted in the ‘space’ constructed by these relationships”. The women research participants in Wesbank, it can be argued, are all contributing to creating the space of Wesbank and their own identities in their interactions with one another. Space must also be understood to relate to the physical (i.e. geographical or demographical position) as well as the symbolic (Blommaert 2010).

2.4 Transportable literacies

This research study is further situated within a paradigm that Blommaert (2010) refers to as a “sociolinguistics of mobility” (as opposed to the sociolinguistics of distribution), which can be described as focusing “not on language-in-place but on language-in-motion, with various spatiotemporal frames (also called ‘scales’) interacting with one another”. Language patterns, thus, are arranged on vertical rather than horizontal scale levels, which is a suitable way to view how literacy practices in the township of Wesbank can be influenced by constant migration, mobility and the transportation of literacy resources.

2.5 Multimodality and Resemiotisation

In the identification of what I will refer to as “transportable” literacies in this thesis, the work of Iedema (1999, 2003) on multimodality and resemitisation may also be

useful to consider as a conceptual instrument as it may allow for a more in-depth analysis of the 'semiotic mobility' which Blommaert (2005) suggests. From what I can gather, multimodality concerns practices and abilities to work with a variety of media or modes (i.e. visual, oral, written in the form of photographs, radio, cell phone and other print or technological media). It is a branch of discourse analysis in NLS that is being extensively researched by scholars such as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001). Iedema (2003:30) argues that multimodal analysis should include a dynamic view on semiosis. He argues that

Multimodal analysis considers the complexity of texts or representations as they are, and less frequently how it is that such constructs come about, or how it is that they transmogrify as (part of larger) dynamic processes [and] ... underscores the importance of a multimodal approach to the analysis of interaction, film, sound, computational 'texts', museum displays and the like.

He further indicates that socially situated semiotic processes consist of *transformative* dynamics which determine how material meanings mutually transform one another. It is this process of mutual transformation that Iedema (2003) refers to as resemiotization.

2.6 Appraisal Theory

The specific theory which I have selected to apply to the research data, namely, Appraisal Theory, (White 2001, 2003; Martin and Rose 2007) is situated within Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1985), the socio-linguistic sub-discipline in which it originated and which is increasingly gaining relevance as an approach to Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Appraisal Theory consists of certain key constructs applicable to this study. It will be necessary to describe this

theory more fully as it may assist in situating the research data in a relevant manner. Hence, in Chapter Four, I present a more in-depth discussion of the theory and how it has been applied in this research.

2.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I attempted to provide a discussion of relevant literature pertaining to the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study that I used to analyse the research data. I outlined aspects relevant to New Literacy Studies theorists' debates on the concept of literacy. This was done in relation to notions of power, dominance, knowledge, voice, ideology and the potential for transformation of identities. It also included a discussion of the notion of "discourse" and how it may be explored with reference to both practices and events through the exchange of specific literacy resources to facilitate empowerment in and across space, participatory citizenship and identity for the women who participated in this research process.

I also indicated the relevance of literature on multimodality and resemiotization in contributing to our understanding of what a "sociolinguistics of mobility" includes (Blommaert 2010), especially in relation to attempts in this study to identify what counts as "transportable literacies" in the home and community, according to the theoretical lens provided by Kenner (2004) and Gregory *et al.* (2004). Finally, I mentioned that the specific theory applied to the research data is known as Appraisal Theory, which is more fully discussed in Chapter Four by way of introducing and situating the presentation of data in Chapter Five and the identification of a link

between discourses and literacy resources that can count as transportable literacies provided in Chapter Six. In the following chapter, Chapter Three, I discuss the research methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To arrive at the point where I could decide what research methodology I would employ in this study, I had to clarify what purpose the knowledge gained in this study would serve and map the basic tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research methodology in a manner that could be comprehensible and thus could provide the basis for justifying the methodological choices I would make. I found the discussion of Habermas' *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1972, in M^cKenna 2004), Van Dijk's *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (1997), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* by Wodak and Meyer (2001) and *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond the Clause* by Martin and Rose (2007) interesting. Also useful as information sources for this necessary activity were Johnstone's *Discourse Analysis* (2008) and *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide* by Blommaert and Jie (2010).

In this chapter, I outline the selected research orientation, approach and methodological considerations for the field work component of this research project.

3.2 Working with knowledge

Habermas (1972, in M^cKenna 2004) provides a description of different kinds of knowledge that can be constructed according to three basic human interests. He refers to these as "technical", "practical" and "emancipatory" interests. For the purposes of this study, I shall model my thinking along the lines of M^cKenna (2004:

33), who classifies positivistic research paradigms as studies interested in the exploration of “technical” interests, while interpretive research paradigms are concerned with “practical” interests and critical research involves “emancipatory” interests. M^cKenna (2004) also adds another paradigmatic dimension provided by Lather (1991), namely, a post-structural approach that seeks to “deconstruct”. At this stage, it is too early to tell whether the present study will enable the use of the latter approach in a meaningful way, because of the exploratory nature of this study. However, it is quite possible that it may be referred to as interpretive and critical at this stage. The researcher is not interested in positioning the research in the positivistic realm as it may hold little usefulness in satisfying the stated aims of the research. The methods identified for use in the research project fits more aptly within a predominantly qualitative research framework.

3.3 Research framework

Qualitative research places “emphasis on processes and meanings rather than measurement” (Quinn, 1999) and examines “things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 3). The researcher will apply an inductive reasoning approach, by starting with a specific context or issue and then problematising it to identify connections and macro-issues. As the scope of this research, my concern would thus be to identify meanings created by discourses, in this case the research sample’s discourses about their literacies, and not with whether these can be generalised or measured.

From what I can gather, qualitative research differs from quantitative research in that it does not seek to be conducted in a controlled environment with set procedures as well as instruments and methods that produce replicable results by an objective researcher (Conole 1998, Denzin and Lincoln 1998, Neuman 1997). It is not concerned with quantifying data that can be generalised and measured. Instead, its focus is on the volume and richness of data and the phenomena that become uncovered during the research process. In other words, qualitative research presupposes that the researcher will go into the process tentatively, with merely some guiding questions and nothing to prove or disprove (Leedy 1997, Neuman 1997). Conducting research where human interaction is such a pivotal component of the research and also impossible to control and measure, qualitative research relies on the data to show the way and cannot proceed from the premise of a claim that needs to be confirmed or refuted (Neuman 1997, Leedy 1997). Any constructs used in qualitative research are designed to create new knowledge to emerge by means of a pathway co-constructed by researcher and researched, or to extend the boundaries of learning that exist about a subject. In quantitative research, the focus is the construct and the result is always a binary (Neuman 1997, Leedy 1997, Conole 1998, Denzin and Lincoln 1998).

3.4 Research orientation

This qualitative study is further focused as an ethnographic study. Ethnography is a component of qualitative research that complements the use of CDA as a research tool. It is as widely used in a variety of inter-disciplinary settings as CDA. A simplistic definition of ethnography is that it purports to privilege the insider's view without the interference of an outsider observer bias. Kleinman (1988: 230), a psychiatrist by

profession and trained as an anthropologist, describes the ethnographic orientation as follows:

The ethnographer first tries to get things right from the native's point of view. To accomplish this, he practices an intensive, systematic, and imaginative empathy with the experiences and modes of thought of persons who may be foreign to him but whose foreignness he comes to appreciate and to humanely engage. The ethnographer does not seek to go native – to become a Masai warrior, a Kung Bushman gatherer, a Mbuti Pygmy hunter, or a Yanomamo shaman – but rather he struggles to learn to see things the way natives do, to enter into their experiential world.

He continues by arguing that “semiotics – namely, that everything can be a sign and that the relationships among signs are codes of broader and deeper meanings – is as available to the seasoned practitioner as it is to the anthropologist” (Kleinman, 1988: 231-232).

Ethnography as a means of enquiry is not without its weaknesses. Geertz (1983: 58) criticizes the notion of the ‘insider's view’ and argues that “[what the ethnographer] perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive ‘with’ – or ‘by means of’, or ‘through’ ... or whatever the word should be. In the country of the blind, who are not as unobservant as they look, the one-eyed is not king, he is spectator.” Fine (1993) lists ten ‘lies’ of ethnography, among which he lists problems in viewing the ethnographer as friendly, honest, observant and unobtrusive.

Saranghi (2002), although not treating these as separable in a research setting, refers to the notions of observer's paradox, participant's paradox and analyst's paradox in

this regard. My understanding of these paradoxical dilemmas is that observer's paradox involves the attachment of meaning to what is observed, possibly for later use in the research process. Participant's paradox likely involves decision-making about the extent to which the researcher becomes involved in the events taking place and the relationships she has formed in the location in which the research is carried out. That is, it deals with the researcher's choices about how much of an insider or outsider she can or needs to be in order to carry out the research. Last, but not least, I would imagine that analyst's paradox pertains to how much of the researcher's observation and participatory experiences is relevant in order to form a meaningful analysis of the research problem.

Clarke (2003: 382), with reference to health professionals, states: "Just as an observer trying to behave as a fly-on-the-wall is in fact more intrusive than one who behaves as a natural participant in the clinical setting, so health professionals are likely to behave more naturally if they are welcoming in the observer and are actively engaged in the research process rather than being 'subjected' to observation by the human fly." Clarke (2005: 189) also suggests that the "analyst must steer between the Scylla of decontextualisation and the Charybdis of over-generalisation ... use a lens of appropriate magnification – neither too high power (removing essential context) nor too low power (revealing insufficient detail)".

A potential solution to the analyst's paradox is the use of key informants in ethnographic or interactional sociolinguistic studies, possibly because this could have a mediating effect during the interpretive and analytical processes for the researcher. According to Gumperz, one solution is to have "a local assistant who

works with you on the analysis and who will tell you what it is in what he/she hears or perceives that leads to the interpretation. That gives you information at two levels, content and form. The more one works with such interpretive analysis, the more native-like one's interpretations can become (1997: 20). I thus had to be mindful of the potential pitfalls in aligning my role too firmly in relation to one or more of the labels or notions identified above and found the assistance provided by literacy mediators and key informants useful.

Blommaert and Jie's (2010) explanations of ethnographic research have also provided a useful guide while I carried out this study, particularly because of its applications in sociolinguistics research. I have found the following aspects of their explanations of ethnographic research, approached with the specific methodology of "the situatedness of research" in mind, particularly useful for my orientation to this research:

- Ethnography is not a method, but a full theoretical programme or paradigmatic approach
- It is particularly well-suited to interdisciplinary applications employing inductive reasoning approaches
- It relies on a consideration of cases
- It yields hypotheses
- It always looks into history in order to look forward
- The ethnographer is never neutral in the process
- The data collected can always also be retained for future use and all data is useful.

3.5 Research methods

I have used Dyers' (2008) description of the core methods of the "Township women's discourses and literacy resources" project as the overarching methodological framework for the current study as this thesis intends to contribute to this overall project. Dyers (2008) describes the following methods that form part of the overall project:

- A narrative analysis (Baynham *et al* 2005) of journals and other written documents kept by women involved in one project. The analysis will take stock of how single words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs contribute to the overall experience of reading these documents. At another level, the study will interrogate what the words, phrases, sentences etc betray about the kind of person who selected to use them – their sense of resistance to their circumstances or sense of helplessness to counter these circumstances;
- Critical discourse analysis of recorded interviews with groups and individuals. For Willig (1999) CDA allows the analyst to problematize categories used in mainstream psychology, such as notions of empowerment and disempowerment that are likely to emerge from the discourses of the participants in this study. Another key aspect of critical discourse analysis is its attention to discourse as a site of social struggle (Pienaar and Becker, 2007). It is therefore a very useful tool for exploring power relations both *in* and *over* discourse (Titscher *et al*, 2000); and
- Critical discourse analysis of the use of other 'literacy products' (signage, advertisements, graffiti, etc.) in this multicultural community. We will also interrogate how effectively the respondents in the study can use the literacy resources at their disposal.

This study includes fieldwork observations and notes, a key ingredient of ethnographic research. I attempted to elicit responses through narrative interviews with specific individuals (key informants) and, as a follow up, through focus group

sessions by means of semi-structured interviews. I have also studied literature on research conducted in Wesbank (see Blommaert *et al* 2006; Dyers 2008, 2009) and analysed multimodal texts that were produced by previous participants in the various groups.

This was done in an attempt to focus the present study through a consideration of the smallest to largest units of analysis on a continuum that may realistically reflect the relationships and significance of words to suggested ideologies in which this study is interested. It is possible that these methods enabled thick descriptions of the data generated for analysis. Leiblich (1998: 9, in Hutchings 2002) calls research resulting in descriptions that enable the above 'Narrative Methodology', because such an examination "results in unique and rich data that cannot be obtained from experiments, questionnaires, or observations". Finally, this study can also be characterised as case-based research, which can be described as research whereby "one or more cases of a phenomenon of interest are systematically examined with a view to achieving an understanding and developing or extending a theoretical framework" (Edwards, 1998: 37).

3.6 Triangulation of research data

In addition to the qualitative research methods of textual / document analysis, the interviews I have conducted focused on three groups of women. Triangulation of the research data was thus ensured in two ways. Firstly, I considered the research findings of previous research studies conducted in Wesbank, primary multimodal

texts produced in earlier research as well as the interview data generated in this research study in relation to one another. Secondly, considering the semi-structured focus group interview as the main research method employed in this study, I compared the three sets of interview data generated through the research interviews conducted with the three groups of women. I specifically paid attention to recurring words, phrases and ideas enunciated by the participants to ascertain what these reveal about their sense of (personal and collective) power and agency (or ability to effect change in their lives).

This enabled me to establish data validity and reliability for the purposes of triangulating the data to ascertain whether aspects of a sharing of discourses and literacy resources for the purposes of empowerment can be identified from the data. I did this by engaging in a process of identifying themes or patterns in the data collected in the focus group interviews in this research project and comparing this to findings in relating studies carried out in the CLIDE Project (see Blommaert *et al.* 2006, Dyers 2008, Dyers 2009, Dyers *et al.* 2009). I also wanted to ensure that researcher bias would not become a stumbling block in the process of working with the data.

3.7 Research sampling

In a study concerned with an ethnographer's critical analysis of discourse use, "sample size is not a significant issue because the interest is in the function and use of the language, not in the people using it" (Boles and Bombard, 1998). According to McCloskey (2008: 30):

Researchers recognise that important patterns can emerge in small samples, and large samples can create an unmanageable amount of data without adding to the analytic outcome. Thus, questions around sampling usually involve who and what to include and for how long, while size is rarely an issue.

For this reason, purposive sampling was applied in this study under the belief that “the research question or questions of interest will point to where the sample should originate and representation is the key criterion” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Purposive sampling could make it possible to more realistically reflect some of the discourses that do or do not exist within the specific community identified for this study from which the three sample groups of women were drawn. As DeVault and McCoy (2002) caution, “researchers know what they want to explain, but only step by step can they discover whom they need to interview and what texts and discourses they need to examine”.

3.8 Description of research sample and data gathering process

In the initial stages of the fieldwork component of this research, I spent some time talking to individuals about the aims of this research and found them willing to share their life stories with me and to arrange that I make contact with the three groups of women who had participated in the focus group interviews.

Some of the women who participated in this study have migrated to Wesbank from other areas in Cape Town such as Kuils River, Eerste River, Scotsdene in

Kraaifontein, Stellenbosch and from the Cape Flats² areas of Kensington, Kalksteenvontein, Mitchell's Plain and Delft. They also came from further afield such as Kimberley in the Northern Cape Province and the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage as well as towns along the Cape West Coast, namely, Vredendal and Lamberts Bay, to name a few. Some of the women in the interviews indicated that they had moved several times before coming to live in Wesbank.

I conducted semi-structured research interviews with three groups constituted by 18 Coloured women. In Appendix 4: Information about participants in focus group interviews, I present relevant details that I based upon information the women whom I had interviewed in the focus groups were willing to share with me. The women's ages ranged from those in their early thirties to senior citizens. They were all of the Christian faith. In each group, I relied on the assistance of key informants and literacy mediators in order to gain access to the groups of women. Two of the key informants whom I made contact with at Wesbank Secondary School helped by arranging and participating in the research interviews conducted with the prayer group and the members of the Adult Education Centre governing body. The other key informant and a literacy mediator assisted with the interview with the Senior Citizens' Organisation at the Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre.

The interviews were all conducted in Afrikaans as it is the dominant language spoken by the research participants. In each interview, I explained the purpose of the interviews with each group at the outset. Informed consent forms were also

² Cape Flats areas / townships have historically been occupied by Coloured and Black people who were moved by the Apartheid government from areas such as District Six and homelands areas such as Transkei, Ciskei, etcetera.

completed by the research participants to indicate that they understand their identities would not be disclosed in the research process and that they could withdraw from participating in the study at any time. In Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, I provide examples of the Informed Consent forms (English and Afrikaans versions) that were used. Appendix 3 contains the guiding questions used to facilitate discussion of the research topic in the semi-structured interviews.

The Informed Consent Forms were originally designed to accommodate a choice for interested participants to take part in individual interviews, focus group interviews and/or the completion of a questionnaire. However, the process of conducting the field work for this research needed to be completed within approximately six months. Hence, I decided to include only the focus groups' interview data as it was the most comprehensive data collected according to the designed research methodology. In Appendices 5, 6 and 7, I present excerpts of the transcribed interview data provided by Group A (Prayer Group), Group B (Adult Education Centre Governing Body members) and Group C (Senior Citizens' Organisation), respectively.

It was not possible to administer the research questionnaires or to collect data from a suitable number of individual interviews in the time frame allowed for the field work component of the research.

3.9 Working with the data

I listened to the interview data shortly after conducting each interview as recommended by Blommaert and Jie (2010). I made use of a transcriber and also transcribed some of the interview data myself. Converting the audio interview texts to

written form was a necessary component of the research process as it allowed for easier identification of themes and patterns in the data that I analysed in the process of writing this thesis. I also translated the interview data quoted in the analysis sections from Afrikaans (the language used in the focus group interviews) to English (to facilitate comprehension of the interview data presented in this thesis by readers who are not conversant with the Afrikaans language). Appendices 5, 6 and 7 contain transcript extracts of the three focus group interviews.

3.10 Analysis of data in relation to CDA and Multimodality

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that CDA treats “language as social practice”. The “context” of language use is thus a crucial consideration (Wodak 2000; Benke 2000). Wodak (2001) argues that “the term CDA is used nowadays to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication” and states that CDA is particularly concerned with the relations between language and power. The primary concern of any CDA endeavour may thus be to analyse obvious as well as tacit “structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak 2001).

Martin and Rose (2007: 315) state that “the main focus of CDA work has been on hegemony, on exposing power as it naturalizes itself in discourse, and thus feeling in some sense part of the struggle against it”. They argue that “we need a complementary focus on community, taking into account how people get together and make room for themselves in the world in ways that redistribute power without necessarily struggling against it” (Martin and Rose 2007:315). This suggests that

they make a pathological connection to the term CDA and its application in practice, which explains why they believe there is a need “to balance critique with Positive Discourse Analysis (or ‘PDA’), so that our interventions have good news to learn from as well as bad news to overthrow” (Martin and Rose 2007: 315).

Janks and Ivanič (1992) do not attach a negative connotation to the “critical” in CDA and distinguish it from the positive, but approach CDA in a manner that helps create a space for emancipatory discourse to emerge, not only through a process of questioning but also through speculations based on hope and optimism. Whatever the definition and application of CDA, however, it is logical that semiotic interpretations based on CDA activities need to be re-constituted through a process of resemiotisation (Iedema 1999, 2003) to allow for more in-depth analyses of the possibility for ‘semiotic mobility’ which Blommaert (2005) writes about. Reflective and reflexive practices then also become possible. Merely revealing evidence of hegemony serves no meaningful purpose in the study of social semiotics. Conscious choices about levels of interpretations pertaining to knowledge produced through research thus become imperative when CDA is applied.

The methodology for the broader “Township women’s discourses and literacy resources” project under which this study proposes to reside also includes an engagement with multimodality (Kress, 1997; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; Blommaert, 2005). Multimodality is now widely recognised as characteristic of the writing of theorists in the New Literacy Studies and ‘Englishes’ movements. Hence, this study sought evidence of participants’ abilities to function and mediate different

modes in and through the linguistic resources that they draw upon and those were discussed, produced and analysed in this study within the specific context(-s) in which they occurred.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter provided a description and discussion of the main research methodological framework which I have utilized in this study. I have discussed and attempted to explain why this research project has been positioned within a qualitative research framework using the methodological constructs of an ethnographic research approach. This is because ethnography is a component of qualitative research that complements the use of CDA as a research tool. I have also attempted to provide a description of the research methods I have used in this study in order to ensure reliability and validity of the research data and to mitigate against possible researcher bias by means of data triangulation. Further, I have discussed the rationale for the research sampling process and described the research sample and the data gathering processes which I have followed while conducting the fieldwork component of this research. I have also briefly mentioned how I have selected to process and analyse the interview data in relation to literature on CDA and multimodality.

In Chapter Four, I proceed to outline Appraisal Theory, which is the theory I have selected to help make sense of the research data.

