

Running title: LIVED EXPERIENCES RELATED TO IDENTITY

**LIVED EXPERIENCES RELATED TO THE
IDENTITY OF BLACK AFRICAN
ADOLESCENTS**

by

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the degree

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January 2014

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This thesis employs the editorial style of the American Psychological Association (APA) as detailed in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (6th edition).

However, the thesis uses British English spelling, except for when direct quotes are used which may use American English spelling.

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- African proverb

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ABSTRACT

In this study the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district of central South Africa were explored. South Africa continues to experience political, economic and social changes. Given the new democracy and the opportunities available to all South African youths, the lived experiences of black African adolescents have been noticeably transformed. However, a paucity of qualitative research is found regarding the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents currently in South Africa. The research is approached from an interpretivist paradigm and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was taken as the theoretical framework for the study. Existing literature on adolescence and identity was utilised as sensitising concepts for the study. The aim of this study was to give the participants a voice and allow them an opportunity to speak openly about their lived experiences related to their identity. This qualitative research study used focus group discussions as well as individual in-depth interviews to explore participants' lived experiences. Fifty-nine participants selected from four schools in the Motheo district participated in the study. The data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, reconstructing participants' stories into main and subthemes. Four main themes were identified. The first highlighted the participants' experience and understanding of who they are, the second pertained to the participants' experience of being themselves in relation to others (family and peers), a third main theme involved participants' experience of being themselves in their direct environment (school, media, communities and neighbourhood), and, finally, the fourth main theme detailed participants' experience of being themselves within their ideological structures. The results of this study were confirmed by numerous existing theories and the findings of previous studies. The clinical significance of the study included numerous recommendations for future qualitative research studies so as to add nuanced information to this field.

KEYWORDS: *Identity; lived experiences; Motheo district; black African adolescents; Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis*

OPSOMMING

In hierdie studie is die geleefde ervaringe (lived experiences) rakende die identiteit van swart Afrikane adolessente in die Motheo distrik van sentraal Suid-Afrika ondersoek. Suid-Afrika ondervind steeds politieke, ekonomiese en sosiale veranderinge. Gegewe die nuwe demokrasie en die geleenthede wat beskikbaar is aan alle Suid-Afrikaanse jeugdige, het die beleefde ervaringe van swart Afrikane adolessente merkbaar verander. Daar is egter gevind dat daar tans beperkte kwalitatiewe navorsing in verband met die geleefde ervaringe rakende die identiteit van swart Afrikane adolessente in Suid-Afrika bestaan. Hierdie navorsing is vanuit 'n interpretatiewe paradigma benader en Bronfenbrenner se ekologiese sisteemteorie is as teoretiese raamwerk vir hierdie studie aangewend. Bestaande literatuur oor adolessensie en identiteit is gebruik as die bewusmakings-konsepte (sensitising concepts) vir die studie. Die doel van hierdie studie was om die deelnemers 'n stem te gee en hulle 'n geleentheid te bied om openlik te praat oor hul ondervindinge rakende hul identiteit. Hierdie kwalitatiewe navorsing het fokusgroep-besprekings sowel as individuele indiepte onderhoude gebruik om deelnemers se geleefde ervaringe te verken. Nege en vyftig deelnemers vanuit vier skole in die Motheo distrik het aan die studie deelgeneem. Die data is ontleed met behulp van Interpretatiewe Fenomenologiese Analise, waarna deelnemers se stories in hoof- en subtemas gerekonstrueer is. Vier hoof- temas is geïdentifiseer. Die eerste beklemtoon die deelnemers se ervaring en begrip van wie hulle is, die tweede het betrekking op die deelnemers se ervaring van hulself in verhouding tot ander (familie en vriende), 'n derde hooftema handel oor deelnemers se ervaring van hulself in hul direkte omgewing (skool, media, gemeenskappe en buurte), en laastens, die vierde hooftema beklemtoon die deelnemers se ervaring van hulself in hul ideologiese strukture. Bestaande teorieë en bevindinge van vorige studies bevestig die resultate van hierdie studie. Die kliniese belang van die studie sluit verskeie aanbevelings vir verdere kwalitatiewe navorsing studies in, om sodoende genuanseerde inligting tot hierdie veld te bevorder.

SLEUTELTERME: *Identiteit; geleefde ervaringe; Motheo distrik; swart Afrikane adolessente; Interpretatiewe Fenomenologiese Analise*

CHAPTER 1 – General orientation to the study

Rapid global transformations are altering the environments in which individuals prepare for adulthood (Larson, 2003). As a result of these changes in societies and communities, a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of adolescents - specifically related to their identity - is necessary. Therefore the focus of this study was to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences related to the identity of adolescents, specifically black African adolescents in the Motheo district of the central Free State, South Africa.

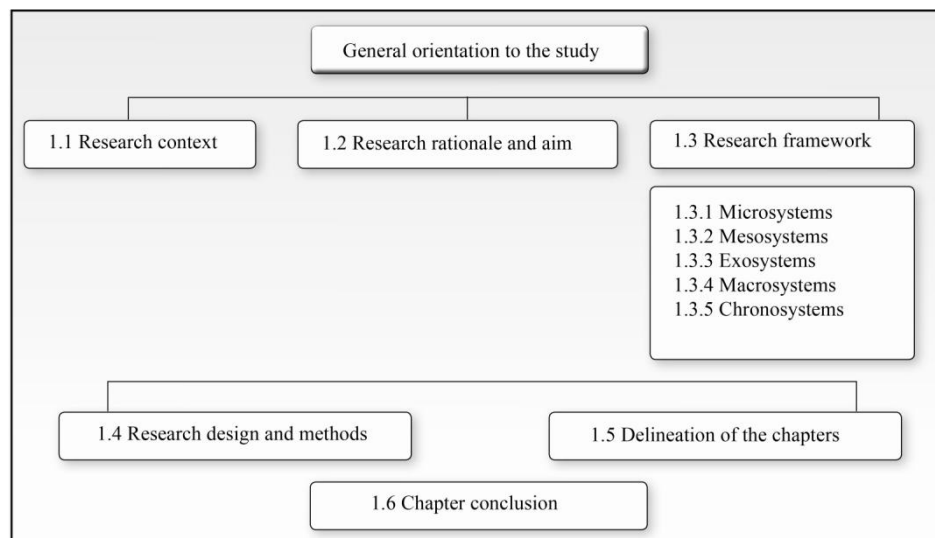


Figure 1. Visual display of Chapter 1 outline

As indicated in Figure 1, the focus of this chapter is to orientate the reader to the study. The chapter serves as an introduction to the research context, rationale and aim, as well as the research framework, design and methods of the study.

1.1 Research context

Adolescents as a social group constitute a large and important group in the world as well as in South Africa. Approximately 1.2 billion adolescents globally negotiate the trials and encounters between childhood and adulthood. Nine out of ten of these adolescents reside in the developing world (UNICEF, 2002).

Adolescence is considered as a crucial and significant period of individuals' lives, as rapid physical and cognitive development occurs, resulting in individual maturity (Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Malekoff, 2004; Lenz, 2001). It is difficult to assign definite years to this

period because adolescence differs from country to country and culture to culture (Arnett, 2000).

Adolescence is often described as a challenging and complex period in the lifespan of individuals (Hall, 1904; Larson, 2003; Lerner & Steinberg, 2004). This period includes rapid increases in individuals' social interactions and awareness, heightened emotionality, intensifications of moral consciousness and an attitude towards the service of mankind (Berk, 2001; Christie & Viner, 2005; Heaven, 2001; Larson & Wilson, 2004; Steyn, 2006). In addition to the aforementioned, this developmental stage is seen as an age of opportunity. Adolescents are regarded as resourceful and brave individuals who are aware of their own influence on their future. Adolescents are furthermore aware of the impact that the society in which they live has on their future (UNICEF, 2002).

It is theorised that many of life's most complex transitions are experienced during adolescence. As adolescents achieve greater cognitive abilities, receive more responsibilities and desire greater independence, they also develop a sense of self and form a stable identity, characterising their persistent qualities and traits. This process of characterisation enables individuals to form a distinct personality (Kroger, 2007).

Such a sense of self is believed to be a social construction that develops from individual as well as social processes, and occurs within social contexts and communities (Leary & Tangney, 2003). Adolescents are expected to combine standards, opinions and social comparisons, gathered during peer interaction, with expectations and evaluations of their family (Heaven, 2001). These familial expectations and evaluations regularly oppose those of the peer group (Heaven, 2001). Furthermore, cultural norms as well as societal conditions, such as role models and the media impact on the development of adolescents. All of these contexts and communities thus impact on the identity formation of individuals.

During the 2001 census, it was confirmed that South Africa has a very youthful population; a feature regularly associated with developing countries (Statistics South Africa, 2001). South Africa is a country vibrant with political, economic and social transformations as people move beyond an apartheid-legacy to a more democratic society (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Ramphele, 2002). Democratic governance as well as the Bill of Rights have fundamentally changed the independence and possibilities of numerous South Africans (Ramphele, 2002).

In the context of rapid societal and political changes, adolescents experience difficulty with regards to their identity formation, particularly with regard to the nature of education, cultural influences and the needs of the labour market (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). Although adolescents are not powerless during societal changes, their developmental position renders them more vulnerable than other groups to the uncertainties and risks related to societal changes (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007).

According to the Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (PCAS) (2006), race, nationality, language as well as class and religion are the categories that South Africans utilise in defining themselves. The FutureFact mindset survey (2000) reported that nearly half (44%) of South Africans consider their primary form of social identification, by which they define themselves, to be their racial, national or language category. Interesting trends reported by The FutureFact mindset survey (2000), regarding how the youth define their identity, include that 52% of young individuals in the age group 16–24 years consider South African as their primary identification. This is opposed to 20% of this age group who consider African, 9% who consider their language category and 5% who consider their race as their primary identification. The FutureFact mindset survey reported that young individuals, across all racial groups, use the identity of African/South African more frequently in defining themselves than individuals in older groups. The survey further reported that only 5% of individuals in the age group 16–24 years use their racial orientation as their primary self-identity. PCAS reported that identification by class appears to be increasing. During a 2000 PCAS study, only 14% of individuals (16–24 years age group) reported that they regarded their occupation and/or class descriptions as their primary identification. During a 2004 PCAS study, the number of individuals in the 16–24 years age group reporting that their primary identification was their occupation and/or class descriptions had increased to 37% (PCAS, 2006).

According to the Statistics South Africa provincial profile of 2004, approximately 6% of South Africa's total population resides in the Free State, the second smallest province (Statistics South Africa, 2004). Approximately 40% of South Africans were categorised in the age group 14–35 years during the 1996 census, with 7% of South Africa's youth residing in the Free State (Statistics South Africa, 2001). The 2001 census reported that the largest age group in the Free State constituted the 15–19 years age group (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Given the entire population of the Free State province, the majority of individuals in

the province are reportedly black African (87.1%), with Sesotho spoken as the most common home language (64%). With regard to education in the province, it was reported that the Free State province produced the fourth highest results of the nine provinces in the 2003 senior certificate examinations, and further has the third smallest proportion (16%) of people with no education (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

The Free State province is divided into five districts, of which the Motheo district is the largest, with 26.9% of the people in the Free State residing in the Motheo district. The innermost region of the Free State province is regarded as the Motheo district municipality, with Bloemfontein as main location. Geographically, the Motheo district is the central point of economic and industrial development in the Free State province. The Motheo district has a similar age distribution compared to the entire Free State province, in that the largest age group (10.8%) constituted the 15–19 years age group (Statistics South Africa, 2004).

Adolescents in developing countries face intense challenges ranging from gaining an education to simply surviving (UNICEF, 2002). Youth living in the Free State, as well as many other adolescents in South Africa, live in social contexts that are characterised by violence, HIV/AIDS and low educational attainment, all of which have an influence on individual development (Statistics South Africa, 2001; 2004; UNAIDS/WHO, 2001). Adolescents in South Africa therefore have to manage the aforementioned social contexts while simultaneously developing a sense of who they are. In the midst of transformation, the lived experiences of South Africans continue to be influenced by the difficulties that prevail as a result of the burden of race, class and gender-based inequalities. The process of transformation aims to encourage socio-economic development, improvement of living conditions and empowerment of previously underprivileged groups (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Ramphele, 2002).

The term, *lived*, is defined as spending one's life in a particular way or under particular circumstances, while *experience* is defined as practical contact with and observation of facts or events. It could also be defined as the knowledge or skill acquired by such means over a period of time (Hung, Looi, & Koh, 2004; Van Manen, 1997; 2002). Adolescents' lived experiences thus relate to the skills and knowledge that they learn while growing up. It also includes the norms, values and everyday experiences that adolescents encounter in their communities, as well as ultimately including leaving the familiarity of their childhood home

and becoming adults (Social Policy Research, 1996). According to Prus (1996), individuals create reality and lived experiences as they reflect on, interact with and react to others.

In essence, South Africa, as well as the Free State province, has undergone numerous changes within the last decade. Given the youthful population of the country and the province, these changes and transformations have had considerable impact on the manner in which the youth define themselves. In addition to primary identification category changes, the environments in which individuals develop, and the systems shaping individuals, are constantly adjusting to the intense changes occurring in the country and the province. Considering that identity formation is one of the key tasks of adolescence, reported to be the largest age group in the country, investigating the influences and lived experiences related to the identity of these adolescents should be considered a priority.

1.2 Research rationale and aim

Adolescents of the current generation are presented with a wider range of educational, family, occupation and health experiences than those of adolescents one or two generations ago. The variations in lived experiences can be viewed as a result of globalisation, technological advances and widespread economic development. While these changes result in greater complexity and challenge during adolescence, globally the majority of adolescents experience greater diversity, increased opportunities and more security than in the past (Larson, 2003; Larson, Moneta, Richards, & Wilson, 2002).

Global changes together with cultural variations and societal distinctions make this study a vital part of investigation into the lived experiences related to identity in black African adolescents. Sense of self and identity are central themes in adolescence, but limited knowledge exists concerning South African adolescents and their lived experiences relating to identity (Alberts, 2000; Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002; Dickow & Møller, 2002). In a rapidly changing South Africa, with its diversity of societies and communities, it should be a priority to gain greater insight and understanding into the dynamic lived experiences related to the identity of South African adolescents. It has been stated that dramatic changes experienced by black African adolescents pertaining to their social realities contribute to their role confusion rather than their identity cohesion (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Stevens & Lockhart, 1997; Thom & Coetzee, 2004).

Through this study insight may be gained into specific lived experience relating to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. A deeper understanding of the lived experiences of adolescents can provide knowledge not only about adolescents' development in this community but can also provide a more nuanced understanding of the youth in this district. The research will focus on black African adolescents' lived experiences as well as on how these experiences are framed by their context.

The research question for this study can be formulated as follows: What are the lived experiences, specifically regarding identity, of a black African adolescent in the Motheo district?

1.3 Research framework

In order to best understand the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district, an ecological model, namely the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), is used as the framework for this study. As adolescents do not develop and live in isolation from their surroundings, it is necessary to use a theory that integrates personal characteristics and developments, primary processes, circumstances and contexts, as well as time. While it is very important to understand how environments and situations influence individuals, it is equally important to understand the influences caused by the combination and interaction of these environments and situations (Huston & Bentley, 2010).

According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) definition, development is regarded as "lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment" (p. 3). Development is shaped by the interaction of the surrounding environment and individuals' biologically influenced characteristics (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994). Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is a dynamic model that not only incorporates the multiple contexts with which individuals have direct contact, but also includes contexts that indirectly influence individuals (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006). Bronfenbrenner stated that the environment interacts with the individual and *vice versa*, while at the same time, the different levels of the environment influence each other. This approach to human development suggests the most distinguished and inclusive description of contextual influences on development (Berk, 2001). Although the direct environment is of significance, the larger

context is also important in the development of individuals (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) stated that development is the result of intricate processes that occur, during which individuals interact with other individuals, objects and symbols in their direct as well as indirect environments. While a focus on aspects of the context accurately characterises the earlier theorising of Bronfenbrenner's work, he later engaged in self-criticism and emphasised patterning and interrelationship between multiple determinants of development. He placed further emphasis on the active role that individuals play in their own development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Darling, 2007; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009). Bronfenbrenner further stated that individuals' background, past experiences, positive and negative life events and personal belief systems influenced their lived experience and sense of self (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 2005; Hogg, 2001).

In this theory, the ecological system is composed of five subsystems which aid in sustaining and directing human development. Bronfenbrenner compared these subsystems to Russian dolls, structures nested within each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These subsystems range from the microsystem (i.e. relationship between the developing person and their immediate environment) to the macrosystem (i.e. institutional models of culture) (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Based on Lewin's theory of psychological fields, the ecological environment is considered as a set of layered structures, each inside the other (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Lewin, 1935). Each layer of the environment has an influential impact on individuals and can be influenced by the circumstantial nature of individuals' lives. Each layer therefore offers an ever-growing variety of possibilities and sources of growth and is a contributing factor in development. The various layers that form part of this framework are discussed below.

1.3.1 Microsystems

The innermost layer of the environment represents the microsystem, which is the direct setting that surrounds individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This includes patterns of activities, social roles and interpersonal relationships experienced in individuals' immediate surroundings. Some examples of a microsystem include such settings as the home, family, school and peer groups.

Individuals' biologically determined characteristics influence the extent of the environmental influence. Shaffer (1999) suggested that children's biologically and socially determined characteristics, such as behaviour, personality, physique and abilities, influence the behaviour

of the people around them. It is within the microsystems that enduring forms of interactions occur in order to produce and maintain development (Shaffer, 1999).

Individuals are influenced by the people in their environment (Shaffer, 2009). These experiences occur in face-to-face settings with specific physical, societal and symbolic characteristics, which encourage, allow or restrain engagement in the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986). Third parties can also influence the interaction between two microsystems, for instance, a mother who is happily married is more likely to give attention to the activities of her adolescent daughter and may be more sensitive to the pubertal changes that her child is going through than a mother who is experiencing marital tension (Trisnadi-Rages, 2007). The power to create and maintain development is determined by the content and arrangement of microsystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Shaffer, 2009).

1.3.2 Mesosystems

The second level of Bronfenbrenner's model is the mesosystem. Bronfenbrenner stated that the different environments and structures within microsystems do not affect development independently. The mesosystem entails the connections and continuous interactions that occur between microsystems, emphasising how the interconnections between microsystems foster and effect development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986). A mesosystem is therefore a system of microsystemic areas (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; Shaffer, 2009). The mesosystem includes but is not limited to interactions between schools, families, religious organisations, clinics, peers, sports groups and clubs, day care centres and neighbourhood play areas (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986).

Although the family system forms the primary environment in which individuals develop, it is not the only environment in which development occurs. A case of a more detailed example of a mesosystem is described by Trisnadi-Rages (2007), stating that informal social controls, such as parents being involved and watching over their children's playground activities, as well as parents being involved and having regular contact with the school and teachers, supports development.

1.3.3 Exosystems

The next layer is known as the exosystem, which includes social settings. Social settings in this layer do not necessarily directly include individuals, and individuals need not even be

present in these settings, but such social settings nevertheless influence experiences in the immediate setting of individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Environments that form part of the exosystem include mass media, parents' work and social surroundings, workforce and business settings, factories, organisations and school boards (Shaffer, 2009).

Events that occur in the exosystem have an indirect influence on processes within the immediate settings of developing persons. Research done since the early 1980's has placed emphasis on three exosystems that are likely to indirectly impact child and adolescent development. These exosystems include parents' world of work, family social networks and neighbourhood and community contexts (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Although children do not often enter or have limited access to the way their parents live their lives, parents' lives are important aspects of the psychological development of individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986).

Although the support received from the exosystem is informal, a collapse in exosystem activities has a negative effect on development, for instance, families who are isolated socially, or have experienced and been influenced by unemployment show higher rates of conflict (Berk, 2001).

1.3.4 Macrosystems

The outermost layer of the ecological systems theory model is the macrosystem. This layer is not a particular context, but consists of the principles, standards, traditions and resources of a specific culture. The macrosystem is an overarching system of the micro-, meso- and exosystems. It is a broad ideology of a specific culture or subculture or social class (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Shaffer, 1999). This system consists of cultural values, laws, beliefs, shared knowledge and rituals, resources, opportunity structures and general developmental choices that are entrenched in such wider systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986). This system has been described as the societal blueprint of cultures and subcultures (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

For example, in South Africa not all cultures and subcultures have the same beliefs and values. While certain groups value independence and autonomy, others value interdependence and connectivity (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Moran, Harris, & Moran, 2012).

The values and customs of each group can aid development or delay, and even prevent optimal development (Shaffer, 2009).

1.3.5 Chronosystems

The final layer of this model broadens the environment into a third dimension. The chronosystem is a summary of the influences that have had an impact on development transformations and stabilities over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994). Studying the chronosystem is therefore the study of collective effects of a complete cycle of developmental changes over an extended period of individuals' lives (Shaffer, 2009).

According to Bronfenbrenner, the environment is not a rigid force that uniformly influences individuals. Instead, it is dynamic and ever-changing. The chronosystem consists of environmental events and transitions occurring throughout individuals' lives, including major life transitions and socio-historical events (Shaffer, 2009). These shifts in environments, or contextual transitions, occur throughout the lifespan of individuals and are often significant turning points in development. These influences are either normative or non-normative (Shaffer, 2009). Both types of influences occur over the lifespan of the individual effecting development directly, as well as indirectly (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; Shaffer, 2009).

Normative influences are influences that would affect large groups of people and are typically age-graded biological as well as environmental influences, for instance moving from primary to secondary school, puberty or starting tertiary education (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986). Normative influences could also be historically-graded and affect a cohort of people (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986), for instance the end of apartheid and the new democracy in South Africa. Non-normative influences are uncommon influences or unexpected events that occur in individuals' lives, for instance the death of a parent, severe illness or an unexpected pregnancy during adolescence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986). Non-normative experiences, such as unplanned adolescent pregnancy or childhood cancer, often conflict the tasks of adolescence and impact individuals' adjustment and mastery of developmental tasks (Erikson, 1968), as well as the gaining of independence and autonomy from the family (M. J. Benson, 2004; Macleod, 2003).

Thus, from an ecological systems perspective, development is neither exclusively organised by environmental conditions nor solely determined by internal characteristics. Individuals

are therefore creations and creators of their circumstances. Individuals and environments therefore form a system of interdependent effects. There exist reciprocal relationships within and between different layers of the environment, and changes in one environment may influence other environments. This theory draws attention to how each environmental factor influences and is influenced by other factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; Trisnadi-Rages, 2007). Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that the manner in which the environment is perceived applies more to behaviour and development than the objective reality of the environment. Figure 2 is a graphic representation of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Huston & Bentley, 2010).

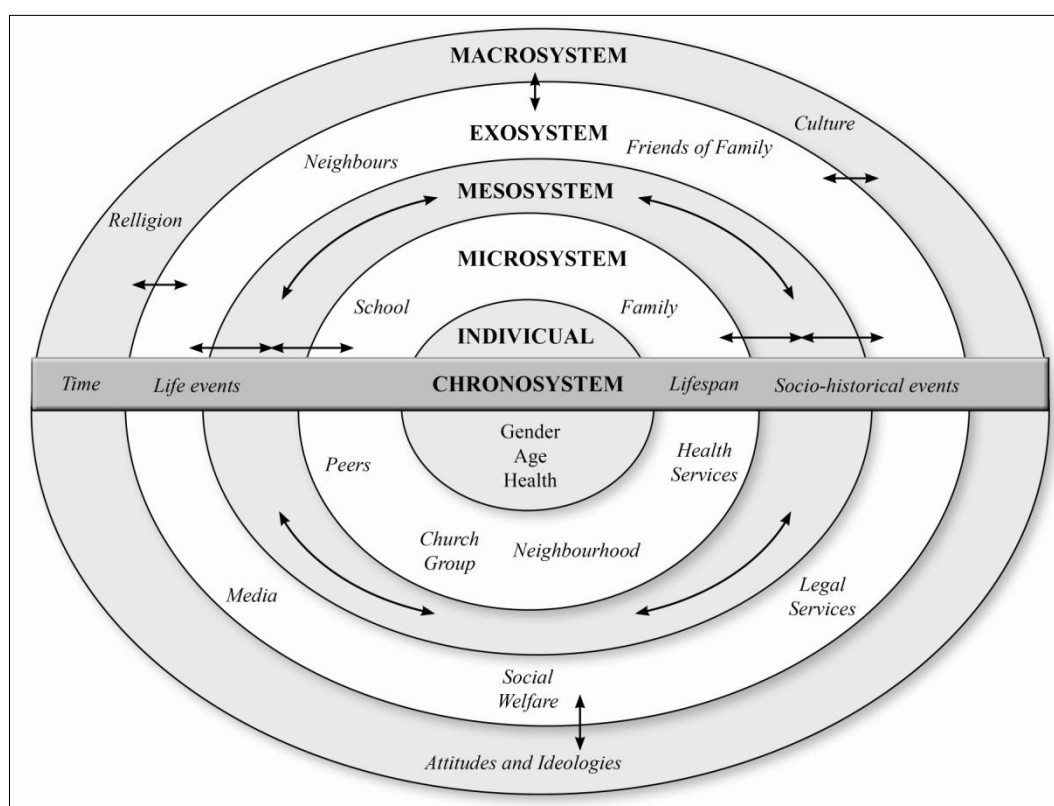


Figure 2. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory

1.4 Research design and methods

The following aspects briefly mentioned, relating to research design and methods, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

For this descriptive, exploratory and contextual study, a qualitative research design was utilised (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Niewenhuis, 2007; Patton, 2002). According to Holloway and Todres (2003), when analysing the manner in which individuals understand

and make sense of their lived experiences and the environment in which they live, an interpretivist approach to social reality should be at the basis of qualitative research. The design allowed the researcher to investigate lived experiences relating to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district through semi-structured focus group discussions and in-depth individual interviews.

Four English medium schools were selected from a list of schools in the Motheo district. The specific focus of the study was on black African adolescents from the Motheo district and thus only schools where a majority of black African learners are enrolled were included. Purposive sampling was deemed appropriate for this study as black African adolescents in the Motheo district specifically were interviewed. Inclusion criteria were set for the selection of participants.

Focus group discussions were held in each of the selected schools until the point of data saturation was reached. Following the focus group discussions, individual in-depth interviews were conducted with selected participants in order to gain greater insight into the lived experiences related to identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district.

Data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA aims to provide insights into how an individual or group, in a given context, makes sense of a particular phenomenon (Smith, 2004). IPA explores and seeks the meaning behind words, thereby reflecting the core of an individual or a lived experience (Smith, 2004).

Scientific research should be built on the foundation of trust (Whitebeck, 2001). Guba and Lincoln's constructs provide guidelines for ensuring thoroughness in qualitative research (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). These constructs include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). These measures of trustworthiness are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Ethical guidelines as proposed by the American Psychological Association (APA) (APA, 2010) were followed in this study. Authorisation for conducting the research was obtained from the University of the Free State, the provincial Department of Education, schools and parents. All participants provided informed consent. Ethical considerations, such as

confidentiality, autonomy, beneficence and justice (Allan, 2008; APA, 2010; Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2004) were adhered to.

1.5 Delineation of the chapters

An outline of the dissertation in the form of a broad overview of each chapter is provided in this section. The rationale for this study, the research question presented in this study, and a brief outline of the methodology that was utilised in performing the research was presented in the current chapter (Chapter 1).

In Chapter 2, an overview of the literature relating to adolescence and specific factors that impact adolescent development is provided. Adolescence as developmental stage, as well as the important developmental tasks completed during this stage, will be clarified. In addition to taking an in-depth view at adolescents, literature regarding the contextual factors in adolescents' micro-, meso- and exosystems, as well as factors in the macro- and chronosystems of adolescents are investigated.

The importance of identity formation during adolescence is described in Chapter 3. Conceptualising identity from an ecological perspective, various dimensions of identity, and identity formation is described in this chapter. The chapter further includes a discussion of identity formation in the South African context.

In Chapter 4, the method and procedures used to conduct this research study are explained. The research design, objectives of the research study as well as the sample, data gathering processes and data analyses will be explained.

The main and subthemes that emerged from the data analysis are presented in Chapter 5. The themes that emerged are discussed in conjunction with theoretical conceptualisations in Chapter 6.

The dissertation is concluded with a summary of the results, conclusions, limitations and recommendations for further research, presented in Chapter 7.

1.6 Chapter conclusion

The nature of the study and field of interest were introduced in this chapter. The model on which the investigation is built was described. Brief clarifications of concepts that were utilised in the remainder of the document were also presented. Although the research design and methodology will be described in great depth in Chapter 4, this chapter introduced the design and method that was used in the investigation of the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district of the central Free State, South Africa. The next chapter will describe adolescent development and the key developmental tasks that individuals should complete during this stage of development.

Chapter 2 – Adolescence in context

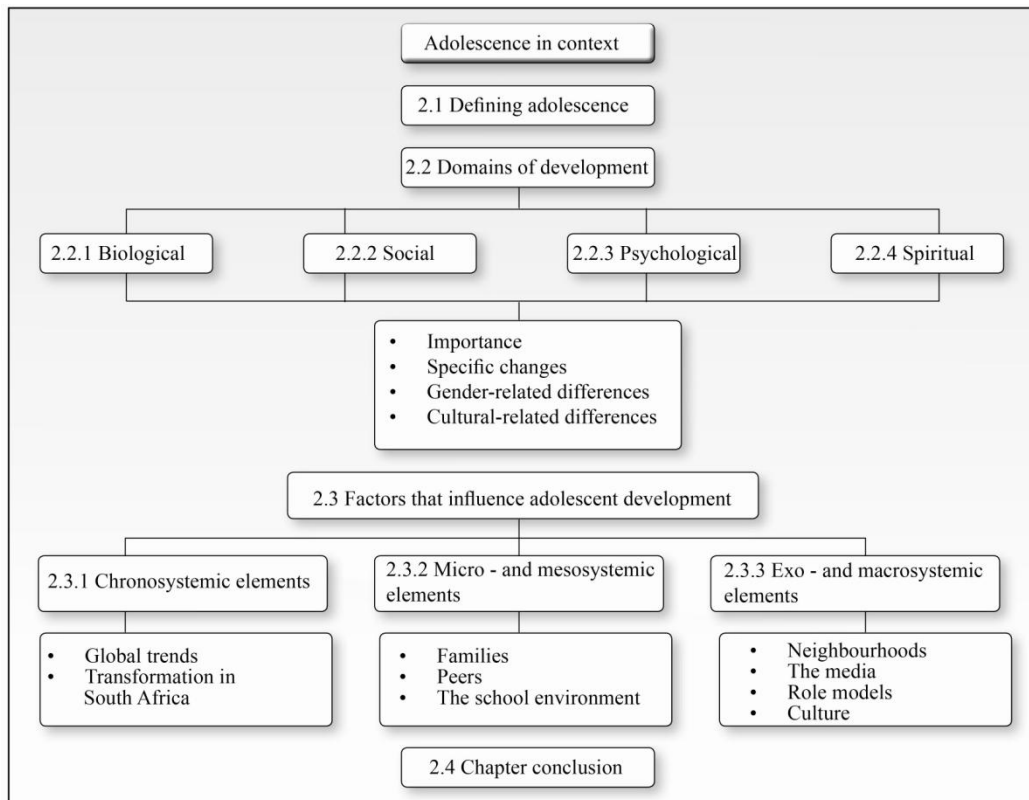


Figure 3. Visual display of Chapter 2 outline

As illustrated in Figure 3, an overview of adolescence as a stage of human development will be presented in this chapter. Various definitions of this particular developmental stage will be provided, incorporating numerous views regarding adolescence. Definitions that emphasise the various layers of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological perspective will be described and the most appropriate definition for this study will be stated. Developmental tasks and milestones that are reached during adolescence will also be discussed in this chapter. Lastly, various influences on adolescent development will be presented.

2.1 Defining adolescence

From the following discussion it will become clear that numerous definitions of adolescence are in existence. The adolescent period has been referred to as youth, emerging adulthood, the second decade of life, as well as the teenage years. Popularised phrases and descriptive statements associated with a definition of adolescence include terms such as transition to

adulthood, a period of storm-and-stress as well as a period of rapid change and maturation into adulthood (Berk, 2001; Hall, 1904; Larson & Wilson, 2004).

Adolescents should not be regarded as an indistinguishable group of individuals, given that stereotypes often underestimate their diversity and exaggerate their liabilities (Beckett & Taylor, 2010). Individuals experience the adolescence stage differently - while some adolescents change rapidly and graciously, others are challenged by demanding transitions (Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Malekoff, 2004). Adolescence is often referred to as a time during which individuals have not yet made commitments. During this stage, commitments are exploratory and tentative, allowing individuals a period of moratorium (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Marcia, 1966). Fuhrmann (1986) stated that adolescence is not necessarily stormy, and proposed three basic patterns of growth in adolescence, namely: stormy, calm and dynamic (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Lenz, 2001). Some adolescents' development is indeed characterised by stressful and stormy incidents that are very painful. Other adolescents experience this period as simply a continuation of development and for them it is a peaceful period, while the third group does indeed experience crisis but they overcome these by participating constructively in their own development (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Lenz, 2001).

As adolescence is frequently perceived as a kaleidoscope of experiences, endeavours to create a worldwide definition of adolescence has proved challenging (Arnett, 2000). Definitions that are used and discussed in this study include definitions by theorists such as Hall, Freud, Piaget, Erikson, Kail and Cavanaugh, as well as Brown and colleagues. Definitions pertaining to adolescence frequently accentuate a specific domain of development. Specific definitions focus on biological development of individuals, while other definitions focus on social and interpersonal development, the development and maturity of individuals in society, as well as development within their ideological structures.

Several definitions focus on biological changes and specific age of onset. The beginning of adolescence is therefore marked by puberty, characterised by biological and physical changes that result in an adult sized body and sexual maturation (Berk, 2001). According to researchers, the age and onset of puberty, globally, is earlier than in previous generations (Dorn & Biro, 2011). This surge in younger age of puberty onset has been related with enhancements in socioeconomic developments, for example improved nutrition (Dorn &

Biro, 2011; Kaplowitz, Slora, Wasserman, Pedlow, & Herman-Giddens, 2001). Adolescence has been described as the period of development that occurs from the onset of puberty (generally age 11 years) to the time that individuals reach adulthood (generally age 21 years) (Berk, 2001; Larson & Wilson, 2004).

According to Hall - regarded as the earliest primary figure in adolescent studies - adolescence involves physical, intellectual and social change and represents a time of upheaval, suffering, passion and rebellion against adult authority (Hall, 1904; Lerner & Steinberg, 2004). According to a review by Kail and Cavanaugh (2004), adolescence is the transitional period during which individuals encounter rapid changes pertaining to cognitive processes. Erikson (1968) regarded the tension involved in the elaboration of personal identity as fundamental to the concept of adolescence (Christie & Viner, 2005; Erikson, 1968). Also Steyn (2006) defined adolescence as a transitional period, where physical, cognitive and socio-affective changes occur to enhance individuals' maturity.

Numerous definitions give prominence to the social development that occurs during adolescence. Such definitions generally regard adolescence as a time during which individuals are allowed increasingly more independence by their parents or legal guardians and are supervised less than during their preadolescent years (Heaven, 2001). During adolescence it is essential that individuals behave in agreement with social roles, interact with peers (of the same and opposite gender), fulfil schooling and educational requirements and make decisions concerning their occupations and careers (Brown, Bakken, Ameringer, & Mahon, 2008). Steyn (2006) also indicated that adolescence is a stage that enables individuals to establish the values and morals required for effective involvement in society.

Social environments and peer interactions appear to be more prominent during the adolescent years. Adolescence is the developmental stage during which individuals' interaction with their larger society (e.g. culture, morals, values, class, etc.) broadens and increases (Berk, 2001; Hall, 1904; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2004; Larson & Wilson, 2004). Such interaction not only aids adjustments in the macro- and exosystems, but also causes momentum whereby the system is altered (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Adolescence, therefore, is not described according to a specific age or developmental change, but is rather described as a time during which individuals become mature enough to be entrusted with certain tasks, such as completing

certain levels of education, sexual exploration and having legal sexual relations (Hartman, 2002).

The macrosystem, defined as the broad ideology, including values and belief systems, of cultures, subcultures or social classes (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), influences developmental stages and cannot be disregarded (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Recognition is therefore given to the fact that definitions and various adolescent experiences, differ for individuals from various regions of the world (Arnett, 2001). Differences may further occur for adolescents from the same region but from different political, economic and social groups (Arnett, 2001).

Another factor that should be incorporated in defining adolescence is the time perspective or chronosystemic layer (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Factors on this level include, for example, the specific age of onset of puberty, as well as the fact that definitions of adolescence are amended from generation to generation (Arnett, 2001).

Factors that are considered in defining adolescence should incorporate the different levels of Bronfenbrenner's model. Definitions that focus solely on a single developmental domain such as age of onset, biological maturation, greater societal integration or cultural rights of passage are too simplistic in nature. During this stage, maturation should enable individuals to: become at ease with their physical appearance, learn how to verbalise their thoughts abstractly, gain independence and autonomy from adult authority figures, as well as establish relationships with the same and opposite genders. During adolescence, individuals further experiment with institutions outside of the immediate family so as to develop a sense of identity and a system of personal values and beliefs. This stage therefore includes multifaceted development involving processes that continue over a substantial stage of individuals' lives (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Heaven, 2001).

For the purposes of this study, the adolescent stage can be described as a time of complex and interrelated developmental changes, between the onset of puberty and the completion of certain culturally idiosyncratic key tasks. It is a period of development during which individuals experience accelerated sexual and biological maturation as well as greater cognitive and social competence. During this stage individuals gain more independence, autonomy and greater responsibility, resulting in the nature of their relationships changing.

Despite changes in relationships, sense of belonging and acceptance are vital in this stage. Another key task to be completed during adolescence includes identity formation. Throughout this stage, an increase in engagement with institutions outside of the family unit occurs, and the influence of these institutions on sense of self intensifies. Individuals further establish a personal belief and value system during this stage. The transition and cessation of adolescence is influenced by the cultural as well as temporal dimension.

2.2 Domains of development

Every stage of development involves new adversities and possibilities for individual growth. Adolescents experience simultaneous biological, psychological, social and spiritual role changes. Towards the end of adolescence it is necessary that individuals experience a readiness for the biological, psychological, social and spiritual responsibilities of adulthood (Bandura, 2001; Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Larson & Wilson, 2004; Malekoff, 2004).

Cross-cultural research provides alternative frameworks for cultural interpretations of adolescence (Rogoff, 2003). The implications and importance of cultural definitions and views of human development are illustrated in the following section. The biological domain and physical development is of importance in many industrialised Western nations, relating developmental stages to age. Chronological age to a great extent therefore determines the perceptions and expectations of adolescent development in these cultures (Rogoff, 2003). In societies where the biological constructs are not of particular importance, perceptions and expectations of adolescent development are influenced more by social constructs (Rogoff, 2003). For example, in specific geographic areas of West Africa, the perceived level of social proficiency - opposed to age - is the key consideration in awarding roles and responsibilities to adolescents (Nsamenang, 2002; Rogoff, 2003). Knowledge of the cultural variations related to principles for describing development, as well as the cultural contexts in which development occurs (Fleer, 2006; Rogoff, 2003) is important.

In the sections that follow, domains of adolescent development (namely physical, social, cognitive, emotional, spiritual and moral development) are discussed. It should, however, be emphasised that aspects of development are interrelated - they affect, and are affected by, one another. In discussing each of these domains, the most important adolescent developmental tasks will be highlighted. Developmental tasks are a set of skills and competencies that are

developed during each stage. These developmental tasks contribute to individuals' increased competence and define what is normal and healthy in terms of societal and cultural expectations.

2.2.1 Developmental tasks related to the biological domain

Adolescence is regularly viewed as the physical maturation from childhood to adulthood. The next section will describe physical developmental changes and tasks that occur during the adolescent years. The importance of this domain on adolescent development, the changes that occur, as well as gender and cultural differences are discussed below.

2.2.1.1 The importance of the biological domain in adolescent development

Bronfenbrenner, in recent times, emphasised the fact that individuals' biological natures interact with environmental influences to shape development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000). Knowledge about the changes occurring in the biological domain is important, as prior to adolescence individuals have not experienced such prompt and intense physical changes (Havighurst, 1971) and must learn to adjust to a new physical sense of self (Seiffge-Krenke & Gelhaar, 2008). The biological domain is important as adolescents frequently experience feelings of alienation from their bodies, resulting from the rapid growth occurring during adolescence (Steyn, 2006). Given that body image is linked to adolescents' self-esteem, the influence of the biological domain on adolescent development is important (Davison & McCabe, 2006). Sexual maturation occurs during adolescence, and is of importance as intimacy and sex continue to be intriguing topics for the majority of adolescents (Davis & Friel, 2004).

2.2.1.2 Specific changes that occur in the biological domain

Physical changes during adolescence are prompted by two major changes known as puberty and the growth spurt. These changes are characterised by hormonal changes and sexual maturation, sudden increase in height and weight, sleep and wakefulness pattern alterations, as well as anatomical development of the human brain.

Puberty is viewed as the distinct maturational event that initiates adolescence (Berk, 2001; Keefer & Reese, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Puberty signifies the maturation of reproductive organs that enable individuals to be functionally capable of procreation (Heffner & Schust, 2010; Keefer & Reese, 2002; Susman, Dorn, & Schiefelbein, 2003). Puberty is the

outcome of events in the neuroendocrine systems of the brain that controls sexual maturation and entails profound physical changes (Keefer & Reene, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2006; Susman et al., 2003). Biological events that surround puberty include the first menstruation in females and the first ejaculation in males (Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Pinyerd & Zipf, 2005; Shaffer & Kipp, 2007). The development of sexual characteristics, commencing during early adolescence, is maintained through the maturation of reproductive organs (Berk, 2001; Biro & Dorn, 2005; Dorn, Dahl, Woodward, & Biro, 2006). Pubertal changes can be dramatic and momentous, with the timing and onset of puberty varying and depending on genetic, biological, socio-economical and nutritional factors (Dorn & Biro, 2011; Kaplowitz et al., 2001).

In the course of middle to late adolescence, individuals mature sexually (Berk, 2001; Biro & Dorn, 2005; Dorn et al., 2006). Certain sexual urges, occurring as a result of sexual development during adolescence, must be managed by adolescents in socially tolerable manners. Adolescents generally become accustomed to these sexual changes and manage associated feelings and urges gradually (Berk, 2001; Biro & Dorn, 2005; Dorn et al., 2006). According to many theorists, the work done by Sigmund Freud and Anna Freud is based largely on biological principles, and forms part of the psychiatric perspective on adolescent development. Sigmund Freud stated that, during adolescence, the earlier resolution of childhood struggles between instinctive demands and ego mechanisms are unsettled when growth of the external and internal genitalia brings about new tension. Individuals, especially during adolescence, need to find balance between their instinctive demands and the social sanctions placed upon them (Freud, 1964; 1974; Muris, 2006). Anna Freud (1963) further proposed that new, robust sexual desires arise during adolescence and that individuals' character is threatened by their new genital or sexual orientation. Her theory is the most extreme of the turmoil theories (Holder, 2005). Both Freud and his daughter suggested that adolescence is a time during which the demanding id is continuously confronting the ego, resulting in psychological struggles and states, during which individuals experience uncertainties in ego functioning and emotional tone (Freud, 1964; Holder, 2005).

During adolescence a sudden increase in height and weight is experienced, known as the growth spurt (Berk, 2001; Keefer & Reene, 2002; Susman et al., 2003). Hormonal changes lead to somatic growth (Susman et al., 2003). The accelerated growth in height and weight experienced during puberty is affected by numerous factors that have a genetic, endocrine,

environmental, or emotional basis (Berk, 2001; Keefer & Reene, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Skeletal maturity and muscle development increases during adolescence and therefore adolescents are physically more proficient and capable than they were as younger children. Improvements in gross motor performance also occur during this stage (Berk, 2001; Seger & Thorstensson, 2000).

Physical changes and biological maturation further influence adolescents' sleep and wakefulness patterns (Berk, 2001; Crowley, Acebo, & Carskadon, 2007). General sleep pattern changes are evident in the timing and duration of sleep (Crowley et al., 2007). Interestingly, adolescents need as much sleep as they did during earlier childhood years (generally 9 to 10 hours an evening). While young adolescents (11-13 years old) sleep for 8.5 to 9.5 hours, as adolescents mature this declines to an average of around 7.5 hours an evening (Berk, 2001; Crowley et al., 2007). Despite an indication that they enjoy staying up late and function well with less sleep, many adolescents complain about sleepiness during the day (Dahl & Lewin, 2002).

The anatomical development of the human brain is also influenced by pubertal changes (Giedd et al., 2006). Brain development, such as the thickening of the myelin sheathes, increased axonal width, the improvement of organisation of white matter tracts and increased activity in the prefrontal regions have been indicated to have an influence on adolescent functioning (Giedd et al., 2006; Lenroot & Giedd, 2006). Such developments may be vital aspects in permitting cognitive, behavioural and emotional development to optimally occur during adolescence (Giedd et al., 2006; Lenroot & Giedd, 2006; Rubia et al., 2006; Tamm, Menon, & Reiss, 2002; Yurgelun-Todd, 2007). Although few would disagree that the brain is the physical basis for cognitions and behaviours, associations between a particular brain area and cognitions and behaviours are rarely straightforward (Lenroot & Giedd, 2006). Yurgelun-Todd (2007), following a recent evaluation of the literature on adolescent brain development, stated that cognitive development during this stage is related to increasingly greater competence in cognitive control and emotional regulation. Numerous theorists have claimed that cognitive development is a result of improved processing speed and efficiency rather than an increase in mental capacity (Giedd et al., 2006; Lenroot & Giedd, 2006; Rubia et al., 2006; Tamm et al., 2002).

2.2.1.3 Gender-related differences with regard to the biological domain

Adolescent males generally experience an increase in height and weight at approximately the age of 13 years, peaking at 14, and generally by the age of 16 years growth returns to a slower rate (Berk, 2001; Heffner & Schust, 2010; Pinyerd & Zipf, 2005; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Males' physical development commonly commences 2 to 3 years after the commencement of females' physical development (Berk, 2001; Heffner & Schust, 2010; Pinyerd & Zipf, 2005; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Physical maturation in female adolescents, therefore, generally commences at about 10.5 years of age, peaking by the age of 12 years, whereafter the growth rate decreases, generally at the age of 13, when a slower growth rate is restored.

According to Norris and colleagues (2008), the mean age of onset of puberty for South African male adolescents is 12.4 years of age. The first signs of puberty are the enlargement of testes, changes in the colour and texture of the scrotum as well as the appearance of pubic hair (Berk, 2001; Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Heffner & Schust, 2010). In males, facial and body hair appear and increase as sexual maturation peaks. Towards the end of adolescence, growth of the beard and the indentation of the hairline designate the concluding development of adolescence in males (Berk, 2001; Heffner & Schust, 2010). Norris and colleagues (2008) further stated that the mean age of onset of puberty for South African female adolescents is 11.3 years. Puberty in females generally commences with the development of breasts followed by the growth spurt and appearance of pubic and underarm hair (Berk, 2001; Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Heffner & Schust, 2010). The first menarche in females generally occurs at the age of 12 years (Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Heffner & Schust, 2010; Pinyerd & Zipf, 2005; Shaffer & Kipp, 2007).

Gender-related differences in gross motor development become apparent during mid-adolescence, with males outperforming females in the majority of sporting events (Berk, 2001). Physical changes occurring in adolescent males include broadening of the shoulders and chest, development of larger skeletal muscles, as well as increased heart and lung capacity. A distinctive development milestone in the maturity of males is the deepening of their voices (Berk, 2001). Vocal cords are estimated to double in length, leading to the lowering of voice pitch by one octave. It is noted that roughness of tone and unpredicted pitch variations may last until 16 or 18 years of age (Berk, 2001). During adolescence, females' voices deepen to some extent but not to the degree of their male counterparts (Berk,

2001). Physical changes further include that the number of red blood cells (influencing the capacity to transfer oxygen from the lungs to the muscles) increases in males but not in females. Also, males experience fat loss around their hips, while females experience fat gain around their hips (hips broadening relative to the waist) (Berk, 2001).

Research has indicated that females experience mixed and diverse feelings concerning puberty, with a quarter of females viewing menarche positively (Biro & Dorn, 2005; Dorn et al., 2006). Approximately two-thirds of males regard semenarche positively (Biro & Dorn, 2005; Dorn et al., 2006). A possible explanation for the difference in attitude towards puberty could be the preoccupation that males experience with their physical and athletic abilities. This leads to males perceiving their physical changes positively, welcoming the changes as they benefit athletically from these changes (Benjet & Hernández-Guzman, 2002; Biro & Dorn, 2005; Susman & Rogol, 2004).

2.2.1.4 Culture-related differences with regard to the biological domain

Cultural variation in the timing and onset of puberty and adolescent growth spurts has been documented (Gullotta & Adams, 2005). Adolescents from various cultures and subcultures progress through this stage differently. Perceptions and expectations of human development, particularly puberty, are influenced to a great extent by cultural attitudes. Information regarding physical changes as well as the support received from families greatly influence adolescents' experience of this stage (Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001). While some experience the transitions as rapid and easy, other individuals experience this stage as more demanding (Geldard & Geldard, 2004).

2.2.2 Developmental tasks related to the social domain

Adolescents' loci in their environments are regulated by interactions with various parts of the social system, facilitated by external and internal stressors and responsibilities (Christie & Viner, 2005). In this section some of the changes that occur during adolescence in terms of interpersonal interactions are summarised. From a sociological perspective, the influences of group norms, society and culture are important considerations (Gullotta & Adams, 2005). Social customs and group pressures must be investigated to understand adolescence (Gullotta & Adams, 2005). As a result of various interrelated changes that occur during adolescence, individuals experience many changes in the manner in which they interact with others

(Collins & Steinberg, 2006). The importance of this domain on adolescent development, the changes that occur, as well as gender and cultural differences are discussed below.

2.2.2.1 The importance of the social domain in adolescent development

Individuals, especially adolescents, have an intrinsic motivation to form social relations, to have positive interactions with others and to avoid trouble in such relationships (Furrer & Skinner, 2003). Based on the rapid changes occurring in contemporary society, each generation's development occurs in an environment that differs from the environment of the generation before (Crockett & Silbereisen, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). It is important to review specific influences of the social domain on the current group of adolescents, as to not assume overgeneralisations (Crockett & Silbereisen, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005).

Social domain development is of considerable importance as social skills contribute greatly to adolescents' ability to initiate and sustain relationships (Cacioppo, 2002). Knowledge of social maturation and development is important, as development in the social domain leads to interpersonal interaction changes with parents, siblings, peers and other significant individuals (Berk, 2001; Larson & Wilson, 2004).

The social domain is important to adolescent development as social isolation can lead to depression, loneliness, poor social skill development and delinquency (Gullotta & Adams, 2005; McCarthy, Felmlee, & Hagan, 2004). It is therefore important to encourage constructive social development so as to promote effective functioning during adolescence. The majority of adolescents engage in acceptable social behaviours that include going to school, attending church (religious groups), playing sports and participating in extra-curricular activities (Gullotta & Adams, 2005). Ineffective social skills increase psychological distress and loneliness, as well as negatively influence self-esteem and quality of life (Cacioppo, 2002).

McCormick and Pressley (2007) stated that peer relationships are important for overall development during adolescence. Also, Kohlberg stated that peer relations facilitate cognitive conflicts, thereby enhancing the development of moral thinking (McCormick & Pressley, 2007), and for this reason social development pertaining to peers is very important.

2.2.2.2 *Specific changes that occur in the social domain*

Given the various developmental changes occurring during adolescence, individuals become less egocentric, desire to become more independent and emphasise their need to belong. Adolescents' social interactions are significantly influenced by their social development, discussed below in greater detail.

As individuals enter adolescence, they become less egocentric than during their childhood years. This occurs as adolescents develop skills enabling them to take on the perspective of another. Based on maturation of brain structures, as well as cognitive and emotional development, adolescents' social interactions change (Blakemore, 2008; Geldard & Geldard, 2004).

Steyn (2006) stated that adolescents desire independence, autonomy and to disentangle from parents and the protection and security offered by parent-child relationships. Social maturation therefore occurs as a result of greater personal independence (Blakemore, 2008). Adolescents are often viewed as stubborn individuals because of their efforts to gain greater independence and to be seen as individuals (Steyn, 2006). Despite the desire for independence, adolescents have an intense interest and strong desire for involvement with particular groups. These desires are motivated by adolescents' strong desire to belong (Collins & Steinberg, 2006). The desire to belong and to be accepted influences adolescents' engagement in risk-taking behaviours. The importance of peer groups during adolescence further increases risk-taking as peer pressure increases (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Stice & Whitenton, 2002). Risk-taking may increase when adolescents spend unsupervised time alone, allowing adolescents time to experiment with drugs, alcohol, sex and other acts of a delinquent nature (Brown, 2004; Steinberg, 2008). Although the majority of adolescents, however, use their free time to study, play sports or engage in honest and respectable acts (Sigelman & Rider, 2006), it is important to consider social development and risk-taking. An important consideration in protecting adolescents against the negative impact of risk-taking and delinquent acts included engagement with at least one adult in a stable positive relationship, values - either religious and/or spiritual, a good family environment as well as having realistic academic expectations (Stice & Whitenton, 2002).

As previously mentioned, generational changes in development occur and can lead to unavoidable differences and conflicts between adolescents and their parents and/or

grandparents (Crockett & Silbereisen, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Popular stereotypes portrayed in the media represent adolescents as individuals estranged from their parents and families, but these stereotypes are often not true (Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Heaven, 2001; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). While adolescents associate more with peers in their search for autonomy and independence, both peers as well as family are vital in adolescents' identity formation (Crockett & Silbereisen, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Heaven, 2001). Wolfe, Jaffe and Crooks (2006) stated that although adolescents may have less contact with their family members than during their childhood years, relationships with parents and relatives remain important during adolescence. Individuals' relationships with their younger siblings during early adolescence, however, become more detached, unrestricted and emotionally charged, and conflict is highest in sibling relationships during this time (Teti, 2002; Updegraff & Crouter, 2003).

An intense interest and involvement in the peer group is characteristic of social development during adolescence (Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). In general, adolescents tend to move away from their parents and form closer alignment with their peers (Arnett, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Tarrant, 2002). Greater interaction with peers results in adolescents' imitating behaviours which enable them to distinguish between family and peer judgements, as well as between moral and social issues (Carver, Joyner, & Udry, 2003; Connolly, Craig, Goldberg, & Pepler, 2004; Henrich, Kuperminc, Sack, Blatt, & Leadbeater, 2000). There is an abundance of theories for the importance that peers hold with relation to adolescents. These theories mostly rest on the premise that the adolescent severs their strong ties with their immediate family, attempting to become more self-sufficient and more self-supporting, in order to be seen as an adult member of society (Arnett, 2001; Muuss, 1996; Tarrant, 2002). Examples of these behaviours occur in the theories of Erikson (i.e. autonomy, identity formation and intimacy) and Marcia (i.e. identity formation and intimacy). According to Muuss (1996), some theorists have overstated the importance and shift towards the peer group. Individual differences exist in the amount of social and peer interaction that adolescents enjoy. Individuals therefore have different numbers of friends and experience variation in the bonds they have with their peers (Collins & Steinberg, 2006).

According to Dunphy (1963), social structures and peer groups change during adolescence. From a very early age the organisation and content of peer relationships are influenced by gender (Martin & Fabes, 2001; Rose, 2007; Rose & Smith, 2009). Individuals in the early

adolescent years often engage with peers of the same gender as well as peers who share common interests with them. Martin and Fabes (2001) confirmed that same gender interaction occurs more frequently than opposite gender peer interaction during early adolescence. According to Dunphy's theory, the formation of such same gender cliques is known as the pre-crowd stage (Stage 1). During Stage 2 of Dunphy's theory, these same gender cliques start interacting with cliques of the opposite gender. Individuals who are in their middle adolescent years tend to engage with peers in larger groups and not necessarily with peers of only the same gender as them (Ryan, 2001). This opposite gender peer interaction is usually in the form of teasing and mocking and is seen as the start of crowds (Dunphy, 1963; Ryan, 2001). Interestingly, these groups do not necessarily include peers of different races or ethnic backgrounds (Ryan, 2001). Significant value is placed on peer group acceptance. During Stage 3 of Dunphy's theory, a crowd is formed and different cliques start to form connections. In addition to forming crowds, the admired and upper-status members of such a crowd start to form heterosexual cliques. At Stage 4 the crowd is fully formed and heterosexual interaction is customary (Carver, Joyner, et al 2003; Connolly et al., 2004; Dunphy, 1963; Henrich et al., 2000). After the age of 15 years, individuals become more selective with respect to their friends. Reported friendships usually decreases in quantity while friendship quality gains importance (Berk, 2001; Geldard & Geldard, 2004). Towards middle and late adolescence, interpersonal factors in friendship bonds gain importance while achievement and physical characteristics in friendships lose importance. Personal qualities, as a criterion of popularity, is also emphasised during late adolescence (Berk, 2001; Geldard & Geldard, 2004).

During late adolescence, peer groups mostly consist of couples. According to Dunphy's theory, Stage 5 mostly occurs towards late adolescence with a breakdown of the crowd, and a greater focus on dating and courtship in the form of couples becomes the focus of social interactions (Connolly et al., 2004; Dunphy, 1963; Henrich et al., 2000). The development of peer groups into couples often leads to situations where adolescents experiment with intimacy and show sexual experimentation in their relationships (Ryan, 2001; Santrock, 2001). Dating and sexual relationships are often experienced as the most demanding and traumatic transition for adolescents. Theoretically, adolescent romance is viewed as a subgroup of peer relationships (Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Dunphy, 1963; Ryan, 2001). This view is based on the occurrence that increasingly more time is spent within mixed-gender peer groups during early to middle adolescence (Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Dunphy, 1963).

A study performed in the Cape Peninsula, South Africa by Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses, and Seekings (2010) described South African adolescent friendships as follows: adolescents in the early stages generally have friends of both genders while individuals of the same gender are generally considered to be best friends. Very few of these younger adolescents (11-13 years of age) are romantically involved and when they do show an interest in someone of the opposite gender, it is not a focal point in their lives. This interest is often accompanied by ridicule and teasing by friends in their clique or crowd. Dating and romantic relationships were noticeable in older adolescents in this community (Bray et al., 2010). Dunphy's (1963) Stage 3 was confirmed by the South African study in that they observed the formation of crowds through the attachment of same gender cliques with cliques of the opposite gender. It was in the context of these crowds that adolescents started interacting with members of the opposite gender (Bray et al., 2010). An interesting finding reported by Bray and colleagues (2010) is that friendships during adolescence were often influenced by dating or romantic relationships (Stages 4 and 5), as adolescents often reported fighting with their peers because of boyfriends or girlfriends.

For most adolescents, school and teachers are important aspects of their life. School supports the development of relationships with their peers and creates opportunities for the development of key cognitive skills (Eccles & Roeser, 2003). For some adolescents, school and teachers are sources of safety and stability (Anderman, 2002; Anderman & Freeman, 2004). Positive adolescent-teacher relationships are characterised by qualities such as a strong sense of connection, attachment and belonging, as well as experiencing a sense that one is cared for at school (Anderman, 2002; Anderman & Freeman, 2004). Individuals' perception of teacher fairness is associated with positive adolescent development. The aforementioned factors influence adolescents' school success more than school size or type, or the ratio of teachers to learners. Adolescents' relationship quality with teachers and the school, however, influences their involvement with drugs, in delinquent acts and can increase school drop-out (Anderman, 2002; Anderman & Freeman, 2004).

As adolescents are not yet fully autonomous, nor independent, and need guidance in decision making (Arnett, 2001; Heaven, 2001), they often seek direction from and admire certain adults. Such adults act as role models or mentors (MacCallum & Beltman, 2002). Role models often play a passive role, possibly not even being aware that they are acting as role models to adolescents (Vescio, Wilde, & Crosswhite, 2005). Role models are perceived to be

exemplary and praiseworthy (MacCallum & Beltman, 2002; Vescio et al., 2005). In identifying significant role models, the majority of adolescents selected parents, as well as immediate and extended family members (Hurd, Zimmerman, & Xue, 2009). Hurd and colleagues (2009) found that females were more likely to name mothers as the most significant adult in their lives, while males more likely named their fathers. Adolescents often learn how to behave not merely from watching their parents, but also to a degree from imitating their role models and mentors (Zirkel, 2002).

2.2.2.3 Gender-related differences with regard to the social domain

With regard to social behaviour, research studies have revealed that male adolescents score significantly lower in social competence, particularly in terms of warm and friendly prosocial behaviours compared to female adolescents (Beutel & Johnson, 2004; Garaigordobil, Maganto, Perez, & Sansinenea, 2009; Pakaslahti, Karjalainen, & Keltikangas, 2002; Tremblay, 2000). More aggressive behaviour in social interactions is generally associated with male adolescents rather than female adolescents (Tremblay, 2000).

Differential parental treatment, based on adolescents' gender, influences individuals' social development. Generally, adolescent males are expected to do less housework, their fathers are more engaged and committed to their upbringing, and they have parents with greater marital happiness than adolescent females (Kimmel, 2000; Lundberg, 2007). Lundberg (2006) further stated that parents may assume that sons need their father's influence more than daughters do, influencing father-child interaction. Parents also hold various expectations of their sons, that they have higher economic achievement in adulthood, and are better at school subjects such as mathematics and science (Eccles, Freedman-Doan, Frome, Jacobs, & Yoon, 2000; Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2003). Certain biological and maturational differences also elicit differential treatment by parents (Leaper & Smith, 2004). Mothers spend more time talking to their daughters using language that articulates praise, support, harmony, recognition and a focus on relationship (Leaper & Smith, 2004). Another area where parents often treat their sons and daughters differently is found in gender-typed housework activities (Kimmel, 2000; Tucker, McHale, & Crouter, 2003). In general, it has been found that more household chores are done by daughters than by sons (Sanchez & Gager, 2000). Daughters also do more feminine chores such as cooking, cleaning and laundry while sons do more masculine chores such as yard work and repairs (Sanchez & Gager, 2000; Raley, 2006).

Although males and females value the same qualities in their friendships, they differ in terms of the types of friendship. While males usually enjoy action-orientated activities, females tend to spend more time intimately talking with friends (Ryan, 2001). Research stated that males prefer to interact in a group setting, while females prefer more intimate interactions (Fabes, Martin, & Hanish, 2003). It would therefore be expected that females should have more knowledge about their peers than would males (Fabes et al., 2003). The perception therefore exists that females enjoy sitting and talking more than interacting through physical activity or exercise (Fabes et al., 2003). This perception is supported by findings that male friendships place emphasis on mutual actions with recreational and occasional aggressive components, while female friendship place emphasis on closeness, assurance and assistance (Rubin et al., 2007). The type of friendships that females often form has also been found to be more socially oriented. Their selves seem to be grounded in relationships with others, while males appear to be more instrumental while spending the majority of their time alone (Fabes et al., 2003; Rubin et al., 2007).

A study by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2008) found that more male pupils in South Africa drop-out of school or have to repeat a grade. It was also found that female pupils were more than twice as likely as their male counterparts to attend a tertiary education institution (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2008).

2.2.2.4 Culture-related differences with regard to the social domain

Social processes are influenced by cultural factors such as societal laws and judicial systems, influencing the moral decision making within societies (Kirmayer, Rousseau, & Lashley, 2007). The presence, expression of and reporting of social fears are influenced by ethnic differences. Such ethnic differences can account for the differences in frequency of social problems across cultures (Rapee & Spence, 2004). South African adolescents' social development occurs within the context of a history of legitimised power relationships between groups separated according to race (Drukker, Kaplan, Feron, & van Os, 2003). Gender and ethnic roles promoted by cultural ideologies, as well as age-based hierarchies, create further challenges pertaining to adolescents' social development (Drukker et al., 2003).

As South African neighbourhoods have historically been segregated, adolescents from different cultures experience their social development differently (Drukker et al., 2003). As a

result of apartheid and policies such as separate development and influx control (i.e. immigration control), adolescents' family lives vary greatly (Bray et al., 2010). Children and adolescents classified as black African suffered the most during apartheid as families were forced to live separately, with fathers working in and around large urban cities and mothers and children staying in rural towns (Bray et al., 2010). Scarce housing and poverty often resulted in multiple generations living in one house (Bray et al., 2010). During the last two decades of apartheid, women also started to migrate to urban areas in search of work and this left children and adolescents in the care of grandparents, who themselves had to survive on old-age pensions (Mturi, Xaba, & Sekokotla, 2005; Ramphele, 2002). Even though the end of apartheid and numerous policy reforms ensured change in South Africa, not all aspects of family life changed for black African adolescents (Bray et al., 2010).

The sociologist Mead investigated culture and social change, trying to show that *storm and stress* are functions of certain cultural determinants. Mead (1928) suggested that there are three general cultural types that shape the development of adolescents (Dubas, Miller, & Petersen, 2003; Kroger, 2003; Rogoff, 2003; Mead, 1970). In a post-figurative culture, adolescents are taught by their parents and grandparents and these authority figures advise adolescents. Parental expectations and norms are set as the only and correct way of life. In a co-figurative culture, adolescents gain values, norms and customs from their peers instead of from their parents and grandparents (Dubas et al., 2003; Kroger, 2003; Rogoff, 2003; Mead, 1970). In the pre-figurative culture, adolescents actually teach their parents how to be parents by instructing them in what is right and expected. Adolescents thereby shape parental expectations based upon youth-centred instruction and direction (Dubas et al., 2003; Kroger, 2003; Rogoff, 2003; Mead, 1970).

2.2.3 Developmental tasks related to the psychological domain

The next section describes psychological changes and functioning during adolescence. It should be mentioned here that the psychological state of adolescents can be profoundly influenced by physical and pubertal changes. Adolescents are acutely aware of the physical changes that are taking place in their bodies, and must integrate these changes into their existing identity to form a unified whole (Berk, 2001; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Psychological consequences related to puberty often include disturbances in mood and self-image, as well as shifting relations with peers and parents (Heaven, 2001; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). The

importance of this domain in adolescent development, the changes that occur, as well as gender and cultural differences are discussed below.

2.2.3.1 The importance of the psychological domain in adolescent development

Psychological processes such as cognitive, emotional and moral development as well as identity formation enable thoughts and behaviours (Pessoa, 2009). Given that thoughts and behaviours significantly influence individuals' sense of self as well as interactions with others, the impact of the psychological domain on adolescent development is therefore of the utmost importance. In addition to the importance of cognitive development on thought and behaviour, cognitive development is of importance as adolescents' social interactions are influenced by their adaptive levels of thinking (Kuhn, 2009).

In combination with cognitive development, adolescents mature emotionally. These competences enable individuals to have feelings about what they do and also to have feelings towards others (Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2000). Emotional regulation impact individuals' thoughts and actions. Knowledge of emotional development is therefore important as certain competences and other areas of development are influenced by individuals' ability to regulate their emotions (Berk, 2001; Halberstadt et al., 2000; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). The adolescent stage of development is often defined by images of strong emotions and references to emotions, a period during which individuals become temperamental, negative and unpredictable (Berk, 2001; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Given adolescents' strong emotional experiences and references to strong emotions, it is vital to understand the impact of emotional development on adolescents, so as to aid their ability to regulate such strong emotions.

Cognitive and affective developmental beget the changes regarding moral development during adolescence (Berk, 2001; Carpendale, 2000). Moral development involves the processes in which individuals learn to distinguish between right and wrong, and is therefore vital for adolescents' functioning as independent and responsible individuals in society. Although moral development was not scientifically studied before the late 1950's (Berk, 2001; Carpendale, 2000), it has been an intricate concern since the beginning of human civilisation. Moral development will be defined and further described in the section regarding the spiritual domain.

Discussed further in Chapter 3, Erikson (1968) - an influential theorist of emotional development - proposed a theory of identity development in which eight stages of lifespan development are outlined (Erikson, 1968; Steyn, 2006; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Erikson stated that adolescents are in the fifth stage of psychosocial development, known as Identity versus Role Confusion (Erikson, 1968; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Erikson (1968) referred to this stage as a crisis between ego identity formation and role diffusion. Adolescents incapable of forming a coherent sense of self and values, lack a dependable sense of identity necessary in their progression to adulthood (Erikson, 1968; Steyn, 2006; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). As a healthy and stable self-image is important in recognising their place in society, identity formation is a significant factor in adolescent development (Harter, 2003; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Additionally, establishing a sense of self enables adolescents to create unique ethnic, occupational and gender role identities (Berk, 2003; Erikson, 1968; Steyn, 2006; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Poor self-image correlates with many of the major problems that can emerge during adolescence, including difficulties in peer and family relationships, depression, unsafe sex, risky or *acting-out* behaviours, poor school performance and substance abuse (MacPherson, Richards, Collado, & Lejuez, 2011; Wolfe et al., 2006). Identity formation knowledge is therefore very important in understanding adolescent development.

From the aforementioned section, it is apparent that adolescent psychological processes and developments influence the overall functioning of individuals. Specific domain developments have reciprocal influences on each other, such as cognitive development begetting moral development. As numerous domains of development appear to be related to psychological development, knowledge of this is vital to aiding healthy adolescent development.

2.2.3.2 Specific changes that occur in the psychological domain

Psychological development during adolescence includes specific cognitive changes. This stage further includes the development of formal operational thought, enabling abstract thinking, propositional thought and introspection. Emotional development, the ability to make sense of experiences and establishing a secure sense of self are additional psychological developments discussed in this section.

During adolescence, individuals' cognitive processes change rapidly and significant development in intellectual functioning and perceptual abilities occurs (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2004; Piaget, 1950). Cognitive development is related to numerous aspects of brain development, such as improvement of language use, greater conceptual resources, increases in processing speed and perceptual skill (Berk, 2001; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). The most significant cognitive change that occurs during adolescence is the ability to start thinking in a more abstract manner (Amsel & Smetana, 2011; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001). The mechanisms of cognitive change during adolescence can be summarised as follows: attention and concentration become more detailed and tailored to the difficulty of particular tasks, strategies become more efficient and successful, and adolescents' knowledge increases (Anderson, Winocur, & Palmer, 2003; Gauvain, 2001). Adolescents' awareness of their thoughts (metacognition) increases and this is followed by new insights into efficient strategies for getting information and solving problems. Lastly, the capacity of adolescents to process information increases (Gauvain, 2001; Kroger, 2000). Adolescents develop a critical habit of mind which refers to conceptual flexibility, reflective thinking and cognitive self-regulation (Halpern-Felsher & Cauvman, 2001; Jacobs & Klaczynski, 2002). Conceptual flexibility is the formation of associations and connection between ideas and the application of specific ideas to new contents, important for generating new ideas. The core of critical thinking is reflective thinking, involving forming deductions about the significance of ideas (Jacobs & Klaczynski, 2002). Critical thinking is vital for deciding whether something is wrong or right and this skill enables adolescents to determine the value of an idea. Cognitive self-regulation encompasses the choice and organisation of cognitive abilities which are necessary in problem solving (Anderson et al., 2003; Halpern-Felsher & Cauvman, 2001). Adolescents who fail to develop cognitively continue to function at less adaptive levels of concrete thinking and this could lead to poor interaction with others (Kuhn, 2009).

Piaget (1950) proposed a stage theory of intellectual growth in which progress through four stages occurs. Each stage represents greater complexity in thinking than the stage before (Commons, 2008). Piaget was of the opinion that cognitive development results from a combination of environmental influences and development of the brain and nervous system (Amsel & Smetana, 2011; Berk, 2001; Piaget, 1950). More advanced cognitive challenges are brought about by formal operational thought, the fourth stage in Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Berk, 2001; Kuhn, 2009; Piaget, 1950). According to Piaget (1950), the ability for abstract thinking arises at approximately 11 years of age. Adolescents progress

from childhood concrete and rational thinking to thinking that involves endless possibilities (Kuhn, 2009; Piaget, 1950). Formal operational thought enables adolescents to think in more logical, abstract terms about imaginary and hypothetical events and facilitates abstract reasoning. The ability to think about actual relationships as well as the associations between actual and possible events develops during adolescence. Adolescents, therefore, are able to systematically plan and test the consequences of their actions mentally. These mental considerations are known as hypothetic-deductive reasoning (Amsel & Smetana, 2011; Berk, 2003; Heaven, 2001; Piaget, 1950; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Formal operational thought further enables propositional thought, which is the ability to abstractly evaluate the logic of plans while not having concrete evidence or real world circumstances. Propositional thought, for example, enables adolescents to do intricate mathematic equations (Crawford, 2007). An additional outcome of formal operational thought is the ability of adolescents to separate their own thoughts from the thoughts of others and adolescents are therefore able to engage in introspection - think about and analyse their own thoughts (Heaven, 2001).

At this stage of development, however, some adolescents continue to experience difficulty in distinguishing the objects that others direct their thoughts to. This lack of differentiation often produces individuals' beliefs that others are always watching and evaluating them (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Elkind, 1967; Kroger, 2000). The theory of adolescent egocentrism (Elkind, 1967) outlined two different but associated ideation patterns known as imaginary audience and personal fable (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Kroger, 2000). The imaginary audience refers to adolescents' inclination to believe that others are constantly observing and evaluating them. The personal fable refers to the belief that the self is unique, invulnerable and invincible, and this in turn could lead to adolescents believing in their own immortality, increasing risk-taking (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Kroger, 2003). During progressive development of formal operational thinking, adolescents start experiencing social perspective taking. In addition to increases in cognitive abilities, normal developing individuals who are within the late adolescent stage, start to separate their own self-preoccupations from the interest of others. Individuals within the late adolescent stage therefore begin to realise that others are not fixated on their lives and that others have their own concerns (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Kroger, 2000).

Emotional development refers to individuals' increasing responsiveness and control of their feelings and their reactions to these feelings in a given situation (Berk, 2001; Halberstadt et

al., 2000; Martin & Fabes, 2001; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). This is an adaptive process involving sincerity to act in order to reserve well-being and include judgements of circumstances in terms of individuals' well-being, the communication of emotions and acting on emotion, which are critical to social proficiency (Cole, Bruschi, & Tamang, 2002; Halberstadt et al., 2000). Adolescents have to master certain emotional skills and abilities. These include the ability to control powerful and indecisive emotions, learning how to self-soothe and awareness of their own emotions while not becoming overwhelmed by these emotions (Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Larson et al., 2002; 2003). Adolescents must realise how their own emotions will affect others, they have to cope with emotional arousal brought about by sympathy and empathy and learn how to control emotions such as love, hate and apathy towards individuals of the opposite gender (Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Larson et al., 2002; Silk, Steinberg, & Morris, 2003). During adolescence, the ability to employ flexible approaches to emotional integration is increased (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Kroger, 2000). Larson and Richards (1994) stated that adolescents experience greater extremities and greater ranges regarding the high and low points in their emotional experiences when compared to those of their parents (Larson et al., 2002; Silk et al., 2003). They also found that, not only do adolescents report negative emotions more frequently than their parents, but they also report positive emotions more frequently (Larson & Richards, 1994; Silk et al., 2003). In addition to this, adolescents report that their negative emotions disappear faster than in emotional states described by adults, all confirming the emotionality experienced by many adolescents (Gullotta & Adams, 2005; Larson et al., 2002; Silk et al., 2003).

Given these cognitive and moral changes, Perry (1970) constructed a theory describing the college students' developing systems of making sense of their personal experiences. Perry (1970) indicated that not only can individuals' beliefs change, but the manner in which individuals think can be transformed with maturity. Perry's scheme investigated why and how individuals' conceptions of knowledge and knowing change from one stage to another (Myers, 2010). Consisting of nine stages, the theory describes the movement from a simplistic, definite view of the world to an understanding of the restricted nature of knowledge and of relative values, and to the establishment and confirmation of their own commitments (Myers, 2010; Perry, 1970). Perry (1970) stated that children and adolescents (within the early adolescence stage) use dualistic thinking. This stage infers that individuals believe that correct and incorrect answers exist and that authority figures know the correct

answers. Individuals further believe that knowledge is the accumulation of facts and that the more facts you know, the smarter you are (Myers, 2010; Perry, 1970). Perry (1970) believed adolescents often view the world in terms of polarities such as right and wrong, us and them, as well as good and bad. As individuals progress to late adolescence, they start to recognise that uncertainty exists, understanding that authorities may not have all of the answers (Myers, 2010; Perry, 1970).

During adolescence, individuals' self-descriptions and sense of self undergo changes. These changes occur as individuals become preoccupied with integrating their real and their ideal selves (Harter, 2003). Identity and identity formation will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3, but a brief description of the changes in self-description that occur, is presented in this section. Berk (2003) stated that individuals in early adolescence combine separate characteristics into higher order, abstract descriptors in their self-descriptions (e.g. smart and talented into intelligent). These generalisations regularly are contradictory and not interrelated (Berk, 2003). According to Berk (2003), inconsistencies regarding self-descriptions occur as adolescents experience social pressure to present altered selves in different relationships (e.g. with classmates, romantic partners, parents and close friends). During middle to late adolescence, individuals are able to integrate various personal characteristics into an organised system. Their self-descriptions are focused on personal and moral values (Berk, 2003). During adolescence, social virtues such as being considerate, friendly, cooperative and kind, are emphasised. The fixation with being liked and the need to be viewed in a positive light by others may lead to the social virtues emphasis in their self-descriptions (Berk, 2003; Harter, 2003). During early adolescence gender amplification frequently occurs (Berk, 2003; Steyn, 2006). Attitudes and behaviours are therefore stereotyped according to gender and more traditional gender identity occurs (Galambos, 2004; Harter, 2003). Individuals in middle and late adolescence are expected to integrate their sexuality and their notion of being male or female into their self-description. Such assimilation is enhanced by parents and teachers who encourage the interrogation of gender stereotypes (Berk, 2003; Galambos, 2004; Harter, 2003). During late adolescence a more mature self-description should be established, whereby older individuals are less apprehensive about others' opinions. Older adolescents are expected to be more concerned with discovering significant values necessary for self-definitions (Galambos, 2004; Kroger, 2000). Berk (2003) stated that a decline in highly stereotypic self-descriptions of adolescents is preceded by the assimilation of meaningful values in the self-definitions.

2.2.3.3 *Gender-related differences with regard to the psychological domain*

Regarding specific cognitive abilities, Lawton and Hatcher (2005) studied gender differences in visual-spatial memory and reported quicker and more accurate responses by males than females on tasks of memorising images and recognising abstract shapes. In a study analysing data of USA adolescents in Grades 8 to 12, Leahey and Guo (2001) stated that gender differences regarding numerical reasoning are minimal. Various studies suggested that a gender stereotype occurs, suggesting that males perform better on numerical and visual-spatial ability whereas females perform better on tasks involving verbal ability (Lowe, Mayfield, & Reynolds, 2003; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2004; Wigfield & Eccles, 2002). Downing and colleagues (2008) indicated that gender differences regarding self-perceived metacognition occurs. Males make more use of experimental strategies to process information, while females focus on attempting to process more details than their male counterparts (Downing, Chan, Downing, Kwong, & Lam, 2008).

In Western societies in general, males are socialised in activities that encourage dominance, outward expression of anger, approval of violence and aggressiveness. Females in these societies are socialised in ways that encourage the development of skills that facilitate nonaggressive communication, internal regulation of aggression, empathy, constructive social behaviours and interpersonal relations (Garaigordobil et al., 2009). Studies regarding conflict-solving styles have indicated gender differences in that males display more assertiveness regarding their needs (Taylor, Liang, & Tracy, 2002), while females score higher in communication skills while managing conflict (Black, 2000), are more accurate at recognising conflict (Haugen, 2007), and have greater empathy-related skills (Taylor et al., 2002).

Various researchers have indicated that males and females assume different cognitive-behavioural roles, (i.e. male adolescents are more prone to externalising behaviours such as aggressive, antisocial and delinquent problems), while female adolescents display greater anxious - depressive or internalising problems such as sadness, anxiety and anger inhibition (Garaigordobil et al., 2009; Lumley, McNeil, & Herschell, 2002). Other research studies confirm that gender, during adolescence, is a predictive factor of violent behaviour (Basow, Cahill, Phelan, Longshore, & McGillicuddy-DeLisi 2007; Williams, Conger, & Blozis, 2007). Aunola and Nurmi (2005) found that male adolescents demonstrated lower levels of adaptation and displayed more behaviour problems compared to female adolescents.

2.2.3.4 Culture-related differences with regard to the psychological domain

Cognitive development, particularly learning and thinking are functions of the social and cultural environment in which individuals are reared (Tomasello, 2000; Tomasello & Rakoczy, 2003). Cognitive development is influenced by values, beliefs, materials and symbolic artifacts of intellectual adaptation transmitted to individuals through interaction with others from their culture. Culture is an important element in cognitive development as children's and adolescents' intellectual processes are developed to manage tasks and problems important to the particular surroundings (Rogoff, 2003; Tomasello, 2000; Tomasello & Rakoczy, 2003). Cognitive development varies from culture to culture, and is therefore not universal as Piaget assumed (Tomasello, 2000; Tomasello & Rakoczy, 2003).

Differing views regarding the universality and social construction of emotions and aspects of emotions exist (Cole et al., 2002). Cultural variations and similarities pertaining to the emotional significance given to appraisals occur. These variations and similarities include the manner in which emotions are communicated and the management of emotional eliciting situations (Cole et al., 2002; Halberstadt et al., 2000). Unfortunately, research concerned with cultural influences on emotions largely focuses on adult emotion. A comprehensive understanding of cultural influences necessitates a study of cultural differences in children's and adolescents' emotional understanding and behaviour. Socialisation pressures, which differ across cultures, possibly influence responsiveness and age of onset of emotional understanding (Cole et al., 2002; Halberstadt et al., 2000).

2.2.4 Developmental tasks related to the spiritual domain

In this section, the changes that occur during adolescence in terms of their spiritual development, with emphasis on moral development, are described briefly. Moral reasoning enables the ability to reflect upon the world and make decisions about right and wrong (Wainryb, 2006). The importance of this domain on adolescent development, the changes that occur, as well as gender and cultural differences are discussed below.

2.2.4.1 The importance of the spiritual domain in adolescent development

Spirituality refers to individuals' or a group's sense of connection to the sacred, transcendent, or ultimate reality (Exline, 2002; Hardy, 2005; Pargament, 2007). Spirituality has been defined as "a way of being and experiencing that comes about through awareness of a transcendent dimension and that is characterised by certain identifiable values in regard to

self, others, nature, life, and whatever one considers to be Ultimate" (Elkins, Hedstrom, Hughes, Leaf, & Saunders, 1988, p. 10). Spiritual development entails the focus on spiritual change, growth, development, transformation, or maturation (Benson, Roehlkepartain, & Rude, 2003). Spirituality and self-transcendence imply that the self is fixed within something more than the self, including the holy and sacred. Spirituality guides the search for meaning, contribution, purpose and connectedness. Spirituality and the development thereof is very important during adolescence as the search for meaning and purpose is regularly heightened during this time, as a result of the various psychological and social developments that occur (P. Benson, 2004; King & Roeser, 2009).

Religion has been defined as man's relationship with the super human power (god) he believes in and is governed by, carrying institutional or organisational meaning (P. Benson, 2004; Hardy, 2005). Religions essentially have a community of believers who share rituals, practices, and beliefs (Exline, 2002; Hardy, 2005; Pargament, 2007). Therefore religion possibly will offer the most meaningful avenue for spiritual experience for some, while it could be fundamentally irrelevant to spirituality for others (Exline, 2002; Hardy, 2005; Pargament, 2007). Religiosity (involving religious participation or prominence) has been related to adolescents' positive attitudes, behaviours and consequences (P. Benson, 2004; Hardy, 2005; Sinha, Cnaan, & Gelles, 2007; Smith & Faris, 2002). As previously mentioned, sense of belonging and acceptance is important to individuals during adolescence. Religion and religious communities regularly provide adolescents with a sense of belonging (P. Benson, 2004; Hardy, 2005) and is therefore important in understanding adolescent development. Religion can further provide adolescents with a framework for behaving in the right way and provide answers to their abstract and philosophical questions. As the majority of adolescents are searching for polarised answers and are of the opinion that a true right answer exists (Perry, 1970), knowledge of the impact of religion on their development is vital.

Positive outcomes associated with spirituality and religiosity include overall well-being (P. Benson, 2004; Sinha et al, 2007), satisfaction, optimistic attitudes and hope towards the future and life in general (Smith & Faris, 2002). The outcomes further include an increase in service and altruism (Hardy, 2005; Smith & Faris, 2002), as well as openness to inner and outer resources which can contribute to well-being and risk reduction (Wagener, Furrow, King, Leffert, & Benson, 2003). Religious involvement further enhances coping and

resiliency (P. Benson, 2004; Benson et al., 2003; Sinha et al., 2007), physical health (Rew & Wong, 2006), school success (Regnerus, 2003), and positive identity formation (Furrow, King, & White, 2004). Given the aforementioned positive outcomes, it is vital to understand the influence of spiritual development during adolescence.

Moral development involves the process in which individuals learn to distinguish between right and wrong and therefore is implicated in the spiritual dimension of development (Carpendale, 2000; Kohlberg, 1963; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Knowledge of moral development during adolescence is vital as adolescents are involved in questioning and forming a secure value system that guides their behaviour. It is further important as the majority of adolescents develop in a globalised society and may adopt values and morals that challenge their societies' notion of moral reasoning.

2.2.4.2 Specific changes that occur in the spiritual domain

Spiritual developments during adolescence include changes in spirituality as well as changes in religiosity and moral development.

Spiritual development can be viewed as the process of developing the inherent ability for self-transcendence. Important exploration and discovery pertaining to spirituality, the asking of *big-questions*, and involvement with others and events that test ideas of faith and belief frequently occur during adolescence (Parks, 2000). Adolescents engage in prominent evaluations related to purpose, meaning, relationships, occupation and identity (P. Benson, 2004; King & Roeser, 2009). While spirituality is shaped within religious traditions, practices and beliefs, it is also shaped outside of religion (Benson et al., 2003). As adolescents engage more with institutions outside of their immediate family and are given greater independence and autonomy, they are exposed to these institutions, outside of religion, that shape their spirituality (Benson et al., 2003). The majority of studies have noticeably investigated the importance and consequences of spirituality and religiosity, than the development thereof. This is evident in the numerous studies that stated the positive outcomes of religion. More information, however, arises regarding the changes in moral development during adolescence.

A broader societal perspective on justice is facilitated through moral development allowing adolescents to behave in ways that uphold the social system. Adolescents become less

concerned with external punishments and rewards and rather articulate a concern with living according to moral standards taught or that they have witnessed in others (Sigelman & Rider, 2006).

In addition to Piaget's contributions to the understanding of cognitive development, he also investigated the development of moral reasoning in children (Carpendale, 2000; Piaget, 1950; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Piaget was of the opinion that children develop morals based on a process and that this process was active rather than passive (Berk, 2001; Carpendale, 2000; Piaget, 1950). Piaget (1965) believed the most effective manner in which children learn morality is by interacting with others in groups. According to Piaget (1965), older children and adolescents have (based on their developmental changes) competencies to consider the motives of an action rather than solely the consequences of that act. Adolescents also have the ability to critically evaluate rules and determine whether these rules are fair or not (Berk, 2001; Carpendale, 2000; Piaget, 1965).

Kohlberg (1963) developed a theory of moral reasoning in which six stages of moral development are proposed. According to Kohlberg, moral development is an evolving process, during which stages cannot be avoided and are completed one at a time (Carpendale, 2000; Kohlberg, 1963; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). According to Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning, the majority of adolescents implement conventional reasoning (Kohlberg, 1963). Individuals at this level of moral reasoning have internalised moral values and continue to attempt to conform to the rules set by others (Carpendale, 2000; Hoffman, 2001; Kohlberg, 1963; 1981). Adolescents act in ways that will aid winning the approval of others and maintain their social order. Adolescents within the stage Kohlberg called interpersonal conformity (also known as *good boy* or *good girl* morality), strive to uphold social expectations and roles. These adolescents emphasise conformity, and approval by others is considered vital (Carpendale, 2000; Hoffman, 2001; Kohlberg, 1963; 1981). Kohlberg also stated that judgement is based on intentions and that individuals' feelings are considered in this process (Kohlberg, 1963; 1981). The next stage in his theory, authority and social order-maintaining morality, includes rules created by legitimate authorities. In this stage, individuals' reasons for rule compliance is not necessarily a fear of punishment, but a belief that rules are to be obeyed in order to maintain social order (Hoffman, 2001; Kohlberg, 1963; 1981).

In contrast to the theories of Kohlberg and Piaget, the morality of care theory initiated numerous explorations in moral reasoning in different groups and cultures (Berk, 2001). Gilligan emphasised that women's moral or personal development differed and is not inferior to men's moral or personal development. Gilligan's theory challenged the notion that only one dimension of moral reasoning exists and emphasised the connection of moral decision making with concerns about both the social environment in which we live and the self (Noddings, 2010). Gilligan (1982) stated that women's moral reasoning develops in a manner that emphasises the connections between people. Women's moral reasoning focuses on an ethic of care for people rather than separation and an ethic of justice often preferred by males (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2010). Gilligan's theory consists of three major divisions, namely pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional (Anthis, Dunkel, & Anderson, 2004; Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2010).

2.2.4.3 Gender-related differences with regard to the spiritual domain

Theories regarding moral development are often criticised for being gender-biased, formulated by male researchers and based on male participants only (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2010). Spirituality, according to numerous feminist therapists, facilitates women's search for support, direction and healing (Kaschak, 2001). Biased by using male participants only, Kohlberg's model is grounded in a concept of morality that values equity and justice (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2010). In her research, Gilligan found that women value social interaction and often based their moral decisions on a culture of caring for others. When considering Kohlberg's model, this implies that women are morally inferior to men (Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1963; 1981; Noddings, 2010).

Hyde (2005) stated in a review of recent literature that small to non-existent differences in moral reasoning occur between males and females. A review by Jaffee and Hyde (2000) reviewed 113 studies of moral reasoning and did not find noteworthy gender differences in moral reasoning, suggesting that diverse moral orientations may be present but that these orientations are not strongly related to gender (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000).

2.2.4.4 Culture-related differences with regard to the spiritual domain

Mattis and Jagers (2001) suggested that numerous conceptualisations and investigations regarding spirituality neglect the social and interpersonal context of spiritual development, while emphasis is rather placed on individuals' pursuit of spiritual development. Reker and

Chamberlain (2000), however, stated that individuals and their surrounding culture are co-creators of life stories. It is further stated that an influential interaction between ecological influences and personal agency exists in spiritual development (Reker & Chamberlain, 2000). Such individual emphasis on spiritual development fails to position African religiosity and spirituality in the social context (Mattis & Jagers, 2001). Spiritual and religious development in less Westernised societies has received limited scientific investigation (P. Benson, 2004).

African traditional religion constitutes beliefs, rituals and practices indigenous to southern Africa (Hanson, 2006). African traditional religion is an ideology where the sacred is believed to be in various rituals, practices and ancestral traditions rather than in a hierarchy of authority and a doctrine of faith (Hanson, 2006). These religions are manifested by flexible verbal and oral practices expressed by the different ethnic cultures. These religions are apparent in the rituals, worldviews and beliefs that construct several life worlds (Germond & Cochrane, 2005; Olivier, Cochrane, Schmid, & Graham, 2006). The unity and harmony between the social, natural and the ancestral world, is of vital concern in African traditional religions (Selepe & Edwards, 2008). Additional factors that are of importance in these religions include the importance of ancestors, witchcraft and evil forces as well as ceremonies aimed at protecting against these evil forces. Dreams, prophecy and the prevalence of healing are also important concepts in these religions (Anderson, 2000). These cultural variations in the spiritual developmental of adolescents should be considered as there are considerable differences between the African traditional religions and Christianity.

It is apparent from the foregoing account that numerous and vast changes occur during adolescence. A thorough understanding of the rapid physical changes that occur during puberty is necessary as adolescents' psychological, social and spiritual developments are often influenced by these changes. During adolescence, the majority of individuals attain an abstract level of thinking enabling them greater problem solving skills, greater focus on personal decision making, and new philosophical and future concerns. This is also a period of vast emotional and social changes. The nature of relationships as well as interaction with significant others is transformed during adolescence. Although the majority of adolescents continue to rely on their parents, adolescents' peers and other role models start to become more prominent during this stage. Spiritual and moral development changes take place during adolescence, as individuals have enhanced cognitive, emotional and social abilities and are often allowed time to explore and discover. As discussed throughout the section,

gender and cultural factors influence the specific development of individuals in unique ways. Adolescents who experience optimum development in the biological, psychological, social and spiritual domains experience less distress and isolation and engage in less risk-taking behaviours. Such adolescents experience a stronger sense of self and have greater self-esteem which influences their quality of life positively.

2.3 Factors influencing adolescent development

In this section the influences on adolescent development are described. These influences will be described according to the layers of Bronfenbrenner's model (described in Chapter 1). Placing emphasis on the situation and changes that have occurred in South Africa and the influence that these changes have had on adolescent development, the chronosystemic elements will first be discussed. Following the chronosystemic elements, factors in the micro- and mesosystems that influence adolescent development are discussed. Lastly the elements which influence development on the macro- and exosystems are described.

2.3.1 Chronosystemic elements

This section describes the international trends in development, as well as general changes that have occurred in the South African context during the previous two decades. Similar chronosystemic changes have occurred in the specific region in which the study is based and are also described here.

2.3.1.1 Global trends

The nature of adolescence is often altered by rapid changes occurring in societies (Abbott-Chapman, 2000; Brown, Larson, & Saraswathi, 2002; Larson, 2003). The societal context of the late 19th and early 20th century, of urbanisation, the aspiration to remove youth from the labour market and the improvement of secondary education, all necessitated the Western invention of adolescence (Abbott-Chapman, 2000; Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003). A new, globalised and diverse view of adolescence has emerged with the onset of the 21st century (Abbott-Chapman, 2000; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). This new view of adolescence perceives this life stage as a socially created invention of larger societal forces (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). Globalisation, population growth, rapid changes experienced currently, and improved technologies, further transform the concept and experience of adolescence (Abbott-Chapman, 2000; Larson, 2003; Mortimer

& Larson, 2002). The function of biology in adolescent development remains important, but combinations of postmodern local and global elements instigate diverse and changing methods to define the important developments occurring during adolescence (Abbott-Chapman, 2000; Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003).

A changing trend across the majority of societies worldwide is the lengthening of the adolescent period (Arnett, 2000). For example, the typical age for marriage and primary employment have been extended from 12 years to 16 years in rural India and from 22 years to 26 years (or later) in Europe and North America (Arnett, 2000). As mentioned, the inevitable developmental task of adolescents is preparation for adulthood (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). Adult roles, however, currently require greater education and skill development and thus, the adolescent stage of preparation is being lengthened (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002).