CHAPTER 4

APPRAISAL THEORY

4.1 Introduction

This study was designed as an ethnographic exploration of selected discourses and literacy resources used by women in a particular context. In Chapter Two, I provided the theoretical and conceptual framework for this thesis and in Chapter Three, I discussed the rationale for positioning my research orientation along the continuum of the interpretivist, the critical and the deconstructivist. In this chapter, I proceed to isolate and outline the specific theory which I have selected to apply to the research data, namely, Appraisal Theory. I begin by situating Appraisal Theory (White 2001, 2003; Martin & Rose 2007) within Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1985), the socio-linguistic sub-discipline in which it originated and which is increasingly gaining relevance as an approach to Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Then I attempt to describe its historical background and why it can be considered as a feature of the New Literacy Studies movement and a social constructivist approach to the study of language. I also introduce important constructs of the Appraisal Theory system and the applicability of the theory for current research. Finally, I provide a brief discussion of emotion and emotion-laden words in discourse (Altarriba, 2006) and explain how I have identified emotion words in the research data that I have collected and interpreted in relation to Appraisal Theory constructs.

4.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

4.2.1 SFL as functional theory of language

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), developed by Michael Halliday (1985), has been described as a functional theory of language (Grabe and Kaplan 1996, in Quinn 1999). According to Quinn (1999: 17), SFL provides a framework for showing how language is related to the social environment in which it is used or “...how people use language to make meaning in order to get on with their lives” (Martin and Rothery 1993: 139). According to Eggins (1994:1), SFL “... is increasingly being recognised as a very useful descriptive and interpretive framework for viewing language as a strategic, meaning-making resource”.

4.2.2 SFL as a feature of New Literacy Studies

Although not explicitly stated in most of the literature I have consulted, SFL fits within the ambit of the New Literacy Studies (NLS) movement, which has been developing since the 1980s (Gee 1990; Street 1993; Hodge and Kress 1988, 1993; Barton 1994; Unsworth 2008; Hasan and Williams 1996). New Literacy Studies are concerned with moving “...beyond the technical features of language “functions” and the private cognitive “skills” of individuals towards an awareness of the social nature of literacy and an understanding of writing and reading as a set of socio-cultural practices, not skills” (Gee 1990; Quinn 1999:16).

4.2.3 Social-constructivist approach to language

NLS is orientated to a social-constructivist paradigm about language (Street 1995; Clark and Ivanič 1997). In the area of writing, for example, the social-constructivist approach considers not only the individual as a writer, but “a complex matrix of writer, community, and the knowledge constructed by the whole” (Van Zyl 1993:52). NLS studies on social semiotics and multimodal practices have further broadened the variety of contexts and modes within which language is socially constructed and enacted. These include studying acts of reading and writing in print as well as speech acts (or oral practices), visual texts and electronic texts brought about by advances in the use of computer and mobile phone technologies (Clark and Ivanič 1997; Van Leeuwen 2008; Martin and Rose 2007).

4.2.4 Contexts of situation and culture

SFL is premised on four theoretical claims about language:

...that language use is functional; that its function is to make meanings; that these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged; and that the process of using language is a *semiotic* process, a process of making meanings by choosing (Eggs 1994: 2).

Influences of the social and cultural contexts in which meanings are exchanged can be identified through an awareness of the ‘context of situation’ (i.e., the immediate social context) and the ‘context of culture’ (i.e., the broader cultural context) of a meaning-making event (Halliday 1985; Halliday and Hasan 1985). As described in Chapter Three, the exchange of meanings in this study occurred through oral

research interviews. The 'context of situation' was different for each of the groups whom I had interviewed, shifting from the context of a prayer group meeting, to the context of an interview with representatives of the Adult Education Centre governing body and, finally, to the context of a senior citizens' group meeting. The fact that this study occurred in a multilingual, multicultural, working class township in the Western Cape Province would constitute the broader 'context of culture'.

There are three features in operation which are said to influence language choices made in a particular context of situation (Halliday 1985; Halliday and Hasan 1985; Clark and Ivanič, 1997). They call these features field, tenor and mode. Quinn (1999: 4) explains these terms as follow:

Firstly, *field* which refers to "what" is being spoken or written about, *tenor* which refers to "who" is taking part in the interaction and finally *mode* which refers to the "how" of the text, that is, [whether] written or spoken.

Further, Eggins and Martin (1997: 238-243) explain that experiential meaning is used to construct *field*, interpersonal meaning is used to negotiate *tenor* and textual meaning is used to develop *mode*. Experiential meaning also refers to the "real world" and examines what a text is about or how a text reflects reality (Eggins and Martin 1997; Quinn 1999). Interpersonal meaning, on the other hand, is negotiated through the social role relationships played by the participants, while textual meanings are derived from the role that language plays in the interaction (Quinn 1999: 29-32).

Relating this to the field work component of my study, the field can be identified as the conversations or discussions – in short, the discourses – and literacy resources that are used by the specific women in Wesbank to empower themselves and others. Tenor applies to the participants with whom I conducted interviews during this research study, namely “Coloured” women between the ages of 30 -70 years in the variety of situational contexts mentioned. Mode, in this study, refers to the research interview, a ‘spoken’ or ‘oral’ text through which meaning was negotiated in particular ways, both during the interviews that I conducted as well as during the discourse analyses afterwards.

Factors in the wider context of culture which determine which genres are appropriate for the purposes (the “why” of text) they need to serve further constrain the language choices that can be made in the context of situation (Eggins 1994). Halliday and Hasan (1985) argue that this is because the context of situation and the context of culture are interrelated. According to these authors:

Any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor, and mode that has brought a text into being, is not just a random jumble of features but a totality – a package, so to speak, of things that typically go together in the culture (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 46).

To work out what language choices were possible in the interaction and negotiation between context of situation and context of culture, within the scope of this exploratory study, and the frame for meaning making provided by SFL, it became necessary to isolate a particular theoretical lens that would enable such an analysis of the research data. For example, the questions posed during the interviews could

only serve as guidelines in order to activate and facilitate discussion in relation to the research questions mentioned in Chapter One. Hence, the volume of data collected covered a range of topics.

Martin and Rose (2007: 4) (see figure 4.1 below), in their discussion of how to work with discourse in SFL, make the point that “discourse analysis interfaces with the analysis of grammar and the analysis of social activity”. This is supposedly “somewhere between the work of grammarians on the one hand and social theorists on the other” (Martin and Rose 2007:4). They also argue that discourse analysis “employs the tools of grammarians to identify the roles of wordings in passages of text, and employs the tools of social theorists to explain why they make the meanings they do” (Martin and Rose 2007: 4).

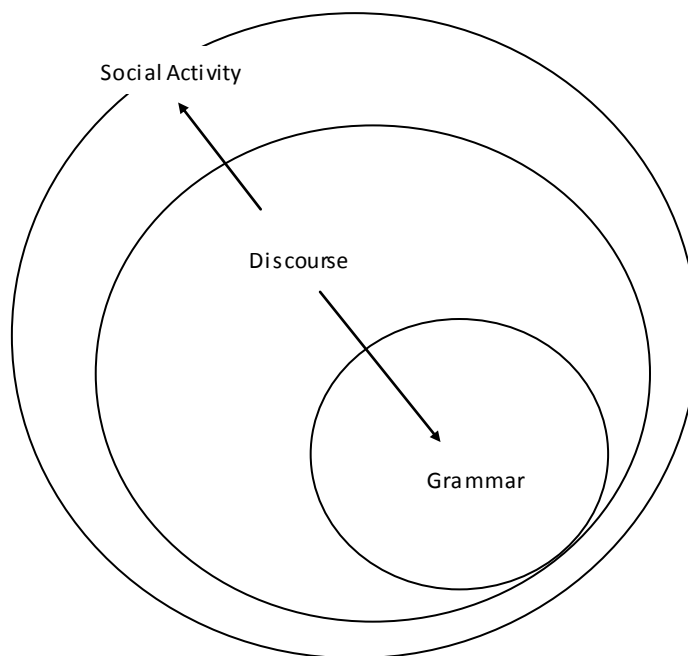


Figure 4.1 Points of view on discourse: from social activity and from grammar
(adapted from Martin and Rose 2007:5)

Figure 4.1 above shows the complementary relationship between grammar, discourse and social activity that can be negotiated to make sense of a complex phenomenon. Given the volume of data collected in the research interviews, I needed to find a discourse analysis tool that could assist me to work in a meaningful way with the grammar in the data and the social activity contexts in which the data was gathered. In other words, I needed to apply a patterning frame during the analysis stage so that I would be able to access the discourses and literacy resources that I needed to identify in this study.

I decided to apply Appraisal Theory (Martin 2000, 2003; White 2004; Martin and Rose 2007). Firstly, it could assist me to identify the discourses and literacy resources which I had set out to do in this study. Secondly, it had a strong potential to help me engage with the interview data in a systematic manner. As Fairclough (1999: 207) cautions, the identification of discourses is “obviously an interpretive exercise” and, by selecting Appraisal Theory, I was selecting an interpretive technique that could enable me to access and analyse these discourses as well as assist me to “play an advocacy role for groups who suffer from social discrimination” (Meyer 2001: 15; see Chapter Three).

4.3 Appraisal Theory

4.3.1 Background and development

Appraisal Theory was initially developed as a branch of Systemic Functional Linguistics by Australian academics belonging to the ‘Sydney School’, namely, J.R. Martin, D. Rose, P. White, F. Christie, C. Coffin, J. Rothery and others (White 2001).

The theory originally developed as part of the Write it Right literacy project in the Disadvantaged Schools Program between 1990 and 1995 in Australia, but is currently being used in Europe as well (Simon-Vandenberg 2008). Researchers in the Sydney School have explored literacy requirements of the discourses of science, technology, the media, history, English literature studies, geography and the visual arts.

It is a theory that lends itself to trans-disciplinary application, quite useful for studies in critical discourse analysis through ethnographic means that attempt to engage with matters relating to transportable literacies and practices. Figure 4.2 below provides a simplified diagrammatic representation of how I have conceptualised the trans-disciplinary fit between ethnography, CDA and Appraisal in the present study. I have applied aspects of ethnography, CDA and Appraisal to make sense of the research data, given that the data encountered in this study have been multimodal in nature and could be analysed to indicate potential for recontextualisation and resemiotization within a particular context (Iedema 1999, Blommaert 2005) due to the interactive nature of discourse (Martin and Rose 2007).

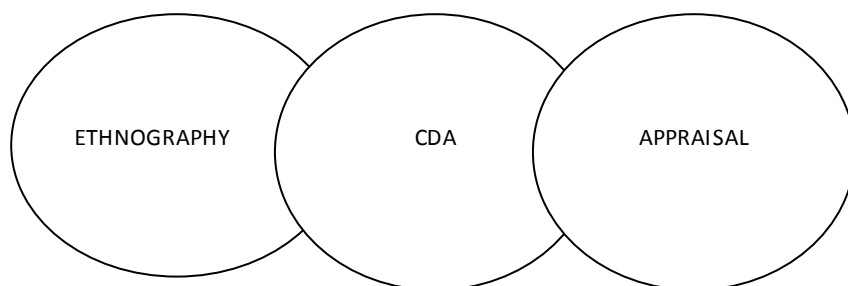


Figure 4.2 Conceptual Integration of Ethnography, CDA and Appraisal

4.3.2 Main constructs

Martin and Rose (2007:17) offer the view about appraisal being concerned with evaluation “– the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned”. These meanings, they argue, “realize variations in the tenor of social interactions enacted in a text” (Martin and Rose 2007:17).

According to White (2001:1), Appraisal Theory “...is concerned with the linguistic resources...by which...speakers come to express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions”. In other words:

APPRAISAL is a system of interpersonal meanings. We use the resources of APPRAISAL for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our *attitudes* are) (Martin and Rose 2007: 26; emphasis added).

According to Page (2003: 212), Appraisal Theory assists in the exploration of ways in which people use language “to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships”. Martin and Rose (2007: 25) argue that Appraisal is “...concerned with evaluation – the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned”. Positionings or relationships are always occurring through a process of negotiation due to the interactive nature of discourse (Martin and Rose 2007: 26). Discourse, thus, provides an indication or expression of attitude.

There are three main ways in which attitude is expressed, namely, affect, judgement, appreciation. **Affect** refers to the ways in which people express their feelings in discourse to indicate positive or negative feelings in a direct or implied manner (Martin and Rose 2007: 29). **Judgement**, on the other hand, relates to evaluations of people's character or behaviour. Judgement can be expressed on a personal level to indicate admiration or criticism of people's behaviour and it can also occur on a moral level to suggest praise or condemnation. (Martin and Rose 2007: 32). **Appreciation** can be identified by looking at the manner in which the value of things is construed through language (Martin and Rose 2007:37).

Attitudes can also be **amplified** through **graduation** devices that highlight force or focus in a speaker's statement. **Force** relates to the use of words that intensify an expressed attitude such as "very" or "extremely". **Focus** concerns the use of resources that makes something that is inherently non-gradable gradable to sharpen or soften categories or concepts (Martin and Rose 2007:47). Compare, for example, the sharpened focus of "exactly three years" compared to the softening effect of "about three years".

"Engagement covers resources that introduce additional voices into a discourse, via projection, modalization or concession; the key choice here is one voice (monogloss) or more than one voice (heterogloss)" (Martin and Rose 2007:59; see also Bakhtin 1981). White (2001) describes **Engagement** resources as examples where expectations, counter-expectations, disclaimers, probabilities and hearsay are expressed through discourse. In my analysis of the research data, I have also

considered examples of engagement in relation to how they are representative of a move from appreciation of the value of things to indications of active engagement that has the potential to challenge or change the women participants' lived realities.

Thus, what I have found useful is to use my own adaptation of the label of engagement in its variety of forms. What I seek to identify are traces of active engagement in terms of the women's expressions of the degree to which they are engaging beyond the conceptual and perceptual to the participative, i.e. where I see evidence in what they say about what they are doing that illustrate a form of active, responsibility-taking behaviour that can be considered transformative and empowering on personal and interpersonal levels.

4.4 Emotion Words and Attitudinal Meaning

A consideration of attitude necessarily involves taking words or expressions that reveal emotion into account. Altarriba (2006), a cognitive psychologist, provides some guidance about the association of emotion words not only to other emotion words, but also to abstract and concrete words.

According to Altarriba (2006:232):

The study of the representation and expression of emotion is critical to further the understanding of the mental processes that lead to good health and well-being. The idea that emotions are often labelled with words such as 'happy', 'sad', 'scared', and the like, indicates that psycholinguistic properties operate as a vehicle through which the feelings that are elicited by emotions are expressed, categorized, stored and catalogued.

Paivio (1971, 1986, in Altarriba 2006:234) argues that concrete words (e.g. table, chair) can be both verbally and pictorially referenced. Easy associations with contexts for concrete words are also possible (Altarriba 2006). According to Schrauf *et al* (2003:225), “[c]ontext-availability refers to the ease with which an individual can generate an imagined or remembered context to a word”.

Words that have affective meanings and have pleasantness, unpleasantness and arousal components are classified as emotion words (Altarriba and Bauer 2004). In the case of emotion words (e.g. love, happy) or abstract words (e.g. freedom, democracy), however, it becomes more difficult to visualise or imagine associations because these words do not necessarily share the same degree of pictureability and context-availability as concrete words.

Altarriba (2006), in her studies on the use of emotion words among English monolingual-speakers and Spanish-English bilingual speakers, finds that the concreteness effects in emotion words can be recalled with greater ease and are more easily recognised, imagined and contextualised than abstract words.

While Altarriba’s (2006) research is quantitative in approach, what I have found useful is her description of how particular emotion words evoke particular types of responses. The examination of emotion words among bilingual and monolingual speakers (Altarriba 2006; Schrauf *et al* 2003) in terms of their concreteness effects, imageability and context-availability is thus important as it can provide a means to

access available meanings for abstract words or concepts. In my research data, I identified fewer expressions of emotion words (i.e. direct expressions of emotions) and a significantly higher number of examples of indirect expressions of emotion, which needed to be interpreted to represent specific emotional states in order to be understood. Altarriba (2006) refers to the latter as emotion-laden words (e.g. kiss, death).

In the first analytical reading of my research data, the identification of emotion and emotion-laden words was used as a means to gain a holistic understanding of the emotion-load of the data gathered during the interview process. This was then followed by an application of other constructs of Appraisal Theory in order to interpret the attitudes expressed about, and through, abstract words in the data.

4.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I described the main features of Appraisal Theory, which I have selected to apply to the interview data collected in this research study. I began by situating Appraisal Theory within the scope of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the particular branch of socio-linguistics out of which it was originally developed by Australian academics working within the 'Sydney School'. I proceeded to relate the potential usefulness of SFL and Appraisal as features of the New Literacy Studies movement and a social constructivist approach to the study of language because of its attention to language use in the contexts of culture and situation.

Thereafter, I indicated how I had integrated Appraisal with the theoretical and methodological affordances of Ethnography and CDA to suit my purpose of trying to make meaning of the attitudinal positionings expressed in the discourses of the women who participated in this study. I have also provided a discussion of the main constructs of Appraisal Theory, namely, affect, judgement and appreciation. Finally, I have highlighted Altarriba's (2006) findings on identifying emotion and emotion-laden words and how this has assisted me to access the research data to arrive at a holistic understanding of my interview data and to further interpret the attitudes expressed about, and through, abstract words in the data.

In Chapter Five, I present the data collected during the research process and apply the constructs of Appraisal Theory as the selected instrument for this CDA activity.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF SELECTED WOMEN'S DISCOURSES

5.1 Introduction

This research study attempts to identify links between selected women's discourses and the literacy resources that either hinder or help them to empower themselves and the women around them and to shape the community in which they live.

In this Chapter, I present findings related to selected discourses identified in the three interviews conducted with the women respondents belonging to the prayer group (Group A), Wesbank Adult Education Centre evening school governing body (Group B) and Senior Citizens' Organisation (Group C).

I have selected to present the interview data in a thematic way in order to highlight specific discourse categories as this enabled me to reflect on the research questions in this study in a more focused manner. It is also possible from this method of data presentation to work with the interview data in a more holistic and integrated manner. The guiding questions used when I conducted the research interviews were of a rather linear order in terms of eliciting negative to positive views and would not have served the purpose of enabling sufficiently rich reflections on the data collected in this study (see Appendix 3 for the list of interview questions).

Following the explanation of Appraisal Theory in Chapter 4 and the ways in which emotion words were identified in the interview data, excerpts from the interviews are intended to represent the different types of expression which are present in text and narrative as identified by Martin and Rose (2007), namely, Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Engagement. Each one of these can further be indicated as Amplification of Attitude by means of Graduation devices to highlight Force or Focus in a statement. Explanations of these types of expression were provided in Chapter 4. Furthermore, I have used these expression types and the techniques for identifying emotion words offered by Altarriba (2006) to assist in labeling the discourses prevalent in the women interviewees' conversations.

In identifying the discourses in the interview data, I begin with a brief description of the concept of a 'discourse', followed by a few excerpts to illustrate the relevant discourse phenomenon. Thereafter, I set out to interpret the data. Emotion words in the various excerpts from the data, which illustrate aspects of Appraisal Theory, are referred to in the data analysis. After discussion of each discourse, I attempt to synthesise the information related to the particular discourse to reflect my understanding of the broader socio-linguistic context in which I consider it to fit. The Chapter concludes with a summary of the discourses presented and analyzed.

5.2 Discourse Categorisation

The discourses identified can be grouped according to a positive-negative continuum. Each of the interviews contained a mixture of negative, despondency-

type statements as well as positive, hopeful statements by the women interviewees about their particular life circumstances. In the prayer and senior citizens' groups, for example, the more confident and outspoken women appeared to be those who had a particular leadership role to play within the group, either as group leader, senior member, or as Chairperson or Secretary. The key informants whom I interviewed also shared their opinions freely. Several of the interviewees also had to be prompted to provide their opinions.

Various discourses can be identified from the research data and are grouped into the main discourse categories listed below. In my discussion of each discourse category, I attempt to present related data in an integrated manner to reflect the variety of opinions along the positive-negative communication continuum revealed through the interviewees' statements and stories. I have also further divided each discourse category into a number of related sub-discourses, as mentioned below:

- **evangelical / worshipping discourses**, for example, to praise the presence of God or a Higher Hand, to warn, to serve as a deterrent or as a motivation to change one's own life or provide support to others, or to question or judge others who do not share their belief system;
- **silencing discourses**, among which are historical discourses, namely, idealized life histories, compared to unsatisfactory present life circumstances and related discourses of abandonment or non-recognition, abuse discourses

(among others, in the home and community, etcetera) mentioned by those interviewed as well as discourses rendered invisible during the process of conducting this study;

- **relationship discourses**, which include, for example, matters relating to family / intimate relationships through marriage and / or co-habitation, child-rearing, relationships with the aged, etcetera, as well as relationships with other members living in the community and those who serve the community in government-sponsored health care and social services facilities located within the community;
- **discourses of hope**, which include discourses relating to alternative modeling frameworks and resource- or strengths-based discourses.

In the sections below, each of the discourses identified are discussed and analysed in greater detail.

5.3 Evangelical/ worshipping discourses

It was particularly evident among many of the women interviewed that they ascribe their continued existence and everything they are capable of doing and achieving to the presence of God in their lives. The prayer group meetings, the senior citizens' craftwork sessions and regular contact with Church or women's support groups all served as literacy events, where worshipping discourses formed an integral part of the literacy practices enacted in these settings. Before I conducted the interviews with Group A and Group C, for example, the group members began their meetings

with a combination of prayer, hymn singing, reading from the Bible and / or a motivational talk.