Globally, populations are experiencing growth and increased demands on resources. The depletion of environmental resources and rising prices therefore are as a result of growth and demands (Call et al., 2002). The poor are most adversely affected (Call et al., 2002). Call and colleagues (2002) reported that urbanisation erodes adolescents' relationships with their families and communities, increasing rates of social isolation and anomie. Additional consequences of global urbanisation on adolescent development include the increased costs of living, negatively influencing family resources. Global urbanisation further results in traffic congestion which prevents daily mobility, as well as the lack of green spaces which restricts recreation (Call et al., 2002). Fussell (2002) reported that the youth population, globally, is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse. A concern was raised by Fussell (2002) that adults, who are not as ethnically diverse as adolescents, are less able to empathise with and provide appropriate resources for these adolescents who are of different ethnicities than their own. Concerns of ethnic coexistence for adolescents are vital as urbanisation and crowding are forcing diverse groups to have closer contact (Brown et al., 2002; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). While these adolescents are competing for identity and respect at ever increasing levels, adolescents are also significant role players in establishing connections and creating understanding between ethnic groups (Brown et al., 2002; Mortimer & Larson, 2002).

Adolescents' tastes, lifestyles, values and aspirations are changing as a result of influences by cultural globalisation (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002; Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). The most noticeable aspects of cultural globalisation constitute the worldwide increase in consumption and the promotion of a materialistic culture (Diversi, 2002). Global businesses make use of, and promote, the adolescent culture of excitement, popularity, companionship and heterosexual romance to market their products. Globally adolescents are influenced by the desire to use and own brand names like Nike™, Levi™ and Coca Cola™ (Diversi, 2002).

2.3.1.2 Transformation in South Africa

During apartheid, national policies in South Africa initiated mistreatments and relegation based upon race. As a result of these policies, black Africans received segregated, substandard and insufficient education and healthcare (Nel, Rogerson, Marais, & Wessels, 2004). Additional implications of these policies include that black Africans were barred from certain job categories, thus influencing the opportunities available to these individuals (Durrheim, 2010; Nel et al., 2004). Since 1994, when the first democratic elections were held in South Africa, homelands were banished and geographic areas divided into new provinces. The main goal of the new government was to redress the aforementioned inequalities (Durrheim, 2003). Reimbursement and affirmative action policies ensuring land reformation and favourable placement for certain groups in education, employment, procurement and sports teams have been implemented (Durrheim, 2010).

Despite the rectifications, consequences of apartheid continue to influence South Africans (Van Jaarsveld, 2000). Long-lasting consequences are noticeable in terms of primary family, disagreement in family relations, disregard for parents and other significant adults, poor education and living conditions, and overpopulation (Ferns & Thom, 2001). This could lead to a lack of positive and suitable role models who are responsible for the transfer of moral values and norms (Ferns & Thom, 2001). The magnitude of social problems directly influences the frame of reference of South African adolescents' sense of self and their futures. Escalating social problems such as crime, fraud, misconduct, poverty and HIV/AIDS influence adolescents' perspectives and expectations (Everatt, 2000; Ferns & Thom, 2001; Gaganakis, 2003, 2004; Lambert, Rowan, Longhurst, & Soyoun, 2006).

A consequence of the racial discrimination against black Africans, during apartheid, influenced the general tendency of black Africans to desire that circumstances are maximised for the good of the group (Lambert et al., 2006). These norms were directed at the prosperity of the group, and therefore group conformity was emphasised (Lambert et al., 2006). Heaven, Simbayi, Stones and Le Roux (2000) stated that the social identity of black South Africans, following the end of apartheid, has become more comprehensive including more than merely their ethnic group.

Distress and uncertainty often characterise social transitions which are experienced as traumatic events (Sarakinsky, 2001). During social transitions, adolescents are often influenced to a greater extent as they not only have to manage their internal transitions in forming a stable sense of self but are also forced to manage the changes in the broader societal transformation (Kamper & Badenhorst, 2010). South African adolescents have to explore in a context that is characterised by social, political and economic changes (Kamper & Badenhorst, 2010). As the various systems (micro, meso, macro and exo) are influenced by broad societal changes, the influence that these systems have on adolescent development is therefore altered (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Sarakinsky, 2001). Societal change and transitions further influence and alter the pathways whereby adolescents develop into productive adults of their society (Larson & Wilson, 2004).

2.3.2 Microsystemic and mesosystemic elements

This section describes elements in adolescents' most immediate environments, the fundamental entities that present the setting for learning about the world. The microsystems of adolescents include social networks and interpersonal relationships. Family is regarded as the primary microsystem for the majority of adolescents and is closely followed by peer groups and school. Other microsystems include social groups that adolescents have an enduring personal and social relationship with (e.g. sports groups, neighbours, teachers and church communities). A healthy microsystem is based on reciprocity, for example parents set reasonable standards and the adolescent reciprocates by behaving according to these reasonable standards (Wait, Meyer, & Loxton, 2005). Children and adolescents are influenced through socialisation, a multidirectional process involving family as an integral part, but not excluding other major institutional and social settings that the adolescent will directly or indirectly experience such as school, work, media and neighbourhoods (Peterson, 2005). The value of adolescents' mesosystem, signified by connections between

microsystems, rests on the amount and quality of interpersonal interrelations. Stronger and more diverse associations between microsystems results in a mesosystem that has greater positive influences on the developing person (Nash, Munford, & O'Donoghue, 2005). Typical mesosystemic examples include the family's connection and cooperation with the school environment, friends, church and community.

According to Muuss (1996), success later in life is often preceded by having a microsystem that is rich in information, where guidance is given, questions are answered and where exploration and experimentation are encouraged. Microsystems and mesosystems can work in harmony or can be conflicting. Parental and peer values that differ provide an example of such disagreement (Wait et al., 2005). Risk factors and possible problems are associated with ineffective mesosystems (e.g. parents who are not aware of adolescents' peer group or friends, who are not involved in adolescents' school or academic environment) (Muuss, 1996). In addition to ineffective mesosystems, risks have been associated with situations where various microsystems validate different value sets and this often puts adolescents in stressful situations where they have to choose between the value sets or live with both value sets (e.g. drinking and smoking is encouraged and supported by the peer group while parents and the church forbid such behaviours) (Wait et al., 2005).

A more in depth description is given below of the different microsystems and how these systems can interact with each other.

2.3.2.1 Families

Viewing family as a system focuses attention on the notion that a family is a multifaceted, integrated whole. Families may differ in structure, process and socioeconomic resources (Combrinck-Graham, 2004; Peterson, 2005). Family members are essentially interdependent, exercising constant and reciprocal influence on one another (Carter & Murdock, 2001). Individual family members are intricately connected within the larger family system and can never be completely understood independent of the context of that system (Carter & Murdock, 2001).

Family cohesiveness and affection are significant factors responsible for adolescent adjustment, and are related to numerous prosocial adolescent behaviours. Such behaviours include reduced alcohol and other drug usage, no smoking, sexual intercourse and

experimentation is delayed, and fewer suicide attempts occur (DiClemente et al., 2001; Steinberg & Morris, 2001; Wolfe et al., 2006). The importance of family as a vital aspect of the social domain of adolescent development is therefore evident (Wolfe et al., 2006).

Parents (or other family members) encourage/discourage adolescent behaviour, thereby repressing undesirable behaviour and shaping desired behaviour (Peterson & Bush, 2003). Traditional viewpoints on socialisation suggested that adolescents are passive receivers, influenced by family members (Denzin, 2009; Kuczynski, 2003). Current research, however, recognises that, while parents initiate their adolescents into society, adolescents act as active participants in this process. Parent-adolescent socialisation is therefore not unidirectional but conceptualised as more complex and bidirectional, even multidirectional at times (Denzin, 2009; Kuczynski, 2003; Lerner, 2002). Continuous flexibility in the parent-adolescent relationship enables parents and adolescents to share meanings and maintain the respect they hold for each other (Denzin, 2009; Kuczynski, 2003; Lerner, 2002). As a result of the socialisation process, adolescents emerge into society with norms and values that have been shaped by meanings, understandings, discussions and shared experiences (Denzin, 2009).

Besides parents, the majority of adolescents share their family system with siblings. Sibling relationships are often a source of support and intimacy for adolescents despite being characterised as emotional, charged with conflict and competitiveness (Peterson, 2005). Even though adolescents report more intimacy and enthusiasm with their peers than with their siblings, the friendship and emotional support received from siblings ought not to be undervalued (Updegraff & Crouter, 2003). Older siblings act as role models, teachers and sources of advice for younger siblings. It has been found that interactions with siblings influence positive adjustment in school, friendliness and openness, conflict-management skills, independence and self-confidence (Branje, Van Lieshout, Van Aken, & Haselager, 2008). Sibling interactions also shape relations with peers and close friends (Branje et al., 2008; Teti, 2002). While sibling relationships have the potential to positively influence adolescents, these relationships could also serve as avenues for learning more about substance abuse, early sexual behaviour and antisocial behaviours (Branje et al., 2008; Teti, 2002; Yeh & Lempers, 2004).

Another factor that influences adolescent development is the structure of the family, referring to formal and external patterns such as parents' marital status and the number of individuals

in the family system (Furstenberg, 2000). The marital status of parents and amount of relatives in the family system indirectly influence adolescent development (Demo & Cox, 2000; Teachman, 2000). Peterson (2005) found that, whereas structural differences such as the number of individuals in the family, have indirect and modest influences on adolescents' development, family processes and relationship variables have the strongest direct influence on adolescent capabilities and problem behaviour. Substantial research has been conducted on parenting styles and parenting behaviours, as well as on how different styles influence competence or problem behaviour in adolescents (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Steinberg, 2008). Baumrind (1978; 1991) developed a widely known set of parenting styles, known as authoritarian, permissive and authoritative parenting styles. The authoritarian parenting style exercises stern control over children or adolescents in order to promote obedience, and parental desires are applied through strict and disciplinary actions. Open communication, reasoning and warmth are used occasionally or not at all (Baumrind, 1991; DeHart, Pelham, & Tennen, 2006). Adolescents from such homes are more likely to be dependent, submissive, conforming, less confident and could struggle with social adjustment (Baumrind, 1991; DeHart et al., 2006; Steinberg, 2008). Parents using the permissive parenting style rarely make requests and do not seek to control their adolescents. These parents are either indulgent, which entails being compassionate and stressing equality and trust but rarely entails control, or they are indifferent and do not support nor control, which leads to a disconnection from their adolescent (Baumrind, 1991; DeHart et al., 2006). Adolescents raised under an indulgent permissive parenting style tend to be less mature, careless and follow peers more willingly, while adolescents who have indifferent parents are likely more impulsive and engage in misbehaviour and early sexual and substance experimentation (Baumrind, 1991; DeHart et al., 2006; Steinberg, 2008). According to Baumrind (1978; 1991), authoritative parenting includes parents who exercise steady control and apply a stable set of rules. These parents encourage independent determination and disciplined conformity, while at the same time using reason, rewards and punishments associated with adolescents' behaviour. These parents act as authority figures while allowing relationship transformation and encouraging reciprocal communication as well as an atmosphere of intimacy and approval (Baumrind, 1991; DeHart et al., 2006). This style of parenting encourages individuality, responsible obedience, self-confidence and creativeness. Adolescents who have been raised with this style also perform better in school and relate better with peers and other adults (Baumrind, 1991; DeVore & Ginsburg, 2005; Steinberg, 2008). Steinberg (2008) cautioned that because parenting styles are complex it is difficult to determine the

primary factor of influence of the style. It has, however, been reported that while not investigating specific parenting styles, certain parental behaviours (i.e. supportive, nurturing and accepting behaviours) encourage social competence in adolescents (DeHart et al., 2006; Peterson, 2005). Parental support also fosters high self-confidence, identity formation, compliance to parents and independence in adolescents, as well as less anxiety, depression and deviant behaviours (DeHart et al., 2006; Peterson, 2005). Reasoning and induction are powerful ways in which parents can influence their adolescents. Adolescents' understanding of why rules are necessary, why deviant behaviour is incorrect, as well as how their own behaviour influences others is facilitated by parents who reason with adolescents using their longing to be autonomous, their empathy for others and their ability to understand. Authority is therefore not forced upon adolescents, but rather respect for adolescents' decision making skills and ability to conform is communicated (Hoffman, 2001). Instilling a sense of independence allows adolescents to feel self-worth, competence and confidence (Peterson, 2005). Another aspect of parenting that is important during adolescence is monitoring and supervision. Parents should continue to supervise, safeguard and offer assistance and direction (Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Bush, 2003). Parents should monitor adolescents' dating and sexual relationships, their experimentation with antisocial behaviour, substance use, interaction with delinquent friends and access to mass media (Collins & Steinberg, 2006). Families should strive for reaching balance while accepting change that inspires individual competence, but at the same time preserving steady bonds with family members (Peterson, 2005). Managing difficult shifts and challenges allow parents and adolescents to establish new ways of interacting with each other and also allows adolescents to discover relationships outside the family system. Managing conflicts encourages more decision making and independence for adolescents and offers additional autonomy for identity exploration (Peterson & Bush, 2003).

Current research has given attention to the overgeneralisation of the effects of parenting styles, questioning the application validity of European-American samples when working with non-Western cultures and ethnic groups (Johnston & Wong, 2002). Some researchers maintain that variations in cultural and ethnic objectives, behaviours and effects of parenting must be taken into account in the examination of parenting styles and consequences (Chao, 2000; Lim & Lim, 2003). For example, parenting styles are fixed in European-American culture, while parenting styles in non-Western cultures can be studied out of context and interpreted incorrectly. Many non-Western cultures place emphasis on collectivism and

collectivistic values such as group relations, agreement in the family, maintaining interest of the community, as well as respect for authority figures (Chao, 2001; Lim & Lim, 2003, Peterson, Steinmetz, & Wilson, 2003). Thus, behaviours to uphold these values might appear strict in one culture and might manifest group relations in another. Therefore, Peterson (2005) cautions that cross-cultural examination of parenting styles and behaviours must not be done simplistically. In addition to variations in cultural values, researchers found that, in certain ethnic-minority adolescents (i.e. African American), less challenging behaviours are produced from authoritarian and disciplinary practices than in Western adolescents (Chao, 2000; 2001). An authoritarian parenting style safeguards adolescents from ethnic-minorities against dangerous societies and neighbourhoods (Green, Furrer, & McAllister, 2007). Such neighbourhoods could potentially have negative influences on adolescents (e.g. gangs, crime and substance abuse). Thus, with harsher parental control, in such neighbourhoods, adolescents might be protected against negative influences (Green et al., 2007; Van de Vijver & Leung, 2000).

The literature regarding differential treatment of sons and daughters by parents suggests that gender influences the manner in which parents care for, spend time with and invest in their children. Sons are generally socialised to be independent and self-assured, while daughters are raised to be expressive and obedient (Kimmel, 2000; Leaper & Smith, 2004). Parents' managing and monitoring of certain adolescent behaviours may also differ depending on the gender of their child (Kimmel, 2000; Leaper, 2002). Parents often place fewer restrictions on their sons than on their daughters' activities (Kimmel, 2000; Leaper, 2002).

For the majority of adolescents, family remains the most important element of social influence and safety, as well as the most important element to promote both positive and negative consequences (Arnett, 2001; Peterson, 2005). While the majority of adolescents report stable and positive appraisals about their relationships with their parents and their home life, some adolescents, however, experience repeated patterns of disturbed relationships and a negative home life (Arnett, 2001; Peterson, 2005). Most adolescents report that they value their parents' opinions, their attitudes towards work, occupational and educational goals and respect them as authority figures. The majority of adolescents agree with parents' religious, moral, ideological and political belief system, and also aspire to be like their parents (Gavazzi, 2011; Moore, Chalk, Scarpa, & Vandivere, 2002; Peterson, 2005). Recent

research proposed that greater dissimilarity in opinion occurs amongst adolescents than between adolescents and their parents (Peterson, 2005; Wyatt & Carlo, 2002).

For the majority of South African adolescents, economic concerns contribute largely to poor stability of family life. South Africa's welfare system, which provides grants to young unwed mothers, increases illegitimacy and older female figures (i.e. mothers, grandmothers and aunts) therefore continue to fulfil a significant role in the family system and raising of children (Ross, 2009; Salo, 2004). Ramphele (2002) stated that the family is in a crisis as fathers are only marginally, if at all, involved in raising their children. Mothers therefore are forced to take on more, if not all of the responsibilities. The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) (2002) found that, in Cape Town, less than 50% of all adolescents live with both of their parents (Lam & Seekings, 2005). This figure varies between racial groups but also between different socioeconomic classes. Bray and colleagues (2010) indicated that children growing up in poorer households are more likely to live with only one or neither of their parents. Many black African children and adolescents in South Africa move between households and do not reside in a stable and single home, with this fluidity not only being restricted to black Africans (Ross, 2009). Coloured and white children are much more likely to live with their mothers than their black African counterparts, and black African and coloured children from poor families are much less likely to live with their fathers than white children from affluent homes (Bray et al., 2010).

2.3.2.2 *Peers*

As previously mentioned, the peer microsystem becomes more differentiated during adolescence, and becomes increasingly more influential than during previous developmental stages (DuBois et al., 2002). Peer groups are important systems through which views and hypotheses of identity and self-worth are negotiated (Erikson, 1968; Tarrant, 2002). Peer groups greatly influence adolescents' sense of belonging and feelings of being accepted (DuBois et al, 2002).

The peer group provides social benefits (e.g. status, friendship, popularity and acceptance) but can also have negative influences (e.g. rewarding cheating, bullying and drug use) (Tarrant, 2002). Adolescents reporting positive peer group interactions frequently indicated a greater sense of well-being, compared to adolescents who reported dissatisfaction with their peer group membership or adolescents who experienced peer rejection (Tarrant, 2002).

During early adolescence, low self-confidence, loneliness and depressed mood have been associated with the experience of being friendless (Demir & Urberg, 2004; Nangle, Erdley, Newman, Mason, & Carpenter, 2003). Friendships that are perceived to have numerous positive qualities have been related to increases in self-esteem (Berndt, 2002) and decreases in the experience of loneliness (Asher & Paquette, 2003; Nangle et al., 2003). The perceived quality of friendships has further been associated with decreases in depression and delinquency (Demir & Urberg, 2004; Deptula & Cohen, 2004). Cheng and Furnham (2002) found that friendship was a significant predictor of happiness. As a result of the common bond and shared interests, attitudes and behaviours inherent in friendships, adolescents influence each other through imitation and social reinforcement (constructs from social learning theory) (Arnett, 2001; Muuss, 1996; Tarrant, 2002). Adolescents often imitate the behaviour that they observe in a friend who they like, accept and value (Heaven, 2001). On the other extreme adolescents might exhibit the behaviour of a friend, but for the purposes of social inclusion (Heaven, 2001).

Studies have illustrated the powerful and opposite consequences that parents and peers can have on adolescents (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Kerr, Stattin, Biesecker, & Ferrer-Wreder, 2003), illustrating the impact of the mesosystem on adolescent development. In addition to peer groups, schools and classrooms are social places where adolescents interact with not only peers, but they also form other interpersonal relationships. The next section focuses on the influences that the microsystemic environment of the school might have on the adolescent.

2.3.2.3 The school environment

Although interest has recently been generated regarding the influence of schooling on psychological outcomes, few research studies have examined these variables (Anderman, 2002). During early adolescence, schools have the opportunity to influence adolescents' intellectual development, to foster a sense of belonging and competence, and to give adolescents the opportunity to interact with supportive adults other than their parents (Eccles, 2004). Research suggests, however, that during this time, when adolescents need the aforementioned most, the school system fails to provide (Eccles, 2004). For example, adolescents are sensitive about standing out and being different from their peers, but the school system places emphasis on relative ability and social comparison in the learning environments (Horn, 2006; Kuyper, Dijkstra, Buunk, & van der Werf, 2011). Another

example of this is that the teacher-student relationship is less than optimal during high school and this is exactly the time that adolescents seek supportive and meaningful relationships with adults other than their parents (De Wit, Karioja, & Rye, 2010). Previous studies suggested that school and classroom environment partly explains downward movement in adolescents' motivation and engagement (Akerlof & Kranton, 2002; Eccles & Wigfield, 2000; Ryan, 2001).

According to Anderman (2002), schooling effects on drop-out has been researched considerably. An important factor that leads to lower drop-out rates is school sense of belonging (Osterman, 2000). Adolescents develop a sense of belonging to their school when they can identify with the school. This leads to academic engagement and commitment, and therefore adolescents are less likely to drop-out. Positive outcomes are also experienced when adolescents experience their school environment as supportive (Finn, 1989; Griffin, 2002; Jennings, 2003). A caring school environment leads to a perception of school belonging (as well as autonomy and competence) in adolescents and holds the potential for improved social skills, motivation and achievement (Eccles, 2004; Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). Adolescents also experience greater school belonging when they have peers at school that support their goals (Anderman, 2002). A factor that influences the development of a sense of belonging to school is the size of the classroom (Osterman, 2000). Baumeister and Leary (1995) stated that in smaller sized classrooms students form stronger interpersonal relationships with their teachers and classmates and sense of belonging is therefore stronger (Finn, Pannoza, & Achilles, 2003; Osterman, 2000). In addition to this, Pianta (1999), according to a Vygotskian perspective, stated that in smaller sized classrooms teachers are more able to operate in adolescents' proximal zone of development, teachers are more able to monitor student progress and adolescents can have better communication and stronger interactions with their teachers if the teacher-student ratio is low. Teachers further inspire human civility, altruism, moral values and social integrity by demonstrating these qualities (Davis, 2006).

Schooling and education is perceived by many South African adolescents as a means of overcoming the limitations forced by an oppression heritage (Everatt, 2000; Ferns & Thom, 2001). Strong aspirations to follow their own unique purposes and attain fulfilment, as well as a yearning to be self-governing and empowered are expressed by black African adolescents (Everatt, 2000). Education and schooling have a significant impact on

adolescents' perspectives of their future. Demotivation, reduced academic performance and problem behaviours such as aggression, crime and drug abuse can result in apathetic and pessimistic tendencies regarding the future (Ferns & Thom, 2001). Many children are put at a disadvantage in life because of the poor schooling they received at primary and early high school levels. Although South Africa is attempting to rectify the inequalities, numerous divides still exist in the schooling received by black African children and adolescents (Ferns & Thom, 2001).

2.3.3 Exosystemic and macrosystemic elements

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the larger community which adolescents belong to forms the exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Examples of exosystems in adolescents' life include neighbourhoods, mass media and role models. The exosystems have an effect on the micro- and mesosystems of adolescents in that an exosystemic decision influences actions within the micro- and mesosystems (Antonishak, Sutfin, & Reppucci, 2005). The section to follow will describe the influences that are found at an exosystemic as well as macrosystemic level. The macrosystem is often deemed the outermost level in adolescents' environment (Berk, 2003). This consists of the cultural values, customs and laws, which are all influenced by the cultural ideology that adolescents grow up in (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994). Another example of adolescents' macrosystem is the religion that they follow (Muuss, 1996). To a large extent, the macrosystem of a society determines when adolescents are seen as an adult in terms of legal and economic values (some subgroups may not agree with what the macrosystem states) (Muuss, 1996).

2.3.3.1 Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods significantly influence individuals' outcomes (Ellen & Turner, 2003). Social psychologists have developed ecological models in order to determine the mutually interactive relationship between adolescents and their social and physical worlds, highlighting the importance of neighbourhood effects on individuals' well-being (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; Ellen & Turner, 2003). Ellen and Turner (2003) caution that research findings are inconclusive regarding which neighbourhood characteristics are most important and which neighbourhood conditions are most likely to influence individuals at different developmental stages. Although neighbourhoods influence individuals, family variables such as income and parental education have larger effects on adolescent development (Huston, 2002; Browning, Leventhal, & Brooks-Gunn, 2004). Neighbourhoods

exercise an effect on individual and family variables, and neighbourhoods therefore mostly influence adolescents indirectly through the home setting (Browning et al., 2004; Huston, 2002). During adolescence, peers, schools, communities and adults outside of the family start to influence adolescents more than in their younger years (Brendt, 2002; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Ellen & Turner, 2003). Neighbourhoods therefore are of greater significance in the lives of individuals during adolescence than during childhood. Jencks and Mayer (1990) identified mechanisms that play a part in the degree of influence that the neighbourhood will have over individuals (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002).

Neighbourhoods significantly influence the quality of local services available to adolescents (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 2002). For the majority of adolescents, the most important local service is likely to be the quality of education that they receive (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 2002). Adolescents living in neighbourhoods that do not value education are likely to conclude that responsible educational behaviour does not have high rewards (Harding, 2003; Newman & Chin, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). As mentioned, racial inequalities related to resources, educational quality, the schooling and education systems have undergone numerous policy changes following the end of apartheid (Bray et al., 2010). Enrolment rates among black African children and adolescents have risen in the past two decades, with resource allocation ensuring that previous black African schools received improvements in infrastructure, as well as more qualified teachers (Abdi, 2002; Bray et al., 2010). Bray and colleagues (2010) are, however, still of the opinion that inequalities in the public schooling system in South Africa persist, and that most children and adolescents do not gain the necessary skills and qualifications needed for the labour market. CAPS (2002) indicated that a clear correlation can be drawn between a learners' literacy and numeracy scores and the neighbourhood in which they reside (Lam & Seekings, 2005). On average, children from neighbourhoods that are not optimally beneficial to educational success, attend schools that are not equipped to provide the necessary skills (Bray et al., 2010). Interestingly, a study by Wayne and Youngs (2003) found that the reason for this was not class size, but teacher qualification.

The neighbourhood and type of school that adolescents attend further influence the exposure they receive to extramural activities (e.g. sports, drama clubs, and music and art groups). These activities are important during the adolescent years as not only are they important for the discovery of talent and strengths that adolescents have, but they also lure adolescents'

attention and energy away from delinquent acts and behaviours and ensure that adolescents rather invest such energy in productive activities (Harding, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). The CAPS (2002) study reported that almost two-thirds of adolescents in Cape Town took part in sport, study groups, religious activities or dancing and music classes (Lam & Seekings, 2005). Bray and colleagues (2010) found that the lack of infrastructure in coloured and black African communities, as well as different socio-cultural norms, resulted in less coloured and black African adolescents engaging in such extramural activities. Extramural activities, especially for adolescent males in sports groups, were a vital part of their routine, identity and support structures. Sport therefore was not only important in building self-esteem and coping mechanisms, but also provided grounds to interact with peers and other adults (Bray et al., 2010).

Neighbourhoods can also influence adolescents' social and support networks. Socially cohesive neighbourhoods hold many benefits in that neighbours look out for one another, share news, employment opportunities and stand together in difficult times (Ellen & Turner, 2003; Harding, 2003; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 2002). Another mechanism involved in neighbourhood effect, is socialisation by adults (Harding, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). Children and adolescents learn through observation of others' behaviour. Influential adults in the neighbourhood, therefore, have the opportunity to teach, discipline and care for adolescents in their community (Harding, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). Bray and colleagues (2010) further illustrated the possible support that individuals receive in such neighbourhoods. In their study, adolescents spoke of aunts and uncles (not always biologically related) that are "like a mother/father to me" (p. 100) (Bray et al., 2010). *Ubuntu* is an African term used to describe communal life and shared accountability for the upbringing of children in these communities (Bray et al., 2010). Although this term is often associated with the positive, Bray et al. (2010) cautioned that the reason for such a community spirit is often because children and adolescents experience unsatisfactory conditions at home and have to look elsewhere for support and guidance. As with most systems, vast differences are found in the experience of adolescents from different social classes. Adolescents in middle and upper class neighbourhoods are often separated by fences and high walls and rarely share the experience of communal life. In these neighbourhoods interaction is rare and restricted to direct neighbours (Bray et al., 2010). Another influence of neighbourhoods is found in peer influences. As discussed in a previous section, peers have a large impact during adolescence (Harding, 2003; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al.,

2002). If adolescents reside in a neighbourhood surrounded by peers who engage in delinquent and dangerous behaviours, sexual activity, fall pregnant during their adolescent years and who do not regard education as important, they are more likely to see these activities as the norm and acceptable (Browning et al., 2004; Ellen & Turner, 2003) and engage in such behaviours themselves (Harding, 2003; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 2002).

Another mechanism that Jencks and Mayer (1990) identified is exposure to crime and violence. Adolescents who grow up in violent societies are more likely to have been a victim of crime, injured or been a perpetrator of crime (Harding, 2003; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson et al., 2002). The 2005 National Youth Victimization Survey reported that criminals and violent offenders in poor neighbourhoods are most likely male adolescents and young adult males (Burton, 2006). The study also reported that a large majority of the cohort have either witnessed a crime or have been the victim of attacks (Burton, 2006; Leoschut & Burton, 2006). In South Africa, during apartheid, different racial groups were kept apart and lived in different neighbourhoods (Posel, 2001). South African neighbourhoods currently differ vastly in terms of their infrastructure, socio-economic opportunities and forms of sociability (Bray et al., 2010). In South Africa research regarding the impact of neighbourhoods on children and adolescents have largely focused on gang enrolments (Salo, 2004), as well as the consequences of violence and crime (Bray et al., 2010; Ramphela, 2002). Studies done in Johannesburg, South Africa, indicated how poor local neighbourhoods and the real and perceived threats experienced within these neighbourhoods, limit the lives of adolescents living there (Swart-Kruger, 2001; Swart-Kruger & Chawla, 2002). Adolescent witnesses of violent crimes may have been traumatised and their future orientations may therefore have been scared (Berthold, 2000). Adolescents could interpret violent behaviour as typical and tolerable and the judicial punishment therefore may not act as a deterrent for these individuals (Berthold, 2000; Ellen & Turner, 2003). Another effect of crime and violence is that individuals in such communities lead isolated lives, not fully interacting with their neighbours, role models, social and support networks. The quality of interpersonal relationships that adolescents have therefore suffers (Ellen & Turner, 2003). South African adolescents from sampled neighbourhoods perceived a degree of danger in their neighbourhoods and indicated feeling unsafe in their neighbourhoods at night (Bray et al., 2010).

Lastly, another influence of neighbourhoods pertains to physical distance and isolation. The geographic location of the neighbourhood plays an important role as the neighbourhood could be far from services such as schools and clinics. In the South African study by Bray et al. (2010), adolescents in poorer neighbourhoods perceived the health and social services in their neighbourhoods as inadequate and did not turn to these services to satisfy their needs. Neighbourhoods have an impact on adolescents' physical health (e.g. environmental hazards such as polluted water, and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis) (Ellen, Mijanovich, & Dillman, 2003). Remote neighbourhoods could further have a lack of access to public transportation and employment opportunities available to adolescents (Ellen & Turner, 2003; Harding, 2003; Sampson et al., 2002). Neighbourhoods could also influence parental well-being (illustrating the importance of mesosystems) (Ellen & Turner, 2003).

In addition to the influences of neighbourhoods, adolescents are confronted by the media on a daily basis (Swanson, Edwards, & Spencer, 2010). The next section will aim to describe the influences that the media can have on adolescent development.

2.3.3.2 *The media*

Adolescent development is profoundly influenced by the media, with these influences often going unrecognised (Strasburger, Wilson, & Jordan, 2007). Strasburger (2004) stated that the media's influence on adolescents is indirect, cumulative and prolonged. A large proportion of adolescents' lives are spent interacting with the media (Buckingham, 2000; Strasburger et al., 2007). A study conducted by Strasburger in 1989, even before mass media and over exposure, indicated that most individuals reaching the age of 70 generally expended 7 to 10 years of their lives viewing television (Strasburger, 1989; 2004). By the time the average American adolescent graduates from high school, they have seen an excess of 200 000 murders, rapes and attacks on the television (Wright et al., 2001). In addition to watching television, adolescents' exposure to the media increases as they interact with media through music, movies, computer games and the internet (Buckingham, 2000). Adolescents are further exposed to sex and sexuality through the media (Strasburger, 2004; Villani, 2001). Adolescents often see the use of substances, including alcohol, tobacco and illegal drugs through the media (Villani, 2001). Healthy nutrition, obesity and eating disorders (i.e. anorexia nervosa and bulimia) are often portrayed through various subtle, and often not so subtle, media messages (Strasburger, 2004; Villani, 2001), influencing adolescents' body images.

Strasburger (2004) indicated that the reason adolescents are more vulnerable to media influences is because they have fewer real-life experiences and therefore assess media information as true and occurring in the real world. In addition to this, adolescents have less critical thinking skills (Strasburger, 2004). As adolescence is a developmental stage where peer pressure plays a vital role, the media can in fact act as a *super peer* (Strasburger, 2004, p. 56). The media has the potential not only to provide adolescents with information but also to form their attitudes and values (Strasburger, 2004; Villani, 2001).

Although no factor can be singled out for being responsible for adolescent violence, the volume of aggression in the media should be mentioned (Wright et al., 2001). Adolescents can form ideas and scripts for a variety of concerns (e.g. gender roles, courtship, sexual gratification, parental relationships and managing stress) based on what they interpret from the media (Buckingham, 2000; Strasburger & Wilson, 2002; Villani, 2001). Exposure to violent content on the television could predict aggressive behaviours later in life (Bushman & Huesmann, 2001; Huesmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, & Eron, 2003; Villani, 2001). Huesmann and colleagues (2003) indicated that early media exposure to violence results in aggressive behaviour which in turn results in a greater interest in watching violent television shows, starting a vicious cycle. In addition to influencing aggressive behaviour of children and adolescents, the media can also instil general fears, fear of victimisation, as well as leading to desensitisation of violence in societies (Strasburger, 2004; Villani, 2001).

The media also portrays actors and sport stars as heroes; people that adolescents want to live up to (Fisher, 2002). The next section will investigate the influence that these mentors and role models could have during adolescence.

2.3.3.3 *Role models*

The social sciences have emphasised role models' significant role pertaining to the socialisation process as well as in adolescents' psychological development, identity exploration and development, as well as in the goals and ambitions that adolescents hold (Cooley, 1982; Erikson, 1968; MacCallum & Beltman, 2002; Marcia, 1993; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 1980; Vescio et al., 2005). Bandura (1986, p. 47) argued that "modelling has always been acknowledged to be one of the most powerful means of transmitting values, attitudes and patterns of thought and behaviour." Learning occurs while individuals are observing others' behaviour and the resultant consequences of behaviour (Bandura, 1986). Research

regarding the influences of role models emphasised positive influences, such as their supportive and inspirational impact. The fact that role models demonstrate positive behaviours for adolescents to follow is further emphasised (Beam, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002; Hirsch, Mickus, & Boerger, 2002; Hurd et al., 2009). The possible negative consequences of admiring a role model who does not demonstrate prosocial behaviours, have, however, been neglected. Greenberger, Chen, and Beam (1998) investigated the negative influences of such role models and found that adolescents' perception of the negative behaviour of a significant role model can be predictive of adolescent misconduct, thus indicating that role models, who are considered as important non-parental adults, can have negative influences on adolescent behaviour (Greenberger et al., 1998; Hurd et al., 2009).

More recent studies indicated that, when the race and gender of a role model is matched to the race and gender of adolescents, it enables adolescents of particular social groups to envision and realise what someone of their race or gender can become (Vescio et al., 2005; Zirkel, 2002). Zirkel (2002) also indicated that an important function of gender- and race-matched role models may in fact be to provide adolescents with a sense of belonging and a sense of value. These role models therefore model aspects such as wealth, social status, intelligence as well as the desire to strive for one's goals (Zirkel, 2002).

Regardless of whom the role model was (e.g. family member, neighbour, school teacher, sports star), having a role model who modelled positive behaviour was a recurrent theme related to resiliency in children and adolescents (Yancey, Siegel, & McDaniel, 2002). Having a role model was associated with higher grades, greater self-confidence and stronger ethnic identity for adolescents (Hurd et al., 2009; Yancey et al., 2002). Having a role model that the adolescent personally knew further increased the aforementioned positive influences (Yancey et al., 2002). In a study done with low-income, inner-city youth in America, it was found that role models safeguarded these adolescents against negative behaviours such as participation in sexual activities (Oman, Vesely, Kegler, McLeroy, & Aspy, 2003; Vesely et al., 2004), participation in violence (Aspy et al., 2004), and substance use and abuse (Oman et al., 2004). Further studies regarding African American adolescents found that male adolescents lacking a male role model were more likely to engage in problem behaviour than peers who had male role models (Bryant & Zimmerman, 2003). African American adolescents experienced less aggressive behaviour and fewer anxiety and depressive

symptoms when they reported having a role model (McMahon, Singh, Garner, & Benhorn, 2004).

2.3.3.4 Culture

Cultural diversity and universal phenomena interact and are very important to human development. Culture is an important factor influencing development as it includes the knowledge, common procedural standards, unspoken traditions, tools, norms, values and habits that are passed from one generation to the next (Triandis & Suh, 2002). Kluckhohn (1954) compared the function of culture within a society to the function that memory has to individuals (Triandis, 2002). Culture is a socially shared process of creation that involves adolescents in shared actions (cultural rituals) and meanings (cultural understandings). Meanings and activities accumulate and change both within a single life cycle, as well as between generations. The content of such beliefs and practices varies widely across cultures (Fiske, 2000; Fiske & Ladd, 2005).

Individualism-collectivism contrasts deeply resemble differences in the structures of cultures and these differences have been widely studied (Cohen, 2009). These dimensions are opposite dimensions of the continuum and influences at the cultural level might differ from influences at an individual level (Triandis & Suh, 2002). Some of the values that are respected and imparted in a collectivistic culture include interdependence, sociability, family integrity, responsiveness to the needs of others and fulfilling duties and obligations (Cross, Bacon, & Morris, 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002). In contrast to this, values respected and conveyed in an individualistic culture include self-reliance, competition, uniqueness and emotional distancing from groups (Triandis & Suh, 2002). In collectivistic cultures, conflict is often resolved in such a manner as to maintain and not destroy relationships (negotiation) while conflict in individualistic cultures is concerned with justice and legally settling disputes (Cross et al., 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002). Individuals in a collectivistic culture view themselves as flexible and are able to adjust to a stable environment (i.e. norms, obligations and duties are rigid), while individuals from an individualistic culture view themselves as stable in a changing environment (Cross et al., 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002). In addition to the aforementioned differences, emotional experience as well as emotional expression differs in the individualistic and collectivistic (Mesquita & Walker, 2003). Independence and autonomy have also been found to correlate highly with life satisfaction in individualistic cultures, while conforming to social norms correlates with life satisfaction in collectivistic

cultures (Diener, 2000). Together with the differences in life satisfaction, individuals from individualistic cultures are more optimistic and have greater self-esteem than individuals from collectivistic cultures (Diener, 2000; Lee & Seligman, 1997). A criticism of these cultural paradigms emphasises the simplistic and reductionistic approach of these paradigms. The dichotomous binary quality of these cultural paradigms is further criticised (Killen & Wainryb, 2000).

Models emphasising identity and autonomy in adolescent development are generally based on the individualistic cultural notion of independence and self-sufficiency (Diener, 2000; Lee & Seligman, 1997). Adolescents within these societies strive towards the cultural principles that are conveyed through their individualistic philosophy and these models generally apply to their development (Diener, 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002). Adolescents from more collectivistic cultures, however, strive towards dependence and relationship-orientation (Diener, 2000; Lee & Seligman, 1997), and their identity development and desire for autonomy may be seen as lacking, when viewed from the perspective of such individualistic models (Triandis, 2002). Differences in adolescent developmental outcomes can therefore be expected based on cultural value differences (Cohen, 2009; Triandis, 2002; Triandis & Suh, 2002). While cultural influences have been broadly discussed in this section, Chapter 3 will describe culture in more depth, relating to ethnic and cultural identity.

From the discussion above, it is clear that the adolescent stage of human development is being prolonged as to enable adolescents to develop the necessary skills needed for optimal adult functioning. The vast changes that have occurred in South Africa during the last two decades have had positive and negative impacts on adolescent development. Not only have the opportunities available to the majority of black African adolescents increased, but the exosystemic influences have had far-reaching consequences for micro-, meso- and macrosystems involved in adolescent development. The literature review regarding influences of specific elements highlighted that, despite changes in the interpersonal interactions that adolescents have with parents, siblings and/or other family members, these figures continue to have an important influence on adolescents' social and emotional development. During adolescence, peers and the influence of peers increase in importance. Following the literature review, it is apparent that the increase of peer importance is not to the detriment of the importance of family influences. In addition to the microsystemic and mesosystemic elements that influence adolescent development, elements such as

neighbourhoods, the media, role models and culture shape adolescent development in important manners.

2.4 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, various views and theories regarding adolescence and adolescent development were described, aiming to provide an integrated view of this cohort. Different definitions of the term adolescence from various literature sources were presented in this chapter, concluding with an integrated definition of this developmental period. The biological, psychological, social and spiritual domains and tasks that adolescents complete during this developmental stage were also described. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the myriad influences on adolescent development, structured according to the levels of Bronfenbrenner's model. Although the majority of studies described in this chapter are based on international literature, some important information regarding South Africa and the changes experienced in the country's recent history were also included in this chapter. The lack of extensive South African literature indicates the importance of this study regarding the lived experiences of South African adolescents. The next chapter will describe identity development in particular and will focus on this specific developmental task during adolescence.

Chapter 3 – Identity development

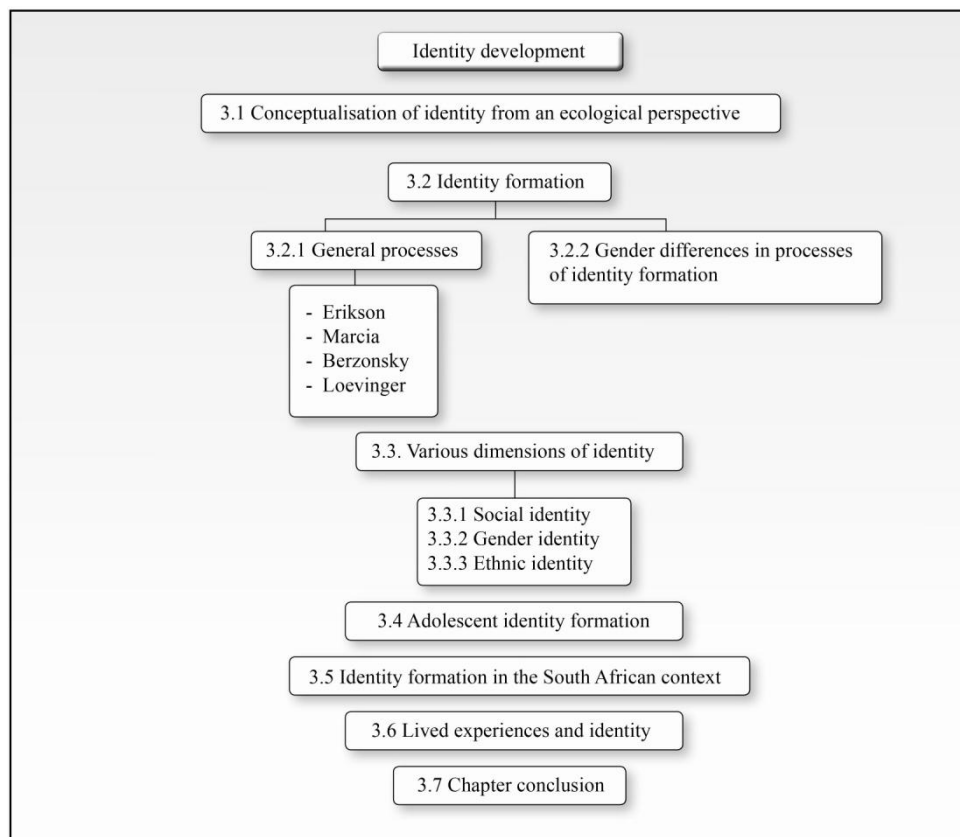


Figure 4. Visual display of Chapter 3 outline

As illustrated in Figure 4, identity development will be described in this chapter. Various definitions and conceptualisations of identity will be presented. An encompassing definition of identity as used in this study will be presented. Identity formation processes and gender differences with regard to identity development will be briefly reviewed. Social, ethnic and gender identity will also be described. A description of identity formation in the South African context will be given. The chapter will conclude with a description of lived experiences related to identity formation.

The formation of a stable sense of identity and establishment of a personal sense of autonomy are major developmental tasks negotiated during adolescence (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Heaven, 2001). Some of the most generally researched themes in psychology include theories of self-concept and identity (Arnett, 2000; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001). Identity is a significant characteristic of psychosocial functioning, encompassing the manners in which individuals view themselves (Côté & Levine, 2002). Psychosocial theories of development

inform researchers about how individuals feel, act, and understand the meaning of their experiences (Torres, Jones, & Renn, 2009). Experience and personal growth is influenced by individuals' background, past experiences and personal belief system (Hogg, 2001). Positive and negative life events influence the dynamic concept known as sense of self, or identity (Hogg, 2001). Identity is predictive of numerous essential psychosocial and interpersonal outcomes (Côté & Levine, 2002).

3.1 Conceptualisation of identity from an ecological perspective

Identity is no longer only understood as a noun but also as a verb, not only describing a person, a core or quality but is also a phrase describing an action, state or experience. The term is highly disputed and there is no single, generally decided upon definition of identity (Bauman, 2000; 2001; Jørgensen, 2006). Research studies that view the concept of identity as a psychosocial concept, investigate individual as well as environmental influences on adolescent identity development (Khanlou, 2004; Renn, 2008). The intricate interaction between private, social and contextual elements of identity formation, contributes to the complexity in classification of individuals (Erikson, 1968; Svenningson & Alvesson, 2003; Verkuyten, 2005).

According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) ecological systems theory, developmental processes such as identity formation occur in the context of the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems. Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1994) suggested that the reciprocal interaction between individuals and their environments produce constancy as well as change in individuals' identities during their life course (Khanlou, 2004; Renn, 2008; Waller, 2001). Renn (2008) stated that the majority of identity development models emphasise the outcomes of identity development rather than the processes directing those outcomes. The ecological systems theory, however, integrates both processes and outcomes of development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Renn, 2008). Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) ecological systems theory of human development was used as a guiding framework in conceptualising identity formation.

Numerous terms have been associated with identity and are often used interchangeably. Such terms include self, ego, multiple self, character and personality. Although these terms have various interpretations, in the remainder of this paragraph each term will be briefly described.

The term *self* is closely related to identity and can be defined as an organised representation of the theories, attitudes and beliefs that individuals hold about themselves (Devos & Banaji, 2003). Viljoen (2002) stated that the self is seen as a harmonious whole in which individuals attempt to integrate both the conscious and the unconscious. The term *multiple self* or *multiple selves* is viewed as including hundreds, possibly even thousands of self-perceptions in fluctuating degrees of precision and strength that are attained during development (Atwater, 1990; Taylor, 2006). Ego development is viewed as a means to preserve unity of the self and one's identity (Newman, 2005). The term *ego* is viewed as the organiser of experience (Frederick & McNeal, 1999). Dowrick (2002) stated that the ego is the centre of consciousness and acts as the *I* with which individuals function in the world. The ego, according to Loevinger (1976), is a holistic concept characterising the unity of personality organisation. Ego identity, according to Erikson (1968), refers to permanence of personality, representing the deepest and most instinctive processes affecting the development of identity. The term *character* is defined as the combination of qualities or traits differentiating one person, group, or object from another (Kuperminc, Blatt, Shahar, Henrich, & Leadbeater, 2004; McDougall, 2003). Möller (1995) stated that the term *personality* refers to the structure and organisation of thoughts, feelings and behaviours that result in unique human beings. These terms are often associated with identity and all place emphasis on individuals' lived experience, and focus on personal understanding and reflection of individuals' uniqueness.

The term *identity* characterises the response to the question 'Who am I?' As mentioned, the term identity does not have a single definition and therefore various conceptualisations regarding identity are introduced in the remainder of this section. The section concludes with an encompassing definition of identity as used in this study.

The focus of identity in psychology is generally considered to have begun with the work of James (1890). In his two-volume monumental work, James (1890) defined the sense of personal identity as the "consciousness of personal sameness" (p. 331). Identity is an essential part of human psychology and psychological health (Bauman, 2001; Erikson, 1959; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). A central element of the subjective experience of having a sense of identity is "that one has a core, a centre that is oneself, to which experience and action can be referred" (Marcia, 1993, p. 7). Affirming the notion that identity does not have a single correct definition, Erikson (1959) stated that the term identity has numerous diverse but

closely associated meanings. In some instances identity refers to the mindful awareness of individual uniqueness (Erikson, 1959). At other instances identity refers to an instinctive striving for stability of individual character (Erikson, 1959). Erikson (1959) further indicated that identity is “a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis, and it is used in connection with the maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group’s ideals and identity” (Erikson, 1959, p. 102).

Identity refers to behaviours and characteristics of personality that differentiate individuals as unique (Côté & Levine, 2002; Vryan, Adler, & Adler, 2003), placing emphasis on those qualities that set individuals apart from one another (Côté & Levine, 2002; Schwartz, 2005; Vryan et al., 2003). A sense of identity refers to established characteristics of individuality, including gender, ethnicity, or age (Alberts, Mballo, & Ackerman, 2003) as well as intrapersonal characteristics (such as self-definition or personality traits) (Calvert, 2002). Identity can further be defined as individuals’ aims, morals and beliefs in areas such as politics, religious dogma, relationship styles, gender role ideologies and occupational choice (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003; Schwartz, 2001; Suh, 2002; Van Hoof & Raaijmakers, 2002). Erikson stated that identity facilitates the process of making sense of, and finding one’s place amongst infinite possibilities in a virtually limitless world (Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Schwartz (2005) stated that identity is practical in value, as it offers a sense of security in a sea of possibilities. A sense of personal identity forms an internal schema and reinforces individuals’ experience of the world as logical, meaningful and directed by inner reason (Bauman, 2001; Erikson, 1959; Schwartz, 2001; 2005).

The term identity also incorporates a sense of continuity of self images over time (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2003; McLean, 2005; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Similar to the previous definition focusing on a continuing process of identity, Gee (2001) stated that identity development can be described as an ongoing process of understanding oneself as a particular type of person and being known as such a person in a particular environment. Continuity is emphasised in Erikson’s formulation of identity:

“a sense of inner wholeness... between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future, between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and expect of him” (Erikson, 1968, p. 87).

A sense of identity further signifies the roles and relationships acquired during interactions with others, and personal values or moral beliefs held by individuals (Calvert, 2002). Josselson (2005) stated that identity conveys independence from others as well as the ways of connecting to others.

Environmentally dependent, personal identity has been understood as being an inner construction, an individual understanding or personal sense of self, an existential task and an infinite process (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Jørgensen, 2006). According to Jørgensen (2006), the term identity is a philosophical concept symbolising a personal portrayal or sense of the self as instrument, individual and entity capable of perception and reflection. Berzonsky regarded identity as a self-constructed theory of the person, a mental representation of the self, and not as an absolute entity that exists in itself (Berzonsky, 1988; 1990; 1993). Berzonsky (2003) further stated that identity refers to the manner in which individuals perceive themselves as flexible, determined and self-regulating individuals (Berzonsky, 1990). Chickering and Reisser (1993) defined identity as increasing awareness of personal abilities, feelings and principles, as well as confidence in being on your own and in relationship with others. Chickering and Reisser (1993) further stated that a coherent sense of identity involves moving away from intolerance toward sincerity and self-worth. Identity reflects the internal processes of self-definition and is a characteristic of individuals (Deaux, 2000).

Wenger (1998) proposed a framework in which he stated that individuals' identity does not reside solely in the way they talk or think about themselves nor solely in others' thoughts and opinions about the individual. Wenger (1998) stated that identity rather resides in the manner in which individuals' identities are lived day-to-day. The daily experiences and influences that individuals have on their environment and vice versa influence individuals' development and awareness of their identity. Josselson (1987) stated that identity, at a basic level, is how individuals create meaning from their experiences and how they share these meanings with others. Josselson (1996) stated "Identity is how we interpret our own existence and understand who we are in our world. I am a woman, but my identity as a woman is my unique way of being a woman in the culture in which I live" (p. 30). Affirming the importance of such lived experiences in the formulation and awareness of identity, Josselson (1996) stated:

“Living our identities is much like breathing. We don’t have to ask ourselves each morning who we are. We simply are. As life progresses, we may add new elements and find room for them in the mixture. We may discard others through disuse. Identity is never fixed; it continually evolves. But something in it stays constant; even when we change, we are recognizably who we have always been. Identity links the past, the present and the social world into a narrative that makes sense. It embodies both change and continuity.” (p. 29)

The term identity in this study is formulated as individuals’ evolving attempts to attain sameness of self through a process of interpreting lived experiences. Identity is the subjective awareness that meaning is continually being created. It includes individuals’ definitions of their personal characteristics, relationship roles, traits as well as norms and values, in order to provide a practical and consistent sense of self.

3.2 Identity formation

Identity formation is a vibrant and life-long process (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966). Identity is not a state that individuals automatically reach. Erikson outlined a sequential and changing concept of identity, stating that identity is not an item one owns, but rather a state that develops during the entire lifespan (Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Identity development is cyclical in nature and does not conclude when individuals initially identify with an entity (Pratt, Norris, van de Hoef, & Arnold, 2001). Identity is often challenged at particular stages of development (Beyers & Goossens, 2008). Through a process of reflection and observation, identity develops from childhood, reaching prominence during adolescence and young adulthood, and leads to an achieved identity (Erikson, 1968; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz, 2005). The majority of research conducted on identity formation applies to numerous stages in the lifespan development. During each life stage, new abilities develop, different challenges and tasks must be faced, and new roles are assumed (Newman & Newman, 2011). These changes result in different orientations toward the self and others (Newman & Newman, 2011).

Identity development is necessary for self-esteem and self-acceptance and contributes to the ability to succeed (Crawford, Cohen, Johnson, Sneed, & Brook, 2004). For this reason, the importance of developing a secure sense of identity, including a sense of social, gender and

ethnic identity is very important (Bauman, 2001; Erikson, 1959; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Balancing identity differences and similarities enables individuals to be part of society while still retaining a sense of their unique individuality (Marcia, 1980). In Western cultural contexts, coherence is important, as these contexts expect that individuals remain the same at work, at home and in social situations (Cross et al., 2003; Suh, 2002). A coherent sense of personal identity has been associated with numerous positive outcomes in adulthood, such as generativity (Helson & Srivastava, 2001). This coherent sense of identity results in a personal sense of consistency and stability (Bauman, 2001; Erikson, 1959; Schwartz, 2001; 2005).

3.2.1 General processes of identity formation

The represented self as well as the processes involved in representing the self to the external world are important in defining identity. Various approaches to identity formation have been identified (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens, Berzonsky, Vansteenkiste, Beyers, & Goossens, 2005; Waterman, 1984). Of these approaches, the distinct descriptions of discovery and creation are suggested as a means of understanding identity formation (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 1984). The discovery and creation approaches suggest unique theoretical implications regarding identity components. These two approaches further have different theoretical views of the appraisal of opposing identity preferences, as well as the decision making processes involved in identity resolution (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 1984).

The identity discovery approach affirms the existence of a true self (Bargh, McKenna, & Fitzsimons, 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Waterman, 1984), proposing that individuals encounter the true self by exploratory talents, abilities and their personal experiences. The true or optimal self is called the daimon, representing individuals' unique abilities, aptitudes, skills and competences (Schwartz, 2002). The identity discovery approach states that identity exploration comprises the intuitive identification of fit between suitable and acceptable identity opportunities and oneself (Bargh et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005). Within this approach, the self is discovered by relying on instinct to search limited choices of probable identities for the true self (Bargh et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005). Individuals' identity choices are further influenced by their intuitive levels of decision making (Bargh et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005). The sense of fit is

regularly a remarkably strong association and engagement with certain identity alternatives (Bargh et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005).

In contrast, the identity creation approach suggests that there is no true self, but rather an endless amount of identities that could possibly be formed (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 1984). This approach resembles the constructivist approach to creating an identity (Berzonsky, 1990). The identity creation approach implies that an identity, or part of an identity, is being generated that up to that time did not exist. Within the identity creation approach, exploration includes reflection of several alternative identities which is followed by the subsequent selection of one of these alternatives (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 1984), thereby stating that individuals create a sense of who they consider themselves to be, as well as the environments within which they act (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 1984). This perspective maintains that an identity cannot be constructed prior to its creation (Schwartz, 2002). The creation of individuals' identity choices comprises rational levels of decision making (Bargh et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005).

Schwartz (2002) stated that the true method by which identities are developed remains unknown. Schwartz (2002) further suggested that individuals, who are forming identity commitments, may be using both discovery and creation. In confirming the aforementioned, Waterman (2004) proposed that both the identity creation approach and identity discovery approach supports the relationship between process (purposeful interaction between self and environment) and outcome (a clear, flexible and complete sense of identity). Waterman (2004) further stated that, regardless of whether one's perception of personal identity is one of internalising and transforming aspects of the external environment, or whether one perceives the process as finding oneself, the implications appear to be the same. Using a combined decision making process, identity alternatives that satisfy rational as well as intuitive standards would have the greatest probability of being chosen and incorporated into one's sense of self (Schwartz, 2002). It is therefore suggested that developmental individualisation involves rational (outward) as well as intuitive (inward) factors. On the assumption that individuals purposefully partake in exchanges with their environments (i.e. interpersonal, social and cultural), individuals are expected to develop a positive and coherent sense of identity (Waterman, 2004). Despite the differences evident in the creation and the discovery approach, both approaches emphasise the following concepts: identity exploration

and commitment (Waterman, 2004). Exploration implies that, during the discovery or creation of a coherent sense of self, active reflection of different possible identity features has been considered. Commitment characterises a decision to follow a set of ambitions, morals and beliefs, whether self-initiated or personalised from others (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 2004). Ultimately, a commitment to an identity is viewed as the concluding result of both the discovery and creation approach and therefore both approaches seems to be equally effective in achieving a coherent sense of identity (Schwartz, 2002; Soenens et al., 2005; Waterman, 2004).

In this study the concepts of both identity creation and identity discovery are endorsed and these processes will be used interchangeably. Various identity formation processes will be the focus of the subsequent sections.

Developmental psychology's interest in adolescent identity development was significantly influenced by the seminal work written by Erikson (1968): *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. Of the numerous researchers interested in identity, both Erikson (1968) and Bronfenbrenner (1989; 2005) were interested in developmental processes and individuals' related social contexts. While Erikson's (1968) psychosocial theory of development emphasised the function of social and cultural contexts, Bronfenbrenner placed emphasis on the interacting contexts that affect development. Various other researchers have developed theories regarding the process of identity development. The theories that will be described in this section include theories by Erikson (1968), Marcia (1966), Berzonsky (1989) and Loevinger (1976).

3.2.1.1 Erikson's psychosocial stages of development

Erikson's (1968) psychosocial stage theory emphasises the development of ego identity (Schwartz, 2001; 2002). Erikson (1968) stated that identity formation is an enduring developmental process involving eight stages of conflict resolution between personal needs and societal demands. The conflict resolution further involves positive and negative developmental possibilities. Erikson's theory suggests that becoming skilled in a particular area of life is the main focus of each stage. If the stage is successfully completed, individuals will experience a sense of mastery. However, if the stage is not completed successfully, individuals will emerge with a sense of inadequacy in that area (Schwartz, 2001; 2002). Erikson (1968) stated that:

“Not until adolescence does the individual develop the prerequisites in physiological growth, mental maturation and social responsibility to experience and pass through the crisis of identity. We may, in fact, speak of the identity crisis as the psychosocial aspect of adollescng” (p. 91)

Table 1 presents the eight psychosocial stages of development as proposed by Erikson (1968).

Table 1

Erikson's psychosocial stages of development

Stage	Age	Psychosocial issue	Rational focus	Central question:	Associated virtue
Infancy	0–1	Trust - Mistrust	Mother & other caregiver(s)	How can I be secure?	Hope: Trust & optimism
Early childhood	2–3	Autonomy - Doubt, Shame	Parents	How can I be independent?	Will: Exercise free choice & self-restraint
Childhood (play)	4–6	Initiative - Guilt	Basic family	How can I be powerful?	Purpose & direction: Ability to initiate own activities; pursue goals
Childhood (school)	7–12	Industry - Inferiority	Neighbourhood, school	How can I be good?	Competence in intellectual, social & physical skills
Adolescence	13–19	Identity - Role confusion	Peer groups	How can I fit into the adult world? Who am I?	Fidelity & an integrated image of oneself as a unique person
Young adulthood	19–35	Intimacy - Isolation	Partners in friendships, the other	How can I experience love?	Love: Mutuality, findings & losing self in the other, career commitments
Adulthood	35–55	Generativity - Stagnation	Divided labour & shared household	How can I leave a legacy?	Care: Solicitude, guidance & teaching a new generation
Maturity	55+	Ego integrity - Despair	Humankind	How do I reflect on my life?	Wisdom: Sense of fulfilment & satisfaction with one's life

The fifth stage in Erikson's eight-stage lifespan sequence of developmental tasks, identity versus role confusion, occurs most frequently during adolescence. It is believed that identity exists in some form, starting from birth. However, it is during adolescence that individuals develop an identity through the incorporation of preceding childhood identifications and

through changing these identifications into a consistent whole (Erikson, 1968; Jenkins, 2008; Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005).

Erikson (1968) stated that identity confusion arises as a consequence of individuals' inability to commit to an occupational or sexual identity. In order to resolve the identity crisis, individuals must integrate both their family's and society's projections with their own needs. This integration is necessary to maintain control and gain a feeling of industry and capability (Erikson, 1968; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). Erikson (1968) viewed the identity crisis as normative and indicated that the majority of individuals experience these types of crises (Erikson, 1968; Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Following crises resolution, identity becomes a complex, meaningful constancy over time and place (Josselson, 2005).

Erikson's theory has often been criticised as it is based on work done exclusively with boys and men from a Western culture (Côté & Levine, 2002). Many critics are of the opinion that his theory may not be generalisable to women and individuals of different cultures (Côté & Levine, 2002; Markstrom & Iborra, 2003; Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005). Notwithstanding, Erikson's formulation continues to form the basis for the majority of identity research (Côté & Levine, 2002). Researchers have expanded upon Erikson's (1968) conceptualisation of identity development (Schwartz, 2001; 2002; Soenens et al., 2005).

3.2.1.2 Marcia's ego-identity status model

Elaborating on Erikson's proposed identity forming task of adolescence and his focus on "a sense of knowing where one is going" (Erikson, 1959, p. 118), Marcia (1966) developed the ego identity status model. The focus in Marcia's (1966) model is mainly on the decision making processes that are behavioural markers of the identity formation process (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Marcia (1980, 1993) assumed a constructivist view of ego identity, stating that identity is "a self-structure - an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history" (Marcia, 1980, p. 159). According to Marcia (1966), the identity formation process consists of two dimensions, believed to be independent, namely exploration and commitment. As mentioned previously, exploration is defined as the search between a variety of identity alternatives which one might commit to, and commitment is making a decision to remain faithful to a set(s) of ambitions, morals and beliefs (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012;

Schwartz, 2001; 2005). According to Marcia's (1966) theory, the four identity statuses, namely achieved, moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion, are a result of various exploration and commitment combinations (Marcia, 1966; Meeus, Iedema, & Maassen, 2002).

Identity achievement is the most highly developed and is attained by individuals who have searched a variety of identity alternatives and thereafter have made an informed commitment (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Individuals within the identity moratorium status have not made a decision and are actively exploring whilst not committing to ideals (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Individuals who commit to and select ideals without a process of exploration are within the identity foreclosure status (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Finally, those who are not actively engaged in the process of identity formation, neither exploring nor committing, are within the identity diffusion status (Marcia, 1966; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Table 2 presents the various exploration and commitment combinations.

Table 2

Marcia's ego-identity statuses

	Exploration high	Exploration low
Committed high	<p>Identity Achieved Undergone exploration and made a commitment</p>	<p>Identity Foreclosure Made a commitment without much prior exploration</p>
Committed low	<p>Identity Moratorium Ongoing exploration but failure to commit</p>	<p>Identity Diffusion Neither exploration nor commitment has been made</p>

While Erikson (1968) proposed that identity development occurs in a forward manner only, Marcia's (1966) identity status model specified that regression can occur between the stages (Schwartz et al., 2005). Throughout the lifecycle, identity status shifts will therefore occur (Marcia, 1966; Meeus et al., 2002). The identity statuses are thought to function in various situations such as politics, religion, career-related situations and friendships (Kroger, 2007; Meeus et al., 2002; Schwartz et al., 2005). Individuals' identity statuses are not restricted to a specific developmental stage. Individuals, throughout their lifecycle, explore elements such as faith, ideology and occupational preference that are associated to their identity (Kroger, 2007; Meeus et al., 2002).

Marcia's (1966) processes of exploration and commitment have been described in greater depth by Luyckx and colleagues, who investigated exploration-in-breadth and exploration-in-depth (Luyckx et al., 2006). Exploration-in-breadth indicates the degree employed by individuals in assessing and regarding numerous options before commitment (Luyckx et al., 2006; Luyckx et al., 2006; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012). Exploration-in-depth signifies continuous evaluation of the commitments made, indicating a maintenance process (Luyckx et al., 2006; Luyckx et al., 2006; Mclean & Pasupathi, 2012). Meeus and colleagues (2002) stated that the continual nature of identity processes should be viewed as a series of commitment, reconsideration and deeper exploration (Meeus et al., 2002). Deeper exploration involves a maintenance process that occurs following commitments that have been made (Meeus et al., 2002; Meeus, 2011). The value and stability of the identity formed is subject to the degree of active and conscious participation in the processes of preference, internalisation, and integration of identity elements (the extent of active exploration) (Luyckx et al., 2008). Identity exploration can be related to openness and general curiosity (Luyckx, Soenens, & Goossens, 2006). Exploration can, however, also be related to increased anxiety and greater depressive symptoms (Luyckx et al., 2006). Moratorium is often thought to signify assurance of a positive transitional period, to adulthood (Arnett, 2000). However, as exploration can lead to openness as well as distress, the adaptive nature and adequacy of the moratorium stage has recently been questioned (Côté & Schwartz, 2002). Several individuals prosper during exploratory periods or identity moratorium which results in the development of identity commitment (Arnett, 2000; Marcia, 1966). Conversely, the moratorium state can create uncertainty in young people, as the apparently vast possibilities can be experienced as intimidating and can cause instability (Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005).

3.2.1.3 Berzonsky's identity processing styles

Expanding on the previous identity theories, Berzonsky considered social cognitive processes that might explain individual differences in exploration, adding a cognitive perspective to the research on identity (Soenens et al., 2005). Berzonsky (1993) indicated that identity is a theory of the self. Identity structure was suggested necessary in order to create a sense of self-unity and self-stability (Berzonsky, 1993). Berzonsky (1993) further indicated that a sense of self-identity is developed through the interpretation and assimilation of ambitions, values, self-monitoring strategies and self-relevant information. Berzonsky (1990) investigated the type of strategies that individuals employ in interpreting self-relevant

information, as well as the approaches used in problem solving and decision making (Soenens et al., 2005).

Berzonsky stated that individuals living and developing in an ever changing postmodern world, experience changes and transformations that result in the weakening of previously sustainable identity structure. Therefore, changes necessitate accommodation and revision of identity structures (Berzonsky, 1990; 1993). According to Berzonsky (1990), successful identity development is therefore not seen as the representation of an underlying true self. When the created identity had reasonable value and allowed individuals to complete their life tasks, Berzonsky viewed this as successful identity development (Berzonsky, 1988; 1989; 1990).

According to Berzonsky (1988), there are three ways, or styles, through which to approach identity-relevant information. The use of a preferred style over another is dependent on internal characteristics and external pressures, and thus is consistent with Erikson's (1968) psychosocial model. Berzonsky viewed each identity processing style as representing a distinct schema or world view. Individuals continually validate or change their world views through a process of self-confirming exercises (Berzonsky, 1988; 1990). The different identity processing styles are known as: informational, normative and diffuse/avoidant (Berzonsky, 1988; 1989; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999). Individuals using an informational style search for, build on, and utilise self-relevant information in resolving personal difficulties and in their identity-relevant decision making processes (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999). Individuals using a normative style accept the recommendations and demands of significant others (e.g. parents, teachers and friends). Individuals using the normative style employ increased efforts to protect existing self-constructions (Berzonsky, 1990). Finally, a diffuse/avoidant style is characterised by procrastination of decision making and includes actions aimed at delaying commitments as long as possible (Berzonsky, 1988; 1989). Table 3 presents the three identity processing styles.

Table 3

Berzonsky's identity processing styles

Identity Processing Styles	
Informational Processing Style	Individuals are highly active, gathering and processing self-relevant information Their decision making tends to be elaborate and intense Individuals have high internal locus of responsibility Individuals are comfortable dealing with ambiguous or novel situations
Normative Processing Style	Individuals are selective in gathering and processing information They define themselves and are highly protective of the expectations and prescriptions of others Individuals' decision making often has a conditional quality to it Individuals are less comfortable dealing with ambiguous or novel situations
Diffuse/Avoidant Processing Style	Individuals are gathering and processing information in a haphazard manner (intense and selective - indifferent and random) The style is often marked by procrastination, avoidance and superficiality Their self-identification is grounded in public self-components

Berzonsky (1989; 1993) further investigated the relationships between his styles and Marcia's identity statuses, and argued that identity processing styles are the processes underlying identity statuses. A literature review by Berman, Schwartz, Kurtines and Berman (2001) confirmed the association between identity processing styles and identity statuses. Table 4 presents the identity statuses of individuals in each of Marcia's (1966) categories and the predicted would be preferred identity processing style of Berzonsky (1988).

Table 4

Identity processing styles and identity statuses

Marcia's (1966) Identity Status	Berzonsky's (1988) Processing Style
Achieved	Informational
Foreclosed	Normative
Moratorium	Informational
Diffused	Diffuse/Avoidant

According to Berzonsky, individuals who prefer the informational style would be categorised into Marcia's achievement or moratorium status. These individuals use an active problem-solving approach to identity-relevant information (Berzonsky, 1989). Individuals preferring the normative style adopt norms that are valued by others, and are categorised in Marcia's foreclosure status. Individuals who prefer the diffuse/avoidant style are characterised by

delaying decision making and are likely to be in Marcia's diffuse status (Berzonsky, 1988; 1989; 1990; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Marcia, 1966).

It is important to note that Berzonsky's (1988; 1989; 1990) identity processing style model differs from Marcia's (1966; 1993) identity status theory. The two theories place different emphasis on commitment and exploration. While Marcia was of the opinion that some individuals explore, that some are committed and that others are indifferent, Berzonsky was of the opinion that all individuals, in varying degrees, are in a state of active search. Berzonsky was interested in how effective individuals are as explorers, particularly how they search and what they search. Marcia's conceptualisation of statuses, however, is seen as an outcome variable (Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005). Berzonsky's identity processing styles are characterised as *organisers* of experience, while Marcia's identity statuses are characterised as *organisations* of experience (Berman et al., 2001). While Marcia (1993) viewed the successful resolution of earlier psychosocial crises as an essential requirement for realising a more mature identity status, Berzonsky (1988; 1990) suggested all normal adolescents are cognitively capable of using the three identity processing styles (Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005).

3.2.1.4 Loevinger's stages of ego development

Closely related to identity formation, identity status and processing styles as proposed by the previous theorists, is Loevinger's (1976) theory on ego development. Ego development signifies the way in which individuals organise their perception and interpretation of themselves and the world (Loevinger, 1976). Ego development can be an organising framework used for understanding what is meant by the 'Who are you?' question (Newman, 2005). Loevinger (1976) viewed the ego as the dominant characteristic, incorporating other developmental areas (Gilmore & Durkin, 2001). As meaning is subjectively enforced on experience throughout the lifespan (Newman & Newman, 2011), Loevinger (1976) suggested that the ego is the frame of reference individuals use to construct and interpret their world.

Ego development represents the manner by which individuals control instincts as well as apprehensions, understand how they relate to others, and experience a coherent sense of self (Loevinger, 1976; 1997; Newman, 2005). Ego development is considered as an indicator of psychosocial maturity (Loevinger, 1976; 1997; Newman, 2005).

Loevinger (1976) viewed personalities as meaningful wholes and not fragmented traits. Starting with childhood, all the way through adolescence and into adulthood, there is an increase in orientation towards the self and interpersonal relationships. Based on Loevinger's descriptions, ego development has been characterised as the level of complexity with which individuals are able to conceive of and experience themselves and the world (Cohn & Westenberg, 2004; Gilmore & Durkin, 2001; Loevinger, 1976; 1997; Newman & Newman, 2011). It consists of individuals' integrative processes in managing intra- as well as inter-personal encounters, as well as the frame of reference used in making meaning from life experiences (Gilmore & Durkin, 2001; Loevinger, 1976; 1997).

Loevinger stated that the ego develops and evolves through stages across the lifespan. This development is a result of an interaction between the self and the external environment (Cohn & Westenberg, 2004; Gilmore & Durkin, 2001; Loevinger, 1976; 1997; Newman & Newman, 2011). Loevinger (1976) described nine sequential stages in her developmental model (Cohn & Westenberg, 2004; Gilmore & Durkin, 2001). Each successive stage characterises a reorganisation of the self-system toward greater intra- and inter-personal mindfulness, theoretical sophistication, flexibility, individual independence and accountability (Gilmore & Durkin, 2001). Each stage provides a context to shape and give meaning to experience (Cohn & Westenberg, 2004; Gilmore & Durkin, 2001; Loevinger, 1976; 1997).

Loevinger (1976) cautioned against the use of mastery of age-specific problems, as the unjustified assumption is made that everyone who is the same age is at the same ego level. Loevinger (1976) further cautioned that idealising one specific stage is problematic as each stage contains its weaknesses, its problems and its paradoxes (Gilmore & Durkin, 2001; Newman, 2005). In Table 5 brief descriptions of each of Loevinger's stages of ego development is provided.

The observable behaviours described in Table 5 are likely to rise and then decline in prominence as individuals develop and higher levels of ego development are reached (Loevinger, 1976; 1997). This decline does not, however, indicate nonconformity (Loevinger, 1976; 1997). For instance, conformity to conventional social standards becomes increasingly representative of behaviour up to a point, but with development, conformity to conventional social standards becomes gradually less fascinating (Loevinger, 1976; 1997).

Table 5

Loevinger's stages of ego development

Stage	
Presocial and symbiotic	Exclusive focus on gratification of immediate needs; strong attachment to mother, and differentiating her from the rest of the environment, but not her/himself from mother; preverbal, hence inaccessible to assessment via the sentence completion method
Impulsive	Demanding; impulsive; conceptually confused; concerned with bodily feelings, especially sexual and aggressive; no sense of psychological causation; dependent; good and bad seen in terms of how it affects the self; dichotomous good/bad, nice/mean
Self-protective	Wary; complaining; exploitive; hedonistic; preoccupied with staying out of trouble, not getting caught; learning about rules and self control; externalising blame
Conformist	Conventional; moralistic; sentimental; rule-bound; stereotyped; need for belonging; superficial niceness; behaviour of self and others seen in terms of externals; feelings only understood at banal level; conceptually simple, <i>black and white</i> thinking
Self-aware	Increased, although still limited, self-awareness and appreciation of multiple possibilities in situations; self-critical; emerging rudimentary awareness of inner feelings of self and others; banal level reflections on life issues: God, death, relationships, health
Conscientious	Self evaluated standards; reflective; responsible; empathic; long-term goals and ideals; true conceptual complexity displayed and perceived; can see the broader perspective and can discern patterns; principled morality; rich and differentiated inner life; mutuality in relationships; self critical; values achievement
Individualistic	Heightened sense of individuality; concern about emotional dependence; tolerant of self and others; incipient awareness of inner conflicts and personal paradoxes, without a sense of resolution or integration; values relationships over achievement; vivid and unique way of expressing self
Autonomous	Capacity to face and cope with inner conflicts; high tolerance for ambiguity and can see conflict as an expression of the multifaceted nature of people and life in general; respectful of the autonomy of the self and others; relationships seen as interdependent rather than dependent/independent; concerned with self-actualisation; recognises the systemic nature of relationships; cherishes individuality and uniqueness; vivid expression of feelings
Integrated	Wise; broadly empathic; full sense of identity; able to reconcile inner conflicts, and integrate paradoxes. Similar to Maslow's description of the <i>self-actualised</i> person, who is growth motivated, seeking to actualise potential capacities, to understand her/his intrinsic nature, and to achieve integration and synergy within the self

Many psychological well-being indicators have been related to an achieved sense of identity. Such an achieved identity is attained through the formation of a unified self-structure, uniting childhood associations, individual interests and abilities together with opportunities presented in adolescents' contexts (Erikson, 1968; Jenkins, 2008; Meyers, 2004; Schwartz, 2001; Weigert, Teitge, & Teitge, 2007). The failure to attain an achieved identity results in role confusion as well as failure to commit to further important responsibilities (Erikson, 1968;

Jenkins, 2008; Meyers, 2004; Weigert et al., 2007). Adjustment to various changing situations is facilitated by a secure sense of self (Jenkins, 2008; Meyers, 2004; Weigert et al., 2007). A secure sense of self enables individuals to adapt their behaviour without losing their sense of inner coherence and stability. It further enables individuals to continue to conduct themselves in a manner that is reasonably consistent and predictable (Clarkin, Yeomans, & Kernberg, 2006; Jenkins, 2008; Meyers, 2004; Weigert et al., 2007). An achieved identity - by means of a sense of coherence - provides adolescents with structure for experiences and therefore functions as a guide to social behaviours (Jenkins, 2008; Meyers, 2004; Weigert et al., 2007). This is vital in social interactions, as adolescents with an achieved identity therefore are viewed as more predictable and understandable by others and others are more well-informed on how to interact with these individuals (Jenkins, 2008; Schwartz, 2001). A secure sense of identity contributes to secure and consistent social situations which promotes and stabilises adolescents' sense of identity (Jørgensen, 2006; Sedgewick, 2002).

3.2.2 Gender differences in processes of identity formation

As mentioned, numerous theories of individual development frequently were formulated in terms of male development, either ignoring female development or attaching it as a postscript (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). More recently, various theorists have recommended that gender differences exist in the process of identity formation (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). Within identity development, relatedness has been found to be of greater importance than autonomy, for females (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). Several writers have argued that females develop with greater focus on connection and harmony with others, encouraging responsibility and concern for others' well-being.

Females combine interpersonal and intrapersonal lived experiences in forming their identity (Cross et al., 2000). In contrast, males develop with a greater focus on aggressive behaviours that is often required in surviving in a competitive economic environment, encouraging their responsibility for safeguarding resources and protecting the family from external threats (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). Gilligan (1982) introduced a relational model of female moral development. As previously stated, Gilligan asserted that while women differed from men in their personal and/or moral development, they were not inferior (Gilligan, 1982). Gilligan's (1982) research claimed that the majority of females define themselves in comparison to others, developing within intimate relations with others. The majority of

males' self-descriptions related to individual achievements, independent of relationships, emphasising their autonomy.

Josselson (1987), investigating female identity, stated that "identity incorporates a woman's choices for herself, her priorities, and the guiding principles by which she makes decisions" (p. 3). Josselson explained identity as a puzzle, indicating that every individual holds different pieces that must be united (Josselson, 1973). At the core of Josselson's work is the concept of identity.

An essential element of Josselson's (1988) theory is her notion of separation-individuation, this occurs when individuals define limits and boundaries of the self indicating separation from others. Separation-individuation occurs within relationships and attachment to parents and significant others (Josselson, 1987). The identities of the women in each status appeared to be a sign of the degree to which separation-individuation had occurred (Josselson, 1987). Josselson (1988) indicated that mourning (the loss of childhood identifications) and a rush of narcissism (to tolerate the weakened ego while internal sources are regulating self-esteem) are responses that are recognised in the adolescent stage of separation-individuation (Strayer, 2002). It should be noted that the concept of a separate identity differs for females and males (Josselson, 1987). The difficulty in separating is that separation not only requires becoming different but necessitates that while individuals are separating they are expected to maintain connection. As Josselson (1987) stated: "meaning and identity reside in connectedness" (p. 178). Josselson (1987) called the relationship aspect of the transition process *anchoring*. This process of connecting oneself to others or anchoring, according to Josselson, is essential to identity formation in women. Josselson (1987), who focused on identity development in women, stated that a sense of what a woman means to others is reflected in who she is. Although this process appears to be all passive, it is not so because women can choose the people they desire to have meaning to.

Josselson's work applied Marcia's (1966) four identity statuses to females (Josselson, 1987). Identity is an unquantifiable process greater than the sum of its parts. "One cannot have a lot of identity or a little bit of it, although one can be without a sense of identity" (Josselson, 1987, p. 28). Josselson's (1966) identity statuses illustrate diverse routes toward identity, and individuals only discover later in life the success of each route (Josselson, 1987; 1996; Strayer, 2002). The four identity status groups, applicable to females, include

foreclosures/gatekeepers, identity achievers/path makers, moratoriums/searchers and identity diffusions/drifters. Josselson stated that females, based on their experience of a crisis and commitment of identity, fit into one of these four groups (Josselson, 1987). Josselson (1987; 1993; 1996) stated that a hierarchy of statuses did not necessarily occur (Torres et al., 2009). Identity diffusion is, however, often viewed as an undesirable state, while the other statuses are viewed as differences routes in the search for meaning in life (Josselson, 1987; 1996). Within the foreclosure group, females who have not encountered a crisis but have made an identity commitment are included. These females have a strong internalisation of the values of their parents, and they preserve childhood principles and standards (Josselson, 1987; 1996). Females within the identity achieved status have experienced a crisis, and are committed to their identities. Having searched alternatives, they recognise that they have their own authority in decision making (Josselson, 1987; 1996). The moratorium group experienced crisis, but these females have difficulty in committing to an identity. Females within the moratorium group understand that there are numerous alternatives, but they are overwhelmed by these alternatives (Josselson, 1987; 1996). Females in the identity diffusion status have not experienced a crisis, and have not committed to an identity. They are females who seem to wait for life to happen to them (Josselson, 1987; 1996).

Josselson further suggested that not all individuals construct their identity in the same manner and that generalisation is not possible (Josselson & Lieblich, 2002). Josselson (1987) found that intimacy, association, friendship, interpersonal embeddedness and spirituality were the foundations that females employ to create an identity. Josselson's (1987) research data suggested that female identity differed from male identity in quality. She used the metaphor of a straight line to describe male identity, indicating that while the line continually moves forward it might twist and turn but forward motion is inevitable. Female identity was described as a series of concentric circles (Josselson, 1987).

Numerous of the theories mentioned in the sections above, view identity as not only determined by individuals' own thoughts, but state that identity materialises in the social context, created by means of the direct social context, as well as the broader culture (Chrysochoou, 2003; Deaux, 2000). It is therefore important to describe various dimensions of identity and the developmental processes that are involved in these dimensions. The different dimensions of identity that overlap and compose personal identity, namely social,

ethnic and gender identity are described in the section to follow. Although there are many other dimensions to identity, these were focused on in this study.

3.3 Various dimensions of identity

From the aforementioned information it can be deduced that identity is more than a one-dimensional construct, viewed more accurately as a concept that consists of many aspects or dimensions (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001; Schwartz, 2001; 2005).

The intricacies of identity, in a postmodern world, cannot be entirely comprehended if attention is not given to multiple and overlapping domains of identities. Identity is therefore composed of many different, related, and yet constantly changing dimensions (Erikson, 1964; Schwartz, 2001), including personal, social, ethnic and gender identity. Identity instigates the various roles and groups that individuals select. As mentioned, identity is expressed through beliefs and traditions existing in society, cultural histories, schools and various other social institutions that are facilitated by family, other adults and friends (Appiah, 2005; Holland, 2001; Jenkins, 2008). Values and the importance placed on values form the basis of identity (Hitlin, 2003). In addition to the social values internalised from the group, personal values directing life choices are part of the self and are related in some way (Hitlin, 2003). Simultaneously, individuals' accepted set of aims, morals and principles determine the way in which negotiation with the social environment occurs, as well as resolving the opportunities that individuals select to pursue (Côté, 2006).

3.3.1 Social identity

A social psychology perspective was utilised in order to provide a thorough understanding of the person-in-context and the psychological variables that are responsive to social influence (Magnusson & Stattin, 2006). According to Allport (1985), social psychology is a discipline that draws on scientific processes in order to comprehend and clarify how the real, imaginary or implied presence of another influences the thoughts, emotions and actions of individuals (Ratele & Duncan, 2004). Social psychology is often seen as the study of social cognitions and interactions as well as how individuals influence each other (Horowitz & Bordens, 2002). As this is a highly empirical field, a wide range of specific theories are used to describe various cognitive and social phenomena (Taylor, Peplau, & Sears, 2003). These specific theories include social identity theory, self perception theory, self verification theory, social

comparison theory as well sociocultural theory (Taylor et al., 2003). Emphasis in this study is placed on social identity theory and it will be discussed in greater depth than the other social psychology theories.

Emphasis was placed on social identity theory as it focusses on individuals' knowledge that they are an active member of a group and that they have an emotional investment in that membership. Social identity theory states that identity is the term used to describe the similarities between individuals within a group as well as the differences between individuals that belong to other groups, therefore involving category membership (Hogg, 2001). This process is motivated by a fundamental need for self-esteem (Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Abrams, 2003; Schwartz, 2005; Stets & Burke, 2000; Tarrant, 2002). According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the term identity consists of two elements, namely personal and social identity. Personal identity and social identity are likely to be interdependent and intricately related (Jenkins, 2004; Stets & Burke, 2000). First published and formulated by Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity theory focuses on when and why individuals associate with social groups, and why the adoption of shared attitudes occurs (Capozza & Brown, 2000). Social identity theory also focuses on why individuals act as part of certain social groups. This theory is concerned with the psychological as well as sociological characteristics of group actions (Stets & Burke, 2000). Social identity theory views group processes as being profoundly different from one another (Hogg, 2006). It emphasises that group phenomena must be studied in their own right, and not simply as an averaging of individual processes (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Capozza & Brown, 2000). Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). Two components are therefore necessary in order to attain group identification, namely a cognitive and evaluative component (Tajfel, 1982). The cognitive component is an understanding of membership and the evaluative component related to worth and significance (Tajfel, 1982). Tajfel (1982) explained another component that is related to the two required components of group identification. This component is the emotional investment in the cognitive and evaluative awareness of being a member of a particular group (Hogg, 2006).

Jenkins (2004) argued that social identity is a social process rather than a fixed possession. Jørgensen (2006) confirmed that identity is flexible and not determined by prearranged

internal compositions. As sensitivity to social context continues and changes occur throughout individuals' lives, the meaning of social identification changes due to numerous developments and more intricate understandings of their social worlds (Côté & Levine, 2002).

Bucholtz and Hall (2004) provide an intentionally broad and unrestricted definition of identity, emphasising social elements, stating that "identity is the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Therefore, social identity is individuals' self-concept resulting from apparent membership in a relevant social group (Côté & Levine, 2002; Hogg, 2006; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Social identity further refers to group identifications, intergroup relations, social cohesion and group influence (Côté & Levine, 2002; Erikson, 1968; Schwartz, 2005; Turner, 1975; Vryan et al., 2003).

The particular manner in which social identity is developed is controlled by individuals' perceptions regarding the psychological permeability of certain group restrictions and the permanence and authority of status relations between groups (Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Abrams, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Wenger (1998) proposed that identities are created in the course of "tension between our investment in the various forms of belonging and our ability to negotiate the meanings that matter in those contexts" (p. 188) (Andrew, Tolson, & Ferguson, 2008). Mead (1934) related the concept of identity with the concept of self; emphasising the development of self through interactions with the environment. According to Mead, the self develops through social communications occurring in social settings (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Through communication, individuals take on certain roles and are able to monitor their actions (Beijaard et al., 2004).

Individuals' membership within social groups encourages their self-definition, and can either hold positive or negative contributions towards the image that individuals hold of themselves (Côté & Levine, 2002). The groups to which individuals belong direct and limit their accessible identity choices (Phillips & Pittman, 2003). Individuals gain a sense of who they are during the process of relating to other people (Gee, 2001). Through engaging in practices, individuals discover their abilities to partake in activities and realise the competence required to do so (Gee, 2001; Wenger, 1998). Engaging in practices and traditions is an important source of identification for individuals, because it requires both an

investment of the self in the activity and in the interactions with community members (Gee, 2001; Wenger, 1998).

Individuals have the capacity to establish a sense of identity and this is realised during interactions and through cultural connections and societal institutions (Holland, 2001; Jenkins, 2008; Weigert et al., 2007). Social identities embrace classifications such as ethnicity, gender, professional roles and organisational membership (Ashforth, 2001). As gender and ethnic identity are critical dimensions of the overall framework of social identity, the next section discusses these two dimensions further.

3.3.2 Gender identity

Gender identity is a quintessential concept in numerous aspects of psychosocial development (Egan & Perry, 2001; Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002). Society's distinctive views regarding the key elements characteristic of males and females determines gender identity. It remains an important aspect in overall identity despite the varying degree of importance placed on this classification by different individuals and societies (Haslanger, 2000; Martin, et al., 2002).

Gender assignment is generally permanent (Egan & Perry, 2001). The experience of being male or female reveals the very being of our self-structure. Numerous essential descriptions of life - such as academic, professional, relationship and leisure activities - are often directed by gender (Egan & Perry, 2001). Individuals therefore dedicate at least some time thinking about questions such as: 'In what way do I fit into my gender category?' 'Should I obey to the stereotypes for my gender?' 'Is my gender superior or inferior to the other gender?' (Egan & Perry, 2001)

Gender identity has been defined in numerous ways. Kohlberg (1963) stated that gender identity constitutes individuals' knowledge that they belong to one gender instead of the other. Gender identity has also been considered as the extent to which individuals identify and incorporate cultural stereotypes and societal demands for gender compliance (Bem, 1981; Kagan, 1964; Yunger, Carver, & Perry, 2004). Green (1974), Spence (1985), and Zucker and colleagues (1993) all confirmed that gender identity is viewed as a sense of approval and fitting into one's gender category.

While Egan and Perry (2001) acknowledge that the aforementioned definitions of gender identity are all valuable, they proposed a multidimensional perspective on gender identity. For them, gender identity consists of (1) membership knowledge (awareness of membership in a gender category); (2) gender typicality (perceived comparison to members of the same gender); (3) gender contentment (approval of gender assignment); (4) felt pressure for gender conformity (demands experienced from others and the self for following gender stereotypes); and (5) intergroup bias (believing one's gender is superior to the opposite gender) (Egan & Perry, 2001).

Gender typicality, viewed as self-perceived similarity to gender stereotypes, was reported by Egan and Perry (2001) to be positively correlated to the compliance by individuals to gender-stereotyped traits and roles in both males and females. Gender typicality further was positively correlated to adjustment, self-esteem and self-worth, although the felt pressure experienced by adolescents was negatively correlated to adjustment (Egan & Perry, 2001). According to research results, children and adolescents with a low sense of gender typicality are susceptible to lower levels of self-esteem and greater levels of internalised distress such as sadness, anxiety, self-deprecation and social withdrawal (DiDonato & Berenbaum, 2011; Smith & Leaper, 2006). Therefore, adolescents who do not experience a sense of typicality for their gender may hold a generally negative self-view (Carver, Yungler, & Perry, 2003; DiDonato & Berenbaum, 2011; Egan & Perry, 2001; Yungler et al., 2004). This confirms the views that gender typicality advances well-being (DiDonato & Berenbaum, 2011; Carver, Yungler, et al., 2003; Yungler et al., 2004). Numerous theorists suggested that children and adolescents assess themselves on aspects of gender typicality and experience distress when their appraisals are inadequate, with some even experiencing a degree of despair (Carver, Yungler, et al., 2003). It has been proposed that individuals' assessment and experience of being gender typical as well as having a degree of satisfaction with their assigned gender positively influence adolescents' adjustment (Egan & Perry, 2001; Wigfield & Wagner, 2005; Yungler et al., 2004). The experience of strong demands for gender conformity, however, is believed to influence individuals' adjustment negatively (Egan & Perry, 2001; Wester, Vogel, Pressly, & Heesacker, 2002; Yungler et al., 2004). Adolescents who experience their gender typicality as lower than the gender typicality of their peers fear exclusion, loss of security, and refusal of rights by their peer group (Carver, Yungler, et al., 2003; Patterson & Bigler, 2007; Smith & Leaper, 2006; Yungler et al., 2004). Smith and Leaper (2006) stated that, considering the association between gender typicality and self-

worth without making an allowance for the social context, could lead to the implication that gender typicality, in isolation, directs adjustment. There are, however, numerous models of adolescent gender identity and adjustment, stating that peer acceptance was a significant mediator of adjustment and self-worth (Smith & Leaper, 2006). When peer acceptance is experienced, Smith and Leaper (2006) found no difference between nonconforming and conforming adolescents regarding their self-worth. It is, therefore, stated that peer acceptance possibly has a greater influence on adolescent adjustment than their gender conformity (Smith & Leaper, 2006).

3.3.3 Ethnic identity

Although awareness and understanding of the individuals' affiliated in-groups is important, ethnic identity is more than such knowledge and insight (Phinney, 2003; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The term ethnicity refers to a particular group's cultural traits and consists of cultural norms, values, attitudes and typical behaviours (Verkuyten, 2005; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). Ethnic identity differs from personal identity in that individuals can not freely select, but are assigned, their ethnicity by birth. In spite of this, individuals are able to decide the manner in which they manage their assigned ethnic categories. Individuals are able to decide on the significance they place on their ethnic group membership (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Similar to other dimensions of identity, no widely agreed-upon definition of the term ethnic identity was found. Various researchers have indicated that ethnic identity consists of numerous dimensions and should be viewed as a complex construct (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Romero & Roberts, 2003).

The majority of ethnic identity research has been based on, and is viewed as an aspect of, social identity. Therefore, ethnic identity is generally defined as the ethnic factor of social identity, and assumed to be a subjective awareness of fitting into the ethnic group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ethnic identity involves a clear understanding of ethnicity resulting in definite ethnic commitment following exploration (Cokley, 2007; French et al., 2006; Phinney, 1989; 1993; 2003). From this viewpoint ethnic identity characterises values internalised from cultural and ethnic groups that individuals belong to (Phinney, 1989; 1993; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz, 2002; 2005), representing a response to the question 'Who am I as a member of my ethnic group, and in relation to other ethnic groups?'

Concepts such as ethnic self-identification, belonging and loyalty, understanding the collective morals and approaches directed to one's ethnic group have been viewed by researchers as critical components of ethnic identity (Liebkind, 1992; 2001; Phinney, 1992; Verkuyten, 2005; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). Contrasting the emphasis on attitudes and feelings, other definitions emphasise cultural aspects of ethnic identity such as language, behaviour, values, and understanding of the ethnic group history (Yeh & Hwang, 2000). Phinney and Ong (2007) stated that current research remains unclear as to what degree different dimension of ethnic identity form a single overarching concept. An essential dimension of ethnic identity development constitutes the seeking of information and experiences significant to ethnicity (French et al., 2006; Phinney, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Individuals develop a sense of ethnic identity from their sense of group community, a culture and a specific environment (Phinney, 1989; 2003; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Achieving a secure sense of ethnic identity is a result of experience with the culture and ethnic group (Phinney, 1989; 1993; 2003; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). Experience is, however, insufficient in producing a sense of ethnic identity. The reasons for this include that ethnic identity is created over an extensive period of time, and individuals' behaviours and choices are necessary to the process (Jenkins, 2008; Phinney, 1989; 1993; 2003; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). Several researchers place emphasis on the dynamic role that individuals play in forming an ethnic identity. The process of ethnic identity development requires creation of a sense of self as a group member (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). The process further requires the development of views and identifications related to group membership (Phinney et al., 2001).

Phinney (1989; 1993; 2003) developed a model based on interviews with adolescents from multiple ethnic groups. In her model, the focus is on the formation of ethnic identity and how individuals come to understand their ethnicity. Phinney (1989; 1993; 2003) has extended Marcia's (1966) findings and suggested three stages of ethnic identity development. The initial stage is diffusion/foreclosure and implies that there has been no search of one's ethnic identity. The next stage is a moratorium stage during which some exploration of an ethnic identity occurs. The final stage, the achieved stage, implies that individuals have explored and accepted their ethnicity and are committed to their ethnic identity (French et al., 2006; Phinney, 1992; 1993). Phinney and Ong (2007) stated that a secure and stable sense of self,

known as achieved identity, is reflected in the knowledge and acceptance about ethnicity that is based on a process of exploration.

In addition to the model of ethnic identity development proposed by Phinney, other studies, including those by Cross (1978), Phinney (1989, 1993), Poston (1990), and Atkinson, Morton and Sue (1993) have proposed various models regarding ethnic identity formation. Although these models differ greatly they all assume a stage where individuals initially lack an understanding or awareness of their ethnic identity. The models further share the suggestion that a stage occurs where ethnic exploration occurs as individuals learn more about their group. The models further suggest that individuals eventually reach a stage where a committed decision towards a secure ethnic identity is made and they establish a sense of group membership (French et al., 2006; Helms, 2007).

Understanding and recognising the contribution that oppression has in the lives of marginalised populations, is significant to the understanding of how these groups' social statuses impact identity and ethnic identity development (Torres, 2009). A study by Torres (1999) acknowledged the significance of understanding the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation among a minority group. In her study, Torres (2009) considered the ethnic identity development of Hispanic college students, as few identity development theories have investigated identity of students under the broad category of Latino (Torres, 1999; 2003). Applying Phinney's model as a framework, Torres (1999), using Latino students, confirmed the Bicultural Orientation Model. Torres documented how the identity of Latino college students was influenced by the location where the participants grew up, their generational status (first or second generation students), and self-perception of societal status. She also investigated these students' perception of their culture and situations (Torres & Hernandez, 2007; Wilson & Senices, 2005). Torres (2003) stated that "acculturation looks at the choices made about the majority culture, whereas ethnic identity looks at the maintenance of the culture of origin" (pp. 533-534). Choices made by Latino students pertaining to their culture of origin and the majority culture, is the focus of this model (Torres, 1999; 2003). Individual placement within the model is based on acculturation and ethnic identity scales. Torres (1999; 2003) stated that four cultural orientations differentiated the Latino students. The first is a bicultural orientation, indicating that students had a comfortable level with both cultures. The second orientation, known as Latino/Hispanic orientation, signifies a greater comfort level with the culture of origin. The third orientation is an Anglo orientation, which

signifies a greater comfort level with the majority culture. The last orientation is known as marginal orientation, and indicates discomfort with both cultures, possibly signifying conflict within individuals (Torres, 1999; 2003).

Developmental perspectives indicate that an achieved ethnic identity, comprehensive understanding of one's ethnic group, enables individuals to reject negative cultural/ethnic stereotypes (Phinney, 1989; 1993; 2003). A sense of belonging as well as positive feelings towards one's ethnic group has been found to predict happiness (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006). Belgrave and Allison (2006) stated that ethnic identity offers a sense of belonging, shields members from the tension of discrimination and judgement, and connects individuals to a larger social group.

3.4 Adolescent identity formation

Despite the fact that identity development is a lifelong process (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2000; Schwartz, 2001; 2005), identity development is theorised as being vital during adolescence (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007; Erikson, 1968; Jones & McEwen, 2000; Kroger, 2000; Schwartz, 2002; Templeton & Eccles, 2006). Identity formation in adolescence has been characterised as finding independence and emotional separation from parents (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Kroger, 2003). The primary process that should occur in the identity formation of adolescents is that individuals differentiate their own identity from the internalised viewpoints held by their parents. Parental introjects must be abandoned during adolescence, so that new life commitments can become possible (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Kroger, 2007).

During adolescence, the majority of individuals review areas of previously unquestioned commitment and extensively re-evaluate these (Grotevant & Cooper, 1998; Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2007). The adolescent stage of development consists of the journeying through and exploration of a variety of identities and concludes in committing to a definitive identity (Erikson, 1968; Heaven, 2001; Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005). Information regarding possible selves is gained from various contexts surrounding the adolescent, and during social interactions adolescents' commitments are established and rehearsed. The reactions of significant role players therefore strengthen commitments, or encourage adolescents to investigate other commitments (Crocetti, Rubini, & Meeus, 2008). Adolescents are active

participants in their development (Lerner, Theokas, & Jelicic, 2005), and their life paths are guided by their developing sense of identity (Schwartz et al., 2005). Adolescents who delay adult commitments, spend additional time discovering life choices while not having the burden of adult accountabilities (Arnett, 2000).

The majority of adolescents investigate the meanings that ethnic group membership holds for them (Phinney, 1989). The process regularly involves studying the history and traditions of their ethnic group, as well as challenging matters of discrimination and prejudice (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ideally, adolescents should reach an achieved ethnic identity, which is illustrated through individuals' clarity about themselves as ethnic group members (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Kroger (2003) stated that identity during the adolescent years can be conceptualised as the balance between self and others. Adolescents derive a sense of security from the norms provided by the crowd when they enter a new situation, such as high school (Brown, 2004; Brown et al., 2008; Tarrant, 2002). Social identity may therefore serve as a self-preserving function, providing stability and certainty in the most important context for adolescents, the self in social relations (Brown et al., 2008; Kroger, 2000; Tarrant, 2002). Research has confirmed the potential advantages of social identity theory in the study of adolescence (Tarrant, 2002). Group identification has been associated with adolescents' experience of managing several developmental tasks (Brown et al., 2008; Kroger, 2000; Tarrant, 2002). Individuals, who highly identified with a group, reported that members of the group experienced similar challenging developmental tasks that they were experiencing. It seemed that those individuals who held attitudes and values that were in harmony with those of their peer group were more able to gain acceptance and support from their group (Brown et al., 2008; Tarrant, 2002).

Meeus and colleagues (2010) proposed a model that presumes that identity formation occurs during a process of continual interaction among commitment, in-depth exploration and reconsideration. They state that adolescents enter this stage with various commitments that are not of significant strength, as well as in significant beliefs (Meeus et al., 2010). Therefore, adolescents do not commence the identity development with a clean slate. Meeus and colleagues (2010) stated that resolution of the earlier Eriksonian psychosocial crises in childhood enables the development of various ego strengths, such as optimism, determination

and aptitude (Erikson, 1968). These ego strengths play an important part in the manner in which adolescents resolve their commitments (Markstrom & Marshall, 2007; Meeus et al., 2010). The model further assumes that adolescents engage continually in reflection regarding their present commitments (Meeus et al., 2010). Klimstra and colleagues (2009) in their study have presented confirmation for personality development occurring from early to late adolescence and indicate that a significant degree of identity maturation occurs during adolescence (Klimstra, Hale, Raaijmakers, Branje, & Meeus, 2009; Meeus et al., 2010).

Identity formation is seen as one of the crucial tasks of individuals in late adolescence. Individuals between 18 to 20 years of age are generally in the middle of reforming social relationships and of making important decisions for their futures (Beyers & Goossens, 2008). Some research interpretations regarding identity development and maturation assume that transformation in identity may be more prevalent during emerging adulthood than during adolescence. This could be due to the regular and intense consideration given to adult roles occurring during emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2001; Klimstra et al., 2009; Meeus, Van De Schoot, Keijsers, Schwartz, & Branje, 2010). Roberts, Walton and Viechtbauer (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of personality change, indicating that personality change is more prevalent during emerging adulthood than adolescence. Many of the developmental tasks previously thought to characterise adolescence (such as identity development) are now delayed into emerging adulthood and various tasks characterising emerging adulthood (such as progress toward mature intimacy) are begun during adolescence (Arnett, 2000). Arnett (2000) further indicated that it is sufficient to conclude that the developmental processes of creating and combining a coherent sense of identity now significantly overlap with and contribute to the processes of starting and preserving genuine, individuated-connected intimacy with peers. Emerging adulthood was proposed as the developmental period occurring between the late adolescent years and the middle to late 20's (approximate ages: 18–25 years). Arnett (2000) proposed the theory of emerging adulthood as a framework for recognising that the extension of the transition period to adulthood was now a substantial amount of years and validated a separate period of the life course. According to Arnett (2001), the unique features of emerging adulthood include that it is the age range of: identity explorations, instability, self-focus, feelings of being in-between and unlimited possibilities (Arnett, 2001). Identity formation during adolescence and emerging adulthood is significant and differs from identity formation during earlier developmental stages, for the reason that individuals are becoming more aware of their identity during these times (Côté, 2006;

Kroger, 2007). As identity development and the identity crisis might not be fully resolved during adolescence, it is important to consider the aforementioned information regarding emerging adulthood during this study. Regarding identity formation, as formulated by Marcia (1966), Kroger (2007) found the incidence of individuals within the achievement status to be about 1.5 times higher in emerging adults (ages 22–29) when compared to adolescents (aged 15), and the prevalence of diffusions to be about 1.3 times lower. The adolescent and young adult stage, for Erikson (1968), was completed upon identity synthesis, where a sense of coherence between behaviours and commitments was reached (Schwartz, 2001; 2005). Although the focus of the study is on adolescents, it is possible that members of the sample are delaying or extending identity formation for the next stage of development that they will encounter.

3.5 Identity formation in the South African context

A significant task in assisting positive youth development lies in understanding the complex, eco-culturally associated character of human development. This necessitates understanding of the interaction and influence of social, political, cultural and historical contexts on identity formation (Swanson et al., 2010).

Given the rapid transformations currently occurring in South Africa, coming to grips with and maintaining who you are is a difficult task (Alberts, 2000). The political agenda of the Mandela era (1994 to 1999) was reconciliation and the seeking of unity (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002; Dickow & Møller, 2002). Intergroup contact was encouraged through the racial integration of schools and neighbourhoods (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002). Breyten Breytenbach, the famous South African writer, mentioned that nobody currently knows where we are as a nation (Alberts, 2000). Alberts (2000) was of the opinion that Breytenbach's interpretation correctly represents the existential state of South Africans, irrespective of colour, faith, gender and socio-economic background. Alberts (2000) further stated that, in Eriksonian terms, the South African nation is experiencing a psychosocial crisis. He furthermore stated that, if this is the lived experience of adults, then adolescents, who are within their formative years and defining themselves, must be experiencing the national state with even greater difficulty (Alberts, 2000).

Stevens and Lockhart (1997) mentioned that the dramatic changes experienced by black African youth regarding their social realities contribute to their role confusion rather than their identity cohesion (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). It is for this reason that some of the post-apartheid changes and the influences that these have had on the identity formation of adolescents is presented in the next section.

The shared political consciousness under apartheid led black African adolescents to develop a collective identity that struggled against and confronted the persistent racist ideology (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Tihanyi, 2006). Following the end of apartheid, black African adolescents continue to define themselves in terms of culturally shared categories, such as language, religion, or ethnicity (Gibson, 2006; Norris et al., 2008). In addition to the collectivistic culture characteristics mentioned in Chapter 2, the majority of black African adolescents associate with an African worldview. The term Africentric worldview is described through the characteristics of African centred value systems (Carroll, 2012; Mazama, 2001). Kambon (1992) stated that various central elements such as living in agreement with nature, survival of the group and group unity, shared responsibility and mutual benefit, as well as spirituality constitute an Africentric worldview. The Africentric worldview includes values such as that reality is concurrently spiritual and material, positive interpersonal relationships are of the utmost importance, self-knowledge forms the foundation of all knowledge, individuals come to know through symbolic imagery and rhythm and that the union of opposites is the basis of logic (Carroll, 2012; Mazama, 2001; Myers, 1988). Spirituality and an extended sense of self have been described as two of the most consistent components of an Africentric worldview (Carroll, 2012; Mazama, 2001).

Recently, many black African youths have made an ideological shift from collectivism to individualism (Laher & Quay, 2009; Strelitz, 2003). Laher and Quay (2009) have found that individuals from this group have integrated more Western beliefs with their own daily cultural practices and ethnic beliefs. These Western beliefs predominantly include Christian religious beliefs (Laher & Quay, 2009). The shift to individualism is also accompanied by new role models, economic organisations and the supremacy of Western philosophies (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Strelitz, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Tihanyi, 2006). Many black African adolescents currently embrace the Western and globalised worldview. Although this affords them a sense of belonging to a new socio-historical period, it also marginalises and

alienates black African adolescents from their families and traditional African social realities (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Tihanyi, 2006).

Ashmore and colleagues' (2004) multidimensional, organisational framework has been used to conceptualise adolescents' emerging South African-ness as a collective identity. In a South African study, black African adolescents allocated greater importance to language in self-definitions compared to peers from other racial groups (Norris et al., 2008). The majority of black African adolescents (82%) in this study also reported feeling very South African (Norris et al., 2008). Thom and Coetzee (2004) found that black African adolescents in their study had developed a stronger sense of identity than their White peers. They stated that this occurred as a result of these participants' strong cultural identities, deemed necessary for the development of a sense of individual identity. Cultural identity therefore continues to provide a strong reference for adolescent identity development in the black African group (Thom & Coetzee, 2004). Thom and Coetzee (2004) further stated that black African adolescents, post-apartheid, proudly accept their African culture, their recognised knowledge and dignity, as part of their identity and not merely in response to racism. The stronger sense of identity that was reported by black African adolescents in their study was viewed as a consequence of stronger positive role models that arose following the end of apartheid, modelling the defeat of obstacles and triumphing through perseverance (Thom & Coetzee, 2004). Positive black role models have thus been used to increase at-risk black African adolescents' self-esteem and self-image (Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Yancey et al., 2002).

Adolescents' beliefs about being South African were further influenced by their perceived and real opportunities associated with racial group membership in the new democratic South Africa (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002). Research indicated that there is a current shift in priority domains regarding identity formation from a political emphasis, where black African adolescents previously were at the forefront of the liberation struggle, to a greater importance for career development (Alberts & Bennett, 2000; Botha & Ackermann, 1997; Mdikana, 2000). In a study by Alberts et al. (2003) conducted amongst South African Afrikaans-, English-, and Xhosa-speaking secondary school learners, career-related issues were reported as a major influence for identity formation. Future career decision making is undeniably one of the foremost concerns during adolescence and a key aspect of identity formation (Erikson, 1964; Kroger, 2000). In the study by Alberts et al. (2003), two of the Xhosa-speaking

subgroups indicated that career-related issues are very important to them, indicating a strong desire for personal advancement.

The study by Alberts et al. (2003) further found that Xhosa-speaking adolescents could possibly experience aspects of their lives as more critical for their identity development than those adolescents who come from more affluent communities. For this reason certain community needs, concerns about family life, and the desire for educational and career success may feature more significantly among the Xhosa-speaking adolescent than among the Afrikaans and English-speaking adolescents. The collectivistic nature of black African adolescents, as well as the involvement of extended family in child raising, may explain why family and other social structures perform a very important role in the social life and in the decision making processes of black African adolescents (Alberts et al., 2003). This priority on community matters may be associated with a heightened awareness of socioeconomic needs, such as the alleviation of poverty, desire for suitable accommodation, physical and health services, and also the eradication of violence and crime (Alberts et al., 2003). A South African study by Mdikana (2000) found that Xhosa-speaking adolescents are acutely aware of gender role issues and that there is a clear movement towards gender equality in these societies, as emphasised by the general process of democratisation in South Africa. Sport as well as recreational and social life domains featured more prominently in the Afrikaans and English-speaking adolescent groups than in the Xhosa-speaking group (Alberts et al., 2003).

Results of the aforementioned studies highlight the importance of investigating identity formation within the ideological context. Changes in the socio-political environment influence individuals, and consequently influence their identity development. In South Africa, black African adolescents have recently experienced numerous changes pertaining to their social contexts and belief systems. The increase in opportunities for black African adolescents in South Africa may correlate to their hopeful outlooks of present-day South African society and may strengthen their freedom to explore their options.

3.6 Lived experiences and identity

In Husserl's words, "the term lived experience signifies givenness of internal consciousness, inward perceivedness" (Husserl, 1964, p. 177). From a phenomenological perspective, identity formation occurs between human beings and the world (including both things and

other human beings). Individuals develop in societal, historical and spatial contexts, where behaviours and reflections are significant characteristics (Van Manen, 1997; 2002). Lived experience has been defined as experience-as-we-live-through-it in our behaviours, relationships and environments (Van Manen, 1997; 2002).

Everyday lived experiences cannot be separated from identity development and awareness (Van Manen, 1997; 2002). The philosopher Dilthey wrote that nature can be explained, but human life must be understood (Bernstein, 2011). Individuals are constantly involved in the process of meaning making and it is during this process that identity develops (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997; Strong, Pyle, deVries, Johnston, & Foskett, 2008).

Understanding lived experiences is therefore important, as individuals' understanding of who they are, is based on their lived experiences. Additionally, it is of importance as identity is constantly changing depending on the direction of individuals' focus and lived experiences (Van Manen, 1997; 2002). Given that human experiences must be understood, the current study was conducted using phenomenology as research paradigm. Phenomenology focuses on lived experience and on understanding. This is accomplished through analysis and interpretation of life stories (Van Manen, 1990). Phenomenological research investigates lived experiences, rather than investigating the conceptualised aspects of it (Van Manen, 1990; Merleau-Ponty, 1996). In Chapter 4 a more in-depth discussion pertaining to phenomenological research is provided. It is necessary to acknowledge that lived experiences cannot be understood in their immediate expression but are rather understood reflectively as a past occurrence (Van Manen, 1990).

3.7 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter various definitions and conceptualisations of the term identity were provided, concluding with an integrated definition of identity as used in this study. General processes and gender differences pertaining to identity development were described. Social, gender and ethnic identity were the identity domains of focus in this chapter. A brief overview of the state of identity development in South African context was presented. The chapter concluded by stating the importance of lived experiences in relation to identity development. The next chapter will describe the method and procedures used to conduct this research study.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

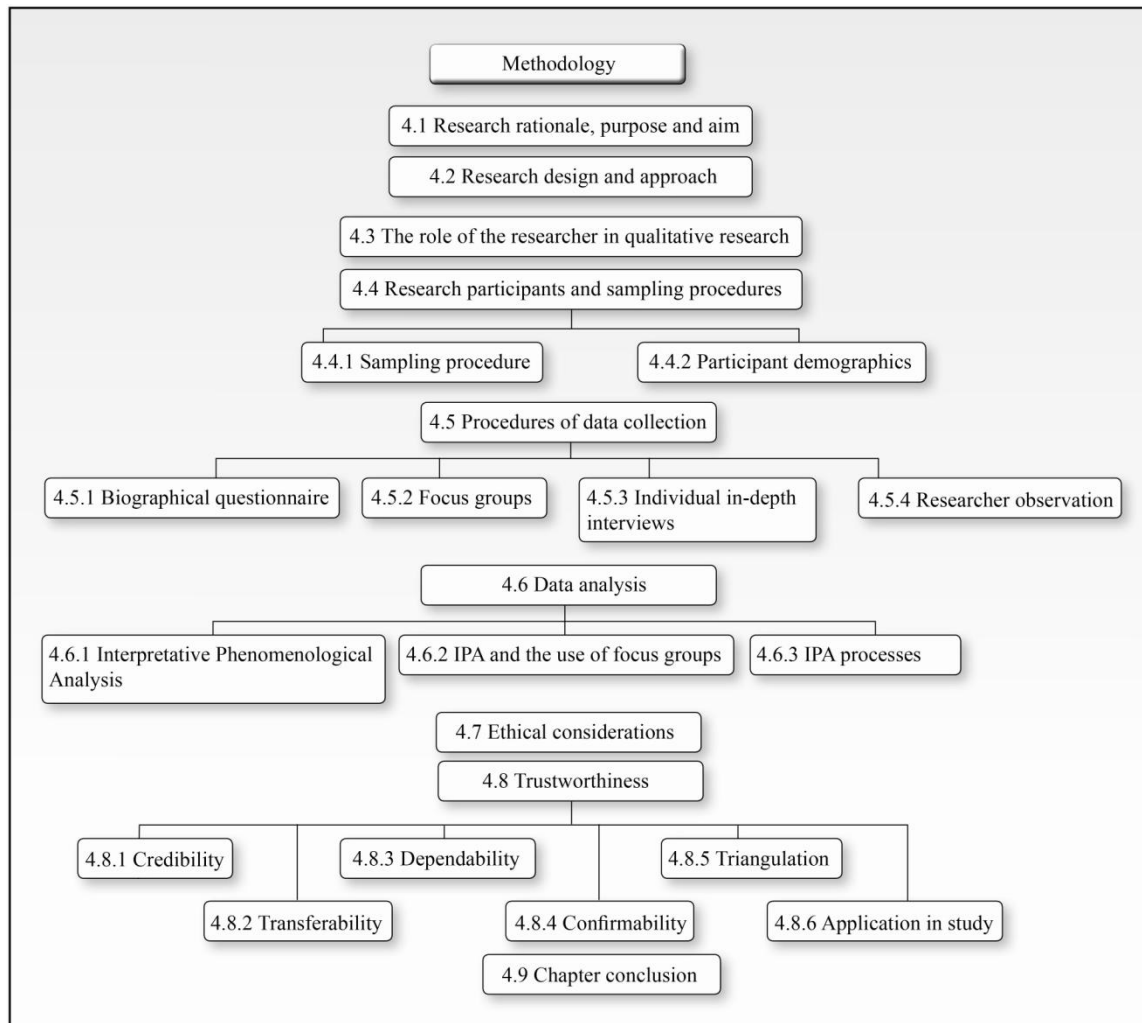


Figure 5. Visual display of Chapter 4 outline

The outline of this chapter is presented in Figure 5. The rationale and aim of the study, as well as the research approach, choice of and access to participants will be described. Various data collection methods will be presented in this chapter. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) as data analysis method and the stages to follow in applying this data analysis are described. The chapter concludes with a description of ethical considerations and the procedures followed to ensure trustworthiness.

4.1 Research rationale, purpose and aim

In a rapidly changing South Africa with its diversity of societies and communities, it should be a priority to gain greater insight and understanding into the lived experiences related to the identity of South African adolescents.

South Africa has undergone a period of intense social change during the transition from a system of apartheid to democracy. During this process, the social construction of adolescence has been greatly influenced by exposure to globalised ideologies (Venn, 2010). Walker (2006) stated that it is through ideas and practices that the powerful in society promote dominant discussions that often pathologise or suppress the customs of non-dominant groups. The structuring and shaping of adolescence in a post-apartheid South African society has likely been influenced to a significant extent by the overwhelming production of cultural and scientific knowledge stemming from the West, which has also contributed to the disregarding of traditional, indigenous and local knowledge as prohibited, illogical and substandard (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005; Nsamenang, 2002; Venn, 2010). Therefore, the majority of South African adolescents develop and form their identity in ways that do not necessarily correspond to the globalised Western cultural models of adolescence (Nsamenang, 2002; Walker, 2006; Venn, 2010). Many South Africans attempt to manage the legacy of apartheid and support cultural diversity within a shifting national identity. Discussions regarding developmental issues amidst the power of globalised Western ideologies, viewing black African adolescence from local perspectives, may thus assist in measuring the degree to which some normative elements of adolescence created within Eurocentric worldviews are appropriate for South African society (Nsamenang, 2002; Venn, 2010). Limited research regarding black African adolescents and their identity make this study important as more nuanced research about this population group's development is necessary.

In this study, the researcher aimed to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district of central South Africa. The inquiry was thus focused on answering the following research question: What are the lived experiences, specifically regarding identity, of black African adolescents in the Motheo district?

4.2 Research design and approach

Research design connects research questions with strategies, ensuring that research questions are answered in a logical and systematic way (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The study was conducted from a qualitative research approach. A descriptive, exploratory and contextual design was followed utilising a phenomenological research approach (Niewenhuis, 2007;

Patton, 2002). Exploratory research is performed in order to obtain new insights and original information, as well as to increase knowledge about a specific phenomenon (Brink & Van der Walt, 2005; Niewenhuis, 2007; Patton, 2002). Descriptive research includes exploration, analysis and explanation of a phenomenon, aiming for utmost natural presentation and documenting of the phenomenon in a real situation (Brink & Van der Walt, 2005; Niewenhuis, 2007; Patton, 2002). Contextual research is described as findings valid within the time space and value context in which the study was done (Brink & Van der Walt, 2005; Niewenhuis, 2007; Patton, 2002).

Phenomenology aims to gain an understanding of the lived experiences among individuals who have shared experiences, reporting a consistent description of the meaning that such experiences hold (Thomas, 2006). Phenomenology represents more than merely a single approach to qualitative research (Rolfe, 2006). Numerous perspectives of phenomenology can be considered, including those developed by Husserl, (1931), Heidegger (1927), Gadamer (1976), Merleau-Ponty (1945, cited in 1996), Ricoeur (1976) and, more recently, Smith (1996).

The interpretivist paradigm was developed from the philosophy of Husserl's phenomenology. This paradigm seeks to understand the world of human experience, suggesting that reality is socially created (Mertens, 2005). Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004) stated that the aim of studies in an interpretivist paradigm is to portray the lived experiences of participants so as to understand and interpret the meanings they contribute to certain subjects. Studies within the interpretivist paradigm aim to gain an understanding of the perceptions and lived experiences of the participants, by means of interpreting the gathered data (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; O'Donoghue, 2007). Hence, data includes information gathered throughout the interactional process between the researcher and the research participants (Lincoln et al., 2011). Reality, according to the interpretivist paradigm, is created intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially (Lincoln et al., 2011). Researchers believe that truth, or that which can be known, can never be universal and thus is relative, created during lived experiences and interaction with others (Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009). A researcher engaged in interpretive, qualitative research will seek to understand the multiple realities of individuals who are experiencing an event or phenomenon (Lincoln et al., 2011).

Tubbs and Boss (2000) stated that “qualitative research humanises research while providing rich and detailed data” (p. 286). According to Allen and Walker (2000), qualitative measures are appropriate methods to employ in exploratory research studies. Holloway and Todres (2003) claimed that, in analysing the manner in which individuals understand and make sense of their lived experiences and the environment in which they live, an interpretivist approach to social reality should be at the basis of qualitative research. Qualitative methodology is therefore seldom completely precise, as human beings rarely act logically or predictably (Gummesson, 2005). Considering that the presented results are influenced by researchers’ understanding of the data, qualitative studies function as introductions to new areas of research interest (Meinefeld, 2004). Merriam (2009) stated that qualitative research is characterised by a focus on meaning and understanding as it is created in contexts from participants’ perspectives, thus characterised by inductive processes that generate analysis and interpretation.

Rich descriptions of words and pictures rather than numbers are prominent in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative approaches allow, through the study of a limited number of participants, a wealth of exhaustive information, increasing the understanding of the studied subject (Allen & Walker, 2000; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). Qualitative approaches, however, reduce the generalisability of such understanding, as well as the information gathered (Meinefeld, 2004; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002).

The qualitative research domain shares numerous similarities with African cultural values (Lyons, Bike, Johnson, & Bethea, 2012). An argument for the application of qualitative research to the lived experiences of individuals of African ancestry is therefore made (Lyons et al., 2012). The African culture frequently emphasises connection and agreement with nature (Krahn & Putnam, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This emphasis is mirrored in the value of holism and context in most qualitative paradigms (Krahn & Putnam, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Through the use of qualitative research, psychologists may gain a greater understanding of person-environment interactions (Krahn & Putnam, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Qualitative research methods such as interviews and face-to-face interactions, respect an African value system and African philosophy, in considering that reality may be constructed through *being-ness* (Hoyt & Bhati, 2007; Krahn & Putnam, 2003; Lyons et al., 2012). The understanding of meaning in qualitative research has additional value for participants from African ancestry and the researchers involved in such studies, as

qualitative research approaches are frequently employed with under-researched events and populations (Ponterotto, 2005). Qualitative methods are frequently used to investigate unique phenomena that occur in the African community such as the concepts or actions that are unique to individuals and/or sociocultural environment, that cannot be generalised (Ponterotto, 2005). The interpretive nature of qualitative research also privileges the affective-cognitive philosophy innate to an African belief system (Stenbacka, 2001).

In this study, an interpretivist paradigm was used so as to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district of central South Africa. Investigation into these lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents, lends itself to a basic qualitative research approach based on the philosophical understandings of the interpretivist paradigm.

4.3 The role of the researcher in qualitative research

An important consideration in the qualitative paradigm is the influence that the lived experiences of researchers have on the research process (Lincoln et al., 2011). It has been argued that, based on researchers' personal background, researchers can never be totally objective (Finlay, 2002). Researchers have biases and preconceptions in the form of beliefs, knowledge, experiences, values and prior assumptions and transmit these to data collection, analysis and report writing (Darke & Shanks, 2000; Merriam, 2009).

The level of researcher involvement in qualitative studies has been accepted (Cassell, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Turato, 2005). According to Wellington (2000), the key instrument in social and educational qualitative research is the researcher. In order to become the key instrument in the research process, researchers are required to assist in the collection of in-depth explanations and understandings, with the purpose of addressing the research questions (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The expression *researcher-as-instrument* refers to researchers as active participants in the research process (Cassell, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Turato, 2005). Symon, Cassell and Dickson (2000) argued that reality is a social construction and therefore researchers can only collect interpretations and accounts of reality. These interpretations can only be represented through the personal understanding of researchers, and therefore researchers are in effect generating another interpretation of reality.

Researchers cannot be objective, but should be instinctively mindful of their own subjectivity (Lavis, 2010; Symon et al., 2000).

Lincoln and colleagues (2011) further stated that researchers in the interpretivist paradigm are seen as “a co-constructors of knowledge” (p. 100). Researchers are actively engaged in the creation of information (Janesick, 2001; Singer, Frankel, & Glassman, 1983) and use their senses to understand the participants (Turato, 2005). These sensory perceptions of the participants are transformed into representations to be interpreted (Turato, 2005). O’Donoghue (2007) stated that knowledge is uniquely specific to the co-constructed understanding produced as a result of the interaction between researchers and the research participants. Conversational spaces, where participants feel comfortable to share their stories and lived experiences, are often created through interaction with researchers (Owens, 2006).

Qualitative research generally implies that researchers undertake an active role in the research participants’ situation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007; Wellington, 2000). The importance of such an active role is so that researchers can view the situation from the participants’ viewpoint. This enables researchers to be aware of the information that is interpreted and to appreciate how these interpretations are understood by the participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007; Wellington, 2000). Researchers as the research instrument are therefore human tools which gather information (Cassell, 2005). Researchers’ thought processes are at the heart of the investigation; these processes include professional experience, personal intellectual concerns, and assumptions about knowledge (Janesick, 2001; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002).

Silverman (2006) stated that researchers are often undecided between two different impulses. Naturally, one wants to provide a comprehensive and fair analysis of the field. At the same time, it is impossible to escape researchers’ own assumptions, preferences and prejudices (Finlay, 2002; Silverman, 2006). The term subjectivity is broadly used. One of the most value-neutral definitions of the term is that subjectivity constitutes the opinions, emotional states, beliefs and desires that embrace a person's identity (Finlay, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Subjectivity is vital for the social sciences as the goal of researchers frequently is to investigate, expose and comprehend how the social world is experienced, assumed and shaped (Finlay, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009; Silverman, 2006). Through this

process, researchers are better equipped to empathise and build relationships with the participants (Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

In qualitative research, subjectivity is viewed as a potential resource rather than a limitation or constriction (Gummesson, 2005; Merriam, 2009). Researchers' subjectivity can be utilised as an analytic tool, building it into rather than removing it from the research (Finlay, 2002; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Subjectivity can be seen to enhance the credibility of a study (Daymon & Holloway, 2010), but subjectivity is not an end in itself (Etherington, 2004). Researchers add their own personalities, values and life experiences to their study and through recognising and acknowledging their subjectivity, they ensure that the research is more trustworthy (Finlay, 2002; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). This phenomenon has been defined as pre-understanding (Gummesson, 2005). Pre-understanding, in qualitative studies, is important in generating and interpreting data, as well as in influencing researchers' theoretical sensitivity (Gummesson, 2005). As mentioned, one of the main objectives of the social sciences - and of particular interest in qualitative research - is the interpretation of the subjective lived experience of individuals. Therefore, researchers' subjectivity as well as the participants' subjectivity must be included (Finlay, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

It is important that researchers record their research-relevant thoughts and feelings during the research process. They are encouraged to reflect on their understandings, ethnicity, race, gender, age, as well as other factors and how these might impact their research (Richardson, 2000). Researchers must be attentive to such biases (Richardson, 2000). The recorded observations made by researchers about phenomena, however, can never be a full description. Based on the fact that any type of recordable data process is selective, it is inevitably influenced by researchers' beliefs on what is relevant and important (Richardson, 2000). Researchers' worldview also impacts the analysis of collected and recorded data (Richardson, 2000).

The aforementioned, personal involvement of researchers is seen as a positive quality and not an unavoidable problem (Merriam, 2009). Researcher reflectivity affords researchers the opportunity to understand their experiences and knowledge of the world and their influence on the research process (Hill et al., 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Patton, 2002). Rennie (2004) defined reflectivity as self-awareness. Reflectivity entails researchers' personal

awareness of their influence, based on the premise that knowledge cannot be separated from the knower (Hill et al., 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Patton, 2002). Reflectivity differs from subjectivity, in that it is rather seen as creating a space between subjectivity and objectivity where the distinction between content and process becomes blurred (Daymon & Holloway, 2010; Etherington, 2004). Researchers are required to state and examine their own perceptions regarding the research (Daymon & Holloway, 2010). Researchers' subjectivity can therefore be used to gain self-awareness, as well as insights into a wider cultural setting (Daymon & Holloway, 2010). Etherington (2004) terms this process of acknowledging researchers' own experience and perceptions regarding the research as critical subjectivity. Researchers become aware of personal biases, stereotypes, expectations and privileges. Such awareness enables professional and personal growth and development (Darke & Shanks, 2000; Merriam, 2009). Fundamentally, the instrument (researchers) transforms and grows due to the intensive interaction with participants in their natural sociocultural contexts (Finlay, 2002; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

Reflectivity and self-reflection are accomplished in various manners (Hill et al., 2005). A valuable manner includes that researchers record a self-reflective journal from the beginning to the end of the study. Researchers retain a record of experiences, responses, and their developing awareness of beliefs and prejudices that occur (Hill et al., 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000; Patton, 2002). These evolving self-understandings can be studied and intentionally integrated into the analysis. Another manner of reflectivity is through debating and discussing research-relevant processes with a research team and peer debriefers (Hill et al., 2005; Morrow & Smith, 2000). The research team or peer debriefers can assist in reflecting researchers' responses to the research process.

Patton (2002) provided a valuable framework of categories of reflective questions that is important in triangulating reflective inquiry. These categories include self-reflectivity (e.g. What do I know? How do I know what I know?), reflectivity about those studied (e.g. How do those studied know what they know?), and reflectivity about the audience (e.g. How do those who receive my findings make sense of what I give them?) (p. 495). Providing reflective accounts enhances the rigour of the research process (Jootun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009). Such questions further urge researchers to reflect upon and to become sensitive to the theories and assumptions they hold about the research context (Jootun et al., 2009).

Qualitative research does not inevitably start with theories or assumptions, but in agreement with its inductive nature, it entails researchers' efforts to realise, recognise and understand what is happening in the research context (Darke & Shanks, 2000; Merriam, 2009). Social researchers have introduced the suggestion of sensitising concepts. Sensitising concepts focus on key features of social interaction and offer strategies for research in specific settings (Glaser, 1978; Padgett, 2004; Patton, 2002; Schwandt, 2000). Sensitising concepts reveal the basic structure and framework, accentuating the significance of certain kinds of occasions, activities and actions (Patton, 1990). Researchers' training, reading and research experience are sensitising potentials that are brought into the study (Finlay, 2002; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Theories and concepts that are beneficial to the data collection, analysis and theory generation processes are conveyed through sensitising concepts (Finlay, 2002; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

Sensitising concepts are often used as interpretive devices (Glaser, 1978; Padgett, 2004; Patton, 2002; Schwandt, 2000). Additionally, sensitising concepts can generate and replicate certain culturally engrained attitudes (Patton, 2002; 2007). Researchers frequently employ sensitising concepts to inform their perception of a phenomenon (Patton, 2007). Patton (2007) further stated that sensitising concepts increase awareness regarding a phenomenon and prepare readers to be aware of such phenomena within a specific context. Researchers often utilise sensitising concepts while investigating functional codes with a view to create thematic categories from the data (Padgett, 2004; Patton, 2002; 2007).

Based on the fact that there is no empirical way to investigate the inner thoughts and feelings of a participant, or a group of participants, the majority of data collection methods used in qualitative research are essentially interpretive and facilitated by language and culture (Finlay, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). According to Tolman and Brydon-Miller (2001), language is fundamental to the creation of subjectivity. Interaction may also be regarded as a form of subjectivity, as participants must interpret their experiences, where after researchers must then understand the interpretation (Finlay, 2002; Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Riessman (2003) argued that "one can't be a 'self' by oneself, identities must be accomplished in 'shows' that persuade" (p. 3). Researchers and participants therefore bring to the interview identities which they will or will not present depending on the nature of the interaction (Riessman, 2003).

Furthermore, the researcher is the primary instrument in unstructured and/or semi-structured qualitative interviews (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Merriam, 2009). Studies have investigated the manner in which a certain interview and/or interviewer have shaped the data produced (Pillow, 2003). Pezalla, Pettigrew and Miller-Day (2012) investigated the influence of specific interviewing strategies and interviewer characteristics on eliciting detailed narratives. They stated that differences between interviewers did not significantly influence the quality of responses when adolescents discussed low-risk topics. However, an encouraging and affirming approach, where participants experienced acceptance, influenced the valuable detailed disclosures gained from adolescents regarding their identities. As the adolescence stage is of particular importance to identity development, affirmation of lived experiences may be of significance to these participants (Pezalla et al., 2012). Pezalla and colleagues (2012) further stated that researcher characteristics cannot be separated from researchers' gender and suggest that conversational spaces are influenced by more than simply what researchers are saying.

Participants' understanding of the discussed phenomenon can be influenced by researchers' understanding of the phenomenon (deMarrais, 2004). Novice researchers often make mistakes that can influence participants' understanding of the phenomenon being discussed. These mistakes include asking lengthy and complex questions, posing closed-ended questions, and leading participants (deMarrais, 2004).

During an interview or discussion, both researchers and participants are placed in a situation where they must account for themselves, by drawing on the range of available discourses (Cassell, 2005; Pezalla et al., 2012). In essence, as part of the interviewing process, both researchers and participants are working on their identities. This is an active psychological process that accomplishes a significant purpose (Cassell, 2005; Pezalla et al., 2012). Individuals use identity as an instrument to present themselves in a manner that is suitable to the interview process (Cassell, 2005; Pezalla et al., 2012). Individuals therefore aim to manage factors that they have some control over, such as attitude and responses, and aim to accommodate factors that they have no control over, such as age, gender or ethnicity (Cassell, 2005; Pezalla et al., 2012).

In this study, the researcher was personally involved in all the data collection. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), in order to investigate social reality, researchers should study

phenomena from the perspective of the social actors themselves. In this study, the researcher was involved as participant observer in a pursuit to learn about and to understand the participants and the environment in which they find themselves. The researcher continually reflected on her own perceptions and a record of this was kept. Existing literature concerning adolescent and identity development served as sensitising concepts. Further aspects regarding the role of the researcher in this study are highlighted at the end of this chapter where trustworthiness is described.

4.4 Research participants and sampling procedures

Following the conceptualisation of the research design and purpose of a study, a description of the unit of analysis must be provided (Merriam, 2009). The unit of analysis in this study comprised the lived experiences regarding the identity of black African adolescents within the Motheo district of central South Africa. Adolescents who would be able to provide information-rich accounts of their lived experiences related to identity were selected. The focus was on black African adolescents within the Motheo district in the late adolescent stage.

Given the transformation in the social construction of adolescence that is continually occurring in democratic South Africa (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005; Nsamenang, 2002; Venn, 2010), more nuanced understandings of this stage of development is of the utmost importance. The diversity in cultural experiences of adolescence and the assimilation of Western ideologies with African ideas and practices in defining this stage of development in South Africa (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005; Nsamenang, 2002; Walker, 2006) further necessitate in-depth understandings of black African adolescents' lived experiences.

The development of a self-concept and of identity is of particular significance during the late adolescence stage of lifespan development (Arnett, 2000; Dusek & McIntyre, 2003; Erikson & Erikson, 1997; Harter, 1998; Kroger, 2003). The importance of meaning making as part of lived experiences related to identity has been discussed in Chapter 3. The process of comprehending significant meanings from past events necessitates the ability for abstract thinking that develops during adolescence and particularly during late adolescence (Arnett, 2000; Dusek & McIntyre, 2003; Erikson & Erikson, 1997; Harter, 1998; Kroger, 2003). This stage, of lifespan development, is of particular interest as individuals attempt to merge

previous, current and future selves, in order to create a coherent life story (Habermas & Bluck, 2000). It is stated that the quality of lessons learned and insight gained during late adolescence appear to be more intensely reflective and more suggestive of the styles of insight found in well-formed life stories (Habermas & Bluck, 2000).

Due to the aforementioned, the adolescents who participated in this study were in the late adolescence stage of development, enabling them to have had richer lived experiences with regard to identity formation and development and with the cognitive capacity to reflect on these processes.

4.4.1 Sampling procedures

Schools were selected from a list of English medium schools in the Motheo district. The specific focus of the study is on black African adolescents from the Motheo district, and therefore only schools where a majority of black African adolescents are enrolled, were included. South Africa's education system remains in a process of considerable restructuring and the apartheid era's discriminatory racial and economic pathways are still noticeable within the educational landscape. Integration has removed formal obstructions, but the process of transformation has been slow and distinct school types can still be identified along racial and economic lines (Howie, Scherman, & Venter, 2008). School type is important as it differentiates the racial composition of schools, the communities within which schools and learners function, learners' socioeconomic status, the quality of teaching, and the infrastructure as well as educational resources available for teaching and learning. Disadvantaged black schools were the most neglected under the apartheid government and are situated in rural areas and urban townships (Fiske & Ladd, 2005; Howie, 2003). These schools serve black African learners from underprivileged socioeconomic circumstances. Infrastructure and resources at these schools are generally poor. The majority of educators are black African and tend to have a lower level of education and training (Fiske & Ladd, 2005; Howie, 2003). The majority of black African learners in South Africa attend such schools (Van der Berg, 2008). The four schools selected for this study are situated in an urban township and were historically classified as underprivileged black schools.

Participants in this study, for the focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews, were recruited through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is used when the main concern is not proportionality of the sample (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). This

type of sampling is often employed by qualitative researchers, particularly phenomenological researchers, as the aim is to contact participants who had direct experience with the phenomenon under study. Individuals who are able to give rich information about the phenomenon under study or who have characteristics that are of particular interest to researchers, thereby fulfilling the goals of the research, are selected (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Whitley, 2002). A disadvantage of purposive sampling is that researchers use personal judgment in selecting the sample, which could lead to bias (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cozby, 2004; 2007; Whitley, 2002). However, the advantage is that it allows researchers to sample individuals who have the specific characteristics that researchers are interested in (Cozby, 2004; 2007; Whitley, 2002). As the researcher wished to interview specifically black African adolescents in the Motheo district, purposive sampling was appropriate for the current research study. The following inclusion criteria were used to select participants for the study:

- All participants were required to belong to a black African ethnic group
- All the participants were required to currently be in the late adolescent developmental stage
- All participants were required to have basic English proficiency

Strategies for determining and defining non-probability sample sizes are practically absent (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). As the sample size used in qualitative research studies is generally smaller and based on a limited number of participants, researchers generally use data saturation as a guiding principle during their data collection (Allen & Walker, 2000; Bowen, 2008; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). As has been stated, purposive samples are used most frequently in non-probability sampling. Purposive sample sizes generally are dependent on the notion of *data saturation* (Guest et al., 2006), or the point at which no new information or themes can be detected in the data (Bowen, 2008; Guest et al., 2006). Purposive sample sizes must ensure that important opinions and insights are discovered, while simultaneously ensuring that the sample size is not too large leading to the data gathered becoming repetitive and, eventually, superfluous (Bowen, 2008). Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested that data saturation is a "matter of degree" (p. 136). According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) the potential for new information to arise from a data set is continually present as researchers continue to familiarise themselves with the data and analyse their data set. They, however, suggested that "data saturation should be more concerned with reaching the point where data

collection becomes counter-productive and that new information that is discovered does not necessarily add anything to the overall story, model, theory or framework” (p. 136).

4.4.2 Participant demographics

Fifty-nine adolescents who met the criteria for inclusion were approached for the focus group and individual discussions. The relatively small sample size allowed for an in-depth understanding of participants’ experiences, and is consistent with the aims of qualitative research methodology (Larkin et al., 2006; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). Table 6 presents the characteristics of the 59 participants included in the study.

Table 6

Demographic variables of the sample

	Number	Percentage of Sample
Age	N	%
16	11	20.34
17	19	32.20
18	10	18.64
19	8	13.56
20	5	8.47
21	3	5.08
22	1	1.69
Grade/Education level	N	%
Grade 11	31	52.54
Grade 12	28	47.46
Gender	N	%
Male	31	52.54
Female	28	47.46
Home Language	N	%
Sesotho	27	45.76
Setswana	21	35.59
IsiXhosa	9	15.25
Sepedi	1	1.69
Afrikaans	1	1.69

Just more than half of the sample consisted of male students (53%) with the remaining 47% being female students. The majority of the sample consisted of participants 17 years of age (32%), with 20% of the sample being 16 years of age, 19% being 18 years of age and 14% being 19 years of age. The majority of the sample consisted of participants of Sesotho ethnicity (46%), with just over a third of the sample reporting being of Setswana ethnic origin (36%). The third largest ethnic group represented in the sample constituted the IsiXhosa group, with 15% of the sample reporting belonging to this ethnic group. The Afrikaans as

well as Sepedi ethnic groups were represented by a single representative from each ethnic group in the sample.

The participant who indicated Afrikaans ethnicity indicated that her mother (who was referred to as a coloured woman) is Afrikaans speaking, while her father is Xhosa speaking. She indicated that she is exposed to both cultures. Although she is fluent in Xhosa and Sesotho, she speaks Afrikaans at home. She further indicated that she has taken part in various cultural rituals and, although she does not value the African tradition highly, she engages in African practices and rituals.

A large scale demographic survey by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2007) indicated that more than 80% of the Motheo district population consisted of black African citizens. Just more than half (52%) of the total population in this district consisted of male citizens and 48% were female. Regarding the ethnic division of the total population in the district during the 2007 community survey, 52% of the population was Sesotho speaking, 16% Afrikaans, 12% Setswana, 10% Xhosa and 10% spoke another home language (Stats SA, 2007). Sesotho and Setswana form part of the Southern Bantu Languages and are different dialects thereof, thus being linguistically and culturally relatively similar. These groups comprise one of the four ethnic divisions in black South Africans, namely Sotho-Tswana (Guldemann, 2003; Janson, 2002). Given the aforementioned statistics for the Motheo district, the demographic statistics for the sample that partook in this study appear to be a reflection of the overall population of the Motheo district.

4.5 Procedures of data collection

As mentioned, the intention of researchers in an interpretivist paradigm is to attend to the expressions of participants and perceive participants in their environments (Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009). Researchers have to be aware of the fact that participants are self-governing people who should be allowed to share information regarding the research phenomenon freely (Lincoln et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009). For the purpose of this study, the researcher employed focus group discussions as well as individual in-depth interviews in order to gather the data from the participants. The data gathered during focus group discussions was corroborated by individual in-depth interviews and personal reflections. Biographical information regarding the sample was gathered during the focus group discussions as well as during the individual in-depth interviews.

4.5.1 Biographical questionnaire

The biographical questionnaire used consisted of items used to gather information regarding participants' age, gender, school grade, home language and school attended (see Appendix A).

4.5.2 Focus groups

Focus group interviews are based on interviews with purposefully selected participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The objective of a focus group is to gain understanding - within a defined area of interest - related to the perceptions, feelings, attitudes and ideas of the participants in the group (Richardson & Rabiee, 2001; Silverman, 2006). Focus group discussions also serve to reveal the differences in perspective between groups of individuals (Richardson & Rabiee, 2001). The unique ability of focus groups to generate data is facilitated through cooperation within group relations (Green & Thorogood, 2004). It is therefore important that participants are comfortable with each other and engage in discussion (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Richardson & Rabiee, 2001; Silverman, 2006). Three components of focus group research that should be considered are: (1) it is a method dedicated to data collection, (2) it uses interaction as a data source, and (3) researchers take an active role in encouraging group discussion (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Maree & Pieterse, 2007).

At the point of theoretical saturation - the point where a clear pattern emerges and only repetitive information is gathered - the data collection should be ceased (Krueger & Casey, 2000). However, for uncomplicated research questions, the number of focus groups necessary has been suggested to be three or four (Bloor, Thomas, Robson, & Frankland, 2001; Krueger & Casey, 2000). Krueger and Casey (2000) also suggested that six to eight participants in a focus group interview is optimal as it enables the researcher a variety of perspectives without the discussion becoming disorderly or fragmented.

One of the advantages of focus group discussions is the generation of data through focused interaction (McLafferty, 2004). A variety of ideas is encouraged during focus group discussions as participants draw on ideas from each other in the group setting, encouraging a richer construction of the topic (Maree & Pieterse, 2007). An additional advantage of focus group discussions is that experimental demand (actions taken by participants in order to alter their behaviour so as to ensure that they conform to researchers' expectations) is reduced because researchers are able to let the participants direct the discussion while they observe

participants' interaction (Hollander, 2004; Stewart, Rook, & Shamdasani, 2006; Wilkinson, 2003). Some researchers have stated that focus group discussions are high in external validity, as the types of conversations participants may normally have are represented during such discussions (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003). Focus groups prompt stories and in-depth explanations of participants' judgements and lived experiences (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003).

In addition to the advantages of focus group discussions, the limitations thereof must also be considered. Some researchers have indicated apprehension regarding the value of focus group discussions, specifically the honesty with which participants communicate their lived experiences (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003). Conformity and social desirability are believed to influence individuals' attitudes and beliefs, as well as their disclosure of personal attitudes and beliefs (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003). The aforementioned influences can be detrimental to data gathered during focus group discussions (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003). Participants in focus group discussions could be hesitant to state their thoughts, particularly when their thoughts oppose the thoughts of another participant or participants in the group (Hollander, 2004; Stewart et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 2003).

In this study, eight focus groups, including 57 participants in total, were conducted. Each focus group discussion lasted between 80 to 110 minutes and was led by the researcher and a Sesotho-speaking co-facilitator. As suggested by Maree and Pietersen (2007), the group dynamics were persistently monitored by the researcher. This was done during the focus groups so as to ensure and encourage equal involvement of all group members during the discussion. In the current study, monitoring group dynamics was challenging as the majority of participants were enthusiastic and wanted to share their personal lived experiences related to identity. The researcher ensured that all participants were given a chance to speak by giving guidelines for the discussion before the interview commenced. The co-facilitator assisted the researcher in conducting the focus group discussions. The co-facilitator has greater knowledge pertaining to the black African adolescents that were sampled, and was able to translate questions or statements during the focus group discussions. The presence of the co-facilitator was further beneficial when issues that were mediated by racial or ethnic subjectivities were discussed, as well as where an appreciation of the role of local cultural

connotations was necessary. Additionally, the researcher could probe participants' responses, to elaborate on statements that were implicitly understood by the co-facilitator.

The purpose of the focus group discussions, in this study, was to allow the participants to share their perceptions, understandings and challenges related to their own lived experiences regarding their identity as a black African adolescent in the Motheo district. The focus group discussions were approached from an interpretivist paradigm. Although a semi-structured interviewing protocol (see Appendix B) was used to assist in eliciting information about participants' experiences, care was taken to allow concepts to appear from the lived experiences and examples given by the participants, as suggested by de Fina (2006). In order to gain the best understanding of the adolescents' lived experiences related to their identity, all focus group discussions were started with a question asking participants to describe themselves, their personality and identity and how they differ from the person sitting next to them. Emphasis was placed on the spontaneous sharing of lived experiences and ideas regarding their identity and on allowing time for the exploration of content. Although each participant was given a period of uninterrupted time to share his or her lived experiences, ample time was provided for interaction and general discussion. The focus was to understand the meaning of their lived experiences regarding their identity rather than to predict behaviours. Discussions were instigated with an open-ended statement from which follow-up questions were asked to facilitate the discussion and gain in-depth information. Follow up questions included the discussions pertaining to the major role players that shape their identities, what being an African represents and what they experience as the best part of being an adolescent.

Information gathered during the focus groups was corroborated by conducting individual in-depth interviews with selected participants.

4.5.3 Individual in-depth interviews

Individual in-depth interviews are among the most well-known strategies for collecting qualitative data. The in-depth interview is a qualitative method of analysis, a confidential and secure dialogue between researchers and a participant (Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). In-depth interviews are individual interviews in which researchers use an unstructured or semi-structured set of topics in guiding the discussion (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Silverman, 2006). The in-depth interview has been described as a purposive conversation resulting in

knowledge about the social world (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Interviews have been described as an open-ended, innovative method, which enables researchers to study respondents' feelings and perspectives on a subject in depth. Researchers should try to interpret what is being said during the interview and should pursue transparency and understanding during the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

Various qualitative researchers have different perspectives regarding the in-depth interview, particularly debating whether knowledge is created during the interview or whether it is a pre-existing phenomenon (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gillham, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Silverman, 2006). Different perspectives regarding the structure of the interview, as well as the active or passive role that researchers should take, exist (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gillham, 2005). Postmodern approaches place emphasis on the creation of knowledge during the interview and on developing a relationship between researchers and participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fontana & Frey, 2000).

The individual in-depth interview aims to combine structure with flexibility, while remaining interactive in nature (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). In-depth interviews differ from simple conversations in terms of the roles of researchers and participants, as well as the objective and aim of the discussion (Gillham, 2005; Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

The advantages of individual in-depth interviews can be categorised into three broad categories (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004). Firstly, individual in-depth interviews allow for unique relevance, particularly in regards to topics that are of a sensitive and personal nature (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Secondly, the greater control that researchers have over respondent selection creates more depth, context and flexibility to the process of inquiry (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004). Individual in-depth interviews also hold the advantage that they generate greater depth and understanding of social and personal information (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). It has been stated that the unusualness of being listened to, which, together with the confidentiality afforded during interviews, gives respondents a feeling of empowerment (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). During individual in-depth interviews it is possible to reflect on opinions with individual respondents, enabling more precise interpretation of their lived experiences (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Patton, 2002; Rubin &

Rubin, 2011). Individual in-depth interviews enable an opportunity to build close rapport with the participant and a high degree of trust is therefore possible, whereby the quality of the data is improved (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Additionally, individual in-depth interviews acknowledge greater expression of non-conformity (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Patton, 2002).

The main criticism regarding individual in-depth interviews is that these interviews do not benefit from participant interactions, an advantage created through focus group discussions. An additional criticism is that researchers do not gain a broad scope of experience during individual interviews (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). In-depth interviews have also been criticised for being time consuming, needing more administrative planning and therefore being an expensive research tool (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

Following the focus group discussions, individual in-depth interviews were conducted with two selected participants in order to gain greater insight into their lived experiences related to identity. Themes that occurred during the focus group discussions were discussed in greater depth during the individual in-depth interviews. As with the focus group discussions, the individual in-depth interviews were also approached from an interpretivist paradigm. The same semi-structured interviewing protocol (see Appendix B) was used to initiate the purposive dialogue, so as to gain additional information about participants' experiences. During individual in-depth interviews, emerging themes were discussed in more depth. These discussions further allowed for greater exploration of participants' lived experiences and more flexibility in questioning the unique themes relevant to each participant. Participants in the individual in-depth interviews were further questioned on the sensitive and personal lived experiences they mentioned without the fear of peer scrutiny. The individual in-depth interviews were started with a question asking participants to describe themselves, their personality and identity. Participants were encouraged to share their lived experiences pertaining to their sense of identity as well as their perceptions and ideas about how they view themselves. Open-ended follow-up questions, in each individual in-depth interview, allowed for the understanding of each participant's lived experience. Follow-up questions facilitated the discussions pertaining to significant influences with regard to their identity formation as well as their own role in identity development.

Individual in-depth interviews provided a clearer understanding of the lived experiences related to the identity of these black African adolescents, as well as corroborated the themes that emerged during the focus group discussions.

4.5.4 Researcher observations

Numerous researchers cautioned that one cannot accept that one knows and understand another's perspectives - even within one's own society - as groups and individuals develop individual worldviews (Patton, 2007). One of the most regular and perplexing dynamics of mainstream social scientific research is that the context of the research project significantly influences the behaviour of participants, as well as the overall quality of the data (Banyard & Hunt, 2000).

A dimension that influences data collection is the type of observation being used and the degree to which researchers are part of the actual observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cassell & Symon, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p. 79). Researchers observe the existing situations and describe these situations using their five senses. The process of participant observation, therefore, allows researchers the opportunity to gain greater understanding and knowledge of the activities of the individuals under study (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). This is accomplished through observation of individuals in their natural settings. Denzin (1997) stated that participant observation is an attempt at sensitising researchers into the experience of self and other (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) stated that the aim of participant observation, as technique, is to create an understanding of the phenomena under study that is as complete as possible, increasing the validity of the study. Participant observation can be used to help answer descriptive research questions, to build theory, or to generate or test hypotheses (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002).

The researcher as observer holds no previous knowledge of the context or the participants, while a participant observer generally has an intimate understanding and often has an on-going association with participants (Patton, 2007). The degree of researcher involvement with participants can range from full participation to complete observer (Denzin, 1997; 2009; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2007). The role of the participant observer is that of the detached observer who is an outsider to participants. The role of the moderate participant is that of an

observer who relates and interacts with participants, but preserves a certain degree of detachment. Lastly, the role of the complete participant is that of the observer that becomes a member of the group of participants (Patton, 2007). Awareness that participants may put up a front and conceal their behaviour by acting as they think the researcher wants, is essential (Richardson, 2000).

While participant observation involves contact with and gaining greater understanding of social phenomena, it should also produce written descriptions and reports, conveying researchers' accounts of these phenomena to others (Roper & Shapira, 2000). Participant observation is therefore a vital data collection tool (Denzin, 1997; 2009; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2007). The majority of data that are collected from participant observations are captured using field notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002; Jackson, 1990).

Field notes are written accounts of observational data created during fieldwork (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002; Jackson, 1990). Ethnographers often use field notes as a data-gathering strategy. Field noting takes place during information-gathering and involves observational sensitivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002; Jackson, 1990). Field notes contain explanations of social interactions and the context within which these interactions occurred (Roper & Shapira, 2000). Jackson (1990) stated that field notes encapsulate "the attachment, the identification, the uncertainty, the mystique, and perhaps above all, the ambivalence" (p. 33) of working in the field. Field notes have detailed content that includes descriptive and interpretive information that is constructed through the observational experience of the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002; Jackson, 1990). LeCompte and Preissle (1993) stated that note taking ensures that researchers are able to preserve their observations and impressions (Patton, 2007). Patton furthermore stated that guidelines regarding field notes are not meant to be rigid, as there is no single correct manner of field noting (Patton, 2007). Generally the content of field notes change with the progression of the study. Field notes develop with the development of analytical ideas (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002).

Throughout this research process the researcher continually documented observational and field notes. Additionally, personal views and significant judgements, important to the process, were recorded. These recordings served to create awareness of personal ideas and perspectives. An example of a reflective description of the researcher's role, location and perspective has been documented and is presented in Appendix C.

4.6 Data analysis

Qualitative research entails analysing large amounts of textual data (Thomas, 2006). In order to facilitate such analysis, Baxter and Jack (2008) suggested that researchers adhere to an inductive approach. An inductive approach provides a set of measures for analysing qualitative data, ensuring that reliable and valid findings can be produced (Thomas, 2006). The inductive approach permits research findings to emerge from recurrent, central and important themes as they occur in the raw data. Limitations imposed by structured methods can thereby be avoided (Silverman, 2006; Thomas, 2006). Data processing and analysis is thus an ongoing process due to new questions being raised continually as data is summarised (Patton, 2002). The inductive approach can be positioned in relation to other qualitative approaches, including phenomenology (Thomas, 2006). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used in this study to analyse and process the data.

4.6.1 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a relatively new qualitative methodology approach was introduced by Smith (1996), and is grounded in the hermeneutic school of phenomenology. Smith and Osborn (2003) described IPA as "... especially useful when one is concerned with complexity, process or novelty" (p. 53). IPA is rooted in psychology and acknowledges the role of researchers in making sense of the personal experiences of the participants. IPA requires a thorough qualitative analysis of detailed accounts obtained from participants (Smith, 2004), exploring in detail how participants ascribe significance to events in their personal and social world (Coyle, 2007; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Smith (2004) summarised the IPA approach as being idiographic, inductive and interrogative. This implies that given the idiographic focus, IPA aims to provide insights into how an individual or group in a given context makes sense of a particular phenomenon (Smith, 2004). IPA is strongly idiographic as it starts with the detailed examination of a case until some degree of closure has been achieved, then only moving to a detailed analysis of the next case. Given the inductive focus, IPA proposes that human subjectivity be investigated systematically in terms of what individuals are actually feeling and experiencing (Smith, 2004). IPA's interrogative focus characterises an obligation to the existence of a psychological centre for human experience. IPA explores and seeks meaning behind the words, something conceptual and psychological that reflects the core of an individual or a lived experience (Smith, 2004). Characterised as interpretative as well as phenomenological, IPA is concerned with

participants' subjective description about an experience, therefore viewing the analytical outcome as the source of the combined reflection and frameworks of participants and researchers (Smith, Larkin, & Flowers, 2009). Smith and Eatough (2007) stated that IPA enables researchers to think in terms of theoretical instead of empirical generalisability. Connections can be made between findings in the study and researchers' personal and professional understanding, as well as with claims in the existing literature (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Smith (2004) stated that "a good paper, whether qualitative or quantitative, shows us what the data are, how the data were obtained, and what the data means" (p. 60). Smith (2004) urged that, in following an IPA analysis, researchers are to continually relate and connect the research findings to extant literature.

IPA shares many characteristics that are found in various other qualitative research approaches, but the characteristics unique to IPA involve that this approach views participants as more than sources of text, with a focus on participants' cognitive, linguistic, affective and physical well-being (Larkin et al., 2006; Smith, 2004). Howitt (2010) stated that participants contribute more than their actual words to the data set. IPA aims to go further than the regular thematic analysis (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). Researchers using IPA aim to understand participants' point of view (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Smith et al., 2009). Larkin et al. (2006) stated that IPA has two main aims: first to comprehend the participants' world, and second to develop a more explicit interpretative account in relation to social, cultural and theoretical contexts. Reicher (2000) made the distinction that IPA researchers converse with participants and analyse these discussions in an attempt to learn about how participants are making sense of their lived experiences, while other analysts (i.e. from discourse approaches) examine what participants are saying so as to learn about how they are constructing accounts of experience.

The aim of IPA is therefore to investigate meaning-making processes, by investigating participants' accounts of their lived experiences. IPA aims to make use of an assumed existing general tendency of participants towards self-reflection (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Chapman & Smith, 2002). Analyses of the participants' lived experiences are carried out in an attempt to explore perception, understanding and views, as opposed to providing objective statements (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Rolfe, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2003). The analysis is transparent in its claims, acknowledging that interpretations are restricted by both the

participants' capacities to express their beliefs and lived experiences sufficiently as well as by researchers' ability to analyse these (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

Brocki and Wearden (2006) proposed the following methodological strengths of IPA: IPA is viewed as not being mysterious but greatly accessible, it uses comprehensible language with uncomplicated guidelines in explanations, and IPA is flexible and inductive and allows for different levels of interpretation without a requirement of a theoretical pretext while being compatible with existing theoretical frameworks (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

IPA is the most appropriate method of data analysis for this study as it focuses on participants' meaning making and interpretation of events. As IPA is fundamentally a framework, nothing was forced on the data analysis process. IPA is furthermore appropriate as it is concerned with lived experiences, with a sense of self and identity (Smith & Eatough, 2007). As the complex process of lived experiences related to identity involves creating meaning through interaction, two corresponding sources of data were used: focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews. The focus group discussions were intended to identify a variety of themes regarding the lived experience related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district, while the individual in-depth interviews were intended to explore how these individuals experienced themselves relative to the presented themes, and how this was associated with their lived experiences regarding their identity.

4.6.2 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and the use of focus groups

IPA is concerned with individuals' lived experiences and therefore IPA analyses generally make use of data that is collected through individual interviews (Reid, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005). Traditionally, IPA provided a method to phenomenological research intended to provide a comprehensive and detailed description that privileged the individual (Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty, & Hendry, 2011).

While IPA focuses on a thorough understanding of individual experiences, a concern with individual lived experiences and meaning making does not exclude the use of IPA to recognise and investigate social cognitions and experiences (Kaptein, 2011; Smith, 1996; Todorova, 2011). Recently, focus group discussions have gained the interest of many IPA researchers and it has been suggested that interviews and focus group discussions are suitable

for detailed theoretical and empirical exploration (Langdridge, 2007; Reid et al., 2005; Palmer et al., 2010; Smith, 2004; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010).

Numerous researchers have indicated that focus groups are beneficial sources of data collection, as several perceptions on a phenomenon generate opportunities for discovery (Halling, 2008; Halling, Leifer, & Rowe, 2006). Individuals are often not aware of their personal unspoken thoughts or opinions prior to interaction and communication with other people regarding a topic (Halling, 2008; Halling et al., 2006). Focus group discussions often enable individuals' views, feelings and recollections to become clearer as they are listening and perceiving other group members' sense-making efforts (Halling, 2008; Halling et al., 2006).

It should be noted that focus groups and the complex interactional environments in which they occur might create difficulty in IPA studies (Palmer, Larkin, de Visser, & Fadden, 2010; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). Some researchers question the phenomenological nature of focus groups (Dowling, 2007; Smith, 2004). Focus group discussions might not enable an account of individuals' lived experiences in the same depth as an individual interview might (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). Concealing the individual in favour of the group could represent difficulty for researchers working within the IPA paradigm, as IPA has an idiographic dedication (Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). However, IPA is flexible in its focus and its application. Therefore, IPA analytic methods can be combined with a range of different data collection methods and data types (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). Instances occur where individuals discuss their perceptions and experiences more openly in sharing these with similar others (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). Flowers, Knussen and Duncan (2001) proposed that, instead of reducing accounts of personal experience, group dynamics in their study offered additional information to their analysis which would not have been recognised otherwise. Earle and colleagues in their study (2005) selected focus groups, making certain that an extensive range of views were represented. Earle and colleagues (2005) further stated that participants encouraged one another to develop and talk about their perceptions.

Based on the fact that observed assertions, descriptions, or reflections in focus group discussions are likely to be embedded within a multifaceted set of social and contextual relationships, Smith (2004) recommended that the data sets of focus groups be analysed twice: firstly for group themes and dynamics and afterwards for individual themes (Smith,

2004). Several researchers, however, often employ a top-down approach to analysis, grouping themes from the group data set as a total entity, irrespective of which participants are saying what, at what point in time (Dunne & Quayle, 2001; 2002; Roose & John, 2003). As mentioned in Chapter 3, in order to understand identity formation processes, researchers must understand how individuals create stories from lived experiences related to their identity. Researchers must understand how individuals articulate their stories internally as well as to others, and in due course relate these stories to knowledge of the self, others and the world in general (Abes et al., 2007). Identities are perceived by others through interactions, and during such interactions individuals either substantiate or refute each other's identities (Hung et al., 2004). Therefore identity is at all times innate and formed through interactions with others (Hung et al., 2004). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) stated that people are individuals and must be appreciated as such, but they cannot be understood solely as individuals. Individuals are constantly in relation, at all times in a social context. Experiences grow out of other experiences, and current experiences lead to further experiences as meanings are created (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Hung and colleagues (2004) stated that meanings cannot be separated from interpretation.

Thus, it was important in this study in which the lived experiences relating to the identity of black African adolescents was explored, to include sources of data that allowed for interaction between participants and therefore focus group discussions were held. In this study, the focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews created comparable accounts of lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. Similar themes emerged in both sets of transcripts. The two sources of data collection therefore differed, but the analytic strategy, the nature of responses, and the developing themes did not.

4.6.3 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) processes

IPA does not follow a dogmatic approach, but rather offers a set of flexible strategies allowing researchers the opportunity to make modifications depending on their research aims (Smith & Eatough, 2007). According to IPA, the research process is viewed as a dynamic process as researchers assume an active role in order to understand the participants' world (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). This involves a twofold purpose, firstly to increase researchers' insight into the phenomenon and secondly to recognise a shared level of understanding with the participants (Wood & Giddings, 2005). The aforementioned implies

that in interpreting and explaining the data in IPA, a two-stage interpretation process is followed where participants are making sense of their world, while at the same time researchers are aiming to make sense of the participants' meaning making (Coyle, 2007; Rolfe, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2003).

Researchers such as Giorgi have openly criticised the aim to represent phenomenological research methods as a predetermined set of approved stages (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). While acknowledging that stages are merely guiding principles that should be open to adaptation, Smith et al. (2009) described a series of IPA steps.

The paramount test of flexibility in phenomenological research is staying true to the research method as proposed (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Storey (2007) proposed certain stages in the process of doing IPA based on the guidelines provided by Smith and Eatough (2007). The five stages proposed by Storey (2007) provide an outline of the process followed. The stages allow for flexibility, while providing a clear, successive explanation of the research process. The stages further include the stage of presenting the research findings. These five stages are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Five stages of data analysis

Stage	Description
1 Initial readings of the transcript	Identifying central concerns within the data, through an iterative process/Identifying overall themes by reading and re-reading transcripts Ensuring that a interpretative framework is used in order to increase transparency Constructing wide ranging notes that arise from the data
2 Identifying and labelling themes	Identifying themes from the notes created in stage 1 Connecting themes and the data Ensuring that all theoretical interpretations arise clearly from the data
3 Linking themes and identifying thematic clusters	Connecting preliminary themes Identifying themes that are integrated with each other, while abandoning other themes Identifying superordinate themes
4 Producing a summary table of themes with illustrative quotations	Constructing a table providing superordinate themes together with sub-themes Ensuring themes are supported by illustrative quotations
5 Presentation of the analysis in narrative form	Presenting the essence of the analysis in a simplified form Ensuring each section starts with a superordinate theme, followed by sub-themes

(Storey, 2007, pp. 51-64)

The aforementioned sections summarised the data processing and analysis procedures that were employed during the ongoing processes of this study.

4.7 Ethical considerations

The difficulties innate in research can be eased through awareness and implementation of well-established ethical principles. Ethical guidelines as proposed by the American Psychological Association (APA) (APA, 2010), are described below, with specific focus on autonomy, beneficence and justice (Allan, 2008; Orb et al., 2004). Ethical approval for this research was granted by the research committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Free State (UFS). Permission for conducting the research was obtained from the Free State Department of Education, participating schools and parents (see Appendix D, E and F respectively).

In conducting ethical research, emphasis is placed on the rights of participants as autonomous persons, allowing participants to voluntarily accept or refuse to participate in a study (Orb et al., 2004; Silverman, 2006). The principle of voluntary participation requires that participants not be pressured, coerced, threatened or bribed into partaking in a study. Ethical research should be conducted using willing participants (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). The requirement of informed consent is closely related to voluntary participation, ensuring that participants are treated as autonomous individuals (Orb et al., 2004; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Informed consent has been referred to as an agreement of trust, and necessitates constant renegotiation, ensuring a sense of balance between over- and under-informing (Orb et al., 2004; Silverman, 2006). The principle of informed consent entails that prospective research participants must be fully informed regarding the processes and dangers involved in the research and thereafter must give their permission to participate (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). In addition to providing participants with an information sheet, it may be valuable to have participants sign consent forms. In addition to ensuring that all participants receive the same information regarding the purpose and process of the study, a consent form enables researchers to clearly state that the participants have given written informed consent and have agreed to participation (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002).

In conducting this study, the following principles were adhered to so as to ensure that participants were treated as autonomous individuals who were allowed to voluntarily partake in the study. No manner of coercing, compensation or incentive was offered for participation. The principals, parents and participants were all fully informed regarding the purpose of the study and no form of deceit was used (see Appendices E, F and G respectively). All participants were informed of the voluntary nature of the study and that no negative consequence would be incurred if they wished to withdraw from the study. Participants gave written informed consent, following a description of the purpose, procedures and potential benefits of participation in this study (see Appendix G). Consent was also granted by participants for the recording of interviews through the use of a digital audio recorder, as this is suggested to enable researchers to be available to engage with the participants without having to be preoccupied with taking notes (Henning et al., 2004). Although audio recording may lead to an increase in participants' awareness of the research process and of researchers' roles, thus potentially influencing results, it provides more accurate data than note taking (Henning et al., 2004).

Researchers are obligated to anticipate the possible outcomes of an interview and to consider the benefits and potential harm that might occur (Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Ethical standards necessitate that researchers do not place participants in situations where risk of harm is likely to occur as a consequence of their participation in a study. Harm can occur in the form of physical harm, psychological harm, emotional harm, or embarrassment (i.e. social harm) (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). This principle closely associated with ethical research is known as beneficence, doing good for others and preventing harm (Allan, 2008). Revealing the identities of participants and the consequences thereof should be viewed as a moral responsibility (Allan, 2008; Silverman, 2006). Two principles are applied so as to help protect the privacy of participants. The majority of research studies assure the participants' confidentiality, whereby participants are guaranteed that identifying material is not obtainable by anyone who is not directly involved in the study (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). The stricter of the two standards is the principle of anonymity, which indicates that the participant will remain unidentified throughout the study, even to the researchers themselves. Anonymity is a more robust guarantee of privacy, but is often difficult to accomplish (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002). In the current study, participants were assured that all information would be kept confidential and that the manner in which results will be reported

will take place in an anonymous manner. No identifying particulars were captured on either the focus group discussion or the individual in-depth interview recordings, aiming to ensure anonymity during the transcription process. The verbatim transcribed data were securely stored. Participants were further ensured that information provided on the biographical questionnaire would remain confidential and would be used only to describe the final research sample.

The principle of justice ensures that participants receive equality regarding fairness, and that the mistreatment and abuse of participants is avoided (Allan, 2008). The application of the principle of justice, in qualitative research studies, is demonstrated by recognising the vulnerability of the participants and their contributions to the study (Orb et al., 2004; Silverman, 2006).

For this study, the focus group discussions and the individual in-depth interviews were conducted at the school premises, during time periods that the participants were not receiving formal education and their academic education was therefore not influenced by the focus group discussions or the individual in-depth interviews. A qualified counselling psychologist conducted the discussions together with a Sesotho-speaking African co-facilitator. This allowed for the debriefing of participants if psychological distress occurred as a result of topics raised during the discussions. The nature of the discussions was not aimed at placing the participants in a position where harm was likely to occur. Nonetheless all members of the focus groups were encouraged to respect each other and to keep the information discussed confidential.

4.8 Trustworthiness

Scientific research should be built on the foundation of trust (Whitebeck, 2001). Without rigour, research becomes insignificant, losing its utility (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008). The accuracy of research is reflected in the trustworthiness thereof and trustworthiness is an important consideration in performing ethical research (Merriam, 2009).

Known measures that have been used in the standard, scientific paradigm include internal validity (discovering the truth value of the evaluation), external validity (generalisability and relevance), reliability (consistency or ability to replicate findings), and objectivity (neutrality)

(Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; 2004). These standards make sure that perplexing, atypical, unpredictable and prejudiced difficulties do not occur (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; 2004). A degree of reliability and validity is required to ensure that the results in research are trustworthy and to enhance the quality of the results (Silverman, 2006). While some researchers stated that the same criteria can be applied to the trustworthiness of both quantitative and qualitative research (Creswell & Clark, 2007), the majority of qualitative researchers are of the opinion that reviewing the trustworthiness of qualitative research against the traditional framework used for quantitative research is not possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Howitt, 2010; Merriam, 2009). While reliability and validity are key concepts in qualitative and quantitative research, qualitative researchers implement alternative measures to ensure reliability and validity from quantitative researchers (Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

The term reliability has been defined as the degree of consistency over time and implies that a truthful account of the total population under study is represented. If the results of a study can be replicated under comparable methodology, the research instrument is regarded to be reliable (Joppe, 2000). Holloway and Todres (2003) stated that the term reliability cannot be used in terms of qualitative research as the main research instrument is the researcher. In addition to reliability, validity is an important element that establishes the truth and authenticity of research results (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 2002; Joppe, 2000; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Validity, as defined in quantitative research, describes whether the intended phenomenon is truly measured (Joppe, 2000). A fundamental assumption of the constructivist paradigm is that no objective truth or single fixed reality exists. The term validity is thus complicated when multiple socially constructed realities can be present (Healy & Perry, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2004; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006).

Despite the fact that many critics are unwilling to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research, guidelines for ensuring thoroughness in this form of work have been created (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). The terms credibility, neutrality (confirmability), consistency (dependability) and applicability (transferability) are essential qualitative paradigm criteria (Healy & Perry, 2000; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). It has been suggested that in qualitative methodology, credibility is used as a parallel to internal validity, transferability parallel to external validity, dependability parallel to

reliability, and confirmability parallel to objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2004). Guba and Lincoln's constructs form the focus in the sections to follow.

4.8.1 Credibility

In addressing credibility, there is an attempt to prove that an accurate representation of the phenomenon under analysis is being presented (Gasson, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). Credibility therefore is an assessment of whether or not the findings characterise a trustworthy interpretation of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000).

Credibility can be achieved through engagement with participants, determined observation in the field, the use of peer debriefers and researcher self-reflectivity (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 2004). Selecting participants with several experiences relating to the phenomenon under analysis increases the likelihood of gaining information on the research question from a variety of aspects, thereby increasing the credibility of the study (Patton, 2002). Credibility further entails how well groups and themes cover data, suggesting that no applicable data have been carelessly or systematically excluded or irrelevant data included (Patton, 2002). Credibility is increased through a detailed account of source data and a match between the data and the developing analysis, as well as by thick descriptions (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; 2004). Thick descriptions are detailed descriptions of participants' experiences of phenomena as well as the environments in which those experiences occur. Such thick descriptions involve describing the numerous layers of culture and context in which the lived experiences occur (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; 2004). It is further recommended that the adoption of research methods that are well established in qualitative investigations should be employed.

4.8.2 Transferability

Transferability is the degree of applicability and transferability of findings of a particular study beyond the limits of that study, to other settings or groups (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Koch, 2006; Patton, 2002). The researchers may give suggestions about transferability, but ultimately it is the reader's decision whether or not the findings are transferable to another context (Gasson, 2004).

Based on the small sample sizes and absence of statistical analyses involved in qualitative research, data cannot be said to be generalisable in the conventional sense and it is therefore vital that the presentation of the findings does not suggest that the findings can be generalised to other populations (Gasson, 2004; Patton, 2002). Transferability is accomplished when researchers offer acceptable explanations and adequate information about the self (the researcher-as-instrument) and the environment during fieldwork, research processes, participants, and researcher-participant relationships to enable the reader to decide how the research findings may be transferred (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; 2004; Shenton, 2004). A rich and dynamic presentation of the findings accompanied by suitable quotations will also enhance transferability (Patton, 2002).

4.8.3 Dependability

Dependability is an appraisal of the value of the combined processes of data collection, data analysis and theory creation. Dependability refers to the degree to which data change over time and adjustments are made in the researcher's decisions during the analysis process (Patton, 2002). Merriam (2009) referred to dependability as auditability.

For the dependability criterion, the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). Emphasis is placed on the requirement that the researcher provides an account of the dynamic environment within which research occurs (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Yardley, 2000). The process through which findings are developed must be overt and allow potential replication. Through cautiously outlining the emerging research design and preserving an audit trail, dependability is accomplished (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Yardley, 2000). An audit trail serves as a detailed account of research actions and developments (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000), thereby documenting influences that may have had an effect on the data collection and analysis. Emerging themes, categories, or models are also recorded in the audit trail (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Yardley, 2000). The audit trail may be examined by peer researchers, advisors and colleagues (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000).

4.8.4 Confirmability

Merriam (2009) stated that the majority of qualitative researchers avoid the claim that their research can be replicated. However, they claim that, through their reliable and thorough audit trails, research processes can be replicated, thereby ensuring confirmability. Confirmability involves the extent to which the results are true and accurate, reflecting the purpose of the study and the current reality (Holloway, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Patton, 2002). It addresses the core issue that “findings should represent, as far as is (humanly) possible, the situation being researched rather than the beliefs, pet theories, or biases of the researcher” (Gasson, 2004, p. 93).

Confirmability is based on the perspective that the integrity of findings can be found in the data and that the researcher must adequately connect the data, analytic processes and findings in such a way that the reader is able to confirm the appropriateness of the findings (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000). Once more, detailed methodological description enables the reader to determine how far the data and constructs emerging from it may be accepted. Responsibility through an audit trail and the management of subjectivity are essential. Guba and Lincoln (1989) stated that findings should be thoroughly fixed in the voices of the participants, using direct quotations to aid confirmability. Researchers must make it evident that findings are developed from the data and not from their personal biases (Gasson, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2000; Shenton, 2004). The role of triangulation in promoting confirmability must be emphasised, to reduce the effect of investigator bias. It is further recommended that theoretical transparency is ensured by describing the theoretical stance of the interpreter (Holloway & Todres, 2003; Valtonen & Moisander, 2006).

4.8.5 Triangulation

Triangulation is the convergence, corroboration and correspondence of results from different methods (Patton, 2002). The definition of triangulation given by Miles and Huberman (1994) stated that triangulation aims to support findings by indicating that independent measures of the findings agree with it or, at least, do not contradict it.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) discussed the importance of triangulation as yet another means of improving the rigor of the analysis. Emphasis is placed on seeking corroboration between data sources by assessing the integrity of the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon that is being investigated and the possibility that the findings are trustworthy or creditable of

consideration by others (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Gillham, 2005; Guion, 2002; Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Silverman, 2006).

Patton (2002) stated that triangulation involves portraying and recognising several perspectives, so as to achieve a more truthful and valid estimation of qualitative results for a particular construct. Triangulation further ensures that research findings are supported in more than one way, ensuring that the interpretations of the study become richer and therefore validity is possibly increased (Howitt, 2010; Patton, 2002). Through the process of data triangulation it is possible to see if the participants' responses are consistent (Schwandt, 2000).

While triangulation, in social sciences, initially referred to the claim that comparing findings from numerous research methods confirmed the measurement accuracy of the phenomena, a shift towards regarding triangulation as a means to gain enriching and completing knowledge is increasingly taking place (Flick, 1998; 2004). Flick (1998; 2004) further stated that the shift in conceptualising triangulation is towards moving beyond the limited methodological capabilities of the individual method (Flick, 1998; 2004; Sale, Lohfeld, & Brazil, 2002). Flick argued that different methods do not simply provide different kinds of information about the same phenomenon but create the world and lived experiences in different ways. The shift that Flick (1998) reported has been related with the growing impact of constructionism and postmodernism, with their focus on the way in which social phenomena are shaped during social interaction or discourse (Flick, 1998; 2004; Sale et al., 2002).

Typically, triangulation involves the use of multiple data sources, multiple researchers, multiple theoretical perspectives, multiple methods and/or analyses of data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002; Schwandt, 2000). The first method, data sources triangulation, is a powerful technique used by researcher in order to compare and examine the data using numerous sources of data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002). The second method, investigator triangulation, can be defined as the use of numerous researchers, involved as observers, interviewers, or data analysts in the same study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002). The third method, known as theoretical triangulation, uses different theories and perspectives, as different theories help researchers to view the phenomena at hand from multiple perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002). The fourth method, known as methodological triangulation, is defined as the use of multiple methods in studying the same phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002). The last method,

analysis triangulation, uses multiple methods of analysing the same set of data for validation purposes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002).

Triangulation is difficult to perform as data collected using different methods, such as focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews, come in different forms and defy direct comparison (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2002). Triangulation in qualitative research has therefore been criticised. Barbour (2001) stated that qualitative methods of data collection result in specific types of data. The objective of triangulation therefore should be supporting and confirming findings, as opposed to searching for perfectly exact findings through triangulation. Silverman (1993) was apprehensive about the positivistic use of triangulation to increase validity. He cautioned that researchers should not endeavour to gain a more comprehensive picture by simply having three cameras take a picture instead of just one.

Schwandt (2000) did not approve of the limitation of the metaphoric triangle and suggested the idea of a crystalline metaphor as created by Richardson (1997). The crystalline metaphor emphasises many planes and the capacity to grow and transform (Schwandt, 2000). The crystalline metaphor further encourages numerous views from a variety of perspectives. Using numerous data sources should be represented not as a simple triangle but a complex crystal (Richardson, 1997; Schwandt, 2000). The crystalline metaphor is much more fitting with the multiple realities accepted under the constructivist paradigm (Richardson, 1997; Schwandt, 2000). As crystallisation refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection and analysis to validate findings, it is viewed as an augmentation of triangulation (Schwandt, 2000). While some researchers are of the opinion that either triangulation or crystallisation should be used in the research study, other researchers are of the opinion that the methods can be combined in a single study (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

4.8.6 Applying trustworthiness and triangulation in the study

Trustworthiness was enhanced by applying certain techniques of credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability as well as certain methods of triangulation. The sections to follow highlight the techniques applied in this study.

Trustworthiness was enhanced by conducting focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews, until the point of data saturation. Considerable engagement with participants

occurred during all of the discussions. The selected participants were all within the late adolescent stage, enabling them to have had numerous experiences with the phenomena being researched. Participants were encouraged to provide as accurate and complete information regarding the topic as they could.

All data collected during focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Retaining all records allows for inspection of the record-keeping procedures, verification of conclusions, interpretations and recommendations if necessary.

The assistance of the Sesotho-speaking African co-facilitator, who acted as peer debriefer, enabled further trustworthiness of this study. Trustworthiness was achieved through utilising different researchers' perspectives regarding the initial perception of the data, performed during the researcher's discussion with the co-facilitator and becoming aware of the co-facilitator's perceptions. In order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study, regular supervision sessions took place with the supervisor of this study throughout the research process.

The researcher utilised well-established qualitative research methods to ensure trustworthiness. A comprehensive description of the research method as well as stepwise replication of the research method is provided. Additionally, a phase of continuous inspection, self-reflection, and re-phrasing of themes was conducted numerous times to ensure an in-depth analysis of the transcripts.

Throughout the results sections of this study, all findings are accompanied by suitable quotations. Steps were taken and described to ensure that the findings from the study were the result of the experiences of the participants and not the predispositions of the researcher.

The researcher's predispositions as well as theoretical predispositions were stated clearly to ensure trustworthiness. The researcher also provided adequate information about *the self* in the form of self-reflections and continually captured researcher observations (an example presented in Appendix C). A description of the research context, the processes and the participants was also provided. This would therefore enable an auditor not necessarily to

replicate the study, but to review in detail what the researcher did, why the researcher did it and how the researcher arrived at her conclusions.

Trustworthiness is a crucial element of this research and was achieved through fair representation of all the data, accepting the complex, partial and often paradoxical nature of the data.

In this study, triangulation was employed in order to enhance the trustworthiness of research data, as well as to increase the researcher's understanding of the research phenomenon. In this study, theoretical triangulation, as well as the triangulation of data sources was employed. Multiple theories and perspectives have been used to support the interpretation of the data. Data from various data collection methods, i.e. focus group discussion and individual in-depth interviews, have been incorporated. The researcher's recorded field notes and observations were also utilised to record the characteristics and origins of any themes. Table 8 provides a summary of the techniques used in this study to ensure trustworthiness.

Table 8

Criteria to ensure trustworthiness in this study

Criteria	To ensure:	Brief description of all of the techniques followed in this study
Credibility	... the truthfulness of particular findings	Collecting data until data saturation Engaging with participants Involving a Sesotho-speaking co-facilitator Using participants who had rich lived experiences regarding adolescence
Transferability	... the applicability of the research findings to another setting or group	Describing the research method Describing the research context, research processes and participants in a rigorous manner Recording all data collection and transcribing these verbatim
Dependability	... the consistence and reproducibility of the research results	Storing raw data Providing adequate information about the researcher and the researcher's predispositions Providing researcher observations and reflectivity Utilising well-established analysis procedures Following guidelines during data analysis
Confirmability	... the research findings being reflective of the inquiry and not the researcher's biases	Using guidance by supervisor and advisor during data analysis Providing thick descriptions of participants' experiences Supporting findings through direct quotations

4.9 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter a description of the research approach, design and methodologies employed by the researcher was provided. The rationale for the study and the aim were presented. The qualitative design and approach followed in this study were described and the role of the researcher in qualitative research was discussed. Research participants and sampling procedures, as well as the data collection methods were furthermore described in this chapter. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as analysis method was presented. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the criteria for trustworthiness and triangulation as well as the techniques used in this study. The following chapter presents the data collected and resultant themes using the methods and processes discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 – Results

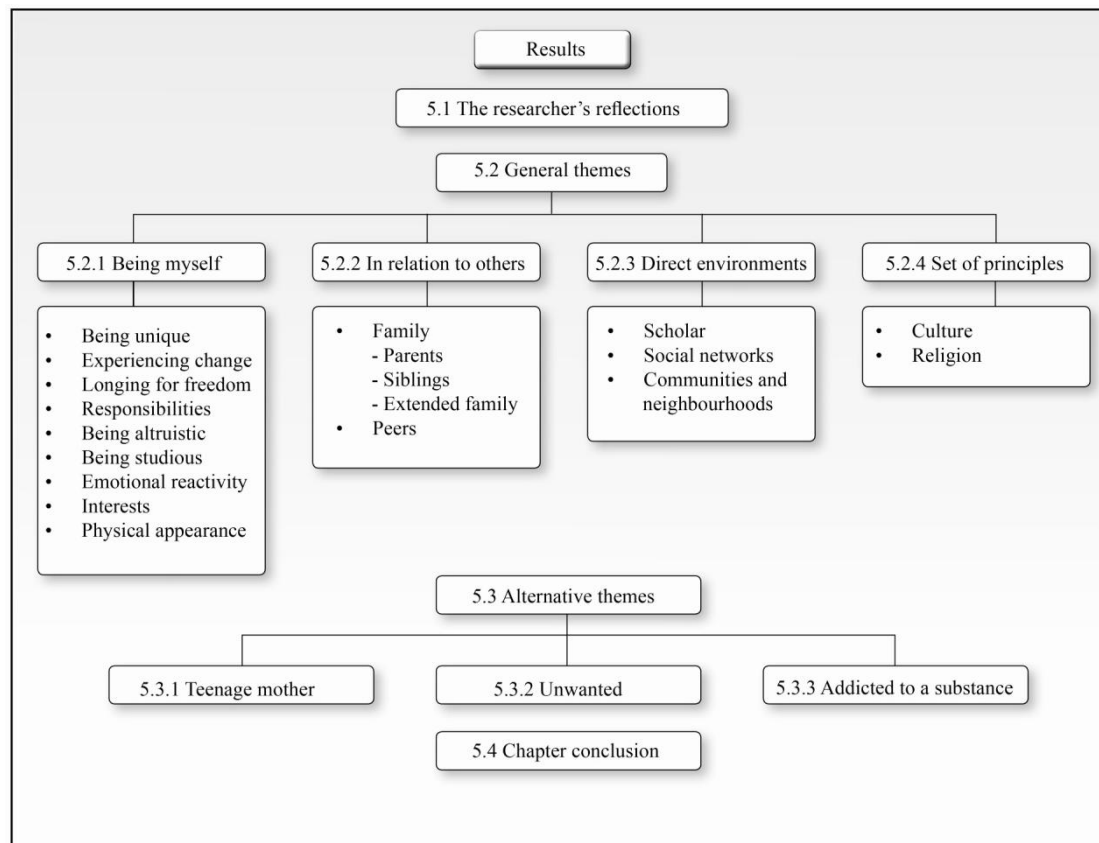


Figure 6. Visual display of Chapter 5 outline

In this chapter, as illustrated in Figure 6, the results of this study are presented. The final main and subthemes resulting from the inductive approach of analysis are presented, supported by verbatim quotations from participants. The discussion is introduced through the researcher's reflections, followed by the general themes reported by the majority of participants, as well as some alternative themes capturing unique experiences of particular participants.

5.1 The researcher's reflections

“We do not store experience as data, like a computer: we story it” (Winter, 1988, p. 235). This section is written in the first-person. Hyland (2004) stated that one of the most obvious and important ways writers represent themselves to readers is to clearly affirm their role in the discourse through first-person pronouns. In addition, the first-person accounts are provided in keeping with the epistemology of the research and in the pursuit of reflectivity.

Researchers applying IPA acknowledge that interpretation is required to understand phenomena (Fade, 2004). Given that researchers utilising IPA pursue an insider's viewpoint on the lived experiences of other individuals while acknowledging their personal beliefs, I recognised the importance of reflectivity in my research process. I experienced that my reflections throughout the research process were essential to the exploration of my own investment and preference towards specific areas of the results as they unfolded. I thus made a dedicated effort to be aware of and bracket my own beliefs, values and opinions, extensively disclosing these in this sub-section.