5.3.1 To praise

An interviewee in Group A states how religion changed her life for the better, helping her to distance herself from abusive substances. She says: *“I was also a drinker in the past. I found a better life for myself with God, then my whole life changed”*.³

This interviewee used to live in her mother’s house and, when her sibling sold the house, she had to move around with her children. She mentions: *“... so I moved around and I drank and I found my solution and then I joined God and now that I am with God, God gave me the house in Wesbank”*.⁴

Examples of *appreciation*, according to the category of Attitude outlined in Appraisal Theory, can be seen in the phrases *“found a better life”* (*’n beter lewe gevind*) and *“then my whole life changed”* (*toe verander my hele lewe*). The interviewee places a positive value on her life since she found God. *Amplification* of how much better her life has become is seen through the use of adjectives that indicate *graduation* from leading a *“better life”* to her *“whole life”* being changed.

³ *“Ek was ook ’n drinker anderdag. Ek het ’n beter lewe gevind vir my by die Here, toe verander my hele lewe”*.

⁴ *“...so het ek geswerwe en ek het gedrink en ek het my oplossing gevind en toe sluit ek maar by die Here aan en van ek nou by die Here is, gee die Here vir my die huis in Wesbank”*.

This woman also uses the word “*ik*” (*ek*) in a repetitive manner in the above expressions and is indicative of *engagement* with religious literacy on a personal or individual level. I thus agree that the use of the first person suggests an individual voice based on “individual ideology, belief and experience” (Dyers *et al* 2010) and “not on massive and rock-solid universal-humanist principles” (Blommaert 2005: 181).

5.3.2 To warn

Another interviewee, the prayer group leader, is a woman in her fifties and she expressed the role of God in her life like this: “*Without God...you cannot even think about tomorrow. You cannot look forward to tomorrow*”.⁵ The use of the second person address in this example can be interpreted as an indication of wisdom or experience that comes with age, enabling one to externalize the individual ideology referred to in 5.4.1 and to teach or preach in an intergenerational way.

The repeated use of the phrase “*you cannot*” (*jy kan nie*) can be interpreted as a form of *implicit, personal judgement* about a different belief system based on a monoglossic projection of the leadership / authoritative role of the interviewee within the context in which she was interviewed (Kristeva, in Martin and Rose: 2007: 49). In other words, the speaker, or interviewee in this case, is taking a moral high ground and is possibly not aware of other voices that may differ from hers.

⁵ “*Sonder die Here ...jy kan nie eers dink aan môre nie. Jy kan nie uitsien na môre nie*”.

Alternatively, it can be interpreted as an example of heteroglossia, where the phrase “*you cannot*” should simply be understood in the sense of appreciation for the “dialogic nature of discourse” (Bakhtin 1981: 49). Stated differently, it could simply mean the interviewee is aware, but not necessarily afraid of other, competing discourses.

5.3.3 To judge

Another prayer group member expressed an opinion about the values and beliefs of those who do not have God in their lives. She states: “*Know what I want to say, to hear what they say, people who do not have the Lord in their lives, about life. They must talk, they must talk, they live without purpose*”.⁶

The repeated use of the vague, third person “hulle” (‘they’) and the phrases “they must talk” and “they live without purpose” all serve to *amplify a moral judgement* that suggests condemnation of those who live life without a religious purpose.

5.3.4 To help and support

The worshipping discourses are also closely related to the practice of providing help and support as a result of the religious literacy being acquired. This can take place in different ways. As one interviewee in Group A put it: “*We try to help other people too*

⁶ “*Weet wat wil ek sê, om te hoor wat sê hulle, mense wat nie die Here in hulle lewe het nie, oor die lewe. Hulle moetpraat, hulle moetpraat, hulle lewe aspris*”.

... a person cannot just be satisfied if you have something. You must try to reach out to others also".⁷

This is an example of *engagement* with prevailing values in a culture or society. The speaker in this excerpt is herself positioned within a certain social, cultural and ideological space. She speaks clearly for herself and passes *personal judgement* against those who could be considered complacent and unable to reach out to others. At the same time, she also positions herself as a spokesperson for the group, *evoking appreciation* for what they are doing to help other people.

Another group member indicated that their community outreach work extends to environments and areas similar to those from where they had come before moving to Wesbank. This is what she had to say: *"I also feel now, as community, I feel that we want to reach out to the Lord. We would really like to go to farms where the people do not hear the word of God, so at the prisons and hospitals where people are lying sick we can also go to pray for them..."*.⁸

In this excerpt, again, the interviewee assumes a dual speaking role, although it can be argued that the personal voice is not realistically positioned to be a representative voice for the broader Wesbank community. This is an example illustrating *amplification of affect*, indicating a possible strong desire or hope to make a

⁷ "Ons help maar vir ander mense ...'n Mens kan nie net tevrede wees as jy iets het nie. Jy moet darem uitreik na ander ook".

⁸ "Ek voel ook nou, as gemeenskap, voel ek dat ons wil uitreik vir die Here. Ons wil graag na plase gaan waar die mense nie die woord van die Here hoor nie, so by die tronke en hospitale waar mense siek lê kan ons ook gaan om vir hulle te gaan bid ..."

difference in the lives of people whom the speaker knows are also suffering. However, there is insufficient evidence of an equally strong, agentive “I” that could indicate the feelings of hope are not borne out of a sense of idealism alone. Further data from the research interviews later in this Chapter will reveal how difficult it may be for the Wesbank community to externalize its outreach work since there is so much still needed to develop the community itself.

Another interviewee, who is in her forties and a stay-at-home mother who is taking care of a sick child, says that her experience of marriage and child-rearing has inspired her to join an organization, known as ‘Empower the Nation’, that aims to provide opportunities to people who have, for example, dreams of owning their own homes, getting subsidies, etcetera. Her personal experiences also motivate her to help people with marriage problems.

It's terrible out there and, yes, my faith in Wesbank ... daily it's still being tested with the violence... So if we have a problem I can talk, I can pray for people ... people with marriage problems ... Pray and I talk. So I want to make a difference.⁹

In the excerpt above, there is *amplification* to indicate the interviewee’s *negative appreciation* of the violence that characterizes life in Wesbank. Through repetition, she also draws attention to her *focus* on prayer and talking in helping to deal with experiences of violence.

⁹ “Dis verskriklik daar buite en, ja, my geloof in Wesbankdis nog steeds elke dag word dit getoets met die geweld So as ons ‘n probleem het kan ek praat, kan ek bid vir mense ... mense met huweliksprobleme ... Bid en ek gesels. So ek wil ‘n verskil maak”.

The following extracts from the interview conducted with Group B are also interesting. One of the interviewees stated that she does not have a specific church which she attends, but once a month she joins other women in Wesbank at the home of someone who had taught at one of the schools in Wesbank in previous years. What she describes is a women's support group that functions by bringing together women to have some time to relax in the company of others while at the same time trying to reach out to others.

She mentions that they get together, because they had been busy for the whole week or month and rarely have time to relax. She says: *"Then we just relax, we talk a little about the Bible, we talk about things that worry us, and then we see what we can do ... to make things a bit better"*.¹⁰ She also mentions that each person would normally bring a food item to each meeting so that a food parcel can be made up and given to someone who is really needy or poor.¹¹

The other interviewee in Group 2 mentioned that she is a member of the Old Apostolic Church. She says: *"I would not say I am so involved with women there, because I go only to church and from there I come home. Then it is a function again. But I have a lot to do with church"*.¹² She goes on to describe how many of the churches in Wesbank make use of the high school hall for their services and other events. She has to open and close the venues in the school building whenever there

¹⁰ "Dan relax ons net, ons praat 'n bietjie oor die Bybel, ons praat oor dinge wat ons kwel, en dan kyk ons wat ons kan doen ... om dinge bietjie bietere te maak".

¹¹ "En dan was almal daai goeters nou na een persoon geneem wat rêrig behoeftig is".

¹² "Ek sal nie sê ek is so betrokke met vrouens daar nie, omdat ek gaan net kerk toe en daarvan af kom ek huis toe. Dan is dit weer 'n function. Maar ek het baie te doen met kerk".

are functions and, subsequently, has more time to be involved with other women and the youth at the school.

These examples suggest that there are attempts to apply religious literacy in order to lead more balanced lives. The Group B interviewees' statements show that they feel sufficiently empowered to work co-operatively within a group as well as act in a mentoring capacity towards others. Note particularly the use of the phrases "*just relax*", "*talk a little*", "*make things a bit better*" and "*I have a lot to do with church*". These are suggestive of an *evoked attitude of appreciation* for the support the women offer to one another. Being in one another's company to relax and give back to the less fortunate appear to be valued quite highly.

These excerpts from the Group B interview illustrate various grades of *engagement* with the interviewees' religious literacies that enable them to provide support and to share their literacy resources in order to empower other women and/or the youth.

5.4 Silencing discourses

All the women interviewees were raised in financially disadvantaged homes during the disempowering *apartheid* history of South Africa and find themselves in what Dyers *et al.* (2010) call "the cycle of recurrent poverty from one generation to the next". It is quite logical that "the long-term impact of colonialism, apartheid and the continuing poverty in the post-apartheid era which continues to entrap these women in the circumstances in which they find themselves" can be viewed as

disempowering factors (Dyers *et al* 2010). As was noted in Chapter One, Ntete (2008) also identifies particular discourses of poverty that should be engaged with in order to counter silencing discourses or what could also be referred to as nostalgic, grievance or complaints discourses.

There are four types of silencing discourses which I have decided to label as idealized history discourse, abandonment / non-recognition discourse, abuse discourse and invisible discourses. These are further discussed and analyzed below.

5.4.1 Idealized history discourse

There was a tendency among some of the interviewees to consider their present circumstances as less than desirable. Several comments idealizing the past were provided and the comments included opinions about the living environment, values and morals, the quality of parenting and social services support.

5.4.1.1 *Living environment*

One of the interviewees made a comparison between Wesbank and the community in which she lived when she was younger, which she describes as smaller than Wesbank. She says: “*And it was alright there because there people were almost like a close-knitted (sic) family*”.¹³ This is an example of *appreciation* for the previous living environment and *amplified appreciation* for the positive relationships between people in her previous community.

¹³ “*En dit was oraait daar because daar was die mense amper soos ‘n close-knitted family*”.

5.4.1.2 Values and morals

Most of the interviewees indicated that they had to leave school at young ages. Nevertheless, one interviewee in Group A expressed appreciation for the efforts made by parents to ensure that their children could receive an education in the past, despite difficult circumstances. She says: *“But in those days, look, the parents worked there. The money is also not much, but they also made an effort ... to keep you in school...”*¹⁴ Here, the interviewee is expressing *personal judgement* to indicate admiration for hard working parents in earlier years and also expresses *appreciation* for the difficult financial circumstances in which they tried to do it.

The co-ordinator of the senior citizens' group described how she developed a love for sewing from her mother when she was a child. Although her formal education was cut short and she left school at a young age, she could find work in a clothing factory with the skills she had acquired from watching and helping her mother. She decided to establish the senior citizens' group in 2009, in partnership with a few other people, with the aim of keeping the elderly citizens in Wesbank engaged in creative activities while at the same time helping to build a sense of belonging in the community by sharing the skills she had with them.

She says: *“It is wonderful to work with these senior citizens ... their temperament is very good. We can share a lot about not just handwork...”*¹⁵ This excerpt is quite

¹⁴ *“Maar destyds, kyk, die ouers het daar gewerk. Die geld is ook nie baie nie, maar hulle het o ok maar moeite ... gedoen om jou op skool te hou ...”*

¹⁵ *“Dit is wonderlik om saam met dié bejaarde mense te werk ... hulle gesindheid is baie goed. Ons kan baie deel oor nie nét handewerk nie”.*

rich. She describes her work with the senior citizens and their temperament as 'wonderful' and 'very good', respectively. Through this, she expresses *amplified appreciation* for the process of working and learning with the elderly and passes *judgement* to indicate her *admiration* for their character.

One of the other interviewees, originally from a farm in Stellenbosch who was raised as an adopted child, also commented on how adopted children were cared for in the past. She said: "...I see like today the money is not like it was in those years..."¹⁶ In this excerpt, there is a more favourable comment being made about the way in which, presumably, the government or society in general, took care of adopted children. It illustrates an *evoked attitude of negative appreciation* for the current state of affairs.

Social services partnerships were also described as having been better in past years. One of the interviewees talked about a time when social workers "*came to the school*"¹⁷, contrasting this with the present day where, she states "*they do not even do any of those things. It looks almost like they are not interested*".¹⁸ The first quote can be interpreted as an example of *evoked appreciation* for the role social workers used to play in the school system and the second excerpt as a form of *personal judgement*, implying criticism for the behaviour of social workers nowadays.

¹⁶ "...ek sien soos vandag die geld is nie soos daai jare nie".

¹⁷ "... en daai tyd het die maatskaplike werkster na die skole toe gekom".

¹⁸ "Vandag doen hulle nie eers daai klas goed. Dit lyk amper hulle stel nie belang nie".

5.4.2 Abandonment / non-recognition discourse

The excerpts below provide some idea of the feelings of abandonment and despondency which women interviewees have expressed in the research interviews. Comments about their quality of life since the end of *apartheid* are fairly negative and possibly also indicate that they do not really know where they fit in the new social order that is developing in South Africa.

Note below the comments about life after the end of Apartheid:

*But apartheid is over and nothing has changed...First it was the Bantu's who had it worse, more difficult than us. OK, they had it a bit more difficult than us. Now it's the Bantu and the white man and we are totally, totally, who looks after us? No-one.*¹⁹

This is a telling statement that suggests *engagement* with the notion of life after *apartheid*. The interviewee's appraisal that "nothing has changed" indicates forceful *amplification of a negative appreciation* of her life within the new South Africa. This is followed by a *moral judgement*, implying condemnation of the more difficult lives led by black South Africans during apartheid. Simultaneously, the interviewee also expresses a *personal judgement* that "Coloureds" did not have much better either and hereby seeks to *invoke appreciation* through recognition of the similarly difficult lives led by "Coloured" people under *apartheid*. She ends off with an example of

¹⁹ "Maar die apartheid is uit en daar het nog niks verander nie ... Eerste was dit die bantoes wat swakker, swaarder gekry het as ons. OK, hulle het 'n bietjie swaarder as ons gekry. Nou is dit die bantoe en die witman en ons is heeltemal, heeltemal, wie kyk na ons? Niemand".

strongly *inscribed personal judgement* that the “Coloured” person is being overlooked and not being taken care of in the developing new social order in South Africa.

Here are a few more *amplified judgement* statements that indicate the perceived negative impact of the social environment and history, sense of exclusion from available work opportunities, access to finances and daily challenges which they encounter as residents of Wesbank:

*“Nowadays only black people get work”.*²⁰

*“But these days ... everything is just money”.*²¹

*“I really wanted to become a social worker”.*²²

*“I have a sick daughter that I care for”.*²³

*“There are so many children ... that are drug users, tik and all those things”.*²⁴

*“The last time my husband worked was in 2004. Unemployment and illness and he also drinks”.*²⁵

*“My husband can’t give me a house”.*²⁶

²⁰ *“In vandag se dae is dit net swart mense wat werk kry”.*

²¹ *“Maar in vandag se dae is ... alles is net geld”.*

²² *“Ek wil so graag ‘n maatskaplike werkster geword het”.*

²³ *“Ek het ‘n siek dogter wat ek na kyk”.*

²⁴ *“Daar is so baie kinders ... wat aan dwelms verslaaf is, tik en al die dinge”.*

²⁵ *“My man het 2004 laas gewerk. Werkloosheid en siekte en hy drink ook”.*

²⁶ *“My man kan nie vir my ‘n huis gee nie”.*

The next three excerpts selected from the interview data address some of the factors which play a strong role in making the women experience feelings of despondency and abandonment. They have been selected on the basis of the frequency and force with which the interviewees have made reference to these factors in the interviews.

The first quote relates to shebeens: *“If they can destroy the shebeen, like they say in Die Son²⁷, like they just say and not do”*.²⁸

The second quote pertains more generally to the work situation: *“They say there will be work, but the work does not really come. They say it will happen tomorrow, but it never really does, it’s just talking and talking”*.²⁹

The third extract makes reference to the pressures which women experience within the home: *“But you who are the woman ... if the children need clothes, they don’t go to the father ... we have an enormous pressure on us...”*.³⁰

The first and second quotes above express *judgement* and *invoke negative appreciation* for the absence of decisive action by implying that those who need to

²⁷ *Die Son* is a newspaper written in Kaaps Afrikaans, a dialect of the Afrikaans language used mainly among ‘Coloured’, Afrikaans-speaking people living on the Cape Flats.

²⁸ *As hulle kan die smokkelhuis rêrig uitroei, soos hulle net sê in Die Son, soos hulle maar net sê en dit nie doen nie”*.

²⁹ *“Hulle sê daar gaan werke kom, maar die werke kom ook nie rêrig nie. Hulle sê dit gaan môre gebeur, maar dit is nooit rêrig nie, word ook net gepraat en gepraat”*.

³⁰ *“Maar jy wat ‘n vrou is ... as die kinders klere soek, gaan hulle nie na die pa toe nie. ... ons het ‘n geweldige druk op ons ...”*.

help are more focused on talking than doing. The third quote is an example of *inscribed attitude* through which the interviewee could be providing a *judgement* that all the “working” or “doing” are left to the mother in the home. Indirectly, it could thus be interpreted as criticism for the father’s lack of agency within the home.

5.4.3 Abuse discourses

I asked interviewees for their opinions about the major difficulties which the community in Wesbank face. They identified unemployment and scarce work opportunities as the main factors that give rise to different forms of abuse experienced in the home as well as the broader community environment. The interview data contains specific examples of the effects related to the abuse of elderly relatives in the home, substance abuse and crime. Direct references or statements about spousal and child abuse are not apparent from the data, but could be interpreted indirectly in the references to other forms of abuse or the factors which cause abuse mentioned by the interviewees. The existence of a high number of shebeens in the area was also identified as a major contributing factor to the violence that characterizes life in Wesbank, implying corruption of values and norms within the developing community. Selected examples and interpretations of abuse discourses are provided below.

5.4.3.1 Abuse in the home and community

One interviewee had this to say when I asked if many people are unemployed: “Yes, *many, many of Wesbank’s people*”.³¹ She confirmed that there was often only one breadwinner in the family, although there are also many families where nobody was gainfully employed. In cases where a family member does work, it does not necessarily mean that wages and salaries go towards covering household expenses either.

Another interviewee mentioned: “*Work is scarce and those who work, support the shebeen and the woman who does not smoke and drink suffers as a result*”.³² Many interviewees also identified the existence of too many shebeens as one of the major obstacles to the positive development of Wesbank. One of them stated: “*Shebeens are, shall I say, are the cause of everything ... all abuse...*”.³³

The high prevalence of teenage pregnancies and crime, in general, were also attributed to the existence of shebeens, although this point was not elaborated. It is obvious from this exchange that the existence of shebeens was possibly considered a threat for the Wesbank community and bringing up the topic in the interview gave rise to an opportunity to ascribe blame for most of the difficulties in Wesbank to the existence of a growing number of shebeens.

³¹ “*Ja, baie, baie van Wesbank se mense*”.

³² “*Die werk is nie rêrig na vore nie en dié wat werk, onderhou die smokkelhuis en die vrou wat nie rook en drink nie ly daaronder*”.

³³ “*Shebeens is, sal ek sê, is die oorsaak van alles ... alle abuse*”.

Interviewees also blame drug lords in the area for getting young children involved with joining street gangs as well as using and dealing in drugs. One interviewee stated: “...*the drug lords, they actually entice the children. Because the children want to dress nicely, the mother cannot afford it, now the children go to them ... in grade 8 the children are already little gangsters*”.³⁴

Various degrees of *engagement* with causal factors giving rise to the difficulties experienced with domestic and community life in Wesbank can be seen from the above. *Personal* and *moral judgements* are indicated by means of graduation devices that provide force or focus to particular statements. Note, for example, how repetition in the statement about the high number of unemployed people in Wesbank and the comment about how and where the few working people spend their money exemplify the stated causes of poverty experienced in Wesbank.

Two channels through which the perpetuation of poverty remains possible are also forcefully specified. Shebeens are strongly identified as the sole contributor to the high number of teenage pregnancies, crime and abuse in the area. It is also implied that drug lords are more powerful or influential than parents in determining how children are raised in Wesbank.

³⁴ “... *die drug lords, hulle lok eintlik die kinders. Omdat die kinders wil mooi aantrek, die ma kan dit nie bekostig nie, nou gaan die kinders na hulle toe ... graad 8 is die kinders al klaar bendetjies*”.

However, there is little evidence from the above statements that the interviewees are engaging with the problems referred to in an empowering way. Most of the statements are expressions which typify a sense of entrapment within their circumstances of poverty and hardship (Dyers *et al*, 2010; Ntete, 2008). This can be seen from the propensity to wholly externalize the power for effecting a positive change in their circumstances through what I will refer to as blaming, shaming and identifying scapegoats to establish and, possibly, justify *appreciation* of their powerlessness.

5.4.3.2 Structural abuse

The interview data also suggests that the relatively new community of Wesbank is experiencing certain forms of structural abuse. Many of the interviewees were critical of the lackluster service delivery they receive from government institutions and personnel. They also had strong opinions about the absence of critically needed infrastructure that can assist Wesbank to develop into a self-sustaining area. Some interviewees expressed a desire to have access to facilities and activities that are conveniently located and can help them to lead more constructive lives, as can be seen from the examples provided below.

In some of the interviews, participants bemoaned the long waiting periods at municipal service centres and the day hospital, in particular. They mentioned that, if they want to be helped, they have to leave home early in the morning and they have to be prepared to visit these institutions more than once because the centres are

often under-staffed. They were also critical of the longer-than-normal lunch and other breaks taken by personnel at these offices. They are of the opinion that the personnel at these centres work very slowly, that they only help “black”³⁵ people and that they were not very helpful.