Embarking on the study, I reflected on my own personal and professional values, beliefs and experiences. I am a 27 year old, white, married, middle class, South African woman. Regarding my academic work experience, I have worked as a research assistant, psychometrist, counselling psychologist and a researcher. In terms of theoretical orientation, I would define myself as integrative, and recognise the effect of a wide range of models and theories on my thinking. In my counselling practice, a number of adolescent and young adult clients frequently raise questions related to their identity formation. As a consequence thereof, I have been fascinated by the complexity of identity formation for several years. During this research, I realised that my training as a counselling psychologist influenced my own reflections and expectations related to participants' lived experiences pertaining to identity. During the course of the research process and through personal reflectivity, I became aware of the importance of personal attentiveness during research-related activities, ensuring that my own needs and desires do not obscure the outcomes.

During the process of carrying out this research, I was mindful of any difficulties that may arise through confusion about my role as therapist versus my role as researcher. Although I did not enter into a therapeutic relationship (prior to or on completion of any discussions) with the participants, I was watchful not to ask questions of a therapeutic nature. Undertaking research rather than therapeutic interviews was personally a new experience, as I have not conducted any qualitative research interviews prior to this study. Much effort was therefore afforded to ensuring that I asked questions based upon my research focus and ensuring that I did not assume the role of a therapist. This often proved to be difficult, as I regularly wanted to challenge participants' statements (working currently from a Rational-Emotive Behaviour Therapy framework). I therefore had to continually remind myself that

my sole purpose was to gain an understanding of participant's lived experiences related to identity.

Initially it appeared to me that the participants were making use of concrete descriptions of their own identity. As I engaged with the data in greater depth, I questioned whether the concepts investigated in this study and insightful reflection regarding identity possibly arises through greater cognitive and emotional maturation. As participants' accounts gradually developed throughout the interviews, transcription, analysis and write-up, I experienced my own understanding evolving. Initially I was of the opinion that my idea of my own identity, for the most part of my adolescent and young adult stages, had been clearly defined. However, I found myself starting to question whether this certainty of who I was had instead arisen through reflection once I had entered the adult stage. Upon reflecting, I realised that my lived experience regarding identity was similar to that of many of the participants. In the same way, I too did not have a clear idea of who I was during adolescence. I realised, however, that I reflected on my own adolescence holding the idea that I had a clear understanding (during my adolescent years) of who I was. This understanding, however, only occurred during later developmental stages (emerging adulthood) once I had undergone more personal lived experiences and had acquired more information.

Through the participants' reflections of their experiences, particularly regarding cultural and ethnic identity, I started questioning my own understanding of my cultural identity. As my home language is Afrikaans but I attended schooling in English, I have frequently struggled with the concept of cultural identity, often experiencing that I do not belong to either group.

During data collection and analysis, I became aware of personal conflicting feelings when certain participants indicated that *being African* is an experience belonging solely to black individuals. Initially I identified with their statement, but upon greater reflection I realised that my opinion undeniably differed from theirs. I am of the opinion that all individuals who live, struggle and work in this country, desiring positive changes, embracing diversity and uncertainty, are African too. I am of the opinion that feeling a sense of pride and satisfaction at the mention of *African* as part of one's identity is not exclusive to skin colour or traditions. Additional reflections pertain to the manner in which my status as a doctoral student, my gender and culture may have influenced participants' responses to my questions, and what they may have chosen to disclose.

Being a doctoral student actively engaged in data collection could have influenced my awareness and experience of the discussions. Discussions were recorded in order to increase my own receptiveness during data collection. Regardless of increased receptiveness, I was aware of the continual apprehension and concern I experienced with regards to gaining enough information during data collection. Despite emphasising confidentiality, the participants might have been cautious to share their lived experiences as they were aware that the data would be recorded as part of the research project. While it appeared that participants were enthusiastic about and honest in the information that they shared, I experienced that the participants tried to impress me and the co-facilitator by emphasising positive qualities and presenting themselves in a positive manner. Using the increased consciousness and insight regarding these difficulties, data collection sessions started with non-threatening questions and participants were reminded of confidentiality and anonymity throughout the sessions.

As I am a woman and believe in equal rights for both genders, my gender equality opinions might have influenced the manner in which I asked gender-related questions. It is possible that male participants did not openly share their experiences of being male as they could not relate to me or the co-facilitator, both female. This aspect could also have influenced the female participants as they might have felt that I understood their experiences, being a woman myself, and that they did not need to elaborate on their experiences. The manner in which follow-up questions were asked encouraged participants of both genders to further explain their viewpoints, encouraging authenticity without assumptions.

As mentioned, cultural differences were present. As I am a white person, participants might have felt that they could not speak freely and share their experiences openly. Additionally, cultural difference may have influenced follow-up questions regarding their culture as I was unaware of the cultural meaning of some of their lived experiences. Using this insight, data collection sessions were initiated with a statement that no offence (on my own part - as the researcher) would be taken regarding possible cultural descriptions that could be mentioned. The co-facilitator was encouraged to ask follow-up questions in this regard as she had more nuanced information. My unfamiliarity might have been beneficial at times, as follow-up questions seeking greater clarity of concepts necessitated and encouraged participants to explain their experiences in greater detail while not assuming that I implicitly understood their experiences.

I am aware of the influence that the Sesotho-speaking African co-facilitator, sharing greater similarity with participants than myself, could have had on the disclosure of participants. I experienced the co-facilitator's presence during discussions as an advantage. This ensured that I could rely on her during a session to clarify statements that participants made. She further was knowledgeable on cultural nuances and could ask follow-up questions where my knowledge lacked. I valued her input regarding reflections on the sessions and I viewed her role as that of a peer debriefer. The co-facilitator assisted during times when participants experienced difficulty regarding language and English expression. She was able to translate research questions as well as participants' statements. It occurred to me, however, that during Sesotho conversations between the co-facilitator and the participants, I experienced a sense of bewilderment as I could not understand the conversation. Based on the fact that numerous concepts had apparently been addressed during such conversations, I was given an explanation and interpretation rather than a translation of the conversation.

I was continually confronted with the importance of language as medium of expression. Although the participants were proficient in English, this was not their home language. The participants' language ability and their ability to articulate themselves in English appeared to hinder their expression of their lived experiences. My own inability to communicate in their home language further hindered the understanding of their lived experiences. Some participants preferred to articulate their experiences in their home language. The co-facilitator would thereafter translate and explain these discussions in English. The majority of participants, however, attempted to express themselves in English. As English is not their first language, difficulty in understanding and interpreting their intentions and statements was experienced. Participants frequently used the pronouns *he* and *she* interchangeably referring to both genders. Participants would therefore refer to a male individual as *he* as well as *she*, or a female person using either pronoun. In addition to the difficulties in expression, participants' language usage can be described as very informal. The majority of the participants made use of slang words and abbreviations in their conversations. Words such as *chill*, '*cause* and *v-ball* (volleyball) were regularly used.

Given the literature I reviewed regarding adolescent development, I was sensitised to certain themes generally occurring during adolescence, prior to data collection. These theoretical frameworks and psychological theories formed the basis for my hypotheses as well as sensitised me towards certain phenomena and research variables. Throughout the data

collection and analyses it appeared that participants' lived experiences were quite similar to the general developmental tendencies of adolescents (as explained by psychological theories). For example, the participants appeared to experience difficulty in gaining more independence from their parents, peers seemed very important and they continually indicated that, as adolescents, they received what they wanted without having to work or take full responsibility. School, education and the future were mentioned by participants as important categories in their self-definitions.

While the majority of participants were eager to share their lived experiences, I sensed that participants experienced initial perplexity in understanding and expressing themselves during the focus group discussions. My initial interpretation of this perplexity was that participants were anxious about sharing their lived experiences. This in turn increased my own apprehension as I feared that their anxiety might impede the richness of information gathered. However, as data collection continued, I interpreted this perplexity as a result of the complexity of the questions asked, rather than mere participant anxiety.

To conclude: the main themes arising from my personal reflections include difficulties in distinguishing my role as researcher and not assuming a role as the therapist. I invested a lot of time in reflecting on my own identity and my beliefs about my identity as an adolescent. Another important theme throughout this reflection is the importance of language, not only my own but the impact that the participants' language proficiency had on the data collected, translations provided and the quality of interpretations. The implications of the term, *being African*, were a major focus area in my reflection. The influence that my status as doctoral student, my gender and my culture had on the data collection process was considered. Finally the theme of perplexity and complexity of the research questions asked was acknowledged.

In addition to the themes arising from personal reflections, the themes that emerged from the analysis of each transcript were compared in order to present the dominant stories of the participants' experiences and are provided in the section to follow. It is recognised that these themes represent only one possible interpretation of the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. All of the themes discussed in the following section are coloured by the lens through which I, as the researcher, interpreted the participants' accounts during the research process. The themes therefore do not cover the

only truth of the participants' lived experience, and were instead selected emerging from my perspective as researcher. It is acknowledged that the themes are a subjective interpretation and that other researchers may have focused on different aspects of the accounts. Despite the subjective nature of the process through which the themes arose, certain techniques were used to ensure the trustworthiness of the results. These included, but are not limited to, collecting data until data saturation, engaging with participants who had rich lived experiences regarding adolescence, involving a Sesotho speaking African co-facilitator, providing adequate information about the researcher and the researcher's predispositions and following guidelines during data analysis.

5.2 General themes

Participants' accounts of their lived experiences related to identity were read and re-read numerous times during the data analysis process. Data and resultant themes were triangulated with the researcher's observations. Furthermore, the results presented in this study have been validated and refined through numerous meetings and discussions with the supervisor of this study. Throughout the analysis process, themes were named to reflect participants' lived experiences, according to the accounts they provided.

The participants' accounts concerning their lived experiences related to their identity of being a black African adolescent in the Motheo district unfolded in the research context, providing a wealth of information on the subject. Although each experience and discussion was unique in its own right, a shared process of meaning evolved throughout many of the themes.

At first, each focus group discussion and individual in-depth interview was analysed separately. It emerged from the separate analyses that the various discussions shared similar main and subthemes. The themes discussed in the following sections therefore represent the general themes that were addressed in all discussions.

Similar phenomena were grouped into themes to reflect the lived experiences that the participants encountered. This grouping resulted in the emergence of four main themes, with various subthemes. The main and subthemes identified in the lived experiences of the participants are presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Summary of the main and subthemes

Main themes	Subthemes
Being myself	Being unique Experiencing change Longing for freedom Responsibilities Being altruistic Being studious Emotional reactivity Interests Physical appearance
Being myself in relation to others	Being myself in relation to my family Being myself in relation to peer relationships
Being myself in my direct environments	Being a scholar Social networks Communities and neighbourhoods
Being myself within my set of principles	Being cultural Being religious

While the aforementioned themes were common to the eight focus group discussions and the individual in-depth interviews, there were also areas of divergence and difference. Where relevant, this is highlighted in the discussion. Furthermore, a section discussing alternative lived experiences is provided towards the end of the chapter.

A discussion of the themes will form the foundation of the remainder of this chapter, with each main and subtheme illustrated by verbatim quotations from the discussions. In order to increase the trustworthiness of the data, quotes from the original data are provided. These quotations ground the data in the authentic voices of the participants. Only quotations that provided the greatest explanation of ideas, utmost clarification of the participants' lived experiences and maximum representation of their feelings (Smith et al., 2009) were included. In presenting the verbatim quotations, various minor alterations have been made to increase the readability thereof. Insignificant hesitations, word repetitions and utterances such as *uuuh* and *aaa* have generally been removed. Missing information is indicated by dotted lines within brackets (...), and where information has been added (i.e. to explain what a participant is referring to) it is presented within square brackets [...]. Dotted lines at the beginning or end of a quotation indicate that the person was talking prior to or after the quotation. All identifying information has been removed.

5.2.1 Being myself

The first main theme illustrated participants' understanding of being themselves. The majority of participants either commented that they experienced difficulty in describing their identity, or demonstrated this difficulty by giving a fairly limited reply to the question, 'How would you describe yourself?' The majority of self-descriptions involved concrete portrayals and participants frequently incorporated what other members in the group were saying, possibly not wanting to stand out or be different.

Numerous inconsistencies and discrepancies were evident in participants' self-descriptions. These inconsistencies and contradictions could possibly highlight that participants' identity claims are complex and multifaceted. Participants' understanding of their identity could differ at different times and in different settings, illustrated in the statement: "*(...) I have multi-characters in me. The reason why this is happening (...) at some point you are changing your behaviour (...) reflecting the person that you really are within (...) (FG 2, par 58)*". In the following statement a participant summarised her understanding of who she is as: "*I am kind, talkative, and like sharing jokes (...) I am a Christian and I am lesbian. That is who I am and I am secretive too (...) I don't share personal stuff [information] (...) (FG 1, par 7)*". While the participant was confident in the statements she made about herself, she included that she was talkative but at the same time secretive. She further indicated that she was lesbian but stated that she did not share personal information. From this statement it was apparent that many inconsistencies and opposing factors were included in her account of her identity. Such inconsistencies and opposing factors arose in numerous participants' descriptions of themselves.

The subthemes occurring throughout the participants' accounts will be discussed in greater depth in the sections to follow.

5.2.1.1 Being unique

All the participants interviewed revealed that the experience of being unique and distinctive were important in understanding who they are. The following statements illustrated the value placed on being unique and irreplaceable: "*I am one of a kind, I think there is nobody like me (II 2, par 130)*" and "*(...) there's no such people like me, I'm very unique, I'm my own way (...) (FG 5, par 606)*".

The majority of participants' lived experiences were associated with a desire to be understood. Using a statement such as: "*(...) I am free to them [friends], so they understand [me], and I understand them (FG 5, par 137)*", this participant provided evidence of participants' desires to not only be seen as unique individuals but also to be understood. The uncertainty experienced pertaining to participants' sense of identity could explain their need to be understood as a result of the current confusion regarding their sense of self. Their need to communicate and reflect their feelings and experiences might also direct the desire to be understood. Reciprocal understanding appeared to be important to participants.

In addition to being unique individuals, participants indicated that they are confident in who they are and the experience of self-belief appeared to be a key factor. With the statement: "*I (...) believe in myself (...) (FG 8, par 7)*" a participant summarised his belief in his capabilities to organise and perform the courses of action required to produce his desired achievements.

5.2.1.2 Experiencing change

It appeared throughout the accounts that participants experienced changes taking place within themselves. In the statement: "*(...) personality is going to change (...) because (...) they say change is good for a person, you can't stay the same person as you were when you were young (FG 6, par 109)*" a participant summarised her understanding of the developmental changes she was experiencing. Participants were aware that certain changes occur during adolescence and that their sense of self was transformed throughout development.

5.2.1.3 Longing for freedom

The majority of participants indicated that, as an adolescent, they have been given greater freedom by their parents. Despite the greater freedom they experienced, the majority, however, indicated that they desire even more freedom and independence. A participant expressed his understanding that he has gained greater independence from his parents, but his longing for more freedom and independence was evident in the statement:

"I like the fact that when you become a teenager (...) your parents give you more freedom to do certain things, that you weren't (...) when you were a kid (...) but they also limit the amount of freedom they give you (FG 6, 183)".

This desire for autonomy appeared to be important in participants' identity formation.

In addition to desiring greater freedom, participants indicated that they did not appreciate being told what to do. A participant indicated her desire for autonomy and her dislike with complying with adult rules in the statement: “(...) because she is an adult she thinks she can control my life. That is why I hate being a teenager (...) (FG 1, par 186)”. This highlighted participants’ need for self-control and independence during this developmental stage.

In contrast to the longing for independence it appeared that participants continually desired advice and guidance from others. This illustrated the importance of continual support received from others while becoming more self-reliant. Numerous accounts emphasised the need raised by participants to receive advice on how to manage situations, as well as understanding their identity formation. For example: “(...) she [mother] understands me, she like advise me what to do in that certain obstacle that I’m facing in life (...) (FG 6, par 171)”.

5.2.1.4 Responsibility

In addition to the aforementioned subthemes, the majority of participants indicated that acceptance of responsibility was important in their meaning-making processes. Throughout the accounts, it appeared that the majority of participants were of the opinion that they did not need to take full responsibility for themselves and their actions. This is illustrated in the following statement: “(...) I also enjoy being a teenager because I don’t have a lot of responsibilities (...) (FG 5, par 609)”.

Numerous participants indicated that they were aware that entering the adult stage would be accompanied by taking more responsibility than they currently do. They were aware that adults take responsibility for their children. Shared responsibility was therefore important to the participants. This was illustrated in the following statement: “I want to change because I want to see how hard it is to be a father. To take responsibility for a family, to provide your children with what they want (...) (FG 8, par 354)”.

5.2.1.5 Being altruistic

A concept that many of the participants valued in their description of their identity included being altruistic. Participants described who they are in terms of their selfless and philanthropic traits. Participants’ accounts of their identity included being compassionate, helpful and patient. The following statements “(...) I am a patient person (...) (FG 8, par 7)”

and *“I am caring, kind, understanding (...) (FG 7, par 7)”* illustrated their selfless and compassionate traits.

Being considerate and affording others sympathy appeared to be important factors that participants valued as part of their self-descriptions. The following statement illustrated this: *“(...) I always push myself into other people’s situations and hear their opinions (...) I’m not selfish. I always try to help other people (...) (FG 4, par 11)”*.

A concept related to altruistic characteristics raised by many participants involved the concept of humility. Statements such as: *“I am a very humble person, I’m very down-to-earth, I do not take people for granted (...) (FG 6, par 14)”* and *“I am a very humble person, polite (...) (II 2, par 2)”* indicated that modesty was an important factor in participants’ identity. Being part of the group and not taking others for granted was associated with a humble character.

5.2.1.6 Being studious

Many participants indicated that they viewed themselves as hard working, enjoyed learning and that their curiosity for new information was important in their definition of self. With a statement such as: *“I am a hard worker (...) (FG 8, par 16)”*, a participant summarised his belief in his capabilities to perform the courses of action and achieve the desired successes. Participants also indicated that their intellectual abilities were important in their self-descriptions, as illustrated in: *“(...) I think I am smart, I am some kind of intelligent somewhere (...) (FG 1, par 7)”* and *“(...) I like being challenged (...) because (...) they [challenges] build me (II 2, par 2)”*.

5.2.1.7 Emotional reactivity

The majority of participants indicated that who they are was influenced by emotional experiences and emotional competence. Throughout the accounts it appeared that emotional regulation and giving expression to these emotions was vital in their understanding of who they are. A female participant indicated the confusion and distress she experienced as a result of her labile mood in the statement: *“(...) I don’t know where this thing [outbursts] comes from (...) I always become emotional (FG 3, par 27)”*.

With regards to articulating emotional experiences, numerous participants revealed an interest in writing. This included writing poetry, composing songs and lyrics or keeping a daily journal. These forms of written expression enabled expression of emotions and thoughts. The following statement illustrated this: “(...) *I love to write down, if I am hurt/happy/sad. I write everything down just put it down in pencil (...)* (FG 1, par 3)”.

A male participant indicated that music enabled the expression and management of his emotions with the statement:

“(...) I’m so addicted to listening to rock music (...) I just love listening to it because (...) it just speaks to me in a way - when I’m sad or angry, worried or stressed. I will listen to it, a couple of minutes I’ll be cool (...) (FG 3, par 37)”

Numerous participants indicated that emotional expression using music as medium was important. Music further enabled participants to identify with certain emotions and appeared to normalise participants’ reactions.

Numerous accounts illustrated the experience and importance of humour and fun. Laughter and enjoyment were prominent in participants’ accounts, and appeared to be an important consideration to participants. With statements such as: “(...) *I like to make jokes (...)* (FG 8, par 7)” and “*I’m a person who likes to laugh at most time* (FG 3, par 27)” participants indicated that they enjoyed jokes, were not too serious and believed that they were fun to be around because they brought humour to a situation.

Interestingly, participants regularly indicated that emotional expression was experienced differently by male participants and by female participants. Although not all the male participants experienced judgements when they openly expressed their emotions, regular mention was made of the fact that it was not acceptable for a male to cry. Male participants also experienced that they were expected to be in control of their emotions and not to display any behaviours that could be interpreted as weak. The following statement is evident of this: “*Ok being a guy to me it’s you are not let down by challenges easy just like girls, (...) you do not show your emotions, keep them inside, you try to act strong (...)* (II 2, par 36)”.

Participants’ understanding of their current life stage included claims to get what they want promptly. Instant gratification appeared to be an important consideration and is illustrated in the following statement: “(...) *because when you are a teenager, everything you want (...)*

you make sure you have (FG 1, par 182)". The statement: "*Being a teenager is fun, look, you get what you want from your parents (...) (FG 6, par 229)*" confirmed this.

5.2.1.8 Interests

Participants' interests were important factors in their self-descriptions. These included sport interests as well as interests in music and dance. Preferences and aversions to certain activities were incorporated in participants' views of themselves. The importance of interests is illustrated in the following statements: "*I can say I like sports but not that much, (...) I like drawing when I'm alone, I like reading (...) (FG 3, par 24)*" and "*(...) I love rapping (...) I love many things (FG 7, par 2) (...) like playing sport, especially v-ball [volleyball]. I do hip hop music (...) (FG 7, par 4)*".

5.2.1.9 Physical appearance

Merely a small number of participants described themselves based on their physical appearance and, in particular, their experience of their body shape. Interestingly, all the participants that described themselves in terms of their experience of their body indicated that they were overweight. A participant's physical experience of obesity as well as his experience of not being similar to his peers because of his bodily appearance is evident in the statement: "*(...) of all my friends, I'm the only one who is (...) fat (FG 7, par 31)*".

It was noteworthy that the participants who indicated that their experience of their physical appearance was that of being overweight, all indicated a sense of pride regarding their body shape. This is illustrated in the statements: "*(...) I'm very proud of (...) my body (FG 7, par 31)*" and "*(...) I like being so fat you know (...) (FG 2, par 19)*".

To summarise: From their descriptions in the interviews, it was clear that participants described who they are based on being unique while experiencing certain changes. Their longing for freedom and understanding of shared responsibility were important themes discussed. Being altruistic and studious were important characteristics revealed by the majority of participants. In addition, emotional adjustment, interests and physical appearances were important in participants' self-descriptions.

5.2.2 Being myself in relation to others

This theme clarified participants' accounts of experiencing themselves in terms of relationships and other individuals. Connections to family and friends constituted important factors for participants in their understanding of themselves.

5.2.2.1 Being myself in relation to my family

From participants' descriptions, it was clear that relationships with family were associated with their experiences related to their identity. The most prominent subthemes regarding family and family relationships focused on interactions with parents, as well as relationships with siblings. Interestingly, numerous participants valued their relationships with grandparents (either grandmother or grandfather) as a major consideration. In addition to the interactions with grandparents, relationships with other relatives (e.g. stepparents, aunts, uncles and cousins) were mentioned as important considerations in participants' identity formation. These will be discussed in greater depth in the sections to follow.

a) Parents. Many participants regarded their relationships with their parents as a major consideration in their development. Parents fulfilled a vital role in participants' lived experiences and in shaping participants' sense of self. Parents were often regarded as role models from whom participants learned life lessons. The statement: “(...) *my mom is my mentor (...) She shows me how to do things and how to respect other people (FG 8, par 21)*” illustrated the important role that parents fulfilled in influencing participants.

Participants indicated that their parent(s) endured numerous hardships and challenges, but that their parent(s) persevered and made many sacrifices for them as children. With the statement: “(...) *even though sometimes she [mother] has deep, deep problems (...) she will just say that (...) I will make it (...) she just keeps it inside and say I will make it (...) (FG 1, par 76)*”, a participant described her mother's perseverance over difficult circumstances. The majority of participants admired specific characteristics and traits that were portrayed by their parents. The statement: “(...) *my mom she's a strong woman and very supportive (...) (FG 4, par 33)*” illustrated the focus on parental characteristics in participants' meaning-making processes. These virtues of perseverance and determination were regularly incorporated into participants' concepts of self.

A participant answered the question probing who she regarded as significant in her identity formation process as follows: “(...) *my mother and my father, because they are always there for me (...) support me, encourage me, tell me what to do (...) (FG 8, par 42)*”. Parental advice was valued and was meaningful in participants’ views of their future selves, illustrated by the statement: “(...) *sometimes the advice (...) given by your parents, it’s very important, in terms of building a future for yourself (...) (FG 6, par 291)*”. These statements illustrated participants’ perceptions of the guidance received from parents and the importance thereof. The statement: “*My father that knows me better, cause I am living with him (...) he also know my background, where I come from (...) (FG 4, par 187)*” illustrated the importance of sharing a common history with parents. A shared background with parents impacted participants’ sense of self.

Despite appreciating parental advice and guidance, participants’ repeatedly indicated that they desired greater freedom and independence from their parents. The conflict that regularly occurred between participants and their parents regarding their way of life is evident in the statement: “*My mother wants me to live the way she wants me to live, but I (...) find it difficult (...) I have to take my own path (...) (FG 6, par 286)*”. Another participant summarised his disagreement with parental rules with the statement: “(...) *it don’t work for me (...) in my home there is these rules that I have to follow (...) (FG 8, par 353)*”. Throughout the accounts it seemed that participants viewed parental rules and instructions as restrictions. The statement: “(...) *today’s parents (...) are too strict (...) (FG 2, par 81)*” illustrated the experience of parental stringency.

In contrast to the majority of participants, one participant revealed that he enjoyed depending and relying on his parents. He further indicated that he allowed his parents to select friends for him. This participant stated: “(...) *I want this guy to be friend, I would actually have to send him to my mother and father (...) so that they can tell you [me] that this boy is not right (...) (FG 5, par 118 and par 119)*”.

During the discussions and analyses it became apparent that some parents placed emphasis on their children’s achievements and held high expectations for their children to transform the family situation. Participants incorporated such parental expectations and the responsibility to change the family’s situation into their perceptions of themselves. The impact that expectations placed upon participants, their role in the family, as well as their responsibility

towards changing situations, had on their view of who they are is illustrated in the statement: “(...) *I am going to change my family life (...) (FG 2, par 13)*”. Numerous participants experienced a responsibility towards their parents and strived to be the type of individuals who would be able to better their parents’ living experiences. The statement: “(...) *I am going to work for her. I am going to give her everything (...) that she want in life. Everything that she can’t have when she was young (...) (FG 1, par 77)*” illustrated this.

Summarising the common relational patterns exhibited by participants it was evident that parents perform an important role. Participants admired their parents’ ability to persevere and to be strong, as well as their modesty and self-sacrificing nature. Participants stated that these characteristics motivated them. Another phenomenon related to parents was the importance of having a shared background with parents. Participants further revealed that the responsibility to change their family situation was a noteworthy consideration in their self-descriptions.

b) Siblings. During the discussions, it appeared that relationships with siblings, older as well as younger, were an essential part of participants’ lives. Siblings regularly shared experiences as a result of growing up together.

Participants indicated that they experienced companionship and attachment in their sibling relationships, revealed in the statements: “*I’m very, very close to my sister (...) (FG 7, par 113)*”. Words such as: “(...) *I take him as a friend (...) (FG 6, par 84)*” illustrated one participant’s description of her relationship with her sister. It was apparent that the majority of participants viewed siblings as their friends.

Throughout the accounts, open communication fostered connection to siblings. One participant illustrated how she shared her emotions and thoughts with her sibling: “(...) *we talk everything, like everything (...) (FG 7, par 113)*”.

Numerous participants indicated that they admired their older siblings and that they strived to be like them. Participants emphasised admiration for older siblings’ occupational success. Furthermore, participants reported that siblings’ personal characteristics were incorporated in their own sense of self. The statement: “(...) *he’s the guideline (FG 6, par 84)*” indicated that older siblings acted as role models for many of the participants. The following statement

illustrated the positive impact that older siblings had on participants' view of their future selves.

"(...) he [brother] finished matric and he didn't fail (...) my role model, (...) he didn't have a baby while he was at school, he didn't use drugs, now he is 30, he is now starting to date, he is having a baby and he is going to get married. Now that is what I like, I wish that I will be like him (...)" (FG 2, par 24)"

The relationships that participants described with their siblings regularly included elements of competition, particularly competition related to academic and/or occupational success. One participant stated: *"I think I'd be happy just to show him I can beat him at things (FG 5, par 201)"*. It seemed that competing against siblings and being the victor was meaningful in participants' consideration of who they are.

As previously mentioned, participants are regularly expected to change their family's circumstances and numerous participants identified with this role. Participants revealed that they associated with this role despite not being the eldest child, as stated by one participant: *"My brother, he failed, he didn't pass matric (...) I wanted to fit in his shoes, because he didn't make it (...) he influenced me in such a way (FG 8, par 134)"*. It is, however, also possible that participants actively engaged in competition to be the victorious individual that changes the family's situation as this was emphasised and valued in the household. With a statement such as: *"I would love to be (...) better than her (FG 4, par 29)"*, a participant indicated the importance of being triumphant.

In addition to the elements of competition, participants reported receiving encouragement and motivation from siblings, as illustrated by the statement: *"(...) she motivates me (FG 7, par 113)"*. Participants reported that older siblings, in particular, provided them with advice and support. With the statement: *"(...) my sister, because every time when I have a problem I speaking to her to tell him my problem and trying to solve that problem which I have (...)" (FG 4, par 18)"*, a participant explained the bond he experienced with his sister, as well as the practical assistance she provided. Throughout the accounts it was evident that participants and their siblings regularly shared similar experiences with regard to academic disappointments. This was illustrated in the statement: *"(...) 2011 when I failed Grade 11, well, she motivates me because she also failed in Grade 10, in high school. So she plays a very big role in my life. She motivates me (FG 7, par 113)"*.

Regarding the relationship that participants reported with siblings younger than themselves, participants frequently mentioned that they wanted to be role models for younger siblings. This was illustrated in the statement: *“I don’t want to impress her; I just want (...) her to take an example from me (FG 7, par 107)”*. Participants indicated that they frequently monitored their own behaviour as they were aware of the impact that their negative behaviour might have on their younger siblings.

A common phenomenon was reported in that when participants perceived that their siblings engaged in negative behaviours, they did not thoughtlessly follow the negative example set by their siblings. Participants who considered their siblings’ behaviour as negative rather utilised these actions to monitor their own behaviour. Many participants tried to use siblings’ negative behaviour and consequences in their own decision making not to engage in such negative behaviours. This is illustrated in the statements: *“(...) I have a brother, he confuses me because he told me he’d give me advice and tell me don’t do this, don’t do that, but then he goes and does the same thing (...) (FG 6, par 92)”* and *“(...) I wonder why would he tell me to do this, but then he goes and does the exact opposite, so he doesn’t have an influence in my life anymore (...) (FG 6, par 94)”*.

Summarising the impact siblings had on participants’ perceptions of who they are; it appeared from the transcripts that siblings fulfilled a vital role in participants’ concept of self. Participants shared similar backgrounds with their siblings and reported viewing siblings as friends, as well as receiving encouragement and advice from them. Competition between siblings was frequently mentioned. Despite competition between siblings, participants reported that having older siblings as role models and being role models to younger siblings created meaning in their lives.

c) Extended family members. In addition to parental and sibling relationships, participants revealed that relationships with extended family members were meaningful. Given the fact that numerous participants indicated that they experienced parental loss, it was typical that participants turned to relatives to guide them during their identity formation. Participants provided substantial information regarding their relationships with grandparents, as well as with other family members such as stepparents, uncles and aunts. Interestingly, some participants mentioned their close relationships with their cousins.

The statement: “(...) *she [grandmother] was a good person and a best role model for me (...)* (FG 3, par 51)” illustrated that extended family members were regularly regarded as role models. In addition to being role models, extended family members provided support and encouragement, as illustrated by the statement: “(...) *my aunt because she always encourages me (...)* when I’m down (...) (FG 5, par 93)” as well as “(...) *I would ask my uncle (...)* (FG 5, par 64) (...) *he influences me very much (...), because most of things he does (...)* are good things, that is why I think he influences me to do right decisions (...) (FG 5, par 71)”. Participants mentioned that they admired their relatives for raising them and taking care of them, necessitated as participants’ parents were unable to care for them. The following statements illustrated this: “(...) *my grandmother was there for me in everythings (...)* she raised me with love and care and showed me lots of things (...) (FG 3, par 51)” and “(...) *he [grandfather] is the only man that I know who takes care of me* (FG 3, par 37)”.

During the discussions regarding extended family members the importance of being understood as well as having open communication was confirmed. A participant indicated the importance of non-judgemental communication for her, through the statement: “(...) *my grandmother is like everything to me, because every time I talk to her, (...)* she is the one who understands me (...) (FG 2, par 25)”. The following statement further illustrated the experiences participants had with extended family members and the importance of communication with relatives: “(...) *through (...)* the advice I’ve been getting from my grandfather (...) that I have made the decisions that I have in my life today (FG 6, par 62)”. The meaning that guidance and advice from extended family members held for participants was confirmed in the statement:

“(...) *he looks at his own background, and he tells me what he’s been through and gives me advice. So I get to learn how to live my life in order to make sure that I don’t repeat the same mistakes as he made (...)* (FG 6, par 62)”.

In summary, participants described their experiences with extended family members as meaningful. Extended family members demonstrated characteristics that participants admired, such as perseverance and determination. Key considerations included that relatives cared for, advised and encouraged participants, as well as supported and understood them.

5.2.2.2 *Being myself in relation to peers*

The majority of participants revealed that their experiences with peers and their friendships were meaningful. During the interviews, participants indicated that intimate friendships and shared interests with peers were important, as they could reason and think about the future with peers.

Sharing experiences with friends who were alike, had common interests and had comparable characteristics was important to participants, as illustrated in the statement: *“I also look at a person’s (...) personality, if her personality (...) don’t match mine, I usually separate from that person, because we are opposite, (...) we not going to get along (...) (FG 6, par 72)”*.

A statement such as: *“My friends influence me positively (...) sometimes if I want to do something bad, she tells me that you question (...) don’t do that (...) (FG 7, par 65)”* illustrated that peers provided advice and guidance. It seemed that peers regularly encourage each other and had an impact on participants’ views of who they are, illustrated by the statement: *“(...) my friend always motivate me in the right way (...) (FG 4, par 45)”*.

There was a general preference for peer support and understanding amongst the participants, illustrated by the statement: *“(...) the people your own age (...) can understand you better (FG 5, par 521)”*. A statement such as: *“My friend (...) she knows what hurts me, and what makes me angry (...) (FG 6, par 175)”* confirmed the meaningful experiences provided by receiving understanding from peers. Participants revealed that experiencing a sense of understanding within peer relationships, enabled them to easily share personal information. Open and honest communication was an important criterion in participants’ intimate friendships. The importance of communication was illustrated by statements such as: *“I do talk everything what happens (...) that’s why (...) my friends (...) know me better (FG 4, par 199)”* and *“(...) I like to chill with friends and talk much about life (...) (FG 3, par 24)”*. The latter statement further alludes to the ability of adolescents to reason and think about the future.

Participants stated that it was important that their peers did not judge them. A participant explained that non-judgemental peer relationships were valued by stating: *“My friend understands me best because she’s never judging me (...) (FG 6, par 175)”*.

Participants reported regularly experiencing encouragement from their school peers who shared similar lived experiences, such as focus on school and career success. These shared experiences as well as the shared understanding by school peers, encouraged participants' desire to succeed at school. The following statements illustrate this: “(...) *my classmate they also influence me positively because, they encourage me to do my schoolwork (...) (FG 7, par 65)*” and “(...) *I thought my school friends more important to me because always we discuss cool things about our dreams what we want to be, what we wanna [want to] become some day. (...) (FG 4, par 46)*”.

Interestingly, participants did not always share similar experiences with the friends from who they received advice. One such example was illustrated in the statement:

“(...) my friend does not have parents, so he always told me that you have parents so use that opportunity because when you lose them, you are going to suffer. So try your best as your parents give you that opportunity to go to school and change your life (...) (FG 4, par 45)”.

This statement illustrated that participants often observed others and incorporated advice from others not to make similar mistakes. The statement further illustrated that those individuals who have lost their parents and have had to incorporate this into self-descriptions acted as an inspiration to participants who were taking their environments for granted. This also served to re-emphasise the importance that parents had in participants' identity formation.

Participants regularly engaged in certain behaviours in order to experience a sense of belonging, which appeared to be a major consideration in participants' friendships. In attempts to fit in, participants indicated that they were pressured by friends to engage in destructive behaviours such as substance abuse, visiting taverns, bullying and teasing. The following statements illustrated participants' need to belong to a peer group, not differing from the group and the impact this had on their views of themselves: “(...) *they will put pressure, (...) [asking you] why must you be specific [different] from us, we all the same (FG 5, par 568)*” and “(...) *there you are going to enjoy drinking alcohol (...) that time the friends are influencing you in a bad way (FG 4, par 53)*”.

Some participants were aware of the impact of peer pressure and stated that they managed and resisted such pressure. The ability to resist peer pressure and to be true to personal

beliefs appeared to often be incorporated into the participants' concept of self. Participants indicated that knowing and believing in themselves helped them not to be influenced by their friends. The importance of self-belief and confidence was illustrated in the statement: “(...) *I'm not that easily to influence [influenced] by my friends, because I have my own backbone (FG 5, par 49)*”. Being strong and not succumbing to peer pressure was confirmed by the statement:

“Talking about peer pressure, I think it is easy to say no to your friends. As long as you know who you are and what you want in life. (...) I don't change myself so that I can please them (FG 1, par 45)”

Dating and romantic interests were mentioned during discussions, although relatively few participants were in serious romantic relationships. One participant stated: “*JA, I do like - WOW - I love girls. I would just like wonder how was the world without them you know. I could not imagine the world without them, a wonderful gift from God (FG 4, par 256)*”. This summarises the participant's attentiveness, interest and appreciation of the opposite gender.

It was noteworthy that male and female participants experienced differences regarding their dating experiences, which impacted their view of themselves. The key difference involved the approval that parents gave to their sons' dating, while disapproving of their daughters' dating behaviour. Females stated that their parents are not accepting of their dating relationships and they have to hide dating relationships from their parents, while the majority of males indicated that their parents have to accept this and that they will not hide their dating relationships from their parents. The statements: “(...) *she [mother] must understand now I have girlfriend (...) (FG 7, par 447)*” and “*It's easy for guys to have girlfriends, but as for us girls (...) my mom doesn't know I have a boyfriend and I can't tell her (...) (FG 7, par 450)*” illustrated the difference in gender-related experiences.

Summarising the meaning that peer relationships held in participants' experiences, it was evident that receiving advice and guidance from peers was valued by participants. Participants regularly valued advice from peers who had different life experiences to their own, using these to appreciate their own experiences. School peers were meaningful in providing peer support. Dating and romantic relationships were also discussed as a factor that was meaningful in their peer relationships. Participants desired both a sense of belonging to their peer groups as well as experiencing that they are accepted by their peers.

In conclusion, relationships with parents, siblings, other relatives as well as peers, were regarded as important social bonds. Although each of these relationships was different and unique, mutual meaningful factors emerged. These included the role that others had in participants' desire to be understood and belong, as well as the importance of having open and honest communication and sharing interests, experiences and backgrounds. Furthermore, participants attempted to incorporate the characteristics they observed and admired in others into their self-descriptions.

5.2.3 Being myself in my direct environments

This main theme aimed to capture the idea that participant's sense of self was influenced through support and encouragement, as well as obstacles and challenges in their direct environments. Three subthemes emerged and are described. These are: (1) school, (2) social networks and (3) communities and neighbourhoods.

5.2.3.1 Being a scholar

All of the participants discussed the importance of school and education. The meaning ascribed to education resulted from participants' perception that education transformed and improved circumstances as well as influenced personal characteristics. Education was perceived as a means to gain a sense of empowerment. This is illustrated in the statement: *"When I'm at school, I learn more about things (...) and then (...) I become, I gain, (...) more knowledge, and (...) wisdom (II 2, par 14)"*.

Participants stated that education was an important factor in their desire for leading better-quality lives. This included personal improvement, as well as enhancing family and community circumstances. Participants revealed that schooling and education was a means of developing prosocial personal qualities and virtues, as illustrated in the statement: *"(...) studying hard will make you a better person (...) (FG 3, par 41)"*. The following statements summarised participants' perceptions that schooling and education were related to feelings of liberation: *"(...) without education there is no life (FG 8, par 503)"* and *"(...) if you don't have (...) education, you are nothing (...) (FG 6, par 82)"*. The aforementioned statements further provided strong evidence that participants highly valued education. The status of being a scholar was meaningful for participants, as is evident in the statement: *"(...) the whole community is looking at you, you are the mirror (...) (FG 2, par 221)"*.

During the discussions it appeared that education was considered as a means for participants to accomplish family members' expectations related to the improvement of their family situations. Participants explicitly stated that they perceived that education can lead to improved living, as stated: “(...) *it will make your life better (...) (FG 3, par 41)*”.

Throughout the discussions, participants indicated their desire for greater independence and autonomy in their school environment. Comments such as: “(...) *I don't like school and (...) I am trapped (...) (FG 1, par 92)*”, “(...) *when someone tells me to study (...) I don't like being told, sometimes just like doing things at my own time (...) (FG 3, par 37)*” and “(...) *school is torture straight up (FG 3, par 208)*”, illustrated participants' desire for greater independence as well as their resistance against authority.

An interesting theme arose regarding the difference between Grade 11 and Grade 12 learners and their self descriptions, particularly related to their grade status. The majority of Grade 12 participants indicated that matric required more focus, demanded more of them and that they experienced more stress than during their Grade 11 year. The following statements provided strong evidence for this: “(...) *I told myself I am in matric, having to like it or not I have to end old habits [negative], I have to adapt (...) (FG 2, par 218)*” and “*The moment when I realise I was going to be a matriculant, I was shaking (...) matric has a lot of work to do (...) (FG 2, par 217)*”.

Many participants indicated that they were the first member of their family to reach Grade 12 and that this status was associated with both challenges and benefits. The importance that is placed on education and especially the status of being a Grade 12 learner was illustrated in the statement: “*As the first born at home, I'm the first one to be in matric, of my parents' children (...) it's like I'm running the world in the house (...) (FG 7, par 178)*”.

5.2.3.2 Social networks

In the discussions participants indicated that they value social networking and that they regularly used social networks to express who they are. As adolescence is a time during which popularity, trends and fitting in is important, belonging to social networks was important to participants. Statements such as: “(...) *it [social networking] is so much cool (...) (FG 1, par 56)*” illustrated the popularity of social networks.

Numerous participants reported that they belonged to several social networks, confirming the importance of belonging in participants' lived experiences. Social networks enabled participants to remain connected to others despite being physically separated. Evidence of participants' desire to remain connected to others and to experience a sense of belonging is found in the statement: *"I chat [on social networks], I think it helps me in a way that when I'm at home, I feel like I'm still with my friends (...) as if they sitting right here next to me (...) (FG 7, par 528)"*.

Participants reported that they felt understood during interactions on social networks. A statement such as: *"(...) we share everything, how you feel, what you doing (...) (FG 1, par 56)"* revealed participants' eagerness to openly share their views of who they are with their social networks. Social networks were also used as a platform for sharing and expressing emotional experiences.

Many participants experienced the anonymity provided by social networks as meaningful. It became evident during discussions that social networks were desirable because participants could create different personas on these networks. These different personas were experimented with on various networks with unfamiliar individuals in an anonymous setting, allowing participants greater freedom for experimentation. The following statement revealed participants' experience of anonymity on social networks: *"(...) I enjoy chatting with these people I don't know (...) I feel comfortable with chatting with them, with knowing each other. I think the topic is more into the people you don't know, other than chatting with the people (...) (FG 1, par 69)"*.

While participants conveyed the benefits of social networks, they were aware of the inherent dangers. Participants mentioned the detrimental consequences that social networking might have had on their school and educational success: *"You can be too into it [social networks], you wouldn't focus at school, spend most of the time at home chatting [on the social networks] instead of chilling with the friends who actually advise you to focus on your books (FG 3, par 177)"*.

The statements: *"(...) people no longer use facebook, YouTube, or twitter, or MySpace, in a positive way (...) (FG 2, par 169)"* and *"(...) the thing about social network, today is that it's filled with predators instead of people who can build the society (...) (FG 2, par 173)"*

provided evidence that participants potentially held negative associations with social networks. Some of the participants viewed being part of a social network as destructive rather than building their society.

5.2.3.3 *Communities and neighbourhoods*

Participants spent a large part of the discussion talking about communities and neighbourhoods. It was evident that participants realised that community and neighbourhood members were meaningful in their lived experiences related to identity. The aforementioned was illustrated by the statement: “(...) *I think you need these things [community] to shape you (...) (FG 8, par 443)*”.

Participants’ desire for acceptance and understanding was confirmed in discussions regarding communities and neighbourhoods. A participant indicated: “*For me there is another father in our street (...) sometimes I spend my whole days with him (...) (FG 8, par 76)*”. He thereby revealed the meaning of being understood by a community member and experiencing a sense of belonging. Participants talked about the security they experienced in the company of community and neighbourhood members who provided understanding and acceptance.

Community and neighbourhood members’ motivation and guidance were instrumental in participants’ development. The following statement illustrated this: “*In my community there are some of them that are very helpful to me (...) those who always motivate me to always attend school (...) (FG 4, par 78)*”. Despite not being relatives, the importance of community members is confirmed in the statement:

“I think they [community members] are good influence because (...) even though it’s not their real parent, they can tell you (...) do this and do that - to show you the right ways. They can influence you to do good things. They can advise (...) (FG 3, par 241)”

The challenges and negative influences within communities and neighbourhoods influenced the participants’ experience of their communities and neighbourhoods. Based on participants’ desire to belong, it should be highlighted that certain negative influences within the community provided participants with a sense of belonging. These experiences included exposure to violence, crime, as well as drugs and other forms of substance abuse. It appeared that communities and neighbourhoods encouraged and allowed such behaviours, as illustrated

by the statements: “(...) *I get to the tavern and get drunk (...) such bad thing (...) (FG 5, par 97)*” and “(...) *now we have criminals with records and all that stuff (FG 3, par 91)*”.

In conclusion, participants’ experiences with their direct environments, included the meaning participants attached to being a scholar and, in particular, to being a Grade 12 learner. Social networks were avenues for participants to experiment and express themselves and allowed a sense of belonging. Participants further incorporated factors associated with their communities and neighbourhoods and revealed that community and neighbourhood members regularly influenced their lived experiences related to identity.

5.2.4 Being myself within my set of principles

In this theme participants’ experience of developing a sense of self while adhering to their values, morals, ethics and principles, was described. A set of principles guides behaviour and decisions, as well as shapes the way the world is viewed. Two guiding sets of principles that participants regularly mentioned were culture and religion. Morals and values appeared to be topics that the majority of participants were regularly confronted with. It seemed that the participants experienced numerous moral dilemmas and that one of their greatest concerns within these dilemmas concerned acting upon their principles. In this study, the majority of participants revealed that they wanted to do the “right thing” in every situation they encountered. Participants appeared to have accepted their cultures’ and/or religions’ set of principles regarding right and wrong and strived to live accordingly. Based on participants’ desire to always act in the “right way”, their moral development and decision making is suggested to be at a stage that is focused on other individuals as well as on following rules.

5.2.4.1 Being cultural

The following section aims to highlight the importance of culture in participants’ lived experiences related to identity. Culture was a meaningful factor in participants’ perceptions of who they are, as confirmed by the statement:

“I think culture is your roots of yourself. Who you are and who you come from and it balance yourself as one. It maintain the personality and everything about yourself, it is everything that can definitely describe who you are (...) (FG 4, par 111)”

Participants revealed that it was vital to have cultural knowledge in order to have self-knowledge. Interestingly the majority of participants were unable to describe their culture in

detail and indicated that their knowledge of their culture is lacking. If cultural knowledge was important in knowing who you are, the implications of not knowing your culture for self-knowledge should be considered.

Although some participants valued traditions and rituals, others indicated that they did not consider shared experiences and history in the form of rituals and traditions as meaningful. The statement: *“In our culture when you have a ceremony (...) I hate that. I really hate that (FG 4, par 140)”* provided evidence of the strong negative experiences some participants encountered when engaging with their cultural rituals and traditions. While numerous participants valued the importance of traditions and rituals, participants also frequently revealed that they did not enjoy these rituals. Participants who did not enjoy partaking in rituals did not identify strongly with who they were in relation to their culture: *“(...) sometimes I get bored being a black person (...) and I don't even like those ancestor and stuff (...) (FG 5, par 382)”*.

During the discussions, the concept of being cultural was unequivocally associated with being African. However, participants had difficulty with the concept of *being African* as the majority experienced difficulty in answering the question: ‘What does it mean to be an African?’ Participants’ experiences of being African involved feelings of pride and respect, as evidenced in the statement: *“(...) we are proud people. We have a pride. We are the strong people (FG 3, par 84)”*.

The participants regularly stated that being an African was a birth right and not based on skin colour, evident in a comment such as: *“(...) those who are been born here, whatever you have like culture, religion (...) As long born here, that blood of being South African (...) (FG 2, par 120)”*.

Reflecting on being African, some participants indicated that it is associated with being black. During the discussions a form of in-group versus out-group dynamics was observed, with the white culture constituting the out-group. This is illustrated in the statement:

“Well for me the thing that makes (...), black people to be African is that we have norms and values and white people don't have norms and values (FG 5, par 313) (...) for example we know that black people do traditional weddings, and white people do white weddings (...) we are different from each other (FG 5, par 320)”

Being African and associating with a larger cultural group involved a shared history, mutual traditions, rituals and ancestors. Sharing these traditions and having had a group that understood their history were reported as being valued by the participants. A participant provided evidence regarding his cultural experience and the knowledge that he belongs and is accepted by his group in the statements: “(...) *doing your traditional things, cultural things (...) (FG 7, par 319)*” and “(...) *It is just what black people have to do (FG 7, par 406)*”. Participants further indicated that they were aware that certain actions and behaviours were accepted within their cultural group, while not understood and accepted by other cultural groups. During the discussions it was evident that participants valued culturally shared experiences and the shared history with other members of their cultural group. These shared experiences enabled a sense of belonging.

Participants clearly related and associated certain aspects with the experience of being African. Participants were convinced that certain languages, foods and eating habits, as well as music and dancing were associated with being African.

It appeared that a major consideration regarding participants’ sense of self was associated with the language that they speak, confirming the importance of language. The statement: “(...) *for me (...) as long as I can speak [my African language], I can see I am fine (FG 1, par 119)*” illustrated this. Participants indicated that, if their language changed, their lived experiences would be different and that their notion of themselves would change. The importance of language in participants’ perceptions of being African was illustrated by the statement: “*For me that (...) as a white person the thing that will define you as an African (...) to adopt the languages. Having to adopt languages, that will make you be seen as that [though] you are coming from Africa (...) (FG 2, par 121)*”.

An interesting aspect that was frequently raised in the discussions was the role that food and eating habits played in the participants’ views of themselves as African. Frequently referred to as an intimate act, numerous participants indicated that food and eating practices were vital in their understanding of themselves as African, evident in the following statement:

“(...) *looking the culture, there are various (...) rules of eating habits, for example we as the Tswana person, there are food that were meant that were not meant to be given to children, for example, eggs because eggs are bad. As a child you don’t have to eat eggs, whilst if you eat eggs (...) it will sexually activate you (FG 2, par 129)*”

In addition to language and food, the participants indicated that music and dance were part of their experience of being an African. The statement: “(...) *how we do our music and stuff (...) means for me to be African (FG 7, par 296)*” summarised the meaning that music held in participants’ sense of self. The following statement confirmed the importance of music and African dancing in participants’ experiences of being African:

“African music have drums and I think being an African, it’s how you are capable of (...) traditional dance (...) when you’re an African lady or an African man (...) you go mad [the music takes control of you] - you want to dance, you want to do something. That is what an African is (FG 7, par 331)”

The majority of participants experienced that their culture and traditions provided them with guiding principles related to their behaviour and development. One such experience that was regularly discussed involved attending an initiation school. In the statement: “(...) *in our culture each and every women (...) should go there [initiation school] (...) they teach us how to be a woman and what a woman should do (...) (FG 4, par 129)*”, a participant revealed the importance of initiation schools and how such advice, based on cultural morals and principles, are important in self-knowledge. One participant gave a very interesting interpretation of his understanding of initiation schools: “(...) *before [prior to and during apartheid] (...) there were no LO [Life Orientation], there were no schools, they didn’t teach LO and stuff, so they would go to the mountain, they would be taught (...) (FG 6, par 273)*”. In South African schools, Life Orientation lessons cover themes such as: effective coping mechanisms and conflict management, how to maintain a healthy self-esteem as well as sex education. Through comparing LO classes and initiation schools, the participant’s perception is that initiation schools teach black African adolescents the important lessons, life skills and knowledge that they need to live according to the principles of their culture.

In discussing experiences related to culture and the influences of culture, Westernisation and modernisation were important and frequently mentioned factors. Participants indicated that they regularly experienced challenges as a result of Westernisation and modernisation. Participants function in schools and societies that are more globalised and modernised than the institutions that govern their African cultures. Their family and role models regularly do not engage with the Western culture to the extent that the participants do. Therefore the majority of participants experienced difficulty assimilating Western culture with their more traditional African cultures. Generational changes and the consequences of assimilation were

mentioned, and appeared to impact participants' views of themselves. The statement: “(...) *as the generation changes (...) we like the fancy things you know. They do not care about the cultures anymore (FG 4, par 126)*” illustrated the impact of modernisation. From the discussions it was evident that many participants experienced difficulties in managing and assimilating Western and tradition cultures. The statements: “(...) *some black people also try to change. That's why they don't believe in their culture, they have lost their roots (...) (FG 1, par 106)*” summarised participants' views that Westernisation alienated individuals from their culture, thereby negatively influencing participants. The experience of Westernisation was, however, not solely interpreted as having negative meanings for participants. A participant indicated that, despite becoming more Westernised, he continued to associate with the African culture. Being African was incorporated in this participant's self-description despite his Western traditions:

“No I consider myself an African but I adopted the style of America (FG 7, par 303). Well I don't think it's important for your children to learn how to 'boka' themselves [have cultural knowledge], because (...) white people don't have it, and they still know who they are and where they came from. So I don't think it's that important because I know myself, and I don't really know it [his cultural knowledge] (...) (FG 7, par 387)”

To summarise the themes related to participants' cultural experiences; while some participants valued cultural knowledge, others did not ascribe meaning to their cultural traditions and rituals. Being cultural was found to be related to being African. While numerous participants perceived being African as a birth right, others indicated that it was associated with being black. Participants' sense of belonging to a group who have a shared history as well as shared traditions and rituals was important. Concepts that were related to being African included languages, food, music and dancing. Cultural practices such as initiation schools were frequently mentioned in relation to being African. Westernisation was an important factor influencing their cultural experiences.

5.2.4.2 *Being religious*

Most participants mentioned that religion and, in particular, Christian principles and values as well as the Bible were meaningful to them.

Religious values and teachings were used by many of the participants in guiding their behaviour. Participants indicated the incorporation of Christian values into their concept of who they are, as stated in: “(...) *my personality (...) is mostly influenced by the Bible (...) (FG 6, par 115)*” and “(...) *I’m a Jesus freak (II 2, par 2)*”. The participants revealed that their life’s purpose as well as their future selves were guided by religion. Purpose in life, from a Christian stance, appeared to be meaningful, as suggested by the statement: “*Because when God created you He has a purpose (...) (FG 3, par 115)*”.

One participant answered the probing of who was the biggest influence in his identity formation, with the strong statement: “*The Bible, that is what influences me the most, because now I get my positive image from the Bible (...) (FG 2, par 29)*”. Participants revealed that they found meaning in being guided by religion and that the virtues and characteristics promoted in the Bible were important to them. The statement: “(...) *the Bible, it gives you advice that will build you as a person (...) (FG 6, par 291)*” affirmed that participants incorporated religious beliefs into their notion of who they are.

As with the other groups that the participants belonged to, belonging to a Christian community provided participants with a sense of belonging, a feeling of being understood, and afforded them the opportunity to share experiences with other individuals. The statement: “(...) *church is part of my community, it does do a hell of a job when it comes to motivation (...) (FG 7, par 203)*” affirmed the importance of a sense of belonging to a religious group. The participants mentioned that they experienced support and encouragement from their church community.

With statements such as: “*So if you’re Christian, things like that [cultural traditions] they don’t really matter (...) (FG 6, par 258)*” and “(...) *actually I don’t believe in ancestors or what, I’m just unique, I just believe in Jesus Christ (...) (FG 5, par 278)*” participants revealed the impact that Christianity had on their experience with the African culture. These statements illustrated participants’ experiences with the African culture that was sometimes in contradiction with religious experiences. Participants frequently reported experiencing difficulty in assimilating traditional African culture with Christianity. Some participants were very clear in their choice between following religious values and cultural values, as evident in the statement: “*In the Bible will see that it cannot serve two masters, so I think it is*

either you choose that you do your rituals every morning, or you believe in God (...) (II 2, par 116) (...) it's a choice you make (II 2, par 118)".

To summarise, participants valued religion, particularly Christianity, lessons from the Bible and the guidance and advice received from the religious community. Although many participants indicated that religion is the biggest influence in shaping their identities, many participants experienced the contradictions between religion and being cultural.

5.3 Alternative themes

The following section presents the lived experiences of three participants who experienced particular events or circumstances that had not been experienced by other participants. The themes arising from these participants' lived experiences, illustrated that non-normative, uncommon or unexpected events can have a unique impact on individuals' development. Although some of the lived experiences of these participants were similar to that of other participants, their lived experiences were coloured by their specific events. This section further serves to raise awareness that alternative experiences and non-normative influences can impact individuals' views of themselves and self-descriptions.

5.3.1 Being a teenage mother

This participant's story was centred around having a baby during her Grade 11 year, after which she continued her education. Although many of the participants had discussed teenage parenting and the difficulties thereof, this participant's first-hand experiences provided a more in-depth understanding of the meaning-making processes involved in having a baby during adolescence.

Being a teenage mother, and her sense of self, was overshadowed by the fact that she has had a different experience to most of her peers. She stated: *"I will describe myself - as a teenager I have faced many challenges, like those things that I was not supposed to face. I had a baby (...) (FG 2, par 13)".*

The experience of being a teenage mother forced this participant to become more mature and act like an adult sooner than her peers.

"(...) when you are a girl, you are doing girl stuff, like playing, going around like having that company of girls [peers], who influences you (...) when I was a girl (...) I

didn't enjoy my teenager because of what happened like having a baby (...) Now I have changed a lot, my mind has been changed (...) so then I change, just change (...) because now I am no more a girl, I have baby (...) having a baby (...) you are changing totally, you don't act like the girl (...) (FG 2, par 150)"

She reported experiencing numerous judgements from friends, their parents and the rest of the community. Her experience of such judgemental interactions impacted her sense of self in a unique manner. It seemed that she was rejected because of the fact that she was pregnant and that parents in her community felt that, in order to protect their own children, contact with a pregnant friend had to be broken. This in turn influenced the participant's experience of friendship and influenced the role that peer relationships and support had on her identity formation.

"I don't have friends, like all the friends that I had, they just (...) left me while I got pregnant (...) and their parents use to tell them if you with her you are going to get pregnant too. Don't be that same (...) you are an adult you are going to teach our child bad things (...) (FG 2, par 32)"

The incorporation of the role of mother into her self-description influenced her experience of dating and romantic relationships. She placed more emphasis on relationships in self perception, than did the majority of other participants. The impact that adolescent motherhood has had on her perceptions of romantic relationships is illustrated by the statements:

"(...) I was a girl. I use to play, having this boyfriend and then that one. Now my mind is like a woman, I want a serious relationship (...) (FG 2, par 150)" and "(...) when you are a woman, you want a serious relationship (...) you want someone who is going to take care of you (...). Like now, I don't want to date children, children at school. I want to date people at university, who have a mind, who have a future, who are going to treat me like that (...) (FG 2, par 150)"

It was interesting to notice that, similar to other participants, she expected being taken care of in a romantic relationship.

Throughout her discussion it appeared that she experienced a lot of pressure from her parents to perform academically. The pressure placed on her to be a success as well as the fact that

she succeeded despite her pregnancy were major considerations in her sense of self. It seemed that it was her parents' support that enabled her to continue her education.

"(...) my parents (...) teach me that you [I] didn't have to lose hope. Whatever happens [the pregnancy] it is a mistake. It was not the aim [intention]. (...) I came to school whilst I am having a baby and now I am in matric (...) (FG 2, par 13)"

Interestingly, it was evident that despite being an adolescent mother, education, being a Grade 12 learner and occupational success remained important themes for her.

Thus, being a teenage mother prompted this participant to incorporate various factors into her sense of self that the other participants did not. She experienced herself as more mature, stronger and having persevered. It was evident that her alternative experience played a major role in her perception of herself.

5.3.2 Being unwanted

This particular participant recently discovered that she was an illegitimate child. She was further informed that her father wanted to make the decision to abort the pregnancy. The participant indicated that: *"My dad said - oh no, that 'aint my child (...) abort that children [child] (II 1, par 76)"*. She further indicated that she was told: *"(...) you are not supposed to be here (...) (II 1, par 78)"*. Feeling unwanted, she appeared to be experiencing difficulties with emotional regulation, as well as strain within her relationship with her father. She struggled with understanding her life's purpose and with forming a coherent sense of self, as the belief that she should not have been born prevailed.

At a time when sense of belonging and acceptance are vital to identity formation, this participant is interpreting the suggested termination of her mother's pregnancy by her father as a significant factor in her sense of self. Feeling that she does not belong, nor is she accepted, special or unique in anyway, increased her confusion and the meaning she ascribed to herself. She carried a very negative perception of who she is, indicating: *"(...) this is the reason why I hate me (...) (II 1, par 82)"*.

While emotional regulation was a challenge to most participants, this participant in particular experienced difficulty with her emotional reactions. She indicated that her immediate reaction to the news was destructive: *"(...) when she [aunt] told me, I was, I don't know - intimidated, got angry, started smashing things (II 1, par 76)"*. Although these reactions

could be seen as understandable, this participant, who placed high value on exhibiting a calm demeanour, was experiencing great difficulty in making meaning from her emotional reactions.

It appeared that the participant interpreted the fact that she was once not wanted into every aspect of her current self-description. She felt responsible for creating the situation that her family is in. She indicated: *“You know at times, if something (...) bad happens, if I wasn’t there it wasn’t going to happen. So why is it happening? Cause I am passed [I was born] because I am not supposed to be here (II 1, par 80)”*. The participant revealed that she accepts responsibility for the bad events that occur in her family’s environment indicating that it is her fault.

The news the participant recently received influenced her relationship with her father, as illustrated in the comments: *“(...) I will really tell my dad like I hate you (...) (II 1, par 82)”*, and *“(...) every time I see him, he will do something stupid (...) (II 1, par 82)”*.

Her perception of being unwanted further influenced her social relationships and interactions with peers of the opposite gender. She stated with a lot of anger in her voice: *“Then every time I see a boy, just a boy doing something stupid, I want to hit him (II 1, par 78)”*. Her dating experiences have been impacted by feeling unwanted as well as her aggression towards her father. She explained: *“(...) this is the reason why I am single (...) (II 1, par 78)”*, which emerged as an important theme in the rest of her discussion.

In highlighting this alternative experience, it is evident that receiving news of such a nature at a time that an individual is forming and experimenting with various possible identities is detrimental. The participant not only struggled with emotional regulation and scholastic performance following this incident, she also altered her behaviour towards individuals of the opposite gender. She herself at times believed that she was not supposed to be here. During her discussion, it seemed that this non-normative experience, according to which she defined herself, preoccupied her perception of who she is.

5.3.3 Being addicted to a substance

This participant shared the experience of being addicted to drugs and the difficulty she experienced in becoming sober. Although many of the participants discussed the detrimental

consequences of alcohol and drug usage in their communities, this participant provided reports of personal experiences. She was able to provide a greater understanding of the meaning-making processes involved in being an adolescent drug user.

The participant indicated that she experienced herself as a regular adolescent, but that the changes involved in entering high school, as well as the changes of adolescence, drastically influenced her concept of who she is. This is illustrated in her statement: *“I’m a nice person, like to socialise with other people, (...) and I’m a (...) good person. But starting to be in high school made me change, I’m changed, I’m not like this [nice and good anymore] (...) (FG 3, par 3)”*.

She indicated that: *“(...) I thought committing suicide, is the best thing to do (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*, explaining how emotionally overwhelmed she felt. Still, she maintained a vision for the future and her beliefs in her life’s purpose and own ability to persevere and conquer this challenge prevailed: *“(...) I’ll be better. I will come across it [through it] (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*. Similar to the other participants, this participant indicated an intense desire to belong. Her peer group was very important and she wanted to feel accepted. It is through her interaction with peers that she was introduced to substances. She stated: *“(...) I’ve got bad friends. Bad friends who got bad influence. They (...) involved in drugs, so I was involved too (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*. The participant was not able to withstand the peer pressure and was persuaded to start using drugs. She discussed how her drug usage and her inability to withstand the pressure from her friends alienated her and made her unique. She stated: *“(...) that’s what makes me different (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*.

Who she is in relation to her family, was greatly influenced by her drug usage. She stated: *“(...) and I fought with my father. My brother (...) was beating me for smoking (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*. This statement illustrated not only the brutality and intolerance of her family towards her addiction, but also provides information regarding her sense of self within this family system. Feelings of support and encouragement appeared to be provided by her mother: *“(...) my mother said killing yourself is like being a coward (...) (FG 3, par 5)”*.

The understanding of being strong, persevering and overcoming challenges appeared to be important to this participant and she viewed these personal characteristics as vital in

overcoming her addiction. She might have given up hope if she did not view herself as capable of beating her addiction and prevailing over her problems.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter the main and subthemes resulting from the data analysis were described. The first main theme described participants' experience of being themselves. Participants' experiences in relation to others, such as parents, siblings, extended family members and peers, were also discussed. Participants lived experiences in their direct environments, including their school, communities and neighbourhoods were also described. Lastly, participants lived experiences in relation to their African culture and to their religion were presented. The chapter concludes with alternative themes describing the influences of non-normative experiences on selected participants. In the next chapter the themes presented here are discussed in relation to the literature.

Chapter 6 – Discussion of results

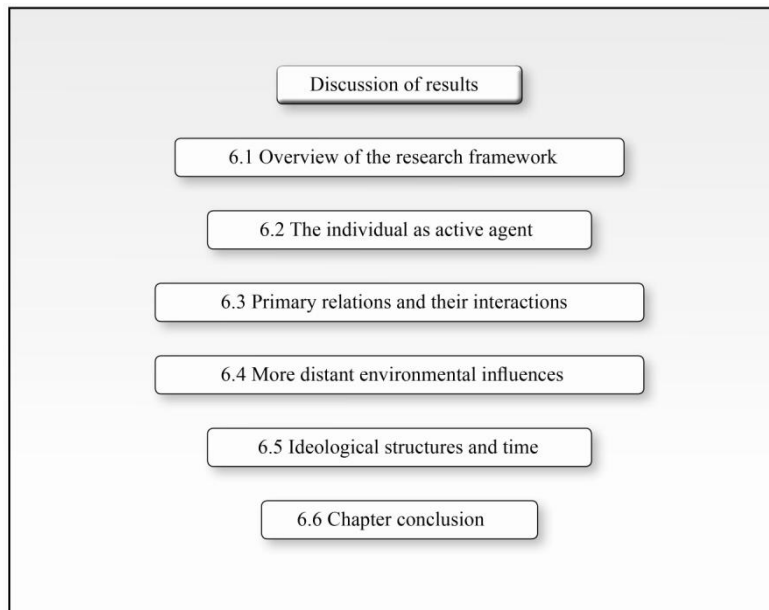


Figure 7. Visual display of Chapter 6 outline

As illustrated in Figure 7, the emerging themes in conjunction with existing research and literature will be discussed, and presented according to the research framework, i.e. ecological systems theory. A brief overview of the research framework is provided, followed by the themes pertaining to participants' lived experiences regarding their identity. Participants' understanding of who they are will be discussed first, as the role of the developing individual is of the utmost importance. Following the discussion of individuals as active participants, settings in participants' micro- and mesosystems that are of significance in their lived experiences related to their identity are discussed. This is followed by the themes, pertaining to the macro- and exosystems, which were influential in participants' lived experiences relating to their identity. Lastly, based on the drastic social changes occurring in South Africa, the chronosystemic elements will be discussed.

6.1 Overview of the research framework (ecological systems theory)

In this study adolescent development is conceptualised using Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. According to Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998), development occurs when individuals actively interact with their environments (the famous concepts of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem). These interactions have been described as reciprocal and to become progressively more complex as development progresses (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Tudge et al., 2009). In addition to the environmental

influences, developing individuals create meaning based on all of their experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Darling, 2007). Individuals' biologically influenced characteristics are of significance in their interaction with the surrounding environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994). Bronfenbrenner further stated that individuals' background, past experiences, positive and negative life events, and personal belief systems influence their lived experience and sense of self (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 2005; Hogg, 2001). Darling (2007) stated that three important themes emerged from Bronfenbrenner's work, namely: the individual who actively participates in and with various environments, the social and historical context, and the notion that developmental processes cannot be understood in isolation.

The themes that emerged in this study are substantiated by the aforementioned statements in that participants discussed aspects of development related to each of the developmental contexts (microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem). The active role of participants in their own development was evident. Results from this study further emphasised the importance of the interconnection and interaction between systems in participants' lived experiences related to their identity.

Participants in this study were engaged in the difficult task of identity formation whilst the changing social and historical environments influenced the active role they take in their own development. As has been stated throughout this study, identity reaches prominence during adolescence (and emerging adulthood) (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz, 2005). Identity consists of many different, related, and yet constantly changing dimensions including personal, social, ethnic and gender identity and cannot be understood in isolation (Erikson, 1969; Schwartz, 2001). It has been indicated that black African youth in South Africa are influenced by dramatic changes related to their social realities, and that this contributes greatly to their lived experiences in the role confusion versus identity cohesion stage (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). In South Africa currently, coming to grips with and maintaining who you are, is a difficult task (Alberts, 2000).

As is accepted in studies utilising IPA, new literature in addition to that covered by the literature review may be utilised. Smith and colleagues (2009) stated that "it is in the nature of IPA that the interview and analysis will have taken you into new and unanticipated territory" (p. 113). Limited qualitative studies have examined the construct of identity formation of black African adolescents, especially in the Motheo district, and it was therefore

anticipated that the current study would add to existing knowledge in this area. In the sections to follow the emergent themes are presented according to Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory.

6.2 The individual as active agent

In the following section the key findings regarding participants' experience of themselves will be considered and discussed in relation to the existing theory. Participants presented with development in biological, social and psychological domains, all influenced by their current developmental stage and abilities. Participants experienced this stage as a time of change, as well as a time of contradictions. The key ambiguities that emerged included the following themes: Participants have greater abstract reasoning abilities, but they continue to focus on the concrete. Participants' awareness of the tasks they have to complete, as well as their attentiveness towards a sense of self, was opposed to their experience of confusion during this stage. Another theme that illustrated this time of paradox included participants' self-centred focus which was opposed to their aspirations for being altruistic. Participants longed for autonomy, while simultaneously seeking guidance and advice from others. They further desired more freedom whilst wanting to share responsibility with parents or other adults. Participants wanted to be viewed as unique individuals, which appears to have contradicted their desire for social recognition and support. Participants' experience of emotional turmoil appeared to have challenged their attempts at emotional regulation. Lastly, despite the fact that literature regarding adolescence associated this stage with a preoccupation with biological changes, participants in this study did not emphasise their biological experiences. In the sections below, the above-mentioned themes are discussed. The major domains of development, together with the difficulty experienced in balancing no longer being a child, but not yet being an adult, are illustrated.

The participants highlighted change on psychological, social and spiritual levels, in respect to their sense of self. As stated by a participant: “(...) *change is good for a person, you can't stay the same person as you were when you were young (FG 6, par 109)*”. Participants were aware of their growth and maturation. They recognised that they no longer thought or acted as they did during their childhood years. The majority of discussions pertaining to their sense of self included participants' attempts at making meaning of who they are as a result of these changes. Participants further recognised that their relationships and the manner in which they

defined themselves had changed. Participants indicated an awareness that additional changes in their sense of self would occur as they enter adulthood. Despite the fact that no universal definitions for adolescence are proposed in existing literature, the majority of definitions discussed in Chapter 2 included that adolescence is a time of rapid change (Arnett, 2000; Hall, 1904; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2004; Lerner & Steinberg, 2004; Steyn, 2006). The popularised terms used to define adolescence include terms such as transition to adulthood, a period of storm-and-stress, and maturations into adulthood (Berk, 2001; Hall, 1904; Larson & Wilson, 2004). Participants experienced the occurring changes as a significant factor of their current development stage, and discussed numerous multifaceted and related changes involved in their transformation. As stated, adolescence regularly involves a kaleidoscope of experiences, a stage of interrelated and complex processes and changes. These changes and processes occur on and from various systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Newman & Newman, 2011). Participants' experiences of this stage as; stormy, stressful, restrictive and/or constantly changing are therefore supported by the aforementioned existing literature.

In addition to experiencing adolescence as a time of change, participants reported numerous discrepancies and opposing experiences, characterising this developmental stage as a time of contradictions. Participants frequently produced statements about their identity that included inconsistent and incoherent accounts. This confusion experienced by participants is confirmed by research (Erikson, 1968; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). The psychosocial stage of development, according to Erikson (1968), occurring during adolescence is identity versus role-confusion. The majority of adolescents will experience conflicting feelings between identity and confusion. Berk (2003) stated that the generalisations that adolescents make regarding their identity are regularly contradictory and not interrelated. As adolescence is often viewed as a time during which commitments are exploratory and tentative (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Marcia, 1966; Phoenix & Rattansi, 2005; Schwartz, 2001; 2005), participants' contradictory experiences and descriptions can be understood as they are engaging in numerous opposing activities without making firm commitments. According to Marcia (1966), adolescents are often granted a window of opportunity, referred to as the identity moratorium stage, during which commitments are either absent or are only vaguely defined (Schwartz, 2001; 2005; Marcia, 1966).

It appeared that the majority of participants experienced an increase in cognitive development and ability to reason abstractly, for example: participants attempted to integrate opposing

characteristics and began to form more abstract trait-like concepts to describe themselves. They attempted to include more psychological characteristics and social relationships than merely describing their physical traits. These included but were not limited to: “(...) *I have multi-characters (...) (FG 2, par 58)*”, “*I am one of a kind (...) (II 2, par 130)*”, “(...) *I am a patient person (...) (FG 8, par 7)*”, and “*I am a very humble person, polite (...) (II 2, par 2)*”. Additionally, participants were capable of indicating that they are able to reflect on their sense of self. Participants’ level of cognitive development is evident of what Piaget (1950) theorised as formal operational thinking. With formal operational thinking, more advanced cognitive challenges are initiated and greater abstract thinking is enabled. Cognitive development enables the capacity to engage in introspection, resulting in increased self-consciousness (Amsel & Smetana, 2011; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001; Piaget, 1950). The search for answers during adolescence in conjunction with cognitive maturity encourages greater abstract understanding of the self, and self-concepts become more developed and organised (Bacchini & Magliulo, 2003). Despite the increase in participants’ cognitive abilities and abstract description of their identity and experiences, participants experienced difficulty with their self-descriptions. This difficulty could be experienced because participants continue to experience certain cognitive limitations, not yet having reached adult maturity, as full cognitive control and advanced reflection abilities are only expected in adulthood (Giedd et al., 2006; Lenroot & Giedd, 2006).

Numerous discrepancies were reported by participants with regard to their sense of self, discussed in the subsequent sections. Throughout the discussions it appeared that participants continued to be self-absorbed and self-centred: “(...) *everything you want (...) you make sure you have (FG 1, par 182)*”. However, participants’ self-centred focus appeared to be contradicted by their desire to be altruistic. A participant described her altruistic characteristics as follows: “(...) *I’m not selfish. I always try to help other people (...) I always push myself into other people’s situations and hear their opinions (...) I always try to help other people (...) (FG 4, par 11)*”. Participants’ desire to be altruistic is corroborated by research that stated that personal qualities, such as being considerate, friendly, cooperative and kind, as a criterion of popularity is emphasised during late adolescence (Berk, 2001; Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Harter, 2003). Striving towards the aforementioned altruistic characteristics may therefore have been a means to gain social approval. The contradiction between being self-centred and desiring altruistic characteristics, could be a result of adolescents’ ideal selves that have not yet been fully integrated with their real selves (Harter,

2003). Participants therefore could have placed emphasis on their idealistic characteristics and not their real perceived characteristics.

Participants' cognitive development was evident in their description and desire to be unique, as well as their ability to reflect on the changes that they are currently experiencing in their sense of self. This is illustrated in the statement: "*(...) there's no such people like me, I'm very unique, I'm my own way (...)* (FG 5, par 606)". Participants in this study greatly valued the view they held of themselves as unique individuals and desired to have certain qualities or characteristics that set them apart from others. Numerous researchers have stated that identity is the awareness of individual uniqueness and constitutes behaviour and aspects of personality that differentiates individuals as unique (Côté & Levine, 2002; Erikson, 1959; Vryan et al., 2003). One of the key developmental tasks of adolescents is therefore to create a unique identity and sense of self (Berk, 2003; Erikson, 1968; Steyn, 2006; Schwartz, 2001; 2005). As is indicated in the literature, adolescents are less egocentric than young children (Geldard & Geldard, 2004). Despite the decrease in egocentrism, the theory of adolescent egocentrism (Elkind, 1967) indicates that adolescents engage in imaginary audience behaviour and personal fable ideation (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Kroger, 2000). Adolescents therefore believe that others are constantly observing and evaluating them as well as believing that they are unique and invincible (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Elkind, 1967; Kroger, 2000). It further appears that the participants greatly valued others' opinion of them as they regularly described themselves according to socially desired values. Notwithstanding participants' beliefs that they are unique and their desire to be distinctive, it remained very important for participants to experience a sense of acceptance and belonging. Given adolescents' increased self-consciousness and self-centredness, approval is important in their understanding of who they are (Harter, 2003). It remains very important for individuals in adolescence to experience acceptance and a sense of belonging (Berk, 2001; Geldard & Geldard, 2004). The discrepancy between desiring to be unique, while craving social support and recognition, could further be as a result of participants' involvement in both an individualised as well as collectivistic culture. Individualised cultures emphasise self-reliance and uniqueness which is contrasted with the collectivistic emphasis of interdependence and sociability (Triandis & Suh, 2002).

Throughout all of the discussions, participants expressed a desire to be self-regulating, emphasising the desire for increased independence and autonomy. This was illustrated in

statements such as: “(...) *more freedom to do certain things, that you weren't (...) when you were a kid (...) (FG 6, 183)*” and “(...) *she is an adult she thinks she can control my life. That is why I hate being a teenager (...) (FG 1, par 186)*”. Participants acknowledged that adolescence has brought greater independence for them. However, participants were not satisfied with the level of independence they had gained and desired even more autonomy and independence. A key developmental task, during adolescence, is to gain autonomy. Participants' longing for independence is confirmed by the literature that stated that adolescents should be granted more freedom to experiment with various systems in order to develop a stronger sense of identity (Arnett, 2001; Berk, 2001; Heaven, 2001). Adolescents are expected to disentangle from parents and the protection and security offered by parent-child relationships (Heaven, 2001; Steyn, 2006). Everatt (2000) stated that black African adolescents expressed strong aspirations to follow their own unique purposes and to be self-governing and empowered. While expressing the desire to gain autonomy, participants continued to value and desire advice and guidance from other individuals, as stated by a participant: “(...) *the advice (...) given by your parents, it's very important, in terms of building a future for yourself (...) (FG 6, par 291)*”. Another contradiction involving participants' desire for greater independence and freedom was that participants did not desire making independent choices. Whilst participants longed for more freedom, they admitted to regularly accepting shared responsibility with their parents or other significant individuals, for their actions. Participants discussed adult responsibilities, and while some welcomed the responsibility that adulthood would bring, the majority were not willing to accept the implied implications of taking full responsibility for their actions. According to Arnett (2000), adolescents, globally, delay adult commitments, in order to spend additional time searching options without the obligation of constant adult responsibilities. This global trend could provide further validation for the participants' refusal to take full responsibility for their actions and choices. Thus, although adolescents are gaining more autonomy, parents and other adults should continue to supervise, safeguard and offer assistance and direction (Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Bush, 2003).

Participants further indicated that their emotional experiences and understandings have undergone numerous changes and influenced their sense of self. Participants were experiencing more emotional turmoil than during their childhood years, but that they do not have the ability to regulate their emotional experiences to their desired satisfaction. The following statement provided a good illustration thereof: “(...) *I don't know where this thing*

[outbursts] comes from (...) I always become emotional (FG 3, par 27)''. Research indicated that adolescents experience greater extremities and greater ranges regarding the high and low points in their emotional experiences than those of their parents (Larson et al., 2002; Silk et al., 2003). Participants in this study indicated that they continued to experience periods where their emotional reactions were overwhelming and where they were not capable of regulating their emotions effectively. This could be as the participants were in the process of learning effective coping strategies, currently mediated by intense emotional extremities related to puberty, as confirmed in the research (Berk, 2001; Keefer & Reene, 2002; Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Participants further seemed to view emotional reactivity as a normal and expected experience during adolescence. Their emotional reactions and regulation illustrated the increase in emotional development from childhood. It is however, evident that participants did not yet have the emotional self-regulation and flexible coping strategies expected during adulthood (Arnett, 2001).

It appeared that the majority of participants in this study were not overly concerned with their bodies or their experience of physical changes, as they did not discuss the experience of their bodies as vital in their lived experiences related to identity. Participants' experience of their physical bodies was in contrast to the literature reviewed. The majority of literature reviewed stated that individuals experience - and are acutely aware of - the prompt and intense physical changes during adolescence (Seiffge-Krenke & Gelhaar, 2008). Even though participants may have experienced such physical changes, it remains noteworthy that they infrequently mentioned their physique and physical changes. The participants who did mention their physical appearance all considered themselves overweight and indicated a sense of pride towards their body shape. In a globalised society where being thin is valued, overweight adolescents may have to form positive thoughts regarding their weight early in their identity formation (Call et al., 2002; Puhl & Brownell, 2003). The African culture traditionally places greater emphasis on the fuller figure (Call et al., 2002; Webb, Looby, & Fults-McMurtery, 2004) and this may have further influenced participants' experience of being overweight and their positive view regarding their body.

To conclude this section, it was evident that participants' development was influenced through their own active engagement. Participants experienced adolescence as a time of change, an experience confirmed by numerous definitions in the literature. Numerous contradictions and inconsistencies were reported by the participants. As is stated in the

literature, participants also experienced this developmental stage as a time accompanied by emotional confusion and unsatisfactory skills to effectively regulate emotions. In understanding participants' lived experiences it appeared evident that they were no longer children and had developed abilities that enabled them to engage more actively in their own development. However, as the literature continually stated, certain limitations and restrictions influenced participants' development as greater maturation is to take place as they enter the adult stage. A finding from the study that appears to contradict the majority of literature findings pertains to participants' experience of their physical bodies, which were not regularly mentioned and did not appear to be of significant importance to the participants.

6.3 Primary relations and their interactions

In this section, the key factors in participants' microsystems and mesosystems are discussed in relation to the existing theory. It appears that participants were greatly influenced by individuals with whom they interacted. Participants therefore appeared to be creations, as well as creators of their environments. The following themes describe participants' influential lived experiences involving others: A sense of belonging, sharing experiences, and being accepted in their social relationships, all influenced participants' understanding of who they are. Whilst the aforementioned were important, an opposing desire, separating and becoming an individual within social relationships, appeared to be equally important in participants' understanding of who they are. In addition to the previous themes, role models' encouragement, guidance and advice appeared to be of importance in participants' meaning-making processes. Another theme relating to these systems was participants' acceptance of responsibility to change their family's situation and to ensure a better future.

The face-to-face interactions particularly relevant to participants in this study included their immediate family, extended family, peers, as well as teachers and community members. These various microsystems, in which participants were situated, greatly influenced their lived experiences and meaning-making processes. Interaction, interconnectedness and interdependency between individuals and their social systems (i.e. their family, groups, organisations, communities and societies) is emphasised within the ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Waller, 2001). Numerous theories defined identity as not only determined by individuals' own thoughts, but stated that identity is also influenced by social surroundings (Chrysochoou, 2003). The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel &

Turner, 1986) proposed that identity consists of two components: personal as well as social identity. The theory focuses on social association and interaction as well as why the adoption of shared attitudes occurs. Also, Mead (1934) emphasised self-development through environmental transactions. The importance of these settings increases when the relationships that exist between two or more of these settings (mesosystems) are considered (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Waller, 2001).

In all of the relationships that participants valued, and that had an impact on their lived experiences, it was important for participants to experience a sense of belonging and acceptance. The desire to belong to certain groups, such as family, peers, school, and an ethnic group influenced participants' sense of self as well as their behaviours. A participant stated "*(...) It is just what black people have to do (FG 7, par 406)*", confirming association and commitment to a group through engaging in certain activities. Partaking in traditions is an important source of identification, as it requires an investment of the self in the activity and in the interactions with community members (Gee, 2001; Wenger, 1998). Participants' desire for belonging and acceptance is validated by research stating that adolescents' social development is characterised by an increasing and an intense need to belong (Rubin et al., 2007). A sense of belonging has been described as the experience of personal involvement that enables individuals to experience being an important part of the system or environment (Choenarom et al., 2005). Experiencing a sense of similarity to the group to which participants belonged was also an important factor, as illustrated: "*(...) if her personality (...) don't match mine, I usually separate from that person, because we are opposite, (...) we not going to get along (...) (FG 6, par 72)*". Individuals gain a sense of who they are during the process of relating to other people (Gee, 2001). Social identity emphasises intergroup relations, social cohesion and group influence (Tajfel, 1972; Turner & Haslam, 2001). A participant stated: "*I'm very, very close to my sister (...) (FG 7, par 113)*", illustrating the importance of intimate relationships as part of a sense of belonging to her familial group. The African culture further emphasises connection (Krahn & Putnam, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Van Dongen, 2005), and this can explain the importance that participants placed on their relationships with others. Participants stated that, in order to experience a sense of belonging, it was very important to be understood and not to be judged, as is illustrated in the statement: "*(...) understands me best because she's never judging me (...) (FG 6, par 175)*". Shared experiences appeared to increase participants' sense of belonging to others and groups. These shared experiences included knowing that they shared academic

pressures with school peers and older siblings, sharing experiences related to their upbringing with their siblings, and sharing developmental changes with others their age. Shared experiences and the meaning associated with shared experiences contribute to a sense of cohesion, connectedness and belonging (Choenarom et al., 2005; Denzin, 2009). Shared history and background further aided sense of belonging: “*My father that knows me better, cause I am living with him (...) he also know my background, where I come from (...) (FG 4, par 187)*”. Family cohesion and affection is a vital aspect of the social domain of adolescent development (Wolfe et al., 2006). Experiencing a sense of belonging to more than one group further appeared to have aided participants’ understanding of who they are. Whilst the majority of participants indicated that their sense of belonging to their family was of the highest priority in their understanding of who they are, they further indicated that the sense of belonging they experience in friendships, at school and with the broader community, are all influential.

Whilst belonging and relating to others was of high importance, participants also valued their individualisation and becoming autonomous. This was often discussed by participants, although not necessarily directly stated as such. Many participants indicated that they wish to live their own lives, that they are experiencing conflict within their parental relationships and are not allowed enough freedom. This was illustrated in the statement: “*My mother wants me to live the way she wants me to live, but I (...) find it difficult (...) I have to take my own path (...) (FG 6, par 286)*”. As stated in the literature that was reviewed, adolescents aspire to be viewed as an adult member of society by attempting to be more self-sufficient and more autonomous (Arnett, 2001; Muuss, 2006; Tarrant, 2002). Critical to identity formation is Josselson’s notion of separation-individuation, occurring when individuals express boundaries of the self, indicating separation from others, while functioning in the context of relationships and connectedness to parents and others in their lives (Josselson, 1987). Identity formation in adolescence has been characterised as finding independence and emotional separation from parents (Beyers & Goossens, 2008; Kroger, 2007), virtues that can be considered important in the Western cultures (Cross et al., 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002).

The paradoxical experiences of participants pertaining to a desire to belong whilst desiring independence was apparent in all the discussions, where the majority of participants indicated a desire for greater independence whilst not abandoning their families and relationship with others completely. The process of differentiation enables adolescents to gain a sense of

autonomy through defining themselves as unique individuals (Schwartz, 2001; 2002; Soenens et al., 2005). In addition to gaining independence, differentiating and separating from their parents, it was stated that adolescents separate from their cultural norms: “(...) *some black people also try to change. That’s why they don’t believe in their culture (...)*” and “*No I consider myself an African but I adopted the style of America (FG 7, par 303)*”. African cultures are traditionally characterised by a collective orientation (Alberts et al., 2003), in which interdependence and traditional values are emphasised (Eaton & Louw, 2000). Survival of the group, group unity, shared responsibility as well as mutual benefit, are emphasised in the African centred tradition (Carroll, 2012). It has, however, been stated that adolescents’ tastes, lifestyles, values and aspirations are changing as a result of globalisation (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002; Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). The complexity of these lifestyle, value and aspiration changes was evident in participants’ experience of their desire for greater independence which was in contrast to their elders’ lifestyles, values and aspirations.

Another important theme pertaining to participants’ micro - and mesosystems was the importance of role models. Significant others were regarded as role models and the advice and open communication that participants experienced were highly valued. Parents, grandparents, older siblings, peers, teachers and influential community members were regularly regarded as role models. Participants’ role models all had overcome hardships and preserved with determination. Participants strived to do the same. Participants further admired role models who had made a success of their lives, especially their older siblings who were successful in academic and occupational fields: “(...) *he [brother] finished matric and he didn’t fail (...) my role model, (...)* (FG 2, par 24)”. Intriguingly, participants viewed individuals that they knew personally as role models rather than famous actors or sports stars. Although participants did not like to be controlled or told explicitly what to do, the majority indicated that they admired and often engaged with others who provided advice and guidance, as evident in the statement: “(...) *she like advise me what to do in that certain obstacle that I’m facing in life (...)* (FG 6, par 171)”. This study illustrated the importance of interaction with supportive adults during participants’ meaning-making processes. Role models are particularly important during adolescence, a time during which identity exploration and development occurs (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966; 1993). The importance of role models is emphasised, as adolescents are influenced through imitation and social reinforcement (Arnett, 2001; Muuss, 2006; Tarrant, 2002). Adolescents therefore imitate the

behaviour that they observe in others that they like, accept and value (Heaven, 2001). Parents (or other family members) encourage/discourage adolescent behaviour, thereby repressing undesirable behaviour and shaping desired behaviour of adolescents (Peterson & Bush, 2003). The reactions of significant role players encourage adolescents to make commitments stronger, or encourage adolescents to investigate other commitments (Crocetti et al., 2008). Bray et al. (2010) stated that individuals in South African communities received guidance and advice from adults in the community who were described as: “like a mother/father to me” (p. 100). Similar findings were obtained in this study, with participants referring to adults who influenced them, e.g. “*For me there is another father in our street (...) (FG 8, par 76)*”. The importance of community members is highlighted, showing how important it is that when participants seek guidance outside of the home, communities and neighbourhoods should enable them the opportunity to approach adults that can fulfil this role. Positive role models consequently support, inspire and model positive behaviours (Beam et al., 2002; Hirsch et al., 2002; Hurd et al., 2009). It is stated that having a role model was related to better grades, more self-confidence and stronger ethnic identity for adolescents (Yancey et al., 2002). According to Thom and Coetzee (2004), the emergence of stronger positive black African role models, who defeated obstacles and triumphed through perseverance, following the end of apartheid, influenced black African adolescents. Such influences included that black African adolescents reported a strong sense of identity as a result of having such role models.

Participants who had younger siblings had the desire to be a role model to these younger siblings: “*(...) I just want (...) her to take an example from me (FG 7, par 107)*”. This illustrated the importance that participants placed on role models, not only having a role model but also realising that others were looking to them for guidance and assistance. According to the literature reviewed, older siblings act as role models, teachers and sources of advice for younger siblings (Branje et al., 2008). Interactions with siblings have been found to positively influence adjustment in school, friendliness and openness, conflict-management skills, independence and self-confidence (Branje et al., 2008). Sibling relationships could, however, potentially serve as avenues for learning more about substance abuse, early sexual behaviour and antisocial behaviours (Branje et al., 2008; Teti, 2002; Yeh & Lempers, 2004).

In addition to wanting to be role models to their younger siblings, and desiring altruistic characteristics, participants accepted the responsibility placed upon them to change their

family and community conditions. This is evident in the statement: “(...) *I am going to change my family life (...) (FG 2, par 13)*”. It appeared that the participants were aware of, and accepted their accountability and obligation, to provide better standards of living for their family of origin. The participants further endeavoured to develop and improve their entire community. Participants’ concerns regarding family life, was supported by evidence from Alberts and colleagues (2002), who found that the domains of family and community matters were of greater concern amongst the Xhosa-speaking subgroups than amongst the English- and Afrikaans-speaking subgroups in their study. The family and other social structures are important in the social life as well as decision making processes of black African adolescents (Alberts et al., 2002). This priority on community matters may be associated with a heightened awareness of socioeconomic needs, such as the alleviation of poverty, the desire for proper housing and other physical and health facilities, and also the eradication of violence and crime (Alberts et al., 2002).

To summarise important aspects relating to the micro- and mesosystems: it was evident that interaction with others is significant in participants’ identity formation. Participants desired a sense of belonging in their relationships. They needed to experience a sense of not being judged, shared histories and belonging to various groups. Whilst belonging and acceptance were important, participants desired individuation although remaining connected to others in their significant relationships. Participants were inspired by their role models’ characteristics, behaviours and guidance, which significantly influenced their lived experiences. Being responsible for improving family situations as well as community situations appeared to be a responsibility accepted by participants. The importance of the aforementioned aspects in adolescents’ development has been confirmed by the literature.

6.4 More distant environmental influences

The key influences in participants’ exosystems are discussed in this section, in relation to the existing theory. The exosystem incorporates the environmental elements that have a profound influence on individuals’ development even though individuals are not directly involved with them (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Darling, 2007). Exposure to community and neighbourhood factors, school and education, as well as media influences, had an effect on the lived experiences related to the identity of the participants in this study.

Similar themes occurred in the exosystem of the participants as what they reported in their micro- and mesosystems. These themes included the desire to belong and feel accepted, as well as the longing for independence and autonomy. Additional themes emphasising the importance of the neighbourhood, school, as well as the media include: the consequences of violent neighbourhoods, the importance of education and self-improvement through schooling, as well as the influences of social networks.

In the study it was clear that participants were greatly influenced by the violence in their communities. This is illustrated by the statement: “(...) *now we have criminals with records and all that stuff (FG 3, par 91)*”. Not only did violence often necessitate that participants had to reside with extended family members as a result of parental death, but many participants indicated that experiencing a sense of belonging in neighbourhoods was hindered as a result of the violence and crime which they did not agree with. Isolation from their neighbourhoods could result in the participants not engaging with significant adults outside of their home environment. The importance of neighbourhood and community influences on individuals’ well-being has been well documented (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; Ellen & Turner, 2003). Neighbourhoods indirectly influence individuals through the home setting as family variables are influenced by neighbourhood and community aspects (Browning et al., 2004; Huston, 2002). Individuals residing in violent neighbourhoods are more likely to have been a victim of crime, injured or been a perpetrator of crime (Bray et al., 2010; Harding, 2003; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Ramphela, 2002; Sampson et al., 2002). As has been stated in the literature; schools, neighbourhoods and institutions outside of the family start to become more important during the adolescent years (Brendt, 2002; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Ellen & Turner, 2003).

The majority of participants indicated that education and academic success is a major consideration in their lives. Education was viewed by these participants as a means to improve their own and their family situations. Illustrated by statements such as: “(...) *studying hard will make you a better person (...) (FG 3, par 41)*” and “(...) *without education there is no life (FG 8, par 503)*”. As stated, the majority of participants wanted to change their family situation to improve conditions for their parents and siblings. Many participants experienced pressure from their family to bring about such positive changes. The importance of career development in identity formation was noticed during discussions, as participants emphasised their potential career and career opportunities. Adolescents from

neighbourhoods that do not benefit educational success are regularly attending schools not equipped to provide them with the necessary skills (Bray et al., 2010). Schooling and education is observed by many South African adolescents as a way of overcoming the limitations forced by a heritage of oppression (Everatt, 2000). Future career decision making is undeniably one of the foremost concerns during adolescence and a key aspect of identity formation (Erikson, 1964; Kroger, 2000). Adult roles currently require greater education and skill development (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002), clarifying the pressure to gain an education. While political emphasis was a priority domain regarding identity formation for black African adolescents during the apartheid years, it has been suggested that a shift has occurred and that greater emphasis is currently placed on career development as a priority domain for black African adolescents' identity formation (Alberts & Bennett, 2000; Botha & Ackermann, 1997; Mdikana, 2000).

Participants regularly reported that media and social networks enhanced their sense of belonging and that they received acceptance from their virtual communities. The majority of media concepts and scripts are, however, based on Western cultures and beliefs. The participants' difficulty regarding globalisation can therefore be further influenced by their exposure to the media. Many researchers stated that a large proportion of adolescents' lives are spent interacting with the media (Buckingham, 2000; Strasburger et al., 2007). The media has been described as a *super peer* (Strasburger, 2004, p. 56). The likelihood therefore occurs that adolescents form concepts and scripts for a variety of concerns based on what they interpret from the media (e.g. gender roles, courtship, sexual gratification, parental relationships and managing stress) (Buckingham, 2000; Strasburger & Wilson, 2002; Villani, 2001). The media has the potential not only to provide adolescents with information, but also to form their attitudes and values (Strasburger, 2004; Villani, 2001).

In summarising the key factors relating to the exosystem that influenced participants' lived experiences, the importance of belonging to and being accepted by their exosystemic environments should not be underestimated. This need to belong to communities and neighbourhoods, school and the media, was contradicted by participants' desire to have greater independence in these environments. Alternative themes that are significant to the exosystemic influences included the restrictions that violent neighbourhoods induce. Quality schooling and increased education was another significant factor in participants'

understanding of who they are. Lastly, the media and the scripts and schemas transmitted through various media sources appeared to significantly influence the participants.

6.5 Ideological structures and time

The outermost layer of Bronfenbrenner's model is the macrosystem, not necessarily consisting of a particular context, but the principles, standards, traditions and resources of a specific culture (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Darling, 2007). It is the all-embracing system of the micro-, meso- and exosystems, a broad ideology of a specific culture or subculture or social class (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Darling, 2007; Shaffer, 1999). It is reported that the macrosystem develops over time as each generation changes, resulting in the development of a unique macrosystem. The final layer of Bronfenbrenner's model, the chronosystem, encapsulates the influences impacting developmental transformations and stabilities over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Darling, 2007).

For participants in this study, the ideological structures and principles aided moral development and participants' decision making pertaining to right and wrong behaviour. Culture and religion, and the traditions, principles and practices thereof appeared to be the most influential aspects of their macrosystems. As discussed in relation to all other systems, a sense of belonging and feeling accepted was a significant factor for participants regarding their cultural and/or religious experiences. Participants regularly experienced difficulty in assimilating the principles of their traditional African culture with Christianity. Participants used various categories within their macrosystems as self-descriptions. The assimilation between traditional and globalised cultures, as well as changes in the South African context further appeared to be important in participants' lived experiences related to identity.

It was apparent in this study that participants valued their principles and morals and that these were major considerations in their quest to understand who they are. Participants further emphasised the difference between right and wrong and the importance of behaving in the socially expected manner. Values and morals from their culture and religion were used as guiding principles for their development and behaviour: “(...) *the Bible, it gives you advice that will build you as a person (...) (FG 6, par 291)*” and “(...) *they teach us how to be a woman and what a woman should do (...) (FG 4, par 129)*”. Moral development involves the process in which individuals learn to distinguish between right and wrong, enabling the

ability to reflect upon the world and make decisions about right and wrong (Kohlberg, 1963; Gilligan, 1982; Wainryb, 2006). During adolescence, individuals gain the values and morals required for effective involvement in society (Steyn, 2006). Kohlberg (1963) indicated that adolescents have internalised moral values and conform to these rules, which are set by others, in order to gain approval and uphold social order. While Kohlberg's theory was based on men from a Westernised culture, Gilligan proposed an alternative for moral development. Gilligan (1982) stated that an ethic of care for people was the focus of females' moral reasoning rather than a focus on separation and an ethic of justice; regularly the focus of males' moral reasoning (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2010).

Participants incorporated the morals and values that are evident in their cultures and religion into their sense of self, as illustrated in the statement: “(...) *it maintain the personality and everything about yourself, it is everything that can definitely describe who you are (...) (FG 4, par 111)*”. The influence of a sense of belonging to the broader community, which includes a variety of groups, is illustrated in the statement: “(...) *I think you need these things [community] to shape you (...) (FG 8, par 443)*”. The statement “(...) *church is part of my community, it does do a hell of a job when it comes to motivation (...) (FG 7, par 203)*” reveals the importance of a sense of belonging to a religious group. The importance of religion and religious communities is confirmed in the literature; it is stated that communities provide adolescent with a sense of belonging (P. Benson, 2004; Hardy, 2005). Throughout the discussions participants indicated that their African culture included different traditions, rituals, norms and habits. In the same manner, participants indicated that Christianity included certain traditions and rituals that afforded a sense of belonging, such as reading the Bible and going to church. This enabled participants in this study to identify with their culture and religion and was incorporated in their sense of self. The groups to which individuals belong significantly guide, as well as limit, the available and accessible personal identity choices (Phillips & Pittman, 2003). Hitlin (2003) indicated that social values internalised from the group, as well as the personal values that direct life choices are part of the self and form the basis of identity. As part of the task of identity formation during adolescence (Erikson, 1968), individuals search and discover meaning in ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1989). This process may include learning about the history and traditions of their ethnic group, as well as challenging matters of discrimination and prejudice (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Culture is a socially interactive process of construction that includes shared activity (cultural practices) and shared meaning (cultural interpretation) (Triandis &

Suh, 2002). Concepts such as ethnic self-identification, feelings of belonging and commitment, the sense of shared values and attitudes and attitudes toward one's ethnic group have been viewed by researchers as critical components of ethnic identity (Liebkind, 1992; 2001; Phinney, 2003).

The difference between traditional African cultures and Christianity was illustrated by statements such as: *“So if you're Christian, things like that [cultural traditions] they don't really matter (...) (FG 6, par 258)”* and *“(...) actually I don't believe in ancestors or what, I'm just unique, I just believe in Jesus Christ (...) (FG 5, par 278)”*. The assimilation of African tradition culture principles with the values and principles of Christianity was often regarded as difficult by the participants. This demanding task was illustrated in the statement: *“In the Bible will see that it cannot serve two masters, so I think it is either you choose that you do your rituals every morning, or you believe in God (...) (II 2, par 116) (...) it's a choice you make (II 2, par 118)”*. Laher and Quay (2009) have found when individuals integrate more Western beliefs with their daily cultural practices and ethnic beliefs, these predominantly included Christian religious beliefs (Laher & Quay, 2009). African traditional religion involves an ideology where the sacred is believed to be in various rituals, practices and ancestral traditions rather than in a hierarchical line of authority and a doctrine of faith (Hanson, 2006). Spiritual development may be particularly relevant to adolescent development as exploration relating to meaning, purpose, occupation, relationships and identity are particularly prominent during adolescence (P. Benson, 2004; King & Roeser, 2009). Religious involvement and importance has been related to pro-social behaviours, attitudes and positive outcomes during adolescence. Such positive outcomes have been associated with positive identity formation (Furrow, King, & White, 2004).

Participants in this study used numerous categories of association in their self-descriptions. Many of the participants identified with an overarching South African identity. Additionally, participants strongly identified with their linguistic category. Language was an important consideration in their understanding of who they are, as illustrated in the statement: *“(...) as long as I can speak [my African language], I can see I am fine (FG 1, par 119)”*. Participants in the current study, identified with racial, religious and personal categories. This was regularly associated with a sense of pride: *“(...) we are proud people. We have a pride (...) (FG 3, par 84)”*. It has been found that black African adolescents define themselves in terms of a cultural collective. These definitions are based on language,

religion, or ethnicity, and regularly combined with a South African identity (Gibson, 2006; Norris et al., 2008). In a South African study, black African adolescents allocated greater importance to language in defining themselves than did their peers from other racial groups (Norris et al., 2008). In a study by Burgess et al. (2002) it was found that South Africans firstly identify with their racial category. South Africans' racial identification is followed by linguistic, religious and personal category identifications. South Africans further identify with an overarching South African identity. Given South Africa's history, pride associated with being African could be as a consequence of years of discrimination, being forced to form a group identity and to take pride in that (Norris et al., 2008).

Another theme regarding the macrosystem and chronosystem of the participants pertains to the difficulties that participants experienced with regard to globalisation. The changes that participants experience as a result of globalisation and Westernisation influenced the importance that culture holds in their sense of self. This is illustrated in the statement: *"(...) some black people also try to change. That's why they don't believe in their culture, they have lost their roots (...) (FG 1, par 106)"*. Although participants indicated that it is important to hold knowledge of their ethnic group history in order to know the self and their roots, the majority of participants at this stage in their development admit that they do not hold such knowledge. Participants discussed the influence of this trend and how many black African adolescents are, in fact, losing their sense of their ethnic identity because of Westernisation. Statements affirming this included: *"(...) as the generation changes (...) we like the fancy things you know. They do not care about the cultures anymore (FG 4, par 126)"* and *"Well I don't think it's important for your children to learn how to 'boka' themselves [have cultural knowledge], because (...) white people don't have it, and they still know who they are and where they came from (...) (FG 7, par 387)"*. References to the influences of modernised dress codes, recreational activities, life goals and materialistic objects were often made during the discussions. Kamper and Badenhorst (2010) indicated that adolescents are most affected during social transitions as they have to form a stable sense of self while being forced to manage the broader societal transformation. The rapid increase in globalisation has potentially far-reaching psychological consequences for the construction of identity (Arnett, 2002). In recent years, it has been frequently documented that many black African adolescents embrace the Western worldview as well as globalised American ideological symbols, such as language, dress code and recreational activities, allowing them greater integration to be part of this new socio-historical period (Franchi & Swart, 2003;

Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Tihanyi, 2006). Cultural globalisation is influencing and changing adolescents' tastes, lifestyles and some of their values (Brown et al., 2002; Larson, 2003; Mortimer & Larson, 2002). The most noticeable aspect of cultural globalisation is a worldwide increase in a materialistic culture of consumption (Diversi, 2002). As mentioned, the intergenerational conflict and disagreement between participants and their elders could therefore be a consequence of globalisation. It has been found that cultural integration marginalises and alienates black African adolescents from their families and social realities that are more traditionally African (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Thom & Coetzee, 2004; Tihanyi, 2006).

Interestingly, participants in this study appeared to respect and strive for values from both the traditional individualistic and collectivistic cultures. While participants emphasised individuality and being unique, they also further emphasised the importance of collective membership and responsibility. This is revealed in the statement: “(...) *I am going to work for her. I am going to give her everything (...) that she want in life. Everything that she can't have when she was young (...) (FG 1, par 77)*”. As South African citizens move beyond an apartheid-legacy to a more democratic society, numerous transformation in their sense of self is reported (Durrheim, 2010; Nel et al., 2004). Given the transitional period that South Africa is currently experiencing, social norms and values are being transformed. The influences and impacts of apartheid, and the extent of social problems currently influencing South African adolescents' frame of reference regarding their future and sense of identity, have been discussed in Chapter 2 (Durrheim, 2010; Everatt, 2000; Ferns & Thom, 2001; Gaganakis, 2003; 2004; Lambert et al., 2006; Nel et al., 2004). The social values internalised from various different groups may therefore influence the choices and basis of identity of many South African adolescents (Everatt, 2000; Ferns & Thom, 2001; Gaganakis, 2003; 2004; Lambert et al., 2006). Some of the values that are respected in an individualistic culture include self-reliance, competition, uniqueness and emotional distancing from groups (Triandis & Suh, 2002). In contrast to this, values respected in a collectivistic culture include interdependence, sociability, family integrity, responsiveness to the needs of others and fulfilling duties and obligations (Cross et al., 2000; Triandis & Suh, 2002). A study by Everatt (2000) found that distinctive destinies and personal happiness is pursued by black youth. Black youth further desire to be independent and empowered (Everatt, 2000).

Summarising the ideological structures and influence of time on participants' lived experiences related to identity, the following were significant factors for participants. Participants' moral development appeared to be at a level focused on acting according to the standards set by others and in order to gain approval by doing the right thing. Belonging to a culture and religion was important in participants' sense of self. Participants reported experiencing difficulty in assimilating the principles of the African traditional cultures and Christianity. Various categories of association based on their macrosystems were incorporated into participants' self-descriptions. The influence of globalisation and changes in the South African context further influenced participants' understanding of who they are.

6.6 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, the themes resulting from the data analysis were discussed in relation to the literature. The themes were presented according to Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. Participants' experience of themselves as active agents was described. The important primary relations influencing participants was discussed. Environmental influences as well ideological structures that influenced participants' lived experiences regarding their identity were also presented. The impact of time, especially globalisation and Westernisation in black African cultures, was also described. The next chapter provides a conclusion of this study, with particular focus on the limitations and strengths of the study, as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion and recommendations

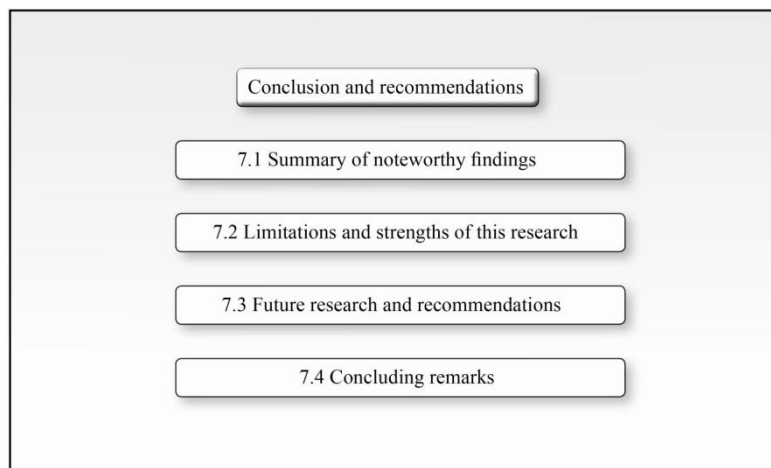


Figure 8. Visual display of Chapter 7 outline

In this chapter, as illustrated in Figure 8, the noteworthy research findings are summarised. Lastly, limitations and strengths associated with the study, directions for future research, recommendations and concluding remarks are provided.

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. The use of IPA allowed the in-depth and idiographic investigation of participants' lived experiences.

7.1 Summary of noteworthy findings

The aim of this section is to summarise the significant findings into a consistent whole, providing a set of conclusions, which illustrates the participants' lived experiences related to identity. From the analysis four main themes were identified, namely: (1) Being myself, (2) Being myself in relation to others, (3) Being myself in my direct environments, and (4) Being myself within my set of principles. The results were found to be mostly consistent with existing theory and literature. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was used as the theoretical framework for this study, emphasising the importance of understanding individuals not as isolated entities but rather in relation to their systems.

It was evident that an important consideration in participants' lived experiences related to identity was the participants themselves. Throughout the discussions it became apparent that participants were the active agents involved in their own unique lived experiences related to identity, as well the meaning-making processes involved. None of the other experiences

would have made a difference to their lived experiences were it not for their own active participation in these aspects and their own active meaning making and incorporation of these processes into their sense of self. As a result of their active participation, individuals were creators as well as creations of their environments. Participants experienced this life stage as a time of constant change. Psychological, social and spiritual changes and growth in respect to participants' sense of self were reported. This stage further appeared to be a time of great confusion for the participants, as numerous contradictions and paradoxes were experienced. Participants experienced being involved in a balancing act of no longer being a child but not yet being an adult. Their lived experiences were further influenced by a balance between numerous paradoxes that they experienced. Such discrepancies included their desire to be altruistic while being self-centred, as well as their desire for independence and autonomy while desiring guidance and social acceptance. Additionally, their desire to be independent was contradicted by their acceptance of shared responsibility of their actions with others.

A significant factor in participants' lived experiences regarding identity appeared to involve the influences that other individuals had on their development. Participants indicated that their sense of self was influenced through direct, as well as indirect interactions with family members, peers and/or members of the community. Interactions with others were most influential in participants' understanding of who they are, when a sense of belonging, being accepted and knowing that they were not judged was experienced. This experience emphasised the importance of role models in the participants' development. Whilst participants valued a sense of belonging and a sense of acceptance during interactions, having a shared history, shared norms and values, as well as shared experiences and familiarities fostered the influence of interaction with others. The aforementioned was evident whether participants referred to aspects in their microsystems, such as family or peers, or whether referring to aspects in the exo- and macrosystem such as schools, neighbourhoods, cultures and churches.

The theme relating to responsibility provided insight into an element that is of current significance to participants. Generally, adolescents globally enter a moratorium state and become self-focused. However, the majority of participants indicated a concern for community and family circumstances. Participants were concerned with the well-being and functioning of others around them, as well as the institutions with which they interact. Although they were engaged in various developmental tasks while developing their identity,

participants appeared continually aware of their responsibility and accountability for positive changes in their family and community. Given the economic and social conditions of participants, it could be almost impossible for participants to decline support from relatives and community members, and therefore a relationship of indebtedness is created. This sense of obligation could further explain participants' responsibility towards their family and community. Families and communities, specifically from a collectivistic culture, care for and are responsible for each other. This ideology could provide an explanation for the accepted responsibility to bring about positive changes that featured prominently in participants' lived experiences related to their identity.

Given the burden of this responsibility, it is evident why education and academic success constitute important lived experiences related to identity for these participants. In South Africa a shift in emphasis, in black African adolescents' identity formation, from political emphasis to career development has occurred. This shift in emphasis of the priority domain was evident in this study. Participants' lived experiences related to identity appeared to be significantly influenced by the possibilities that they considered for their occupational opportunities.

Although such occupational possibilities and the domain shift in identity formation appeared to be welcomed by participants, it was evident that Westernisation and globalisation brought about numerous and varied challenges. Participants appeared to not be fully equipped to manage such challenges. Culture and cultural values continued to be of importance to participants, but it was evident that the majority of participants grappled with incorporating Western values, as well as Christian religious principles, into their understanding of their ethnic identity. The difficulty that participants experienced with assimilating Christian religious principles with their traditional cultural beliefs appeared to instigate tension and intergenerational conflict in participants' environments.

In this study, the general developmental tasks explained by prominent theorists are confirmed. Participants' cognitive development was confirmed by the key developmental tasks as proposed by Piaget (1965). The key task of developing a sense of identity as theorised by Erikson (1968) was observed. Identity formation versus role confusion (Erikson, 1968) and Marcia's (1966) exploration and commitment tasks were also observed. Another key developmental tasks, as described by Josselson (1996), separation-individuation,

was confirmed in this sample. The importance of interrelationships and the impact of this on participants were confirmed by theorists such as Tajfel and Turner (1986), Dunphy (1963) and Phinney (1989). A sense of belonging to others, acceptance of responsibility for bringing about positive change in their family, and experiencing difficulty in assimilating traditional African cultures with globalisations were confirmed by numerous research studies. South African research studies, focused on black African adolescents, confirmed numerous findings in this study. The importance of family and other social structures in black African adolescents' decision making processes was confirmed by Alberts and colleagues (2004). Participants' focus on career related issues in their lived experiences and self-descriptions was confirmed by a study by Alberts et al. (2003). Studies done by Franchi and Swart (2003) as well as Thom and Coetzee (2004) confirmed the increase of Western ideologies in black African adolescents' lived experiences and self-descriptions.

7.2 Limitations and strengths of this research

Limitations inherent in all research studies include the characteristics of design or methodology that impacted and influenced the application or interpretation of the results in the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007; Mouton, 2001; Patton, 2002).

The participants' discussions as well as their interpretations were influenced by the researcher's personal beliefs, feelings, values and viewpoints. The literature review, interaction with participants and observations during discussions all informed the personal reflections that were recorded. The stories that emerged from the interviews were therefore co-constructed by both the researcher as well as the participants. It is acknowledged that the findings are coloured by the lenses that were worn by the researcher at the particular time of interaction with participants and data gathering. The findings are not an absolute truth, but should rather be viewed as a co-construction, consisting of the stories of participants, personal views, beliefs and experiences of the researcher and the literature consulted. This study is valuable in that it provides a rich description, but it is also limited in that it is only one of many possible co-constructions.

Although data was collected until the point of saturation, the sample size does not allow for generalisability of the results. The aim of this research, however, was to explore and gain an in-depth understanding of a particular group and not to generalise results found in this

sample. Another limitation pertaining to the sample of participants refers to the selected group of individuals. Although inclusion criteria were applied, the researcher had limited control over the precise extent of experience that participants had with the research phenomenon. Individuals who may have had greater self-reflection or confrontation with identity formation, may have presented different themes. The current findings are therefore not presented as themes experienced by all black African adolescents, but relate to the current sample of participants.

Mentioned previously, identity is a highly disputed term, with no universally agreed upon definitions. Numerous terms have been associated with the term identity, such as self, ego, multiple self, character and personality. The complexity of defining the term *identity* is therefore evident in the research literature. Given the complexity of the term and its numerous possible interpretations, investigation into black African adolescents' understandings of the term identity could have brought clarity to this arena. A methodological improvement, therefore, could have been in conducting preliminary discussions to further improve the questions asked and the interview schedule. A further criticism of the interview schedule is that the first question, 'How would you describe yourself?', might be a difficult one for anyone to answer, because *self* is an abstract concept. However, participants were given as long as they needed to answer this question and additional, more specific, prompting (e.g. 'Who are you as a person?', 'How do describe your identity?', 'What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?') was provided. Every effort was made on the part of the researcher and the co-facilitator to give participants ample opportunity to give as full an answer as they were able.

It is recognised that the interview schedule - the foundation for the structure of the interview - influenced the themes interpreted during data analysis. However, efforts were made not to ask leading questions. Flexibility was further applied in the use of the interview schedule and questions formulated based on participants' answers to previous questions. Additionally, all participants were given the chance to comment upon themes that were not addressed during the discussions. Allowing participants to raise themes not asked in the interview schedule permitted unanticipated themes to be raised and followed up. Questions asked by the researcher that did not elicit participants' experiences would not have had an influence on the analysis, because although an interpretative method was used, the themes were rooted in the participants' words.

Regarding the validity of the findings, a limitation worth mentioning concerns the language proficiency of the participants as well as that of the researcher's. The fact that the discussions did not take place in the participants' home language, the linguistic category with which they associated, could have influenced the manner in which the participants portrayed their understanding of who they are. It is likely that participants were unable to articulate the full extent of their thoughts about themselves and their lived experiences related to identity, and thus it likely was not possible to access certain aspects of their experiences. In order to prevent this to the fullest extent, the co-facilitator, proficient in both languages, was present at all discussions. During the researcher's personal reflection, it was noted that Sesotho conversations between the co-facilitator and the participants were challenging for the researcher, as a full understanding of the conversations was not possible during these discussions. Based on the fact that numerous concepts had apparently been addressed during such conversations, an explanation and interpretation rather than a translation of the conversation was given. The researcher's language ability and inability to communicate with the participants in their home language is therefore seen as a limitation.

The researcher's understanding of participants' meaning-making processes may have been influenced and limited by her own experiences based on her culture and gender. These could further have limited the information that participants shared during discussions. The co-facilitator ensured that cultural experiences were optimally addressed, but as the researcher and the co-facilitator were both female, the influence of gender related experiences could have limited the researcher's understandings.

Gender identity did not appear prominently in this study. Nuanced experiences between male and female participants, with regard to their identity development, could further have been omitted due to a lack in attentiveness for understanding such nuances as this was not the aim of the study.

Despite the fact that focus groups provided the opportunity for participants to share their experiences and provide meaning and context to experiences within a group setting, the use of focus groups could have been a limitation. Participants might not have been able to share the detailed lived experiences and difficulties that they are experiencing with identity formation for fear of judgement from the rest of the group. In-depth understandings could have been omitted as a result of this.

7.3 Future research and recommendations

The research study highlighted the importance of understanding lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. The participants described this as a complex and multifaceted process. The researcher trusts that future research in this area will increasingly acknowledge the need to investigate individual experiences and constructions of meanings related to the identity of black African adolescents. The following recommendations for future research are made:

As individual lived experiences related to identity are so important, it would be informative for this study to be repeated with other respondents in the Motheo district, as well as in other parts of South Africa, to determine if their lived experiences related to identity are similar to those discussed by the current participants. Repetition of this study with numerous other groups of individuals in South Africa may increase the nuances and additional intricacies in black African adolescents' lived experiences regarding their identity, and which are not reported in this study.

A way of addressing the concern that interview accounts are retrospective, and may not accurately capture the nature of lived experience, would be to conduct longitudinal studies of the experience of self during the adolescent years.

Given the importance of interaction with others as well as the environment, the current data could have been substantiated and the richness of data increased if the influential individuals in participants' lives were also involved. Data from collateral sources may provide greater in-depth understandings of black African adolescents' lived experiences regarding their identity. Additionally, considering the importance placed on lived experiences relating to role models and the influence of role models on identity formation, research could explore the influence of role models on adolescent development in greater depth. Involving role models and comparing their experiences to that of the adolescents' experiences could strengthen the data.

Qualitative studies, investigating the influences and consequences of Westernisation and globalisation on intergenerational interaction as well as on family and community structures are recommended. Comparing data gathered from elders, who are more traditional than

adolescents, the latter having been greatly influenced by Westernisation, could provide greater in-depth information.

Based on the fact that culture and cultural belonging was important in this study, an in-depth investigation focused on culture and identity formation is recommended. Involving adolescents from various cultures and comparing the lived experiences related to identity, as understood from different cultures, could further aid the understanding of South African adolescents.

Given the aforementioned limitation regarding gender and identity, future research investigating the nuanced lived experiences relating to identity of male and female black African adolescents is recommended. Research regarding the impact of Westernisation and the increased interaction with gender roles, as portrayed by the media, on black African adolescents' gender identity will further aid understanding.

The influence of various subcultures, such as music, arts, academic and sports, on identity formation and lived experiences relating to identity could further provide additional nuanced information pertaining to black African adolescents.

Interventions that could aid participants' identity formation are important and of utmost necessity. Individuals who were generally regarded as role models should be made aware of their significant influence regarding these black African adolescents' understanding of who they are. Psycho-education pertaining to the benefits of a secure sense of self during adolescence is important, so as to encourage adolescents to further engage in reflection on who they are, who they are in relation to others, their direct environment and their ideological structures. Supportive services, encouraging the understanding of Westernisation as well as globalisation and their related consequences are recommended in order to understand and minimise intergenerational conflicts. Given the importance that participants placed on being the one to change their family situation and the pressure they experienced regarding their academic success; career guidance should be provided to these black African adolescents in order to enhance their understanding of this significant factor.

7.4 Concluding remarks

The primary aim of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences related to the identity of black African adolescents in the Motheo district of the Free State province in South Africa. Literature searches indicated that there is a paucity of qualitative research regarding this topic in general. This study therefore provided a contribution to understanding this phenomenon. As qualitative studies in this area are few, and have rarely included black African adolescents, it is hoped that this study has contributed something new to the evidence base.

The results of this study were found to be consistent with existing theory. The findings resulting from this study include insights into how adolescents interpret major considerations in their quest to understand who they are. Using IPA has enabled the development of a greater richness and promoted clearer theme development. The results from this study highlight the value of qualitative research methods using focus group discussions as well as individual in-depth interviewing techniques. The conclusions drawn from the research support the premise that adolescents' lived experiences related to identity constitute a complex process. The participants understood their reactions in a number of different ways but they all seemed to agree that their understanding of their sense of self is influenced by significant others, their direct environments and important ideological structures, and the interactions between these systems.

The researcher embarked on a journey to investigate how black African adolescents from the Motheo district make sense of their lived experiences related to identity. This research provided a snapshot of a small number of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. The aim was not to provide specific answers, but to explore and describe the lived experiences related to the identity of a selected number of black African adolescents in the Motheo district. The aim was to give the participants a voice and allow them an opportunity to speak openly about their lived experiences related to identity, in order to help understand their joys as well as hardships. These aims were met throughout the research process.

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APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Biographical Information

Please complete the following:

Date of Birth: _____

Grade: _____

Gender: _____

Race: _____

Home Language: _____

School: _____

ALL personal information will be kept confidential.

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How would you describe yourself?
 - a. The person you are
 - b. Your personality
 - c. How are you different from the person sitting next to you
2. Who are the important influences in your life?
 - i. Positively
 - ii. Negatively
3. What other influences are important in your life?
 - i. Positively
 - ii. Negatively
4. How do you understand yourself in relation to your important influences?
5. What does being an adolescent/ teenager mean to you?
6. What does being African mean in your life?
 - a. How would someone know that you are an African adolescent?
 - b. What does the typical African adolescent look like in your opinion?
7. All of us move through a variety of roles in any given day.
 - a. What roles do you have?
 - b. How does being an African Adolescent come into play in these roles?
8. What do you like about being an adolescent?
9. What don't you like about being an adolescent?

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF THE RESEARCHER'S REFLECTIVE JOURNAL

Reflective report following a focus group discussion:

My initial thoughts and feelings following the focus group discussion:

The use of English and the participants' ability to reflect in English is questioned. Sometimes their sentence structuring and logical argumentations seems to not be optimal – could this be as English is not their home language or is it due to developmental stages? Language and the lack of language really is making expression (my own and theirs) difficult. It is difficult to understand what the participants are trying to say.

Some of the questions that we are asking seem to be difficult for participants to understand – is this is due to my own wording of the questions, the participants' ability to understand the questions or is it that they have not been confronted with their identity development in this manner?

This particular group places emphasis on having confidence, which was not something that featured so prominently in the other groups.

The focus on being unique and an individual is interesting for me – is this because of messages in the media? Society? Is this something that they get taught at home? As I would expect a bigger focus on being part of the community or the group.

More specific interpretations and thoughts following the listening of the recording and reading the verbatim transcription thereof:

Friends, communicating and sharing, are important –either in a group or between individual friends. Some mention being shy (during interaction with friends). I am wondering if this is something that the shy individuals see as a negative, as adolescence is a time where friends and socialising and being outgoing is important.

It was interesting to notice the difference in gender friendships. It was interesting to notice that the participants described the friendships they had with individuals of the same gender as more comfortable and indicated that they could share more of who they are with their same gender friends. When guys were friends with girls it appeared that these friendships were used to gain information regarding female behaviour and opinions, while girls were labelled as regularly gossiping. Again I felt that the participants were concerned with others judging them and gossiping about them.

They also emphasised the difference between their school friends and their home friends. I am wondering if it is because their school friends have the same priorities and experiences and therefore their influence is experienced as more positively. School friends also motivated them to do better in school – healthy competition, encouragement and motivation (again maybe because they share similar experiences?)

Many of the participants mention that they want to help their community and give back to others – they also focus on their future and being a better person, they want to push themselves, and change their situation. Their emphasis on confidence and self-assurance featured prominently in their discussion of their future successes.

Regarding their family – there was mention of parents – many were thankful to their parents for giving them opportunities and shaping them. They also want their family to be proud of them and to pay their family back for the sacrifice. Some participants have experienced parental loss and it appears that these individuals have a special bond and closeness with their other parent.

Schooling and education for this group stood out as very important. It seemed that they not only believed that matric is important for their future success but it appeared that finishing school to them was the correct thing to do (maybe a message from the school and their parents?). It was interesting that the majority of the group realised and were aware that their family had made sacrifices for their education. I was wondering if this knowledge added to the stress they experience in completing their schooling?

Many indicated that partying does not lead to school success and is viewed as negative and that they get influenced by their home friends (for whom this might be their focus) to go partying. Some of the group tried to balance partying and school. I was wondering whether they say this simply because they think we want to hear this? I also found it interesting that the majority of the participants felt that they had to hide their alcohol use and negative behaviours from their parents despite indicating that they are of legal age to engage in these activities.

With regard to their emotional expression, what I find interesting is that some of the participants indicate that it is easier to write their feelings down than to talk about them – I am wondering if this is because they have time to reflect and therefore find it easier? Could the same hold true for their experience of their own identity?

As with the other groups – it appeared that these participants' understanding of who they are as African is largely related to languages. They also emphasised diversity and pride (I wonder if it is something to do with the rainbow nation metaphor being promoted?). The group indicated that culture is important, that it forms the roots of who you are. But I felt that many of them were unsure as to what exactly their culture was. I'm wondering what impact this has on their identity development (seeing as they are not exactly sure of their roots then). I found it very interesting that they want to carry their culture (emphasis on language, food and traditions) over to the next generation while currently they were not sure what exactly this culture entailed. There seemed to be traditional and less traditional learners in the group – I was very interested to see how they saw each other. The concept of being less black if you do not follow traditions was interesting as I felt it builds on the concept of being African is more than your skin colour. After reflection I am also interested to know whether the youth that do follow their traditions is doing it because they believe in it or because they feel they must respect their elders?

Regarding their feelings of being an adolescent – they felt that they had challenges (I am starting to wonder if some enjoy challenges – maybe they feel that they get more support as teenager in dealing with challenges while if they are older they won't get as much support from family?). It was interesting that some mentioned that growing older is associated to poorer health (something they see in the community?). There was a clear theme it seemed that they get what they want now and that they are less independent.

Concluding thoughts following the analyses of this focus group:

The group is very determined and altruistic – they want to study, be successful and help others.

The group appeared to be very responsible and appear to act according to society's rules. I was wondering whether it could be that they are simply not informing us of their negative behaviours or wanting to tell us what they thought we wanted to hear?

I also thought there was an emphasis on the generation change and how today's youth have a choice of what they want to believe. It seemed to me that there was a big focus on careers and continuation of their education.

I found it very funny how the group indicated that 30 years is old and how they must have changed their behaviours by then. Do they see the age of 30 as the start of adulthood maybe? Could this be evidence of the prolonged adolescence that is occurring?

There was also the 1st mention of HIV/AIDS – and not the impact it had but that the learner wanted to find the cure. I initially thought that much emphasis will be placed on HIV/AIDS and the consequences thereof in these communities.

APPENDIX D

**PERMISSION GRANTED:
FREE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**



education

Department of
Education
FREE STATE PROVINCE

Tel: 051 404 9283
Fax: 086 6678 678
Email: research@edu.fs.gov.za

Enquiries: LV Alexander
Reference no. : 16/4/1/17 - 2012

2012 – 05 - 29

Mrs NEH Motsoeneng
Director: Motheo Education District
C/o St Andrews and Markgraaf
9300

Dear Mrs Motsoeneng

NOTIFICATION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT IN YOUR DISTRICT

Please find attached copy of the letter giving **Mrs N. Arndt** permission to conduct research in the sampled schools in Motheo Education District.

Ms Arndt is a full time student and is studying for Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree in Psychology with the University of the Free State – Bloemfontein Campus.

Yours sincerely



MJ MOTHEBE
DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY AND RESEARCH



2012 – 05 – 29

Mrs N. Arndt
5 John Knox Street
Park West
BLOEMFONTEIN

Dear Mrs Arndt

REGISTRATION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

1. This letter is in reply to your application for the registration of your research project.
2. Research topic: **LIVED EXPERIENCES RELATED TO THE IDENTITY OF BLACK AFRICAN ADOLESCENTS.**
3. Your research project has been registered with the Free State Education Department.
4. Approval is granted under the following conditions:-
 - 4.1 The name of participants involved remains confidential.
 - 4.2 The questionnaires are completed and the **interviews are conducted outside normal tuition time.**
 - 4.3 This letter is shown to all participating persons.
 - 4.4 A bound copy of the report and a summary on a computer disc on this study is donated to the Free State Department of Education.
 - 4.5 Findings and recommendations are presented to relevant officials in the Department.
5. The costs relating to all the conditions mentioned above are your own responsibility.
6. **You are requested to confirm acceptance of the above conditions in writing to:**

**DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY AND RESEARCH,
Old CNA Building, Maitland Street OR Private Bag X20565, BLOEMFONTEIN, 9301**

We wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely



M.J. MOTHEBE
DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING, POLICY AND RESEARCH

APPENDIX E

PERMISSION FORM: PRINCIPLES



RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Principal

I am a Doctoral student in the Department of Psychology, University of the Free State, working under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé. For degree purposes, I am conducting my research on the lived experiences of adolescents. Results of this study could provide nuanced information regarding adolescents and in particular the experiences of adolescents in the Motheo district.

For the purpose of this study, I require learners in grade 11 and grade 12 to participate in focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews. Six to eight learners in each grade will be requested to take part in the focus group discussions. The focus group discussions have an estimated duration of 2 hours. Following the focus group discussions, selected participants will be requested to partake in individual in-depth interviews. The individual in-depth interviews have an estimated duration of 1 hour.

Participation in this study is **VOLUNTARY** and not compulsory and learners may withdraw from the study at any point without any necessary explanation. Should they wish not to participate or to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences.

The study will be anonymous and confidentiality of participants will be respected.

This study has the support, and has been granted authorisation, from the Department of Education Free State Province as well as the University of the Free State.

I request permission to conduct this research at your school and would greatly appreciate the participation of learners in this study that aims to contribute to the existing literature as well as defining the lived experiences of adolescents in the Motheo district.

Should you require further information, please feel free to contact me. My details appear below.

Yours sincerely

Natasha Arndt

CELL: 082 5166 855

Email: tasha_basson@yahoo.com





PRINCIPAL'S PERMISSION FORM

I, _____ have been completely informed regarding the nature of this study, as well as participation required from the learners in this school. I hereby permit learners from _____ (name of school) to participate in the research that is to be conducted by Natasha Arndt, a Doctoral student in Psychology, under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé from the University of the Free State. I understand that by taking part in this study learners from this school will not be at risk of harming themselves and that they have a right to withdraw their permission at any given time during the study without any negative consequences.

Signed: _____ Date: _____



APPENDIX F

PERMISSION FORM: PARENTS



RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Parent

I am a Doctoral student in the Department of Psychology, University of the Free State, working under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé. For degree purposes, I am conducting my research on the lived experiences of adolescents. Results of this study could provide nuanced information regarding adolescents and in particular the experiences of adolescents in the Motheo district.

For the purpose of this study, I am looking for learners in grade 11 and grade 12 to participate in this research. The study will take the form of focus group discussions and individual interviews with learners. Six to eight learners in each grade will be requested to take part in the focus group discussions. The focus group discussion has an estimated duration of 2 hours. Following the focus group discussions, selected participants will be requested to partake in individual in-depth interviews. The individual in-depth interviews have an estimated duration of 1 hour.

Participation in this study is **VOLUNTARY** and not compulsory and learners may withdraw from the study at any point without any necessary explanation. Should they wish not to participate or to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences. The study will be anonymous and confidentiality of participants will be respected.

This study has the support, and has been granted authorisation, from the Department of Education Free State Province as well as the University of the Free State.

I request permission for your child to participate in this study that aims to contribute to the existing literature as well as defining the lived experiences of adolescents in the Motheo district.

I would appreciate it if you could complete the attached form and send it back to the school. Should you require further information, please feel free to contact me. My details appear below.

Yours sincerely

Natasha Arndt
CELL: 082 5166 855
Email: tasha_basson@yahoo.com





PARENT/GUARDIAN PERMISSION FORM

I, _____ (your name) have been completely informed regarding the nature of this study, as well as my child's participation in it. I hereby permit my son/daughter, _____ (name of child) who is in Grade _____ to participate in the research that is to be conducted by Natasha Arndt, a Doctoral student in Psychology, under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé from the University of the Free State. I understand that by taking part in this study my son/daughter will not be at risk of harming him/herself and that I have a right to withdraw my permission at any given time during the study without any negative consequences.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

In my capacity as parent/guardian (*please indicated with a x*)



APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM: PARTICIPANTS

RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Participant

I am a Doctoral student in the Department of Psychology, University of the Free State, working under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé. For degree purposes, I am conducting my research on the lived experiences of adolescents. The purpose of this study is to investigate your experience of being an adolescent in the Motheo district.

Your participation in this study will serve to provide a better understanding of what life is like for an adolescent in your community.

Participation in this study is **voluntary** and any possible identifying data will be held in the strictest confidence.

While the data obtained will be published, all information will be kept confidential and your responses will be kept anonymous.

This study has the support, and has been granted authorisation, from the Department of Education Free State Province as well as the University of the Free State.

You will be expected to take part in a focus group discussions, lasting approximately 2 hours. You could also be asked to partake in individual interviews, lasting approximately 1 hour. As previously stated, participation is voluntary and should you feel the need, you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Should you be willing to participate in this study please complete the included form on the next page.

Thank you for your participation in this study.

Should you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact me.

Yours Sincerely,

Natasha Arndt
Email: tasha_basson@yahoo.com





CONSENT FORM
OF PARTICIPATION FOR LEARNERS

I, _____ (your name) have been completely informed regarding the nature of this study, as well as my participation in it. I hereby consent to participate in the research that is to be conducted by Natasha Arndt, a Doctoral student in Psychology, under the supervision of Dr. Luzelle Naudé, from the University of the Free State. I understand that by taking part in this study I will not risk harming myself and that I have a right to withdraw at any given time during the study, without any negative consequences.

Signed: _____ Date: _____



APPENDIX H

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 1

- 1.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 1.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 1.3 **Male participant:** I think I am a very straight person, I don't like like friends that always like to pressurise me doing something that I don't want to do, I am a person who make my own decisions and know how I will decide for myself, I don't like when other person to make my decision so that's why I am saying I am very straight. And the thing that make me different from him is I think we are all unique yeah, so we all have different things that we like and like to do while you on your own. And I am a person who like to be with my space and own space. I Don't like to just fool around. That's it.
- 1.4 **Female participant:** Yes as he said, we are unique = can describe myself as very secretive, (huuhuh – group member). I can't share any secrets with anyone. My best friend is myself. I don't have a best friend that I can say I will share everything with. Then the closest friend that I can say I have is my mom, I share most of the things with her, if I have a problem. I love to write down, if I am hurt/happy/sad, I write everything down just put it down in pencil. I like my own space. And I love to make people laugh even though sometimes I am shy. That is how I describe myself and I am kind.
- 1.5 **Male participant:** I ummm I am shy, you see. I am afraid for all the girls, I don't like girls and the only thing that make me not love girls is because they get you into things that you are not use to you always want to give, to do things for them, see, so beside that I am a one man woman. Ja. I like to respect, people and respected yeah. Yes.
- 1.6 **Interviewer:** Ok and what about your male friends then
- 1.7 **Male participant:** There are lots of male friends, yes I like to play soccer with them, yes.
- 1.8 **Female participant:** I am kind, talkative, and like sharing jokes and I think I am smart, I am some kind of intelligent somewhere, and I am talking ok, I like to and singing. I am a Christian and I am lesbian (Wow , ooo – rest of group). That is who I am and oh I am secretive too, I only share uhm I don't share personal stuff, yes and I like having fun with people and socialising. Yes.
- 1.9 **Interviewer:** So if you say that you don't like sharing personal stuff, is being lesbian have you shared it often or don't you see it as a personal thing or. . .
- 1.10 **Female participant:** I share it often, so that people can realise of it.
- 1.11 **Female participant:** Uhm what I can say about myself, is that I am a straight talker, I just tell people what I think or how I think about them, I don't go around gossiping about them because I don't like being gossiped about. Yes. And uhm I am talkative too, I like to be too much because it makes me feel very happy, uhm I love my mom cause she is the only person that understands me, no one else does. Uuuu I like my big brother, we are close, we grew up together, we do all sort of fun stuff together even being naughty together, uhm I also like coming to school – because it makes me feel happy. I never been upset at school. Even if I am sick I come, which my mom hates, uhm also I just like being me, I hate pretending, I just love being me and telling people how I feel, not pretending if I am sad I am pretending to be happy I don't like it. As she said – we sit together in class, we like sharing jokes and making jokes and uhm that's who I am.

- 1.12 **Female participant:** I am a friendly person, but sometimes I am so out of it, and and rude and stubborn and even though I know I am stubborn I like to socialise with people I like talking things that I think about others but sometimes I am very shy especially when I am with people that I have never met before, and I things that I like more is the things that I share with my family. I am always with my family, I don't have friends, even at school here I only have 1 friend, that I am seeing this one is friend.
- 1.13 **Female participant:** K' I am shy but somehow people know me but I don't kind of like talking or telling other people about myself cause most of the time I also write, just write about my feelings u know, even my mom I don't share secrets with my mom, that is why I write poems, I started writing after my sister's death, because she was my friend, now my friend is my poem book. Ja. So people who can come like advice and all because I like talking simple things with them and I like advice, so I am that kind of person like likes when someone tells me her secrets or his secrets but I don't like friends, girl friends, I like guys. (laughing). The girlfriends like gossiping... like "WOOOOW" (laughing) so the guys are. . .
- 1.14 **Interviewer:** Are like what. . .
- 1.15 **Female participant:** Yeah, (Laughing) Ja
- 1.16 **Interviewer:** So your friends, who are your friends, do you have a lot of friends? Don't you have a lot of friends?
- 1.17 **Female participant:** I have a lot of friends, guys,
- 1.18 **Interviewer:** But what is the difference then, or why if you say they like girls, what do you with the girls and and what do you do with the guys
- 1.19 **Female participant:** with the girls, well it is all about advising, you not, just chatting but with the guys it is all about everything life, I can talk with guys, I am free with guys, I have fun with guys sometimes I play soccer then we talk some, so we notice that I have fun when I am with guys because I can kinda think they teach me more things than girls.
- 1.20 **Interviewer:** Then do you have more friends at school or at home
- 1.21 **Female participant:** At school it is just friends, friends, but at home there are friends
- 1.22 **Interviewer:** Your Best friends?
- 1.23 **Female participant:** Ja I like like just because of my emotional personal guys, so girls we are only 4, yes four of us, yes so that is why I feel I, like girls NO (gestures)
- 1.24 **Interviewer:** The rest of u?
- 1.25 **Female participant:** Ja I can say that I have a lot of friends here at school, but not home. Me I am just, all I do when I get home from school is sleeping and . . . and physics and studying maths. And I also love I don't have girl friends, because they gossip and all that stuff. With guys I feel more comfortable because I get to understand more, what kind of a person what kind of person they are, what does a guy think some about a girl exactly. Okay girls, are friends, if I had a crush on someone, they will tell, but I don't tell more often them because they will voice it, if I tell her this she will go on and pass it to someone else. That is why I don't share a lot of things. That is all I can say.
- 1.26 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think friends influence you in a way? Do they influence you in a good way? Do they influence who you are in a bad way?
- 1.27 **Female participant:** I think it is your friends, it is u, it depends on you what you choose, yeah and then maybe I have friends yeah and these friends tell me to go drink and smoke and do what, if I want to do those kind of things I will go, and if I don't want, they don't force me to do that, unless if they tell me ok but taking with there to the straight to the tavern then it is peer pressure that way. But I don't think uhm

- friends are bad influence, I don't think so, it depends how you react to towards them. I have lot of friends, everybody is my friend as long as I can communicate with them yes then you are my friend, doesn't matter black, white, coloured, boy, girl as long as you can communicate. Yes.
- 1.28 **Interviewer:** But don't you get a lot of friends that are against the fact that you are lesbian?
- 1.29 **Female participant:** Most of them are like the fact that I am lesbian. Mmm yes.
- 1.30 **Male participant:** I think, if you want to be to fit in a certain society, then that's why that you will find that peer pressure and even though you want to fit in that certain society you don't have to do things that your friends are doing the decision is yours at the end of the day you are going to deal with the consequences of that things. So it is just to be you. So me at school I only have, this is my best friend, we share everything. At home, my book and my phone is my best friend so that is why I haven't met such things as friends that influence you to do things that I don't want to do but I have seen many people around me many boys doing things that they don't want to do but I don't say they don't want to do but actually he had a right to say no but he end up doing that thing that the friends (his or her) friends told to him to do.
- 1.31 **Interviewer:** Do you think it is easy saying no to your friends?
- 1.32 **Male participant:** it is very easy for me. I don't know for other people. But if I have said no then no is the decision. Yes.
- 1.33 **Male participant:** It is true that there friends influence us to do bad things, see because when they want to drink or booze yeah, and you want to fit in you see, because if you don't do it they will see you as a "snaai" – I don't know how
- 1.34 **Interviewer:** As a "snaai" as a, as a outsider and an outcast
- 1.35 **Male participant:** You see because for me I don't have friends, I once have a friend who is in botshebelo, I don't have friends in Bloemfontein, I only know one friend in Bloemfontein who knew my background. Yes.
- 1.36 **Interviewer:** At home there is not a lot of friends?
- 1.37 **Male participant:** No I only talk to my sisters.
- 1.38 **Interviewer:** What do you do then when you get home from school?
- 1.39 **Male participant:** I play with other children, my sisters children
- 1.40 **Interviewer:** Oooo
- 1.41 **Male participant:** Yes, and uuuu
- 1.42 **Female participant:** I have friends everywhere, at school even at church but most of my friends are boys, which my mom hates a lot, she says I am a tomboy. Uhm I like being friends with boys because you can share everything with boys. When you tell a boy, you know what I am interested in that guy he wont go around saying hey you should know that Tabi is interested in that guy. He will keep it inside. But hey girls talk too much and they will always involve in fights at school and that is why I hate them. And . . .
- 1.43 **Interviewer:** And boys? Are they not involved in fights?
- 1.44 **Female participant:** Yes, and most of my friends are lesbians and gays which my father thinks is weird, he does not know why. I love rock, which my friends hate. They think that I am a snob. Which I am not. They don't understand why I love that kind of music because it gets me emotionally, like I can listen to it and just be myself and my best best best friend is my phone. I love chatting a lot which it ignores my mom, she hates it. Like I feel very comfortable around my mom, I can talk to her with everything I share with her, she knows when I am not talking in the house there is something going on. she always persuades me like to be open with everything to her because, she is my best friend, because no one can be my best friend because I know

to her is very painful because she grew up without a mom, her mom died when she was giving birth to her, so it hurts me a lot. So she is my best friend, I share everything with her. I do, We do everything together, go to movies, we go to the park just chill, that's who I am.

1.45 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?

1.46 **Female participant:** Talking about peer pressure, I think it is easy to say no to your friends. As long as you know who you are and what you want in life. Cause from my point of view I see that people who get credit by friends are people who are trying to fit in in a certain place, but I don't do that, I know who I am and if I have friends and I see that this person is not good, I just put my back there and then just relax and even though I warned my friend, my friend she is bringing bothering really lot of things, is really bringing bad things, I try to advise her but she tells that it is her life. And it is then that I started to move on, I saw that I have to choose my friends and I have to be with those who expect me for who I am but not to judge me and love me the way I am. So my friends, most of my friends pretend to be some people, but to be honest I am not a wild person, I don't party I don't drink booze, but some of my friends ok they drink booze, but when I say ok – like December last year, on the 25th of December - you know that I don't drink alcohol so I am not going to drink they say yes we are not going to drink but then late about 6 pm they drank alcohol, they say do you want to taste, no I say no I am fine as you know I don't drink alcohol, so I accept my friend the way they are but I don't change myself so that I can please them. So I think for me I find it easy to say no to peer pressure, for what I don't pretend to be someone around other people.

1.47 **Interviewer:** How do you guys decide who is your friends? Do you have something in common? Is it people who help you become this person you want to be? Is it people who accept you for who you are? How do you decide this person is my friend or this group I consider this group to be my friends?

1.48 **Male participant:** Okay the first thing, is personality of that person, how does she or he done the things, so if we something in common books, just chilling not doing some stuff that we wont like at the end of the day, I will watch that kind of things, and one thing for sure, my parents only told me, if you want to be someone in life then you must compete against the best in the world. You see so, that is why I am trying every, even in class, you see there are some people that I am trying to be with so that if I am struggling with this thing at school so that they can help me, I am not asking them to judge me on that something I don't know, we are all here to find only a certain thing and get educated one day and be something in life. So that is why I am always around people who do things straight and that want to that knows what they want to be in life, because I know what I want to achieve, that is why I choose people like that and that is why that is how I see myself as a person who likes to challenge.

1.49 **Female participant:** I don't choose friends, as long as you are happy about me, I am happy about you. What uhm, what makes me that way is that maybe I need an advice from you ne and you are not my friend, I can come to you and tell you for I have a problem about this thing and this things could you tell me how can I solve this problem, then you advise me, you are my friend already. Thank you. Then maybe something bad happens ne, we are a group of friends and then something bad happens obviously they going to say all of those people are involved in those thing. I make sure that I stand in front and protect my friends because we are all in that together, ey. I know if I got their back they also got my back, yes, so I make sure that everybody is my friend, so that 'cause in this world we are together and yes, so I make sure that everybody is my friend as long as you yeah yeah laugh at my jokes, yes. But if you

- don't laugh at my jokes, make sure that you do because if you don't (laughing). Anybody is my friend. Yes.
- 1.50 **Female participant:** Uhm me I like friends who are common, me. I like friends who accept me as I am, I don't like people who judge me, because I don't like judging, I don't like people who gossip about me, 'cause I hate gossiping about other people, if I have a problem about you I will go and sit with you, I will tell you the problems that I have about you. I won't go around gossiping about you, ja. And I the most important thing that makes me happy, when someone gossips about me, I think she or he she is lifting me higher (YES – group members). I don't know why I feel that why or is it because uuu the Bible that I read tells me that way or what, I don't know. Uhm but my best friend Is my phone (laughter) I socialise everyday , I like chatting with boys only (YES - group) if you are a girl, I won't be there chatting with you (one of boys – that is their problem), no, I will answer your questions if you you ask me questions but I like chatting with guys.
- 1.51 **Interviewer:** But you guys all like chatting with people of the opposite sex, (Yes – group) or friends of the opposite sex, I wanna know do you have girl friends?
- 1.52 **Interviewer:** Guys do you guys have only girl friends then? Or do you have (No-guy in group), you guys said that you are good friends, but. .
- 1.53 **Male participant:** No I no, I only chat to boys, (mmmm- Interviewer) because when you chat to girl, people see you are, you want to approach that girl, yes (laughing – group) yes that is why I don't like to chat with girls.
- 1.54 **Interviewer:** ok
- 1.55 **Male participant:** I find it strange to chat with girls because girls they are nowadays accuse you of many things, so that is I am chatting with people I know, not strangers 'cause strangers can cause very dangerous problems for yourself, for me actually, for me. 'cause there was these things about, who does met with you see, you don't even know that person then you go met that person in the end, you end up dead not knowing who is that person, where does he or she come from, so that I shared with every person, but not strangers, the person I know, if I want to chat give me your contact, we will chat later. Okay that is why I don't like to chat with strangers because anything can happen.
- 1.56 **Interviewer:** How important is social networking for you guys? You all say that your phone is your best friend?
- 1.57 **Female participant:** Uhm to me it is very important cause I can be very open, like when I tell you something I know you won't go around telling people because you don't know me first of all, you know me from a social network, yes, that is why I love it. We share everything, how you feel, what you doing, what will you be doing, its so much cool that's how I think of social networking. But there are dangers, in social networking, I don't go around meeting people I don't know, I don't go around sending people things I don't that is how I am.
- 1.58 **Interviewer:** Do you find it easier on a social network to tell these people that you actually know, how you feeling and what you thinking than telling them that in person?
- 1.59 **Female participant:** Yes, it is easy for me
- 1.60 **Interviewer:** Easier on the social network?
- 1.61 **Female participant:** Yes, than my mom cause she will be asking me questions, you know. That is when I am talking like to my friend in mxit, we talk about everything, we laugh, I laugh I make her she makes me laugh, it is easy but when I am talking to someone else up close it is not very easy because you are going to like, have to think

about what are you going to say when she or he ask you question, how are you going to reply them, yes.

1.62 **Interviewer:** Okay let's go there and then there and then you.

1.63 **Female participant:** Social networking for me is very important, (laughing – group), I can't live without it, I don't want to lie about this, school for me is not very interesting, (mmmm - group) the minute I hold my phone I make sure I keep quiet, you will be sure that I am not there, I keep my eyes on my phone, so that it says "tweet" I know that I should reply (laughter – group) but what is weird is that I don't chat with too many people, I have lot of people on the list but I only chat with one person, why? I don't know. Okay if I chat with other people it is okay having a conversation, two to three words sharp, others I make sure I chat with people I know only, friends, church mates, school mates, people I know not strangers, strangers sometimes I have chat with one stranger one day then they ask me for where exactly do you live, I gave him the directions (uhm) and then out of the green this person is coming and knocking at the house (oooo – group) – I came for a visit, I don't know this person. Now I am socked, okay who are you, no we met at mxit, okay sharp, and then it turns out that this person was going to kidnap. You see so it might take it serious, to me it was from his mouth that he said that to me for actually I came to do the following things, I was sent by who. I wasn't even in a shock I was laughing, yes. Okay that person I didn't take serious, so I started seeing that this thing is going to take me, put me in danger. So I ey, I thought that chatting with people I know would be the best. So I like chatting cause it keeps me out of street, I like street, so it keeps me out of street. And and talking too much and maybe fights, I like fights. I like fights but not literal fights, you know arguments (aaa) I like arguments because when people argue you can see how this person is, maybe the others argue in a way of which now they are angry and then they will start to want to fighting, then I say no don't fight, carry on talking, fighting is not the solution but talking will be the solution at the end, yes.

1.64 **Male participant:** For me social network, is not about chatting with who or who not, it is about how I improve on technology, (yes – group) because social network is involve in technology so I get to get new stuff that I didn't or what is what on that social network that new technologies is upgrading every day, so that is why social network is so important to me but social network is actually the reason why I am using these social networks, because it keeps me always focused, when I finished just chatting someone, I know, that's time for my books, after books do some chores that I use to do at home then I will go back to my phone and doing stuff I wanna do.

1.65 **Male participant:** Eee I don't see social networking as a good thing to to the youths, because they always chat, all day night, you see. (laugh - group) they do not do their homework and some of the people in class come to me and and ask for homework, you see. Because you see. I do not like that that thing you see. I like to focus on my studies, I will then focus on social network when I have developed my mind and when I have grown up you see, so that I can chat use facebook and those of the things that you do on the social networking, you see. I don't like, they too cold facebook, mxit, twitter.

1.66 **Interviewer:** Alright . . .

1.67 **Female participant:** Chatting is like, it is about fun sometimes, to other people. But like to me it's about sometimes finding information like sometimes you get someone who's who has been hurt or something then you just want to know what happened, how did you feel. Maybe my friend has the same problem, I will ask like to know maybe she also feel like this. To others it help them maybe my friend doesn't know

which homework like last year she did (laughter) so you you just tell her that we are going to do what what what, so it helps you. Sometimes you don't know what to do here, so you just say friend – help me out, you know. It helps you with school works, but it depends on you, what you concentrate more. Because concentrate more into chatting or schoolwork, ja. (mmmm).

- 1.68 **Female participant:** For me it is very important because I don't live with my parents, so I live with my grandparents. So I socialise with my parents whenever I feel that I want to talk to them but the person that I I talk to everyday when I social network is my father, he is like the best friend to me, I am open with him. My mother joh she is rude (heey – group), sometimes she can be arrogant too, so we are not that close, me and my mother.
- 1.69 **Interviewer:** Alright
- 1.70 **Female participant:** I don't use social network that much, as she knows. So I used my brother's social network, even though I will never download mxit, facebook, twitter, 2go on my cell phone, then last year December I started chatting, then there was this random chatroom, and I invited people from Durban cape town but I didn't share too much information about me, I enjoy chatting with these people I don't know, I don't know why. But I feel comfortable with chatting with them, with knowing each other, I think the topic is more into the people you don't know, other than chatting with the people. Because are they going to talk about the things with someone you know. And then last year December I started chatting, early in the morning my phone would call me – log in. my mom would shout me everyday. Now I get out of bed at 9 am and I won't. When I am busy with washing, busy with the phone but my mother would always shout at me everyday. But then another girl told me you are always busy with your phone this year, I know that but in January you wont see me and that is true, I am not chatting even my phone broke
- 1.71 **Interviewer:** So it is like a holiday hobby?
- 1.72 **Female participant:** Ja, so thank god that my phone broke. And then I am busy with my books now I don't chat.
- 1.73 **Interviewer:** A lot of you said that your parents are your best friends, or that you are close to your parents, who is a role model for you? Is it people in your community, is it your parents, do you have role models who influence who you are? Let's go around here
- 1.74 **Female participant:** My parents, they are my role models
- 1.75 **Interviewer:** How do they influence the person that you are?
- 1.76 **Female participant:** Uuu they influence that the person that I am by the things they do to me, maybe one day I will have family I would like to have a big family just like they are, even though I don't live with them. Yeah.
- 1.77 **Female participant:** I, my mom obviously because she carried me 9 months (laugh) who can carry me 9 months (laughter) heeeey. So like that's why I think I owe her more 9 years to make her happy, cause right now since 2009 it has been very bad, and to see her cry it can like hurts me but then towards me she will like react like I am strong, and she encourage me very much because even though sometimes she has deep deep problems, this problem is very small she will just say that time to come and I will make it. And I just say oh my god is she serious, and like ok. So I can say that my mom is my role model because even though she has weaknesses you know she has a weakness, she doesn't show it ne, she just keeps it inside and say I will make it. Ja.
- 1.78 **Female participant:** My role model is my mother to me, my mother is a very hard working woman she doesn't give up. Living with my sister not nice with her, I was like no mamma, I have had enough of my sister doing this and this and that way. Just

- she is my daughter I love her even though she is what she is but I will try to change her. She inspired me so much and then you know sometimes in life you realise how much this person means to you, if you, you know my mother got sick, that is why I know I am nothing without her, so I pray to god to keep her until I finish my matric, even until go to university, I want her to be there when I graduate from university and the promise I had myself that I am going to work for her, I am going to give her everything she that she want in life, everything that she cant have when she was young and I love my mother very much.
- 1.79 **Male participant:** I have lots of role models see. Whatever, if you give me advice or help or help me with something that I did didn't know know, you are my role model you see because you help me a lot ja, but my serious role model is Lionel Messi, ja he is my role model.
- 1.80 **Interviewer:** Aaa so the soccer?
- 1.81 **Male participant:** Ja soccer
- 1.82 **Interviewer:** Do you want to be like him, play soccer like him why is he your role model?
- 1.83 **Male participant:** No I don't want to play soccer like him, uuu I want to steal – his – the way he play you see. I want to play like him but not the way he play like – I want to be more than than
- 1.84 **Interviewer:** Aaa so even a better player him
- 1.85 **Male participant:** Yes, but then the way, because of the way of the field, I like him, he have organisation, he help a lot of children in the world. I want to be person of that type you see.
- 1.86 **Interviewer:** Mmmm
- 1.87 **Male participant:** I have a lot of role models, but
- 1.88 **Interviewer:** Tell us about them
- 1.89 **Male participant:** Right now many of them have passed away, they are great legendary peoples. Like Carl Marx, Frederick Angel, our great father Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Steve Biko all that people that fight for our struggle, you see. The first thing, my biggest role model, Carl Marx.
- 1.90 **Interviewer:** Why is Carl Marx your biggest role model
- 1.91 **Male participant:** Because, he never give up on what he want to do. The first thing, let me say, he have seen that our country have capitalist where many people are capitalist, so he come with this great idea of communism, so in our country many people just be by because life have to be lived, no like I wont like to mention names, I will just say look at our parliament right now, some people struggling but some of them living like heaven on earth, you see. So that is why I am just, I told myself I am the future of South Africa. That person have fight for his country yet bring such things in his country that even the love at the end, at the end he have applied that version, the idea of communism, so for me I have seen that person that have come with communism have done a great job so in South Africa as you see is a capitalistic, no to, no offense but I think I will be the change of South Africa that will bring communism into this country. So that is my great legends that few. That give me that thing that everything is possible, nothing is impossible. Yeah
- 1.92 **Female participant:** My role model, actually I have two, but my biggest role model is my mom, she is a fighter and she is a rock, when she is down, she picks up, she picks up herself, she doesn't let anything bring her down, like when my dad left us, I was in grade 5 oh I could see that she was hurt, but she keep, she told herself that I wont let this man bring me down, I am going to pick up myself for my kids, and she actually did. My mom did not work when I was in grade 5, until in grade 5 but she

finished school, she told herself that I am going back to university, I am going to learn and I am going to work for my kids, actually she did, that is why I wanna be like her. Because I can see that the things she does, she does for us. She can sacrifice anything for her kids, that is why I love her so much and I adore her. And my second role model is my grand-mom, from my father's side. Uhm she is unique no one can replace her, she loves all her grandkids, all her sister's children their grandchildren, she is a family person and she loves spending time with us. She lives in a rural areas in where is it, PE, she lives in PE. But she can be very very strict sometimes but she is a loving person that is why she is my role model.

- 1.93 **Female participant:** I have three role models, my English teacher, my history teacher and myself, yes. My English teacher – the one who care. She is not strict, she is funny and she works hard, I don't wanna lie about that, she works hard. She is the reason why I I don't, ok the reason why I came to school. I don't like school and for me school is something that I, its like I am trapped. You know (laugh) so school for me, ok she is my role model, she makes school for me fun and my history teacher, he also makes school for me fun, because I like I thought I wanted to be a journalist, I thought I wanted to be a writer, I don't know what I actually want to be so they inspire me so much, the reason why I say that they inspire me, English is not my home language anyway I can speak English because she made it possible, ok I knew English somehow but she made it huh, possible for me to understand English in a way that people should understand it, and my history teacher is the one who is going to push me back to being a journalist, because he gives me information so much that I want to know more. The minute he starts talking he makes you concentrate, it doesn't matter how, but he gives you concentration. And myself, I wanna be my role model myself because I like writing, what makes me like writing is my pen, the minute I hold my pen some, lot of things come into my mind, write this, write that, write about whom don't write about that person, so its easy for me that way. My parents also, my parents, mmm, they are so strict, I have never seen such people before (laughter) but I don't want to lie, they those are parents you can adore, they are not my biological parents uhm, uhm my mother passed away in 2000 and then they took me and now I am their children, huh uh their only child, yes. They spoiled me, they, I I when I am with them I feel open, even though I cant communicate with them, but I feel op, I don't when I am at school I act this way, when I am at home I act this way, no I am the same person all the time, so that they can see me how I am, yes. So they they inspire me a lot because they are educated and they want me to be like them. So they always push me, go to school, do your homeworks, even though I don't like to do homeworks, I do homeworks only when I know they have uhm marks, if they have marks and then they will be recorded then I do it, but if in know its not going to be recorder then I wouldn't mind, I take my cell phone (laughter) and chat. All day, that is the only problem my mom has with me, chatting, yes.
- 1.94 **Interviewer:** The rest of you, do you feel that you are always the same person? She said she is not this type of person at school and this type of person at home, do you feel sometimes a little different with my friends, I am a little different with my parents, I am a little different with my teachers or do you feel always the same person?
- 1.95 **Male participant:** I am not always the same person, you see at home you have to be more like a child, your parents want you to do things that they want to you to do. So at school it is just being, I am just enjoy being a teenager at school, so when I am at home the are a lot of things that this kid of next door don't do it, so you don't have to so I am just told my parents I am not that person, I am myself, I don't want to do

things other person want me to do, so don't treat me like, I am still in grade 6 or what what. It is time that I made my own standards, look what I am going to do – so my parents

1.96 **Interviewer:** Yes yes

1.97 **Male participant:** That my parents had me wake up early, where I even cant understand why can should they do that but sometimes I feel like that the way they treat me means that they doing something that they want me to be someone in life. You don't make just stupid decisions at the end of the day, but I like to live my life, so like to make my own decisions that I say. I don't want anyone to make decisions for me, that is the way I am.

1.98 **Interviewer:** Right

1.99 **Female participant:** I am only different to my dad, and to my friends I am the same, I like to do silly things, like during break I was dancing for them, you know, doing a silly dance. So with my dad I am different, very different, I don't like talk a lot, I just when he is ask me something, I'll just say, if he wants yes or no, I just like just like that because I don't have any relationship because my dad not being their for us when we were young so I don't kinda like know him.

1.100 **Female participant:** I am the same person in school and at home, but with my dad I am a completely different person, the reason why is that I am still angry with him, I want to know why, what made him leave, yes, I still want to and what made him remarry after a year, and to his wife, I don't see her, she is nothing to me. I just treat her like my friend, yes. She is nothing and my mom always tells me to respect her, and I ask her why should I do that because she is not my mom and she tells me no, she is your mom but in a legally way but you have to show her respect. As I am a Christian I go to a Christian church, she will always tell me about the Bybel, I will always say ja I never mind that, I still don't like her. But when I am with her, she knows me like my friends knows me, they know I am a silly person, I like making jokes, and just having fun. She also knows me like that. But sometimes I ignore her, she will just tell me stop doing this because it is stupid, you know, she is sometimes hates what I do. At home they even think that I am crazy, my older brothers, because, they drive me crazy, especially my older brother who will do silly things with him but when it comes to time when we are caught, he will say it was not me it was her, so I like being myself and not pretending of who I am, that is what I like and my teachers know me, what kind of a person I am.

1.101 **Male participant:** I am a different person at school, outside and at home, at home I obey my parents, at school at class I do talk a lot you see, when our teachers are speaking I am also speaking, ja. Outside, outside I'll do not talk to anybody until you greet me, so I will talk to you if you have greeted me. I do not talk a lot outside you see.

1.102 **Female participant:** I don't pretend to be somebody else, I like being myself, I even like the stuff that I like, I like being simple, not taking someone's style, that is what I like.

1.103 **Female participant:** As I said I never pretend to be someone else, as I say I am the same. So I am the same at home and at school. At home I am not different at school I am not different, I love laughing, as long as I am laughing, this one makes me laugh (gestures to friend), my physics physical sciences teacher at home my sister makes me laugh, so I am laughing lot. And I don't pretend to be something else but although I break some rules at home I respect my mother, my siblings, and every one. Even the same here at school I respect my teachers and my friends, I am naughty around my friends here at school, yeah.

- 1.104 **Female participant:** Me I uhm uhm uhm I am not different if my principle comes right now, I don't change if I have to talk to him I talk, whether he is angry or not angry, as long as he help me talking doesn't matter. My mum knows me very well, anytime when I want to talk anything about any anybody anything whenever I talk. My English teacher, every teacher knows me, that this person talks very much. Yes. And I make sure that when I talk I include people so that they can laugh, yes. I don't just make talk here and you don't know what I'm talking about, I make sure that everybody is hears what I am trying to say, so that it can be a joke. Even at church they know me, this person is talkative, but when it comes to time, okay is time to keep quiet, I can hold myself for a while, not not more than 30 minutes (laughter) that's too much, (laughter) yes but I can be me. I don't want to change because the minute I change when I come to school when I get home home, and I then make myself a sheep, my parents at school they wont say hey this child of yours there here at school is pushing corruption and doing this, and then my parents say no this a soet child, it would never done such things like that. So if I make corruption I make corruption at home I make corruption everywhere (laughter) yes.
- 1.105 **Interviewer:** Tell me what does it mean to be an African?
- 1.106 **Male participant:** An African. . . to be honest, there is nothing that beautiful like an African person you see, because as Africans we have many things that we done, with our own hands. You see, there are many things that we can do but most people say that western countries are not the same as us, but maybe when person from Africa, around Africa like Ghana, came to lets say you are my brother, I agree with you because we are one colour. We exactly know how is it to be. Let me say, I don't know but my ancestors know how is it to be slave, where do we come from exactly, so I always think to be an African Ja is a great thing, that's what. I am proud to be an African exactly.
- 1.107 **Female participant:** Sometimes I am proud to be an African but somehow I am not. Why I am proud because, in this country there is no discrimination, it is a rainbow nation, this country is the only one that has 11 official languages it has different cultures and beliefs (Yeah – group member) but somehow I hate it because some people have lots their culture and tradition. They change themselves, some black people have changed to be westerns, some have changed cultures for other different cultures but from my point of view, you will never see a Muslim wearing takkies and all-star shirt with panzula like no, but some black people also try to change that's why they don't belief in their culture, they have lost their roots, you see. Secondly I don't care other countries have problems but here as an African I can see the problem, there are many people who are poor who don't have food, who go to bed hungry. Who don't have electricity but what our president is building big houses unnecessarily. Some peoples sit in their office and at the end of the month they get paid 40 thousand but someone who works hard, like our teachers they only maybe pay maybe 15 thousand. But without teachers there would be no doctors, no lawyers, I think somehow South Africa see how other people are important but they think of themselves only but not the other people. That is all I can say.
- 1.108 **Male participant:** Eeh being Africa is good but in the middle is bad so because in the middle they are suffering badly see, but here down the south we we we do many things, we eat, we play football, we have good buildings, see, have stadiums, everything is fine. But in Africa a child can go 5 months without a food, you see, and that one was me, when I eat, you see. That is that only. That is that there is a person who does not, who has never seen food, since 5 weeks food this one is me a lot, while our luckiest and fortunate is spending big moneys, we we need to make Africa a

strong country man. If you go to Europe to play soccer and you say you come Africa they will just sign you, no matter if you don't know football, but they will sign you because they believe that Africa people they are strong you see, they have power, they have strength, you see there no need to play to be uhm an African you see, Africa is a good continent. Africa is a good country and Africa shall rise (laughter).

- 1.109 **Female participant:** Somewhere somehow I love being South African somewhere I hate, because it make like sad, just take a black person in put him in power in parliament. What is he going to do – corruption. That is all he know, and that's (laugh) that is what I hate lot. I hate being a South African because of that because if you go to Lesotho and say that you are from South Africa, all they know people in South African all they know is corruption and making fraud, that's why that is why I hate being South African. But being South African is actually great, uhm I love my culture I love being Xhosa, and love my mother's culture being Sotho, which I am speaking her language because I never grew up in a Xhosa family, we spoke Sotho in the household, but I actually love being Xhosa because it is fun, you get to know all sort of things, you don't know, you get to explore your own culture. That is why I love being South African.
- 1.110 **Female participant:** I love being an African but not being South African, (Yes-group member), no this place ne, as she said it is all about the government, I think everything starts with the parliament, because if the government gives us money for this pregnancy then how I'll just say ok I don't have any money why don't I just pregnant you know, because that is how many people think, I think so, that is why we are poor, because of the government are spoiling us that why. And to my eye, as I sit, we are the most richest country but we don't use this thing that we have we are holding on with our hands, we don't use it but we just we just protect it we just have to let go. Like now gold is found here, but we take this gold and transport it there, then we have to like think buy that machine and do this gold here, it is our gold ne, but then we have to buy it from other countries you know. We are rich but we are making ourselves poor, by ourselves.
- 1.111 **Interviewer:** Does being African mean you have to be black?
- 1.112 **Group members:** No
- 1.113 **Interviewer:** whites, Chinese, Indian people are they also African?
- 1.114 **Group members:** Yes
- 1.115 **Male participant:** You know in South Africa you have many problems you see, and really when you come from, let me say, Cameroon, when you come in South Africa, they will call you with names, you see, they call you names, they don't unite as one African country, you see. When you come from Morocco they will also call you names, not knowing what is your purpose, what are you going to do here, what is the
Interruption of session – teacher has to leave key with a student.
- 1.116 **Male continue:** Many, let me say many Africans now still have that thing of okay that what happened way back in the past, something like apartheid, that thing, some people still have that things in mind, so for me I will live with everyone that is a African, white, black, no matter what the colour is I forgot, we have unite as one country, so people like now they will still say, like, let me make an example, no offense ne, ill say ne, okay whites were this in apartheid and blacks were like this, coloureds didn't have this, whites have this, so they still have those grudges, that is why we cant live as a united country yes here in south Africa, always accusing, that was way back, we have moved on you see that is why. See yes. Not only taking a black to be an African there is no Africa without whites or coloured because we don't have the same knowledge, this one have its own knowledge so we cant manufacture

- things if we only have one race in south Africa because we don't think the same, we don't have the same skills of doing these jobs, so that is for me Africa.
- 1.117 **Interviewer:** Good, do the rest of you agree
- 1.118 **Group members:** Yes, yes
- 1.119 **Interviewer:** If you were to wake up tomorrow and you were not a black African person, you looked differently, would you still be the same person inside.
- 1.120 **Female participant:** Yes, for me yes, eeh colour is nothing, for me, as long as I can speak, I can see I am fine, and I can eat.
- 1.121 **Interviewer:** Will you have to be able to speak, what is your home language? Sesotho?
- 1.122 **Female participant:** Yes
- 1.123 **Interviewer:** Will you have to be able to speak Sesotho, so if you wake up and you can't speak Sesotho will you then be somebody else?
- 1.124 **Female participant:** Yes, okay so I wake up and I am white in the morning, (Laugh) I just wake up and look in the mirror oooo surprise, okay thank you and I have to change my language because I am now white, I have to change people can recognise me
- 1.125 **Interviewer:** Will you be a different person inside
- 1.126 **Female participant:** Inside? No, you see ne, if one person, if one is kind then everything is under control, so yes. So I will always be kind and talkative and friendly
- 1.127 **Interviewer:** In any language
- 1.128 **Female participant:** And socialising, any language doesn't matter, yes.
- 1.129 **Interviewer:** Alright
- 1.130 **Interviewer:** You guys agree?
- 1.131 **Group members:** Yes
- 1.132 **Interviewer:** So you think if you wake up and you Chinese and you speak se'chinese you will still be yourself?
- 1.133 **Male participant:** Yes, I will be me. I will be proud, because Chinese are the, are the people who, they are a famous people you see, they they not stay and they say oo we will always be poor, they will not do or do that. They will always they are problems that is nothing possible, everything they do they do for for the world, see, they bring cell phones come from Chinese, everything that comes up from Chinese, Chinese are famous, you see.
- 1.134 **Interviewer:** Made in china hey?
- 1.135 **Male participant:** Yes
- 1.136 **Female participant:** Okay I say it does not matter how you look, even though I can wake up in the morning be Zulu, cause it doesn't matter just I'll , what matters is what you see is just a mirror, of of of something you know, but what matters is how you react, what is inside you, let out there.
- 1.137 **Interviewer:** If you wake up tomorrow and you are not Sesotho but lets say Zulu, would you then be a different person? You still looked the same but you grew up in a different culture? Would you be a different person you think?
- 1.138 **Female participant:** Yes due to culture only yes
- 1.139 **Interviewer:** So culture influence the person you are more than just how you look?
- 1.140 **Group members:** Yes, yes
- 1.141 **Interviewer:** But do you guys know your cultures? I mean do you slaughtering do you still cut your hair when somebody passes away and do you have ancestors and you still pray to the ancestors.
- 1.142 **Female participant:** Yes
- 1.143 **Male participant:** Yes

- 1.144 **Female participant:** I don't know my culture, my dad's a Xhosa ne, but I don't know like these things, they have two surnames, they (laughter) they they know their
- 1.145 **Interviewer:** Their clan
- 1.146 **Female participant:** They they name don't know themselves, I only know my grandmother, I know don't know that's if she has sisters. My dad doesn't talk about his family, I know nothing, about them. So even though I don't know one culture, who put this thing that is why put these things (touches face) that's why I only know this thing. And immediately when I saw that thing I got I felt sick, very, I was sick I didn't know myself then was I ran to my mum who told me that shjo why don't we just go to my grandmother's, they did that thing and I was ok, I think my dad his his just something.
- 1.147 **Interviewer:** Do you guys wanna pass your culture and all those stuff that you are being done to now, the whole thing that you must wear onto you kids as well? Do you think it is important that your kids know these things?
- 1.148 **Female participant:** no no
- 1.149 **Male participant:** I see it is very important, your children have to know where do you come from you see, if you know where you come from you know where you are going (group members say with him – you know where you are going). But at home I am confused you see so my mom is coloured my father is Xhosa speaking person, so they do things in, like something that in a western way that I cant understand, take his culture mix with my mom culture, you do something that is very confusing, so actually nah, I am not actually scared to say I don't know where I am coming from, so but I am still looking where I am coming from. But here in South Africa like I have seen many problems, you see, if you are coloured, you will all say you are this what what, so you will say you are this, you don't know what are you, what you are doing, so I find it hard actually to know who I am but I am still trying to be that person that I have, the way of born, I will be that person until I die.
- 1.150 **Male participant:** I will always do, always practice our culture to my children, you see, because, eeh I will always I will I will like to go to mountain for me this my culture, but my parents know that did not want to let me and always my church, see, so I have to go back the rules, you see, but even if my culture is saying that, I will just obey my parents rules and church rules but in the future I will take all my boys to the mountain. Yes. (laugh)
- 1.151 **Interviewer:** Right
- 1.152 **Female participant:** For me I don't know what I want to do, cause the person who had to teach me, he doesn't know himself also, so I think I will take my mom's because my mom somewhere somehow, coloured there. Our Tshwana is not a real Tshwana ne ne, you mix there and there and Afrikaans ne, but then when I ask my mom who are you exactly she will stand up and tell me but my dad will say ag and just look at TV. So I think my my my future will be all about my mom and not his culture, yes. She knows.
- 1.153 **Interviewer:** Uhm can you guys “Phoko” yourself? You know, Yes your Seboka? Do you know your Sebok?
- 1.154 **Group members:** No, no (some yes)
- 1.155 **Female participant:** Me I know both of them, from my moms side and my dads side
- 1.156 **Interviewer:** Do it is not really that important nowadays? To know your Seboka?
- 1.157 **Female participant:** Yes it is important
- 1.158 **Group members:** No
- 1.159 **Female participant:** For some it is, go to the mountain and to say that and also when (yes – group members) when you go the rural areas and you meet someone with the

name you are carrying, he or she will ask you what is your Seboka, then you have to tell them, then he say oh you are my sister or you are my brother (yes –group members)

- 1.160 **Interviewer:** It's important?
- 1.161 **Female participant:** It is important but then aai my dad (laughter)
- 1.162 **Interviewer:** Your dad is confused (laughter)
- 1.163 **Female participant:** Just I will say what is my seboka he just like uhm say Mbeki and then just carry on uhm (laughter) like my dad is also lost, yeah
- 1.164 **Female participant:** When you don't know your seboka it is kinda like you are still looking for your roots where, outside where your roots lie, you feel like an outsider, so I think it is very important. (yes – group) to know who you are.
- 1.165 **Female participant:** So sometimes you will be sitting with your friend in the same chair then you will be asking her, what clan are you falling under, then she will tell you and you will realise no it is how I tell myself, and you will be surprised how come? But your surnames will not be the same but your clans, your family clan is the same, then she will go ask her family and I will ask my and sometimes somehow they will find out you are related but in this way that your grandmother and her grandmother were cousins in the extended family, yes. (mmmmm –group)
- 1.166 **Interviewer:** Who is a or who plays more of a role? Or who understands you better your peers or is it your parents?
- 1.167 **Female participant:** My parents
- 1.168 **Male participant:** No one understands me,
- 1.169 **Interviewer:** You say no one understands you?
- 1.170 **Male participant:** No one will ever understand me
- 1.171 **Interviewer:** Is it easier for you to talk to your friends or to your parents?
- 1.172 **Group members:** Friends
- 1.173 **Interviewer:** When you have an opinion and you want to debate it and you want to put across how you gonna change South Africa do you find your friends understand you more or is it your parents who understand you more or is it your teachers at school?
- 1.174 **Female participant:** With parents it always starts like, mom I did this and that and that, she will just say you did this and that and that (yes – group member) but she wont start this one first and then solve this problem you know. so that is why I think most of us with our friends because this is straight even if don't see this friend long, (laugh) but then you feel comfortable. She just tells you, she doesn't tell you – I told you not to do, I told you not to whatever, I think it is because of that. Ja.
- 1.175 **Male participant:** You know the reason why I am saying no one will ever know me, no one will ever understands me, I have very much different characters everyday you see. the person, I don't want you to know me, like I have said, let me say she heard me say speaking bad things about what, the next following day she is going to just look at me and say this person was not like this yesterday, why is he like this. So this is way I say you have to change your character, don't make your person to exactly, you know. To the extent that you will say aaa I know you, so they judge people from how they know someone you see. That is why I don't want everyone to understand me, but including my parents, they have to understand me.
- 1.176 **Interviewer:** Do you guys like being teenagers? Do you like being an adolescent?
- 1.177 **Group members:** Yes, yes
- 1.178 **Female participant:** Sometimes
- 1.179 **Female participant:** Yes sometimes,

- 1.180 **Interviewer:** Ok let's go around the table, and would you like to be a teenager for ever?
- 1.181 **Group members:** For ever, yes! (laughter)
- 1.182 **Interviewer:** What do you like about it?
- 1.183 **Female participant:** Nna I like, okay I don't party I am not person of party (laughter – waaa – group members) I like being alone, aa the reason why I like being alone is because when I am alone then I know myself, when I am alone I don't wanna lie, I talk alone, I sing alone, sometimes if I don't talk to myself, I talk to my phone, if I am not online I talk you know what, today something happened like this and then it turn out that I am stupid, I throw away the phone. So I like being a teenager, because when you are a teenager everything you want you, teenagers are totally right. So when you are a teenager, everything you want, you make sure you have
- 1.184 **Interviewer:** Do you get it?
- 1.185 **Female participant:** Yes, nna I I think I get, even though somewhere I don't get them right away, you know. Maybe it was going to be a birthday party and I don't have money, I go to my mother and aaai, at school I don't want to lie, if I am lying I look you straight into the eye (laughter) but if I don't lying I don't keep my eyes. Mom today at school we are going to school uhm, uhm maybe you are coming, we are going to uovs, I don't tell her that you are coming here, no we have to go to uovs, so you must give R30, cause if I go straight to her and say I going to a party and need R30 the first thing that is going to come to her mind is that you are going to drink alcohol, (yes – group) that is how parents are. So I I have to go with corners, you know, so I go, okay mom listen, so she knows me already, huh hu don't look me in the eye, don't lie to me, already she knows me that if she is looking in me in the eye she is lying me, so she always okay so you need money for what, for this, oo I need a letter from those people, so being a teenager sometimes is fun, but then sometimes is not, because when you need things you don't have them. Other teenagers if they don't have things, they prefer stealing. So stealing is not the right thing, I I steal uuu in words, I can steal in okay mom today this and this and that and she says okay now you are trying to trick me, go straight to the point then I know okay already I have something that I have, then I go straight to the point, I need this for this and this. Then she can say yes this is how I want them to be.
- 1.186 **Interviewer:** Okay let's go around the table; do you like being a teenager?
- 1.187 **Female participant:** Ja I do like being a teenager, but sometimes I wish I was an adult, because oo my mom is very strict, when it comes to parties she will say no even if it is my best friend's party, she will just say no because she knows there will be booze drinking and smoking. But as she said (points to friend) I am like her, I would if I want something I don't just ask mom can I have this, I am going to lie, like say mom tomorrow at school, Mrs. X wants, and if she said she wants R5 for the flowers, I will just say she wants R25 for the flowers, she will say to me I am going to go school and ask and I will say ok I will go with you, and she knows that when I say okay I will do this with you she knows that I am not lying, she will give me. And she knows when I am telling the truth I always laugh but when I am lying I am always serious I don't laugh, she knows me that way. But when I get accused of something that I did I cry like, I did not do it, but if I did it I will laugh and they think that I am crazy even in primary my teachers hated me, cause they said I was the naughtiest child. I was the naughty, I would not listen, do things what I want, when I want. Go to school when I want, take half days from school and but my mom would say you know you should not do this, there are reasons not to do this. I will say nah because she is an adult she thinks she can control my life, that is why I hate being an teenager, but I

love being a teenager because I get to do things that I love, I get to get together with my friends, just have fun, go out, go to the mall, and just have fun even my friends from church just sit in the back while the priest is lecturing us, just laugh just making jokes, yes that is what I like.

- 1.188 **Male participant:** I like to be teenager but on the other hand no I don't like to be. The reason let me start, the reason why I enjoying being teenager is because everything is come on a silver platter, you see, cause your mom will do everything for you even though you have done something she will always be by your side, until know, she actually protects me, but on the other hand, this stuff that teenagers do just make me not to want to be a teenager anymore
- 1.189 **Interviewer:** Like what stuff
- 1.190 **Male participant:** Like drinking, these (drinking, getting pregnant – female in group) most teenagers smoking right now, stealing stuff so that stuff just irritates me. have a bright future but he goes on wasting on like that, I am actually the point is, our future is vanishing we will never have presidents that will be needed in south Africa that is why I hate the other part, because teenagers think they own the world you see, they can do whatever they want to do, and at the time they don't see they destroying theirselves.
- 1.191 **Male participant:** Ja, it is always good to be a teenager
- 1.192 **Interviewer:** Why
- 1.193 **Male participant:** Because you are always being forgiven, whatever the wrong you have done, you always being forgiven. And you have no need to cry, for a help, because always your parents are on your side, you use. But at some point I would like to be eh an adult, because when I go home looking the streets boys smoking, all the things I don't like that things, see, I will I will just like to I will just turn myself and say how (laughter) (saying in Sesotho). You see, so at some point being teenager is good but you will being a teenager you must do the teenage things and being an adult you must do the adult things, not when you are older you are an adult you would like to the teenage things, that will embarrass you. So I would like to follow the steps of teenage, until I get older, you see.
- 1.194 **Interviewer:** Right, you don't want to be a teenager for ever?
- 1.195 **Male participant:** Yes
- 1.196 **Interviewer:** But do you teenage things when you are a teenager and adult things when you are an adult?
- 1.197 **Male participant:** Yes I like that
- 1.198 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 1.199 **Female participant:** For me being a teenager sometimes it is fun, being a teenager I can say you are crazy, you are busy with music, fashion and all this stuff, even it is easy to go mom I don't have a bra, I need underwear, new shoes, I want to do this and this with my hair but somewhere I don't know, that is how I feel. I am looking forward to being an adult now, I have to take responsibility of my life, when I am done passing my matric it is going to be alright for me to say to my mother and say to her I don't have underwear, that is going to be awkward for me and I love being a teenager because I have my sister she is 22, she is a lesbian also, we have a lot of fun. Like there is this pants, carrot pants, I tell my mother I want this pants, she says hell no you 'aint going to buy this carrot pants with my money, so I love being a teenager sometimes, but but when you are a teenager you face a lot of challenges, that where the challenges begin, like you get distracted with few things, now there are girls getting pregnant and most of them in people in jail are teenagers. Then even if you to these people who are getting month from SARS, you wont find old women, no

teenagers from 16 upwards until 21. So for me being a teenager, I feel ashamed sometimes, because I feel most of the girls, you know when I come across a girl who is pregnant I feel so ashamed, like I wish that she thought before she did this, like this and this. Because she doesn't know what the future holds, what is she going to feed that baby with, as you see that the life from now it is hard, even our parents sometimes struggle to feed us and to buy us clothes, so I wonder what girls who get pregnant think, so you have to think before you act, that is all I can say about being a teenager.

- 1.200 **Female participant:** Okay I like being teenager, even though I love being a teenager, because why if I want something maybe I want a jean or something I will just say mommy can I please have this thing, you know what she says to me Hell T, my hell, and then gives me money and then I just think what if I was working and I need this thing I need to work hard, like when I was sick and I say mommy I want some drink, you know, she say ok I buy you something you are the last born for the girls, you know it is fine. And also being a teenager because I love partying (mmmm- group)
- 1.201 **Interviewer:** Would you like to stay a teenager forever?
- 1.202 **Female participant:** Forever. I like it. But we party like dance you know; I would love to be a teenager forever.
- 1.203 **Female participant:** I love being a teenager because I get everything that I want, from my father, my mother not. I will have to work hard before I get what I want,
- 1.204 **Interviewer:** Would you also like to stay a teenager forever?
- 1.205 **Female participant:** Yes,
- 1.206 **Interviewer:** So you don't want to grow up?
(Group – laughter)
- 1.207 **Interviewer:** You don't want to grow up?
- 1.208 **Female participant:** No I want to grow up, I want to have my own money (group member – own car) I want to have my permanent job, and the thing I want to work at home, I will stay home working, but in the bank the moneys clicking (Yes – group) that is what I want.
- 1.209 **Interviewer:** I think that is it – thank you very much.

APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 2

- 2.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 2.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 2.3 **Male participant:** Uh, I am a very uh, diverse person,
Knock on door – interruption
- 2.4 **Male participant continues:** In a way that uh, I have I don't did many things that has to do with south Africa, for existence languages, yeah languages. . .ja. . .
- 2.5 **Interviewer:** so you can speak a lot of languages?
- 2.6 **Male participant:** Ja but I can speak four languages, another thing about me is that what makes me different from other teens of today is that I see life with another with another perspective, because of my religion. Ja.
- 2.7 **Interviewer:** How do you see life?
- 2.8 **Male participant:** How do I see life, I see life in a deeper way – in a way that uhhh while, whilst I created by God, what was my purpose to live life, how, but at some point it is very tough and tricky to live life as a teenager because you come up with forces that influences you negatively like foreign trends and stuff, ja, but up to so far, as a person, I have a normal brain, I can think for myself, I am a very assertive person, and ja up to so far that is it and what I like about my life is that I follow things that make sense, I don't just do a certain type of thing instructed by chiefs. Yes basically that is me.
- 2.9 **Interviewer:** Do what religion are you? You said your religion influences you?
- 2.10 **Male participant:** Oh I am a Christian,
- 2.11 **Interviewer:** Next? Who wants to describe themselves?
- 2.12 **Male participant:** Okay I will speak, if I could describe myself I would say that I am a very intelligent person because of my background, and the way I am as a teenager of today's youth I am a very person that is very visionary and when I look around I look at the, I view the world in a different perspective than the other person's perception and for me when I look at the world, I look at the world as a better place, although the person is bad before me, the person cant be said negative. Another actually I will be a friend to that person so that I can transform that person's life, to become like a positive person, just to because that person has a moment, he or she is in a bad space, so since I have the solution and I define myself as a good person as a positive person. If I see a negative person living a negative life and I know the positive thing I have to do the right thing and tell that person you listen you are in a negative state and show him the positive state, so then again religion is what defines me. God is everything, it is like without God there is no me, there is no I, there is no soul without God, so it is God who gave me that soul, without soul you see that, I have to use it for the right purpose in life and to go and other people's lives so that they may become motivators for other people's lives, not for me actually but looking at myself I am a leader, I have courage I have self-esteem, although we lack a lot of things in teens, teens lack some of those characters and values, so for me I would rather help them but encouraging them to build their self-esteem and have courage in their lives so that they can believe in themselves and not what people say about them, and ja I am just a fun person, talkative, I love sharing knowledge, and I have the curiosity, I am always curious to actually know about things I don't know about, I search deep, I don't actually look at

- the answer, I want to know why what is the reason behind that answer, I look for facts, so that I can reason again, you see, like ja. That is who I am
- 2.13 **Interviewer:** Good thank you,
- 2.14 **Female participant:** Uhm I have self-esteem, respect, I love to talk, I love to share ideas, uhm, I will describe myself like, as a teenager I have faced many challenges like those things that I was not suppose to face, I had a baby, but I still, like there are those girls who when they have baby they lose self-esteem, they lose hope, they see that wow I have a baby I cant go to school what people are going to say then. My parents told teach me that you didn't have to lose hope, what ever happens it is a mistake, it was not the aim, ja. And ja, I ja, I came to school while whilst I am having a baby and now I am in matric, and there are those girls who are not here now, they have just lose hope and they didn't came to school but then I told myself that I am going to school I am going to work for my family I am going to change the backgrounds where I am coming from, I am going to change my family life. Ja that is all uhm.
- 2.15 **Male participant:** Ok, is a very helpful guy around the community, so elder people around my community prefer me to help them, I assist them. So what makes me different from the others is that I am not a I don't give up easily, you see, I have faced many challenges here in school but I never give up, I experienced failing grade 9 for 3 times but I never give up here in school, so that is what makes me different from other children at school.
- 2.16 **Interviewer:** So what do you usually help the elders with? In the community?
- 2.17 **Male participant:** Maybe sometimes they send me in shops, in complexes, sometimes I clean their yards maybe for income, ok.
- 2.18 **Interviewer:** Good
- 2.19 **Male participant:** Ja that is it.
- 2.20 **Female participant:** Uhm most people call me Mompie, because they can see that I am so fat, and uhm all I can say is that I like being me- myself- and I. I like being so fat you know, because sometimes people tell me that no girl you know what – you are so fat. But I always tell myself that I am not going to slim because somebody tell me to slim or something, uhm I like myself and I like people who are around me because we help each other, teach each other, we uhm talk, I use to talk a lot and now, joh – they call me like (says Sesotho saying) so like when I am like sitting all alone in a room, all i think about is ok – now I am in the room what I am I going to do, okay sharp, I go to my friends, talk to them, do whatever I do and when it come to school, uhm I always see myself as other people, you know, because where I am coming from people think that uhm, the house that I am living at, they call it uhm, the children who lives there, so me I like to keep it just like down low.
- 2.21 **Interviewer:** So you are humble?
- 2.22 **Female participant:** Ja, and I don't compare myself with other people you know, all I can say is that uhm I know that sometimes I come to school with money, but I wont say oh no I have money, at my home we are rich, no they told me you that know what – you know what at your home uhm, my dad told me at your home you may be rich but at your school you have to be like you are poor you know so that you don't go around judging people, you don't you don't want people to see you as if, no that good girl, you fool yourself, ja so ja that is what my dad told me. And I am a poetry girl, I am a person who does not hate people, I am a girl who goes to church, I am a girl who loves God Almighty with all my heart. I am a girl who puts God in everything that I do, I am a person who believes, who has that believe that something is going to happen that something is going to change my life, something is going to encourage

me, uhm when I was uhm, 12 years old I lost my mother, but I didn't say no you know what, okay now I have lost my mother, let me be like uhm a street kid or something, no. I keep on pushing myself, pushing my brother because my brother was losing hope, so that then I told him you know what – I am your sister and you are my brother so you know what – we have to stand together, we have to fight this thing together, so that you know, you may say Oh wow – having seen this thing coming, ja. When it is, when you face that challenge you will win it, not to lose the war ja.

2.23 **Interviewer:** Good, I forgot to say in the beginning please seeing that I am going to type this, can we make it English. *Ke ithuta Sesotho, ke tseba hanyane*, so I won't understand enough to type it all up. So Mabatho will explain if you don't understand something, but I really want you, even if you find it difficult to explain in English exactly what you mean, try? Thank you

2.24 **Interviewer:** Tell me a bit about who influences who you are? This me myself and I that you are, who influences that person? Parents, role models, siblings, community members? Who has an influence and shapes this person you become?

2.25 **Female participant:** Uhm my mother, ja it is my mother, my mother she didn't like finish matric but when she use to tell me, I don't want you to be like me, I had a child well like I use to I was suffering, losing my mother to me that she lose my brothers father and she was young, so she told me I didn't go to school I use to work, like you know like at the olden days, children were not going to school like us. She told me I don't want you to be like me, and I don't want us to live in this house, like this. I want you to change our background. I want you to change our life, because now you are our last hope. My brother finished school at 2000 while I was at pre-school, he finished matric and he didn't fail, that is my brother, he is also my role model, he didn't fail, he like he didn't have a baby while he was at school, he didn't use drugs, now he is 30, he is now starting to date, he is having a baby and he is going to get married. Now that is what I like, I wish that I will be like him, but then my mother told me it doesn't mean when you have a child with that boy he is the one that is going to marry you. So you have to just forget about him, he is not the only one, it is not the end of the world, so then you have to focus on your studies and whatever you are doing you are going to pass matric, he told, she told me that whatever you are doing, you are going to be perfect, whatever you should do, just look for one, don't listen to what people are saying, just be yourself whatever people are saying, let the people that are talking like wow I want to see that she is having a baby I wonder if she is going to pass matric, like and as a girl, I have those girlfriends talking like wow you are in matric how did it happen you having a baby, I don't know if you are going to pass matric, but then my mother showed me that there are those people who are going to talk and there will always be people that are talking so that you will just stay focused and don't listen to what others are talking. So yes my brother and my mother are my role models. Ja.

2.26 **Female participant:** Me, the person who motivates me is my dad, sometimes when he comes home he sees me dancing and say, uhm no don't turn off the music lets dance together, and you know then the music goes on and on and on and my parents told me that I, my dad told me never give up hope in anything, never listen to those who say you know what you can't do it, don't you ever listen to them - just say okay sharp. Then move on with your life, ignore those people. And the other person who inspires me is my grandmother, you know. My grandmother is like everything to me, because every time I talk to her uhm she is the one who understands me, ja that is why. And my role model is my big brother, because of, my brother didn't finish matric, but now he is uhm at Motheo FET college doing some tourism thing, he is my

role model because of uhm he taught me different things, he taught me that you know what when a boy comes to you just say this and that and that. And now sometimes when he sees me walking with another guy, he will say no you know what this is wrong, you must stop doing whatever you are doing, stop your playing and focus on one boyfriend. But if the boyfriend comes to you know, he must tell me you know then I put my brother you know, this boy did this and this and told me this and then they are scared of him. He will say – haah me, they will see (laughing group). Yes that is what I like.

2.27 **Male participant:** Uhm me, having to be, having to be individual is that I think I have inherited some of the characteristics from my mother, because my mom, I was raised by a single parent and what I grew up and what I have sawed on my mom is regardless about any circumstances in life my mom always stood up for me as his child, you know. Just like a lioness will always protect its cubs, that was my mom. And my mom in terms of his characteristics, she was defined by many strong characters that do require you to know yourself way before you will have those characters, so my mom always motivate me that you know what in life, regardless of what your poor background, you will have to to to vow to yourself that I am never dying poor. As means that God gives me a chance to achieve my dreams, I have to work hard. I have to be a positive person in life, humanity that defines everything in a person, so ja. My mom influenced me a lot and I considered him as my motivator, even today he is my motivator, ja. My mom. And the thing about a mother is that when you, when woman is young as a little girl, cause what I have seen is that we as guys, we get to uhm, make funny remarks of girls because you usually consider girls as the inferior sex, so we make bad remarks, but the thing about the girl is that when the girl grew up into her adulthood and when she makes a family, it is that his children are the source of peace and happiness in that woman's life, she will forget about all those remarks and criticisms she came across so ja. A woman is a very very strong and influence parent when it comes to a child's life. Ja (uuuummmm from group).

2.28 **Male participant:** Uhm what influences me. . . I am influenced by my imagination, anytime I wake up in the morning; go through the day I have to imagine something is going to happen through the day. What influences me is the future, when I think about the future, I want to become a better person, when I close my eyes and imagine how life is going to be 5 years or 2 years from now I just have a smile on my face, like wow. I am looking at this imagination and it has to be reality but it is not yet, it is still a thought, so I have to make that thought reality through my imagination. So when I think and smile sometimes at myself is because of my thoughts, so I believe that my experiences, the way I create them, through a thought that I think. And my future is influences by the past that I had, the person that I am today is because of the past that I had and the person that I wanna become in the future and how I wanna help other people and be an influence in other people's life, like I influenced myself and they influence me. But sometimes I get derailed and I actually get influenced by bad things in life. But with those things comes challenges through peer pressure, so the influence is as who, is not that bad and would leave and go to the environment. The influences is different, that is when you start needing your friends now, that it is when you start colliding with your parents and your family. Either they get tell you something good or they can tell you something bad. The only thing I understand is to be an influential person is to be a builder, it is to be a leader to a person's life, is to be that role model. So when I look at influence, I am my own influence.

- 2.29 **Interviewer:** Anybody else influence you? Other than your thoughts and your imagination? And how you see your future?
- 2.30 **Male participant:** The Bible, that is what influences me the most, because now I get my positive image from the Bible, I get my smile from the Bible. Just daily reading that word every day gives you that spiritual faith to like hold on. Just have that faith that what the word say about you is true; you believe what the word says. You don't believe what other people say, so like as I read the word, the word might say to me you are unique, I know I am unique, I am influences by the word telling me that I am my own person, there is no one like me, there is only one person like me. so in the word says that I have a future and then in the circumstances I am in I see I don't have a future, I will choose to believe the word because the one who is going to influence me that I have a future. Although the challenges that I am in at the moment doesn't tell me that, so the word and God, so there is no greater influence than Jesus. He is the goodest of them all. He is an influence that change the life of a person. Influences is transformation of a person's life, through encouraging the person to do good in their lives and always hope for the best in their life.
- 2.31 **Male participant:** What motivates me a lot is the background at home where I am from. At home I am the first person to reach matric, so while I was struggling I told myself I didn't want the... to live the kind of lifestyle my parents were living. So I started uh having that courage. And also the people who around my community, I started judging everyone, there are some guys who are living the substance and intoxicating beverages life but they progress without even failing. I was also part of them but I ask myself why can I fail while else they can proceed without failing. So I started looking at everyone and looking at my life and then saw the background at home and then I saw that I am the one who can change the background at home. Although the ages have gone further but, I still still I can make it and change the situation. Ok. That is enough.
- 2.32 **Interviewer:** What else influences, because you were saying your family, you know, but what about your friends? Do you have people in the community, maybe person that works in the community, member in community? Is there community members or friends that influence you? How do your friends? Peer pressure?
- 2.33 **Female participant:** Nah I don't have friends, like all the friends that I had, they just like they just like left me while I got pregnant, they say that Sjoe you are pregnant. And their parents use to tell them if you with her you are going to get pregnant too. Don't be that same. I don't want to see you going with her again. So my friends, my baby is my friend. I love her with all of my heart. My friend, here at school, ja. Those are my friends. I don't have friends, like I don't love friends because their parents also told me – you are going to stay away from our child because now you are an adult you are going to teach our child bad things, but then I prove them wrong, I just sit at home watching TV, doing my homeworks, playing with my child, my father – ja my father is my best friend, I tell him everything. Everything. Dad I found a boyfriend, he is like this and that – no he is not right I am going to kick him, I told him even if I was pregnant he saw me first before my mother, he told me like you are pregnant, that is why I like about him, he is my friend, I don't have friend around the community.
- 2.34 **Interviewer:** And here at school?
- 2.35 **Female participant:** Here at school, ja I have my friend. My best friend at school, I love her very much, ja
- 2.36 **Interviewer:** Positive influence would you say?
- 2.37 **Female participant:** I will talk later, talk (points to other)
- 2.38 **Interviewer:** How do your friends influence you?

- 2.39 **Female participant:** At school I use to have friends but now, they have turned their backs against me. You know? I use to tell my friend you know what this friends that you are going with, they are no good, then she will say no you know what you are judging us because of this and this and that. So that I told her you know what let me step out, you will see the world one day when your friends have turned their back against you. You will see. you will come running back and I will not say you know what you change, you have changed your ways, so now I have changed mine. You just go your way and I go my. I told her that you know what, even if you were in a bad state, I will welcome you into my house, I will come to my house and you know. And start afresh and ja.
- 2.40 **Female participant:** Exactly I don't have a friend, a best friend, I have a good friend, I have a good good friend. There uhm, my good friend is my cousin, rose, ja. That is my cousin and my brother and my grandma because of my brother he is so close to me because every time even if he is going to some parties and see me sitting around the house doing nothing, he saying no what , lets wash our selves and go to party and have fun. Even if I got home late, he will tell my father know what dad it is I who said she would come late and sorry dad I didn't tell you, so please accept apology and my dad will accept apology, and and. My friend, my other friend is my cousin, I love her a lot because she will, she said that she wants to help people and, she will, she encourage me to be like a person to be seen as a person in world, she was the one who motivated me, told me that you know what, you have to have that strength to go stand in front of every one, to stand in front of millions of people to take a speech, do poetries and you will get use to the system. Then I said ok, ok right. And she is my friend, she tells me about different things, we discuss things, we discuss schools, loves, sex, and everything, we don't hide, we don't have secrets, its like he is the boy and I am the girl, we are in love, we are partners, we are talking everything. We talk everything and . . .
- 2.41 **Interviewer:** In the community, do you have anybody that influences you?
- 2.42 **Female participant:** Ja there are, ja there is. There is this woman, her name is Ousie TK. She influences a culture of, uhm, she, she I see her as model because of when I uhm, a street kid passes she, he will not let that person pass her way, she will just say come in come here my boy or come here my girl and sit here, give him the food, give him the water drink , and also give him something to eat while she is going away or while she is, she said no you know what, I need this and this and that. She is a person who understand, she is a person who is open, I like her because she use to tell us, that you know what – if you want to reach where you want to reach you have to have the bigger picture first then you will see where you are going at and don't you ever give up hope, and don't you ever ever give up hope in everything that you do. Ja that is why. Friend in my community, community ja.
- 2.43 **Male participant:** Uhm well another strong factor for me that influences, is uh my religion, because life itself is spiritually motivated, so ja. Most of the things that I have face and others face, that we face in general, will profited a long time ago, that there is a human that will go through this and stuff. So ja, the Bible always motivates me to have the strength to never give up, so basically the Bible is the strongest factor behind my life.
- 2.44 **Interviewer:** How about friends? Have you had friends that influence you negatively or badly and have you had friends that help you do the good, right things?
- 2.45 **Male participant:** Of coarse I do have friends, but it is a pity to say that in all my friendships, I don't feel like a like uh, like there is any brotherhood in it. So most of the time, I have to rely on the Bible.

- 2.46 **Interviewer:** Do you have church friends?
- 2.47 **Male participant:** Ja I have church friends, but our friendship at church is not, so strong I am not bonded so strong, because most of us, we don't always have time to spend hours with each other and stuff. The only time that we have is when attending church priorities and stuff, ja.
- 2.48 **Male participant:** The friends that I have that influence me. at school I am the influencer, (laughing – group) ok, then at the environment I am the influenced, you see it is like.
- 2.49 **Interviewer:** Are you a good influence here at school?
- 2.50 **Male participant:** Ja in at school, but when I am around people and like, the way when I look back at life, and look at the people that use to be around me, mostly I use to hang around with Christians, because now Christians see life like nothing like before, they don't see the life the way the world sees life, but they see life in a way that God sees life. So my influencing friends at my environment are negative friends, ja in the environment. They could influence to do bad things sometimes, like what, (laughing) – honestly is this kept confidential right? (laughing – group) okay sharp – it is funny that I play different characters at one time, it is like I have five or six characters at a time but you can never tell, the difference, so I can play positive person, then I can play the negative person, I can play the dark person I can play the light person, I can play the funny person I can play the sad person, the best character that I like that influence me is the emo-character. That they the emo-subculture was just so amazing, it showed me that the inner me, it help me to discover something about myself that I have been going through but it was influencing me in a different way that I was isolating myself from people and I uhm, I was always feeling depressed, cutting my self with a razor from my wrist, and this emo-subculture led me to go to the other subculture, that is not that good. But almost help me make commit suicide, ja and, the other influence was rock music, music is like every time I listen to music that the messages inside that music it starts to going inside my mind, and once it stays in my thoughts, I start singing the music and when I start singing the music, it start possessing my mind and I start acting what I say. So then again, I have been through a lot of challenges through the influential section that I have been influenced satanically, I have been influenced darkly, emotionally, but the one that freaked me out was the satanic one, I was in this occult movement that I was in, and the influence came from music, I started listening to music and I started looking for novels that related to that subcultures and then the influence got worse when I start reading and I start acting this character that I studied, reading and listening to. So then again I saw that it was, to look back, and say that life is worthless because now people hate me (mmmm- female in group acknowledges) wow life is worthless because now people are going to hate you, now you have no other choice than to be your own influence and be like listen to your own thoughts and my own thoughts were influencing me and aaa it is useless and end it all.
- 2.51 **Interviewer:** Ok ok I wanna know, we talk a lot about Christianity and about God and about Jesus, what about the cultural stuff? Do you guys still do or believe that it influences or plays a role in your life? The whole cutting of the hair when somebody passes – slaughtering of the sheep and the ja, the ancestors? Does it still play a role in your life?
- 2.52 **Female participant:** Nna, my my mother she is like my mother she is a coloured, she showed me that we don't have geloof, you know, they she use to tell me that. So my father is a Xhosa, but then I am not into that. Like I don't use to go to the funerals and so forth but my mother use to teach me that we don't have geloof, we don't cut

our hairs, we don't wear those gross things, we don't go to the mountain, we just . . . The Coloureds dance, sing, always happy ja. She use to show me you have to, if a person ask you – you tell them you don't have geloof that is all, you don't have those things. My father use to do, ja , and if there is one thing that I have done that my father they did do, like when I started to get, to menstruation they put that thing ja. Pour me with water, my mother was angry (ja – female in group) we don't do those things, but now my father – you are Xhosa we have to do this but then I grow up like a Coloured, I don't do those things, I just do that once.

2.53 **Interviewer:** So they don't really have an influence in your life?

2.54 **Female participant:** Ja they they they do, because my my auntie, who was doing me those things, he told me that when you are now a you are old now, when you are here, you have to stay away from boys, don't talk to boys, (laugh – group) ja so that then I use to tell, then when I am here at the school, so now that you are old you know that the boys are going to come after you, you have to bath, then I started doing this make-ups, bathing, ok I am going to be beautiful, so then the boys come.

2.55 **Interviewer:** Do you want your daughter to also believe in these cultural stuff? i mean maybe just that one thing?

2.56 **Female participant:** No she is not, she is not mine, their fathers' doing those things, her father is Sesotho, so they are doing those, they are putting those thing, like when they slaughter to except her. They are doing those things. Me I don't think it is right but then but my my mother's boyfriend told me that she has to do that because she is not our child, she is their child, because she is going to do that stuff.

2.57 **Male participant:** The thing that I have always realised that in many different communities, in many households, you will find many elders still practicing ancestral rituals but for me it doesn't affect me in any way because my mother, eh, she was a Christian which way before she passed, so in that way what I have learned about her what I have inherited about her and what she has told me is that, it is like she was the, ancestral of eh, Christian religion and now I am being a descendant so my mother was never practice many of those slaughtering goats or sheeps and stuff. She always believe in the Bible. And what I have seen in the years is that God always be with me, with me and my ma. So that is the only thing, the only sense that I am going to follow, because I have, while I was growing till today I always heard people saying that oh no in the family when we have a loved one who have passed away the only way that the loved one is going to visit you, he or she will appear in your dreams, talk to. I never see my granny in my dreams stuff (laughter – group) so it simply means that ah if I don't practice it, it wont happen for me, so I don't practicing it, it doesn't happen for me. That God always being on my side. Why? Because I am worshipping him ja.

2.58 **Interviewer:** He said that he is a, that he is different people in different situations, the loud one, the quiet one, do you guys also feel that? At home you are this type of person, with your person you can be this type of person and not totally a different person, just this area, this side of you that comes out with these people. Or are you always the same?

2.59 **Male participant:** Ja just like he said, me too is like I have multi characters in me, the reason why this is happening, is I am using this form of multi characters at some point you are changing your behaviour so that you can protect yourself form people, to stop playing uhh, tricks to you and stuff. At some point you become so polite – reflecting the person that you really are within your human form. So ja, I believe it depends on what environment that you are, coz, but most of the time, me whether I am at school uh, you can't tell I am going to be happy because when I am at school I am always express my sense of humour a lot, and I always behave polite, why because I believe

that the only way to be respected is by you treating respect, the other people with respect, lead by example. So ja. That is me and when I am at home, I become a different person, you know, I become, i don't know maybe I can say, in a dictorial manner, because when I get home sometimes when I am tired I just take my books, throw them in my bed and go to my couch and grab remote and watching TV all day, so ja. And when I get at church I be the uh, mr all-holy-holy and stuff (laughter – group) you see, so ja. I it do, I personally believe it all depends on which environment that you are in, because every environment have people who are influence in a different way, in a specific way.

- 2.60 **Female participant:** Nna I am me, I am like this, I don't change. Like I am talkative, like I like to talk but when I have ideas, that is my weak point, when I have ideas I am scared to share with other people, but I am at home. . .
- 2.61 **Interviewer:** What are you scared about when you have to share these ideas?
- 2.62 **Female participant:** Sometimes, maybe I have thought wrong things, sometimes I share an idea then it is wrong, like I use to do well in business class. No you are wrong, that one is wrong. He wont change it putting it in another way, he is putting it in that way. That is what I am scared of. At my... at pla... at my home I am like this, I don't change, at school I am talkative, al the school knows me like that, at location they know me, they know me that I am talkative- when you doing wrong I tell you that this is wrong, (point to group member) he know that last year I was telling them he were wrong, he use to put that that evil stuff, I told him that that is wrong. He told me aaaah you are talking too much, I use to pray in class help him who is doing this (laughing – group) but I didn't
- 2.63 **Interviewer:** So she was a positive influence for you?
- 2.64 **Male participant:** Ja
- 2.65 **Female participant:** I use to like, I don't know what is wrong with me, I just talking, whatever that thing or how it comes into you, I have talked. If it is something that I have talked wrong, you have to come to me tell me, because I am talking I don't care if to you it is wrong or right, the fact that I have talked my feelings ja that is me.
- 2.66 **Male participant:** Speaking of characters, I am a, I am a hippy, (laugh) I don't know how to put it in a simple way, I dance but a lot of people don't think I dance, I rap a lot of people don't think I rap
- 2.67 **Interviewer:** So you have a lot of hidden characters?
- 2.68 **Male participant:** A lot of hidden characters, so I act this character when I am with a person who shares the very same thing that I have, then I am going to check I am going to rap with that person now he is understands me, now we have something in common, so in doing this character I can offer him some. And then when I separate myself form this person, I can go to a different person that doesn't know how to rap and who is polite and humble, then I am going to act humble forget about my other thoughts of rapping and dancing, I will concentrate on this person because this person's personality is like other. I can change this person, just to make this person feel confident around me.
- 2.69 **Interviewer:** How do you decide who is your friends? Is it people who have stuff in common with you?
- 2.70 **Male participant:** I will go with common
- 2.71 **Interviewer:** How do you decide who is your friends?
- 2.72 **Male participant:** Uhm me I am going with friends who maybe live the same lifestyle, that I am living, maybe that the one that are from the same background. Just maybe to share ideas of how we are going to fight the future.
- 2.73 **Interviewer:** So also the people who have the same future vision as you?

- 2.74 **Male participant:** Yes,
- 2.75 **Interviewer:** Do you think the person you are now, is that person going to change?
- 2.76 **Male participant:** Ja. . .
- 2.77 **Male participant:** No
- 2.78 **Female participant:** I don't think so
- 2.79 **Male participant:** When it comes to me, uh, my character is going to change, why? Because when I reach my adulthood, obviously kids will be involved, I am going to be very strict person, coz now my life right now, uh, sometimes it is like I am behaving myself at home, the way I act, but I believe that when I reach my adulthood, I am going to be strict as possible and I will have to apply sense so that I can restore order in my family. Ja. I am going to adopt many things and it is not going to be easy, it is going to be tough, so way before you can use that something you will have to lose your uh, your old habits, and in English it is said that old habits die hard, (laugh – group) so ja. So it is obvious that I am going to change
- 2.80 **Interviewer:** Alright, so you guys think you are not going to change?
- 2.81 **Group members:** No
- 2.82 **Male participant:** I might say that I as child work hard, so that I don't believe I will change I don't like putting rules, the only problem with today's parents is that they are too strict and they forget that they were once children. Although they tell us that they were once children they know what we are talking about, but the only thing they missing is that they were once children and they had that joy they had that childlike heart, but now because they are adults, they gotta actually make you like – make you act like, whatever they want you to because of the demanding it (mmm- female acknowledge). So for me when I grow up, my children will enjoy life. I am not going to judge them, I am not going to tell me to do what because I once, I once was a child and I want them to enjoy their childhood life. So my characters are not going to change, I am still going to be the very same you see right now, I am still going to speak English like nobody's business, I am going to be improved by the time I am going to get to university, and change is, what creates life. So I say no but at the same time for me to change is because of the process that I am going to go through, the adolescent stage that I am actually gonna go through but I am not gonna forget my childhood, I am still going to have that childlike heart although I am growing physically, but inside I am still going to be a child. So really I am not going to change.
- 2.83 **Interviewer:** And you guys?
- 2.84 **Female participant:** Uhm talking about parents, my mother, aaai, I don't want like my mother she tells me while I was pregnant – I want you to have a girl I want you to feel how I felt while you was pregnant, like I didn't thought that you will get pregnant like you were my last hope. Then what I want to be, I want to be like my mother, my mother she told me that if I don't tell you if I don't tell you this is wrong, that shows that I don't love you, if I told you to clean it now, then you don't do it, then I am going to after you to show you that this is wrong because if you are growing up, you have a girl now, she is going to do what you are doing. So then I change, just change, be yourself, just be who you are, don't do what people are saying because, at my place, there is those girls - let's go somewhere else partying. I don't party. My mother she is a strict mother, like my father, aai she is like that, he likes to talk, go somewhere else man. Haai my mother is like if you go there, your child is going to do the same, that you are doing, so don't treat me bad – because what you doing, you see this baby, she is looking at you and is going to do that, I say mama she is small, she is little, she is not even seeing what I am doing. She is like ok just do it, you will see she is seeing you are coming late at home, you will see. the baby she is now sick, when

- you are going outside you came late, the baby is now getting sick, she know that, she feels that you are not here. So please don't do that, so why don't you must not party, I don't party I don't like vibe, I like chilling with people, I like talking, jo I like can visit hours, sitting, talking. My mother use to tell me – you are talking too much, you even forget to wash dishes and do something, while I am washing dishes, while I'm doing, she comes up with topic, wenna you are excluded don't talk – we are going to finish. I am talkative but I don't think I am going to change. I am like, I am me.
- 2.85 **Male participant:** Also I am not going to change, nah, because I am not willing to became a parent at a early age, you know. I want to enjoy my salary first, because I am one person who is so in love with material things, I want to have maybe everything that I wanted to have, eee, and then after that is when can become a parent, and then I prefer to marry at the age of 40. (laughter – group) because I think that is that time that I enjoyed my money and have everything that I wanted to have (group – WOW 40).
- 2.86 **Interviewer:** You have done a lot of thinking
- 2.87 **Male participant:** Yes, I want to have maybe my own apartment, so that my children know where they belong. (laughter - group).
- 2.88 **Female participant:** Me, I am not going to change, because of, I have tried changing but I failed, because I am a player, you know, I play with guys, because if guys plays with me (females in group – acknowledge mmm). Uhm I am a girl who don't know, like, who, whose can make you forgot what have you been talking about you know, while like talking and taking a topic, talking and talking and talking and then I am going to change the subject, change it to another subject and then when I ask you – ooo previously what were we speaking about, ooo I forgot, me too. Ok lets' continue with this topic, and then we continue continue continue, and uhm. Uhm. You know, I am not going to change because of, eee, I want to reach many goals in life, you know, I want to feel it you know, how it is like to be a grown up person who is independent. Person who is, who will seem, a person who is. . THAT person. You know ja. I am not going to change, not know but some other day but I don't know. But I will change but not now, ja.
- 2.89 **Interviewer:** Tell me what does it mean to be an African?
- 2.90 **Male participant:** An African? WOW!
- 2.91 **Female participant:** It feels. . .
- 2.92 **Interviewer:** For you, what does it mean?
- 2.93 **Male participant:** For me. . . having to be an African, is a . . . I feel like a pure being, I feel like a pure being, but
- 2.94 **Interviewer:** Explain pure being, what does it mean? To you?
- 2.95 **Male participant:** It means, that uh, I am a pure bread African person, you know. And I have to to to to, to appreciate that, to appreciate that thing because a person is not a defined by the colour of their skin but a person is defined by the content of his character. Ja. So at some point, I can define about me being an African, and up to so far I can not say much about being an African because when I was young, I was never taught about many things, consciousness of being an African, but the thing is that uh, I am a human, at the end of the day and I am the same, but what differs is that I differ by skin colour and uuuh, tribe or culture that I am from, but, when it comes to the creation of my human form and other foreign people, life will change about hey hey what this and stuff but to truth will remain the same that I am the same, human as the other people who living in Asia, Latin America and stuff, we are all humans. The difference is that we define diversification by skin colour, environments and all that, but our purposes and human form is all the same as people. Ja.

- 2.96 **Male participant:** For me – I guess I don't know what it mean to be an African, (laughter - group) really I don't because if I did I would have seen an African living the life that was lived in the past. I can say that you will find meaning in what it means to be an African in the olden days. Right now there is no meaning for what it means to be an African, because right now we don't follow culture, we don't live like culture we live by our own rules. We don't follow other people's religion that we should do this and should not do that
- 2.97 **Interviewer:** So what that make a person African then? Culture and living certain ways?
- 2.98 **Male participant:** Like tradition, ja. Culture and tradition can be an African but because today's teens and today's youth they don't follow the African way of living, they are living their own lives.
- 2.99 **Interviewer:** But what is the African way of living?
- 2.100 **Male participant:** The African way of living is always been one that has tradition, and always singing traditional songs, wearing traditional clothes, speaking the the very correct traditional language, but we coming with our own language now and we don't really go to rituals anymore, and such. So that is the African way of living, that was the olden day of living but right now we are changing, the whole cause, we are giving our own self the meaning of what it means to be an African but life a live that you want not by the way you were taught to live life (mmmm –male). So that it is what it means to be an African for me, define a life for yourself. That is what an African.
- 2.101 **Male participant:** For me, I don't know what it means of being an African, but I think I think it is quite a privilege because here in South Africa maybe we are living, with nature, yes. We are, we are, we consuming without producing because it is all about nature, everything is natural. And in Africa the only thing that is different that it is the only continent you find many multiracial, cause in other continents like Europe you find only one race, so here in Africa you find many different people, different cultures and different origins. Ja that is what I know about Africa.
- 2.102 **Interviewer:** Girls? What do you think? What does it mean to be an African to you?
- 2.103 **Female participant:** Well me . . . I am just I don't like I don't know how to how it is to be an South African but what I know is that, South Africans don't give up easily and they always fight for what they want and they fight for what they want and they will get what they want, so that what I know is that I as an African, I am going like to be an, like South Africa is a free country, we do everything that we want to do at the time we want it to be, so what I am going to say is to be an African is to that I am proudly African and I am proud of who I am because there are those people who are treated badly for what they are, for their races, for their colour and so forth, but I am lucky to be a South African because they when you are a South African you wont be treated badly, you are not that, you don't come from somewhere else, you are welcome to South Africa and you are being treated differently. What I am trying to say is that I am proud of being a South African, ja.
- 2.104 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think the people that are born here, and the Asian people, Chinese people, the Indian people, the white people, the Jewish people, do you think they are all African though?
- 2.105 **Male participant:** Uuuh last year when I was watching . . . was it national geographic. . there was a controversy about that question, for instance, uuuh
- 2.106 **Interviewer:** what do you? JA I want to know what you think? Not what the TV said! Do you think Chinese, white people?
(laughter group)

- 2.107 **Female participant:** I don't think so
- 2.108 **Interviewer:** Not?
- 2.109 **Female participant:** Because they are coming from out of like the Africa, they are out of Africa and the way they being treated, they are being treated you know South Africans, you understand
- 2.110 **Interviewer:** But lets say I was born here
- 2.111 **Female participant:** Yes you are a South African!
- 2.112 **Interviewer:** Even if I am white
- 2.113 **Female participant:** Even if you are white, not Chinese – they coming form Asia, Ghana
- 2.114 **Interviewer:** But what about the Chinese that are born here?
- 2.115 **Female participant:** they are South African because they are born here. They are born, they being born in South Africa.
- 2.116 **Interviewer:** Okay so for you to be an African or a South African you must be born here?
- 2.117 **Female participant:** Yes!
- 2.118 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree that to be African is tradition and culture and
- 2.119 **Male participant:** Ja
- 2.120 **Interviewer:** Am I still African if I don't have that tradition? You said you are trying to change that tradition
- 2.121 **Female participant:** What I am trying to say is that whatever who you are traditions, what, you are born here, you are South African, like what I am trying to say is like there are those people like he said they don't follow tradition, but then what is the different because they are born here. Whether you are like me, I am my mother is Zulu but you don't have that thing. I never saw that. I am a South African because my mother she is the coloured and my father she is Xhosa. What I trying to say is that there is Xhosa's that will live here in South Africa but then there are those who are been like born here, whatever you have like culture, religion, what. As long born here, that blood of being South African, that is what I understand
- 2.122 **Male participant:** For me that uuuh as a white person the thing that will define you as an African without skin colour is uuuh having to adapt the languages ja. Having to adapt languages, that will make you be seen as that you are coming form Africa when you travel around ja.
- 2.123 **Interviewer:** So your skin colour makes you African? Your languages that you speak makes you African?
- 2.124 **Male participant:** Ja that is all factors that make you an African, like eee, eating habits,
- 2.125 **Interviewer:** Hhow do they eat? What do they eat?
- 2.126 **Male participant:** African they usually eat, uuuh livestock. (laughter)
- 2.127 **Female participant:** South Africans eat anything. I can eat you food, I can eat everything. Ghana food, like South African eat anything. If someone like from Ghana, I have a friend at our place, he said Ghana, he is eating those kind of porridge, ja with the meat those chilli things, I eat those things, I am South African I can eat everything. Ja even Indians food – the curry's ja and all those stuffs, everything they eat is like hot. I eat those things and what I know is that everything that is having a Kerrie and those peri-peri's is healthy (laughter – group) so that what I know South Africans don't eat healthy foods, they only eat pap. But then the the Ghana and all those, they all eat the tradition foods that good for their healths I don't usually hear that someone coming from Ghana is sick, because of his food of his eating. Why? Because they are eating healthy and when I was eating those things, like like I can am

- enjoying those foods. I don't think south Africa must eat the food that we are eating, and what about the part of the the people who are coming from outside, they don't eat our food, most of them they don't eat our food, you can give them.
- 2.128 **Interviewer:** What is our food?
- 2.129 **Female participant:** They they they like pap, stamp, livestock, they don't like like our food. They say your food is not healthy, you are eating, food like the food that are not healthy.
- 2.130 **Male participant:** Having to add on, looking the culture, there are various they are rules of eating habits, for example we as the Tswana person there are food that were meant that were not meant to be given to children, for example, eggs because eggs are bad. As a child you don't have to eat eggs, whilst if you eat eggs you it will sexually activate you
- 2.131 **Interviewer:** It will make you fertile
- 2.132 **Male participant:** Ja, so
- 2.133 **Interviewer:** And in the other, Xhosa culture? Or Sotho culture? Is it the same?
- 2.134 **Female participant:** Xhosa no
- 2.135 **Male participant:** In certain cultures you are privilege to eat and some forbid it
- 2.136 **Interviewer:** Certain foods?
- 2.137 **Male participant:** Yes only certain foods.
- 2.138 **Interviewer:** If you guys were to wake up tomorrow and you were not a black African person, and you don't speak your language, would you be different? Would the person you are be different if you are not black, and you don't speak your language.
- 2.139 **Interviewer:** Let's say you wake up and you are Chinese, and speak Chinese, but you are born in South Africa.
- 2.140 **Female participant:** No I don't see any change
- 2.141 **Interviewer:** Will you still be yourself?
- 2.142 **Female participant:** I will still be myself because I am proud of who I am. Yes. Chinese they are proud of being Chinese, not like I am like those girls who are black. Michael Jackson I don't know what he was, he tried to change himself, he was not proud of who he is. Me I am not going to change myself, I can do anything like putting lashes, making my hair long, but then I am who I am. I am a South African, it is not like it is going to change.
- 2.143 **Interviewer:** Does who you are depend on how you look? Does the inside depend on how you look on the outside?
(Some females – YES. Boys in background – no) (laughter)
- 2.144 **Female participant:** You see who are looking. I am talkative, inside I am like that, like I wish that it was like possible to be like opened and and (laughter) and when you are open inside will define who you are. Like things come from inside like who I am, I am like uhm I am friendly, the thing is inside
- 2.145 **Interviewer:** So even if you wake up and you are Chinese, you will still be friendly? You will still be you? Who talks too much?
- 2.146 **Female participant:** Yes yes I will still be who I am, the thing is inside.
- 2.147 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree that it is all inside?
- 2.148 **Group members :** Yes, it is inside
- 2.149 **Male participant:** Because, as a person when, for how do you get to take your to take care of yourself on the outside it is only determined by what by your character with in you. What do you value the most, for example, uh I don't smoke, and I don't drink, why? Because I want to take care of my body, so that by the time when I reach the age of 30 I will still be looking fresh on the outside, taking care of my wellbeing. But if I I

I have to intoxicate myself by drinking and smoking a lot, those things are negative factors, that will affect my body, at an early age. That when you reach 25 years I will develop wrinkles in my face and I will still be looking young. (laughter – group)

2.150 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think being male and female has an influence on who you are? Being a girl, being a women does that determine kinda like what your personality is like? Does being a guy, being a man influence who you are?

2.151 **Female participant:** All I am thinking is when you are a girl, you are doing girl stuff, like playing, going around like like having that company of girls, who influences you and how influences you. What kind of friends you are with. When you are a women, like doing everything, you see like when I was a child, when I was a girl, like now what I am trying to say is that I didn't enjoy my teenager because of what happened like having a baby, facing many challenges, like I faced many challenges that made me not enjoy my adolescent, ja. Now I have changed a lot like, my mind has been changed, like now I tell myself like, I, the first time I was a girl I use to play having this boyfriend and that one, now my mind is like I am a women, I want a serious relationship. I am at school I want a serious relationship. When you are a women you want a serious relationship, too have a man who is going to treat you the way you want. Like when you are a baby you want someone who is going to take care of you, having a baby like, like you are changing totally, you don't act like the girl, the girl is playing, (laughter – group), take that boy and that boy, she is a girl she is playing. But now I am like I now I don't love, I don't have that thing of love. When I fall in love – I am going to play, what I am going to share - is boys are not like, when they see you like this, they are going to be like that, they see that you are a play, I am going to be a play. But when you serious, when you a women, like now I don't want to date children, children at school, I want to date people at university who is having a mind, who is having a future, who is going to treat me, like that. Because now I am no more a girl, I have baby. Then everything have changed in me so then why is that, when you are girl you are going to act like different like a girl, when you are a women you are going to date those people, working people, who is having money, (mmmm-group member) like having a future. Person who is no more at school, who is no more, coz what I am thinking when I am dating a boy at school he is going to ask me can you give me R5, I am at school too, that is what I am at school and you want me R5 so when I date those people I say I don't have this, he know that she is bathing, putting make-up, she is always up to date. Who give her that, who is giving her money to go to the salon, he knows that okay I must give her money to go to the salon, I want to always see her clean and beautiful so that I as a man, I am going to I am going to leave her money to look like that. That is what what I what I mean to say when you are a girl you are a girl, when you are a women you are a women, you are totally different girl and women.

2.152 **Interviewer:** Ok

2.153 **Male participant:** Boys and girls are equal. Regardless of gender

2.154 **Interviewer:** So we can, can we do the same things?

2.155 **Male participant:** Yes, this that because we live with a stereotype mind that a girl has to do that or a boy has to do that, doesn't mean that we are different. But it all comes to how we treat each other, I mean if I when I get married, I don't want to treat my girl like she is the wife, no I want to treat her equal, she can do whatever she wants.

2.156 **Interviewer:** You will wash the things outside?

2.157 **Male participant:** No I don't mind, doing those things actually shows us that we are working together. It should bring us together more, to actually share each and

everything thing within the house, regardless of do this and this. No it doesn't work like that. But her doing what I do can actually help her develop the skills of a person like a man, than me doing the things that she does, I can do chores, clothes, I can do cleaning of the house, it is good. I can do what she can do. What if she is sick and I am the only one around? Who is going to do that? Nobody it is me, so I see that women and men are equal.

- 2.158 **Interviewer:** Does being a guy, does that kind of . . . when you describe who you are does that influence who you are?
- 2.159 **Female participant:** Like what I want to say is that he did not understand the question, the question was?
- 2.160 **Interviewer:** It is a good comment that he made
(Group - laughter)
- 2.161 **Female participant:** The question was what is the different between being a man and a guy, so that...
- 2.162 **Interviewer:** The question was - what is the difference between male and female when looking at identity. I did like how you explained the difference between girl and woman,
- 2.163 **Male participant:** For me, I... I, I have a different. I have a different perspective, in order to tackle that issue because, here is the thing, by becoming speaking God said, we as humans, we must not judge each other, but for me, when I speak about me, I sometimes have uuh a bad mind-set about being a guy. And a girl being a girl. Like last time, when I social network, mxit, I was chatting with my girlfriend and she was telling me baby I am sick – and I ask I ask her a question that, you always say that you are sick, is this normal for a girl to be sick like that, and she says ja it is normal. And I made the final remark that baby you know I feel grateful for being a dude, so she replied by saying aaaah whatever man. So here is the thing, the thing is like he said, we are equal, we are equal. According to God's eye, we are equal. But we as humans, when we judge each other, it is going to be a whole lot of different thing, but a male and female, they were destined to be together. A male and a female is like uuuh uuh uh, they were meant to be a network, you know. So the male and the female must work together, there is the thing, the thing that is ruining our mentality about that question, is that we are being misleded by education, politics at some point that the man must be on top and the woman must come after men you know. But if I get to grow, to be a man with a... a wife and children, I will help my my wife, with minor things to show that I still love her, you know, so ja. That is the only way that I get to view it. Spiritually we are all equal regardless, you know.
- 2.164 **Interviewer:** Tell me how important is social networking to you? How important is it to have facebook and mxit and whatsapp and. . .
- 2.165 **Female participant:** For me it is ... uuuu
- 2.166 **Interviewer:** For the player? (Laughter – group)
- 2.167 **Female participant:** Laughing – for me I like it, coz I get to talk to people, you know. Even if I am sitting with my other boyfriend, I am talking with the other and telling I am sitting next to my brother and not that one wont mind. And when they ask me who I am speaking to – no that is my brother, my brother my big brother you know. I like it too much because I get to communicate with different kind of people form different places you know, get to know people you know, I am talk to I am chatting with her who will be talking how is school, how is life, is everything great you know. How is things around you ja. So that is what I like about
- 2.168 **Interviewer:** Do you all have facebook and mxits and
- 2.169 **Group members:** Ja. . .

- 2.170 **Male participant:** You know, I believe that social networks they can do many great things if only you use them wisely. But then unfortunate part is that in this 21st century we are living our lives negatively, you know. When you get on facebook there are things that are being practiced, sense of humour, uuuh . . . what will be? Cyber bullying (yes – group members) and stuff. people no longer use, facebook, you tube, or twitter or my space, in a positive way in advertising or organising the uuuh, the making a group on the internet about people who are doing changes in other people’s life and stuff. It is all about trends, when I get to mxit and I talk to him, dude lets go to waterfront, it is all about we always talk about trend. We don’t talk about major things that truly change
- 2.171 **Interviewer:** Do you feel you are missing out because you don’t have facebook (specifically speaking to male who indicated that he does not have)
- 2.172 **Male participant:** No I don’t think so because the way I see it the social network maybe this thing is connecting a different relationships uh people that they they talk about relationships, they get to connect each other. And again I see it can put us in danger, because sometimes we met along with strangers. Maybe after I had appreciated another women, in mxit and facebook. And then when I get to to her place, it is maybe I find it is a trap maybe (mmm –group). And then maybe I became in danger, so I don’t trust those things a lot.
- 2.173 **Female participant:** Uhm what I think about the social networking thing, I think that . . . their the names that we we, we name ourself in there, like ikeshha, Sexywho and It different who you are, the name that you, I am “ikeshha” – like my eyes are like WOW – like wildly, I go around so that is the name I like to to name myself with. But I don’t think it is a good thing because even the the the writing thing you just shorten the words. It it if even you don’t know even if you are writing in a class you don’t even know how to write the name in full, the word in full. Because like you will be having that thing that ok, you be writing like that. It is having a bad influence in class, writing exams too. Because sometimes you tell I am not going to enter into mxit today but then at the time, ooo I am talking forget this you are chatting now, you are forgetting to read that thing - Uuhm.
- 2.174 **Male participant:** For me I don’t think I am missing out from not having facebook, although I have an account. (laughter – group) but right now only using uhm, mxit and you-tube, because in you-tube I love watching videos on the internet. Uuu. The thing about social network, today is that it’s, the, it’s filled with predators instead of people who can build the society, you know. It is filled with predators who is like just like she said, that people call themselves with many different names. . . so when you get to mxit, or facebook, you will catch most of inappropriate and some of the names they sound threatening (laughter – group) and some of the names they sound inappropriate. So clearly there is no manners in social networks. People just get to explode like nuclear bombs – that is how people react, you know. People is social networks when you network with them, they don’t enter like you in person, because when you talk with someone in person first things first you show respect, but not in a social network. Somebody just cracks a joke, he doesn’t care if you felt offended or what, he tell you what you are suppose to do and that is that, ja.
- 2.175 **Interviewer:** Alright, Do you guys want to? So the question was how important part does social networking play in your lives?
- 2.176 **Male participant:** Social networking uuuh, to have facebook you have follow me on twitter, (laughter – group)
- 2.177 **Interviewer:** So it plays an important part?

- 2.178 **Male participant:** Ja, so the importance of social networks plays a part in my life. I can say that I have influenced a lot of people on social networks, but specifically mxit, facebook I was not always on it because I could not understand it. So on mxit and whatsapp and twitter, every status or every comment that I write about somebody, I think about – ok what can I say to this person that is going to actually uplift their day or put a smile on their face. I choose not to speak bad cause I say Genie, Genie is a person who gives wishes, it is better to give good wishes, so I have write a comment so that I can actually uplift your soul and actually uplift your faith. Actually I all comment or status message that I have, all my status wall, I can write something that uplift that person, that and then the reason that I comment that why? Genie wrote “life is a journey to discover yourself” so they are gonna think ok life is a journey to discover yourself, ok they gonna ask wow is this really true? Now my comment, my status will be changing somebody’s like perspective like they viewed life. So I can create a social network for me to encourage other people out there, who don’t know how to be encouraged. I use social network to actually spread the message across, those people who need help. I give support through that because I can’t be the other person. So even on facebook I might right, something that ok, uhm, let me write to the best - although you may have challenge ahead don’t give up – that is a comment that you will be like – I like. You see like – live life to the best no matter what.
- 2.179 **Interviewer:** So you kind of reach a broader audience with
- 2.180 **Male participant:** Yeah,
- 2.181 **Interviewer:** Alright so again it can be positive or negative
- 2.182 **Male participant:** It depends on how you use it
- 2.183 **Interviewer:** Yes, tell me . . . do you guys like being a teenager? Do you like being an adolescent?
- 2.184 **Male participant:** Not really
- 2.185 **Interviewer:** Would you if you could, would you change? Would you be older already? Or . . .
- 2.186 **Male participant:** Shjo’
- 2.187 **Female participant:** I like being a child, you know. Also I get to know people, you know. And I like being a, being told what to do and what not to do by my dad. And,
- 2.188 **Interviewer:** Do you like that?
- 2.189 **Female participant:** Yes! And I like playing with small children. You know. I like being around babies because of they are like aaaah so soft and so beautiful and so cuddly. I like being around them you know. And uhm, I have never said you know what I I want to be a grown-up person knowing that I am still 16 or 18. Because most of children of today, uhm says you know what, no you know what, my friend having this and this boyfriend who is beautiful so let me act my stuff. You know? Let me put make – up on my face, so that guys will come to me, you know, you don’t know the consequences of that are. So I like being a child, I like being told, you know what stop doing that child thing because of you are a grown-up now. And I will correct that person and tell that person you know what I am not a grown-up yet. I have not yet reached 2 or 20 or something. I am still under that number so please consider me as a child, yes.
- 2.190 **Male participant:** For me, having to be a teenager, is a lot of fun. Because I believe one of the major sources of happiness as a teenager is that at home, you are being maintained. Financially for money that you don’t even work for, you know. So yeah it feels
- 2.191 **Interviewer:** Would you want to be older? Would you want to stay a teenager forever?

- 2.192 **Male participant:** No, no, no. I would like to be older, so that when I when I come across uh, certain challenges and just because eh, the things that in life, there are challenges that require finance to to deal with them. So at least I know if I get to be a man, I will be working and if I came across challenges, you know. Challenges like uh, let me say if I get to fall sick, you know, or if I want to have at about 4 or 8 gold teeths you know, I will rely on my medical. But at home if I say, uh, I wanna have gold eeh, 5 gold teeths, jo, jo, jo. The reaction will be like a volcanic eruption, you know. So ja. By being an elder person, it is two times better than being a teenager because you are, less reliant on other people which should make you a self sufficient, rely on yourself only, ja. So what is the use of being a teenager? You desire thing that you can get, but it is a pity at home there are no means of getting those things for you you, ja.
- 2.193 **Interviewer:** So do you like being a teenager? What is the nice things?
- 2.194 **Male participant:** Being a teenager you can be wild as you want (laughter - group) that is what I like about it. And being a teenager you can be weird without really giving a damn about what they think about you. You can be yourself but then again looking to the age of growing up and facing challenges and having to work. That is a whole lot of challenges new challenge. But teenager there is no worry, no stress, it is just about you, what you have to eat, what you have to do, schoolwork, I mean being a teenager is creating you for that day for that adult stage. So you are adolescence, being a teenager is fun but it comes to actually being your parents giving you food. So don't buy food
- 2.195 **Interviewer:** Would want to stay a teenager forever?
- 2.196 **Male participant:** Ja I would.
- 2.197 **Interviewer:** Even if you have these rules? Your parents' rules?
- 2.198 **Male participant:** My parents rules. . . no I would rather have my own rules
- 2.199 **Interviewer:** So you would stay a teenager forever if you had your own rules
- 2.200 **Male participant:** If I had my own rules,
- 2.201 **Male participant:** One of the things that teenagers love about being teenagers is like, is that they live their lives like domestic pets (laughter – group) you know. I have a dog at home, ne. A dog, more especially when it is a puppy because at the stage of being a puppy it doesn't know what is guarding or basic and advance obedience, a dog when it is at the stage of being puppy, it lives to eat and sleep and to be cuddled. To cuddle it. To me teenagers always love that thing, you know, consumerism ne'. They love clothes, eating a lot, being served with love. And one of the other cases of being served with love, is teenagers are they don't love being disciplined by the rules they just want to live life and that is that. So that is the major thing that teenagers love.
- 2.202 **Interviewer:** How about you? (asking a participant specifically)
- 2.203 **Male participant:** These guys have said most things about being a teenager, I don't even know what to add (laughs)
- 2.204 **Interviewer:** How about for you? Do you like being a teenager? (asking a participant specifically)
- 2.205 **Male participant:** Yes, yes I like being a teenager. Because like they said we are relying on our parents eeh,
- 2.206 **Interviewer:** And if you could choose? Would you want to be a teenager for ever?
- 2.207 **Male participant:** Fo-o-o-reva! Yes! Because there is no difficulties in teenage. We don't face many challenges. All we worry about is education, education, education. Only.

- 2.208 **Interviewer:** Alright, how about for you (to girl with the baby) your teenage'ism or adolescence has now actually changed? You do have some responsibility hey? How is it like for you?
- 2.209 **Female participant:** What I I think being a teenager is you don't know what you want, you don't know who you are, because you are doing things that are being done. Being a teenager is doing what that people do, having what people have, like he said Guess I want it, Mommy I want it – yes. I know that being teenager I know it is like, there are some children who like they don't even think like where it come from when they teenagers they don't think the background that it coming form, my mother can't afford this and that. He like, being a teenager is like, what you want is that, what you want it in that time. And what I know I am matric now, when I finish matric I am going to like face many challenges, like being a teenager I don't think you don't know who you are, what do you want. Ja.
- 2.210 **Interviewer:** Ok – any questions?
- 2.211 **Interviewer:** No I think that is it?
- 2.212 **Interviewer:** Thank you very much!
- 2.213 **Interviewer:** Last question – is academics important for you? This year when you are in matric is it more important. To get matric? Or do you feel the spotlight is on you? Is it the same as other years?
- 2.214 **Female participant:** For me it is the same as last year you know. I don't have to put a lot of pressure on education you know. I use to, there was this one girl who I saw on the TV, who lives in Limpopo and I said to myself. You know this girl, she is like, she watched TV went around playing, didn't get nervous sitting on a book all day long. 24/7 because of she would have a brain damage, yes. So that is why I don't like sitting in a book for a long long time, because of it will damage my brain. I have to go around, socialise, party a little, and uh, ja.
- 2.215 **Interviewer:** For the rest of you is academics important?
- 2.216 **Male participant:** for me matric is different. It is the only grade that determines your success in the future. You have to study hard. Because as a teenager those dreams that you have that are I once had a dream that I lived at the town house, big house in Langenhovenpark having two bmw's and stuff. All that if you want to turn them into reality there is only one chance, there is only one chance, study your matric. So hard.
- 2.217 **Female participant:** What I think, when I was in grade 11 like, like while I was at grade 7 I didn't know, I don't read, while I am reading, uh, I see myself at Shoprite buying something. I don't I can't concentrate like reading like this; I like noise so that I can read. When I am alone and it quiet like this, when I am focussing, I see myself shop in Shoprite, buying food, eating, I can't concentrate. And what I know, there is one teacher who use to tell us, “matriek is nie matras”. She use to tell us that, so while I am at home, sitting, when I think of sleeping, thinking of not reading, this is like what I I think of my enemies, like those people who did talk and then I say what's that I must read, I forgot that there are people who are watching me. So that I use to read and forgot all those. When I was at grade 11 it was grade 11 then. Our teacher usually say when you are grade 12, you have to start now, when January, like reading, writing, like doing everything. When you are at grade 11 you didn't do those things, you like started reading at like March, but now I am reading I am doing that. I am more into write test, while I am in grade 12 I think I have to read, forgetting about friends. Thinking of what people are going to say, that is not what but there is one thing that you must think. When you are reading you think – I am doing this to prove people wrong – yes that is what I am thinking.

- 2.218 **Male participant:** The moment when I realise I was going to be a matriculant, I was shaking because I never had idea of how is matric. But like for now, I don't feel any pressure, because back then people use to say matric is very tough. But for now I don't feel that toughness, I feel the same. The only difference is that matric has a lot of work to do than grade 11. From there there is no difference.
- 2.219 **Male participant:** For me, when I first go to high school, I desired to reach matric, but there there was something hidden in me, by the time I reach matric That desire couldn't satisfy me dude you are in matric you can smile the whole year. That happiness was replaced by fear that wow, you are in matric, you are going to work hard like never before because sometimes as, as a teenager I get to be lazy, you know. So being threatened by pressure in matric eish' it makes me feel in a different way but there is a saying in English that uuu . . . Working hard, working hard, there are beneficials in it, you know. Ja. So I told myself I am in matric, having to like it or not I have to end old habits, I have to adapt, I have to adapt cause I remember the former president FW de Klerk, he once said it is either you adapt or you die. So this is a situation where I adapt or I die.
- 2.220 **Male participant:** For me it is the survival of the fittest –
- 2.221 **Interviewer:** So it is different? Because you have to be the fittest?
- 2.222 **Male participant:** Ja, in matric you need a lot of focus, need a lot of commitments and sometimes it needs a lot of attention on what you are doing. You must really. Matric is like, now the whole community is looking at you, you are the mirror, you are the mirror, if you fail matric, you are done for. So all these dreams that you thought, all these cars you see on the street all the clothes that you talked about, labels. Everything all the houses you imagine, all the girl you always wanted. You can actually see it after you complete matric. Can I ask you a question? Do you believe there is a future without matric?
- 2.223 **Interviewer:** Yes but not the ideal future
- 2.224 **Interviewer:** I think if you are able to get matric, then definitely you should get matric and get a diploma or study further. Because matric is kinda the starting block then. But I do think there are some people who can't get matric, I think that is ok. I think there is a future for them too. But I think if you have the abilities and you can overcome those struggles and then it is not to say that if you had a baby now you can't have matric. If you have it in you to get matric then you should. And you should use that as your starting block.
- 2.225 **Male participant:** Only hard work will pay off.

APPENDIX J

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 3

- 3.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 3.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 3.3 **Female participant:** Mmmm ok, my personality is like that I'm a person that's always smiling, socialising with people, ummm and like to help people, whenever you have a problem at home I'm assisting you about something ja. So maybe I'm a dependent person because of I'm tall and she's small. (laughter). I like to listen to music, watching TV, chatting, reading, and ummm always make sure for I'm done with my work at school. And then? Mmmmm eish and then all the times sitting at home with my parents, my family together, yes.
- 3.4 **Female participant:** I'm a nice person, like to socialise with other people, and you are, I'm like a, you are good person ne? But starting to be in high school made me change, I'm like changed, I'm not like this but will get there. My personality's like I'm I'm good with people and I'm good at my house, my home, I'm like a ummm. . .
- 3.5 **Interviewer:** How did you change in high school?
- 3.6 **Female participant:** I was like umm I didn't know what to do, I listen to everyone who talks to me, gives me advices how to be when I'm in high school, but I've got ai bad friends. Uu Bad friends who got bad influence, they like so involved in drugs, so I was so involved too. Uuu that's what makes me different. And I fought with my fath. . . . My brother ne, he was beating me for smoking ne. But I thought committing suicide eee is the best thing to do, but my mother said killing yourself is like being a coward, but I dealt with it last week, still dealing with it. I'll be better, I'd come across it. yeah that's my life
- 3.7 **Interviewer:** So you are also a very strong person then?
- 3.8 **Female participant:** yeah
- 3.9 **Male participant:** I love partying, yes I eee love parties. I don't like reading at all (laughter – group), so I want help, I want a study partner, a person who can help me read eeee
- 3.10 **Interviewer:** Who are you as person? Other than like a person who likes parties?
- 3.11 **Male participant:** Pardon?
- 3.12 **Interviewer:** Who are you as person?
- 3.13 **Male participant:** Who am I, I'm not I'm not that very, I'm not that bad, eeee I don't know what to say.
- 3.14 **Interviewer:** What do you like doing do you like watching TV, do you like to listen to people's problems, and helping them solve the problems, do you like eating too much, what do you like?
- 3.15 **Interviewer:** Are you the soccer star at school?
- 3.16 **Interviewer:** Do you play soccer and everybody knows that you play soccer very well?
- 3.17 **Male participant:** noooo I play soccer but at the location, I don't play soccer at school. I like watching TV eee most of them, ooh I like playing games.
- 3.18 **Interviewer:** What kind of games?
- 3.19 **Male participant:** PC games, yes
- 3.20 **Interviewer:** Do you have a lot of friends or little friends?
- 3.21 **Male participant:** I have a lot of friends

- 3.22 **Interviewer:** Thank you. Next. We don't have to go down the line if you want to go next you can chip in. The spotlight is on you now.
- 3.23 **Male participant:** OK I can say I'm a friendly person but sometimes..... can the line pass please? (laughter – group) cause I'm confused
- 3.24 **Interviewer:** Sometimes? Just talk about what you like to do.
- 3.25 **Male participant:** Ok I can say I like sports but not that much, cause I'm not a, I don't know that much more about football and all the stuff. I like drawing when I'm alone, umm I like reading, I like to chill with friends and talk much about life. Uum. The most thing I can say I can't explain myself more because like a person himself or herself can't explain what kind of a person he is, only, only people can explain what kind of person you are. But I can only explain few things I know about myself, I'm a good person like, I have my own moods sometimes, but the most problem thing is I have short temper. Uh Since I um was nine years old, when my mother passed away I just changed being myself when I was young at that age, I wasn't like this before, I was a sweet person with with kind and everything and with time to understand things and have my own time and all this stuff. But this days I feel like I'm changed because I don't, I don't have that thing like to like speak with most people I like to spend my time alone thinking about most things, everythings. Those things those disturb me in life those I can try to face as we are people have many challenges in life, but I can see ja I'm a good person.... ja the way I see myself.
- 3.26 **Female participant:** I'm a kind person I like to laugh but I'm very short tempered, but I like to tease people, I don't know how this short temper came back to me cause I like to tease people and I don't think for those people how are they going to feel when I tease them because I know I don't like to be teased back, Ja. I like food.
- 3.27 **Interviewer:** Is it good teasing or bad teasing
- 3.28 **Female participant:** Aaaa Just being naughty. Not like the bad one now. I'm an extrovert, I'm not submissive, cause when you say to me to do this I'm going to ask you, how can I do this without you explaining back to me. I like to ask many questions. Why are you saying I can do this when you can't explain. I like to eat, I sleep most of the time. (laughter – group) I have lots of friends ja. I don't like studying but when I get time I study, but on my time I don't like someone say to me go and study I don't feel like studying when you have said that I'm going to put my books back there and watch TV listen to music, chatting that's the most things that I like. But I like my my school work because I don't want someone to be on top of me I feel so bad cause I think in life it's all about challenge. I'm a strong person, I'm very brave, I'm not shy, I like to talk to people about my problems and I also help people with their problems where they got problems, I can yes . since I have came to high school I have changed a lot I'm always stressed, when I think of my mother, when I talk about I became very emotional. I live with my aunt but I always had to be strong to be the person that I want to be and just put my focus on my study work cause I want to see myself out of the life that I live right now, but I don't like to show people where I come from, I just being strong. Being like other people at school I keep on talking about my problems because when I took them out of my heart I feel so relieved, and I don't like when people feel pity for me because I know how to solve my problems and I will grow up with a strong heart because I have got a backbone, I know how to solve things I should solve, I know where to start and where to end ja, you understand, I don't know where this thing comes from bust always when I talk about my mother I always become emotional because I never felt the love of a mother. Sometimes when I talk about her I go so much courage when I say I give up but when I think of her I raise up again and I take the bones back to life and I say I can do this

and I know I can do this because I'm thinking about my future understand. I'm a person who likes to laugh at most time but sometimes it's hard even though when people talk to me I shout back at them even though they were so nice to me ja, and I want to try to control this short temper that I have with me cause I can see most of people when they see me they get so bored because I talk too much, I don't shut up, even when they talk to me so nice I will say what do you want, no this is my thing how can you take it without my permission, understand ja, but most of the time I spend on eating and sleeping. (laughter – group)

3.29 **Interviewer:** Thank you

3.30 **Female participant:** The difference between me and the person next to me I think there is no difference he is an extrovert, she is very curious most of the time she is making jokes and she also likes to tease people (laughter – group)

3.31 **Interviewer:** Is that true (speaking to person sitting next to previous female) would you describe yourself like that?

3.32 **Female participant:** Ja, I'm a good person, I'm a caring person, I'm a responsible person, I'm an honest person and I'm a kind of person. I have a love for other people I can think for other persons I know that that this person told you about that I'm teasing but I also feel like when I tease that person how does he feel ja.

3.33 **Interviewer:** do you carry on teasing then

3.34 **Female participant:** No not that much because I think about them ne. The thing that I like, I like getting, getting contact with people you know, sharing feelings with people. I never give up. I'm the person that like to search information about things I don't know, I'm the person, I some things that I like, I like drawing, I like singing, I'm good at soccer (laughter – group) but that's soccer I think I I never see I never leave study at the back because I'm first thinking about future my dreams and my goals. That is how I am

3.35 **Interviewer** Thank you, now you have had a turn to listen to everybody else, tell us who you are

3.36 **Male participant:** ok I'm sort of like a crazy guy I can be colourful, I can be wild, I can be a joker even make people laugh but sometimes I can be a jerk, as people know me sometimes I make things that doesn't make sense because that's just the way I am because the friends and people I hang out with they are sort of like me, and another thing joh like this guy I like to party I'm a very addictive party animal and I like socialising and texting a lot especially if I can get into facebook I can spend hours typing, commenting, liking, sharing, posting the works.

3.37 **Interviewer:** Active Facebooker?

3.38 **Male participant:** Yeah. mmm, I'm emotional at times depending at how people can say things to me just the way they could say it that's how I can take it. If for instance like let's say a class mate or a friend of mine would say you are a bad guy like I don't like the way you do things ok I would take it as ummm as a simple thing because I don't take those kind of things to heart of mind but if someone can say no you are so useless you act childish and stupid you act like a fool, you should be at some mental institute doing what all crazy guys do best, sjoe I'm gonna be a bit mad, but I don't wanna show my anger because last time I almost broke someone's neck since I have short temper too. JA. I'm into body building and I'm a poet, I like to sing and I'm so addicted to listening to rock music, not that I'm gothic or a punk but I just love listening to it because its just it just speaks to me in a way when I'm sad or angry worried or stressed, I will listen to it, a couple of minutes I'll be cool. I like food, I like to sleep but most of the time I am a ooo great thinker. Always like using this brain of mine to the very biggest just the highest limit that I can. Yes I like to talk too

much but depends on the people who are around me. I am a rapper, as people know me and most of the time I just like drawing especially on my free time. School yes I like to study, work hard, but like her when someone tells me to study I get all bored just I don't like being told sometimes just like doing things at my own time. I'm a very cheerful person and I like making people laugh. I just don't like people when they are angry, especially if the people that I mostly care about. I get too open even to strangers why I don't know that's just the way I am. And comparing myself to being a high school guy to primary guy okay back in the days when I was in primary I was too quite couldn't talk to people, I just like being alone. Since uummm ok I ok let me put it this way, since I I have a father but I haven't met him before that's the only thing I was told that was the last time I saw him I was a baby about 2 years old ja so , I take it I'm self grooming myself since I don't have a father figure in my life, so in a way, hypothetically I take my grandpa as a father figure since he is the only man that I know who takes care of me, guides me, gives me advice takes talks to me when I'm when I feel as if I need someone to talk to. So ja. I'm just; just I can be anyone that I want to be that's just me, ja.

- 3.39 **Interviewer:** Good before I like how you say your grandfather kind of takes that role because I want us to speak a bit about role models, do you guys think the person you are now will change? Or the person you are, your personality now is that going to stay that way forever? is it going to change
- 3.40 **Group members:** no, no, Yes, yeah
- 3.41 **Interviewer:** What will make the change
Interruption from outside
- 3.42 **Female participant:** it depends on how you want to live your life. How I want to pursue and how I want to achieve goals in life, how you see yourself in future, you just have to be strong and stand up for what you want in life, umm, its hard but we should try even when it is hard, perseverance. Eee nothing can stop you from being what you want to be, ja. Studying hard will make you a better person, one day and it will make your life better than you ever thought it would be
- 3.43 **Interviewer:** Good, Someone else?
- 3.44 **Male participant:** Ja I think my personality is going to change because for one I have to think about my future since I'm in a pre-matric for one, since I am living in a family where by my grandparents, mother, aunt, uncles they are depending on us, since we are the future supporters in the family. So one all these partying socialising with friends playing a lot, being crazy, I think it's going to change because one I'm going to have to focus hard on what I want to achieve because if I play around like this until I get to matric I don't think I'll be able to achieve my full potential. So in other ways my point is, I will just I will just have , I will just have to minus a bit of socialising and playing around and just be more responsible and take notes in the things I do especially the qualities I see in people.
- 3.45 **Interviewer:** talk a bit about role models people who influences you, who influences the person you are? He said his grandfather is kinda like his father, is there community members, siblings, friends. Talk about the people in your life that influences the person you are or want to become, this less socialising more responsible
- 3.46 **Female participant:** I think I will take it from my cousin, she is 22 years old this year she is a social worker she finished school in 2009 when I was in grade 7. she is the person who encourages me every day when I can't do this she tell me that believe in yourself and never give up. life is all about challenge, grab your goal cause your future is in your court and one day you will see that what I was talking with you about

is too be the person you want to be I don't say you say you should follow my steps but take an example from me, I'm still young I'm not too old from you. Uhm when I can't read on exams she wakes me up at 4 O' Clock if I was not studying hard and she helps me out. do this then I can then do this because I want to be the person that I want to be the person I believe I will be one day, ja.

- 3.47 **Interviewer:** Good do you try to be a better person not to disappoint her. So she will know that you are this good person
- 3.48 **Female participant:** I want to I want to do more than her, I want to be like her understand
- 3.49 **Interviewer:** to make her proud and be better than her?
- 3.50 **Female participant:** to make her proud then be better than her so that she may see that she was advising me about I wasn't taking it for granted but I was grabbing it ja
- 3.51 **Interviewer:** Somebody else, who influences you
- 3.52 **Male participant:** My grandmother I can say, since I was born, uhm since after my mother's death like my mother was shot by a gun, umm, my grandmother was there for me in everything's since 2004 when I was 9 years old, she raised me with love and care and showed me lots of things and many things, in like how to behave how to be a good person, how to be a person for your own self, how to stand for yourself. She showed me and taught me many things and many stuffs. I, she was a good person and a best role model for me mmm the thing she was doing, I liked her and she was a helper in in in the place we live at, she was a social worker as well in her days, even I can say these days because sometimes they just call help someone and someone to do some things, she when I was when I had problems she showed me things how to do and know where to try to and have hope in God and believe in Jesus that, in future I am here by God and things I have to do I'm not here to do friends things or do some other people things or do as other person tell me to do. I have to follow my road and follow the way, and do the thing I'm here for in the world, ja.
- 3.53 **Female participant:** My role model is my aunt, my aunt she is a very strong woman. She is the person who raised me but I still have a mother. But he was the one who was giving me raising me up ja. My aunt she left school in 1997. That is the year she left school and she is now old and she has started schooling now but she told herself that I never worked since I left school but if I want to work I have to go to to school and further my studies even if uuu I'm old because I want to achieve what I want. so I take it from her because she always tell me that I didn't give up always work hard for what you want to be she always told me you know that education is the key to success all the time, and that's why I took these some good advice from her because she never gives up she is a strong woman. Thank you
- 3.54 **Male participant:** My role model, my role model is my mother because she always supported me even when I did bad things, because she always tell me to study hard like my brothers or my brother's some are working some are still at eee in university, and she always supported me. I remember one time when we stole my uncle's car, then we came back on Sunday and uuu my uncle wanted to beat me as well. My mother even though my father wanted my uncle to beat me my mother protected me since that day I have been trying to change, but haaai, I didn't know how to change because all of my friend do bad things, they smoke but I don't smoke, they drink but I drink. Even on Fridays I go to party's then I come back on Saturday mornings, and when when I arrive at home my mother asks me uh where am I coming from I just tell her I'm from my brothers place, then I call my brother to tell my mother that I was sleeping at his place, then he will see I slept at huh his place but the truth is huh, I maybe I will go to a parties. I love going to setchaba at the corner with my friends, but

- my family members didn't know that, they think I'm a good person. But truly speaking I'm not a good person
- 3.55 **Female participant:** My role model is my father, he was a future a travel broker we stayed in a good house me at the end of my life I want to be like him, as such yes. So I am always trying to study and then they always tell me to study you otherwise you won't go where in your life, so he is always looking after me if I'm studying what I'm doing, so all the time he looking that I'm always on my phone, so he tell me that what that on your phone what are you doing all the time you are always pressing phone I don't know what. Just take your book and study. So I'm try to make my parents happy. I want at the end of this year to be in matric class so maybe I'm going to loose some things to me like buying and eats and paying for university already.
- 3.56 **Interviewer:** And siblings are you also a role model for other people around you or do you want to be a role model, do you want to do good things so people would look up to you and say we want to be like that
- 3.57 **Group members:** yes
- 3.58 **Interviewer:** Like your mother and cousin. To say I want to be a better person so that others
- 3.59 **Female participant:** I want to be a better person so that other people can take nice things from me and na, I think I could change and I will change even when nobody believes that I can change, but na I do believe in myself and my role model is my sister. He is studying law in uovs he always tell me that I'm must study hard so that I can get distinctions. I'm willing to do that but it's hard but I'm going to make her proud so that she yes. So that my siblings could see, that those things from me, yes
- 3.60 **Interviewer:** Let's talk about friends she said earlier she has bad friend or has bad friends till about high school, you said your friends are all bad what role does your friends have are they all bad and how do they shape you?
- 3.61 **Female participant:** I na, I think at school I have a good friend but back then I don't have a real good friend because most of the time when I try to study she will come and knock on my door, let's go somewhere. Where somewhere? I am going to see my boyfriend, just walk me. And then I will forget that I was trying to make my homework, and I'll be there walking with her till it gets late. Forget about my studies, but when I get at school I will say, wow I forgot my homework. Call my other friend the good one at school, did you do your homework? Just copy from me and then I will copy it from her book to my book but when the teacher gets inside the class I'll be like I don't understand this, why because I have copied from my friend. when I'm at school I have good friends but back there most of them they like partying I really like partying because my aunt when she said I'm locking my door at 9 o' clock the latest is 9 o' clock, and if one minute is to 9 when you are on the door she already locked the door at 5 to 9. I will knock there, I will be outside she will open around 5 o' clock and she will be saying where are you coming from and then I will lie, tell lies and say I was at the corner at at family friend she will go with me at the time and go look is it true she was here when they say no she was saying to me you are going to sleep but the door and every 5 second look if you are still there so not good for me. I was working hard when I was at primary but when I got at high school I saw myself that I have grown and make things that other people doing, like when they are trying to smoke but I couldn't this is not good then I left cigarettes I went to booze always when I booze I vomit then I left booze and then now.... Guys guys (laughter – guys). They I see this all bad friends best thing bad things I try them and then I can see that I am not good, but I think it is too hard to leave guys it just haaaa, if I leave him what is going to happen you understand, most of the time my focus is on guys I don't know

how to avoid these, but then I try to avoid this my friend she will come and knock again understand. Even though I told myself I'm not going to go.. but when she knock on the door I will be saying ok let me go and fresh myself up and leave and my aunt she will say I don't like your friend always when you try to study she comes here and you get up and go to the street and come back late and you don't even try to cook when it is your turn, understand then, eish I want try to avoid guys, ja my life at high school very very very bad, sometimes I don't understand myself understand. I was a, a person when you come to me and say I want you to do this I will want you do do what I want not what you want. I will say let's do my thing not your thing. I always focused on my books but now I do them on my plenty time, I don't know why because I have to put all my focus on my books, but I didn't do it then my focus was on guys I don't know why.

- 3.62 **Interviewer:** Anybody else want to talk about friends?
- 3.63 **Female participant:** I have lots of friends I'm a friendly person, and I'm famous
- 3.64 **Interviewer:** Do you have good friend's bad friends, do they influence you?
- 3.65 **Female participant:** I have a good friend but aaai when I was in primary I had a friend this friend of mine was the best friend, we grow up together and we were those persons who told ourself we always shared the same thing we all do things the same I want I want to to be this oh I also want to be this, I want to do this oh I also want to do this, but last year she disappointed me that she got pregnant but I didn't like ignore her, tell her you are no more my friend I told her that you are still going to be my friend, only if you go back to school. But I still have some other friends who are very supportive, I I thought that I'm a lucky person and I have other good friend like this I just pray that they don't disappoint me. I heard others who had that they are likely to a bad influence. I some other day I was at my family and when I came back to my mother's house I got my friends smoking. When I got my friends smoking I was the only one not smoking around. Why are you guys smoking and you are girls you are making your teeth smell the people you are going to see you are not going to see you as the right people and girls are very unique and special so why do you do wrong these things. So if I smoke or ever have alcohol I'll never be doing right things, this so I never go to I know they are my friend I'll never ignore them but the influence they want to give me ill never follow them.
- 3.66 **Female participant:** I got good friends and bad friend but good friends are girlfriends and bad friends are boys. I'm a girl who likes to talk and socialising boys a lot. But they are like so into drugs. Always, they smoke, uuuh drink on weekends. I was . . .
- 3.67 **Interviewer:** So is that a good thing or a bad thing, friends who smoke and drink on weekends?
- 3.68 **Female participant:** Its bad thing. They like always using drugs and my girlfriends, they like always trying to make me go with them again but it's like, drugs are so addictive that you couldn't make your own choices in life that you won't be, you won't do something good when you are into drugs. You just don't think like people that don't use them, and now I think I'm addicted but my sister is trying she is trying to help me even the teachers in the school, but they will come across. Eh, what will happen with this problem is to quit going with those boys. Like I, I should like take them out of my mind, study hard so that I can move on with life yes. That's my life
- 3.69 **Female participant:** I don't lie to you guys I don't have even 1 friend in my life. Since I was still young my mother told me, I like to play alone even when somebody comes up to me and I go at home sleeping and then I pretend as if I sleeping but and then when she is going then I go back where I'm playing playing playing alone. I didn't like to be close to some people. ja. I didn't even have a friend or someone that

influences me in the wrong things. I not even been addicted in something since I'm still a good girl

- 3.70 **Interviewer:** At school, do you have friends at school?
- 3.71 **Female participant:** No I don't have friends
- 3.72 **Interviewer:** Anyone else wants to talk about their friends? Influence of their friends
- 3.73 **Male participant:** For me eish, at this moment at this part in my life I am I have been changed like since I can start with I was born here in Bloemfontein 1995, then after after my mother's death I, my grandmother uhm told me to go and stay with my uncle in Pretoria, but when I got there I decided ummm this situation in my uncles home makes me decide and make my parents, my father and my grandmother, decide to find a place for me to hire and stay alone. Then I can say there life was good I was staying alone for 4 years umm I do good things I try to study and don't do bad things but I still got group did those things ne, but at school I got bad friends those bad friends of mine were smoking and drinking and socialising too many things. I end up smoking uh I smoking cigarettes, later on uhm they things of drugs and a weed. I started to change at that position at that moment I still came back in Bloemfontein I stayed here I came this year but I'm trying to change myself not smoking not doing those bad things cause like
- 3.74 **Interviewer:** How are our friends here? Your friends here do they smoke do you have the same type of friends here?
- 3.75 **Male participant:** here I don't have friends. But I have that time friends for that time because like when you are at school and smoking, mmm you have many friends for that moment because like you like to be together and smoke for that time. Later on just walk you do your work yeah kinda those friends. But I'm trying to stop myself but I can't stop myself cause every time if they don't call me I just feel like going out. When I'm out I just feel like going somewhere and look for them and do all the stuff and bad things. But I'm trying and trying, to live my own life and leave them out of my life and study and do all this stuff. Yeah.
- 3.76 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be African? What does it mean to you to be an African?
- 3.77 **Female participant:** it means being a person, other persons together we can do more, like uniting in tswana they say bunthu, mmmm (Tswana talking)
- 3.78 **Interviewer:** What's that translate to?
- 3.79 **Interviewer:** That is the Ubuntu slogan - you are a person because of other people
- 3.80 **Interviewer:** ok anyone else?
- 3.81 **Male participant:** Mmmmm. I would have to say it's awesome cause one - no matter no matter how bad people can get in the end they will end up changing into good people and for one
- 3.82 **Interviewer:** Just because you are African?
- 3.83 **Male participant:** No, because we can connect with people from other countries on the opposite side Africa for instance I have friends who happen to be Indians, Chinese people, Nigerians, sometimes others are from ivory coast or Mozambique. Fact is Africa, being an African to me is like we can actually, learn to correspond to people, peoples interest and how people interact with other people in South Africa, what I'm trying to say is that the Ubuntu thing, we we these days sure some others don't make it happen they don't act up to the Ubuntu thing but others, we we have learnt to spread the word to make it more effective to people who don't know what it means to do like Ubuntu, ja.
- 3.84 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be African? Anyone

- 3.85 **Female participant:** Being an African, as an African we respect people, like we like what people like we take each other as equal, you know, like we we I know that not all of us who are discriminating, because that is something that is always involved with people, you know. About they what, their interest. As South Africans we are proud people we have a pride we are the strong people and we love and we have that love and respect.
- 3.86 **Interviewer:** Do you think people like Indians and Chinese people and white people are also Africans?
- 3.87 **Group members:** Ja, most of them. . . ja
- 3.88 **Interviewer:** Why what makes them African?
- 3.89 **Female participant:** Because of their history ago, all them black peoples go to another countries then that people keep them and never even discriminated to other south Africans. So when they come to South Africa they must do the same they, yes.
- 3.90 **Female participant:** Because when they come to our country we take them equally. We respect their religions, we respect their cultures.
- 3.91 **Interviewer:** ok
- 3.92 **Female participant:** And as in South Africa we are here to change our South Africa cause now we have a criminals with records all that stuff so I'm here maybe to do something in like organising people to discuss stopping anything that is happening in our country, yes, so maybe south Africa can be changed
- 3.93 **Interviewer:** Why else are you saying yes? I know you have, she is saying because the whole xenophobic thing we all said there's other people from Africa out there and we feel they treat them as one. What else, what else. I mean they are African because they are born here?
- 3.94 **Male participant:** Uhm Ok what I know is that ok scientifically scientist and archaeologists say that South Africa is the cradle of mankind, since everything started here ja.
- 3.95 **Female participant:** Uhm I think for that people that come to South Africa they come here because it is a free country, yes.
- 3.96 **Female participant:** That's why most of them like Africa
- 3.97 **Interviewer:** Do you think being a black African is part of who you, are is that part of your identity will you be a different person when you wake up tomorrow and you are not black African?
- 3.98 **Group:** No
- 3.99 **Interviewer:** Will you be the same person?
- 3.100 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.101 **Female participant:** We are, nothing changes only you can make your life, better just better
- 3.102 **Interviewer:** So even if your skin is different even if you look Chinese, you will still be you?
- 3.103 **Female participant:** No the race cannot change (laughter – group)
- 3.104 **Interviewer:** But let's say the race changes, let's say you are now Chinese do you think you will still be you, and feel the same about other people you still think the way you think about other people.
- 3.105 **Group members:** Yes, ja, ja
- 3.106 **Interviewer:** Even if you wake up and you are Chinese
- 3.107 **Male participant:** Ja I mean we both have the same blood colour so we still the same
- 3.108 **Female participant:** Yes (laughter)
- 3.109 **Interviewer:** If you wake up tomorrow and you don't speak your language you can only speak English no Sotho or Tshwane (laughter – group)

- 3.110 **Female participant:** If I only speak English I will be happy when I'm wake up in the morning and I'm I'm speaking other languages I'll be happy with that
- 3.111 **Interviewer:** Let's say you can only speak Spanish you wake up and you only will you change will something in you be different?
- 3.112 **Female participant:** NO The change will be my colour, my language, I will still be me
- 3.113 **Female participant:** The difference will be the language
- 3.114 **Interviewer:** How big a part does it play in who you are being male or female? Is it a big part of who you are being a girl or a woman is it a big part of who you are that you are man?
- 3.115 **Male participant:** Ja, I think it is a big part of who you are because being a male or female or like even if you like even if you like want to change you won't change that part to be another person, you will only change the colour or maybe you will only change the language or another things but that body parts you won't change
- 3.116 **Female participant:** Because when god created you he has a purpose why you have a female
- 3.117 **Interviewer:** Are boys different than girls?
- 3.118 **Group members:** Yip yes (laughter)
- 3.119 **Interviewer:** How are they different?
- 3.120 **Male participant:** Boys they are stronger than girls
- 3.121 **Female participant:** NO
- 3.122 **Group of girls:** (laughter) haaaai
- 3.123 **Males:** Physically
- 3.124 **Interviewer:** And emotionally
- 3.125 **Male participant:** They are strong
- 3.126 **Female participant:** But most of the guys let me say they like big girls
(Group – laughing)
- 3.127 **Female participant:** Yes
- 3.128 **Male participant:** Most? No few, no few.
- 3.129 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 3.130 **Female participant:** Cause sometimes I'll be saying to Max go away and he will feel like she just said go away and you won't tell that he's hurt, and he will go to her and say that she just said I must go away, you understand, he deals with it emotionally but even if he doesn't show it
- 3.131 **Interviewer:** And girls do girls show it?
- 3.132 **Female participant:** Girls sjoe like to cry
- 3.133 **Interviewer:** So he said to her go away she is going to cry or say you are hurting my feelings instead of a boy who will go away and not talk
- 3.134 **Female participant:** We special people girls, we like to be treated sweetly and kind and like to be spoiled
- 3.135 **Interviewer:** And guys? you don't like to be spoiled and treated special
- 3.136 **Male participant:** We like to be spoiled too
- 3.137 **Male participant:** Ja spoiled too
- 3.138 **Interviewer:** Do you think girls can do what guys can do?
- 3.139 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.140 **Interviewer:** And achieve what guys can achieve?
- 3.141 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.142 **Interviewer:** I like the way you guys think, So if I say you must take out the rubbish everyday you can also take the rubbish out
- 3.143 **Female participant:** I will take it out as long as I got the potential

- 3.144 **Female participant:** But they are not very good at it
- 3.145 **Male participant:** aaaah No
- 3.146 **Female participant:** Unless unless, if they have started at a younger age
- 3.147 **Female participant:** But also guys can cook mos'
- 3.148 **Male participant:** I can cook I can clean even boys can. Even more especially for me I like cooking
- 3.149 **Female participant:** But most guys don't like sweeping, no they like doing gardening yes garden work.
- 3.150 **Male participant:** Picture a girl going to a mine or being a body builder?
- 3.151 **Interviewer:** Is it possible?
- 3.152 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.153 **Male participant:** I know some girls who are
- 3.154 **Female participant:** Strong muscles you can do it
- 3.155 **Female participant:** I don't like it to work at home I just like to stay
- 3.156 **Female participant:** My brothers don't they don't like cleaning
- 3.157 **Interviewer:** If the sisters are so good at it then the brothers don't want to do it.
- 3.158 **Female participant:** If there is a girl and a boy in a house, the guy will depend on a girl she will say and say it's the work of a girl.
- 3.159 **Interviewer:** It's the girl's duty to clean the girl's duty to cook?
- 3.160 **Female participant:** But nowadays we can do all the same things whether you are a girl or a boy.
- 3.161 **Female participant:** They are like a parasite
- 3.162 **Female participant:** Yes guys are like a parasite they depend on us.
- 3.163 **Male participant:** Haaai No, not all of us
- 3.164 **Female participant:** At least when you are married you can depend your wife. If you are still young like now you have to do everything at home, cleaning and cooking. Yes you don't have a girl
- 3.165 **Male participant:** I will be having my own money I'll be self made , mos
- 3.166 **Male participant:** The technology has changed in out lives these days
- 3.167 **Female participant:** Then you can use it
- 3.168 **Male participant:** Makes our life easier
- 3.169 **Interviewer:** Does social networking play a big part in your lives?
- 3.170 **Group members:** Yoh yoh yoh
- 3.171 **Interviewer:** Ok we know you are a facebook addict but the rest of you
- 3.172 **Female participant:** Whatsapp, bbm
- 3.173 **Interviewer:** It's kinda like your right arm you need it if it's gone you feel disabled. Do you all have phones with whatsapp and facebook
- 3.174 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.175 **Interviewer:** What do you think?
- 3.176 **Female participant:** They have disadvantages, most of the things now they say they are going to make a cut inside of you, ne. But I can see now the things must have advantage and disadvantage, this thing it's got its disadvantage
- 3.177 **Interviewer:** So you think networking, bbm, whatsapp facebooking has disadvantages, like what?
- 3.178 **Male participant:** You can be too into it you wouldn't focus at school, spend most of the time at home chatting instead of chilling with the friends who actually advise you to focus on your books
- 3.179 **Female participant:** And you get friends on social networking who are not good, there older ones who make themselves small
- 3.180 **Male participant:** Amen to that.

- 3.181 **Female participant:** When you meet that person they are a stranger
- 3.182 **Interviewer:** Do you like being an adolescent a teenager?
- 3.183 **Group members:** Ja, yes
- 3.184 **Interviewer:** If you could choose would you be an adolescent forever?
- 3.185 **Group members:** No no no
- 3.186 **Male participant:** If I could choose I would choose to be a baby, JA JA JA, at the age of 1-5 cause like I'll be depending on my parents
- 3.187 **Female participant:** I like being a teenager
- 3.188 **Male participant:** Forever spoiled
- 3.189 **Male participant:** I want to be a man, because if you are a man you can do whatever you want
- 3.190 **Interviewer:** Your parents won't tell you don't steal the car don't
- 3.191 **Male participant:** They will give me the car because I'm old I have responsibilities. Yes
- 3.192 **Female participant:** Nna I like being a teenager is good but we face yoh so much challenges
- 3.193 **Interviewer:** Do you want to be a teenager forever?
- 3.194 **Male participant:** No
- 3.195 **Female participant:** If I were have to choose
- 3.196 **Interviewer:** Why would you like to be a teenager forever if it is such a challenging period?
- 3.197 **Male participant:** It's cool being a teenager, It got so much advices you have challenges (laughter)
- 3.198 **Interviewer:** Why are you laughing?
- 3.199 **Female participant:** When she talks she likes to, you see the thing on her lip, even if we are in class
- 3.200 Interviewer:** Do you like being a teenager and would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 3.201 **Female participant:** Not too much
- 3.202 **Female participant:** Yes because I like to play most of the time, I like to tease people you understand, most of the time you understand and always laugh eish when you are bored you know where to go and play with others, you always being happy active when you are older you are going to get sick there are so much diseases. I don't want to grow up
(Group - laughter)
- 3.203 **Female participant:** I want to be a a teenager but then get the work from my parents and to respecting me and many people will look at me and oo she has a beautiful car so that one is my role model there yes
- 3.204 **Female participant:** I just want to be a teenager cause I will always be in the music industry, but as a teenager we always see the music industry, always see everywhere I go
- 3.205 **Interviewer:** if you grow up will you have to stop singing
- 3.206 **Female participant:** I will never, because the singing business say at this stage I still have the advice to sing
- 3.207 **Male participant:** I love singing
- 3.208 **Interviewer:** Would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 3.209 **Male participant:** No no no All I want right now is to get married and have my kids so I can take a break from school, school is torture straight up
- 3.210 **Female participant:** And when you go to the other standards yoh it is so much challenge

- 3.211 **Females:** You are getting nerves stress
- 3.212 **Female participant:** I like a challenge but haai I should really focus on my work when I want to face the challenges, challenges good, we come across very big things yes, it's good
- 3.213 **Interviewer:** And you grow after accomplishing a challenge
- 3.214 **Female participant:** You become responsible
- 3.215 **Interviewer:** Do you think your parents understand you better than your friends do? Who understands you better parents or friends?
- 3.216 **Male participant:** Friends
- 3.217 **Female participant:** Because we spend most of our time with our friends.
- 3.218 **Interviewer:** So you think your friends understand you better
- 3.219 **Female participant:** For me like teachers
- 3.220 **Interviewer:** Who understands you better parents or teachers
- 3.221 **Group members:** Teachers
- 3.222 **Female participant:** No my parents
- 3.223 **Male participant:** Haaai parents
- 3.224 **Female participant:** To me especially my mother
- 3.225 **Male participant:** For me my granny
- 3.226 **Interviewer:** Granny's the role model
- 3.227 **Interviewer:** Alright thank you guys, thank you very much this was lovely
- 3.228 **Interviewer:** What do you like about being a teenager? You like what?
- 3.229 **Male participant:** I'm a parasite, when I'm a teenager, depending on my parents
- 3.230 **Interviewer:** What else is nice about being a teenager?
- 3.231 **Female participant:** When I say I need this you must make sure that my parents I want to make my own responsibility
- 3.232 **Interviewer:** Anything else? Other than you get what you want and you don't have responsibility.
- 3.233 **Male participant:** Sometimes you wouldn't care about stress and life because teenagers of today just like having fun, ja.
- 3.234 **Female participant:** Life is simple like that
- 3.235 **Interviewer:** Do you think the community where you grow up influences you plays a role in your life?
- 3.236 **Group members:** Yes
- 3.237 **Interviewer:** What role do they play?
- 3.238 **Male participant:** If the place where you stay there are many smokers or drug dealers, or friends of your brother you get hard, you have that feeling that one day you have to be like that person because like when you grow in a bad condition or community, like you see yourself in that place you don't see yourself out that place you don't think that, that those people who don't smoke that those people who are better than those people I stay with. You think, like your mind just be blocked or maybe it's like you you have you have maybe something you see only the view of those people only the things they do and wish to be like those people
- 3.239 **Interviewer:** Do those people in your community influence you?
- 3.240 **Male participant:** Ja
- 3.241 **Female participant:** Yes, they are good people they are always at their house and there are kids playing their yard, it's only me who got bad friends and mixed in bad things yeah. They are so encouraging me
- 3.242 **Female participant:** I think there are good influence because they can even though it's not their real parent, they can tell you that even though I am not a parent do this

and do that to show you the right ways they can influence you to do good things they can advice us for instance to do such great things you know

- 3.243 **Interviewer:** Is there any community members that are not your parents who influences you, your uncle who stays there, mechanic that works there, a teacher?
- 3.244 **Female participant:** Ja you know, there is this sister she was my aunts friend she lives with 2 girls, uhm she advised her and me at the same time but she got out of the way and she put her trust all on me, she always tried to advise me in everything I do even if I didn't see a thing even if I I didn't do I did the wrong thing but I did not know seriously she will come and tell me you do this and you think it's better no see it this way understand I don't want you to get through what my little sister just got into ja.
- 3.245 **Female participant:** On our community we have influences person like the youngest learner who get pregnant at a young ages so some of people when they see or showing something to help us notice us to try to be like them and end up to be pregnant, or as some other children don't go to school then the young children when she looking at my sister didn't go to school so I am not going because of her sister yeah
- 3.246 **Female participant:** Which is not right
- 3.247 **Female participant:** You have to be a leader
- 3.248 **Interviewer:** Can you imagine. Anyone else wants to add anything
- 3.249 **Male participant:** Ok ok there was this guy that me and my other friend from the streets who we always supported, that guy he is older than us ne, but he treats us as if we are from the same age he is sort of like, we we put ourselves as his little brothers since he always advises us apart from doing all the music, laughing, rapping everything and he tells us the challenging things we we should expect when our lives change after a couple of years, and he just likes telling us that with everything every challenge that one can face in life laughing about it can make it easier since stressing about it will only make you fail.
- 3.250 **Interviewer:** Thank you
- 3.251 **Female participant:** I would like to adopt some other peoples words, words that encourage me like last year on our prize giving there was this pastor who said to whom much is given much is required, you understand, sometimes when I'm at home I think of those words the main thing keeps the main thing the main thing so when I'm at home I will think about these words when I'm I'm upset and I will tell myself that I am going to give up on school but most of the learners I get in class with they don't notice that (name) one day she will drop out of school why because I think this thing on my own and work on them and then when I'm ok I will go through power
- 3.252 **Female participant:** Even though there are some people in the community who have the bad influence and who have no good influence I can tell myself I don't care what those people say I only care what God says to me because I uuh I know I'm more committed to church and the word of God I'm so committed to that things and I always tell myself if if there is something coming I want to do something I m going to do this like the word of God says that you can do all things through Christ who strengthens you, That's why I always do things freely without any stress.
- 3.253 **Female participant:** Lastly I would like to have friends who are all discuss ideas and our teachers said a small minds discuss people, so great minds discuss ideas, so but my friends are introverts they are like shjo, not good so yeah
- 3.254 **Interviewer:** Alright thank you guys thank you for spending your hour with us enjoy your day.