For example, not all the residents are provided assistance in their home languages since the personnel are not always able to speak their first languages. They also expressed unhappiness about the fact that the day hospital does not provide more comprehensive health services. In the interviews, comments were also made about the shortage of schools, a public library and a police station in the area as members of the community had to travel to neighbouring areas to make use of these facilities.

One of the interviewees described the situation with regard to a library in this way: *“There are many children who love to read, but because the library is far. We have to walk over to Delft, or Kuils River or Bellville”*.³⁶

There is a similar situation with schools in the area, mainly due to an inadequate number of schools to accommodate the number of children of school-going age in the area as well as the fact that some children run away from school or have become involved with drug lords. Here are comments from two of the interviewees.

³⁵ “black” presumably refers to people who are Xhosa speakers or speakers of other indigenous languages.

³⁶ *“Daar is baie kinders wat miskien lief is vir lees maar omdat die biblioteek ver is. Ons moet oorstap Delft toe, of Kuilsrivier, of Bellville toe gaan”*.

*“... but it is quite a lot of children who do not ... go to school ... the school is too full and the others basically follow the drug lords”.*³⁷

And also:

*“They are perhaps here until first interval ... then the parent does not even know the child ... ran away from school”.*³⁸

The above excerpts can be interpreted as expressions of *personal* and *moral judgement* that exemplify the structural abuse experienced by Wesbank residents and that can be attributed, mainly, to the limited role and effectiveness of services and infrastructure provided at local government level. Through such judgement statements, negative appreciation is evoked.

5.5 Relationship discourses

5.5.1 Family / Intimate relationships

The women interviewees tended to blame men for causing or being responsible for most of the problems experienced in the home, although women were sometimes singled out as well. One of the interviewees summed it up with this *personal*

³⁷ “... maar dis taamlik ‘n klomp kinders wat nie ... skoolgaan nie ... die skool is te vol en die anders is maar basies agter die drug lords”.

³⁸ “Hulle is miskien hier toterste pouse ... dan weet die ouer nie eens die kind ... het weggehardloop van die skool af”.

*judgement. "You know, if I look at most of the problems that occur here, in most cases it is a man, ... but...in some instances it is also the woman".*³⁹

As explanation for why men are not really able to maintain harmony in the home, alcohol is identified as the interference factor. One of the interviewees expresses *personal judgement*, through expression of her own observations and through repetition to indicate the negative effects of alcohol on the home, when says: *"But I saw the alcohol ... But you as the woman, we the women, if the children need clothes, they do not go to the father. It's 'Mommy, I am hungry', 'Mommy, I need a pair of school shoes'..."*⁴⁰

Other views of negative home life include, for example, comments about disrespectful spouses and adult children who abuse alcohol and drugs such as "tik" (methamphetamines), family members who spend most of their wages at the shebeen, the difficulties experienced in the home due to unemployment and the difficulties some of the elderly experience who have to stretch their pension grants to cover living expenses for the whole family.

5.5.2 Child-rearing

Several interviewees mentioned that they often talk about their children and grandchildren and that they try to support and offer advice to one another to deal with the challenges of child-rearing in Wesbank. The two excerpts below are taken

³⁹ *"Weet jy, as ek nou na die meeste probleme kyk wat nou hier plaasvind, in baie gevalle is dit 'n man, ... maar ... in sommige gevalle is dit ook die vrou".*

⁴⁰ *"Maar ek het gesien die drank ...Maar jy wat 'n vrou is, ons wat die vroue is, as die kinders klere soek, gaan hulle nie na die pa toe nie. Dis 'Mammie, ek is honger', 'Mammie, ek makeer 'n paar skoolskoene'..."*

from comments about child-rearing that were mentioned in one of the interviews and are both examples of *personal judgement*.

One interviewee, for example, said: “*Then the children are still so lazy*”.⁴¹ It was a common complaint that the children were not being kept constructively busy.

Another interviewee mentioned that people tend to look only at the children in their own environment and that they do not necessarily make the same effort for the wider community. She says: “... *we only look at our own little environment around us. We do not look at children in the broader community. If we reach out to the wider community, Wesbank will be a better community, especially for our young children*”.⁴²

In the above extract, there is also some attempt at *engagement* with the notion of what could be a factor for the development and progress of Wesbank as a community. Through *evoked appreciation*, the interviewee suggests that Wesbank can become much better if people are more caring towards one another’s children in the community.

⁴¹ “*Dan is die kinders nog so lui*”.

⁴² “... *ons kyk net na ons eie omgewinkie daar rondom ons. Ons kyk nie na die breër gemeenskap se kinders nie. As ons uitreik na die breër gemeenskap, sal Wesbank ‘n baie beter gemeenskap wees, veral vir onse jong kinders*”.

5.5.3 The aged

Some of the interviewees in the senior citizens' group were quite outspoken about the treatment elderly people receive from their children. They describe how many of the aged live with their children, but often have to go hungry during the day as incomes are spent on alcohol and drugs, leaving little to cover household expenses.

One of them said: *"We as Wesbank Senior Citizens ... we started the organization because we saw there are many elderly people who are not being treated well by their children".*⁴³

Another one expressed her emotions thus:

*Know what really struck me about our aged people? It was when they got paid and their money goes to the shebeen ... It disappointed me really deeply ... it really breaks an older person.*⁴⁴

They also mention how many of the senior citizens are abused by their children and do not have any privacy or a place where they can feel safe and cared for. Differences in the lifestyles of adult children and their parents were also identified as a reason why some senior citizens who moved to Wesbank to be closer to their children later decide to go back to the areas from which they have come.

⁴³ *"Ons as Wesbank Senior Citizens ... het die organisasie begin omdat ons gesien het daar's baie bejaardes wat nie reg deur hulle kinders behandel word nie".*

⁴⁴ *"Weet wat my eintlik rêrig baie getref het van baie van ons bejaarde mense? Dit was wanneer hulle gepay het en hulle geldjie gaan dan na die smokkelhuis toe ... Dit het my regtig diep teleurgestel ... dit breek rêrig 'n groot bejaarde mens af".*

The quote “It disappointed me really deeply” is a forceful example of *affect*, indicating unhappiness at the abuse which some senior citizens experience. *Amplification* of the number of people subjected to such treatment and the effect it has on them suggest *personal judgement* to indicate the interviewee’s critical position. There is strong evidence in the above excerpts that those who established the Senior Citizens’ Organisation are sufficiently agentive and empowered, firstly, to provide *amplified personal judgements* about abuse of the elderly and, secondly, to *evoke appreciation* through *active engagement* with the highlighted problem.

5.5.4 The youth

Interview data indicate that more can be done to engage the youth constructively in the community. Some of the common complaints were that drug lords and shebeen owners lure the young children to become involved in illegal activities. Even some house shops were criticized for luring young people into their yards for certain recreational activities. Community members who try to organize sport and other recreational activities for the youth were, in turn, criticized for not making things interesting enough so that the children can return. The efforts that are being made to involve the youth in sport were, nevertheless, acknowledged by some of the interviewees, while some indicated that sport and recreation facilities were inadequate.

For example, one interviewee says: *“Here are probably only two small parks where children play. But what about the other open fields? ... There are no playgrounds for our children”*.⁴⁵

Another interviewee mentions: *“Yes. We have soccer like ... the most they do is play soccer ... and then we have netball also here in Wesbank. And also cricket ...”*.⁴⁶

The first excerpt is an example of *personal judgement* that indicates dissatisfaction with the inadequate number of sport and recreation facilities in the community. This judgement, however, is *amplified* to a point that suggests facilities which exist are so few that it actually amounts to nothing. In the second excerpt, there is evidence of *appreciation* for the sport codes that are being offered to children in the community on the existing sport fields.

The ordinary house shop or *spaza* is also cause for some women’s complaints. According to another interviewee’s *personal judgement*, the shop can be interpreted as a metaphor for the shebeen, a place that offers nothing good to society. *“But the problem is ... the shop. The shop is the shebeen... And this is where the children go, because they are after the jukebox and those pool games, etcetera”*.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *“Hier is seker net twee parkies waar kinders in speel. Maar wat van die ander oop velde? ... Hier is nie speelgronde vir ons kinders nie”*.

⁴⁶ *“Ja. Ons het sokker soos ... die meeste wat hulle doen is sokker wat hulle speel ... en dan het ons netbal ook hier in Wesbank. En nog krieket ...”*.

⁴⁷ *“Maar die probleem is ... die winkeltjie. Die winkeltjie is die shebeen ... En dit is waarna die kinders gaan, want hulle is agter die jukebox en agter daai pool games, ensovoorts”*.

As I have repeatedly encountered with comments that express judgement, these comments simultaneously invite *negative appreciation*. These excerpts about the youth are no exception. There is also no strong evidence here that the interviewees are engaging actively with the notion of what development of and for the youth entail. Interpreted against comments and appraisals analysed elsewhere in this Chapter, where interviewees have expressed judgements and negative appreciation for the absence of critical infrastructure in Wesbank, it can be deduced that expectations have not yet been made explicit through the dialogic platforms that exist in the area, for example, through *active engagement* with the Wesbank Community Forum as a local government structure or other interest groups, in order to arrive at realistic benchmarks and norms.

5.5.5 In the community

In one of the interviews, participants indicated that the community members get along reasonably well, but that they keep to themselves most of the time, only coming together when they need to discuss matters of common concern for the community. This appears to be the case for the way in which most organizations function in Wesbank as well.

Because Wesbank is a multilingual community and multicultural community, English is used as the common language in community meetings in order that most of the community members can understand one another. When asked in which languages people communicate with one another, one of the participants in the study said: "...

like we have to speak English with the Xhosa people. And then they speak Xhosa with one another".⁴⁸

I interpret this extract against the interpretation of a comment dealt with under 5.5.3.2, where I discussed examples of structural abuse. A participant expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that municipal services personnel are not able to provide assistance to Wesbank residents in their first languages. *Negative appreciation* for the use of English as a language of necessity in this context was invited. In the extract above, however, the *evoked attitude* is one of neutrality and understanding. What could be inferred from this is that persons who are perceived to share the social and geographical space (Wesbank residents) are less likely to be subjected to *judgement* or criticism than those who are perceived to be outside of it or are expected to provide externally imposed services and support (municipal services personnel) .

In the next two excerpts, I provide opinions about how well the people in Wesbank know one another. One of the participants mentioned: *"Here are also people in Wesbank who support one another but I think many of us do not really know one another"*.⁴⁹ This is an example of *personal judgement* that simultaneously expresses admiration and criticism and amounts to a neutral statement.

Another participant commented on a relationship with a particular group with whom she has ties: *"I love the community watch very much. We are very close. For any*

⁴⁸ "... soos ons moet nou Engels praat met die Xhosa mense. En dan praat hulle Xhosa met mekaar".

⁴⁹ "Hier is nog mense hier in Wesbank wat daar is vir mekaar maar ek dink baie van ons ken nie regtig mekaar nie".

problem we have, we can call on one another".⁵⁰ This interviewee has a strong alignment and membership in the community safety group. The first statement is a strong expression of *affect* and is followed by *evoked appreciation* for the relationship.

The above examples indicate different opinions about relationships within the community of Wesbank. There is no evidence from the above that the residents engage in negative relationships with one another. There is, however, evidence in the above that suggest a variety of attitudes and levels of appreciation for one another, depending on the closeness of the relationship. Given the violent context of Wesbank described in the interviews, it is probably likely that the participants I have spoken to do not engage in overly negative relationships with other community members, but that the excerpts above should not be made more widely applicable.

5.5.6 NGOs and CBOs

It is apparent from the interview data that, while NGOs and CBOs exist in Wesbank, they are not as effective as they could be and do not really receive the necessary support from the community either. Some of the interviewees were aware of their existence and some were involved in some of the projects.

One interviewee described her involvement with an organisation that works with parents and children who are dealing with the challenges brought about by substance abuse in the community to help mend the parent-child relationships. She

⁵⁰ *"Ek is baie lief vir die buurtwag. Ons is baie close. Vir enige probleem wat ons het, kan ons vir mekaar bel"*.

says: *“But there is a... Project that we have been busy with ... some of us worked at the schools, some of us went around to the homes”*.⁵¹

One of the other women described an event that was held for the youth at the Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre, but in her opinion it was not well organised. This is what she had to say: *“And the children got here early and ... currently they should at least have had a sweetie there, or ... a little cooldrink, but there was nothing like that”*.⁵²

There was also divided opinion about the effectiveness of the community forum in Wesbank, WESCOF. One interviewee, for example, was quite critical, saying: *“... they will never really inform all the organizations ... so that everyone can participate”*.⁵³

An alternative point of view, however, was that some members of the Forum worked really hard, both to help effect development within the community as well as by representing the community on other platforms, as in the following comment: *“Aunty M currently represents Wesbank on DTC level”*.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *“Maar daar is ‘n ... Projek wat ons mee besig was ‘n gedeelte van ons het by die skole gewerk, ‘n gedeelte van ons het maar by die huise omgegaan”*.

⁵² *“En die kinders het vroeg hiernatoe gekom en ... huidiglik moet hulle eintlik darem ‘n lekkertjie daar gehad het, of ...‘n koeldrankie, maar daar was g'n niks soos daai nie”*.

⁵³ *“... hulle sal nooit sommer rêrig al die organisasies laat weet ... sodat almal kan deel wees nie”*.

⁵⁴ *“Aunty M... verteenwoordig nou op die oomblik Wesbank op DTC level”*.

It is interesting to note that the interviewees in Group B, who both serve on the Governing Body for the adult education centre at Wesbank High School, were able to express *appreciation* for specific individuals who serve as role models in the community. They identified Church leaders and their wives as well as members of the community who have lived in Wesbank since it was established and who were also actively involved with the above Governing Body and the Wesbank Community Forum.

5.6 Discourses of hope

In the interviews, I asked participants if they had any suggestions about how Wesbank could further develop as a community. In this section, I present some of their responses. I have categorized these as comments that suggest an alternative modeling framework (e.g. in the way some of the organizations work together), resource- or strengths-based discourse (e.g. evidence of active engagement to effect change) and wishful thinking.

5.6.1 Resource – or strength-based discourse

Some of the views expressed by the more outspoken women, such as the key informants with whom I liased, were indicative of a stronger sense of identity and agency developing among some of the women who were interviewed. What follows below are some examples taken from the interview with Group B that indicate how these women interviewees give voice to, among other things, their sense of

independence, agency and empowerment. I also present views about how they share their literacy resources with others to empower them.

One of the women in Group B is a key informant in my study. She is in the process of divorcing her husband and represented her sense of independence as follows:

*“And on my own I bought the little house. I made a loan and ... I am now busy to extend. It is quite difficult but I will persevere. That is just who I am”.*⁵⁵

Later in the interview, she also mentions *“... last year I also got myself a little car that I pay off every month ... so if I get the chance to go to my family or somewhere else, then I have a car”.*⁵⁶ She does not intend to drive the car herself, however, instead preferring that her son, who lives and works in Stellenbosch, now comes to live with her so that he can drive to work and drive her around when needed. It is apparent from what she mentions that her focus is on making her life as comfortable as possible in order to fit in with her various activities. The most useful appraisal term I can use to describe the above utterances is *engagement* as the participant asserts herself clearly as agentive and empowered to effect positive change in her own life.

This key informant was also described as a positive role model by the other participant in this interview, who said: *“...it is people like Aunt T who eventually give you as a woman the courage to go that extra mile with someone else”.*⁵⁷ In this

⁵⁵ *“En op myeie het ek die huisie gekoop. Ek het ‘n lening aangegaan en ... ek is nou op die huidige oomblik besig om aan te bou. Dit gaan maar baie moeilik maar ek gaan deurdruk. Dit is nou wie ek is”.*

⁵⁶ *“...verlede jaar het ek vir my ‘n karretjie ook elke maand afbetaal ... so as ek die kans kry om uit te gaan na my familie toe of iewers moet gaan, dan het ek ‘n kar”.*

⁵⁷ *“...dit is mense soos Aunt T wat vir jou as vrou eindelijk die courage gee om daai ekstra myl te gaan met iemand anders...”.*

example of personal *judgement*, it is clear that Aunt T is an admired person and suggests that women who are active in the community and are willing to share their literacy resources with others, act as a resource for other women's empowerment so that they, too, may become motivated to act as resources for others.

In the next extract, the other participant in this interview describes how she applies her computer literacy and financial literacy as a member of the Adult Education Centre governing body. She mentions: *"I am the treasurer at the night school. I deal with the finances. Sometimes, weekends, then I am busy on the computer ... because the financial report, every third month, it must go in"*.⁵⁸ She also evokes *appreciation* for the literacy resources that have helped to empower her when she says: *"Aunt T was always there to help us. So why can't I also do my bit in the community?"*.⁵⁹

There were different appraisals of the effectiveness of the Wesbank Community Forum expressed in the interviews. In the following extract, a participant expresses *judgement* when she describes the lack of support the Forum provides to one of the other organizations working in the area: *"There used to be a young lady from Love Life, but ... she does not get good support from the committee in Wesbank, because actually they should support all of our organizations ... but their contributions are very poor"*.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *"Ek is die treasurer by die aandskool. Ek deal met die finansies. Soms, naweke, dan is ek besig op die computer ... omdat die finansiële verslag, elke derde maand moet dit in"*.

⁵⁹ *"Aunt T was altyd daar om vir ons te help. So hoekom kan ek ook nie my deel in die gemeenskap doen nie?"*

⁶⁰ *"Hier was 'n dametjie van Love Life, maar ... sy kry nie baie goeie ondersteuning van die committee binne -in Wesbank nie, want eintlik moet hulle vir ons almal wat organisasies is, ondersteun ... maar hulle bydrae is baie swak"*.

The key informant at the high school in Wesbank mentions that the learners at school have a prayer group that meets every day. In this example of *judgement*, she says: “*I admire them a lot*”.⁶¹ The group is steadily growing in number and is very active in raising funds to go on excursions to represent the school.

During the interview with the Senior Citizens’ Organization, I observed collaborative, role-demarcated team work between the members serving on the committee. In the following excerpt, a member of the Senior Citizens’ group provides further evidence of the team work and pro-active approach that exists in this organisation. This is a good example of *active engagement*.

*We intend to have a stall where we will display it ... all the creative work of the elderly and ... then we really hope that the community will support us as senior citizens with that ... by buying the stuff.*⁶²

5.6.2 Alternative modeling framework/s

Here, I tried to identify suggestions that could assist with the further development of Wesbank as a community. Some suggestions about techniques to improve interpersonal relationships were identified. This includes a willingness to actively engage in, or apply, alternative ways of communication to improve intergenerational relationships such as those between parents and their children, between the youth and older people or between adults of different age groups. It was also suggested that a more inclusive network of organizations is needed.

⁶¹ “*Ek admire vir hulle baie*”.

⁶² “*Ons beoog om ‘n stalletjie te hou waar ons dit gaan uitstal ... al die handewerke van die bejaardes en ... dan beoog ons regtig dat die gemeenskap vir ons as bejaardes daarin moet ondersteun ... deur die goeters te koop*”.

The following examples attempt to highlight appraisals with regard to interpersonal relationships as they are suggestive of a potential to effect mutual empowerment through *active engagement*.

One of the participants, who serves on the Adult Education governing body, mentioned her involvement with a project that assists parents and children to work together to find solutions. She mentions the involvement of project members as literacy mediators or what I refer to as literacy resources:

*The children perhaps say what the problem is and why they are the way they are, not attending school or they smoke and drink. Then we go to the parents and then we listen to their side of the story as well.*⁶³

The Chairperson of the Senior Citizens' Organisation expresses *appreciation* for working with the aged and says: *"They teach me and I teach them and that is why we are not too small not to learn and they are not too big also to learn from the younger person"*.⁶⁴

In the following example, one of the interviewees suggests a way in which organizations in Wesbank can work together more effectively. She expresses a *judgement* about Wesbank Community Forum, in particular, and describes how, if one organization finds out that an event is being organized, other organizations are not necessarily informed likewise, with the result that full participation and support for

⁶³ *"Die kinders sê miskien wat die probleem is, en hoekom hulle is soos wat hulle is, nie skoolgaan nie of hulle rook en drink. Dan gaan ons na die ouers toe en dan gaan luister ons hulle kant van die storie ook"*.

⁶⁴ *"Hulle leervir my en ek leervir hulle en dit is hoekom ons is nie te klein om nie te leer nie en hulle is nie te groot om ook te leervan die jonger persoon nie"*.

what the Forum intends to do is lacking. Her suggestion of how to improve networking in the community, is: *“For the organizations to tackle a problem together, see. We are now fighting against the shebeens, see, then it will be much better. But now we work against each other”*.⁶⁵

5.6.3 Wishful thinking

In the following examples, I present a few participants' ideas that were expressed in the form of wishes or hopes and that do not provide sufficient evidence of *active engagement* with possible suggestions of how to effect change or whom they consider to be responsible for ensuring that their hopes are realized.

“We want a happy life for ourselves”.⁶⁶

“I want to see that there is more job creation for the woman”.⁶⁷

“I would like it if the young children could get something with which to keep themselves busy”.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *“Vir die organisasies saam om 'n ding aan te pak, sien. Ons baklei nou tien die smokkelhuise, sien, dan sal dit baie bieter wies. Maar nou werk ons teen mekaar”*.

⁶⁶ *“Ons wil 'n gelukkige lewe hê vir onself”*.

⁶⁷ *“Ek sal wil sien dat daar meer werkskepping vir die vrou is”*.

⁶⁸ *“Ek sal graag hê hulle moet iets kry wat die jong kinders vir hulle miskien kan besig hou”*.

5.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I presented data extracted from the three interviews I conducted with women in the working class township of Wesbank. I identified four different, but related, discourse categories. These include evangelical / worshipping discourses, silencing discourses, relationship discourses and discourses of hope. Each discourse category has been divided into sub-discourses, which I have discussed briefly before presenting a few examples taken from the data to illustrate the various opinions expressed about the relevant sub-discourse.

It was apparent from a consideration of all the interviews taken together that opinions about a particular theme varied along a continuum of more negative, despondency-type statements to more positive, hopeful statements by the interviews. Excerpts from the interviews were thus provided to represent four different types of expression which are present in text and narrative that illustrate aspects of Appraisal Theory, as identified by Martin and Rose (2007). These are Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Engagement. Amplification of these expression types were also highlighted by means of Graduation devices to show Force and Focus in participants' statements. The techniques for identifying emotion words that Altarriba (2006) provides also assisted me in labeling the discourses and identifying the various types of expression prevalent in the interview data. In the various excerpts from the data, I identified emotion words, both direct and implicit, to aid in analysis of the data according to the selected theoretical application. After discussion of each discourse, I attempted to synthesise the information related to the particular discourse to reflect my understanding of the broader socio-linguistic context in which I consider it to fit.

In Chapter Six, I proceed to link the selected discourses and literacy resources identified in this chapter to specific forms of literacy that may be described as transportable literacies which the women in this study use to empower other women and help develop the space known as Wesbank, a community in transition.

CHAPTER SIX

TRANSPORTABLE LITERACIES

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Four, Appraisal is concerned with the expression and representation of emotion and attitude in “a system of interpersonal meanings” and through the use of resources that assist in “negotiating our social relationships” (Martin and Rose 2007: 26). In Chapter Five, I presented findings that have been categorised according to the variety of discourses and related sub-discourses prevalent in the interview data. In the presentation of research data in Chapter Five, I have also attempted to draw attention to specific words, phrases or expressions of ideas that suggest appraisal through indications of emotion or attitude by the research participants.

In this chapter, I provide summative comments about what the occurrence of each of these appraisal types in the data analysis mean. In doing so, I also attempt to identify the links between the various discourses and literacy resources that the women interviewees alluded to in the interviews. These I proceed to label as particular literacies based on the conceptual framework provided in Chapter Two. The chapter is intended to present an argument that the identified literacies may be termed “transportable literacies” that have the potential to empower and that are able to be transferred from one geographical space to another, either from the women’s previous living spaces to their current living space in Wesbank or between spaces within the area of Wesbank.

6.2 Summary of appraisal types in the data

6.2.1 Affect

There are only a few examples in the data where emotions are expressed directly. It was apparent that the expression of *affect* appraisals came from women who have demonstrated a strong sense of agency and active engagement with challenges in the community and who can be characterized as (more) empowered women working to empower others in the community.

The following statement came from the Chairperson of the Senior Citizens' Organisation, who expressed her unhappiness with the treatment some elderly people receive from their children in this way: *"It disappointed me really deeply"*. One of the key informants in this study, who works at the Adult Education Centre and serves on the governing body of Wesbank High School, expressed her feelings about the Community Watch group and high school youth prayer group as follow: *"I love the community watch very much"* and *"I admire them a lot"*. Another interviewee, who indicated in one of the interviews that she does organisational work that supports families in the community, indicated that she is motivated to work in the community because *"[i]t's terrible out there..."*, especially in relation to violence in Wesbank.

Implicit indications of affect appraisals had to be inferred by means of an analysis of the rhetorical techniques and the use of emotion-laden words (Altarriba 2006) employed by participants, which seek to align interviewer and participant. Here I

looked at whether the interviewee spoke in a manner that attempts to establish a feeling of empathy and how personal judgement statements, in particular, suggest a range of emotions such as admiration, dislike, disappointment, etcetera (Altarriba, 2006; Rossouw, 2003). The following are examples of statements which indicate implied affect appraisals:

- personal happiness : *"I found a better life for myself with God..."*
- disappointment : *"I see like today the money is not like it was in those years..."*
- unhappiness / disillusionment: *"Nowadays only black people get work."*
- exaggerated disapproval / despondency: *"Shebeens are ... the cause of ... all abuse."*
- empathy / sympathy: *"There are no playgrounds for our children..."*
- gratitude / admiration: *"Aunt T was always there to help us."*

6.2.2 Judgement

Most of the data extracts presented for discussion and analysis in this Chapter exemplify various types of personal and moral *judgements* made by the participants in response to the interview questions. A variety of examples have been included of *personal judgements*, which criticize or admire behaviour, as well as *moral judgements*, which praise or condemn actions (Martin and Rose, 2007: 32).

Behavioural practices enacted through interpersonal relationships in the home, between community-based organizations and in relation to service personnel provided at local government level were mostly sharply criticized and negatively

evaluated in the research interviews. However, it was apparent that the women represented the organizations in which they were themselves actively involved in a positive light, and mostly spoke about the work they were doing in these organizations in ways that evoke appreciation rather than negative opinion.

Relationships between community members were mostly positively represented, as can be seen from the almost neutral stance taken about ways in which community members communicate in the multilingual, multicultural community that is Wesbank. This neither suggests acceptance of, nor resistance to, the emerging demands of what it means to live in a developing multilingual, multicultural community. However, it can be inferred that there is awareness by those whom I interviewed that they share the community space and that one way of helping to effect development of the community is to find a shared language of communication through which community members can talk to one another when necessary. This suggests recognition that the silencing discourses discussed in 5.4 are being countered in subtle ways by the women interviewees.

Relationships with individuals or groups, e.g. drug lords and shebeen owners, who are perceived to act in opposition or in ways that can harm further development of Wesbank were, in turn, harshly criticized.

Main conclusions that can be drawn from this is that, when the women represent themselves as active participants working to effect positive transformation within a

particular context, for example, the home, community or within an organisation, they employ certain rhetorical strategies such as elaborated description, or exposition of activities and practices in which they engage, to evoke appreciation for the transformational and empowering work they are doing. The behaviours of those persons or institutions who are perceived to provide harmful or less-than-satisfactory levels of service that affect the quality of life of the people in Wesbank are at the receiving end of judgement statements that criticize and/or condemn.

6.2.3 Appreciation

Appreciation is expressed as a valuation of natural phenomena, processes and things (Martin and Rose 2007: 27-28). In the discussion on idealized history discourse, I attempted to show how participants spoke in appreciative ways about their past, particularly in relation to comments about better community cohesion, values and norms that existed in previous years and in the other areas where they used to live. Appreciation for potential strengths that lie in empowerment through engagement in positive or affirming intergenerational communication and team work also emerged from the data.

Several examples of appreciation are present in the data. Statements representing women's willingness to help and support those who are considered less fortunate or in need of development appear frequently in this Chapter. These include get-togethers to relax, working together to mutually empower one another and help the broader community to benefit as well as being positive role models for each other by

sharing their literacy resources, particularly in an intergenerational way. These often occur as examples of evoked appreciation, through comments made by other women of how a certain individual or group is admired as a positive role model rather than by the women themselves. See, for example, the comments about what it is like to work with the senior citizens and the kind of role model Aunt T, one of the key informants in this study, is to a younger woman.

Examples of negative appreciation, however, more often occurred as inscribed attitude statements. These were frequently presented as amplified statements, i.e. forcefully worded statements, about the violence, high crime levels and the roles that drug lords and shebeen owners play in the community.

6.2.4 Engagement

There are various examples that illustrate levels of engagement with the challenges faced by Wesbank residents.

Key informants in this study and one particular group whom I had interviewed exemplified high levels of active engagement to effect positive transformation in the lives of others, particularly other women. What they are doing could be considered a role modeling practice that could be beneficial to more women if emulated. The other women participants in this study, by virtue of their involvement in a prayer group or in organizational work, are empowering themselves, with some evidence that they are also trying to engage in empowering others.

There is evidence that, on a person-to-person basis or by establishing an organisation that specializes in certain literacy practices, engagement with the notion of positive transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa is taking place in concrete ways. While the perception that nothing has changed has been expressed, there is also evidence that individuals and small groups are establishing ways of working together and supporting one another.

There are also examples that indicate that shifts in attitude could assist in changing the way life in Wesbank is experienced such as the comment that the residents of Wesbank do not know one another very well and the suggestion that the community will benefit if people take a more caring approach towards children in the community.

Causal factors giving rise to difficulties with crime in the area, due to unemployment, the existence of a high number of shebeens and powerful drug lords are judged in critical ways. Local government service provision has also been criticized negatively. However, these statements are mostly phrased in relation to an externalized “other” that is perceived as more powerful and/or not interested and these challenges are not engaged in a manner that indicates the participants feel empowered to deal with these challenges as a community.

6.2.5 Amplification

The main examples of amplification relate to those considered responsible for the high levels of crime and abuse in the community of Wesbank. Here, the use of

sweeping statements or generalizations was of particular interest. These include shebeens that are referred to as the cause of all crime and abuse. Drug lords, who are accused of luring young children into lives of crime, are also talked about in forceful terms. Simple statements indicating men's inability to provide for their families due to unemployment and substance abuse also serve to draw attention to the pressures of home life in the community of Wesbank. The continuation of hardships since the end of Apartheid due to perceived empty promises about work opportunities, management of crime and violence are also judged in critical terms.

There is, however, evidence of lacking engagement with the political history which has, to a large extent, determined the context within which Wesbank was established. See, for example, how an idealized past is represented in some of the women's comments under 5.4.

In the next section, I attempt to link what I have learned from an appraisal of the data on selected women's discourses in this study to an identification of transportable literacies, which I have summarised above.

6.3 Transportable literacies

According to the works of Kenner (2004) and Gregory *et al* (2004), it is important to identify multilingual literacy practices in homes and communities. They argue that a better understanding of how levels of education, methods for acquiring literacies and passing on or sharing of literacies (by the able to the less able) can assist in the

identification of intercultural communication challenges and blocks to particular literacy sources. These studies, as well as the present study, are explorations of a sociolinguistics of mobility, not distribution, to use Blommaert's terminology (2010).

Blommaert (2010: 13-14) also argues that there is a need for a reconceptualization of space as space:

...is metaphorically seen as vertical space, as layered and stratified space. Every horizontal space (e.g. a neighbourhood, a region, or a country) is also a vertical space, in which all sorts of socially, culturally and politically salient distinctions occurs... Movement of people across space is therefore never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone's space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not count as such. Mobility, sociolinguistically speaking, is therefore a trajectory through different, stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language 'gives you away'.

Naidu (2008:25) also asserts that there is an intricate link between literacy to social class and mobility. The identification of literacies from the interviews with the women groups in Wesbank has thus been informed by the need to reconceptualise my understanding of space to include the notion of non-neutral spaces in which literacies are being used in a transportable manner. The literacies, which I have listed below, are thus literacies that I consider able to be moved through already occupied spaces to be applied in the new shared space of Wesbank as a means to build the community and empower the women who share these literacies with one another.

The following transportable literacies have been identified from the data on discourses and literacy resources. For each type of literacy, I provide an example of how the literacy resources are being applied in the functions performed by the women participants to demonstrate the literacy:

6.3.1 Multimodal literacies

These literacies exist in combination. They refer to the simultaneous use of a combination of two or more literacy modes, e.g. visual literacy, oral performance literacy, computer literacy, schooled literacy or one of the other literacy types mentioned below to indicate an applied level of functional literacy. For example, in the Senior Citizens' Organisation, I observed the combined application of organisational management literacy, religious / pastoral literacy, community navigational literacy and literacies of the self in the context of a needlework event being performed by different members of the group.

6.3.2 Financial literacies

One of the women interviewees serves as Treasurer on the Adult Education Centre governing body based at Wesbank High School. She has a Senior Certificate, i.e. a schooled level of literacy, which includes competence in computer literacy. These literacies, combined with her budgeting and finance management skills in the home sphere are applied in her role as Treasurer on the governing body. She stated that *"I am the treasurer at the night school. I deal with the finances. Sometimes, weekends, then I am busy on the computer ... because the financial report, every third month, it must go in"*.

One of the key informants in the study, a successful businesswoman who is not able to read independently, complained that people cannot get work if they are not literate. What was interesting in her comment was that she did not recognize her own level of financial literacy or the fact that she possibly has to rely on a more than functional level of visual literacy or self-literacy in order to function in her capacity as a businesswoman.

6.3.3 *Community navigational literacies*

There are indications that some of the women participants, especially the older women and those who were my key informants in the study, were particularly confident of how the community could work together more effectively. They suggested that there should be greater appreciation of how they could benefit by learning from one another in an *intergenerational* way. The Chairperson of the Senior Citizens' Organisation expressed appreciation for working with the aged and said: *"They teach me and I teach them and that is why we are not too small not to learn and they are not too big also to learn from the younger person"*.

Another participant suggested that the Wesbank Community Forum should be encouraged to work in a more *inclusive* manner with the various organizations in Wesbank. She mentioned that *"[t]here used to be a young lady from Love Life, but ... she does not get good support from the committee in Wesbank, because actually they should support all of our organizations ... but their contributions are very poor"*. One of the main complaints in this regard was the *lack of communication* between the Forum and the organisations to keep one another informed and to work together

more closely. Some of the key suggestions here was that the Forum should find out which organisations exist in Wesbank and that the inclusion and active participation of organisations should be less dependent on whether an organisation has a link with specific individuals serving on the Forum.

Another participant mentioned that, when there are community meetings and gatherings, “... *like we have to speak English with the Xhosa people. And then they speak Xhosa with one another*”. The participants took a fairly neutral stance about the issue of using a *common language* and *literacy mediators* at community gatherings in the shared space of Wesbank, mentioning this as a logical necessity given the multilingual, multicultural make-up of the community.

6.3.4 *Literacies of the self*

One of the key informants, Aunt T, demonstrated a high level of self-literacy. She says: “*And on my own I bought the little house. I made a loan and ... I am now busy to extend. It is quite difficult but I will persevere. That is just who I am*”. She also describes how “... *last year I also got myself a little car that I pay off every month ... so if I get the chance to go to my family or somewhere else, then I have a car*”. These are indications of agency and her ability to create conditions that suit the kind of lifestyle and comforts she wants. This sense of independence is also encouraging a developing literacy of the self in a younger woman, who says “...*it is people like Aunt T who eventually give you as a woman the courage to go that extra mile with someone else*”.

6.3.5 *Religious literacies*

This form of literacy was prominently applied in two of the contexts in which I interviewed women, namely, the Senior Citizens' Organisation and the prayer group. The related discourses about extending a helping or supportive ethos and pastoral care to the broader community through committed application of this form of literacy have been described in detail under the label of evangelical / worshipping discourses (section 5.3) as many of the participants indicated how it has had an empowering effect on their lives and is assisting them to develop and empower themselves and others.

6.3.6 *Organisational management literacies*

One of the participants described her role as a literacy mediator in organizational work in "*a... Project that we have been busy with ... some of us worked at the schools, some of us went around to the homes*", where they worked with families to help them deal with domestic and substance abuse. She also applied this literacy in her role as a member of the Adult Education Centre governing body, another organisation in which she serves. This is a clear example of how this participant is transferring or transporting literacy between contexts to empower herself and the organizations which she represents.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided a summary of the different appraisal types prevalent in the research data and their semiotic value. I have also described the links between the discourses identified from the data and the literacy resources the women participants

use in the application of particular types of literacies that can be termed transportable literacies. Transportable literacies, namely, literacies that have the potential to empower and are able to be transported between geographical locations have also been identified and discussed. From the discussion in this chapter, there is evidence from an analysis of the discourses and literacy resources alluded to in the research interviews that multimodal literacies, financial literacies, community navigational literacies, literacies of the self, organisational management literacies and religious literacies do exist in Wesbank in forms that are transportable.

In Chapter Seven, I present the conclusion to this thesis and suggest recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the main findings of this exploratory study into the link between selected women's discourses and literacy resources in the township of Wesbank in the Western Cape. As mentioned in Chapter One, South Africa's status as a society in transition has led to various attempts to encourage the formerly silenced and marginalised segments of society to become active and participatory citizens. This study also attempts to contribute to research about who we are, as well as our potential as citizens of a democratic South Africa.

As mentioned at the start of the thesis, this research study forms part of an NRF-funded research project, entitled *Township women's discourses and literacy resources*, which is situated within the paradigm that Blommaert (2010) refers to as a sociolinguistics of mobility (and not distribution), because it is concerned with the transportability of linguistic and literacy resources in a township of migrants such as Wesbank. The Wesbank township was established in the first few years of South Africa's democracy and, while it was initially inhabited by people who had moved from other parts of (mainly rural) South Africa, in recent years, individuals from other countries in Africa have also come to live in the area. Most of the Wesbank inhabitants indicated that they have moved to the area in order to be closer to family or to make a better living financially.

In this chapter, I present a summary of the key terms which the thesis has attempted to engage against the background that the study is being conducted in a post-Apartheid South African society. Then, I present the main findings in relation to an application of Appraisal Theory, using the main constructs discussed by Martin and Rose (2007) and Altarriba's (2006) suggestions about identifying emotion and emotion-laden words in discourse. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for further studies that may contribute to what Blommaert (2010) refers to as "a sociolinguistics of mobility".

7.2 Reflection on research aims

The aims of this study were modest and sought merely to identify what it could about how the discourses and literacies of a specific social grouping can be better understood, given the lack of general knowledge about self- and community-identities in post-*apartheid* South Africa that I have referred to at the outset. It has been mentioned throughout this thesis that Wesbank is a multilingual, multicultural community. The voices represented through the interview excerpts, however, are only those of "Coloured" women who live in this working class township. It should not be assumed or inferred that the discourses of other racial, religious or gender groupings in this community are invisible, only that they have not been included in this study as the focus was to provide a platform through which the voices of a particular group of women could be inscribed. It should also be mentioned that the worship discourses referred to in this thesis were provided by women of the Christian faith. Views based on other religious beliefs are thus not included either. Justification for the invisible discourses in this thesis can be obtained from the research

framework outlined in Chapter One and Chapter Three, where I briefly discussed that the study was intended to provide a space for the voices of a small group of previously marginalized individuals to emerge. In this study, the women I interviewed were those I managed to make contact with by using a purposive sampling method. The only criteria of this method were that the women should be members of the Wesbank community and that I would be able to conduct the fieldwork within the planned timeframe of the study. This could be regarded as a limitation of the study, although the findings of this study suggest that the data collected has been useful for the purposes of reflecting on the research questions. The assistance received from key informants who were able to facilitate contact with the research participants was also invaluable.

7.3 Summary of research questions

In this study, I attempted to explore some of the discourses and literacy resources which women in Wesbank have brought to the community from the previous areas in which they lived before moving to Wesbank. I also tried to identify which of these they shared with other women and whether there was evidence that the shared discourses and literacy resources were assisting in the empowerment of other women in the community. The last research question reflected on how the space of Wesbank was being created by the literacy resources that the women had brought with them and were sharing with others in the community. In the next section, I present a summary of the key concepts explored in this thesis and the main findings in the data which provide some answers to the research questions.

7.4 Summary of the main findings in the data

In Chapter Five, I identified four different, but related, discourse categories. These include religious/worshipping discourses, silencing discourses, relationship discourses and discourses of hope. It was apparent from a consideration of all the interviews taken together that opinions expressed about a particular theme or discourse type varied along a continuum of more negative, despondency-type statements to more positive, hopeful statements by the interviewees. Excerpts from the interviews were thus provided to represent four different types of expression which are present in text and narrative that illustrate aspects of Appraisal Theory, as identified by Martin and Rose (2007). These are Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Engagement. Amplification of these expression types were also highlighted by means of graduation devices to show Force and Focus in participants' statements.

It was apparent that the expression of *affect* appraisals came from women who demonstrated a strong sense of agency and active engagement with challenges in the community and who could be characterized as (more) empowered women working to empower others in the community. Expressions of *judgement* included mainly negative criticisms of individuals or groups, such as shebeen owners and drug lords, who are perceived by the research participants to present a threat to the future progress of Wesbank.

Behavioural practices enacted through interpersonal relationships in the home, between community-based organizations and in relation to service personnel provided at local government level were mostly sharply criticized and negatively evaluated in the research interviews. However, it was apparent that the women

represented the organizations in which they were themselves actively involved in a positive light, and mostly spoke about the work they were doing in these organizations in ways that evoke appreciation rather than negative opinion. Relationships between community members were mostly positively represented as can be inferred from the almost neutral stance taken about finding a shared language to facilitate communication between community members at meetings or community gatherings while not excluding the need to have literacy mediators to translate into different languages when needed.

I attempted to show how participants spoke in appreciative ways about their past, particularly in relation to comments about better community cohesion, values and norms that existed in previous years and in the other areas where they used to live. While negative appreciation was expressed about violence and high crime levels, *appreciation* for potential strengths that lie in empowerment through engagement in positive or affirming intergenerational communication and team work also emerged from the data. These include social get-togethers, working together to mutually empower one another and helping the broader community to benefit as well as being positive role models for each other by sharing their literacy resources, particularly in an intergenerational way. However, these often occurred as examples of evoked appreciation, through comments made by other women of how a certain individual or group is admired as a positive role model rather than by the women themselves.

Key informants in this study and one particular group I interviewed exemplified high levels of active *engagement* to effect positive transformation in the lives of others, particularly other women. What they were doing could be considered a role

modelling practice that could be beneficial to more women if emulated. The other women participants in this study, by virtue of their involvement in a prayer group or in organizational work, were empowering themselves, with some evidence that they were also trying to engage in empowering others. This suggests that engagement with the notion of positive transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa is taking place in small but concrete ways.