APPENDIX K

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 4

- 4.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 4.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 4.3 **Male participant:** Ja, every time when I'm get involved in to other people I try to be a friend with other people who are in the environment which I live, ja even at school I'm easy to make some friends even everywhere where I walk, I'm I'm the I'm really speaking too much ne, ja I'm speaking too much ja, but I'm struggling with there and there with other languages ne ja, but person I am helpful to other people who wants help but I can't help someone who doesn't try to help himself ne ja.
- 4.4 **Interviewer:** Good, right, *Ke ithuta Sesotho, ke tseba hanyane*. Right so I'm going to ask that we speak in English cause I'm the one that's going to type it and my Sotho is very limited alright ok next.
- 4.5 **Male participant:** Aaa Me I'm a very shy person, I love people and uh to me what makes me aa different from others is that the community that I come from aaa the way I am my ja personality is how I am.
- 4.6 **Interviewer:** Tell us a bit about your personality?
- 4.7 **Male participant:** Aaa Like I said I'm very shy, very friendly and I'm very emotional ja an emotional person, I got that from my mother ja ja.
- 4.8 **Female participant:** Ok , actually I'm kind of a talkative girl I like people, actually I come ee I from a bad background so my intention it's to help other people. I wanna become someone who gonna give something to the community because I come from a bad bad bad background, so I feel bad for people who are struggling to make ends meet ja so that's that's what I am and I really I'm talkative, I like people but sometimes that's kinda like I become shy at first but then later I become use to it later.....
- 4.9 **Interviewer:** Once you know the people?
- 4.10 **Female participant:** Yes ja
- 4.11 **Female participant:** I'm a loving person and caring person. I like to help people a lot if ever I see someone maybe she doesn't have shoes or something if I have an extra one I will donate, give I will donate and give them something. In life I want to be a better person like I my career I want to be a social worker so that I can help those people who are cannot help themselves. And I'm I don't like to I don't talk too much, I'm shy, so ja. I love when I'm with my friends I've I sometimes have the self confidence of doing anything that I want and sometimes they, they encourage me, they encourage me to do something that maybe if ever at school the other subjects that I don't know they come to me and help me, and when they do that I have the self confidence that I can do more, ja.
- 4.12 **Female participant:** My name really means appreciate, appreciation. I'm really unique as I live in this world and I'm friendly to other people. I always learn everything each and every day. I always push myself into other people's situations and hear their opinions. I always learn to know something about other people. I'm not a self I'm not selfish. I always try to help other people and whatever I do I respect and I always learn right from wrong.
- 4.13 **Male participant:** I just want to say that I'm talkative very very talkative, and sometimes I listen to everybody to listen what I'm saying. The first thing I can say about myself is that I can help people who help themselves. Ja I'm very immature and sometimes I get a bit distracted by other people who take themselves down because sometimes I get

distracted by what they do. Ja. Sometimes I I think I like being around people because I can socialise with other people, ja.

4.14 **Interviewer:** Good, tell me a bit about who influences your personality. Who influences this person that you see yourself to be, your parents, your role models, siblings, friends?

4.15 **Male participant:** Ja I think I can say my parents because they played a big part in my life. As like I said I here because of them, now yes they helped me a lot and I just like to thank them.

4.16 **Interviewer:** Do you want to be a better person to show them that?

4.17 **Male participant:** Ja I want them to appreciate me and must say thank you because you are like this because of us.

4.18 **Interviewer:** Ok.

4.19 **Male participant:** Ja the person who influences me in my life is my sibling, yes my sister ja. Because every time when I have a problem I speaking to her to tell him my problem and trying to solve that problem which I have even with my books, ja. Even when I go to church she is always telling me that let us go to church let us go to church, everything told me what I have to do, what I have to do that is what I want to do and that is what I don't have to do and then so. I want to become the role model of the siblings who come after me because she is my role model as she come first to me

4.20 **Interviewer:** How old is your sister?

4.21 **Male participant:** My sister is 27 years this year.

4.22 **Interviewer:** Ok, do you want to be better so that she is proud of you, do you want to be even more successful than her?

4.23 **Male participant:** I want to be more because I want those who come back....

4.24 **Interviewer:** To look up at you?

4.25 **Male participant:** And be the role model of them.

4.26 **Interviewer:** Good good. Anyone else?

4.27 **Female participant:** Well my parents are the ones who influence me they have been there for me in every situation, in everything that I need they help me especially my mother she encourages me a lot even when I have a problems I can talk to her so if she tells me she teaches me how to live she teaches me how to do everything so she is my role model.

4.28 **Male participant:** Aaa Me it is my family. My family does influence me positively, they motivate me every time. Uuuh I and I really like to be successful in life so that I they can be proud of me ja. And all I really like to thank them that everything that they have done to me, because I'm here cause of them I'm who I am cause of them ja so.

4.29 **Interviewer:** Is it also your parents or are there siblings too is it also older siblings that's role models (**Male participant:** ja, ja) and you want to....

4.30 **Male participant:** I have my older sister she is ja 27, but she is not very successful so... I would love to be like better than her so that she can be like proud of me and all that.

4.31 **Interviewer:** almost to be a role model to her too?

4.32 **Male participant:** Ja shjo.

4.33 **Female participant:** The person that influenced me in my life is my father, cause he is the one that I'm living with I don't have a parents, my mother died when I was a little. So one day if ever God keeps him for me I will like to make I would like to appreciate him so about so many things by mmmm.... giving him a big house or maybe buying him a car, so that I can thank him for all the things that he done for me. I'm here because of him. He's been supportive about so many things in my life and sometimes I choose something and he always advised me about life not to do bad things always do right things ja.

4.34 **Female participant:** Actually my mother she has influenced me a lot in my life because now she is raising me and my little sister, she is a single parent and whatever the situation

she is always there for me for us to provide whatever we need and without complaints and I've learnt that my mom she's a strong woman and very supportive. She is always there for us and she is making our lives more different according to what she have been through during her life, her childhood. she want to make us better people she want to see us somebody in the coming years, ja my mother.

4.35 **Interviewer:** Do you also feel that you want to be a role model to your younger siblings? How do your younger siblings influence you? When you want to party and not study do you think I got to study because they looking up to me?

4.36 **Female participant:** Because I want to change the situation in the house so that they can live a better life and I want to live my... something that they can remember me with, something that they can always..... Something that they can always.... motivate me with.

4.37 **Interviewer:** You wanted to say something?

4.38 **Female participant:** Ja actually I wanted to say I have four siblings I have two elder sisters and two younger, this one is young girl and then a younger brother. My sister this two sister did not achieve very much want in life, they didn't do matric fully, even so my little brother and my little sister I wanna show them a right way. I want to show them that I can do better than my sisters. In everything that I do even my homeworks or when I have assignment I do it, and even they have their homeworks I I help them. I don't wanna be involved in the bad things I because they are coming after me I don't want them to do things the bad things I won't do because they are coming after me so if I do bad things surely they are gonna go in a role model I I I wanted them to go. And then again as young teenagers there are many things that we get involved in the bad things so I want to be different because I have younger people that are coming then I have to teach them the right road to take.

4.39 **Interviewer:** What about friends? U guys. . . What role do friends play? Do you guys have friends at home do you have more friends at school, who influences you more, friend wise? Do they influence you positively or negatively?

4.40 **Male participant:** I can say my friends influence me positively because they are from... I am the only one who is in Matric because they are still going to grade 11 and grade 10, so they motivate me because they say to me: even in another life we want you to be better ne and then I say to them I want you guys to be better than me because you have to learn from me, I'm in matric and when you get I can help you something because you have to learn from me I have that imagination that I can help you with something ja

4.41 **Interviewer:** Good, so it's not like your grade 11 and 10 friends are keeping you behind and they are saying rather come party they actually want you to study?

4.42 **Male participant:** I have a lot of friends so here at school yeah at school there are few friends. Where I'm staying ja there are different friends there are those that are bad and those that are very good, you know and are working hard at school. And uh Obviously I'm a very positive person so I love to like be with those that are positive in life you know and they also motivate me positively at school ja so ja.

4.43 **Interviewer:** But friends at home do they also positively play a role?

interruption

4.44 **Male participant:** Ja they advise advise me and I have also I also learnt a lot from them you know. Like They will tell me that what kinda things they face at matric like I am right now, they will advise me what to the best way to deal with matric ja, things like that. They will help me with everything that I need. Friends you know.

4.45 **Interviewer:** Thank you

4.46 **Male participant:** Ja I have many friends ja yes ja, but at school I have one friend, because in the environment in which I live in everyone I take him as my friend. ja but at school I have one friend ja but my fiend always motivate me in the right way cause my

friend does does not have parents so he always told me that you have parents so use that opportunity because when you lose them you are going to suffer so try your best as your parents give you that opportunity to go to school and change your life. So my friend I love him really ja cause he always tell me the right thing even if I want to go home no I feel like staying he tells me stay we have to study so I do what he wants me to do and always I'm telling him my friend let us do what is good for us and what is good what will be the good thing when people are looking at us ne ja. In order that people to become the role model of other people at school to motivate them if they have problem and try to help them with all this stuff.

- 4.47 **Female participant:** At school I have many friends and at home, but mostly I thought my school friends more important to me because always we discuss cool things about our dreams what we want to be what we wanna become some day, and at home some they like to party then ja I'm not always with them but I always try to just show them how important it is to focus on school work than unnecessary things that they always do.
- 4.48 **Female participant:** Well my friends at school they influence me positively. We actually they have the big dreams everything that we do we dream big we wanna be successful people so it is like a competition to us what is it you wanna be, what is it you wanna achieve in life so they influences me positively. But I have other friends at home those ones they influence me negatively, even on Saturdays when I come to school they will ask me is it necessary to go to school at Saturday are you sure you are gonna pass at the end of the year so those are the ones that influence me negatively
- 4.49 **Female participant:** My friends at school influence me positive. We always when we here at school we always encourage our self by studying everyday doing our homeworks not not always attend outside things like going party's doing anything that unnecessary in life. sometimes when I am feel down they always put my I always get self confidence through them to so that I can do I can feel mm mi can feel (Interviewer: Motivated) ja. I can feel motivated to do anything, ja we always encourage us by doing school work.
- 4.50 **Interviewer:** So you guys are all thinking that you all have friends that influence you to go to party's you all saying that is bad, it's not good to go to party's at all?
- 4.51 **Male participant:** No not really cause it depends there are those there are some students that work hard at school but they are still partying they like you have to balance yeah your things you know.
- 4.52 **Interviewer:** But can you balance?
- 4.53 **Male participant:** yeah, But partying is not my thing I have never loved it so it's not like because I'm not going I think like no it will influence me you know so ja I don't like really want to.
- 4.54 **Male participant:** Ja cause even if you go to party's there you are going to enjoy drinking alcohol the thing that you don't like to do your friends will say take a sip, take a sip ne, but that time the friends are influencing you in a bad way
- 4.55 **Interviewer:** So you guys all feel you can balance, there is nobody that feels if they influence me negatively go to the party's sometimes I'll ill go cause my friends are all saying let's go lets go and I don't want to say no?
- 4.56 **Female participant:** Me I will go ne I will go but then I will not maybe if ever they are doing something that that I don't like I will not do it I will just be myself yeah.
- 4.57 **Interviewer:** How do you decide who are your friends? You said you have a couple of friends at home a couple of friends at school how do you decide this is my friend this isn't my friend?
- 4.58 **Female participant:** To me I decide who is my friend because if sometimes she helped me about something that I don't have or don't or sometimes she doesn't judge me about

my life, what my background is she is the true friend to me because she love me the way I am not what I have ja.

- 4.59 **Male participant:** Ja, the purpose of having one friend at school is that ja I can share my private things with her with him because he doesn't he don't tell another people about my background and the other secrets that's where I decided to have one friend to share something with I feel inside ja.
- 4.60 **Male participant:** AAAhhhh to me like I said I have a lot of friends. AAAhhhh I love being with those that are positive but tell me that I don't sometime be with those that are negative, but I do not do negative things with them, but I do like stay with them spend some time with them ja.
- 4.61 **Interviewer:** Is it friends you have something in common with?
- 4.62 **Male participant:** Ja, ja it's just like a conversation or something we chat that's all. But then when you come to real things like school you know I go with those that are positive ja. And ja I really I have a friend that went to Cuba to study medicine he is now at Cuba so I'm motivated actually ja
- 4.63 **Interviewer:** To follow in his footsteps?
- 4.64 **Male participant:** Ja (Laughs)
- 4.65 **Female participant:** Well I don't like a friend that gonna tell me what to do and when to do it. So I choose a friend that is more like a to me a friend that don't get involved in bad things. Because as a matric learner I don't think it's a good idea going to all the parties doing all these gangsters thing. I don't like a group I don't like being in a group, I prefer to have one friend. Because you know when you have many you influence each other negatively so I prefer to have a one friend.
- 4.66 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 4.67 **Male participant:** I don't think so.
- 4.68 **Interviewer:** How does school. You guys have spoken a lot about school and how important school is. Do you find that school and academics is more important this year than it was last year? Did you think last year we could party a bit more, this year I'm a matric pupil I must take things seriously, I can see you shaking your head (laughs), is it more serious this year do you feel a bigger part of this person I am this year is academics?
- 4.69 **Male participant:** Ja like really ja this year is very different cause it's the last year when we are like when we work hard this year and you will get the opportunities to like go to universities. Last year we were just grade 11 you can go to parties but then work hard at the same time, ja but it is different ja.
- 4.70 **Male participant:** Ja this year it is totally hard than last year cause this I can see even the work we do in the classroom ja. But last year I was just studying just I want to pass grade 11 to go to grade 12, but this year this is my life I have to sacrifice a lot even my friend I should sacrifice this things that my friend telling me to do to focus on my study because that that does grade 12 results that's where I am going to be something in life to change my life and to be a better person that I want to
- 4.71 **Female participant:** It is very important year of of all because it determines my altitude for the next coming year as its my last as it my last year at school and I have to be to take everything serious and be determined I have to be dedicated to whatever I do and always be balanced to whatever I do.
- 4.72 **Interviewer:** Does the community members like at home do the community members play a role in you being in matric, or do they see that you are in matric, or do they influence the fact that you are in matric or what do they do or they don't care that you are in matric it's fine you think they are looking at you when you in matric they gonna be look at the newspaper when it comes out or wont they care?

- 4.73 **Male participant:** To me it depends because it depends cause some those it depends on like who are they there are those that like do not care at all they haven't like always cared so but they are looking at me you know and there are those that like help us they do the best that they can to help yeah certain things I know ja to me a community is not a like really like helping me ja my family does
- 4.74 **Female participant:** There will be those that demote and those who will promote you and how you attend school and how you are different from others according to what you are doing like attending school into much than doing those unnecessary things so someone demote and promote.
- 4.75 **Interviewer:** But the fact that you are in matric does that not do anything, don't they say if you in matric then you must study don't the neighbours say hey you in matric anything
- 4.76 **Male participant:** Ja they do in the environment which I live, because they tell me after matric life is a daily challenge, so I will have to work hard so I can study to become whatever I want to be ja. Because there most of them they are there in the location they are not even studying what they would wanted to study for because they were playing in matric they were taking matric for granted but now they realised that they were playing, so they support me to do the right things.
- 4.77 **Male participant:** All I can say is my community is not very good at me because I ask the community they are looking at the bad things that person does, they are not looking at the good things that we are doing and sometimes when I walk I come from school I am just going home, they will just say is it better to come out of school at 5 o'clock, I will just tell them ja it is good for me cause I am working hard, try to achieve things that people didn't achieve because I'm a believer and I believe that I can change the impossible to possible.
- 4.78 **Female participant:** My community, it's very helping I live with the. . . So they want me to be like them they are helping me. When I have a homework or anything that needs their help I go to them I know that I can rely on them because they are successful they know better things than me they are really helpful.
- 4.79 **Female participant:** In my community there are some of them that are very helpful to me. Sometimes when I don't understand if ever I have a homework and I don't understand I will go, I will go to those who always motivate me to always attend school and they will help me and they will tell me that I must always come to school because education is a success of of my life is the key of my life so I must always come to school and maybe when I finish school I must go to university, if ever I don't have money to pay the study I want to do I must take a bursary or have a loan ja they always motivate me.
- 4.80 **Interviewer:** Do they do play a role
- 4.81 **Female participant:** Ja
- 4.82 **Interviewer:** Do you think the person who you are today will change in the future, or are you always gonna be the same person?
- 4.83 **Female participant:** I think it is gonna change.
- 4.84 **Interviewer:** How?
- 4.85 **Female participant:** I wanna be a better person for the future. Now I'm doing matric I wanna achieve the best results because I wanna go somewhere, actually I wanna become a lawyer because there are people out there that needs our help, so I'm willing to help. I think that my life is gonna change.
- 4.86 **Male participant:** To me I don't know, like but I think maybe it will depend cause like also like next year I want to see myself in Cuba you know doing medicine, uh I want to become an institution as a gynaecologist I love working with babies, I like babies. So ja I think maybe some will change but now I'm not sure only time will tell ja.

- 4.87 **Male participant:** I think things are going to change because now I do have that passion because I'm in matric I feel strong doing whatever I have to do in matric to participate to go where I want to go ja.
- 4.88 **Female participant:** Ja things are going to change because along the way I am going to face some things in life, new things become someone in life because I want to become a doctor, it has been my dream since I was a little child. I want have to change to come with the solution of the curing the HIV and Aids disease, to be the professional doctor.
- 4.89 **Female participant:** To me I think it is going to change because there are a lot of things that I want to achieve in life. Yes I do understand that I'm going to face the problems in life, the challenges out there, so I do think my life is going to change and sometimes when, I don't know ja, when I see those people who can't help themselves my dream is to help them, so that they can have the things that they want, that they couldn't help themselves about ja.
- 4.90 **Male participant:** Ja I really think my life is going to change big time, because it is only because when you believe in yourself anything is possible. I sometimes get the excited when I see the plane in the sky because I wanna be a pilot then I think one day I will be flying that plane ja.
- 4.91 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be African?
- 4.92 **Male participant:** To me an African all the challenges, all the different cultures, all the running, to me that is how I can define an African, all the languages, and all facing the poverties all the challenges ja.
- 4.93 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to you to be African?
- 4.94 **Male participant:** I love being an African I have a great life ja cause like I really like feel lucky sometimes so that I am an African, ja.
- 4.95 **Female participant:** I really I'm really proud of being an African because I don't believe, I think that African is an diversified country and it is unique, it is different languages, different animals, different cultures and we learn and we live as a nation as one each every day we learn new things from other people, We create things by learning ja.
- 4.96 **Male participant:** Ja mostly I love to be an African because as you can see now the preparation of people who don't have cultures they did love our culture as African, And African we did have many languages than other country's ja. And the the Africa is a unique country that has many people that can help other people ja. And some people who live in Africa they they most participate in many things that happening in Africa ja.
- 4.97 **Female participant:** Being an African it means so much to me because our country it's a diverse country its unique and united in our country there a lot of respect, they teach us how to respect, they teach us our country our history and where we come from so I like the fact that I like the fact that I'm an African.
- 4.98 **Male participant:** I can, all I can say that being an African is the most exciting thing in my life because there are many institutions whereby us people we can do there and help our self to become better person in life, a lot I can say about African people is African people is united.
- 4.99 **Female participant:** To me an African means that you must be proud of who you are, and we get chance to know the different languages that we don't know and we also know that the cultures I mean the traditions of other cultures ja I think.
- 4.100 **Interviewer:** Can white people and Indian people and Chinese people are we also African or is it only black people that are African? You won't offend me so say it like you think it alright.
- 4.101 **Male participant:** No white people and others they are also African I think it depends, because others they grow up here there are those that come here in Africa like many there

older and all that so there are those that grew up here in Africa they know all the cultures and everything those that come out of Africa they don't know anything about Africa. To me to be an African it means to knowing all the cultures all the everything about Africa ja, not the colour ja.

4.102 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think Chinese people are also African?

4.103 **Male participant:** Yes

4.104 **Interviewer:** If they born here? Chinese? What makes them African, what makes the Chinese and the white people and Indian people also African?

4.105 **Female participant:** Every citizen gonna think it's an African here in our country because we have different the cultures but then we are united, we don't discriminate according to your race or your culture, we are all then Africans.

4.106 **Interviewer:** Do you guys all agree?

4.107 **Group Members:** Yes

4.108 **Interviewer:** So Yes even if you white or black or Indian you still African?

4.109 **Female participant:** We are all African.

4.110 **Female participant:** Once you know that we differently can apply everything that South Africans do that who and we start with love and respect and understanding ja.

4.111 **Interviewer:** How important is culture in who you are? Your culture your Sesotho or Xhosa, or how important is your culture in your personality?

4.112 **Female participant:** I think culture is your roots of yourself who you are and who you come from and it balance yourself as one, it maintain the personality and everything about yourself, it is everything that can definitely describe who you are and who you become, your weaknesses your strong points everything.

4.113 **Male participant:** All I can say is that I think culture is very important because it describes the person who you are and describes the person of where you come from and what you do so I can say culture is very important. Ja.

4.114 **Female participant:** I think culture is very important because you have to know where you come from and if one day you have the children those children must know where their mothers come from and what what her culture is, what they do and what they don't do.

4.115 **Interviewer:** You guys all think culture is important?

4.116 **Group Members:** Yes, sure yes.

4.117 **Interviewer:** Ok do you know your culture? Do you know your Sebok?

4.118 **Group Members:** Yes.

4.119 **Interviewer:** And can you Phoko yourself that whole saying I'm from where, I did this?

4.120 **Group Members:** (laughing) Sjoe, Nooo no

4.121 **Interviewer:** But if you were saying now it's important to know where you come from so you children will know if you can't boka yourself, I'm from here and my ancestors did this you don't know how will your children know?

4.122 **Male participant:** I think it depends on from generation to generation it changes you know. I did not learn all that, you know, seboka you know

4.123 **Interviewer:** What's important things in your culture do you want to teach your children? What important things in your culture do you believe is important for who I am I'm taking these things from my culture and carrying it over to my children? Your language, your ancestors your traditions? What things are you carrying over?

4.124 **Male participant:** Ja in my culture ja everyday when I'm moving to Eastern Cape when I'm there, my grandmother and my grandfather told me many things that did happened even when we still were young and where they come from and where we come from as we are now and where what things we have to do in my culture and the things we must not to do. Even if we are here in Bloemfontein we must we must not forget that our

culture is that and that and we must always remember when we have problems to think of our culture in the Eastern Cape.

- 4.125 **Male participant:** Well for me like I want teaching the youngsters of my children about my culture is that they have to know where they come from.
- 4.126 **Interviewer:** What you gonna to teach them, about what?
- 4.127 **Male participant:** Ok, respect cause there are many different things in your culture that are different when it comes to respect. Respect all the people around you, your community and all that. But it won't be easy because as the generation changes all the like us you know we like the fancy things you know, they do not care about the cultures anymore so ja.
- 4.128 **Female participant:** What I think my language I'm gonna teach my children my language, they should know the language that you're speaking, they might know other languages, actually it a must to know the others languages but they might know other languages because we have different languages in our country, the but they should know my language as their mother and I should teach them how we do things in my tradition they should not take the wrong way of doing things they should know how to do things correctly
- 4.129 **Interviewer:** Have you been exposed to other things in you cultures like cutting the hairs, slaughtering stuff, if you menstruating must you put things on your face
- 4.130 **Female participant:** Well I come from a . . . What is this school? (**Group members:** Initiation school), initiation school yes, In our culture each and every women you should go there, there are they teach us how to be a women and what a woman should do so I think my children should also know that.
- 4.131 **Interviewer:** Are you are going to take them there as well?
- 4.132 **Female participant:** Yes because I come from there.
- 4.133 **Interviewer:** Is that a Sesotho thing?
- 4.134 **Female participant:** No it is Sepedi.
- 4.135 **Male participant:** In Sotho it's kinda different there are those that don't like have to go to the mountains, I don't know why. But going there is very good because they learn how to be a man and all that, but now a days they just go there to be like I come the I'm a man, they do not understand why they have to go there so like ja ja.
- 4.136 **Female participant:** Me I think that I am going to teach them my language and how we and and the food that we eat, also the goat and how we do the rituals ceremonies, ja.
- 4.137 **Interviewer:** Do you guys do the rituals ceremonies, so you know them?
- 4.138 **Female participant:** Ja.
- 4.139 **Male participant:** I think it is very good to teach the new generation about our culture and even take them to where I come from, to see how the things there are and how you were doing things then, and where you were playing used to playing when you were young ja. Even to know other things that happening there, even you can take them from 2 months to see the environment how you were living there and how they do these things now ja.
- 4.140 **Interviewer:** What are you gonna pass on to your kids, what do you do in your culture?
- 4.141 **Male participant:** In our culture when you have a ceremony they use, I hate that, I really hate that.
- 4.142 **Interviewer:** When you have what, you have a ceremony?
- 4.143 **Male participant:** Ja
- 4.144 **Interviewer:** Are you going to do it to your kids if you hate it
- 4.145 **Male participant:** No
- 4.146 **Interviewer:** Ok tell us about the ceremony

- 4.147 **Male participant:** They will take a scissor and cut your hair with a scissor I really don't like it.
- 4.148 **Interviewer:** So you not gonna cut your kids hair?
- 4.149 **Male participant:** No.
- 4.150 **Interviewer:** What culture is that?
- 4.151 **Male participant:** Sesotho ja.
- 4.152 **Interviewer:** But If you not gonna do that for your kids does it make them less black?
- 4.153 **Male participant:** No.
- 4.154 **Interviewer:** You think people that don't have, like Some of us don't know everything about our cultures, we don't we didn't go to initiation schools, we don't know how to speak even Sesotho anymore, we don't know when someone passes away you must be cleansed from the bad luck stuff, some people don't do that anymore some people don't do that anymore do you think it makes them less black?
- 4.155 **Male participant:** Ja I think today in the environment that today we live in they gonna take them less because they don't respect that culture ja ja.
- 4.156 **Male participant:** No they are not going to take them because it to a person whether you want to or not, ja.
- 4.157 **Interviewer:** And the ancestor stuff praying to the ancestors do you think that is still important now?
- 4.158 **Male participant:** No.
- 4.159 **Female participant:** Like to some of us it is still important, to me, ja.
- 4.160 **Interviewer:** And you gonna pass that on to your kids?
- 4.161 **Female participant:** Yes.
- 4.162 **Male participant:** NO
- 4.163 **Interviewer:** But so Also If people don't do that, your kids then decide they don't want to pray to ancestors, they don't want to cut their hair, they don't want to go to initiation school will that make them less of being black people or will you still be fine they're still black, you still love them.
- 4.164 **Female participant:** It's up to them as long as as I did my job
- 4.165 **Interviewer:** So you also had a choice, when you went did you have a choice to choose I don't want to go there?
- 4.166 **Female participant:** No I didn't have a choice it was a must, I had to. But I think the generation its changing as we grow there are things we don't wanna do there are culture things I think even them there they not gonna appreciate doing our things like their lifestyle that we are living now is kind of like different.
- 4.167 **Male participant:** What you asking it is a good question because some of some of like our friends do that they do not want to cut their hair they don't want to go to the mountains, they do not care about their ancestors, they do not want to hear anything about our cultures, all they thinking about is all the fancy lifestyles, ja.
- 4.168 **Interviewer:** Are they less black then?
- 4.169 **Male participant:** Mmmm . . . not really, I don't think so ja, to me no I don't think so, just that ja they impact our culture, ja that's all.
- 4.170 **Interviewer:** Do you think as teenagers it's important to know your culture?
- 4.171 **Group Members:** Yes.
- 4.172 **Interviewer:** You think it's important. So even if you not gonna cut your children's hair, they must know their hair should have been cut, but you not gonna cut their hair?
- 4.173 **Male participant:** Yes, It's up to you.
- 4.174 **Interviewer:** But do your parents say it's up to you now? Do your parents your grandparents when you go up to the Eastern Cape do they say it's up to you, or do they force you? You must do this you must know how to Boka yourself, If you must do this.

- 4.175 **Male participant:** Ja they do force me because even me I do those things cause I did the respect of my culture, I do all the things that they do, even my child they are going to do those things.
- 4.176 **Interviewer:** So you gonna force your child to do it, so he doesn't have a choice he must do these things?
- 4.177 **Male participant:** Yes.
- 4.178 **Interviewer:** Ok.
- 4.179 **Male participant:** Yes because it is what I know about my culture, ja, it's where I come from so let me don't forget where I come from ja. And they will do all the things I did do.
- 4.180 **Interviewer:** Do you feel your parents understand you, do your parents understand you, do they know you, or do your friends understand you better or teachers at school?
- 4.181 **Male participant:** Ja I think friends not friends do know us better than our parents, family you know, cause we do a lot of things with them we do a lot of things with them we don't do a lot of things with our family we don't spend time you know we spend time with our friends not our family, so friends know us better than our family ja.
- 4.182 **Male participant:** Ja me I think that's my teacher that understands me better, because almost all of the time I am at school, I arrive at home 5 o' clock, 8 o'clock I'm sleeping, in the morning I'm going to school everyday so I think my teachers do understand me better than my fa, parents ja.
- 4.183 **Male participant:** Speaking of teachers I think it depends on who are they, cause some of them are just there to teach they don't care, like some of them they don't even know our names ja, so it depends on who who uh who teaches you, it depends, not all the teachers care about knowing us ja.
- 4.184 **Male participant:** I will just say my mother knows me very well because I someday I go home sad and she will notice that aaa my boy he is so sad and she will ask me what's the problem and I will tell her and she will give me advices ja.
- 4.185 **Interviewer:** So she understands you better than your friends?
- 4.186 **Male participant:** Ja.
- 4.187 **Female participant:** I think my parents understand me more than other people because there are things that we do that they know there are bad things and good things that we do. When we are at school there are things that we don't do because we don't want to appear as bad people, but at our homes we know that this is my mother I know her I have been living with her for so long so she can't tell me what to do, or what not to do. so I think they know me better, they understand me a lot because I can pretend here at school I can make myself better even though I know that at home I'm not a better person, so I think they know me better.
- 4.188 **Female participant:** Me I think it's my father that knows me better, cause I am living with him and he knows the things that I love and the things that I don't like. And He also know... he also know my background, where I come from where... ja I think it my father.
- 4.189 **Female participant:** Nna, Me I think the close that I have with my mother is different than the close I have with my friends. The relationship that I have with my friend is very more than of that I have with my mother, because my mom I sees I still see her as an adult because I still respect... I still have that respect and with my friends we are the same we are still learning something new, we are still young, everything I do with them is relevant.
- 4.190 **Male participant:** And like them all say, I will just say I love my mother very very much, because she is the only best friend in my life that I have, because I sometimes talk to her I don't have a father. So she is a mother and a father to me because I sometimes talk to her about many things. I tell her that things like problems like this and this and

this, that she will just advise me the father way because I don't have a real father in my life ja.

- 4.191 **Interviewer:** So you tell your mother If you got friends and you talk about everything like friends do this and I wanna go out and drink and I wanna go to the parties you tell her everything.
- 4.192 **Male participant:** No, there are those things that a mother should not know what children does.
- 4.193 **Interviewer:** Are you all like that that you share some things with your mother, some things you're your friends, some things with teachers, some things with who? Or you share everything somebody that tells this person I tell and everything I tell them about everything in my life at this
- 4.194 **Male participant:** No there are things I am sharing with my friend and not I'm sharing with.....
- 4.195 **Interviewer:** With your mother.
- 4.196 **Male participant:** Ja
- 4.197 **Interviewer:** Are you all like that?
- 4.198 **Group Members:** Yes, ja
- 4.199 **Interviewer:** Or do you...
- 4.200 **Male participant:** Not everything I talk with my parents but my friends I do talk everything what happens at home at school everything ja so that's why I said my friends kinda know me better ja.
- 4.201 **Interviewer:** So you talk to your dad like with everything like your boyfriend that you want the crush on this guy maybe you think this guy likes you or you wanna go buy clothes when you have your periods do you tell your dad everything?
- 4.202 **Female participant:** Sometimes I do
- 4.203 **Interviewer:** Is it? And he accepts it and he listens?
- 4.204 **Female participant:** Yeah cause he is the only one that I have in my life.
- 4.205 **Interviewer:** You don't have siblings and brothers and sisters ok.
- 4.206 **Interviewer:** Do you guys like being teenagers? What does it mean to be a teenager and do you like it?
- 4.207 **Male participant:** Ja I love being a teenager, to me being a teenager like facing all these challenges, obstacles and all that ja. So we have to like overcome all the fears and all the challenges ja.
- 4.208 **Interviewer:** Would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 4.209 **Male participant:** No (laughs).
- 4.210 **Male participant:** Yes.
- 4.211 **Interviewer:** You would like to be a teenager forever? Why?
- 4.212 **Male participant:** Being a teenager is liberating cause you experience more more things than when you are old when you are old your back is sore (Group - laugh) you have to stay at home the whole day. When you are a teenager you are fresh you like going out doing things that other young people are doing.
- 4.213 **Interviewer:** What experiences do you have as a teenager? Let's hear what kind of things do you do?
- 4.214 **Male participant:** Everybody says that, All that I can say is that I do things that like I smoke hubbly-bubbly ja because I think it is the most accepting thing I do with my friends ja. But my parents don't know that I'm doing that no, no.
- 4.215 **Male participant:** Ja, to me being a teenager I love a lot because in my family when even if I grow up to be a adult I will not get those things that I'm getting from now from as a teenager so I love being a teenager is like I can be always be teenager.
- 4.216 **Interviewer:** Like what, what things do you like to get?

- 4.217 **Male participant:** Ja from my family my family did support me about all the things even if I'm saying no mom I don't have shoes ja she came bought me shoes but if I am an adult she will say but go go find some work ja
- 4.218 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 4.219 **Male participant:** To me like i wouldn't like to be a teenager forever because of the dependence I hate being depending on my parents I want someday to be independent and to everything that I love spend my money and all that ja without my family ja.
- 4.220 **Interviewer:** And asking permission
- 4.221 **Male participant:** Ja (Laughs)
- 4.222 **Female participant:** Ja I really like being a teenager, being a teenager it simply tells me that I change I'm going to face some challenges I am no longer a child a little child anymore I have to overcome the situations whether it is hard or easy but I have to always be stable for whatever that come to.
- 4.223 **Interviewer:** Would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 4.224 **Female participant:** No I don't wouldn't to be a teenager forever I want to see myself as independent in life because I have been depending to my mom so I want to to be a grown, I want to do things by my own I want to be independent by my own to be able to do whatever I want and by myself.
- 4.225 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 4.226 **Female participant:** I like being a teenager, because a teenager experiences a lot of things when we get to the puberty stage actually, I think being a teenager it's a nice thing but I don't want to be a teenager.
- 4.227 **Interviewer:** What's nice about it?
- 4.228 **Female participant:** When you start being in relationships and you start to be naughty, you don't listen at home stuff like that.
- 4.229 **Interviewer:** Why wouldn't you want to be a teenager forever?
- 4.230 **Female participant:** Well I have to grow there are things that I wanna do out there so as a teenager a teenager it's like always being at school, learning so I wanna to do different things.
- 4.231 **Female participant:** Being a teenager I like to be a teenager because it's very good and it's exciting
- 4.232 **Interviewer:** What's exciting about being a teenager?
- 4.233 **Female participant:** When I want money from my mother to I mean from my father to buy clothes cause I like clothes very much and have hairdressing my hair so yeah but when I'm older I will not get the chance to do those things cause there are things I have to to do that are very serious in life or maybe when I have children I won't do I won't able to get the chance to support myself or to eat my money the way I used to. I would have to always support my children with everything, ja.
- 4.234 **Male participant:** Unsure I'm excited about being a teenager because sometimes when I want something I will say mother I want like this and this and she will refuse I will just cry and that thing will get you right now
(Group - laughter)
- 4.235 **Interviewer:** So you must hope your children don't do that to you
- 4.236 **Interviewer:** In a couple of groups we have had the girls say they have more male friends than female friends, is it like that do you have more male friends, do you feel I'm closer to my male friends than female friends or not do you have good female friends girlfriends? Let's hear the girls do you guys have a lot of guy friends or do you have enough female friends.
- 4.237 **Female participant:** I don't have a lot of guy friends, because the guys talk too much.
- 4.238 **Interviewer:** That's interesting. Yes.

- 4.239 **Female participant:** And there are things that they would ask us, how do you feel about being a girl, how does it feel like being in a relationship, or sometimes they will ask the more confidential questions. Those that we can't answer them so.
- 4.240 **Interviewer:** And the girls do you....
- 4.241 **Female participant:** Ja I have a lot of girls friends because we can talk more, we can do everything together. I feel comfortable with girls.
- 4.242 **Interviewer:** But don't they ask you about confidential information? Don't they ask you about how was it when you kissed your boyfriend for the first time?
- 4.243 **Female participant:** With them I can talk.
- 4.244 **Interviewer:** So with them you can tell. You scared they will gossip and tell everybody else?
- 4.245 **Female participant:** No I'm not because we all do that.
- 4.246 **Interviewer:** Girls do you agree?
- 4.247 **Male participant:** Ja I don't like to have friend ...girlfriends ja, because they like to gossip, and at the end other guys they won't see me as a gay or whatever, so even if they are fighting I'm there to want to see what's happening there. I'm always adding on to what they are saying gossiping to other people always adding, adding. But don't remember that I'm a guy so I will end up going the road they were going ja.
- 4.248 **Interviewer:** How important is it in your personality and who you are that you are male or female? Is it important part of who you are as person that you go I'm a woman or is it doesn't it play a big role whether you male or female who you are as person? For you?
- 4.249 **Female participant:** I don't understand.
- 4.250 **Interviewer:** Like when you describe yourself ne like when somebody says who are you, is it important for you to say I'm a girl, is it important for you for somebody to know that you are a female or do you feel that it is not important I'm just me and I just do this and do this and go to school. You don't feel you need to describe yourself in that way. And because you're a girl you're kind and more talkative and outgoing and if you were a guy you would have been strong and sporty, or doesn't it really matter you can be strong and sporty because you are a girl to.
- 4.251 **Male participant:** To me I don't think it matters ja. To like have to tell her that, I'm who this and this and all that no. aaahhhh actions you know tell her that I am a man not to like my number what I'm talking about I don't have to tell her that I am manly, my actions should be enough.
- 4.252 **Interviewer:** So you are acting in a manly way, which is how? How do guys act?
- 4.253 **Male participant:** To me like is it like asking me how how is it being a man?
- 4.254 **Interviewer:** What do guys do?
- 4.255 **Male participant:** They love girls, I do love girls but I don't like have girlfriends, I don't like having girls that are my friends no.
- 4.256 **Interviewer:** But you talk a lot about girls.
- 4.257 **Male participant:** Ja I do like WOW, I love girls I would just like wonder how was the world without them you know, I could not imagine the world without them, a wonderful gift from God
(Group - laugh)
- 4.258 **Male participant:** Ja by being a guy that is the most important to me that's the most important thing to me because we did experience a lot than girls even the girls at home they are not able to go at midnight but guys did do, they tell him now you can go to have fun, but girls they refuse to let them. So we see many things that are out there. Ja at midnight still leads to other big problems what they doing they checking but girls they don't able to see that because they parents refuse for them to go to go during the midnight ja.

- 4.259 **Female participant:** I like being a woman a woman it's a very special person it's a person that actually especially the man they care for us, they think for us they know that we have feelings even when they did the wrong things they know that they have to be there for us and and.... I'm what is it this?
- 4.260 **Interviewer:** So you like being spoiled and being looked after by guys?
- 4.261 **Female participant:** Yes yes that is what I like about being a woman a woman is very special to me.
- 4.262 **Male participant:** I like being a guy cause at home I don't like doing house chores because I believe house chores is for women only ja.
- 4.263 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree that house chores are for women only washing the dishes and cooking?
- 4.264 **Female participant:** No we must all do it.
- 4.265 **Male participant:** No
- 4.266 **Male participant:** For me being a man or a guy that cooks I think it's kind of a turn on to like girls you know. Girls love guys that can cook and do all that
- 4.267 **Interviewer:** So you just do it to impress the girls?
- 4.268 **Male participant:** Ja but I also love cooking not only for girls that I do it things ja but I think like its fine when we like both do like all the wash the dishes cook and clean the house?
- 4.269 **Interviewer:** Do you have a lot of girlfriends? Like female friends, not girls you are dating, not dating just friends?
- 4.270 **Male participant:** Ja I do because I am talkative and like and I know girls are very talkative, and I appreciate it, I'm into girls, so I get to know a lot about girls ja.
- 4.271 **Interviewer:** So you part of the ones that ask intimate questions?
- 4.272 **Male participant:** Ja.
- 4.273 **Male participant:** Just to add on what he said ja, by being a man not washing clothes ja I can see it's the right thing because she cannot work outside there in the garden so what's the use of washing clothes me, to do 2 things at the same time, to do everything at the house, working the garden outside there or ja, I don't like that, to wash clothes even to go outside and work there ja.
- 4.274 **Interviewer:** So you prefer to be in the garden and work there, cause that's a man's job?
- 4.275 **Male participant:** Ja.
- 4.276 **Female participant:** Being a girl is very important thing cause it simply means we are very special, according to what you are saying, according to what you were, everything that you do and always you have to be collected and have respect, to be clam, always accept the situation ja.
- 4.277 **Interviewer:** What do you think?
- 4.278 **Female participant:** Being a girl is a important thing to me because you have to respect yourself ne, and if ever you walk in the street and a guy sees you he must see a very confident person a respected person, that maybe, he must see this lady walking in the street she respect herself and she does have a dignity or ja. And I do have a lots of male friends, cause when I meet them I feel comfortable cause sometimes if ever when we argue they will treat me like take this , I will put them they must protect me ja. And When I'm with them they always like to talk too much ja.
- 4.279 **Male participant:** I will just say being a guy for me is not really good because I only have one reason who was the centre of the room and I tell my mother, I want some kind of shoe and she will ask me how much and I say R700 and I won't get a pair of shoes, but being a girl and you want this shoe you can come for a lot of bucks ja R700.
- 4.280 **Interviewer:** Guys clothes are more expensive?
- 4.281 **Male participant:** Ja.

- 4.282 **Interviewer:** You were saying that when a girl walks in the street her dignity and self pride and people must be able to respect her, is it important for the guys as well when a guy walks in the street as the girl when you look at him you must think you its respect, is that important for you?
- 4.283 **Male Students:** Ja
- 4.284 **Interviewer:** Or do you think it is nice for a guy to be a thug; it's nice that he is?
- 4.285 **Male participant:** No it is important very very important, because sometimes when you are at home and you want to go somewhere you just tell yourself that I want to go somewhere and I want to be good so that people can see that guy is really good. But you can see by your own personality the way you walk people can see that guys pride ja.
- 4.286 **Interviewer:** So that's important?
- 4.287 **Male participant:** Ja.
- 4.288 **Interviewer:** So you smoking Hubbly Bubbly how I'm gonna judge you then?
- 4.289 **Male participant:** They not gonna judge me because I do things that I know the police know that this things are legal, and Hubbly Bubbly is only legal ja I have done my research and I know?
- 4.290 **Interviewer:** Do you think it's something that you will just do now that you are a teenager and when you grow up you won't do it anymore, is it something that you can do now because you are a teenager, or is it something that you will do when you grow up too?
- 4.291 **Male participant:** I believe that you grow up with something, if you have something like when you're youngster you grow up with it. So I have seen people older people smoking hubbly, so I believe I will be like them.
- 4.292 **Interviewer:** Is it do you think when you 30 you will enjoy still smoking hubbly?
- 4.293 **Male participant:** 30 is too much I think like 22 I will still be smoking.
- 4.294 **Interviewer:** But 30 you will stop?
- 4.295 **Male participant:** I don't know (laughter), only addiction ja.
- 4.296 **Interviewer:** Do you think you can get addicted to it?
- 4.297 **Male participant:** I'm already addicted. (laughter)
- 4.298 **Males:** He was from Grade 10. Unsure
- 4.299 **Interviewer:** At least he is honest hey.
- 4.300 **Interviewer:** Do you guys all thinking when you older you not gonna carry or you gonna carry these things, liking this guy or that guy do you think you gonna stop it when you 30 go to parties liking this guy and this guy or dating 4 girls at the same time. Do you think you gonna stop it when you thirty
- 4.301 **Male participant:** I just saying When you are young you will always do it when you are older you try and go and back to you know you not do it ja.
- 4.302 **Female participant:** I think now that we are young we are playing, and when we grown up we learnt now we are doing the mistakes when we grow up we learn from mistakes we will know that when I was young I did this and that so now that I'm old I don't have to do that anymore.
- 4.303 **Male participant:** Yes
- 4.304 **Interviewer:** Thank you very much. Any questions that you guys have, something else you want to add? Anything else maybe about being a teenager an African, anything that you think is important?

APPENDIX L

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 5

- 5.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 5.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 5.3 **Female participant:** Uhm I don't know what to say, but I am kinda shy but at the same time I'm not shy. I don't know who I really am, like but seriously, but I know that I am very talkative.
- 5.4 **Interviewer:** Talkative?
- 5.5 **Female participant:** Yes and then, what I don't understand is that most people don't really understand teenagers.
- 5.6 **Interviewer:** Is it?
- 5.7 **Interviewer:** Why? Why would you say people don't understand teenagers?
- 5.8 **Female participant:** Because teenagers are more like different, like they have different thought, they think about things that are so far away, they think out of the box, and stuff, ja.
- 5.9 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree?
- 5.10 **Group Members:** yes, ja
- 5.11 **Interviewer:** Why, why do the rest of you think teenagers aren't understood? Yes?
- 5.12 **Male participant:** First of all what I know about myself, I'm a shy person.
- 5.13 **Interviewer:** Yes
- 5.14 **Male participant:** And uhm, I'm not talkative, and I'm sure I am not selfish.
- 5.15 **Interviewer:** Aaa
- 5.16 **Male participant:** Yes, but what I understand about teenagers, teenagers are, are more likely to fashion, they like fashion. Most of them.
- 5.17 **Interviewer:** Mmmm
- 5.18 **Male participant:** So they, they're mostly controlled by peer pressure.
- 5.19 **Interviewer:** Ahaaa
- 5.20 **Male participant:** And friends.
- 5.21 **Interviewer:** And are friends important for you guys?
- 5.22 **Group Members:** Mmm – Ja, yes.
- 5.23 **Female participant:** Friends are important for a every teenager.
- 5.24 **Male participant:** But I don't think that friends are actually important to have, like some are bad friends, like some are going to encourage you in something you do. Some are going to be bad influence in your life, do the wrong things and just forget about the right things. I think if you see you're friends are important you must choose which friends specifically you wanna be with.
- 5.25 **Interviewer:** Yes, how do you decide who is a good friend, and who is a bad friend?
- 5.26 **Female participant:** Actions speaks louder than words.
- 5.27 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 5.28 **Female participant:** No matter how a person behaves can show that, that is a good friend that will make a good friend actually.
- 5.29 **Interviewer:** How do you think, what makes a good and a bad friend?
- 5.30 **Male participant:** I think sometimes if you have a bad friend he, like someone who have something huge, I don't know what it is, he will come to you and maybe he's just like I want to be his friend, so then they think, in my mind I'm thinking I am going to destroy him just because I don't like him. The only thing that I can make him trust me is being a friend to him. Then I will definitely destroy him like we go to the

- tavern and drink alcohol or do drugs that sort of thing. That's how friends are choosing.
- 5.31 **Interviewer:** You wanted to say something?
- 5.32 **Male participant:** I actually wanted to say something like this.
- 5.33 **Female participant:** How do you know when you have uhm bad friends? You know like when you're always into trouble you've got to know for eish I'm having bad friends.
- 5.34 **Interviewer:** Do the rest of you agree?
- 5.35 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.36 **Interviewer:** Let's hear what kind of person are you?
- 5.37 **Male participant:** Ahhh, I'm not very shy, and I'm, I'm down to earth kinda of a dude.
- 5.38 **Interviewer:** And you, you what kind of person are you?
- 5.39 **Male participant:** I am very bashful person.
- 5.40 **Interviewer:** Peaceful?
- 5.41 **Male participant:** Bashful – I am shy
- 5.42 **Interviewer:** Oh
- 5.43 **Male participant:** Yeah, not talkative ja, but I think I understand everyone's opinion.
- 5.44 **Interviewer:** Mmmm
- 5.45 **Male participant:** I'm kinda differently
- 5.46 **Interviewer:** Differently
- 5.47 **Female participant:** I'm also very shy person, I like people and I can make friends easily, and uhmmm, ja that's me.
- 5.48 **Interviewer:** And you?
- 5.49 **Female participant:** Ok, well, I'm very shy, well I'm not talkative well ahh, I'm not that easily to influence by my friends, because I have my own backbone so I can say that I am my own way, yes.
- 5.50 **Interviewer:** Do you have a lot of friends, or do you have little friends?
- 5.51 **Female participant:** No, I don't have a lot of friends, they're few.
- 5.52 **Interviewer:** Oh
- 5.53 **Female participant:** Yes
- 5.54 **Interviewer:** So it must be bad for all of you shy people to talk here in front of me?
- 5.55 **Group:** Laughter- yes
- 5.56 **Male participant:** But I'm not shy-
- 5.57 **Interviewer:** You're not shy? Luckily we have, we have a balance hey, shy and not shy. Alright, what helps us not to be influenced by our friends or what helps you guys not to be influenced by your friends.
- 5.58 **Male participant:** To be true to yourself
- 5.59 **Interviewer:** Ok, true to yourself
- 5.60 **Female participant:** I think being self confident about yourself, knowing you where you are standing knowing what you want to achieve in your life, yes.
- 5.61 **Interviewer:** Nice
- 5.62 **Male participant:** Not to be controlled by someone.
- 5.63 **Interviewer:** Not to be controlled- good. Is that what you want to say?
- 5.64 **Female participant:** Knowing who you are and be sure about everything that you do.
- 5.65 **Male participant:** And, and make your own right decision.
- 5.66 **Interviewer:** Who helps you to make the right decision? Who, who do you ask, do yourself or do you ask your parents or friends? Who do you ask to help?
- 5.67 **Male participant:** Like for I would ask my uncle
- 5.68 **Interviewer:** You're uncle?

- 5.69 **Male participant:** Ja.
- 5.70 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.71 **Male participant:** Ja, I think he influences me very much, cause most of things he does. I think they are good things, that is why I think he influences me to do right decisions like what would they say, if see come like with police bring me home like this bad he hasn't done that. So I think that he, he
- 5.72 **Interviewer:** Helps you to make the right decision, how he treats you,
- 5.73 **Male participant:** Ja, how he treats me
- 5.74 **Interviewer:** So he's almost like a role model?
- 5.75 **Male participant:** He is like a role model.
- 5.76 **Interviewer:** Who, who else has role models? Those they, that helps them, who they want to be like?
- 5.77 **Female participant:** My superhero mom.
- 5.78 **Interviewer:** Good right, mom...
- 5.79 **Female participant:** My sister.
- 5.80 **Interviewer:** My sister- is she older than you I take?
- 5.81 **Female participant:** Ja.
- 5.82 **Interviewer:** What do they do, what do these role models do that makes them a role model and makes you want to be like them?
- 5.83 **Male participant:** But my side I think role models are not well, some how. Cause you don't know he's or her background. Like I see role model, acting on Generations. I see him only in TV. I don't know at home what he doing or in, in his relationship, you see.
- 5.84 **Interviewer:** Yes, yes....
- 5.85 **Male participant:** Yes, but me I cannot say I have role models. Ja-ja
- 5.86 **Interviewer:** Ok, and you also don't know what privately what he's like, hey. He might on TV be a very good person but behind the scenes...
- 5.87 **Male participant:** He might be someone bad
- 5.88 **Interviewer:** I like you're point, very good point.
- 5.89 **Female participant:** My role model is my mom, because she always overcomes obstacles. Like really.
- 5.90 **Interviewer:** Good
- 5.91 **Female participant:** Uhhh, my role model is my sister because she, she sometimes go uhm, little miles for me, which is for me and ahh uhm, I just like her personality. Yes
- 5.92 **Interviewer:** Well then.... Oh ja?
- 5.93 **Female participant:** For me my role model is my aunt because she always encourages me well even when I'm down feel down, then she would encourage me that in life we have to face obstacles and challenges and overcome them, yes.
- 5.94 **Interviewer:** Role models?
- 5.95 **Male participant:** Ah not for I can say, I don't have a role model- because I believe that I am unique, so when I'm doing a bad thing after I realised that I've done something also. I learn from my mistakes yes. I learn from myself, I believe in myself.
- 5.96 **Interviewer:** Yourself, good that's self confidence that you had shaped in your head earlier hey, How do you know when you're doing something wrong, like can you sit and think you are doing something wrong that could justify my behaviour, how do you know?
- 5.97 **Male participant:** Nna, for example whenever I get to the tavern and get drunk, when I'm drunk I'm gonna, gonna arrive home and when I am drunk I'm gonna think

- a lot and think problems, such bad thing, so after that I'm gonna see that I don't like myself then I'm gonna see this thing is bad, ja.
- 5.98 **Interviewer:** OK
- 5.99 **Male participant:** Definitely my mom she is my role model, she's very encouraging. Cause I learn from her, all things I learn from her. Yes
- 5.100 **Interviewers:** Oh so overcoming the bad and the things that she teaches you.
- 5.101 **Interviewer:** Yes.
- 5.102 **Male participant:** My brother
- 5.103 **Interviewer:** You're brother?
- 5.104 **Male participant:** Yes, he inspired me a lot and he's morals and hardworking. Everything he do, he do with hope all the time yeah.
- 5.105 **Interviewer:** Do you, guys only pick like family that influences you, what about friends don't you have friends that you feel this is a good friend, this is a friend, a friend that I would like to have. Do you always just, just think about friends. No friends influences you at all, or play a role in you're life. What roles do your friends play?
- 5.106 **Female participant:** No, my friends do play a role, but it's not as big as my mom's role.
- 5.107 **Interviewer:** Is it? What kinda roll do they play then?
- 5.108 **Female participant:** They, they kinda like, they help me with school work and stuff getting me more encouraged about school, we have fun.
- 5.109 **Interviewer:** What is fun, what do you do?
- 5.110 **Female participant:** What we do for fun we often go to the parks.
- 5.111 **Interviewer:** Parks
- 5.112 **Female participant:** We behave like little kids, it's really fun.
- 5.113 **Interviewer:** What do you do?
- 5.114 **Male participant:** Me I don't have friends.
- 5.115 **Interviewer:** You don't have friends?
- 5.116 **Male participant:** Yes, but what I will say is that if you want a good friend....
- 5.117 **Interviewer:** Mmmm
- 5.118 **Male participant:** Let me say this guy I want this guy to be friend, I would actually have to send him to my mother and father.
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.119 **Male participant:** So that they, they can tell you that this boy is not right. You must change a friend.
- 5.120 **Interviewer:** So you're parents help to pick who you're friends are...
- 5.121 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.122 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 5.123 **Male participant:** They play a big role to choose a friend for me, but for now I don't have friends.
- 5.124 **Interviewer:** Is it, the way for all of you?
- 5.125 **Group Members:** NO No
- 5.126 **Female participant:** For some like when
- 5.127 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.128 **Interviewer:** And your friends?
- 5.129 **Female participant:** Well I choose friends for myself and I have a lot of friends but I only have one of them a classmate. She is my best friend I love her because she always tell me if I'm doing something wrong and then at the end, I realise that this person made me see that I almost made a mistake, something that would get me in to trouble.

- 5.130 **Interviewer:** Almost like a guidance
- 5.131 **Female participant:** Yes
- 5.132 **Interviewer:** But, you also do that with her you also help her make the right decisions or do you...
- 5.133 **Female participant:** Yes I do sometimes.
- 5.134 **Interviewer:** ... And you?
- 5.135 **Male participant:** I have my friends..... yes
- 5.136 **Interviewer:** Do you have a lot of friends or just one friend?
- 5.137 **Male participant:** I have 2 friends so ja, they're good to me. They are there or me. If I have a problem I go to them and tell them and I am free to them, so they understand, and I understand them.
- 5.138 **Interviewer:** Who picks you're friends?
- 5.139 **Male participant:** I choose my friends.
- 5.140 **Interviewer:** You choose your own friends?
- 5.141 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.142 **Interviewer:** If you're parents didn't agree with your friends. Let's say your mother says no man this is a bad friend for you? What do you do?
- 5.143 **Female participant:** My mother once told me my friend was not good for me and I kept on seeing her and seeing her and seeing her and later I got the results.
- 5.144 **Interviewer:** Then you saw...
- 5.145 **Female participant:** Ja, she was bad news. I quit
- 5.146 **Interviewer:** You broke up with your friend? And you, do you have a lot of friends?
- 5.147 **Male participant:** No, not a lot.
- 5.148 **Interviewer:** How many?
- 5.149 **Male participant:** I have a few.
- 5.150 **Interviewer:** And who picks them?
- 5.151 **Male participant:** I do
- 5.152 **Interviewer:** Okay. What do you guys do?
- 5.153 **Male participant:** Uhm.... I can say we have something in common, their kind like me and they don't do drugs you see, and they are encouragable. They play a big role in my life.
- 5.154 **Interviewer:** How do you guys pick you're friends like he said he has something in common with his friends. How do you decide who, who's going to be my friend?
- 5.155 **Female participant:** There's something funny about, I don't usually pick friends, everyone who just laughs with me and advices with me, they just become my friends
- 5.156 **Interviewer:** and you?
- 5.157 **Female participant:** Well nna, I pick friends like by, seeing that they are supportive to me we are supportive and respect each other, and we are listening to each other.
- 5.158 **Interviewer:** But have you ever had a friend that you're parents said this is a bad friend?
- 5.159 **Female participant:** No
- 5.160 **Interviewer:** Okay, and you?
- 5.161 **Male participant:** Ahhh, nna I do have friends, but somehow I can say, I have two friends, so I can't say that they are bad or any somehow encourage me to do something, maybe to go with girls around. That's what I like (laughing). Ant the other one I can't really explain, what kind of person he is, because sometimes, we, we have a conflict, and I don't know what's going on, so I can't say.
- 5.162 **Interviewer:** So they play different roles in you're life?
- 5.163 **Male participant:** Yes.
- 5.164 **Interviewer:** But they're still your friends.

- 5.165 **Male participant:** Ja, ja
- 5.166 **Interviewer:** But where do you get these friends, are these friends from school only, you get friends, (Sesotho). Where do you get these friends?
- 5.167 **Female participant:** I only have school friends. At home I am always inside the house.
- 5.168 **Interviewer:** Doing what inside the house?
- 5.169 **Female participant:** Uuuh playing games, sitting around, alone.
- 5.170 **Male participant:** Nna I'm almost around my friends ekasie friends like, the school friends always around them. We just hang out with them. I just lie to chill with them.
- 5.171 **Interviewer:** What is chilling?
- 5.172 **Male participant:** Chilling, just things like, ja girls and stuff.
- 5.173 **Interviewer:** You talk about girls?
- 5.174 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.175 **Interviewer:** Or you go to the tavern?
- 5.176 **Male participant:** No, we don't go to the tavern, we just sit ahhh this guy hey dude this girl is made for you and things.
- 5.177 **Interviewer:** Oh Ok
- 5.178 **Male participant:** That's what we do most of the time.
- 5.179 **Interviewer:** Oo okay
- 5.180 **Male participant:** And me, I think school friends are better that the friends you found at home, cause school friends you met only at school.
- 5.181 **Interviewer:** Mmmm
- 5.182 **Male participant:** When you are at home, get a chance to do your school work, homework, study, something like that.
- 5.183 **Interviewer:** Yes, so do you have friends at school at least?
- 5.184 **Male participant:** No, I don't have.
- 5.185 **Interviewer:** oh okay
- 5.186 **Female participant:** Well for me only have friends, school then at home. I don't have friends then at home, I only do my chores then I do my homework and study, that's what I do.
- 5.187 **Interviewer:** What about siblings, do you guys have siblings? Brothers and sisters?
- 5.188 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.189 **Group Members:** Do you play with them?
- 5.190 **Female participant:** Sometimes, sometimes, playing outside
- 5.191 **Female participant:** Playing soccer
- 5.192 **Interviewer:** Yes
- 5.193 **Male participant:** Sometimes
- 5.194 **Interviewer:** What do you play with them?
- 5.195 **Male participant:** Ja
- 5.196 **Interviewer:** Sometimes you're friends?
- 5.197 **Male participant:** Ja
- 5.198 **Interviewer:** How big of a part do you're brothers and sisters play in who you are? Do you want to be like them, or do you want to a better person because they're younger than you, you want them to look up to you, or, or don't you think about it, they're just there and.....
- 5.199 **Male participant:** Like me...ummm, I just want to be someone like bigger than my brother, cause now he is a policeman so when I, I, I would be him, ne', if I would become a climatologist
- 5.200 **Interviewer:** Oh
- 5.201 **Male participant:** Ja, I think I'd be happy just to show him I can beat him at things.

- 5.202 **Interviewer:** So there's a little competition.
- 5.203 **Male participant:** Ja there's a little competition.
- 5.204 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.205 **Male participant:** Uhhh.. my brother works in Welkom, so I want to take a big position so I can take part so..
- 5.206 **Interviewer:** OH ok, is it, also like a little competition or would rather have him proud of you, cause you said your brothers like your role model, hey?
- 5.207 **Male participant:** Ahhh it's like a competition cause she, he will always want me to study work and work and hard, yeah.
- 5.208 **Interviewer:** So he's always encouraging you to be a better person?
- 5.209 **Male participant:** Yes, a better person.
- 5.210 **Interviewer:** Anybody else. Do you have siblings, brothers or sisters?
- 5.211 **Male participant:** Actually I have a little sister. I want to be a role model for her.
- 5.212 **Interviewer:** oh
- 5.213 **Male participant:** I wanna, want her to go further, I am her big brother.
- 5.214 **Interviewer:** You are the Big brother.
- 5.215 **Interviewer:** Do you spend time with her, or do you let her do her own stuff?
- 5.216 **Male participant:** I spend time with her.
- 5.217 **Interviewer:** Do you have siblings?
- 5.218 **Male participant:** Ahhh, I just have a little brother.
- 5.219 **Interviewer:** do you play with him or
- 5.220 **Male participant:** ahhh sometimes, but ahh, my brother is to small.
- 5.221 **Interviewer:** How old is your brother?
- 5.222 **Male participant:** 8 years
- 5.223 **Interviewer:** 8, so he is tiny?
- 5.224 **Interviewer:** But do you want him to look up to you, or do you not mind him not having a relationship with him? Do you wanna be a role model to him?
- 5.225 **Male participant:** I just wanna be a good brother to him, so that I can lead the way so that he can see what's right.
- 5.226 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.227 **Interviewer:** And this way that you want to lead, do you want, a n could way that he must follow or must he just follow you where ever you're going because, do you try and be a better, cause he's going to follow you?
- 5.228 **Male participant:** No, I just want him to be a better person, so that he can see the road not the other direction.
- 5.229 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.230 **Interviewer:** So I wanna know if when you're busy with your friends and you play let's say you have a sibling with you, a little brother and you play with your, spend time with your friends do , do you do things that will help you to be a better brother do you always think eish, my little brother mustn't see me going to the tavern, my little brother mustn't see me doing wrong things, I must always act right so that my little brother can be right or my little sister can be right manner. Or do you just do it, live your life without even if you drink it's fine even if she sees you, even if you're brother sees you, you don't care?
- 5.231 **Male participant:** Like uhm, cause I don't do things that bad, and try not to when he's around when its time for me to bad things I tell him to go and play with his friends.
- 5.232 **Interviewer:** So that you can do bad things, and he mustn't see you.
- 5.233 **Male participant:** Yeah he mustn't see me.
- 5.234 **Interviewer:** And you, you're sister?

- 5.235 **Male participant:** I don't do bad things, I am always around her.
- 5.236 **Interviewer:** Is it
- 5.237 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.238 **Interviewer:** You guys you have siblings?
- 5.239 **Male participant:** I just have, have my sister who is in matric, yes, she's doing her matric this year so we don't talk so much, we don't have conversations so much because she's always reading, studying, yes,
- 5.240 **Interviewer:** But does she encourage to also do that?
- 5.241 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.242 **Interviewer:** When she goes and reads, and studies do you also feel like want to study and read, cause she is?
- 5.243 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.244 **Interviewer:** So there's a bit of competition to see whose marks are better, and getting B's and she's also getting....
- 5.245 **Male participant:** Yes yes, we have competition because she want to be a...I forget, but me, I want to be lawyer so we have competition between us.
- 5.246 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.247 **Male participant:** Ja, yes
- 5.248 **Interviewer:** And the rest of you, what do you want to be?
- 5.249 **Female participant:** A nurse
- 5.250 **Interviewer:**A nurse?
- 5.251 **Female participant:** I don't know what to study but between law and climatology, I think,
- 5.252 **Male participant:** I like to study I have two options, I wanna be an economist or accountant, I like figures and facts.
- 5.253 **Interviewer:** Good
- 5.254 **Male participant:** And me, also I want to be an accounted or business man, and something like that.
- 5.255 **Interviewer:** Mmmm also numbers
- 5.256 **Female participant:** I wanna be an accounted.
- 5.257 **Male participant:** A lawyer
- 5.258 **Interviewer:** A lawyer you said?
- 5.259 **Male participant:** A climatologist
- 5.260 **Male participant:** A climatologist
- 5.261 **Interviewer:** Yes, right so was there a climatologist at school recently? Cause you all want to do that, but most of you want to do it?
- 5.262 **Female participant:** I love working with the climate, temperature and stuff, but one thing is geography is noise to me ears
- 5.263 **Interviewer:** Let's talk about being African. What does it mean to be African?
- 5.264 **Male participant:** African, it's your background, knowing your background where do you come from, knowing your ancestors, like your roots, where does you're surname, where do I originate from. People at the past maybe came from Lesotho, so I think that being an African is like giving my, my, inside self where I come from. Even when I go to United States, I will tell then I come from Africa.
- 5.265 **Interviewer:** Do you, can you boka yourself?
- 5.266 **Male participant:** Me?
- 5.267 **Female participant:** Yes, Phoko
- 5.268 **Male participant:** yes, I can say at least say I'm South African.
- 5.269 **Interviewer:** I mean Phoko, as in Seboka?
- 5.270 **Male participant:** Ahhhh I don't think, just a little bit.

- 5.271 **Interviewer:** A little bit?
- 5.272 **Male participant:** JA
- 5.273 **Interviewer:** And Seboka is, is what is almost like praise from where you come from. I am, but it's a cultural thing right?
- 5.274 **Group Members:** yes
- 5.275 **Interviewer:** Usually there's a ritual but the elders must know it, and they pass it on to us, and you must know where you from, where ancestors come from. It is a part of where you come from? You know? Do you?
- 5.276 **Male participant:** Ja, I do
- 5.277 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to you to be an African?
- 5.278 **Male participant:** To me, a African that I was, actually I don't believe in ancestors or what ja, I'm just unique, I just believe in Jesus Christ so ja. So I can say to be an African to me, to be proud of where I come from and to respect my culture, but not believing in some things which is, ahhh, not like ancestors. So I can be, I can say that I am proud of being a African.
- 5.279 **Interviewer:** Even if you don't believe in ancestors, its fine.
- 5.280 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.281 **Interviewer:** Do you still think you're African?
- 5.282 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.283 **Female participant:** African? What does Africa mean, African to me is something unique just like Africa itself. The only where place you can have lekker braai and stuff. Uhm I like being African even tough I also don't believe in ancestor and stuff, but I also like being African, it's cool. With 50 million people
- 5.284 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to you to be African?
- 5.285 **Female participant:** Well for me African means that being unique you know, having your own beliefs and religions
- 5.286 **Interviewer:** And you?
- 5.287 **Male participant:** Ja Africa, is very unique, many different languages and other cultures, it's a continent that everyone is, hey I am excited about being African, because different identities, personalities, ja
- 5.288 **Interviewer:** (Sesotho) really many cultures are the white people African are the Indians African, are the Chinese people, African, are they also African?
- 5.289 **Males:** No
- 5.290 **Female participant:** Just because I think because they live in Africa, they are also Africans.
- 5.291 **Interviewer:** Does that make you African, living in South African?
- 5.292 **Female participant:** Yes, cause I believe the African citizens
- 5.293 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.294 **Female participant:** And they, they give you the path, ja that they give
- 5.295 **Interviewer:** Okay, you where saying, why?
- 5.296 **Male participant:** I think uh, being South African.
- 5.297 **Interviewer:** African yes
- 5.298 **Male participant:** Know yourself. Eh and, and make your right decisions, yes
- 5.299 **Interviewer:** But why? You were saying - no white people, Chinese people that are here, are not Africans? Why are you saying no they're not African's or do you think they're African?
- 5.300 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.301 **Interviewer:** Ok let's hear why not, let's discuss (Sesotho)
- 5.302 **Male participant:** Me me to to myself they are Africans because Africa belongs to everyone who lives it.

- 5.303 **Interviewer:** Is it, everyone who lives here or everyone who was born here?
- 5.304 **Male participant:** Everyone who lives here
- 5.305 **Interviewer:** Everyone who lives here, right
- 5.306 **Male participant:** Africa is for everyone, white, black, Xhosa. . .
- 5.307 **Interviewer:** I have question, what is the difference between black people and Xhosa people?
- 5.308 **Male participant:** Nothing I just say
- 5.309 **Interviewer:** Oh oh alright, it's not 2 categories
- 5.310 **Male participant:** Just giving example, for blacks and others, I think white people belong to England, so
- 5.311 **Interviewer:** Switzerland?
- 5.312 **Male participant:** From other different countries
- 5.313 **Female participant:** Well for me the thing that makes uh, black people to be African is that we have norms and values and white people don't have norms and values
- 5.314 **Interviewer:** Don't you think they have their own values
- 5.315 **Female participant:** They have...
- 5.316 **Female participant:** But they are different
- 5.317 **Interviewer:** Explain to me your norms and values?
- 5.318 **Female participant:** Well....
- 5.319 **Interviewer:** Norms and values I don't have so I might easier, you won't insult me, don't be scared that you can't say no Africa isn't for white people okay guys must be free to
- 5.320 **Female participant:** Well for example we know that uhh black people do uhh traditional weddings, and white people do white weddings so I think that's what different, we are different from each other.
- 5.321 **Interviewer:** What else is the cultures and norms?
- 5.322 **Male participant:** Ahh I think that the whole community Africa use to live only black people.
- 5.323 **Interviewer:** Ahhh
- 5.324 **Male participant:** Like white people come from Britain during apartheid, that how they came to SA. They were since so even after apartheid they remain here in South Africa, that makes them Africans. Those who were in South Africa during the apartheid who fought for the freedom, like they are Africans, ja
- 5.325 **Interviewer:** Okay so you think everybody that fought for freedom are Africans
- 5.326 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.327 **Interviewer:** Are Africans?
- 5.328 **Male participant:** Yes, like, like they might have died obvious, like people, Steve Biko, they were those who were there. So ja, think we must honour them, our ancestors like those who say the do not believe in ancestors they have to start, cause they like Steve Biko is like role model to me, like cause he's very intelligent and what he did, he was very brave.
- 5.329 **Interviewer:** Do you guys know Steve Biko, do you guys know the history of South Africa, and the history of...
- 5.330 Group Members:** Yes
- 5.331 **Interviewer:** what would happen if you woke up tomorrow and you weren't a black African, who would you be then?
- 5.332 **Interviewer:** How would your life be?
- 5.333 **Interviewer:** How does being black African define who you are today, what would be different if you woke up tomorrow and you were not black. How would you be different than you are today?

- 5.334 **Group Members:** Sjoe - (Laughing)
- 5.335 **Interviewer:** Is it difficult because it is a part of who you are hey, like African is part of you're identity, it is your personality, identity. How would you be different if it was taken away? Anybody
- 5.336 **Male participant:** I would not feel like different or discriminated, against my colour cause I think is inside, inside, I believe that the manner of care, and I will serve Africa.
- 5.337 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.338 **Interviewer:** If you woke up, open you're eyes and there you are white would you still be African?
- 5.339 **Male participant:** Yes I would still
- 5.340 **Interviewer:** Still feel like African?
- 5.341 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.342 **Interviewer:** Would you be the same person as today?
- 5.343 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.344 **Interviewer:** Do you think some things about your personality and you're identity would change?
- 5.345 **Male participant:** I think I would be more happy, ja if I change
(Group - laughter)
- 5.346 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 5.347 **Male participant:** Ahhh I think that ahh, everyone is to improve in life, like everyone who yes, God did not give me much what I am expected like those things that I want but I just can't get them
- 5.348 **Interviewer:** What things?
- 5.349 **Male participant:** Cause you know everyone is unique, no one is like the other. Yes, that's what I am talking about.
- 5.350 **Interviewer:** Let's say you wake up tomorrow you're white, do you think you would have the same friends (Sesotho) wise, go to the same places? What would be different?
- 5.351 **Male participant:** I think people will be shocked like what happened to him like, this guy is crazy, he is not the boy'tjie we know this is like no him.
- 5.352 **Interviewer:** But friends, you think you will have the same friends, if you wake up
- 5.353 **Male participant:** I think my friends would be going to be like shocked like surprised like who is this we see. The guy we know is black this guy is Indian?
- 5.354 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.355 **Male participant:** Ja
- 5.356 **Interviewer:** Anybody else, how would you be different if you woke up, and you weren't black African tomorrow?
- 5.357 **Female participant:** I think I will have some of the same friends so, cause I know maybe they would be two to by that time cause like others are so like I don't know how to say into English stuff and so, I would not be able to speak in Sotho, so I cant go like ag man.
- 5.358 **Female participant:** One thing that I am going to miss is though culture
- 5.359 **Interviewer:** What is that culture tough?
- 5.360 **Female participant:** Culture, what I like about culture, I like dancing, culture and stuff. ...
- 5.361 **Interviewer:** And you think the white people aren't gonna dance
- 5.362 **Female participant:** No, it's, it's gonna be like they are all black people dancing and I just can't (laughter)

- 5.363 **Interviewer:** What are the other things, what else are you going to miss or would be different?
- 5.364 **Male participant:** Me, I think I would feel like I can kill myself.
- 5.365 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 5.366 **Male participant:** Because when I get outside people will be surprised, who is this one, so I like can feel, I can feel like, I can kill myself. Cause some of the people will run away from me, say this is not the right guy he is not white, we know him as being black.
- 5.367 **Interviewer:** So you will have less friends?
- 5.368 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.369 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.370 **Interviewer:** The other people will look at you and see this is not what you must, what you look like, but would you feel the same inside? Or will you be different in you will look different you will be Chinese or Indian or white then, but will you feel the same inside, or how will it, how will it feel different inside?
- 5.371 **Male participant:** I would feel sad because I think I feel like my own personality has been taken away from me
- 5.372 **Interviewer:** So you leave your personality with your, the way you look and culture and stuff
- 5.373 **Interviewer:** And you?
- 5.374 **Male participant:** Ahh, I don't have an opinion.
- 5.375 **Interviewer:** How would it feel inside if you wake up not being a black African tomorrow?
- 5.376 **Male participant:** I would feel sad and angry
- 5.377 **Interviewer:** Angry even? Anybody else? How will you feel if you, if you, not black African tomorrow?
- 5.378 **Female participant:** I would feel really bad, because I enjoy being black, I enjoy being a Xhosa girl so ahhh, I would find it very difficult to accept it that I am change from being black to white or Indian. I would feel very unhappy.
- 5.379 **Male participant:** But somewhere, someone, I be happy, because white people have lot of money
(Group - laughing)
- 5.380 **Male participant:** I want to have a lot of money
- 5.381 **Interviewer:** I want to know those people
- 5.382 **Female participant:** I will, I will, also be happy to change because like I, sometimes I get bored being a black person then, I don't know why but it's kinds like sometimes I not full time, and I don't even like those ancestor and stuff, if I could just be white I would be so relieved.
- 5.383 **Interviewer:** Okay, then to get rid of the ancestors and rituals
- 5.384 **Female participant:** Yes minus one problem
- 5.385 **Interviewer:** How would you feel different?
- 5.386 **Male participant:** I think I would be similar person I am, because ja, even though there would some changes, but I would be happy if I'm white because it's very weird to see a poor white, ja. (laughing) Ja, I think I'm gonna be rich
- 5.387 **Interviewer:** What things would be different, you said some things would be different? So other than being rich what would be different?
- 5.388 **Male participant:** Eish- skin colour actually
- 5.389 **Interviewer:** And your personality?
- 5.390 **Male participant:** Uhm personality....
- 5.391 **Interviewer:** Would something in your personality be different?

- 5.392 **Male participant:** No, I think don't
- 5.393 **Interviewer:** Not
- 5.394 **Male participant:** No
- 5.395 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 5.396 **Male participant:** I would feel good, because I as the black as the white people sometimes the white people they get aah- promotion.
(*Group - laughing*)
- 5.397 **Male participant:** So it be easier to when I apply for a a job (*laughter*)
- 5.398 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.399 **Male participant:** And also, I would change the way I dress, I will dress long leaves shirts and (*laughing*) no more short pants
- 5.400 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 5.401 **Male participant:** I will be so handsome
- 5.402 **Interviewer:** Is it to hide that you are white?
- 5.403 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.404 **Interviewer:** Why would you dress...
- 5.405 **Male participant:** Wear cloves (*laughing*) Yes
- 5.406 **Interviewer:** Ok, Let's look about gender roles. Girls and boys are the, a differences between girls and boys? As a teenager do you think teenager boys are different to teenager girls?
- 5.407 **Male participant:** 100%
- 5.408 **Interviewer:** How so?
- 5.409 **Male participant:** Like girls are like...they just hang up with their friends, like girls if I have like something like a problem ne, if a girl I would go and check it with my friends. If I am male ne, I'm just gonna go take him there that basically it I'm not gonna go tell him all my secrets to him, and this and this happened you know. But girls are like talkative person, like boys aren't talkative person.
- 5.410 **Interviewer:** How does that influence you, the fact that boys don't talk? Is that a good thing?
- 5.411 **Interviewer:** Do the girls agree with what he says?
- 5.412 **Female participant:** I disagree with him. We don't talk about our secrets we talk about different things
- 5.413 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.414 **Female participant:** Well for me I think boys and girls are different, in, in a way, that boys are very much ignorant than girls in a way that are, as we cans ee girls are very successful than boys, you see.
- 5.415 **Males:** ai, I disagree
(*Group - laughing*)
- 5.416 **Interviewer:** You want to add something?
- 5.417 **Female participant:** I can say that they can sometimes, they are not different, because there is that time of a stage where by you as a teenager get to alcohol, drugs, and stuff, and you know it, don't disagree. Drugs, alcohol and stuff whereby girls talk about boys, and boys talk about girls.
- 5.418 **Interviewer:** So you all face the same things, alcohol, it effects everybody, drugs everybody boys talk about boys, boys talk about girls. So there's a lot of similarities. Yes.
- 5.419 **Male participant:** And also girls, don't have backbone
- 5.420 **Interviewer:** Don't have
- 5.421 **Interviewer:** Backbones
- 5.422 **Male participant:** Backbones

- 5.423 **Male participant:** Yes boys we have backbones because if this guy wants us to go and drink, yeah, if I don't want to go drink, yeah, I tell him no man I don't want to go there, girls if they one, one person coming, yeah, let us go and enjoy with boys together, sleeping with them, they would, they would go together.
- 5.424 **Interviewer:** Oh, do the other boys agree do you stand up against you're friends and say
- 5.425 **Male participant:** Yes I do, I stand up against my friend but I think girls are, are too emotional than boys. Yeah, they're too emotional. Like if I get dump my girlfriend and me and her dating like three years, and then it's like, her she's going to feel like horrible or something. I think that emotions, too emotional, they are to emotions, but me I'm just going to say, ai, it's not part of life I'm just...
- 5.426 **Female participant:** That's one way of being ignorant
- 5.427 **Male participant:** Ja, I that is one way of being ignorant, but we like that one have too emotional people. That's how being a boy is different from girls.
- 5.428 **Interviewer:** You agree?
- 5.429 **Interviewer:** Girls do you agree?
- 5.430 **Female participant:** Me I think I am not that emotional
- 5.431 **Interviewer:** What about the backbone, do you think you...
- 5.432 **Female participant:** I have my own backbone because I know that I don't wait for that person so why should I be emotional for another person.
- 5.433 **Female participant:** Well I think I disagree because it's up to you if you want to do something you don't have to do something just to please someone, you have to make your own decision, so if you don't want to go to a party, you just say I don't want to go. No one is going to force you, or beat you if you don't want to do that.
- 5.434 **Interviewer:** But do most girls go, say no I don't wanna go?
- 5.435 **Female participant:** Well I don't know, but I don't like to party hard
- 5.436 **Male participant:** I I will give another example. If, if one girl buy skinny jeans, orange. They will all of them want to buy orange skinny jeans
- 5.437 **Interviewer:** Is it true?
- 5.438 **Male participant:** Most of them (laughter)
- 5.439 **Interviewer:** so they will all come dressed in orange skinny jeans?
- 5.440 **Male participant:** yes, most of the girls are
- 5.441 **Female participant:** It it's not like that, if she buys a skinny jean a, a orange skinny jean, I am gonna try and buy a more tighter nicer orange skinny, that's more tighter...
- 5.442 **Interviewer:** So it has to be better?
- 5.443 **Female participant:** Yes (laughter)
- 5.444 **Interviewer:** So the guy he comes with the cavalla you are not going to want to buy a better cavalla
- 5.445 **Male participant:** If this guy buys cavalla I would buy baas
(Group - laughter)
- 5.446 **Male participant:** To us boys the competition is the price of the labels and the labels and the price of clothes and labels
- 5.447 **Interviewer:** And for the girls?
- 5.448 **Female participant:** Fashion sense
- 5.449 **Interviewer:** Do you tell each other what they what it cost, then or do you know what it cost? How, how do you know what your price is more that his?
- 5.450 **Female participant:** Boys come to school with their price tags like (laughing)
- 5.451 **Male participant:** If I go I come for in Blackberry R1000.00, I will go and tell these guys see I buy black berry, so I, he will want to buy the expensive one than mine.
- 5.452 **Interviewer:** Okay

- 5.453 **Female participant:** I've seen some guy, he bought a blackberry, and there is this sticker on the side of the box. He took it out and put it on the phone.
- 5.454 **Interviewer:** So that people would see the price?
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.455 **Interviewer:** Do you agree? Competition? Who is more expensive?
- 5.456 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.457 **Interviewer:** What about role-wise, like what do girls do that boys don't do? Do you think girls can't do that, boys can?
- 5.458 **Interviewer:** Do you think being girl is part of who you are, part of your personality? Do you think being boy is part of your personality?
- 5.459 **Male participant:** I think most of the girls can do what boys are doing. Like working on a mine. There are those woman who are working there not only as a security but going deep down, yes.
- 5.460 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.461 **Female participant:** Boys, always try to gossip and they fail
- 5.462 **Interviewer:** Gossip?
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.463 **Male participant:** Ai, its not gossip, we just talk, ja, even if you are there we will just talk not gossip away, girls do that. Boys we just talk. I think I'm just not liking something maybe ignoring I'm just gonna tell him dude stop that man. Girls aren't like that. They keep quiet and whisper to his friends.
- 5.464 **Male participant:** I will agree with her, we boys like to gossip especially a girls pass through us, and she's ugly girl.
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.465 **Interviewer:** Is being a boy part of who you are? Is it apart of your identity?
- 5.466 **Male participant:** Yes, yes, it is apart of who you are
- 5.467 **Interviewer:** Do you think being a girl is part of who you are? It is part your identity?
- 5.468 **Female participant:** I don't know cause I, I think I'm more cool when I am trying I think to be a boy.
- 5.469 **Interviewer:** Is it?
- 5.470 **Female participant:** I am always trying to be a boy.
- 5.471 **Interviewer:** Do you try... Are you a little different when you try and be a boy?
- 5.472 **Female participant:** Ja
- 5.473 **Interviewer:** Does your personality kind of change a little?
- 5.474 **Female participant:** Ja I'm kinda like fun, when I become a boy and I kinda, its very just like sit around and chill, unlike girls she gonna say did you see her, and fight and stuff.
- 5.475 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree?
- 5.476 **Male participant:** Sort of of
- 5.477 **Male participant:** I think it does change your personality like if I, be a girl I think it would be a huge differences. Like I would become like lets say at home I would become, I won't become girl, then I would wear my mom's skirts and whatever, so like people are going to be sure, and say who is that, like dude, are you going mad or what. Like come on dude, come on. Like being male is part of my personality.
- 5.478 **Interviewer:** Right, we've spoken a lot about how you look and your friends and family would recognise you, who you are as person cause your male because you're black? How else would they recognise you how else would your friends and family know this is you and the person you are? Because what else about being male and being female and black and white and.... How else do your friends and family look at you, and they know and they go, we know this person because this is his personality.

- 5.479 **Male participant:** Like for they know me cause I'm always singing ja, and I'm, I'm always annoying them there, they just say keep quiet. So if I'm in the house, they will know he's definitely here.
- 5.480 **Interviewer:** So okay, even if you look differently, they'll know it's you, cause you're singing?
- 5.481 **Male participant:** Yeah, because just because I'm singing they are going to know this is the original one.
- 5.482 **Female participant:** The way I am is always fun, I make jokes like you know, I crack jokes. And uhm they always laugh. I try very hard to be fun even if it is not fun, I'm gonna make it fun.
- 5.483 **Interviewer:** You're family how will they know?
- 5.484 **Male participant:** Indeed I'm so fun when I'm there. Even when I'm sort of shy, but when I'm there people see I'm fun.
- 5.485 **Female participant:** Well for me umm, there's a lot of fun and discipline where I am around, yes.
- 5.486 **Interviewer:** Oh nice
- 5.487 **Female participant:** One thing that I like to do, I like bringing my books every time, everywhere. Sometimes I go to town, they say hey bookworm, stop reading (Laughter)
- 5.488 **Interviewer:** Ahhh okay so there is always a book with her. How will your parents know it's you when you look differently, or your friends, your siblings your sister?
- 5.489 **Male participant:** Mmm, to my friends they know me about the advises that I have, I'm advisable to them.
- 5.490 **Interviewer:** Oh, you give them, you're almost like, give them a lot of wisdom.
- 5.491 **Male participant:** Yes
- 5.492 **Male participant:** To my guardians they will know me by my singing, making jokes and laughing ja.
- 5.493 **Male participant:** For my parents will see that when there I my door is closed I'm in the house and um so when it's open they know I am at the street, ja
- 5.494 **Interviewer:** Right so let's say you're at home and you've there but you look differently, how will you parents know, that this is their son? Even if you look physically differently? You look like someone else, how ill then know it is still you it's still your personality?
- 5.495 **Male participant:** Uhm I think eh. When I'm in the house I am always be doing jokes and stuff, so when I'm quiet just watching TV and thinking with being around they will ask and see if there is a problem over there.
- 5.496 **Interviewer:** Somebody help here, alright
- 5.497 **Female participant:** First thing for me they step out the door, they will find the key hanging outside
- 5.498 **Interviewer:** Ahh haa
- 5.499 **Female participant:** I always forget the key outside
- 5.500 **Interviewer:** So it's a little habit?
- 5.501 **Female participant:** When they come inside the house like when I watch TV, I don't sit far away, I sit like close to it. Then they go like hey, go that side.
- 5.502 **Female participant:** Well like to make a lot of noise and I like to laugh and smile and what.
- 5.503 **Male participant:** Ja like if I'm just sitting there and my mom would be like this, that doesn't look like my son, but the only thing they will know it is me, is by eating. I eat a lot, then will see this I my son by eating, I'm always eating.

- 5.504 **Male participant:** To my friends I do jokes and even fun, at home ummm my parents they know me that I am a quiet person, I'm not talkative. So.
- 5.505 **Interviewer:** So if you suddenly start talking then they'll know
- 5.506 **Male participant:** Yeahh, there's something not right.
- 5.507 **Interviewer:** Like leaving the key outside sitting close to the TV, little things you do, those habits, and your parents and eating that your parents will recognise you by or friends.
- 5.508 **Female participant:** Yeah I think so
- 5.509 **Male participant:** There is another one for me, I like to chewing my meals, like I think, my mom will know this is my son, he likes chewing his meals
- 5.510 **Female participant:** Always being on social networks
- 5.511 **Interviewer:** O ahh, how important is social networks, how important is it to you guys to be in the know? Is it an important thing?
- 5.512 **Group Members:** yes
- 5.513 **Interviewer:** Do you all have facebook? Do you all have mxit?
- 5.514 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.515 **Male participant:** I don't have such stuff
- 5.516 **Interviewer:** Why not?
- 5.517 **Male participant:** Cause I want to concentrate on my books, I think I will have them when I finish matric.
- 5.518 **Interviewer:** Oh
- 5.519 **Male participant:** The thing about, I disagree with him. It's all about time management. How you manage your time, ja I think.
- 5.520 **Interviewer:** So you don't think you, think it's important for you to have facebook and mxit and.....
- 5.521 **Female participant:** Ja, it is so to get the people your own age who can understand you better.
- 5.522 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree, do people your own age understand you better than older people?
- 5.523 **Male participant:** Yeah, yes, definitely
- 5.524 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.525 **Male participant:** People who have mxit and such things they don't sleep and they arrive late at school
- 5.526 **Interviewer:** That's why you are late
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.527 **Female participant:** Online all night
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.528 **Male participant:** That is the problem
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.529 **Interviewer:** You were saying yes it important? Because
- 5.530 **Male participant:** Ja, I was saying it is important to have like um social networks cause sometimes we would have a problem, and we might not come to school, like we just see on your phone, mxit who was at school like what did you do today what is the homework, the classwork what is the assignment, ja I think
- 5.531 **Interviewer:** So sometimes bad can be good thing?
- 5.532 **Male participant:** I think, I think having contact numbers is a solution if I'm not present at school, I'll contact someone.
- 5.533 **Female participant:** Sometimes you don't have airtime and that's better
- 5.534 **Male participant:** Please call (laughter)
- 5.535 **Interviewer:** You phone me because I was not at school

- 5.536 **Male participant:** I'll just send please call me
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.537 **Interviewer:** Would you guys phone him back?
- 5.538 **Female participant:** No
- 5.539 **Interviewer:** If, if he wasn't at school and he send to you a please call me to tell him what you did, at school would you phone him back.
- 5.540 **Male participant:** Yes I will
- 5.541 **Male participant:** I will send to all of them, I have six, I will send all of them.
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.542 **Interviewer:** What you were also saying is that older people don't understand you as much as young people do?
- 5.543 **Female participant:** For example sometimes you need a new phone, your mom gonna tell you that phone is still okay...blah blah, and you know you want a phone with better features and stuff, you tell her, and she does not get it. And when you tell someone your own age, ja she goes like better it better the other phone and stuff.
- 5.544 **Male participant:** Ja I do think that ja, older people, I think that they are underestimating teenagers like they are just kids, you see. But I think eish, ja, you see but I think eish ja, the real power is in the youth where the real power is. Cos I think older people just think ai, he's just a kid. Like ahh he has no reason for doing this but like if I'm doing, I do something like my parents are just disagree what I just done. It's okay for me, but for them it's not okay, so I think that how other people and young people differ.
- 5.545 **Interviewer:** Do you also agree that older people don't understand you?
- 5.546 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.547 **Male participant:** Because sometimes the parents can, can say maybe I want a blackberry and they can decide that no he can't get it, it's too expensive and you only wants it because his friends have it. So you want to competition someone else. Copying something from your friends so and for I, I just want a Blackberry maybe I like the features. Parents don't understand, they can't take us to be happy.
- 5.548 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.549 **Male participant:** I think the reason m y parents disagree when you want expensive things it is because you don't improve at school, if you improve your work at school, ja. I believe they will buy you anything.
- 5.550 **Interviewer:** Is it true?
- 5.551 **Male participant:** NO there are some learners, they, they, get everything at home, but they don't improve themselves. I think parents should not, do that. Like if my daughter or son is passing at school ,i must even if I'm spoiling, even if he's doing well, but even those who failing they must also be spoiled, cause what's he going to say Ahhh my parents just don't care about me. So this life is no good, they didn't believe in me, they didn't support me.
- 5.552 **Female participant:** Mmm, older people are more like teenagers but they cant see that, for example, like my small brothers maybe take my purse, and i shout at him, my mom's gonna say revenge is not good, and when I do something wrong ne, she's gonna she is gonna make me make me like go wash the dishes and do stuff, and when I tell her that's like revenge she goes like it's a punishment.
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.553 **Interviewer:** How important is, you guys are talking about school now, how important is school in forming who you are? The adults at school do they also not understand you, the teachers, the Principle
- 5.554 **Male participant:** Yes

- 5.555 **Interviewer:** Are they also older people who don't understand you or do your teachers understand you better than your parents?
- 5.556 **Male participant:** Ja, i think they do not understand us we learners, cause sometimes they will just tell us to be quiet. Like we are like always talking, talking like tell us just keep quiet, do your work, I can do my work while I'm busy discussing something with him
(Group - laughter)
- 5.557 **Male participant:** I think ahh, the teachers they are understand us more that eh us parents, because we spend our term at school so ja.
- 5.558 **Interviewer:** Thanks, makes a lot of sense
- 5.559 **Female participant:** I also found the teacher they different from my parents, because like for instance, Mr. always telling us to date our own age, yes, but our parents will say you can't date until you finish your matric or what, she doesn't understand the stage age you're in. So I guess teachers are very understanding than parents.
- 5.560 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 5.561 **Interviewer:** Anything else you think that's important for us to know or for your guys as teenagers, that we haven't spoken about or we haven't asked a question about? What else is important for you as a teenager in this Motheo district?
- 5.562 **Female participant:** There is something that I wanna know, why do all teenagers pass this stage whereby they get to do drugs not even drugs sometimes cigarettes, ja think all of us.
- 5.563 **Interviewer:** Do you think it's normal?
- 5.564 **Male participant:** Ja
- 5.565 **Interviewer:** Is it a normal part of being a teenager?
- 5.566 **Female participant:** I don't know, it just comes and goes, just like that
- 5.567 **Interviewer:** But why, why do you think she asking why teenagers want to, to try smoking cigarette?
- 5.568 **Male participant:** I think it's like peer pressure having a lot of friends, they will put pressure you, like, like we all friends ne, let's just go and buy cigarette and don't want to be the only one not smoking. Why must you be specific from us, we all the same.
- 5.569 **Interviewer:** Do the rest of you agree, is it peer pressure?
- 5.570 **Male participant:** Yes, i agree peer pressure, but also eh, disciplined friends, contribute a lot to your life cause if you're, my friend but if she doesn't have discipline so I will lose discipline, so it is important for my parents to chose friends for me, parents are the ones who knows what about discipline, respect and things
- 5.571 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree, its peer pressure or not?
- 5.572 **Female participant:** My mom, what happened to me was not peer pressure cause I made the choice, I think it's part of being called being curious.
- 5.573 **Interviewer:** Curiosity?
- 5.574 **Female participant:** Ja
- 5.575 **Interviewer:** And then curiosity and peer pressure together maybe...
- 5.576 **Interviewer:** You were saying?
- 5.577 **Female participant:** Well for me I think peer pressure because some other children well they, they look what their background, so they think that being smoking and doing something bad, will make them overcome that problem, they have at their homes, yes.
- 5.578 **Interviewer:** Okay we're done, but do you like being a teenager or a black teenager is South Africa?
- 5.579 **Male participant:** Yes, I like being teenager
- 5.580 **Interviewer:** What is nice about this?