In Chapter Six, I concluded that the women participants' use of literacy resources to empower and assist in creating the space of Wesbank is occurring in specific contexts. Particular literacies were identified as "transportable" because they have the potential to empower if shared and are able to be transferred from one geographical space to another, either from the women's previous living spaces to their current living space in Wesbank or between spaces within the area of Wesbank. These transportable literacies include multimodal literacies, financial literacy, community navigational literacies, literacies of the self, religious literacies and organisational management literacies.

7.5 Recommendations for further studies

The research data suggests that it is useful to create opportunities for previously marginalised people to try to make themselves heard as the people of South Africa do not really know one another well enough to, perhaps, be able to transform themselves into full participatory citizens (Stroud 2009). It was apparent from the data presented in this thesis that the small sample of women with whom interviews

were conducted was all involved in some form of empowerment process, some as role models who represented themselves as more independent and agentic by sharing their literacy resources with others in order to learn in an intergenerational way.

As Blommaert *et al.* (2005:198, in Dyers and Wankah 2010) argue, space can incapacitate people when they move into new environments where their normal linguistic communicative processes and resources may no longer meet their needs. Connecting with others who share cultures and languages provide a safe space for people in a new environment, which can explain why people in Wesbank who belong to the same language or cultural group tend to stick together. It is recommended that further studies within a paradigm of a sociolinguistics of mobility (Blommaert 2010) should be conducted with other groups of previously marginalised individuals and groups in South Africa to explore this tentative explanation further. Research participants could include individuals living in other communities in the Western Cape or elsewhere in the country. Because this study only focused on the opinions of “Coloured” women in a particular working class township, it may be useful for future studies to extend to people in other working class townships, or people who live in higher income communities or others whose discourses were silent in this thesis, and who form part of other racial, religious or gender groupings. Dyers and Wankah (2010 and forthcoming) have already started research into the experiences and attitudinal positioning between South African and foreign nationals in the informal trading sector.

By doing further studies such as those recommended above, the notions of participatory citizenship, voice, identity and space can be more fully engaged in order to contribute to the emerging discourses about what it means to live in a democratic South Africa. This, in turn, could be beneficial to the understandings and experiences of democracy for South Africa and its citizens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achmat, F. and Losch, A. (2002). Wesbank: Power is the name of the game...Power is the name of the problem. In Ismail Davids (ed.) *Good Governance and Community Participation: Case Studies from the Western Cape*. Cape Town: Foundation for Contemporary Research.

Al  x, L. and Hammarstr  m, A. (2008). Shift in power during an interview situation: methodological reflections inspired by Foucault and Bourdieu. *Nursing Inquiry*. 15.2: 169-176.

Altarriba, J. (2006). Cognitive Approaches to the Study of Emotion-Laden and Emotion Words in Monolingual and Bilingual Memory. In Pavlenko, A. (ed.) *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Ballard, B. and Clanchy, J. (1988). Literacy in the University: an anthropological approach. In Taylor, G., Ballard, B., Beasley, V., Bock, H.K., Clanchy, J. and Nightingale, P. *Literacy by degrees*. Milton Keynes: SRHE and the Open University Press.

Barton, D. (1994). *Literacy: an introduction to the ecology of written language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barton, D. and Hamilton, M. (2005). Literacy, reification and the dynamics of social interaction. In Barton, D. and Trusting, K. (eds). *Beyond Communities of Practice: Language, Power and Social Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baynham, M. (1995). *Literacy practices: investigating literacy in social context*. London: Longman.

Baynham, M. and De Fina, A. (eds) (2005). *Dislocations / Relocations. Narratives of Displacement*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Blommaert, J., Muyliaert, N., Huysmans, M. and Dyers, C. (2006). Peripheral Normativity: Literacy and the production of locality in a South African township school. *Linguistics and Education*. 16.4, 378-403.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *A Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. and Jie, D. (2010). *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*. Multilingual Matters: Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto.
- Boles, L. & Bombard, T. (1998). Conversational discourse analysis: appropriate and useful sample sizes. *Aphasiology*. 12: 7-8.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. (First published 1982 with an introduction and edited by J.B. Thompson). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
- Brandt, D. and Clinton, K. (2002). Limits of the Local: Expanding Perspectives on Literacy as a Social Practice. *Journal of Literacy Research*. 34.3: 337-356.
- Cameron-Smith, C. (2004). *The Story of the Self: A Grounded Theory Perspective*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. Dissertation. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.
- Clarke, A. (2003). On being an object of research: reflections from a professional perspective. *Applied Linguistics*. 24.3: 374-385.
- Clarke, A. (2005). Commentary 1: Professional theories and institutional interaction. *Communication & Medicine*. 2.2: 189-191.
- Clark, R. and Ivaņić, R. (1997). *The Politics of Writing*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Conole, H. (1998). *Research methodologies in education study guide*. Melbourne: Deakin University Press.
- Cope, B. and Kalantzis, M. (eds). (2000). *Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures*. London: Routledge.

- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1998). Introduction: entering the field of qualitative research. In Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds). *The landscape of qualitative research: theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp. 1-34.
- DeVault, M.L. and McCoy, L. (2002). Institutional ethnography: using interviews to investigate ruling relations. In Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (eds). *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp 751-776.
- Dyers, C. (2004). Ten Years of Democracy: Attitudes and Identity among some South African school children. *Per Linguam*, 20.1:22-35.
- Dyers, C. (2008). Truncated Multilingualism or Language Shift? An Examination of Language Use in Intimate Domains in a New Non-racial Working Class Township in South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 29.2: 110-126.
- Dyers, C., Williams, M. and Barthus, T. (2009). Voices from the periphery: recurrent discourses among township women. Discussion document. Department of Linguistics. University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa.
- Dyers, C. (2009). From ibharu to amajoin: translocation and language in a new South African township. *Language and Intercultural Communication*. 1-15.
- Dyers, C and Wankah, F.J. (2010). 'Us' and 'Them': the social construction of the 'other' in Greenmarket Square, Cape Town. Discussion document. Department of Linguistics. University of the Western Cape. Bellville, South Africa.
- Edwards, D.J.A. (1998). Types of case study work: A conceptual framework for case-based research. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. 38: 36-70.
- Egins, S. and Martin, J. R. (1997). Genres and Registers of Discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse as Structure and Process* (pp. 230-256). London: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (ed.). (1992). *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical study of language*. New York: Longman.

- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.
- Fielding, M. (2007). Beyond "Voice": New roles, relations, and contexts in researching with young people. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*. 28.3: 301-310.
- Fine, G.A. (1993). Ten lies of ethnography: Moral dilemmas of field research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 22: 267-294.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. Edited and translated by C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1993). *Order of discourse*. Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium.
- Grabe, W. and Kaplan, R.B. (1996). *Theory and Practice of Writing*. London: Longman.
- Gee, J. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideologies in discourse*. London: Falmer Press.
- Gee, J. (2005). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge.
- Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giroux, H. (1988). *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gregory, E., Long, S. and Volk, D. (eds).(2004). *Many Pathways to Literacy: Young Children Learning with Siblings, Grandparents, Peers, Communities*. London: Routledge.
- Gumperz, J. (1997). A discussion with John J. Gumperz (C. Prevignano and A. Di Luzio). In Gumperz, J.J., S. Eerdmans, C. Prevignano and P. Thibault (eds). *Discussing Communication Analysis 1*. Lausanne: Beta Press, pp 6-23.

- Habermas, J. (1972). *Knowledge and human interests*. Translated by J. Shapiro. Boston: Beacon.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1989). *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hasan, R. and Williams, G (eds). (1996). *Literacy in Society*. Longman: London & New York.
- Havenga, W. (2006). *Metropole east education provision plan*. Cape Town: Provincial Government of the Western Cape.
- Heath, S.B. (1983). *Ways with words: language life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. Polity Press & Basil Blackwell: Cambridge and Oxford.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1993). *Language as Ideology* (second edition). London: Routledge.
- Hutchings, C.M. (2002). *An analysis of students' experiences during their acquisition of academic literacy, based on their consultations with the UCT Writing Centre: Looking towards improving the feasibility of academic mentorship within Higher Education*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Iedema, R. (1999). The Formalisation of Meaning. *Discourse & Society*. 10.1: 49-65.
- Iedema, R. (2003). Multimodality, resemiotisation: Extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice. *Visual Communication*. 2.1: 29-57.
- Janks, H. and Ivanič, R. (1992). Critical language awareness and emancipatory discourse. In Fairclough, N. (ed.). *Critical Language Awareness*. London: Longman.
- Johnstone, B. (2008). *Discourse Analysis* (2nd edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Jonckers, G. and Newton, C. (2004). *The Cape Flats: An Urban Strategy for Poverty Alleviation*. Unpublished MA thesis. St Lucas Institute: Ghent.

- Kell, C. (2006). Crossing the Margins: Literacy, Semiotics and the Recontextualisation of Meanings. In Pahl, K. And Rowsell, J. (eds). *Travel Notes from the New Literacy Studies: Instances of Practice*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingualism Matters Ltd, 147-169.
- Kenner, C. (2004). *Becoming Biliterate: Young Children learning Different Writing Systems*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Kerfoot, C. (2009). *Changing conceptions of literacies, language and development: Implications for the provision of adult basic education in South Africa*. Published Doctoral Dissertation. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.
- Kleinman, A. (1988). *The Illness Narratives: Suffering, Healing and the Human Condition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kress, G. (1989). *Linguistic processes in sociocultural practice* (second edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kress, G. (2000). *Early Spelling: Between Convention and Creativity*: London & Routledge.
- Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Kozol, J. 2005. *The Shame of the Nation: the restoration of apartheid schooling in America*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Kvale, S. 1996. *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Lather, P. 1991. *Feminist research in education: within/against*. Wavun Ponds, Victoria: Deakin University.
- Lea, M. 1998. Academic literacies and learning in higher education: Constructing knowledge through texts and experience. *Studies in the Education of Adults*. 30.2: 156-171.
- Leedy, P.D. (1997). *Practical Research: Planning and Design* (6th edition). New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

- Leiblich, Amia, Rivka Tuval-Mashiach, Tamar Zilber. (1998). *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and Interpretation*. Applied Social Research Methods Series. Volume 47. London: SAGE Publications.
- Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. 2007. *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the clause*. Continuum: London & New York.
- McCloskey, R. 2008. A guide to discourse analysis. *NurseResearcher*. 16.1: 24-44.
- M^oKenna, S. 2004. *A Critical Investigation into Discourses that Construct Academic Literacy at the Durban Institute of Technology*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.
- Moola, Z. (2002). *Poverty Alleviation Strategies: A Critical Overview of the City of Cape Town's Socio-economic Policies with Specific Reference to the Wesbank Area*. Cape Town: Foundation for Contemporary Research.
- Naidoo, K. (2009). Participatory Citizenship, Identity and Inclusion. *Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa*. 2.2: 31-37.
- Neuman W. L. (1997). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Ntete, S. (2008). *Transcending Disadvantage: Life-Histories of learners at a Township School in South Africa*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Cape Town: University of the Western Cape.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Peterson, E.R. and Barron, K.A. (2007). How to get focus groups talking: New ideas that will stick. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 6.3: 140-144.
- Pienaar, K. and Bekker, I. (2007). The body as a site of struggle: oppositional discourses of the disciplined female body. *South African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. 25.4: 539-555.
- Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behavior*. London: Sage.

Prinsloo, M. and Stein, P. (2004). 'What's inside the box'? Children's early encounters with literacy in South African classrooms. *Perspectives in Education*. 22.2: 67-84.

Quinn, L. (1999). *An Examination of the drafting-responding process used to develop students' writing in an English Language for Academic Purposes Course*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Reder, S. and Davila, E. (2005) Context and Literacy Practices. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*. 25. 170-187.

Rockhill, K. (1993). Gender, language and the politics of literacy. In Street, B.V. (ed.). *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sarangi, S. (2002). Discourse practitioners as a community of interprofessional practice: some insights from health communication research. In C.N. Candlin (ed.), *Research and Practice in Professional Discourse*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, pp 95-135.

Sarangi, S. (2007). The anatomy of interpretation: Coming to terms with the analyst's paradox in professional discourse studies. *Text & Talk*. 27.5/6: 567-584.

Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. and Hamilton, H.E. (eds). (2003). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Shor, I. (1999). What is Critical literacy? *Journal for Pedagogy, Pluralism and Practice*. 4.1: Available at: <http://www.lesley.edu/journals/jppp/4/shor.html>.

Simon-Vandenberg, A. (2008). Appraisal Theory: A Short Introduction. Workshop document presented at the University of the Western Cape.

Spivak, G.C. (1993). Can the subaltern speak? In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (eds). *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 66-111.

Starfield, S. (2004). 'Why does this feel empowering?' Thesis writing, concordancing, and the corporatizing university. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (eds). *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning*. Cambridge: University Press Cambridge, pp. 138-157.

Street, B.V. (ed.). (1993). *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to Literacy in development, ethnography, and education*. London: Longman.

Street, B. (2003). What's "new" in New Literacy Studies? Critical approaches to literacy in theory and practice. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*. 5.2: 77-91.

Stroud, C. (2009). Response to Blommaert: Language, Asylum and the National Order. *Current Anthropology*. 50.4: 434-435.

Sullivan, P. (2008). Our emotional connection to truth: Moving beyond a functional view of language in discourse analysis. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*. 38.2: 193-207.

Sutton, M. (2008). Knowledge citizenship for active informed citizenship. *South African Journal of Information Management*. 10.4: 1-5.

Titscher, S., Meyer, M., Wodak, R. and Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.

Unsworth, L (ed.). (2008). *Multimodal Semiotics.: Functional Analysis in Contexts of Education*. Continuum: London & New York.

Widdowson, H.G. (2007). *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willig, C. (ed) (1999). *Applied Discourse Analysis: Social and Psychological Interventions*. Buckingham & Philadelphia: Open University Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

10 Februarie 2010

INLIGTING OOR TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR NAVORSINGSDEELNAME

KERNINLIGTING OMTRENT NAVORSINGSPROJEK

NAVORSER: Me. Fatima Slemming

REGISTRASIE-INLIGTING: MA (Linguistiek)

TESISTITEL: An exploration of the link between selected women's discourses and literacy resources in the working class township settlement of Wesbank, South Africa. (*'n Verkenning van die verbintenis tussen die diskoerse en geletterdheidsbronne van 'n groep vroue in die Wesbank-dorpswyk in Suid-Afrika.*)

Heil die Leser

Ek, Fatima Slemming, is 'n geregistreerde Meestersgraad-student in die Departement Linguistiek te Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland.

Ek is tans betrokke by navorsing vir 'n tesis (sien tsesistitel bo-aan). Die doel van die navorsing en my tesis is om die volgende te probeer identifiseer:

- Die verskeidenheid vorms wat gesprekke en tekste aanneem en wat gereeld voorkom in gebruik onder die vroue wat in Wesbank woon;
- Watter geletterdheidsbronne (*literacy resources*) deur die vroue in Wesbank saamgebring is vanaf die plekke en/of gemeenskappe waarin hulle hul voorheen bevind het;
- Tot watter mate die vroue van Wesbank hierdie geletterdheidsbronne met ander vroue in die gemeenskap deel en hoe;
- Op watter wyses die vroue van Wesbank 'n ruimte skep om die geïdentifiseerde geletterdheidsbronne toe te pas in die huidige gemeenskap.

Ek nooi u graag uit om 'n deelname te hê aan hierdie projek. Wees gerus dat alle versamelde inligting met die uiterste vertroulikheid behandel sal word en slegs vir navorsingsdoeleindes gebruik sal word. Vir die vraelys, sal ek van 'n kodestelsel gebruik maak om u identiteit te beskerm. Brokkies uit onderhoude mag moontlik aangehaal word en in die tesis gebruik word, maar dit sal ook op 'n naamlose basis geskied. U sal natuurlik die reg het om ter eniger tyd te onttrek as 'n deelnemer aan hierdie studie indien u so voel.

Ek beoog om u opinies in te win deur middel van 'n vraelys asook fokusgroep- en individuele onderhoude. Indien u so gaaf sal wees om deel te neem, voltooi asseblief die aangehegte toestemmingsvorm. Dui asseblief duidelik aan waarin u bereid sal wees om deel te neem.

Indien u enige vrae het, kan u gerus met my skakel op 082-879-0299. Professor Charlyn Dyers (Direkteur: Ilwimi Sentrum vir Veeltaligheid en Taalprofessies / Senior Dosent: Departement Linguistiek, UWK) sal ook die geldigheid van bogenoemde inligting kan staaf. Haar kontakbesonderhede is 021-959-2148 per telefoon en per e-pos: cdyers@uwc.ac.za.

Met u samewerking is ek seker dat hierdie navorsingsprojek spoedig bevorder kan word. Ek sê dus by voorbaat dank hiervoor.

Die uwe,

Fatima Slemming (me.)

VORM: Toestemming om deel te neem aan navorsingsprojek

Ek het die inligting wat voorgelê is in die inligtingsbrief oor 'n studie wat deur Fatima Slemming uitgevoer word óf gelees óf dit is breedvoerig aan my verduidelik. Ek is ten volle bewus daarvan dat me. Slemming 'n Meestersgraad-student is in die Departement Linguistiek aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland.

Ek het die geleentheid gehad om alle nodige vrae verbonde aan hierdie studie te kon vra en het bevredigende antwoorde daarop verkry.

Ek is bewus dat 'n kodestelsel gebruik sal word om inligting uit die vraelys te groepeer. Ek was ook ingelig dat brokkies uit onderhoude aangehaal mag word en in me. Slemming se tesis mag verskyn en dat ook dié inligting streng vertroulik behandel sal word.

Ek weet dat ek te eniger tyd mag onttrek aan hierdie studie deur die navorser so in te lig. Met volle kennis van al die bogenoemde, verleen ek dus my toestemming om deel te neem aan hierdie studie.

Deelnemer se naam: _____

Deelnemer se kontakbesonderhede: Tel: _____

Deelnemer se handtekening: _____

Datum: _____ Plek: _____

Navorser se naam: Fatima Slemming

Navorser se handtekening: _____

15 February 2010

INFORMATION FORM: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION ABOUT RESEARCH PROJECT

RESEARCHER: Ms Fatima Slemming

REGISTRATION DETAIL: MA (Linguistics)

THESIS TITLE: An exploration of the link between selected women's discourses and literacy resources in the working class township settlement of Wesbank, South Africa.

To Whom It May Concern

I, Fatima Slemming, am a registered Master's degree student in the Linguistics Department at the University of the Western Cape.

I am currently engaging in research for my thesis (see thesis title above). The aim of my research is to attempt to identify the following:

- The types of discussions and texts that women who live in Wesbank interact with most frequently;
- Which literacy resources the women in Wesbank have brought along with them from their previous areas / communities;
- To what degree women in Wesbank share these literacy resources with other women; and
- How the space of Wesbank is being created by the literacy resources that the women have brought along with them.

I invite you to participate in this research project. I can assure you that information will be treated confidentially and will only be used for research purposes.

I intend to make use of a questionnaire and to conduct focus group and individual interviews. I shall use a coding system to compile responses in the questionnaire in

order to protect your identity. Excerpts from interviews may be quoted and included in the thesis, but this will also be done in an anonymous manner.

If you agree to be a participant in this study, kindly complete the attached form. Please note that you will have the right to withdraw as a participant in this study at any time you decide to do so.

Should you have any queries, or to verify information, please contact me on my mobile number 082-879-0299. Alternatively, Professor Charlyn Dyers (Director: lilwimi Sentrum for Multilingualism and the Language Professions / Senior Lecturer: Linguistics Department, UWC) can also be contacted on Tel: 021-959-2148 or by e-mail: cdyers@uwc.ac.za.

I greatly appreciate your assistance in furthering this research endeavour.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

Fatima Slemming (Ms)

CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

I have read the information letter about a study being conducted by Fatima Slemming towards her Master's degree in Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape. If not read, this information letter has been read and explained to me in detail.

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study and received satisfactory answers as well as any additional information.

I am aware that a coding system will be used to group information contained in the questionnaire. I have also been informed that excerpts from interviews may be quoted and included in Ms Slemming's thesis and that information will be treated confidentially.

I was informed that I may withdraw as a participant in this study at any time by advising the researcher. With full knowledge of all the above, I thus agree to participate in this study and provide the following details:

Name and surname: _____

Contact details: Tel: _____

Participant signature: _____

Date: _____ Place: _____

I am willing to be a participant in the following: *(please mark your choice[-s] with a X)*

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. The questionnaire | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| 2. A focus group interview | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| 3. An individual interview | <input type="checkbox"/> YES | <input type="checkbox"/> NO |

Researcher Name: Fatima Slemming

Researcher Signature: _____

GIDSVRAE VIR NAVORSINGS-ONDERHOUDE

PROMPTS FOR RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

1. *Sal u uself asseblief voorstel en 'n bietjie vertel oor waar u vandaan kom, waarby u betrokke is hier in Wesbank, ensovoorts?*

Could you please introduce yourself and talk a bit about where you have moved from and what you are involved in here in Wesbank, etcetera?

2. *Wat sou u sê is die grootste probleme of struikelblokke wat die gemeenskap van Wesbank in die gesig staar?*

What would you say are the biggest problems or challenges which are faced by the community of Wesbank?

3. *Het u enige voorstelle oor wat gedoen kan word om Wesbank verder te ontwikkel sodat dit 'n sterker gemeenskap kan word?*

Do you have any ideas about what can be done to develop Wesbank into a stronger community?

Appendix 4:

INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS IN FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Name	Age Status	Participant Description	Education Level	Role in Research	Focus Group
A.A.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner • Chairperson of organization • Moved to Wesbank from Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape 	Primary School – left school in standard 5	Key informant and Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
B.F.	33 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married, 3 children (toddler to school-going ages) • Treasurer: Wesbank Adult Education Centre Governing Body • Works part-time at Wesbank Primary School. Supervises classes for a stipend when educators are absent from school • Grew up in Kensington. Moved to Wesbank after living in Kalksteentfontein, Mitchell's Plain and Delft • Involved in organizational work to uplift community 	Grade 12 (Wesbank Secondary School) Evening School	Focus Group participant	B Wesbank Adult Education Centre Governing Body
C.C.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
D.J.	Forties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married with children • Unemployed 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group

E.E.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
F.N.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	No schooled literacy: Signed name on Informed Consent Form with a X	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
J.E.	Mid-forties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married with children • Unemployed 	Primary School	Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group
J.N.	Late forties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married with children • Unemployed 	Grade 12	Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group
L. v.d. R.	Fifties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married, 3 children • Unemployed 	Primary School	Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group
L.A.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	No schooled literacy: Signed name on Informed Consent Form with a X	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
M.S.1.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
M.S.2.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)

M.S.3.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pensioner 	No schooled literacy: Signed name on Informed Consent Form with a X	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
P.H.	Fifties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married, children Unemployed 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group
R.C.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name on Informed Consent Form	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)
S.K.	57 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mentioned she has a 'life partner' and that she is married, 5 adult children Business woman Receives a disability grant Moved from Kimberley to Wesbank (twice) 	Passed Level 1 Adult Basic Education and Training	Key informant and Focus Group participant	A Prayer Group
C.H.	48 years	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married (but getting divorced), with an adult son Security Personnel Officer: Wesbank Secondary School Referred to as Aunt T. in thesis Grew up on a farm in Stellenbosch Attended school in Stellenbosch 	Completed first year of high school	Key informant and Focus Group participant	B Wesbank Adult Education Centre Governing Body
V.K.	Senior Citizen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pensioner 	Unknown: Able to sign name	Focus Group participant	C Senior Citizens' Organization (Wesbank Multi-Purpose Centre)

EXTRACT OF TRANSCRIPT:

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN AFRIKAANS WITH MEMBERS OF A PRAYER GROUP IN WESBANK TOWNSHIP, SOUTH AFRICA

LvdR: Ek is suster ---. Ek is iemand wat wil uitreik vir die mense. Ek wil mense aanmoedig en tot bekering bring en Ek is getroud. Ek het 'n man en vyf kinders. Een is getroud en vier is nie getroud nie. Wat ek eintlik wil se, ek sit eintlik met 'n probleem met daai kinders in die huis. Twee dogters drink. Die een is getroud. Die een se man tik. Hy slaap uit, as hy huis toe kom, dis nie eintlik 'n mooi iets nie, want ek wil nie eintlik hê hulle moet in my huis drink nie, want ek is bekeer.

Ek kan nie daai mense blameer nie want my kinders doen dieselfde in my huis. My probleem is my twee dogters moet op hulle eie gaan want hulle is vir my 'n probleem. Hulle is lelik as hulle gedrink is. Dis my probleem wat ek in my huis het. My man hy's ook 'n drinker wat met sy pay pakkie na die smokkelhuis. Hys nou so 'n tipe man, hy's nie iemand wat vir my sal slaan.

Ek vra ook maar vir die moeders en die vaders om vir my te bid dat ek maar by die Here bly. Ek wil hê ons mense moet iets goeds in die lewe bereik. Eks sien nie kans om lelike dinge te doen nie, want ek wil hê ons mense moet iets goed bereik in die lewe. En so moet ons maar 'n beskerminkie soek vir onself. Die Here moet tog my kinders red wat nog nie by die Here is nie. Vier kleinkinders. Twee is op die crèche en die een is op skool, sub B. En dan my meisiekind, baby meisiekind

Ek voel ook nou as gemeenskap voel ek dat ons wil uitreik vir die Here. Ons wil graag na plase gaan waar die mense nie die woord van die Here hoor nie, so by die tronke en hospitale waar mense siek lê kan ons ook gaan om vir hulle te gaan bid, daai's nou ook onse gebedsgroep se werk, maar ons het vervoer nodig om altyd vir ons uit te ry op die huidige oomblik. Want ons wil werk vir die Here. Dis maar so ver

Die kar is klein en dan's daar nie plek vir almal nie. Almal kan nie in die kar in nie. Nou gaan ons almal daentoe om die werk te kan doen vir die Here.

.....
Ek is ---, ek het drie kinders ek wil so graag 'n maatskaplike werkster geword het. Maar Wesbank het 'n geweldige invloed ...

NE: Maar wat ek wil gesê het, verlede jaar het ek by 'n organisasie het ek aangesluit by Empower the Nation. Dis mense wat geleenthede gee vir mense met verskillende drome. Dis ook vir mense wat buite slaap, vir mense wat struwelinge in hulle huise het wat nie lekker na omgesien word nie. Families wat nie huis het nie en dan wil ek ook help om te sien dat daai families in 'n huis gaan geplaas word. Want ek het gister vir iemand gesê die geleenthede is daar. Daar's vir elkeen 'n subsidie. Mens het nie nodig om te sit in 'n hokkie nie. So wanneer ek mense, wanneer families na

my toe kom, voel ek dat die Here vir my gaan help dat hulle in huise kom, families kan weer lekker kan saamwoon, Ons wil 'n gelukkige lewe hê vir onself. Ek het 'n siek dogter ook wat ek nou na kyk. Daar's baie wat op die plase sit. Hulle kry kinders en hulle kry swaar. Dis verskriklik daar buite.

NE: En ja. So my geloof in Wesbank was getoets en dis nog steeds elke dag word dit getoets met die geweld en alleste wat gepaard gaan. So as ons 'n probleem het kan ek praat, kan ek bid vir mense..... Mense met huweliksprobleme. Ek en my man is nou byna twintig jaar getroud. So dis al die dinge, so ek sien ek wil voorsiening wil help bewerkstellig. So dit is nou wat ek doen op hierdie oomblik. Bid en ek gesels. So ek wil 'n verskil maak.

Weet jy as ek nou na die meeste probleme kyk wat nou hier plaasvind. In baie gevalle is dit 'n man, is dit maar 'n man, maar in die meeste gevalle, in sommige gevalle is dit ook die vrou. So dit is ook maar swaar as jy verantwoordelikheid het. Daar is so baie kinders, wat ook daarmee gepaard gaan is dat die kinders wat aan dwelms verslaaf is, tik en al die dinge. Maar ek het baie dinge op my, wat my man opsy staan en ek het baie druk op my, maar ek dink dis nie almal wat die kind En sodoende in die meeste gevalle word die huwelike opgebreek. Jy wil nie meer verantwoordelikheid vat nie. Hoekom moet ek dit dan veg. Of die ma staan meer die kind by en vergeet nou weer van die pa terwyl die pa die hoogste gesag in die huis is. Verstaan?

Ja, werkloosheid, my man het 2004 laas gewerk. Werkloosheid en siekte en hy drink ook. Ja, ek dink net die Here se hulp het die Here my staande gehou. En wat ek destyds gesê het toe's ek 'n kind, ek wil nie hê my kind moet verskillende stiefpa's hê nie. My ma was nooit getroud nie. Ons is 'n hele paar kinders.

Fatima: Dis drank ook wat huwelike opbreek, finansies?

Ja, en kinders wat gangsters is.

Pa werk heel maand. Vat die geld net so smokkelhuis toe. Nou sien die kind die verkeerde goed. By die smokkelhuise... Omdat in die huis is niks. En dit is ma wat, dit is eintlik wat in Wesbank gebeur. Hoeveel drankhuise, hoeveel tikhuise, en jy sien in *Die Son* en jy hoor dit gaan uitgewerk word, maar dit word nooit rêrig uitgewerk nie.

Wie ly dan daar onder? Die vrou wat gered is en die man wat nie gered is nie.

Ja (background).

Die hele helfte van daai pay. As die man miskien twee, drie duisend rand 'n maand verdien, daar word ook so baie by die werk afgetrek. Op die ou einde van die dag kom hy met R1500 huis toe. Maar wie kry dan die R500, die vrou en die smokkelhuis kry die R1000. Dis skoolfonds, dis skool, dis aandgoete, dis brekfis, dis lunch, dan is daar nie. Nou waarheen gaan die vrou wat gered is. Die kind kry miskien die scraps wat van die tafel afgekrap word vir daai kind. Ja, hy kry nou miskien 'n paar Nikes wat die ma nie kan gee nie. Pa gee dan nou die meeste van die geld by die smokkelhuis, die meeste van die geld daar uit

Die kind word al dieper ingetrek. Dis die grootste probleem hier in Wesbank. Want die polisieman kom en ... Nou ek is miskien 'n eerbare polisieman. Sy is 'n korrup mens daai. Dit is die vrou se probleem en die drukking wat mens mee sit.

Nou sien die ma, okay daar's 'n uitweg vir my, verhuur my huis uit of ek verkoop my huis vinnig vir R10 000. Ek is ook 'n vrou wat drink. My man drink, ek drink, verstaan jy?

PH: Okay, maar ons is nou die gebedsgroep. Ons probeer maar, ons probeer maar net deur die genade van die Here. Ons kyk waar ons, om uit te beweeg uit al die dinge uit. Want dis nie altyd dat hulle opstaan nie, want hulle glo nie aldag dat die Here hulle kan help nie. Nou gaan hulle maar verder en hulle dryf al verder weg. Verstaan. Dit is, ons sit met 'n geweldige druk. Soos ek nou ek is, ek is, ek het later...

NE: My man kan nie vir my 'n huis gee nie, ons bly nou op die oomblik net in 'n hokkie buitekant in die straat. Ons moet daar kos maak. Ons weet ook nie rerig of ons daai subsidie gaan kry nie. Kry ons dit nie, dan moet ons nog hier bly. Ek is disabled en my man is disabled, verstaan? So dinge is nie lekker hier in Wesbank nie. Dis 'n drukking. Nou laat die regering klomp mense in, maar die wat hier gebore is, kan ook nie huis kry nie. Verstaan jy? En as jy nou 'n huis kry, en as hulle nou huise bou...

SK: Suster ---, sy't so 'n huis. Die huis is aangebou. As die huis nie aangebou is nie, dan is dit net daai ou vertrekke. Nou bly sy met daai klomp kinders in daai een huisie. Ok sy Maar op die einde van die dag kry haar kinders nie huis nie, want die huise wat hulle nou bou is meestal mense wat kwalifiseer, wat werk en jou man moet vier, vyf duisend rand verdien om daai huis te kan bekostig. Nou waar...

Hulle het kinders. Baie keer is die ma gered. Ons wat die Here dien, mag nie daai geld toelaat nie. Ons kinders mag nie eens by daai drug dealer gaan drugs ... Al wat ons net kan doen, ons kan net bid. Ons kan net bid, ons is totally afhanklik van die Here. Om by die Here te wees is om ten volle in die geloof te lewe. Is, jy het nie, jy vertrou maar op dinge wat die Here doen. Verstaan? Jy vertrou op iets wat jy nie sien nie. So ek sit nou my vertrou, maar ek is nie seker nie, maar ek vertrou maar die Here gaan vir my 'n uitweg daar maak. Nou dit is wat, ek het nou nie meer klein kinders nie. Ok, ek het kleinkinders.... Maar die apartheid is uit en daar het nog niks verander nie, verstaan dis nou net omgeswaai. Eerste was dit die bantoes wat swakker, swaarder gekry het as ons. Ok, hulle het 'n bietjie swaarder as ons gekry. Nou is dit die bantoe en die witman en ons is heeltemal heeltemal, wie kyk na ons? Niemand. Jy't nou gehoor die mense moet drie-uur opstaan om te gaan sit daar om 'n toelaag. Ouers kry ... Jy kan nie vir die hele maand. Hulle se daar gaan werke kom, maar die werke kom ook nie rerig nie. Hulle se dit gaan more gebeur, maar dit is nooit rêrig nie, word ook net gepraat en gepraat. Die werk is nie rêrig na vore nie en die wat werk, onderhou die smokkelhuis en die vrou wat nie rook en drink nie ly daaronder.

As hulle kan die smokkelhuis rerig uitroei, soos hulle net sê in *Die Son*, soos hulle maar net sê en dit nie doen nie. Ja, maar dit word nie beëindig nie. Hulle kry dan nou licence. Verstaan jy? Nou wanneer gaan dit dan eindig as die government dan nou vir hulle licence gee. Gaan nooit rus kry nie...

Die smokkelhuise, die hele Wesbank en hier anderkant in die main road is ook. Daai man het sy huis 'n massiveingebou.

Maar ek het gesien die drank. ... Maar jy wat 'n vrou is, ons wat die vroue is, as die kinders klere soek, gaan hulle nie na die pa toe nie. Dis mammie ek is honger, mammie ek makeer 'n paar skoolskoene, mammie ek makeer....

Geweldige druk, ons het 'n geweldige druk op ons, maar ons sit hier, ons moet maar net vertrou op die Here al het ons nie vanoggend kos in onse huis nie en ons bid. Ons moet maar net onse vertrouwe in die Here sien. Die Here sal voorsien. Die Here sal iemand uitstuur om vir ons 'n stukkie brood of 'n tien rand of 'n stukkie vleis te gee. Want as ons nie geloof het nie, wat is dit... en dit is die waarheid.

.....
(About druglords): Hulle kyk jou aan en wat hulle doen is net reg. Jy dink jou kind gaan skool, dan sit hy by die tikhuis. Dan sit hy daar, hy werk daar. Nou vanmiddag kom hy.

Hulle sê nie gaan huis toe, gaan skool toe nie. Hulle hou hom daar. Nou loop die kind die hele nag op en af. Nou loop en breek hy by mense se huise in. Hulle watch heeldag, hou hulle jou huis dop.

Soos hier in onse pad. Maar dis 'n disgrace ...

Nou as hulle regoor my huis kom, nou die kindertjies. Dis ontstellend.

Maar ek weet nie, rêrig ek weet nie. Want jy moet focus op iets wat ...

JN: Al die jare, ek het nou die dag eers uitgevind sy't 'n family disorder en ek het altyd gewonder hoekom kan sy nie loop nie. Wat ek nou uitgevind het. So dit trek al weer vir my so bietjie terug, want ek moet baie aandag aan haar gee. Jy's nou versigtig vir goed wat jy nou kan aan jou voel. Jy onderskei dit is nie 'n regte ding nie. Hulle sê dit is nie 'n regte ding nie. Nou ja, my aandag is nou al weer daar want ek het hierdie projek wat ek mee besig is. Gelukkig is dit 'n vyfjaarplan. En ek dink ook die bietjie wat ons het, dan lyk dit as ons nie probleme kry, da's daar die een moeder wat gaan se nee ons moenie so maak nie. So ons probeer van onse kant af. Suster --- wat baie dae, wat baie kinders het wat sy mee moet praat. Die meeste van die tyd is dit sommer hier by jou, die gangsters sommer hier by jou, dan bly mens gedurig besig. So ons doen tog van onse kant af. Jy kan nie te veel praat nie. Jy moet maar, moet hulle moet jy maar bevriend hou. Jy kan niks sê nie. Want as jy te veel praat dan se hulle die vrou... Ons doen niks verkeerd nie....al daai gangsters.

Fatima: Ek kan nie alles, ons gesels mos nou. As ons dit nou terugspeel ... Dit is maar nou net vir my om te capture. Jy weet dis moeilik as ...Dit is ja, maar as ek dit gaan terugspeel,

Die fokus is omdat u sê dis vir haar navorsing wat sy doen ja.... Wat ons gesels ... Wanneer het ons gepraat, waaroor het ons gesels. Ek wil net iets bysit van Wesbank se probleme.

Toe ons in Wesbank mos kom bly het, hier't mense gekom, kom bly wat nou baie ver van hulle werkplekke af bly en van daai tyd af, dis omtrent elf jaar gelede. Ek onthou, ja's reg ja. Twaalf jaar.

.....
JE: Daai klimeit van my, toe's hier kom bly toe sy twee jaar oud. Dis al ons elfde jaar. Elf jaar, elfde jaar, ja. Nou sien jy wat gebeur het hier is dat mense is ver van hulle werke af en ek het gehoor hoe

hulle almal gekla het. Jy betaal meer vir vervoer uit as wat jy nou op die ou end en wat ek nou hier sien is hier is mense wat vorentoe gaan. Of hier's mense wat opstaan in die gemeenskap. Hulle is hier vir die gemeenskap. Aan die einde van die dag is... Daar is mense, met die swaarkry al die jare. Die mense is baie selfsugtig. Niemand doen rêrig meer dinge vir ander nie.

Ja, dis wat ek sien en ek het gister met daai vroujie gepraat. Sy sê sy sy't nou weer iemand anders met wie sy saamwerk, want sy sê sy help die persoon, sy help mense om 'n subsidie te kry, hulle huise dan te bekom. As jy nie jou huis wil hê nie, dan help sy vir die persoon om jou huis dan te koop. Jy sien sy het al soveel deals gekry, maar die geld wat sy gekry het, nou gaan sy na haarself kyk, verstaan. Nou't sy iemand anders gekry wat nog 'n uitweg is vir haar, want sy wil graag na haarself kyk. Hier is mense wat baie swaar trek in hulle eie omstandighede terwyl hulle nog moet uitreik. Ons moet uitreik, maar ekself het nie eers 'n stukkie brood by my huis nie. Sommige mense hou aan in die gemeenskap uitreik. Ander besluit nee, nou kyk ek na myself.

Maar ek wonder nog altyd

PH: Ek kan vir u sê van die mense wat hier is, u weet almal suster S--hulle, die meeste mense wat uitreik na die gemeenskap. Want ek kan vir u sê daar is nie 'n ander manier sonder die Here nie. Jou mind, jy is, jy't 'n open mind, jy is gefokus. Sonder die Here kan jy die dinge nie, jy kan nie eers dink aan môre nie. Jy kan nie uitsien na more nie. So, ek het nie 'n ander antwoord vir u daar nie. Weet, wat wil ek sê Om te hoor wat sê hulle, wat sê hulle, mense wat nie die Here in hulle lewe het nie, wat lewe. Ja, sal hulle bereid wees? Hulle moet praat, hulle moet praat, hulle lewe aspris. Hy soek 'n rand miskien, hy soek net daai rand. Ja, ja, daai rand wat ek vir haar gegee het. Kom was gou vir my die mat, dan gee ek vir haar vyf rand. Dan kry jy ses rand. Hulle gaan daar by die goedkoop, twee rand glase.

LvdR: Hulle maak geld, hulle maak baie geld. Hulle werk vir daai wyn. Ja, wat wil ek gesê het. Ek is van die plaas, ek is van Stellenbosch. Ja, ek het daar grootgeword. Ek is 'n aangeneemde kind, maar ek is nie vandag spyt nie, ek is rerig nie spyt nie. Om te dink as my ouers nie ... Miskien kan ek soos die ander vroue wees wat dronk, ek meen maar, die Here het ook maar 'n doel met alles, maar ek is vir die Here dankbaar. Kyk in die dae van destyds was dinge mos nie, kyk soos nou alles het so verander. Maar destyds, kyk die ouers het daargewerk, die geld is ook nie baie nie, maar hulle het ook maar moeite gemaak, gedoen om jou op skool te hou en destyds het, soos aangenome kinders, hulle het mos 'n fooi gekry, geld, maar ek sien soos vandag die geld is nie soos daai jare nie en daai tyd het die maatskaplike werkster het na die skole toe gekom. Jy moet kaal uitgetrek het, ja, jou kop, jou hare word deur gekom kyk. Vandag doen hulle nie eers daai klas goed. Dit lyk amper hulle stel belang nie. Die werkster 'n paar jaar terug, soos wat ek hom vandag sien, daar's 'n baie groot verskil...

EXTRACT OF TRANSCRIPT:

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN AFRIKAANS WITH MEMBERS OF ADULT EDUCATION CENTRE GOVERNING BODY AT WESBANK SECONDARY SCHOOL IN WESBANK TOWNSHIP, SOUTH AFRICA

1: Dan kan ons begin

Ok, Aunt T--, B--, ek wil net baie dankie sê vir die tyd wat julle afstaan vanaand om 'n bietjie te gesels in die onderhoud oor die gelletterteidsdiskoerse op die oomblik van die vroue in Wesbank. Ek moet natuurlik nou verduidelik briefly vir julle wat dit is wat ek probeer navors en waarna ek probeer identifiseer in gesprekke met mevrou...waardeer dit as u wil openlik met my gesels as daar enige iets...alles sal in vertroue behandel word..net vir navorsingsdoeleindes, die inligting gaan gebruik. Ek het gedink miskien net om die gesprek aan die gang te sit kan julle al twee vir my 'n bietjie vertel oor julle self...wie jy is, waar jy vandaan kom, hoe oud jy is, getroud, ongetroud, hoeveel kinders, daai tipe goeters, watse werk jy doen...net om 'n bietjie eers mekaar te leer ken...en ook 'n bietjie vertel van myself, maar ek stel nog altyd belang om net vroue in general se stories te ken, die rolle wat hulle speel, ensovoorts. Want ek dink tog as 'n mens kyk, kan jy maar waar bly en wie wees, maar ons almal het maar dieselfde goeters...en so probeer ek maar uitvind is dit wel so. En as dit so is, dan kan ons sê maar ons is vroue, ons dra mos verskillende...wat is dit wat vir ons spesiaal maak? En dit is die idee, watter tale en watter gesprekke hou ons as vroue, want dit is die goed wat ons...so ek weet nie wie wil eerste gaan nie, Aunt T--?

2: My naam isek is nou agt en veertig jaar oud...nog nie. 4de April is ek agt en veertig jaar oud. Ek werk nou seker nege jaar by die skool. Ek het begin by die skool as 'n volunteeer, as gevolg van my gemeenskapswerk wat ek by die skool is. Ek was in die veiligheid betrokke en ek was in beheer van sekuriteit toe hulle die skool bou. So, ek is hier vandat hulle hom gebou het.

1: So die skool staan omtrent nege jaar nou? Tien jaar?

2:Nee, ek sal nie sê tien jaar nie. Hy het oopgegaan...hy is seker nou ses, sewe jaar nou, die skool. Maar hulle het hom gebou toe is ek hier in werwing - sekuriteit. En toe die skool klaar is het ek aangebly, ek het as n volunteeer gewerk tot 2004. Toe het Departement Community Safety oorgevat en toe het ons maar gewerk, ons kry iets soos R15 'n dag. En so het ek aangebly tot ek nou

aangestel is by Departement Onderwys. Nou is ek n cleaner hierso. En ek het net een kind. Hy is nou al 32 jaar oud.

1: Ok, 'n goeie ouderdom

2: En dan het ek 'n baie vol lewe...ek is omtrent net twee ure by die huis. Ek werk by die dagskool in die dag, dan gaan ek vieruur huis toe, dan kom ek weer sesuur terug vir die aandskool, en dan is dit...die kerk is ook nog hierso by die aandskool waarvoor ek hier moet wees. En naweke is dit die matrikulante, ekstra klasse. Elke Saterdag werk ek by die skool, of die functions is hier, sommige keer van die oggend agtuur moet ek hier wees en dan gaan ek die aand partykeer eenuur huis toe. Ek is getroud, maar ek is nou besig met my egskeiding; ek en my man is nou al vir tien jaar vervreemd van mekaar. En op my eie het ek die huisie gekoop...nou verlede jaar het ek die huisie gekoop. Ek het 'n lening aangegaan, hy het maar vir my dertig duisend rand gekos, en nou my laaste poging wat ek nou aanwend, ek is nou op die huidige oomblik besig om aan te bou. Dit gaan maar baie moeilik maar ek gaan deurdruk. Dit is nou wie ek is.

1: Dankie, dit was n baie goeie inleiding. B--?

3: My naam is B—F--. Ek het drie kinders. Ek is dertien jaar getroud. Ek word nou drie-en-twintig, ag drie-en-dertig, die 21ste van die maand.

1: Is daai nie human rights day nie?

3: Ja

1: O wonderlik, lekker afdaggie op jou verjaarsdag.

3: My ma het drie meisiekinders, ek is die middel ene. Ek bly nou seker omtrent nege jaar in Wesbank. Maar die plek waarin ek bly is ook 'n huurhuis, dit is nie my eie huis nie. Alhoewel ek graag eendag my eie plek wil hê. Op die oomblik, ek is werkloos, maar ek gaan somtyds by Wesbank Laerskool gaan kyk of ek daar iets kan doen. Aan die begin was ek vrywillig gewees, maar nou gee hulle mos nou dertig rand om klasse op te pas as die onderwysers nie skool toe gekom het nie. En dan is ek somkeer amper heeldag hier by die skool, dan moet ek nou gou huis toe rush om my baby

te gaan haal. Sy is vyf jaar oud, gou vir haar by die skool gaan haal, weer huis toe kom soos vanmiddag en dan weer skool toe kom.

1: So die dag is vol, bedrywig?

3: Ja

1: En wat doen B-- by die aandskool?

3: Ek is die treasurer by die aandskool, ek deal met die finansies. Soms naweke dan is ek besig op die computer, besig om daai goeders te capture, die maand se dingese, omdat die finansiële verslag, elke derde maand moet dit in. Dan moet daar mos nou 'n O43 ingestuur word, so daai is die dinge wat my baie besig hou. Maar daar is 'n ander projek of twee, die laaste ene was gewees, 'n Peace Committee Projek wat ons mee besig was, waar ons, 'n gedeelte van ons het by die skole gewerk, 'n gedeelte van ons het maar by die huise omgegaan. Daai is met probleemkinders wat miskien 'n probleem is, ons gaan daar om by die huis, ons luister vir die ouers. Die kinders sê miskien wat die probleem is, en hoekom hulle is soos wat hulle is, nie skoolgaan nie of hulle rook of drink. Dan gaan ons na die ouers toe en dan gaan luister ons hulle kant van die storie ook. En dan try ons om 'n oplossing te kry vir dit. Dan agterna, nog voor ons die oplossing kry, dan laat ons altwee saam kom sodat dit nie kan lyk dat ons luister wat die een sê en nie die ander ene gehoor gee nie. Ons sit altwee saam. Maar nou tans, dit was ook maar vrywillig gewees, ons was nie betaal nie. But ek gee nie om nie. Hoe meer ek...vir my is dit lekker om betrokke te raak by sulke dinge, waar jy ook kan sê, kyk hierso maar, nie dat jy kan brag dat jy iets gedoen het, dat dit is jou/my nie, maar waar jy ook kan trots voel op jouself en vir jou kinders kan sê kyk hierso maar sien jy dit wat daar is of dit hoe dit nou is, kyk hier mammie was deel daarvan, of mammie het gehelp dat dit so is, en dat jy ook vir jou kinders 'n voorbeeld kan wees. Sodat hulle ook kan leer van dit wat jy doen, so in die toekoms dat hulle ook kan sê, kyk hierso maar my ma het daai voetspore opgetrap vir my, so hoekom kan ek dit ook nie doen nie?

1: En hoe het B-- by die Peace Committee Project betrokke geraak?

3: Dis ook maar mense wat my naam daar ingegee het, omdat ek gewoonlik...en dan vra ek maar so, as julle op ietsie afkom laat weet vir my, en Aunt T-- het laat weet saam met iemand dat hulle nog mense soek, en toe kom ek.

1: En was dit iets wat die mense in die gemeenskap self op die been gebring het, of is dit mense wat van buite gekom het, 'n groep of organisasie? Somtyds doen die NGO's sulke werke, waar hulle aankom in die communities en dan gaan hulle miskien hiernatoe of daarnatoe...

3: Dit was eindelijk 'n projek van 'n ander plek, maar mense in Wesbank het dit self gedingese, daai persoon het maar net reports gedingese, om te sê, ok dit was gedoen vir die maand en dit was die klagtes wat daar was vir die maand, en ons het dit geprobeer as 'n oplossing of so.

1: Dan was hulle by die skole self.

3: Ja

2: Hulle het heeldag gesit by die skole om met probleemkinders, met hulle te werk.

1: En dan was die probleemkinders van daar uitgewys?

3: Ja

2: Ja, deur die skool gestuur ensovoorts.

1: Ok. Nee dis baie interessant. So die motivering om deel te word van so 'n projek is om te sê, ek maak my kinders groot, en my kinders moet kan deur alles...sou u sê daar is baie voorbeelde of rolmodelle in Wesbank wat die kinders na kan opkyk en kan sê, maar hier is iemand wat goeie werk doen, ek wil so wees? Of is dit maar iets wat gedoen word maar word nie noodwendig altyd raakgesien nie?

2: Ek sal sê hier is baie rolmodelle, ongeag hulle foute wat hulle het. Want dis as gevolg van Wescof. Wescof was die forum wat in 1999 gestig was, en dis as gevolg van daai leiers wat ook Wescof was, wat alles vandag in Wesbank is.

1: En hulle is mense wat hier gebly het?

2: Hulle bly nog steeds hier. Sommige van hulle is weg, maar die meerderheid van hulle bly nog self in Wesbank en hulle is nog steeds besig met gemeenskapswerk.

1: *Is dit. En watter tipe mense was hulle? Mense wat mense ken in die gemeenskap? Hulle is wel bekend?*

2: Ja, hulle is welbekend in Wesbank. Hulle is welbekende mense.

1: *So, is dit spesifiek mense wat by die...kerkleiers?*

2: Nee, dit is organisasies wat saamgekom het as forum. Dis van verskillende organisasies se mense.

1: *Bestaan die forum nog?*

2: Ja, daar is nog 'n Wescof.

1: *Nee, dis baie interessant. 'n Mens probeer mos altyd ook uitvind van hoe is dit wat die mense bymekaar kom en die projekte van die grond af kry en aan die gang kry ensovoorts, hoe werk hulle saam en wat is die medium wat hulle gebruik, want dit is mos altyd maar die struikelblok. As mense nou nie weet nie, dan is dit mos maar moeilik om die mense agter 'n ding te kry Aunt T-- self, het Aunt T-- skool klaargemaak?*

2: Ja standard 6 het ek klaar gemaak nog in Stellenbosch.

1: Nou waar in Stellenbosch het Aunt T--, aan die dorp se kant gebly of meer...

EXTRACT OF TRANSCRIPT:**FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN AFRIKAANS WITH MEMBERS OF SENIOR CITIZENS' ORGANISATION IN WESBANK TOWNSHIP, SOUTH AFRICA**

AA/Group Leader: (onduidelik) ... het gesê dat vriendskap die gom is wat die wêreld aan mekaar hou. Sielkundiges reken dat ons almal in 'n sekere sin die produk van ons vriendskappe is. Omdat vriendskappe ... omdat vriendskap op 'n wederkerige en 'n ... verhouding berus, het dit 'n groot invloed op ons lewens. Wanneer Jesus in Johannes 15 ons sy vriende noem, isy woorde gelaai met betekenis. Die dissipels het Jesus leer ken as iemand met gesag, as messiahs, koning, priester en profeet. Aangrypende titels, maar nou kom Jesus en keer die seëninge van hulle onderstebo. Hy sê, Nee, hulle is nie sy ondergeskikte nie want 'n ondergeskikte weet nie wat sy baas doen nie. Dit is nie hoe Jesus dit wil hê nie. Hy beskou hulle as sy vriende en wil hulle ook iets besonders met die vriende deel. Alles wat hy van sy Vader gehoor het. Wat 'n besondere vriendskap van 'n buitengewone vriend. Dat Jesus van die Lewende God ons graag sy vriende wil noem is te groot vir 'n mens se verstand om te begryp, maar wat 'n nog groter mysterious is, is dat die vriend bereid was om sý lewe vir die vriendskap op te offer. Nou die boodskappie is in Johannes 15 Vers 15 (begin lees): "Ek neem julle nie meer ... Ek noem julle nie meer ondergeskiktes nie. Nee, Ek noem julle vriende, omdat Ek alles wat Ek van my Vader gehoor het aan julle bekend gemaak het."

'n Wonderlike ding. Wie is jou vriende? Die Bybel vertel van een vriend wat bereid was om als op die spel te plaas vir sy vriendskap met jou. 'n Baie goeie vriend ... wat 'n buitengewone vriend is ... die Here Jesus en Hy't gaan sterf vir ons op Golgota. En toe die Vader vra "Vir wie kan ek stuur? Toe sê Hy "stuur vir my". En Hy was bereid om dit te gedoen het. Daar was mens, maar hulle was nie bereid soos die Seun van die Here Jesus nie. En dit is waarom hy gegaan het en gesterf het op Golgota ... vir ons oortredinge. En toe was ons mos vol sonde. Maar weet julle wat gebeur? Die Here was met almal en Hy gooi dit in die diepste van die diepste see ... en Hy wat die Here Jesus is wat gesterwe het, hy dink toe nie eers meer daaraan nie. So al het ons vandag gefout, kom ons vergeet daarvan, want die Here Jesus vergeet ons foute. Ons moet net vergewenis vra vir die Here want dan was hy al daai ... vandag, as ons gestruikel het, weet U-hulle wat doen die Here Jesus? Hy vat daai bloed en Hy was al daai sonde ... net omdat jy vergiffenis vra, was hy dit ... witter dan sneeu. En Hy dink nie meer daaraan nie. So kom ons vat óór onse probleme ... kom ons vat óór onse storms, want ons het 'n buitengewone vriend wat saam met ons die pad loop. En die Here seën u-hulle. U is vry om aan te gaan. (Applous).

Researcher: Baie dankie, ... en ... um ... en baie dankie vir u ook vanoggend wat vir my die geleentheid gegun het om te kom gesels. Ek waardeer dit baie ... en ek voel sommer so lekker omdat ons op so 'n mooi noot begin het en ek weet dit is waar die krag vandaan kom vir die dames om so mooi te kan saamwerk... Ek gaan nie te veel vat van u tyd. Ek weet die dames is baie besig. As u wil

voortgaan. U is welkom om dit te doen (onduidelik). Um... maar ek sal net so in die gesprek vra ... en as iemand wil antwoord, dan hou ons dit maar so. Daai gaan nou seker maar die maklikste wees. Um... die een vragie wat ek het is net omtrent die totstandkoming van die groep. Hoe het dit ... um, hoe het die groepie begin, hoe het u bymekaar uitgekom en...um, en dan wil ek ook graag weet, hoeveel mense is daar in die groep en hoe lank bestaan dit? En, natuurlik, soos V gesê het, wat is die ander groepe waarmee u werk om...er, wat ook betrokke is by hierdie groep? So, ek weet nie wie wil miskien ...er, inspring en daardie vragie beantwoord nie? (laughing).

AA: Ok, my naam is AA. Ek is woonagtig Wesbank, Kuilsrivier. .. Er, ja, dis vir my wonderlik om te werk saam met mense. Dis vir my 'n uitdaging ... er, maar die belangrikste het gekom ... um, omdat ek van Oos-Kaap af kom ... (onduidelik), um... en ons mos nou meer lappies-goedjies en sulke goete maak. My ma het altyd vir ons lappies klere gemaak. Kersfees het ons meelsakke gehad wat uitgekook was en sulke goete en daar was klere daarvan gemaak. En my idees het maar van kleins af het dit maar daar gelê. En ek het groot geraak. Ek is nie 'n geleerde persoon nie. Ek is maar, eh, standerd vyf uit die skool uit en ... maar my ondervinding het ek self opgedóén. Toe ek begin't in 'n fabriek werk, het ek altyd net my oë gegee en my gedagte het gebly da'. En, namate tyd aangegaan het, ja, het ... het ek begin te ...te sien ek kan naaldwerk doen ... (onduidelik) toe ek nie eers rêrig op skool gedoen het nie. Toe vind ek uit latere dat ek self 'n patroontjie kan sny. En, um, dis waar ek die lappieskombersie-ding ingekry het. En...uh, maar ek het gewerk tot en met 2008. Toe't ek my werk gelos en...uh, toe't my gedagte gekom op ...er...er dat ek met die kinders moet aangaan. En ek het drie kindertjies gehad wat ek na gekyk het, en...er... toe ek so saam met die kinders sit en gesels, sien ek maar ek kry nie terugvoering eintlik nie, want hulle's klein. Hulle weet nie eintlik waar ek van ... waarvan ek praat nie. Toe gaan my gedagte na bejaardes toe en dit is waar my passie begin't het om die bejaarde klub aan te gaan. En begin 2009, toe ... er...ontmoet ons er...um...'n paar, ok, ek sal sê, 'n man en hy het ook dieselfde visie gehad... dit wat ek gehad het en ons het dit ge-combine en hy't ook vir my gesê ons kan ander ook inkry waarvan ons toe nog twee, wat nou nog teenwoordig is, saam ingekry hetEn toe moes ons mos van huis tot huis loop om mos nou name te kry, om mos nou die goed bymekaar te kry. En dit is waar ons toe nou beginte loop het, huis vir huis, waar ons nou mense gekry het, soos in(onduidelik) was dit 61, in die begin, bejaardes en 21 disabilities en toe het die ding toe aangegaan. Tot en met vandag. Ons staan 'n jaar, en ...er... is dit nou February, Maart ... April, Mei, 'n jaar en vier maande wat ons nou gaan. En dit is wonderlik om saam met die bejaarde mense te werk, regtig waar. Hulle gesindheid is baie goed. Ons kan baie deel oor nie net handewerk nie, oor die Woord van die Here Jesus...er, hulle leer vir my en ek leer vir hulle. En dit is hoekom ons is nie te klein om nie te leer nie en hulle is ook nie te groot om ook te leer van die jonger persoon en ...um... maar, vir my is dit regtigwaar, dit is 'n uitdaging. En ek kry elke dag uitdagings en ek hou daarvan geniet dit, veral wanneer dit stryde is ... dan gaan dit maklik voel, maar hier is nie iemand by my nie. Maar dan sien ek, maar die Here Jesus is daar in ... die saak, verstaan, so die uitdaging, er...er...er die teleurstelling maak eintlik vir my meer 'n uitdaging en dit is waar dit vir my meer opbouend is. En ek voel om nog aan te gaan met die krag wat die Here Jesus my gee saam met die bejaardes.

Researcher: Er... baie dankie, A'nt A.En...en, wat het u laat besluit om in Wesbank die groepie te kom vestig?

AA: O, omdat ek het mos ...erge-verhuis Wesbank toe. Ek het in, ja, ek is nou al, laat ek nou sien, 31 ... 30 jaar...30, meer as dertig in die Kaap in. En, um, ons het kom ...uh... woon in Wesbank. En um, ek het nogal gesien, weet wat my eintlik rêrig getref het vanweë van ons bejaarde mense. Dit was wanneer hulle gepay het en hulle ou geldjie gaan dan na die smokkelhuis toe. En dit het my diep teleurgestel, want ek myself het 'n ma. My ma het Saterdag 86 geword en ek ken nie vir haar as 'n dronk sy't nog nooit het sy gedrink of gerook nie. Ons ken nie daai van my ma af nie en dit was vir my...ék was ja,ek was 'n drinker in my jong dae, hmm. Maar ek het toe kom besluit, voor my kinders groot raak, uh, het ek 'n besluit met die Here geneem, my kinders moet nie vir my sien die goete doen nie. En tot en met vandag toe dank ek die Here dat Hy daai drank vir my bitter gemaak het destyds en ek kon gesien het wat dit maak aan mense, veral grootmense. Dit breek rêrig 'n groot bejaarde breek dit af...maar die meerderheid van hulle....kyk, onse kerk is in Kalkfontein en ons moet stap deur Wesbank tot daar, as ons nie taxi neem nie. En dan sien ons die goete, want er... er, in die main road af, soos ons stap, is smokkelhuise. En dan sien ons die goete. Deur Kalkfontein gaan ons tot by die kerk, dan sien ons dit is gróót moeders wat daar uit daai smokkelhuis uitkom. Nou dan gaan my gedagte net, is daar 'n stukkie brood vir die kind binne-in die huis? Is daar? En dit is wat my toenadering gegee het om ook die bejaarde er... met die bejaarde weer te begint.

Researcher: Waar...waar in die Oos-Kaap is u vandaan?

AA: Uitenhage.

Researcher: O, in Uitenhage. (AA laughs). OK. Eh...het u op die dorp ... in die dorp gebly?

AA: Nee, nie in die ... innie...innie dorp nie. Innie woonbuurt mos.

Researcher: Innie woonbuurt.... maar innie, innie stad...innie stad self.

AA: Ja, hm, ja, innie stad, Uitenhage.

Researcher: Maar Uitenhage is self ook 'n baie rustige plek, né? (AA: Yes.) OK. En u is nou 30, oor die dertig jaar hier (AA: oor die dertig jaar hier, ja.) Dis 'n lang tyd. U is eintlik nou 'n Kapenaar (laughing in the background. ... Um, nou baie dankie vir daardie inleiding. Dit is...dit is baie interessant. En ek het nou gehoor van die Golden Games van die Department of Social Development en die prysies wat gewen kan word. So daar's altyd iets groter waar...waarna die groep ook kan werk. Dit bly nie net hier nie. Maar wat is dit wat gedoen word met van hierdie produkte wat u nou vervaardig, want elkeen sien ek het mos maar nou 'n spesialiteit en daai persoon werk net daaraan. Um, daar's

breiwerk, daar's embroidery, borduurwerk. Ek sien hier word, um, covers gemaak vir die ... vir die toilette, um, pragtige dingese en dis nogal padded ook (shared laughter). So, dit is anders, uh... dit is nie noodwendig wat jy in die winkels te koop gaan kry nie. Of, as jy dit gaan koop, dan gaan dit mos natuurlik 'n bietjie duurder wees. Um, kan...kan ek vra wat word gemaak met die ... met die eindprodukte? Word dit verkoop, of...?

AA: Ja, ons het mos ...ons beoog om 'n stalletjie te hou, um, waar ons dit gaan uitstal. Al die handewerke van die bejaardes en ons is nou in die ...uh...uh... (ek wil nou Afrikaans en Engels praat), "af-finishing" (laughter) van die ... (background: Ja, ons verstaan mos)... waar ons nou alles mos gaan, finaal, klaarmaak en wat ons gaan uitstal, en dan beoog ons regtig dat die geméénskap vir ons as bejaardes daarin moet ondersteun. Want...want die ondersteuning moet mos nou basies van die gemeenskap af kom, om vir ons te ondersteun, om die goete te koop, verstaan? En ons het die krale en ons het die blikkies wat ons 'n prentjie op sal sit en so aan en dan wil ons dit nou, ag dit van onse ...er, organiseerder af om vir ons 'n datum te gee. Ons het 'n datum gehad vir 'n uitstalling, maar op daai datum is hier ook 'n event binne-in Wesbank en dan sal dit mos nou al...kyk, ons moet vir hulle ondersteun sodat hulle vir ons kan ondersteun. (Dis reg, ja.) Nou moet ons net 'n ander datum kry.