- 5.581 **Male participant:** What is nice....
- 5.582 **Interviewer:** About your life?
- 5.583 **Male participant:** Ahhh having good people around me, sharing things, if he, and explaining some life and learning more, ja, just learning more, studying all these things. Cause it's fun to come to school everyday because there at home you just sit, watch TV, then it's sleep wake up, eat, watch TV, that not a healthy life style
- 5.584 **Interviewer:** What else?
- 5.585 **Male participant:** I think coming to school is the best thing like coming to school is just fun
- 5.586 **Interviewer:** Okay, what else is nice about being you?
- 5.587 **Interviewer:** Everybody
- 5.588 **Interviewer:** Ja, I wanna hear everybody
- 5.589 **Female participant:** For being me
- 5.590 **Interviewer:** For being a black African adolescent or teenager at the Motheo district. What's so nice about you?
- 5.591 **Male participant:** Just, get everything I want
- 5.592 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 5.593 **Interviewer:** Like what? What do you get?
- 5.594 **Male participant:** It wants, cell phone, everything, ever
- 5.595 **Interviewer:** And you?
- 5.596 **Male participant:** What I like about my life is that I always get advices from adults, and I always attend school, and participate a lot in my school work.
- 5.597 **Interviewer:** Good
- 5.598 **Female participant:** Well for me I'm very disciplined and always obeying my mother when there's something for me to do
- 5.599 **Interviewer:** And you like being a teenager?
- 5.600 **Female participant:** Yes
- 5.601 **Interviewer:** Do you like getting advice from adults?
- 5.602 **Female participant:** Yes
- 5.603 **Male participant:** I also like to be a teenager because most of the things my parents does for me so that is really simple ja
- 5.604 **Interviewer:** Not a lot of responsibility?
- 5.605 **Interviewer:** All you have to do is come to school and pass. What do you like?
- 5.606 **Male participant:** I'm very invincible. There's no such people like me, I'm very unique, I'm my own way
- 5.607 **Interviewer:** What do you like about being a teenager?
- 5.608 **Female participant:** It's so fun using the energy the activities and stuff, and I have to enjoy being a teenager because it only comes once
- 5.609 **Female participant:** Ja, I also enjoy being a teenager because I don't have a lot of responsibilities, ja.
- 5.610 **Interviewer:** Alright
- 5.611 **Interviewer:** Anybody wants to add anything else?
- 5.612 **Female participant:** If I had one wish, i would wish to stay a teenager forever.
- 5.613 **Interviewer:** Is it
- 5.614 **Interviewer:** Would everybody like to be a teenager forever?
- 5.615 **Group Members:** yes. . . . No
- 5.616 **Male participant:** I want to have my wife and kids
(*Group - laughter*)
- 5.617 **Interviewer:** Why not, why don't you wanna be a teenager forever?
- 5.618 **Male participant:** As he said, me to I want to get a wife

- 5.619 **Interviewer:** Okay, and you?
- 5.620 **Male participant:** Ja, someday having my own identity so ja. Like for being a teenager it is good, but you reach a stage where by you have to like by, your own self, grow up, just move out. That pain, I would not like to see that pain
- 5.621 **Interviewer:** So you would like to stay a teenager...
- 5.622 **Male participant:** Ja, I'd like to stay with my parents, I feel safe around them
- 5.623 **Interviewer:** And you, would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 5.624 **Male participant:** I would say yes, but on the other side no, cause I want to work for myself, eat my money, make my own salary. Eat it a lot, before I can make children.
- 5.625 **Interviewer:** Ahhh
- 5.626 **Male participant:** I can get married and having children, I want to eat my money
- 5.627 **Interviewer:** And by yourself some cars...
- 5.628 **Male participant:** Cars, a big houses such things, and do good thing for family and parents.
- 5.629 **Female participant:** Well for me I don't think I want to be a teenager forever because teenagers come across many difficult obstacles and challenges. I I would think I want to be miss independent, to be independent by myself.
- 5.630 **Female participant:** I also don't want to stay a teenager forever, because I wanna do my own things, I wanna do things my own way, ja
- 5.631 **Interviewer:** So you're tired of your parents, telling you this is right, this is wrong
- 5.632 **Group Members:** Yes
- 5.633 **Interviewer:** Did everybody, would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 5.634 **Male participant:** No
- 5.635 **Interviewer:** Oh you did say, sorry I missed that.
- 5.636 **Interviewer:** Alright, thank you, very much. I really appreciate all your answers and honesty. Study hard there is a bright future for all of you. I can see it. Alright, thank you, enjoy your weekend.

APPENDIX M

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 6

- 6.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 6.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 6.3 **Male participant:** Uhm like I said um is it loud enough?
- 6.4 **Interviewer:** Try a little louder.
- 6.5 **Male participant:** Like I said um my name is Calvin, I mostly grew up with coloureds, so I am a very violent person, ja but I don't fight, I don't like to fight, I try my own means to avoid violence and ya I have a very short temper and a ja.
- 6.6 **Interviewer:** If you say you violent but you don't like fighting, how does that violence come out then?
- 6.7 **Male participant:** Uhm I, when I see like, when I'm at home and I find my friends fighting its easier for me to get involved like I also get involved in the fight so ja, I can't help myself.
- 6.8 **Interviewer:** Alright, next? (group - laughing)
- 6.9 **Female participant:** I'm shy, shy
- 6.10 **Interviewer:** Then you go next
- 6.11 **Male participant:** can you please repeat the question again?
- 6.12 **Interviewer:** Alright the question is, how do you see yourself, what is your personality like, what is your identity like, who you are as a person?
- 6.13 **Male participant:** Oh ja plus I'm a very crazy person, I'm loud, (laughing – rest of group) ja, I'm irritating as well, but I like books though, I can, I study, I pass. (laughing – rest of group)
- 6.14 **Interviewer:** Then I've also got to say (*ke ithuta Sesotho, ke tseba hanyane*), I understand it's easier for you to express yourself in your mother tongue, but I've gotta go write it down and I only know very little, alright, so if we can try, even if you gotta try three or four times in English before you get it right, alright. Okay do you understand the question now, who you are as a person, how do you see yourself, what is your personality like, your identity, who is this person that you call me, tell me about that person.
- 6.15 **Female participant:** I am a very humble person, I'm very down-to- earth, uhm I do not take people for granted, um most of the things that I do, I always try to do things um by the book, by the book meaning by the bible you know, I always read the bible to try and see what is it that I'm doing wrong and try and correct it, because I truly do believe in the bible, I always put it first so most people would think that I'm a little uptight because I'm always trying to improve myself according to the bible.
- 6.16 **Interviewer:** Thank you. Next? (long time passes – group whispering) are you guys shy, everybody's gotta have a chance so, remember there is no right and wrong I just want to know who you are and how you see yourself.
- 6.17 **Male participant:** Uhm from my side I'd say um I'm a person who likes books, uh I do like to research, I'm more into the science stuff, I like sports, I'm not that crazy but at least, (laughing – rest of group), I'm not crazy I'd say.
- 6.18 **Interviewer:** What do you mean with crazy, what does crazy mean?
- 6.19 **Female participant:** It's very loud
- 6.20 **Interviewer:** Like what?
- 6.21 **Female participant:** Loud
- 6.22 **Male participant:** Like scream... ahhh,

- 6.23 **Interviewer:** Loud?
- 6.24 **Male participant:** Yes if I get too excited and too loud then I scream, express my feelings through, yes, umm yes that's what.
- 6.25 **Female participant:** That's what I said.
- 6.26 **Female participant:** Well nna, I'm very shy and I'm not used to talking to people I don't know, so and I like to work very hard, and I like to stay at home, I'm not used to playing with people, and I respect.
- 6.27 **Interviewer:** Now we gonna come to this side of the table, (*laughing*) how do you see yourself?
- 6.28 **male participant:** Yes I see myself as a person who's like to me who likes to make jokes, but sometimes I get a little bit craziness and I like to play mostly sports in my free times, but when I get inside, in my home at late, at a later stage, I read my books, when I do my high school work I get very serious, you cannot say that I'm that person who likes to make jokes.
- 6.29 **Interviewer:** Alright tell me is your craziness (*nooo – female in group*) also the loud or what is this little bit of craziness.
- 6.30 **Male participant:** Disturb others.
- 6.31 **Interviewer:** Disturb others, how?
- 6.32 **Male participant:** Like when you're doing your work, I come to you and say a little bit crazy thing, ne', and you gonna get disturbed, and when you are doing your homework, I don't want you to do your homeworks, I make you to, to talk to me, and when I want to do my work you cannot talk to me.
- 6.33 **Interviewer:** Alright, thank you.
(*Group - Laughter*)
- 6.34 **Male participant:** I'm not crazy,(*laughing-group*) but I like to make jokes, I'm the class clown (*laughing – girls*), I will tell you, I grew up, I'm not used to people, I like being alone, and I'm selfish with my information, uuuh I'm shy, ja.
- 6.35 **Interviewer:** Alright
- 6.36 **Female participant:** I'm a very shy person who likes to have fun, very talkative and loud, ja.
(*Girls in Group – whispering*)
- 6.37 **Interviewer:** What's it?
- 6.38 **Female participant:** I'm a very short tempered person, um I don't like people who like are full of themselves you know, um I like just being alone, not around people, at home I always in the house watching TV or maybe doing some homework so that I have, yeah. I like, she said, I also believe in the bible, so I try by my all means to like go according to the bible the rules and all.
- 6.39 **Interviewer:** Good, thank you.
- 6.40 **Female participant:** I'm also very shy
- 6.41 **Interviewer:** Alright, I see we have a big shy group, it's gonna to be difficult for you guys, alright try and forget about the recorder it's just lying there, try, I know you don't know me, but at least you guys know each other, alright so just see it really as a conversation between people, and I'm just the bystander. Alright next question is, who influences the person that you are? Who has an influence?
- 6.42 **Male participant:** Friends
- 6.43 **Interviewer:** Friends, alright, so how do your friends influence you, tell me a bit about how they influence a person at your age?
- 6.44 **Male participant:** They negative, cause they negative, they impact on my life.
- 6.45 **Interviewer:** How?
- 6.46 **Male participant:** By bullying other, other people.

- 6.47 **Interviewer:** Do you feel when your friends bully other people; you gotta bully the other people too?
- 6.48 **Male participant:** Yes, peer pressure. I feel like doing it.
- 6.49 **Interviewer:** Anything else, do you guys agree, do also feel like your friends influence you negatively?
- 6.50 **Male participant:** I'm mostly influenced by my father, cause always he's the one who is always telling like what to do, he's pushing me and by pushing me he's making me a better person so, most of his actions, like what he does influences me, like I also want to be like him, so ja.
- 6.51 **Interviewer:** Do you want to do better and bigger things to make him proud of you?
- 6.52 **Male participant:** Ja, to make him proud.
- 6.53 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 6.54 **Male participant:** Ja influenced by my parents, and they just tell me what to do, to do the right things and not do the bad ones, ja and doing my schoolwork in time not arriving late at home, stop stop grouping others with bad things and doing good things, never influence anybody so badly, have a good impact in that person life,
- 6.55 **Interviewer:** Good
- 6.56 **Male participant:** I'm sometimes influenced by this one friend of mine, he's a very crazy guy, (some of the girls – laughing) no two of them actually, one of them is right over here, they very crazy, ja, they make me do crazy stuff.
- 6.57 **Interviewer:** Like?
- 6.58 **Male participant:** Like, (*laughs*) jamming the tables, they call themselves king of tables so ja, and but they also like to study so, they have their like, they have a limit, when they want to study, they want to study, and they won't take like your wrong-doings, they won't accept them, they will tell you to just sit down and stop it.
- 6.59 **Male participant:** Alright I'm also a person who is influenced by my parents, and mostly by my father cause I live with him most of the time, my mother is not currently in Bloemfontein, so nah, uhm my father influences me in more ways cause uhm he always talks to me and tries to motivate me with words that he has heard from the past, words that they treated him in the past, so like I get that thing a lot, he gets to my mind, and say why why why don't I just try what he says, just put it to a test and see my results, so that that is what keeps me going. And my friends, I don't think my friends put negative impact on me, cause in the group I like call myself the peer pressure, that's what my father told me, why not be the peer pressure, instead of being getting peer pressure from my friends, so like making myself the peer pressure, and telling them what to do, even though its positive, I call myself the positive peer pressure.
- 6.60 **Male participant:** Sometimes negative, sometimes negative
- 6.61 **Male participant:** Yes, I try to balance it, though the positive is tougher than the negative yes, and I get a bit carried away with them crazy guys, when I am with them, cause a (*laughs*) they do some mad stuff, kinda feel like doing it, then yes we end up making some noise and stuff like that, going all crazy and stuff, yes that's the only impact, they can also um uh how do I say, they have also positive impact, yes cause they only, only only uh accept certain things to a certain level, like uh our madness cannot go beyond, beyond madness, as in like it can't go beyond infinity, as in there has to be a limit, our madness only ends here, cant go beyond here, to the youth and stuff, it will only end in the little corner space there, yes then we will go beyond that, yes.
- 6.62 **Interviewer:** Girls who influences you? And how?
- 6.63 **Female participant:** I'm influenced by my grandfather, because he's always looking at other people, other kids outside and himself also, he looks at his own background, and he tells me what he's been through and gives me advice, so I get to learn how to live

my life in order to make sure that I don't repeat the same mistakes as he made, and it is because of him that I have friends that I do now, because he taught me to, um you know, be a, get friends that are the same as me, you know, that way I won't have to change who I am too much, and there will always be positive energy around me, so the friends that I have also influence me positively because we always correcting each other, you know so I know that whenever I need advice, I'm not afraid to go to a friend, I can go to her and she will advise me, and I know it's good advice, because she's not a bad person, so that is through my, the advise I've been getting from my grandfather and my positive friends that I have made the decisions that I have in my life today.

6.64 **Interviewer:** Good thank you

6.65 **Female participant:** (*laughing*) Well, my father, well my family are the ones that influence me, because they grew up without having many friends, and so I'm like that too, and if they want something they make sure they get it, and they also respect that their parents so I make sure I follow their footsteps and respect my parents.

6.66 **Female participant:** Umm I'm influenced by my grandmother, she also taught me that I should be positive minded, and be surrounded by positive people, although she has the ways of saying negative things that I don't like, ja.

6.67 **Female participant:** Um I'm influenced by my parents, they always tell me that school work come first, and like they choose sometimes, they tell me that no don't go with that one, that friend, she's like that, blah, blah, blah on and on, so like I listen to them, they my parents and all, so yeah they influence me in a positive way, I sometimes like, like maybe I have the homework, maybe say math's, ne and I don't know, I don't understand what's happening there and I like to give up, and they say no man, so they the ones that influence me in a good way.

6.68 **Interviewer:** Okay she said her parents often choose her friends, how do you guys decide who are your friends, you said choose that are the same as you, that maybe have the same religion, or positive people, but how do you decide this is my friend, this is my crazy bunch of peeps, people who have something in common with you, friends that look like you, friends who have money, friends who are the bad group in class, how do you decide, tell me a bit about how you decide who's your friends.(everyone talks), One at a time okay, let's start with girls this time.

6.69 **Female participant:** We usually don't decide which we be friend with, we just come up being friends on the spot, just like having a very strong conversation between yourselves like me and (name) we usually don't know each other, but I mean say we are casual friends, ja.

(*Whispering – group*)

6.70 **Female participant:** I look at peoples personalities, they have to match mine, when I come across a person and we become friends, I'll always study that person to try and see what is it that she does that according to my beliefs is negative and I always try maybe, to try and correct them, or talk to them about it and if I get negative responses from them I just separate myself from that person.

(*Whispering – group*)

6.71 **Female participant:** Nna I can see, I usually meet people, I get to know people who think negative, like positive I don't want a friend who thinks negative things, cause we totally opposite and don't get comfortable around her, cause if I can't talk too much with you, knows I'm not comfortable.

6.72 **Interviewer:** Alright

6.73 **Female participant:** I also look at a person's um persons personality, if her personality or its personality don't match mine, I usually separate from that person, because we are

- opposite, we don't, we not going to get along cause we don't think alike, you know, so ja the person's personality.
- 6.74 **Interviewer:** Boys how do you choose your friends?
- 6.75 **Male participant:** Their actions, and their treatments, other ones like to go and smoke around the corner, I was usually involved with them, but they influenced me to smoke, but I refused and they called me those bad names, but I avoid them and check for the person who match my personality and my thinking.
- 6.76 **Interviewer:** And your actions? Are you now friends with those boys who don't smoke?
- 6.77 **Male participant:** I don't like, those boys who like to put them higher, superior phase, I like those who contain good behaviour and talk with, to their parents not to shout their parents and their behaviour
(*Whispering – group*)
- 6.78 **Male participant:** I don't know, it just happened, it goes with work, if we are, if you are doing the same thing they just become my friend, all of them, it happened like that.
- 6.79 **Interviewer:** So it's someone shares an interest with you, and it's their actions and interests, alright.
- 6.80 **Male participant:** Like him, it also just happens but then at a later stage, when I actually get to know the person, I choose whether I want to continue the friendship or not, and we have to relate, if you want, if I want to continue with the relationship, we have to like relate in certain way and then after that, out the blue their craziness just comes out and then ja, we get to be friends for a long time, and my friends all of them, they don't do drugs all of them, I'm serious, all of my friends don't do drugs, I don't like people who do drugs, alcohol, nothing, ja.
- 6.81 **Male participant:** (*laughs*) Ah from my side, ah like I said I'm a person who calls myself the peer pressure guy, so now, I befriend everybody cause people who are negatives are the ones who pull them away from them, I don't pull myself away from the negative people, they pull themselves away by the actions I do, and I'm a person, seeing as I'm a person who likes listening to hip hop music, it also inspires me so i apply some of the worlds I've heard from the songs, so that pushes them away, the positive things pushes them away from themselves. They just friends that they will be friends that I know by name, not actually tight friends, the friends that are tight are the friends whom, who who do the same things as I do, and um who listens to the same music, mostly, most of my friends listen to the same music as I do, yes, actually all of them listen to the same music as I do. Those are my tight best friends, so the negative one pulls them away so ja, that's all I can say, cause I'm a person who never gives up, that's what I say never give up and I made themselves pushes them away cause I don't, I tried them even move with positive things and then they'll start moving away, yes.
- 6.82 **Interviewer:** You guys have spoken about your parents and grandparents and some friends who influence you, how does your brothers and sisters influence you, do you maybe have older brothers and sisters, who are either a good example or a bad example or maybe you want to be a better person and get matric so that the younger ones can look up, and want to be like you, how do your brothers and sisters influence you? Or do they, don't they at all?
- 6.83 **Male participant:** At home, I don't have a brother, but I saw my cousin last year without, drop without school and I told myself that in this world we are living in if you don't have educate, education, you are nothing but I have to keep on pushing until I get what I want like to achieve university and having my own business.
- 6.84 **Interviewer:** Aaah. Anybody?

- 6.85 **Male participant:** I do have a brother who's older than me and younger than me and younger than me. I'm the second born, the one whose older than me six times, yes six times, six years older than me, six years, he's actually almost like me, listens to the same music as I do so we have something in common, so I take him as a friend, so he's also my friend so he does what my friends does, so most of the time it's him what talks a lot, I keep myself down when I'm with him, he's the guideline.
- 6.86 **Interviewer:** So you want to follow his footsteps, you want to be like him?
- 6.87 **Male participant:** I'm my own person who likes to be unique even though I'm into I am the the peer pressure, but I keep myself away from people, I'm more alone, most of the time I'm alone, so I take my own footpath even though my parents don't like it, but I like taking my own footsteps so aaah I like being, I like being the first anything and everything I do I like being the first, so I try to do things that no one has done at home or..
- 6.88 **Interviewer:** Do you ever think about your younger brother, then whenever you want to do something bad like skip school or go to parties and not study I do you think he is watching you, I have to study I can't do the bad things cause my younger brothers watching me or not really?
- 6.89 **Male participant:** I do that, I don't like them seeing a bad example for me, yes, so that's why I'm saying that I'm more into books cause I like them liking books, they not into books I get very angry with them, yes, and I like them to like what I like, even though its wrong but I like that.
- 6.90 **Male participant:** Uhm I have a little brother and a little sister, and an older sister, but I'm mostly influenced by my sister because she's the one who like always tells me like to study, like she tells me to study. Whenever I do negative things she always likes to like talk to me and then show me a better way of doing the things and ah my parents want me to be like her, but I don't want to be like her, I told them I am my own person and I don't want to be like her, but my little brother..
- 6.91 **Interviewer:** What do you mean you don't want to be like her, what type of things don't you want to be like her?
- 6.92 **Male participant:** Ah she, she likes to party, ja, and but she does do her school work though, ah ja, and ja, my little brother though, he, he's a bad influence in my life,(laughter) my little brother would always like tell me like to, to do jokes in our house, like tease my mom or my dad, and just to make him happy I do it because I like to see my little brother happy and then do like all the silly things together and my little sister, she, she's a very quiet person, she likes to isolate herself so I don't have much of an influence on her life.
- 6.93 **Female participant:** I have a, I have a brother, he confuses me because he told me he'd give me advice and tell me don't do this, don't do that, but then he goes and does the same thing so I'm glad I have my grandfather because, have it not been for him giving me the advice that he does, I don't think I would be where I am today because I'd be, I'd probably be doing what my brother does, you know.
- 6.94 **Interviewer:** Doing what he does and not doing what he tells you to do.
- 6.95 **Female participant:** Exactly cause I wonder why would he tell me to do this, but then he goes and does the exact opposite, so he doesn't have an influence in my life anymore, he used to, you know, when he tells me go and ask for this or go and say this, I used to do it, but now he doesn't have an influence in my life anymore, because I've decided in life I'm just gonna take my own path and I'll see what happens.
- 6.96 **Male participant:** My brother, (laughter) he's negative, i didn't wish to learn anything from him cause he smokes, he likes girls and he's an older person, he's employed, so but to my life he doesn't contribute.

- 6.97 **Interviewer:** Do you want to be better than him; do you want to achieve things he didn't achieve?
- 6.98 **Male participant:** He already achieved what he wanted, but, her action, his actions, haai, that's why I rather take advice from my friends. We don't usually sit together and talk about my personal or share with each other, but he's negative.
- 6.99 **Female participant:** Well I'm influenced by my brother, because he always tells me that I must not let people take advantage of me and I must work very hard at school and, and be successful in life and respect and don't, I mustn't be attracted to boys and I must choose friends that will benefit me in life I mustn't drink and smoke, even though he do those things, but I keep it taking advices than to do what he does because I think they are good advices.
- 6.100 **Interviewer:** If he doesn't do what he tells you to do, you still take that advice from him?
- 6.101 **Female participant:** Yes, cause I did once.
- 6.102 **Interviewer:** Is he older than you?
- 6.103 **Female participant:** Yes
(*whispering – group*)
- 6.104 **Interviewer:** Alright, anything to add girls? how does your brothers or sisters influence you?
- 6.105 **Female participant:** Uhm I have a brother and sister too, but my sister is a very quiet one, so ja, but my brother he also influences me, like he did sciences in school so he's the one that usually helps me, yeah so like I look up to him. I sometimes don't like when my mom send me maybe to the shop, I usually don't want to go but he be like I'm going to tell your brother, like what I go to the shop and come backs, ja
- 6.106 **Female participant:** I have a sister who just finished matric last year, he, she influences me to study hard, and I also didn't take school work as easy as it comes, but eish I don't want to be like her, niks. (*laughter*) (*whispering*)
- 6.107 **Interviewer:** Why not?
- 6.108 **Female participant:** Joh my sister is very loud, no, she's like crazy, she talks to people as she wishes, ja, when you come to her and talk negative things; she'll be on top of your head. Yoh.
- 6.109 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think the person that you are now is going to change, do you think your personality will change with time, do you feel this is, this is it?
- 6.110 **Female participant:** Ja, personality is going to change, my personality because for more than a year they say change is good for a person, you can't stay the same person as you were when you were young, let me, for example when you were like four years old, you were naughty and you were, your parents were struggling with you, come do this and but look at us now, we just do things for ourselves, but from the help of our parents.
- 6.111 **Male participant:** I don't think I'm going to change who I am, because I like who I am and if I continue like to be who I am, and I will get somewhere in life, my personality is good, I respect my elders, ja I listen, and I also like, like to argue with people, I like to state my fact, ja, so
- 6.112 **Male participant:** Aaah once I look for, I'm never gonna change, I don't wanna change, but then I got to sit down and take a good view at it, and I saw something that I cannot carry on like this, I saw, I pictured myself in a very, at a higher age, if I'm 62 years and I'm still mad, crazy and stuff that won't be so normal and stuff, so I thought I should change even though, yes in before I reach this stage, I think I'm still gonna change. Even though I don't know when, I approximately after a decade or something
(*Group - laughing*)

- 6.113 **Male participant:** I don't think it's that early cause I enjoy who I am today, I don't think, I wanna leave it now, that's why I say in approximately a decade.
(*whispering – group*)
- 6.114 **Male participant:** I think I'm gonna change cause they say I've changed a lot, last year I was a person who likes to be on streets, if you go to my old home you'd never find me easily, but this year I told myself that I'm gonna stay in the house and studies. like playing, playing too much I saw it won't help me, like last year I didn't achieve the marks that I wanted to achieve, so I told myself this year, this is the year of change. I'm going to change what I had achieved first of all and make it better thing and achieve what I want to achieve.
(*whispering – group*)
- 6.115 **Interviewer:** Girls?
- 6.116 **Female participant:** I don't think I'll change because I have changed already, like I've already said, most, my personality I know is mostly influenced by the bible. So the person I was before I knew Jesus, I was like you know, your typical person, people would be like, oh I know the bible, I read the bible, I know Jesus, I go to church every Sunday and stuff, but they don't really know who Jesus is. So after I became introduced to Jesus properly and aaah began to know who he really is, I changed who I was, and I believe that the person that I am right now is somebody who will change the world for the better one day, so I don't think I'd wanna change, if I am gonna change, I'd probably improve in terms of my faith, and yes my behaviour maybe, maybe relax a little bit, yes.
- 6.117 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be African, what does it mean to you to be African, not to everybody else, not what does book definition, what does it mean to you to be African?
- 6.118 **Male participant:** From my side, I'd say for me it's an honour and a great opportunity because like I said I like to be first, so most of the things that are discovered are not discovered in Africa, by African people. So I'd like to be the first one in Africa or South Africa to be the first to discover such things, things that have never been discovered.
- 6.119 **Interviewer:** Right so what does it mean to be African?
- 6.120 **Male participant:** It means...
- 6.121 **Interviewer:** To be this first African to discover something, what does it mean to be African?
- 6.122 **Male participant:** (*laughs*) I don't know what to say it means.
- 6.123 **Interviewer:** Pardon? It means what, now you gotta speak louder cause of the...
- 6.124 **Female participant:** It means to be black and beautiful and it also means that you're a person who is very cultural and traditional and very, and who live, most Africans like all of them live their lives according to the way our ancestors used to, so its yes, revolution hasn't really taken place in many black people in Africa, and..
- 6.125 **Female participant:** Ah negatively, I think being African means poverty cause when you look at the bread line, Africa is right underneath, so we very poor, so I as an African would love to leave, and go to another country and explore the cultures, and mostly I wanna feel what it's like to say I have the most enjoyable life.
- 6.126 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be African?
- 6.127 **Male participant:** It means a lot to be an African, you know me as African, we believe in our cultures but nowadays the people have turned their culture into something very horrible, in the, long time ago our parents used to live without wearing something, but using skins, cow skins, animals skins, cause wearing animal skins to

make anything, but now we wear clothes that's made from wool, and if you remember what we fought for in south Africa, it's not what you live today.

- 6.128 **Interviewer:** Is it a bad thing that it's changed, the culture, the clothes, wanting more and better?
- 6.129 **Male participant:** As a person you had to do your culture, not to know other persons culture than yours, and it's a good thing to know your culture, where you come from.
- 6.130 **Male participant:** I think being African means that you have to be strong, you have to like believe in yourself and the uhm worlds perspective on Africans, I think it's like Africans are poor, Africans like they depend, like they are in need of resources, they depend on others, I don't think its that way, I think Africans can survive on their own, Africans have the ability to go beyond their their thoughts, their ideal of how an African should live, and I think African can rule the world, we can change the world to be better if only we had the resources, in only the world could give our what an African child cries out, that is what I think. and also I think the worlds perspective influences us because if we look at it, Africa is very poor, in terms of finance, financials, and if we look at American, its seems like they living the good life, like they have everything, and we don't have, we have nothing. So many young people tell themselves that when they grow up they going to be African, like they going to live somewhere else because they afraid of poverty and sometimes they neglect their culture, they neglect who they are and they turn into somebody they are not.
- 6.131 **Interviewer:** Girls what does it mean to be African? (just silence) Do you guys have anything to add other than its culture, its knowing where you come from?
- 6.132 **Male participant:** It's to be beautiful
- 6.133 **Interviewer:** She said it's to be black and beautiful, does that mean that white people, Indian people; Chinese people are they not African? And then you guys say you won't offend me alright, so please pretend I'm either black or I'm not here, you won't offend me, I want to know what your opinion are of black, Indian, Chinese people born in south Africa, are they also African or is it only black?
- 6.134 **Male participant:** No
- 6.135 **Female participant:** No they also African, I just talking about me.
- 6.136 **Interviewer:** Yes, yes, no no no, like when you said black and beautiful cause it shows that proud-ness you were talking about, it just.
- 6.137 **Male participant:** I think I also prefer the symbol of like unity and diversity; it's a place where we can all come together and be one, the beginning of great things, Africa our home and pride.
- 6.138 **Interviewer:** Does anyone think African just means you have to be black?
- 6.139 **Male participant:** No
- 6.140 **Interviewer:** None of you, is it because I'm here?
- 6.141 **Group members:** No (*laughter*)
- 6.142 **Interviewer:** How would you be different it you weren't a black African teenager now, would you be a different person if you woke up tomorrow and you were Chinese?
- 6.143 **Male participant:** No
- 6.144 **Male participant:** Yes
- 6.145 **Interviewer:** Does being a black African kind of form your personality, does it shape the person you are, or would you be the same person, even if your weren't black and speaking Sesotho, Xhosa, or Zulu, would you be exactly the same person or would you be different if you weren't black?
- 6.146 **Male participant:** I'd be different cause like most cultures, the way we grew up in like in different cultures, we are not raised the same, so like black child when they raised

up they taught that they have to like be individual when they reach a certain stage in their life.

6.147 **Interviewer:** And what stage is this?

6.148 **Male participant:** Adult stage

6.149 **Male participant:** And maybe like in the Chinese family maybe like they taught like Chinese, they like taught maybe like they are taught like when they reach a certain teenage age, like they get individual, in like teenager stage so maybe that's difference.

6.150 **Male participant:** Nna I don't think I'd have changed if I was someone from somewhere cause uh, the way I live when I'm alone and the way I live when I'm with people, two opposite things, cause when I'm with people I try to be like them, but then when I'm alone (laughter) and stuff, alone doing my thing, doing my things, alone so even if I was someone from somewhere, I'd still do what they want me to do around them, but then when I move to my own corner I'd still doing what I do best.

6.151 **Interviewer:** On your own?

6.152 **Male participant:** Yes on my own, so I don't think I could change, yes.

6.153 **Female participant:** I don't think I'd want to change, because I believe that this is just skin colour, it's just a colour, when you look at south Africa, it's a very diverse country, so there are lot of cultures and people and we live in a democracy so you can talk to anybody, befriend anybody, so it doesn't matter whether you black or white, it's still okay, you can still do whatever it is that you want, so no I don't think I'll be different.

6.154 **Male participant:** No I don't think I will change because I don't believe in change cause you just become more of who you actually are, you as don't change, but you are just a skin colour as she said.

6.155 **Interviewer:** If you a different culture, do you think you'd be a different person if you had a different culture?

6.156 **Male participant:** No

6.157 **Female participant:** No

6.158 **Some participants:** Yes

6.159 **Male participant:** I'd still do my own things at my own cause, cause like we are not taught with the same morals in life so like the way you are taught by your parents will make you who you are.

6.160 **Interviewer:** Do you girls agree? He said that when he's with people, he's a different person than when he's alone, when he's with this kind of people he's kind of this way, and then you with his friends and he's kind of this way, do you guys agree, do you kind of have almost like have sub-personalities when you with these people you this way.

6.161 **Interviewer:** Okay let's start here and we'll go there.

6.162 **Male participant:** In class, I usually sit on this table here, I usually talk negative things with some people, but when I, when you among some people I tend to change, change my personality and try to do whatever they do, and think the way they think.

6.163 **Female participant:** When I'm with my friend, I'm open, I can just be myself, but when I'm with other people, because I do not discriminate, so even if I do not like your behaviour or anything, I'll talk to you but I won't be comfortable around you, you'll know yourself that you know that this person feels like getting as far away from me as possible so I act differently, I'm quiet, I don't talk to you, I only talk to you when you ask me a question and I just respond, but yes.

6.164 **Female participant:** When I'm around people, I'm usually this person who likes to talk, in class, I sit with (name), and she talks to much, she's loud, so like when I'm with her, I'm this person who likes to talk, laugh and all those things, but when I'm alone, ne I'm this person, calm person, yes.

- 6.165 **Female participant:** I won't change because I'm who I am, and I don't live my life to impress others. So I can't choose to be a different personality when I'm with my friend and when I'm alone, I'm a different kind of person.
- 6.166 **Male participant:** My personalities change like at school and at home. At school I'm this crazy person who likes to do crazy things with his friend, but at home I'm this quiet person, like, who likes to just chill with his friends and like talk, but the craziness is like put aside for that duration of time, but when I come back to school I just I unload I explode, unleash the craziness and I become a different person, so ja. I think school and friends, different friends' influence who I am.
- 6.167 **Female participant:** Well I'm totally different from home and at school because at home I normally don't talk with my parents, I prefer talking things with my friends because I think they understand me better, cause there some things you can't talk with your parents, cause they like to judge, so I prefer talking with friends. so
- 6.168 **Male participant:** I don't actually change, like switch my personality, cause there are things that I try and avoid like if you don't change or switch your personality, there some people don't like it, they do bad things to you because they don't like it, so to avoid bad things, some conflict between them, I try to meet them halfway to personality, and do most of, equalize their personality with mine, but still containing my positive things, so I only switch the bad, I don't change, I just switch it, and then back again when I'm alone, and then back again when I'm with friends.
- 6.169 **Interviewer:** I like the point she raised, that her friends understand her better than her parents cause her parents judge, who do you guys think understands you better, your parents, your peers, your teachers at school, who understands you better?
- 6.170 **Male participant:** My mother understands me better.
- 6.171 **Interviewer:** Do you share everything with her?
- 6.172 **Male participant:** Ja, not everything, but I do share most of the things that happen in my life with her, and she understands me, she like advice me what to do in that certain obstacle that I'm facing in life, and ja, but I also like share some things that I don't share with my mother with my friends, so I'd say, my dad I don't share anything with them, anything personal him, I don't share.
- 6.173 **Male participant:** From my side I'd say I'm more me when I'm with my brother and friends, my mom not that much and my father not that much.
- 6.174 **Interviewer:** So your brother and your friends understand you best?
- 6.175 **Male participant:** Yes, my brother and my friends.
- 6.176 **Female participant:** My friend understands me best because she's never judging me you know, and like I said earlier most people would think that I'm a bit uptight, because I don't do things that many teenagers do these days, so they think yoh, that this girls uptight and stuff like that, but she doesn't seem to think like that way, she understands me, she even tell them but no this is just the way she is, she knows what hurts me, and what makes me angry, but I love her a lot. So in terms of my family, we argue a lot, cause they really not understand
- 6.177 **Male participant:** And the other thing I forgot to mention is that, my friends like, when you have to be my friends, you have to be a person who has like a sense of humour because the jokes that like we make can like, for people who don't have a sense of humour, they can take it personally and then they like they get angry and then they ja, so my friends always have a sense of humour so the jokes that I make they don't really take it personally, so.
- 6.178 **Interviewer:** Who understands you better? Parents or friends, or teachers?
- 6.179 **Female participant:** My mom understands me better, she's this open person, she's sometimes likes to ask this boring questions, but she understands me better, and my

sister too, I talk to them, about some things, not everything, but yeah my mom and my sister.

- 6.180 **Male participant:** Me, I, my friends understand me a little better cause at my home, at my home I sometimes looking like this, and my dad didn't know, ask me where I get those things, which I told you and I can't explain it, so when I'm around my friends I usually admit some jokes, because they don't take it personally.
- 6.181 **Interviewer:** Do you guys like being a teenager?
- 6.182 **Male participant:** Very much
- 6.183 **Interviewer:** Is its nice being a teenager? What's so nice about it, or tell me what do you like and what don't you like about being a teenager.
- 6.184 **Male participant:** I like the fact that when you become a teenager, you get the, like your parents give you more freedom to do certain things that you weren't what to do when you were a kid, and but they also limit the amount of freedom they give you.
- 6.185 **Interviewer:** Would you like to be a teenager forever?
- 6.186 **Group members:** No, haaikona
- 6.187 **Interviewer:** Why not?
- 6.188 **Male participant:** Because you never get to do these things that adults do.
- 6.189 **Interviewer:** Like?
(Group - *Laughter*)
- 6.190 **Male participant:** Like owning your own house, getting married, not getting married, I'm not getting married, (*Laughter*) like owning your own car, I like cars, if you stay a teenager you never get to own a car, and have your own kids.
- 6.191 **Interviewer:** Tell me what you, what do you like and not like about being a teenager? Why don't you like to be a teenager forever?
- 6.192 **Male participant:** I just want to be a teenager forever, cause anything is for free, you don't work for it.
- 6.193 **Interviewer:** You just get it from your parents?
- 6.194 **Male participant:** Yeah, and you don't get sick like chronic diseases, you are too young for it, so that what makes me so in love with being a teenager.
- 6.195 **Female participant:** What I like about being a teenager is that you know I'm free to voice most of my thoughts, because people would think you know, it's her hormones, she's just a teenager, so they wouldn't go against that, but I really don't like it, like I have said already, I'm very different from most teenagers so I just want to grow up and have my own space, just want to live in my own world, so when you a teenager it's very hard to do that, cause you have to be around people it's your obligation, so.
- 6.196 **Interviewer:** Do you find it irritating that people say you just forcing your opinion because you're a teenager?
- 6.197 **Female participant:** Yes I do but I understand because I grew up that way you know, people at home never really take me seriously.
- 6.198 **Interviewer:** Will they take you seriously when you a grown up?
- 6.199 **Female participant:** yes they will because I'll be grown up, you know so I'll have a say in the world, I'll get to vote, so.
- 6.200 **Interviewer:** That's a big thing. Alright, good thank you. That's an interesting point. Next?
- 6.201 **Male participant:** I don't like to be a teenager, I'd not like to be a teenager cause forever cause like I said uhm I'm a person who likes being in my own space, so now I'm a teenager, most of the things I'm told what to do and what not to do, so I like uhm to have my own apartment, away from people, yes like I have that thing in mind that says that I should get my own house, in the middle of the road like between Bloemfontein and somewhere maybe, just in the centre there, live my own life there,

- leave the whole of me behind, present me there, cause when I'm a teenager, I have to live, I have to social my personality.
- 6.202 **Interviewer:** Do you like being a teenager?
- 6.203 **Male participant:** Yes, at the moment I do.
- 6.204 **Interviewer:** What do you like about it?
- 6.205 **Male participant:** (*laughter*) Is that I get to meet new people when I'm a teenager, so when I'm a teenager I get to meet new people, do a lot of stuff that are done by teenagers
- 6.206 **Interviewer:** Like? I'm not going to tell your principal alright. You won't get in trouble. I'm not a teenager anymore, so I don't know what teenagers do, that's why I'm asking, what stuff do you do that teenagers do, smoking, drinking, doing drugs?
- 6.207 **Male participant:** Dating and stuff.
- 6.208 **Interviewer:** Okay, okay dating.
- 6.209 **Male participant:** It's one of the things that teenagers do, teenagers do, and like the one thing I don't like about being a teenager is that your parents always judge you like, for example when you come in late, like they always think that like me, example every night I exercise with my friends so when we come in late they think like I was smoking I was with a girl so ja, it irritates me to think my own parents don't trust me so ja.
- 6.210 **Interviewer:** What do you like about being a teenager, or do you like being a teenager?
- 6.211 **Female participant:** Yes.
- 6.212 **Interviewer:** What do you like about it?
- 6.213 **Female participant:** Because I get everything I want, and my parents takes me seriously that if I want this, they know that it will benefit me some way, somehow, and they respect decisions that I make, yes.
- 6.214 **Interviewer:** Would you like to stay a teenager forever?
- 6.215 **Female participant:** No
- 6.216 **Interviewer:** Why not
- 6.217 **Female participant:** Cause sometimes I want to be independent, do things for myself, and you know, learn different things, not always facing my parents, cause sometimes is boring, they expect me to wash dishes and you don't feel like washing dishes and you can't say no, cause they will shout at you so, at least if you have your own house you do whatever you want at your own time.
- 6.218 **Interviewer:** Good.
- 6.219 **Male participant:** Ja and I also think that, a bad thing about being a teenager is that all the fun things that you do, always the naughty things, so whenever you do them like you always intend on hiding them from your parents.
- 6.220 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree, that the fun things are all the bad things?
- 6.221 **Male participant:** Not, not all the them, most of them.
- 6.222 **Interviewer:** who hasn't told me if they want to stay a teenager forever?
- 6.223 **Male participant:** Being a teenager, haai, hassles
- 6.224 **Interviewer:** Why not?
- 6.225 **Male participant:** Because I don't want to be told in which time I must do that thing, I want to do that thing that I want to do in my own time, and go and have things, not to, always back to my parents, buy me something, buy me something, I want to spend my money the way I like.
- 6.226 **Interviewer:** Do you like it?
- 6.227 **Female participant:** I hate being a teenager.
- 6.228 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 6.229 **Female participant:** Because when you go out, when my grandmother always asks me, where are you going, don't come back home late, this and that you know, I like to

- be independent, like she said, so that when I go out nobody, you know, telling me what to do, shouting at me, you know this like that, like asking me a lot of questions that has to pick, and most of my, my parents like to say when you come back home late, where do you come from, then you just say, I come from, I come from my friends (laughter) then they say go back where you come from, you know, things like that.
- 6.230 **Female participant:** Being a teenager is fun, look you get what you want from your parents, you staying, being a teenager forever, won't be fun, like he said when you older, you get your own house, car, you get anything you want, there will be no one yelling at you, do the dishes, clean, you do everything at your own time and space, so. (*quiet. . .*)
- 6.231 **Interviewer:** Is there anything else you guys want to add, any questions you have, then I just have one more question, you guys said that cultures important and traditions, now you gotta excuse my, I usually have a facilitator who is Sesotho, and she can do it much better, do you know your "Seboka", like can you "boka" yourself? Do you know it? Can you "boka" yourself?
- 6.232 **Male participant:** (speaks in Sesotho – saying seboka)
- 6.233 **Interviewer:** Alright now you gotta explain to me what did you do, cause I'm white and we don't do that, and I'm very intrigued by this?
- 6.234 **Male participant:** When you are 18, you cut this finger and go to the initiation school and you get taught
- 6.235 **Interviewer:** Do any of the rest of you, can you "boka" yourself?
- 6.236 **Group members:** No haaai
- 6.237 **Male participant:** Coloured
- 6.238 **Interviewer:** Oh the coloureds, coloureds are like the whites, we have traditions but we not really that traditional, right the rest of you, is it something girls do too?
- 6.239 **Female participant:** Yes
- 6.240 **Interviewer:** Do you know it, can your parents do it? Is it culture, something you want to teach your children?
- 6.241 **Female participant:** You won't be able to understand.
- 6.242 **Interviewer:** Okay, can you do it?
- 6.243 **Female participant:** It's very long, I can do it.
- 6.244 **Interviewer:** It's long and it's fast, I've noticed it's something that when you say it, its
- 6.245 **Female participant:** Like the Zulu men's, uh-uh when they "boka" themselves, they, and you can't even hear what the person is saying.
- 6.246 **Female participant:** She knows how to do seboka.
- 6.247 **Interviewer:** Let me hear
- 6.248 **Female participant:** (speaks Sesotho) - It means nurturing. (*laughter*) and monkeys
- 6.249 **Interviewer:** But it's the symbol for your group? I'm sure it translates to monkeys, but it doesn't mean monkeys, and it's the groups, your surnames and your clan, they've explained to me more or less that's what it is, or is it something else, not, how would you explain what it is?
- 6.250 **Female participant:** It's like the taking from the behaviour of monkeys, say that they not afraid of witches, so a witch cant, if you a (Surname) you can befriend a witch but she can't do anything to you, very strong independent.
- 6.251 **Interviewer:** And that's important for the person you are, its important to have this characteristic and to know that you have it.
- 6.252 **Female participant:** Yes.
- 6.253 **Interviewer:** Do you guys think it's an important thing to know?
- 6.254 **Male participant:** I don't think so

- 6.255 **Female participant:** My grandmother also says it's important, but I don't know why, maybe they say you should know where you come from, your background, you should be proud of who you are.
- 6.256 **Male participant:** My culture is Jesus
- 6.257 **Female participant:** What is your tradition?
- 6.258 **Male participant:** We pray every night.
- 6.259 **Female participant:** So if you a Christian, things like that they don't really matter, it's just something that maybe you do it because your parents tell you too.
- 6.260 **Interviewer:** Is it something that you would teach your children?
- 6.261 **Female participant:** No, if they asked to come and ask me its good, I'd tell them that this is how I was taught, but I don't think id raise them to know you are a (surname) you supposed to do this, I'd teach them the bible.
- 6.262 **Interviewer:** Yes and in certain traditions, is it in the Xhosa tradition, if you start menstruating, you become a woman, they smear stuff on your face, but they cut off your hair at certain stages, do you guys do that, is traditions an important thing for you?
- 6.263 **Male participant:** I don't know about woman's, but the males
- 6.264 **Interviewer:** And the men, to do some traditions like cut your pinkie when you eighteen and go to the mountains is that important to you?
- 6.265 **Male participant:** Yes it's important.
- 6.266 **Male participant:** We Tswana we don't go to the mountain we don't go to the mountains, its not our tradition, we don't cut our pinkies.
- 6.267 **Interviewer:** Do you cut it completely off, or do you just cut the skin?
- 6.268 **Male participant:** The whole thing, this part.
- 6.269 **Interviewer:** Like totally it's a stompie?
- 6.270 **Female participant:** Cut it off completely.
(Group - laughter)
- 6.271 **Male participant:** Tswana's do go to the mountain. It's just that for some it's not a necessity.
- 6.272 **Interviewer:** It's not as important?
- 6.273 **Female participant:** Ja its not traditions.
- 6.274 **Male participant:** Like before, cause it was belief that since there were no LO, there were no schools, they didn't teach LO and stuff, so they would go to the mountain, they would be taught how to cut a piece of their other stuff, so that day, but now.
- 6.275 **Female participant:** Some boys go to the mountains like (name) just because he's friends said (speaks Sesotho) ja if you can pronounce it, so they want to show how they, I'm the man and you know things like that yeah. It's the fashion, so called fashion.
- 6.276 **Interviewer:** How important is it for the person you are that your male or female, would you be different if you were not your gender? Do you think it's an important thing for people when they decide who I am this person, a girl or not really. Is it an important part of your personality, is it being a man, or is it being a woman? If you describe yourself and you say that I'm a girl, I'm a woman, I'm talkative because I'm a girl, I'm shy because I'm a guy, or not really.
- 6.277 **Female participant:** It's not important because some guys tend to be gays, and some girls tend to be lesbians, so it doesn't have much impact in our personalities. (silence) They don't like gays, boys. Boys they hate gays and I don't know why, there is nothing wrong with being a gay. They say there are a lot of woman than boys so. They say that it's disrespecting them, and they find it so very much irritating, like (name) he doesn't like gays.

- 6.278 **Interviewer:** This one says he doesn't like gays, it all depends. Alright anything else you guys feel is important for a teenager, or any questions you have, anything you want to add?
- 6.279 **Male participant:** Teenagers should have more privacy.
- 6.280 **Interviewer:** So you don't have enough privacy?
- 6.281 **Female participant:** Yoh mothers
- 6.282 **Interviewer:** Spotlight on you
- 6.283 **Male participant:** If you demand a private space, they ask you why and then they tell you that you changing and not who you were. Yoh and then they tell you you are disrespectful and should change your attitude.
- 6.284 **Female participant:** Like my grandmother, every day when my cell phone rings, she always asks whose calling you this late, even though it's my friend, they will always ask, put pressure on me to tell them who was calling, and they take our phones and go through our private stuff, for what reason, they don't know.
- 6.285 **Female participant:** Just for fun.
- 6.286 **Female participant:** Just for fun, to check it we are not dating, you are not saying nasty things with your friends on sms's.
- 6.287 **Male participant:** My mother wants me to live the way she wants me to live, but I usually find it difficult to live the way she wants me to live. I have to take my own path, but she.
- 6.288 **Interviewer:** To use her as guidance, but not to live exactly like she says.
- 6.289 **Male participant:** Yes when we doing somebody she come and knock (laughter)
- 6.290 **Male participant:** But my father has given me space to choose who I want to be, so he won't tell me what to become, just to ask me like what do you want to be in life, then I'll tell him, and then he'll tell me I must work hard to be that person so ja, I've got my friends.
- 6.291 **Interviewer:** Almost like a compromise.
- 6.292 **Female participant:** I just think teenagers just need to learn to listen to their parents more, because sometimes the advice that you given by your parents, it's very important, in terms of building a future for yourself, because like the bible, it gives you advice that will build you as a person, they don't really take it seriously, they think, I think teenagers need to think about what's going to happen when I die, where will I go, you know, and try read the bible, listen to their parents, you know, do things orderly, because when you die there is a possibility you might not go to heaven, so they should wonder, is it, is this what I'm doing going to take me to hell or heaven.
- 6.293 **Interviewer:** Thank you, it's not always easy listening to our parents but alright thank you, that's it, you don't have any questions, you can just give these to your parents and have them sign it and just bring it back tomorrow.

APPENDIX N

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 7

- 7.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 7.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 7.3 **Male participant:** (*laughs*) Okay um I'm (name) I love rapping, a, I, who I don't know how to say it but then I love many things.
- 7.4 **Interviewer:** Like?
- 7.5 **Male participant:** Like playing sport, especially v-ball. I do hip hop music, I quite do a lot of things, yeah.
- 7.6 **Interviewer:** Thank you
- 7.7 **Male participant:** Okay I'm (name), I like to, making my own instrumentals, hip hop instrumentals, uuuh I love some engineering, yeah, I love playing basketball too, yes, that's what I say.
- 7.8 **Female participant:** I am (name), I'm caring, kind, understanding and friendly, and I'm active and I like to laugh a lot, and I enjoy being around people, ja.
- 7.9 **Male participant:** And I'm (name), I'm a bit friendly, I do like people, mmm aaa I'm a gospel singer, and I do sing very well, a I love gospel music, I'm more committed to my schoolwork, uuuh and some people actually don't understand me you know, so I think my character explain a lots about me, so when I speak or do something that's when people realise who I am, what kind of person I am, so I think I'm more open to people, and mmm I like exploring.
- 7.10 **Female participant:** I'm (name), I'm friendly, kind, and I like to communicate with other people, uhm I like to listen to music, especially house, and I don't like to discriminate other people.
- 7.11 **Female participant:** I'm (name), I love music, gospel, house, R&B, and I'm friendly, I'm kind, aah and I respect other people and I love church, umm I love sports and netball, and soccer but I'm not that perfect.
(*Interruptions – one student was late*)
- 7.12 **Interviewer:** Alright, before you continue, hello, we've introduced ourselves, I'm (name) this is Mabatho, and we going to have a discussion today, they can tell you that they've all always answered a question, nothing's happened to them, it's really just a discussion there's no right or wrong answers. We just want to know what your experience is like, alright so you can give me that one and then quickly complete this one, and then while we completing it can you just do it in pen, while you completing it, the question that I asked is who are you, tell me who you are, how you see yourself, you're your personality is like, what your identity is like, alright so think about it while you fill that in, and then you can continue for us.
- 7.13 **Male participant:** Uhm while I'm (name), and I can't really say I know myself cause (*laughs*), eish okay let me just say I'm a very active person, I'm into sports, I play football, and uuuh I respect other people. I also love change and yeah I'm a friendly person, yes that's about it.
- 7.14 **Interviewer:** Alright I'm going to ask my next question then maybe you can answer both questions at once, alright, who influences this person you are, is it your friends, your parents, schoolwork, the media?
- 7.15 **Male participant:** Uhm my family.
- 7.16 **Interviewer:** Your family, alright, first tell us who you are, start with your name and then tell me who you are how do you see yourself, your personality, your identity.

- 7.17 **Male participant:** I'm (name), I see myself....
- 7.18 **Interviewer:** (name), We also said I'm going to record it cause I have to type it out, if it's alright with you, then you can just speak a little louder, so that we can just get the recording there.
- 7.19 **Male participant:** I'm (name), I'm a motivated person, and I see myself, I in few years to come I see myself being better in this world, and ja my family keeps on motivating me to, persuade my studies so.
- 7.20 **Interviewer:** Other than a motivated person how do you see yourself?
- 7.21 **Male participant:** Sorry?
- 7.22 **Interviewer:** Other than a motivated person, how do you see yourself?
- 7.23 **Interviewer:** What makes you different from the people around you?
- 7.24 **Interviewer:** Yes yes, what makes you?
- 7.25 **Male participant:** Uhm cause I can I am also focused on my studies. I don't know what to say.
- 7.26 **Interviewer:** Alright, anybody else who wants to answer that question, what makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 7.27 **Male participant:** I think what makes me different from other people, a I'm taking myself as an outstanding person, superior and outrageous I can say that, and I like a another people are not, our personality, our way, our personalities are way to different, so I think from the inner core, that's the thing that makes us different, the inner part, how do you express yourself, how do you do things, I think that's the, that make me different from other people.
- 7.28 **Male participant:** Uuuh, our perceptions are not the same, and that, uh my dress code counts a lot on me, cause I do not dress ordinary as other people, I have my own style, yeah that's all I got to say for now.
- 7.29 **Female participant:** I think my confidence is a, you know, that girl, most of the girls don't have that confidence, so I think I'm different from them cause.
- 7.30 **Female participant:** You more confident.
- 7.31 **Female participant:** Yeah
- 7.32 **Male participant:** Aah I can say that, a of all my friends I'm the only one whose, you know, who is whose fat (fat – group member) so yes, so that's what makes me different from them, and I'm very proud of my, yes of my body.
- 7.33 **Interviewer:** Okay but listen the next question was who influences you, (name) you said your family, who else is there, who else influences you, plays a role in your life, who makes you the person that you are.
- 7.34 **Male participant:** Actually our principal, so every time he does thing, he always motivates us, and tells us those things that will make us be better somebody's in life.
- 7.35 **Female participant:** And the teachers also.
- 7.36 **Interviewer:** How do the teachers influence this person that you are?
- 7.37 **Male participant:** They telling us that we should stop going with negative self, negative friends because they lead us to do bad things and that good things come to those who work, know that.
- 7.38 **Male participant:** To me as an individual my mother plays a big role cause uuuh she's a single parent and that gives me strength to be a better person in future so that I can be able to help her, and also my teachers, especially I won't name her, but at all times she also motivates me, she tells me that you a better person you can do it, why ever, why don't mind what people are saying, you somebody, you not, ja that's what makes me..
- 7.39 **Interviewer:** Somebody else?

- 7.40 **Male participant:** Ja they also provide us with something, particular example they will tell us case about some other people so that we cannot do those mistakes they'd done in the past.
- 7.41 **Interviewer:** Okay you guys all saying your teachers, your family your mothers, what about friends don't your friends influence you, don't they play a role in your life, what role do they play?
(*Group - laughter*)
- 7.42 **Male participant:** A like my friend, my classmate, she's my, she's a girl ja she's my friend, she's very clever when it comes to schoolwork so and she sits next to me so I, whenever she get higher marks, she influences me that next I should do better than her, yes so that's how she gives her all
- 7.43 **Interviewer:** Do you have a lot of female friends?
- 7.44 **Male participant:** Nah, she's the only one. Yeah yeah yes
- 7.45 **Male participant:** I only have a best friend cause I have many friends, and they influence me positively, other influence me negatively, judging me on the things I do, which I do not see a mistake on the things I do, and a I guess that's all.
- 7.46 **Interviewer:** Tells us about how your friends influence you positively, and how some influence you negatively?
- 7.47 **Male participant:** Alright a, the ones that are influencing me negatively are the ones telling me to dodge the study, go somewhere else and not come into school, and the positive ones are the ones who are always with me telling me to do my schoolwork.
- 7.48 **Interviewer:** Which ones do you like the ones who influence you positively or negatively, which ones do you go with more?
- 7.49 **Male participant:** The thing is that the negative ones are the ones who I play sports with and the positive ones are the ones who are my classmates.
- 7.50 **Interviewer:** But is it easy for you to say no or do you sometimes say yes lets go and..
- 7.51 **Male participant:** Yeah sometime say yes, sometime say no, but then I just focus on my future cause I want to better my future.
- 7.52 **Interviewer:** Okay, what do your friends do?
- 7.53 **Female participant:** I can say my friends influence me in a positive way, they always tell me to focus on my studies, umm yeah they always advise me, umm they always there for me and they caring.
- 7.54 **Male participant:** To me I have a, a positive friends and a negative friends, and my positive friends are my, my, my church mates, and some of them are my classmates, few of them, majority of my classmates are very negative, they are so negative, they always want things to be done in a bad way, you know, respond, when the teachers say something responds in a bad way, and all that, and when it comes to my positive friends, they influence me to go to church, a do positive activities, go and do something that going to influence me in a positive way and when it comes to my negative friends, in my classes they wanna go "viping", parties and all that, so at all times I choose positive friends but sometimes when I'm like, I go with the negative, I go "viping" and all that so the next day or some other time I realise those ones are the bad ones because these are the repercussions of what happened when I went to the "viping" and all that.
- 7.55 **Female participant:** Everyone is my friend, I don't have a best friend, my best friend is my mother, she's the one who influence me positively, so everyone at school is my friend.
- 7.56 **Interviewer:** But if your mother is your best friend, do you talk about everything with your mother?
- 7.57 **Female participant:** No, not everything.

- 7.58 **Interviewer:** Is not everything, who do you talk about everything with, do you have anybody that you talk everything with?
- 7.59 **Female participant:** Ja but, aaai we talk as class, classmates.
- 7.60 **Interviewer:** But they not your best friends?
- 7.61 **Female participant:** No.
- 7.62 **Interviewer:** Do your classmates influence you or are they just classmates or friends, it isn't like they influence this person.
- 7.63 **Female participant:** Some of them, some of them, not all of them.
- 7.64 **Interviewer:** How do they influence you?
- 7.65 **Female participant:** No like after school when there is no study, we stay and do our homework, some ja, and some just say there's no study today lets go, and ja.
- 7.66 **Female participant:** My friends a, influence me positively because I have only one friend, um because if ever, sometimes if I want to do something bad, ja, she tells me that you question, don't do this, don't do that, so she plays a big role in my life, and also some of my classmate they they also influence me positively because, they encourage me to do my schoolwork, and to come to school if ever, if ever we have extra classes, they tell me don't be shy just go to school, ja. and I also have one friend who, I can't say he's my friend but umm he's my classmate and sometimes he want me to go party and clubbing and stuff and drinking and I don't like
- 7.67 **Interviewer:** And do you say no to him?
- 7.68 **Female participant:** Yes I say no
- 7.69 **Interviewer:** Is it difficult?
- 7.70 **Female participant:** Yes, it's difficult, sometimes it's difficult
- 7.71 **Male participant:** Well I have both uhm positive and negative friends well my positive friends are those ones who like will always remind me why I'm at school, learning and stuff, and my negative friends (laughs) my negative friends are the ones who are, who are much closer to me, I don't know why but it's, and sometimes it's hard for me to say no to them, because I sometime see them as my only friends, and they like sometimes pressure me to do things I don't want.
- 7.72 **Interviewer:** Like?
- 7.73 **Male participant:** (laughs) like (laughs), let me just say okay like they doing drugs, having too many girlfriends at school, playing with girls that is just what my friends do, and its, it's against my personality, it's not what I really like doing, and I'm a, I'm a, I'm a very soft person, but when I'm with my friends I have to be, I have to be the person that I'm not, I have to be by, you know pretend, yeah have to be the person that I'm not, so yeah that's just it about positive and negative friends.
- 7.74 **Interviewer:** So you guys have all spoken about your friends, but how do you decide whose my friend, how do you decide this is my friend and this person is not my friend, and is it someone that is.
(Coughing – group member)
- 7.75 **Interviewer:** You alright?
- 7.76 **Male participant:** Yes ma'am.
- 7.77 **Male participant:** I can't say I have friends in my life, cause all people, I treat all people the same and let me say I can't, I cannot trust anyone in this world, people are so different, ja so they can betray you at anytime, I haven't say this is my friend, I tell him or her everything that you feel like telling her, so at any time they will betray you, so I don't consider myself part of those friends.
- 7.78 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 7.79 **Interviewer:** But who do you play soccer with, who do you..

- 7.80 **Male participant:** With anyone, yeah anybody's my friend, for the sake of saying I have friends, but deep in my heart, I don't need any friends, because I can make my own decisions.
- 7.81 **Interviewer:** (name), you said you have one friend, what makes that person your one friend? And why did you pick that person, why not somebody else, what makes you pick this.
- 7.82 **Female participant:** Because ah, ah I don't know what can I say.
- 7.83 **interviewer:** Anybody else that have said they have, what makes you pick your friends, what makes you say this is my friend?
- 7.84 **Male participant:** When it comes to me I have so many friends nah, but I've got only one close friends that I trust, I admire, I can do everything with them, we grew up together, like we started school, you are in the same classes we are doing Grade 1, until today we doing Grade 12 (in the same class? – interviewer), we still that same class and we still friends, ah he's like we fighting now, and now the second is to me, it come to me so about the I know it was wrong so and this has to be done that it can be fixed, when I'm doing the wrong thing he will tell me you have started with that, you have to stop it, you know what will happen when you doing that, and all that, and he, he inspires me because he doesn't have parents and he knows what's to be done and what's not to be done, and me, myself I have both parents but I'm like, I'm too much demanding and he will tell you, those people are going to be away and you gonna have to be on your own some other time and this what has to be done so that you can be on your own you know yeah.
- 7.85 **Male participant:** You know why I say I can't consider anyone as my friend cause I once had one friend but he was close to me, he lives nah, he's my neighbour, so one thing happened my phone was lost, only to find out that it was stealing by him, so that's why I'm saying I cannot trust anyone, cause of those kind of things.
- 7.86 **Interviewer:** Because one person betrayed you, so you can't trust anybody else, just one person betraying you, you will never trust again?
- 7.87 **Male participant:** Because that deeply hurt me
- 7.88 **Interviewer:** Anybody else, how do you decide whose your friends, is it people who you have something in common with, is it your soccer friends or people who have fancy clothes and nice cell phones, or how do you decide this is my friend.
- 7.89 **Male participant:** Ah my friends are the one who I'm doing music with, going to the studio with and recording tracks with, uuuh the ones who are helping me with my scripts, correct the words that I, ah I don't know how to put it but the words that I've written wrong or the phrase in which I phrased the sentence, they the ones who correct me and everything like that, um, ah my, the one that I can say that's my best friend, but it's not my best friend actually but it's my best friend in other words, that's my ah the studio owner, he's the one providing me with the beats and all those things, and he's giving it to me for free so I don't have to pay when going to the studio, I just enter it and go with the flow and its like that yeah.
- 7.90 **Male participant:** Uhm like, like I've already said about my uuuh classmate, comparing to last years, uuuh according to the way I've performed last year, to this year I'm very much determined to my schoolwork, ah yeah I like I once failed Grade 11 yeah, but last year when I met her, uuuh I, she was, she became a motivation to me, yes so this year I'm doing Grade 12, yeah my performance is still good.
- 7.91 **Male participant:** The reason why me and my friend became this close, we had, everything was common, when we were young, we met at school ne', I saw him playing with other girls, and I wanted to play with those girls, then I went there then we started playing, when we went somewhere we go together cause he also wants to do

- that, everything was so common, everything, you cannot identify something, we are so, we are like this, and everything in common between us.
- 7.92 **Female participant:** Well I chose positive friends who have positive attitude, who go to church, who loves people; respect other people, and also who doesn't party.
- 7.93 **Female participant:** We and my friend, that one, that I'm a friend, we have so much in common, um ja and also she respect other people and she doesn't want to see anyone hurt um so, and also she like, she loves church, we have something in common and also we went to school, in primary and also when we were doing, when we were about to doing Grade 8, we came to Tsosoletso so, together, go and do a lot of things together.
- 7.94 **Male participant:** Well I regard my agent as my best friend, football agent, yes cause he's the one that I'm always with and I spend most of the time with him, um besides being a ah, beside speaking about football and clubs and everything, he's also like open to me, he gives me advices on how how to live, how to live a happy life, how to, personal things, and then he's like um he's the one who told me to like quit football for this year so I can pass my matric year and then we will continue with football afterwards, and then like ja he's my motivation, he's my motivation and he's my best friend that is my inspiration.
- 7.95 **Interviewer:** You guys speak about friends motivating and, but do your siblings motivate you? Do you maybe have brothers and sisters that are older than you and you wanna also do what they do, or you have younger ones, and don't want to do bad things cause they watching you, do your brothers and sisters play a role in the person you are, or who you want to be?
- 7.96 **Male participant:** When it comes to my sisters and brothers, they the most stereotypic people, they not into clubbing and all that but when it comes to me I'm like this, I do, I wanna do that, I wanna do that I wanna go clubbing, I wanna do that, so my sisters, a I have two sisters and one brother, and I'm not that close with my brother cause yes, I'm close with my two sisters then they always tell me that, (Sesotho) you have to do this not that, this is the right thing, this is the wrong thing, yeah things like that.
- 7.97 **Interviewer:** And then do you do it the way they say because you want them to be proud of you, or do you go the other way, because they aren't allowed to tell you what to do, and..
- 7.98 **Male participant:** I choose to go the other way because I see I'm gonna end up like them, because they so stereotypic and I hate being like this so I choose to be, to go my own way that's what
- 7.99 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 7.100 **Male participant:** I wanna be like my sister, the reason why I say that is because uuuh, she works at a big business, calls, we call it Eskom and she has her own office, and I just want to be like her, get my own office, but different from the work that she's working right now, I wanna have my own studio, my own equipment, my own everything and my own office, just like that.
- 7.101 **Male participant:** Well I can say my younger sister sometimes motivates me, when I came late home, she will always tell me never come late cause moms angry and stuff like that, so that's how she motivates me.
- 7.102 **Interviewer:** When you do bad things or club, and don't study, do ever think she's gonna see me and I don't want her be like that?
- 7.103 **Male participant:** Yeah sometimes
- 7.104 **Interviewer:** Got to be a good big brother.
- 7.105 **Male participant:** Yeah, sometimes things like that.
- 7.106 **Female participant:** I can say that umm I'm close with my sister, little sister, um we do everything together, she makes me happy, and yeah she plays a big role in my life.

- 7.107 **Interviewer:** So you also want to impress, you want to be good person or be successful so she can be successful, or don't you care that she.
- 7.108 **Female participant:** A I don't want to impress her, I just want he, her to take an example form me and..
- 7.109 **Interviewer:** And be a better person.
- 7.110 **Female participant:** Be a better person, I don't want her to do bad things.
- 7.111 **Interviewer:** Do you do bad things?
- 7.112 **Female participant:** I don't do bad things.
- 7.113 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 7.114 **Female participant:** I'm very, very close to my sister, we talk everything, like everything, and she motivates me, um even when um, 2011 when I failed Grade 11, well she motivates me because she also failed in Grade 10 in high school, so she plays a very big role in my life, she motivates me.
- 7.115 **Interviewer:** So do you wanna be like or do you want to be better like her.
- 7.116 **Female participant:** Better like her.
- 7.117 **Interviewer:** Better than her, (name) don't you have siblings?
- 7.118 **Female participant:** I have a little sister and a little brother, my little brother is quiet rude, so we always fight and my little sister, she, she's the one who motivates me sometimes, because when like we have like some disagreements with my mom, she tell me not to shout at mom again or not to, just be quiet you know yeah and she listens to me, and I listen to her.
- 7.119 **Interviewer:** Does she look up to you?
- 7.120 **Female participant:** I think so yeah.
- 7.121 **interviewer:** (name) How many friends, you said you only have this one female friend, do you have a lot of female friends, do you guys have a lot of friends that are the opposite sex, or do you prefer friends that are, you know they say girls do this and boys do that, and girls are not the same as boys and..
- 7.122 **Female participant:** I prefer um the other sex because like.
- 7.123 **Interviewer:** Male friends?
- 7.124 **Female participant:** Yeah because some girls, most of girls they judge you, you know, when I, I'm like with other sex, they don't judge me you know, they listen to me, they give me support than the same sex.
- 7.125 **Male participant:** Aaah I'm for both genders because in the music production they the one, the girls are the ones who are doing the chorus, and we are coming with the lyrics, sometimes the girls comes with the lyrics and we are for the chorus, so everybody can be my friend.
- 7.126 **Interviewer:** But I mean do you have more female friends than male friends, or do you have more male friends than female friends?
- 7.127 **Male participant:** No it's equally.
- 7.128 **Interviewer:** Equally
- 7.129 **Male participant:** When it comes to me I have more female friends, because I think they are more, they like vibrance, like in other, like boys, they like they are noisy, and I'm also noisy, they loud and I'm also loud, so that's why, that's what I like about them.
- 7.130 **Interviewer:** Do you find you, the girl friends they speak, and they sit and they talk and the boys just do things, like play soccer or basketball (ja – group member).
- 7.131 **Male participant:** And majority of boys are so negative, they do bad things like, I don't even wanna mention them (interviewer – they smoke hubbly bubbly), not in that way, that there are some negative things on top of that, I don't even wanna mention it, so that's why I prefer being with girls like you know, yeah.

- 7.132 **Female participant:** Like I said I don't discriminate, so I have both female and male friends but I have mostly male friends.
- 7.133 **Interviewer:** And then what do you do with your male friends? Do you also do this things that says that the males just want to play basketball and do bad things and be negative or?
- 7.134 **Female participant:** We motivate each other, do schoolwork, go to church.
- 7.135 **Male participant:** Truly speaking (laugh) I love partying, but when it comes to my schoolwork I'm up to scratch, when there's an assignment, submit on time, everything it's completely up to scratch, yes.
- 7.136 **Male participant:** So I can say I have both male friends and female friends, but female friends likes me cause I like to say to them – I don't care about what people say about you just focus what you want, so that's why most of female friends likes me, even though sometimes they have problems, they just come to me, what can I do in this situation, and I always I will always say don't care about what other people say, just look for what you want, what you want in life.
- 7.137 **Interviewer:** So you advise the girls?
- 7.138 **Male participant:** Ja, that's what I do.
- 7.139 **Interviewer:** They come to you?
- 7.140 **Interviewer:** And your male friends?
- 7.141 **Male participant:** A yes, my male friends, we don't talk much.
- 7.142 **Interviewer:** What do you do?
- 7.143 **Male participant:** We just have fun
- 7.144 **Interviewer:** What is fun, what do you guys do?
- 7.145 **Male participant:** Fun things like aah playing soccer, ja.
- 7.146 **Interviewer:** (name) Do you have more female friends or girlfriends, I don't wanna say girlfriends because then I'm saying a lot of girls.
- 7.147 **Interviewer:** Ja not like dating
- 7.148 **Interviewer:** Ja not dating, just female friends.
- 7.149 **Male participant:** I have a lot of female friends, actually more than male friends, actually I don't know why but I just like having conversations with girls, you know, they get so emotional twisting and they have things to tell me and ja they just, they just amazing.
- 7.150 **Interviewer:** so they do not just sit and gossip, and gossip and gossip, you like that, that they gossiping?
- 7.151 **Male participant:** (*laughing*) Well sometimes they do gossip, but...
- 7.152 **Interviewer:** More than the guys?
- 7.153 **Male participant:** more than the guys but (*laughing*)
- 7.154 **Interviewer:** Do the rest of you agree do the girls gossip more than boys?
- 7.155 **Males:** Yeah, it's true
- 7.156 **Females:** No
- 7.157 **Male participant:** Yip it's a fact (it's not a fact – girls members)
- 7.158 (*laughing*)
- 7.159 **Male participant:** It's not a fact, it's an opinion.
- 7.160 **Male participant:** No it's not an opinion. Some, some, some girls are like mean, yes it is a fact, and yeah that's what.
- 7.161 **Interviewer:** Do you have more female friends than male friends?
- 7.162 **Male participant:** Ja like, I've, I've already said my friend, ja she doesn't like to gossip, when we talk, we talk about the future, yes nothing more, nothing less, ja she's like a boy to me, she's not a lesbian, but she like, like..
- 7.163 **Interviewer:** Like a brother?

- 7.164 **Male participant:** Yeah, yeah
- 7.165 **Interviewer:** You guys have been speaking about studies and school, and how your new friends motivate you this year, do you find that now that you in matric, there's a bigger focus on studies and schoolwork, a big part of who you are, this person becomes this matric pupil who's got to pass at the end of the year. And that your community, your school, your brothers and sisters all look up to you and you are this matric pupil?
- 7.166 **Interviewer:** Or doesn't it matter, you still in matric, you still fine, it's the same as it was when you were in Grade 10, it's still the same?
- 7.167 **Male participant:** To me it does matter cause no, my sisters even my brother they didn't pass matric my brother stops going to school when he was doing Grade 12, Grade 10, uhm my sister failed matric, and I've got this sister another sister, she's also doing Grade 12, she so determined, even if she's failing but she, he she keeps on doing again and again, now we both doing Grade 12 cause she failed Grade 10 when I was doing Grade 9, now we both doing Grade 12, so we determined to be, to be better people, not to become like our sister, no our brother, so that's why we doing our best at all times.
- 7.168 **Interviewer:** So they focusing and telling you (name) you in Grade 12, you in Grade 12, you must study?
- 7.169 **Male participant:** Ja so they keep on telling me that, that's why, that keeps, that gives me a lot pressure to do schoolwork, study and all that, ja.
- 7.170 **Male participant:** So I didn't get that question, can you please repeat it? Yes
- 7.171 **Interviewer:** Mmmm, they person, your identity, who you were last year in Grade 11, has that at all changed now that you in Grade 12? Do you feel there's more pressure to study and to not spend so much time with your friends, or to be a more responsible person, or to be more serious, or has there been a change in the person you were last year in Grade 11 to the person you are now in Grade 12? Do you understand, was that better?
- 7.172 **Male participant:** Ja there's a lot of changes because everybody in the house will keep on saying you are now older, so please this is your last race, a I want you to be this person, ja so there's a lot of change, even though when I ask for something, even money to make schoolwork they will just give me quickly, they don't waste any time, ja so there's a lot of changes.
- 7.173 **Male participant:** For me there's no change, they, it's just a small portion of change, uuuh you have to, to do a lot of assignments, uhm pressurise our mind and going out there to the libraries and internet cafes to search for the information, so I can say, nah it's not a lot of work it's just a revision of last year, Grade 11's revision, but with a small portion added on top of it.
- 7.174 **Interviewer:** Have you changed at all, with this extra pressure, and that?
- 7.175 **Male participant:** Nah I've changed my attitudes towards my schoolwork, cause everything that I do determines the person I am, and that's how I am, I will never change.
- 7.176 **Female participant:** Ah I can say um there's a change, ah I'm more focused on my studies because I want to see myself, passing matric with distinctions and um I want to see myself being a better person in the future.
- 7.177 **Male participant:** And again there's this change that, um this kind of change that if I fail matric, what am I going to do after this matric, without my, this qualification so. That things keep on coming in my mind okay, if I don't do this homework, then at the end it will face, ja.
- 7.178 **Male participant:** Right now I've set long term goals and short term goals, if I fail to fulfil my long term goal I will therefore go with the short term one cause it to easier for

- me, um I will not go and go outside there, go want a job I will just open my own uh (studio – group member), studio and become my own boss.
- 7.179 **Female participant:** Okay um as the first born at home, I'm the first one to be in matric, of my parents children, ah even if, it's like I'm running the world in the house, because even if I don't feel like washing the dishes, I always say mom I have lots of homework's, (laughing – group members) I have to do homework's, okay it's okay you can do homework, you must not do this and that, so ja.
- 7.180 **Interviewer:** It benefits you.
- 7.181 **Female participant:** Yes, ja.
- 7.182 **Male participant:** Uhm like ja things have changed for me like I once betrayed my parents, now this year I don't want that to happen again, I just, I just want to make them proud, hence this is my last year, and if I fail I'm going to be a failure for the rest of my life, ja.
- 7.183 **Female participant:** This year there's a lot of change, because um this year I'm more focused and last year, last year I was taking things easily, tomorrow I'm going to write a test, accounting test so I know accounting, so I don't practice, but this year I'm more focused than last year.
- 7.184 **Male participant:** Uhm yes there is a change, because like I have three brothers and I'm the last one, and they all got their matric, they all their matric certificates and like um last year I was most relaxed, yes I used to go clubbing, talk and stuff, but then this year is kinda different cause my mother told me that I have a point to prove and I need to get my matric certificate because, so that I can make something of myself so this year I'm different, I'm different in my schoolwork, enough time and I just don't, don't do the same things I used to do, I'm different.
- 7.185 **interviewer:** But does the community play a role though, does the community members do they support you, is there like somebody in the community that says come if you want help with accounting come to my house I will help you I mean, do they not care, do they not think you in matric
- 7.186 **Interviewer:** When they see you out at night on the street, do they go you should be studying or
- 7.187 **Interviewer:** Ja what role do they play and the fact that you now in matric?
- 7.188 **Male participant:** For me, they don't play a role
- 7.189 **Interviewer:** They just waiting to see if this name is in the newspaper?
- 7.190 **Male participant:** Ja all they do is interview you, like are you doing matric, wow things like that.
- 7.191 **Female participant:** What's your name, what's your surname we want to see if you in the newspaper, that's all they say.
- 7.192 **Interviewer:** That's all they say
- 7.193 **Male participant:** Ja
- 7.194 **Male participant:** When it comes to me, a especially the neighbours they do support me, like you have to study I want to see you in the university, you gonna have to work for us, the community then I'm like please (Sesotho), so but they do play, they..
- 7.195 **Interviewer:** They motivate you?
- 7.196 **Male participant:** Ja
- 7.197 **Interviewer:** Because they saying I'm gonna see you in the newspaper, they ask you for your name and your surname so they make you wanna pass though
- 7.198 **Interviewer:** They make sure your name is in the newspaper
- 7.199 **Female participant:** They pressurising us, but they don't support us, they want to see our names in the newspaper, but they don't support us.

- 7.200 **Male participant:** But one of my neighbour once said to me, how are you going in school, are you still doing well, before you leave in the morning please eat something so you can stay focused, that's what she said to me.
- 7.201 **Interviewer:** Gives tips
- 7.202 **Male participant:** Up to so far nobodies motivating me, where I'm staying, cause we relocated, we staying that side now, we staying that side, so there's nobody I know, I've got a few friends now, but everything is still alright cause I'm maintaining the pace, but... ja. . but. . .
- 7.203 **Female participant:** My neighbours support me, because if ever I don't know, um he also do, did accounting, he got maths so if I don't know anything about accounting, maths I just go to her, him he will help me, and if I tell him that I'm going to write an accounting tests tomorrow, or maths, and whole day he just ask me how did your test go, he support me, but other people they just, they just, they don't care.
- 7.204 **Male participant:** Yes uuuh yes my community does not motivate me, but church is part of my community, ja yes it does do a hell of a job ja when it comes to motivation.
- 7.205 **Interviewer:** What do they do?
- 7.206 **Male participant:** Yeah they just like pray for matriculates, yes stuff like that.
- 7.207 **Female participant:** A I can say that, my neighbours do support me they always helping, my schoolwork when I need help from them, they also motivate me, they also motivate me and .. (silence)
- 7.208 **Interviewer:** Are you guys looking forward to being in the newspaper?
- 7.209 **Group members:** Yes
- 7.210 **Male participant:** Looking forward to school getting that that 100%
- 7.211 **Interviewer:** Did they get 100 % last year?
- 7.212 **Male participant:** 82.2
- 7.213 **Female participant:** 82.2
- 7.214 **Interviewer:** So this year's going to be 100 %?
- 7.215 **Group:** 100 %, Ja.
- 7.216 **Male participant:** Mmmm but I don't think it will (laughing), honestly because some a I don't want to get into detail but, some of the learners are out, like left school (interviewer: they left matric?), yes we don't know why, so we come worried about our 100%, yes, ja.
- 7.217 **Interviewer:** How important, you said earlier you're a proud girl, how important is being a girl or a guy in who you are, in your personality, do you ever consider that shoo I'm very proud to be a girl and because I'm a girl it means this and this and this, or doesn't it come up, because I'm a guy I'm this and this and this or doesn't it bother you at all?
- 7.218 **Male participant:** Nah
- 7.219 **Interviewer:** Don't you ever think because I'm a guy I'm strong or because I'm a guy I'm allowed to do more things than girls are allowed to do?
- 7.220 **Male participant:** Nah, I think nowadays it's 50/50, what guys do, girls can also do, so it doesn't really bother me.
- 7.221 **Male participant:** I don't see the difference
- 7.222 **Male participant:** What I can say a, I'm proud to be a guy because even though I make mistakes some of the mistakes cannot be seen by other people, like being pregnant, so girls can be pregnant.
(Group - laughter)
- 7.223 **Interviewer:** Yes that's a good point
- 7.224 **Male participant:** Big stomach

- 7.225 **Interviewer:** So the girl will be laughed at, you at the back with the girl pregnant, you will be fine.
- 7.226 **Interviewer:** People can't see.
- 7.227 **Male participant:** People won't see that I'm about to be a father or..
(Group - laughter)
- 7.228 **Male participant:** So that's why I'm saying I'm proud to be guy
- 7.229 **Male participant:** It's true, it's true.
- 7.230 **Interviewer:** Girls?
- 7.231 **Female participant:** When it's that time of the month, when you have to go to your periods, it's the most irritating moment, I wish I could be a guy.
- 7.232 **Male participant:** That's one of the things I'm proud of
(Group - laughter)
- 7.233 **Female participant:** That is part of nature, how can you?
- 7.234 **Interviewer:** What about chores?
- 7.235 **Male participant:** I hate that nature of woman so I like gentlemen.
- 7.236 **Male participant:** My mother is strict, coming to chores
- 7.237 **Male participant:** You have to do your own chores.
- 7.238 **Interviewer:** You have to wash the dishes and cook and clean.
- 7.239 **Male participant:** Saturday and Sunday.
- 7.240 **Interviewer:** So there's no difference that a guy, you can do outside chores, for the girl you do the inside ones.
- 7.241 **Male participant:** Nah my mother tells me that uuuh boys have to do what girls do, and they have to be quality in between yeah.
- 7.242 **Male participant:** But, but if you, if you check, if you can check the situation, yes boys do, boys can do what girls do, and boys can do what boys will do. You know
- 7.243 **Interviewer:** Can girls do what boys do?
- 7.244 **Male participant:** No, niks
- 7.245 **Male participant:** Yes
- 7.246 **Female participant:** Sometimes
- 7.247 **Male participant:** Girls cannot do what we do.
- 7.248 **Interviewer:** Give us examples like what?
- 7.249 **Female participant:** Yeah I can do the garden
- 7.250 **Male participant:** The thing is, she's says she can do the garden, but she cannot do it perfectly as a boys does.
- 7.251 **Female participant:** Same as you guys, you cannot do the house chores perfectly like girls do.
- 7.252 **Male participant:** I can, I can
(Group - laughter)
- 7.253 **Male participant:** Serious, like for example check the hall who is cleaning it.. (four males are busy cleaning the venue we are in)
(Group - laughter)
- 7.254 **Female participant:** Ag seriously
- 7.255 **Male participant:** Yeah that's a great example, ja.
- 7.256 **Interviewer:** When you identify yourself, do you think part of you being a girl or you being a guy is important, you must say to people I'm a guy and that is why I do this, I'm a girl and this is why I do this.
- 7.257 **Male participant:** A guy must have the looks
- 7.258 **Interviewer:** The looks?
- 7.259 **Male participant:** You have to take care of yourself, your appearance, everything
- 7.260 **Interviewer:** So the girl doesn't have to

- 7.261 **Male participant:** The girls have to have the looks, if you 'aint got the looks we don't consider you
- 7.262 **Male participant:** Truly speaking.
- 7.263 **Male participant:** That's what boys do now days.
- 7.264 **Male participant:** Being a boy or a girl doesn't matter what matters is who you are, the your inner core of the person
- 7.265 **Interviewer:** Do you think being a boy or girl influences that inner core? For instance I don't know, like little boys aren't allowed to cry, so do you feel because I'm a man I can't cry? It doesn't, being a boy or a girl doesn't influence that inner core or does it?
- 7.266 **Male participant:** Ah there are some things that can hurt you emotional and then that can force you to cry, like losing your parents, or that's one of the things that can fill you emotion, make you emotional.
- 7.267 **Interviewer:** But you have siblings and you're a guy, you must be strong for the siblings and show them.
- 7.268 **Male participant:** No we not the same as guys, others are soft, like he said he's a soft guy, others are hard like him.
(Group - laughter)
- 7.269 **Male participant:** I cry to express my emotions
- 7.270 **Interviewer:** In front of people?
- 7.271 **Male participant:** Yes in front of people
- 7.272 **Interviewer:** And that doesn't make you feel like you less of a guy?
- 7.273 **Male participant:** No
- 7.274 **Interviewer:** And the other guys also don't think so?
- 7.275 **Male participant:** I believe that a man should cry inside, not to expose his feelings in front of people, ja so, that's my point
- 7.276 **Interviewer:** That's he's opinion hey
- 7.277 **Male participant:** I believe that man should fight inside, not to expose his feelings to people, because he would be taken how
- 7.278 **Interviewer:** Girls do you agree, is there some things that a girls should, and there's other things that you should rather do on the inside, cause otherwise you would be a weak woman?
- 7.279 **Female participant:** I cry a lot, when I'm hurt I do, in front of my classmates, so I don't think it's a problem, whether you a guy or a girl, when you feel like crying, cry!! there's nothing wrong, something will be relieved after crying.
- 7.280 **Interviewer:** You not going to be ashamed like the next day oh (name) cry a lot, she's going to cry again.
- 7.281 **Female participant:** They used to say that, ooo you like droopy, you always cry, then I said its fine, at least something goes out, ja!
- 7.282 **Interviewer:** Alright my next question, what does it mean to be an African?
- 7.283 **Male participant:** ooohhh, sjoe! Haaai.
- 7.284 **Interviewer:** Anybody? And there's no right and wrong, I wanna know what does it mean for you, what does it mean for you as a person?
- 7.285 **Male participant:** I'm proud to be an African, a because uuuh, I experience many things, since school holidays we go places experience things with my sister.
- 7.286 **Interviewer:** Things like what?
- 7.287 **Male participant:** Last year we went to Gold Reef city and it was my first time going there and I explored a lot of things like, like interacting with new friends, a socialising, um sharing ideas on what, how to do this and how to do that, ja that's all.
- 7.288 **Male participant:** To me to be an African, I think is good because we have our cultures, traditions so that give us, that gives us something, (Sesotho) it shows that

Africans are this people, we are, this the way we work, this our music, this our African music, this our African, so we have to be proud cause Africans are united, we are a united nation, so I think I am proud to be an African because being in Africa is a privilege, cause I think if I wasn't African I would have be a modernised person, who don't care about everything.

- 7.289 **Male participant:** Uhm I am also proud to be an African, because if, Africans' like he said, Africans are unique ja.
- 7.290 **Interviewer:** How are they unique?
- 7.291 **Male participant:** they've got their own style, like a, (tradition – group member) yes tradition, and Africans can do what, uuuh Americans cannot do like a wearing some (traditional – group member) yes, like a lion skin, ja and stuff like that.
- 7.292 **Interviewer:** Is that what it means to be African, being able to wear lion skin?
- 7.293 **Male participant:** Yes.
- 7.294 **Male participant:** You can even slaughter an animal and eat it.
- 7.295 **Interviewer:** So the donkeys you have been eating is fine?
- 7.296 **Female participant:** No.
(*Group - laughter*)
- 7.297 **Male participant:** Uhm well what I can say that, for me being an African comes with culture, how we do our music and stuff like that, so that what it means for me to be African.
- 7.298 **Interviewer:** Anybody else?
- 7.299 **Interviewer:** Girls, what does it mean to be an African? (long silence) Do you agree with the boys, is it only culture, is it only language, is it only wearing a lion skin?
- 7.300 **Male participant:** No but to me, uuuh I'm not a traditional person, cause I adapted the style of the Americans, I mean to the things.
- 7.301 **Interviewer:** The hip hop stuff
- 7.302 **Male participant:** The hip hop stuff yeah, even my dress code, and people don't love it cause, the trousers, the tops everything (the shoes- group member), everything, yes.
- 7.303 **Interviewer:** so you then not African?
- 7.304 **Male participant:** No I consider myself an African but I adopted the style of America.
- 7.305 **Female participant:** Uhm okay I'm proud to be an African because firstly I have this eeh African woman body which I'm proud of, and ja everybody when, everyone said I'm an African queen, that makes me proud of being an African, ja.
- 7.306 **Interviewer:** What does it mean to be an African queen?
- 7.307 **Female participant:** To be like me, to be like the class
- 7.308 **Interviewer:** To be curvaceous, but do you think people that are not black are African, do you think that people who are Indian, and Asian and white people, Chinese people do you think they all, they still Africans?
- 7.309 **Male participant:** No you answered yourself, you answered yourself cause you said Indian, Indians not Africans.
- 7.310 **Interviewer:** Ja but people who are born here in South African, like me, am I African?
- 7.311 **Male participant:** Yes you are an African.
- 7.312 **Female participant:** Ja but lets say they are born in Africa, you are African.
- 7.313 **Male participant:** And if you live in Africa, you are an African.
- 7.314 **Interviewer:** If you live in Africa, you are African?
- 7.315 **Male participant:** No actually you the outside
- 7.316 **Female participant:** Being an Africa, are the ones who are born here, and the ones who are living in Africa
- 7.317 **Interviewer:** You guys won't offend me, if you feel that African means black then say it, but I want your opinion

- 7.318 **Male participant:** No
- 7.319 **Female participant:** No
- 7.320 **Male participant:** I think to me African, it means black because the word African it, I don't know how to say it, but its all about black people, aaa it diverse a to only black people because, white, to be an African is about doing your traditional things, cultural things and all that, I don't think white people have culture, so traditions and I don't think you can slaughter a cow or so being an African is about slaughtering a cow and all that.
- 7.321 **Interviewer:** So cutting your hair when people die in the family?
- 7.322 **Group members:** Ja, it does.
- 7.323 **Male participant:** And how we do our music, they cannot play that kind of music we play, you know what I say.
- 7.324 **Interviewer:** Ja the " marimba"
- 7.325 **Female participant:** And the kind of dance that we do.
- 7.326 **Male participant:** Ja that's why.
- 7.327 **Interviewer:** But do you think then because they play with the violins and stuff, they not African then?
- 7.328 **Male participant:** Ja those people are not African.
- 7.329 **Interviewer:** Because it's not African music?
- 7.330 **Male participant:** Ja that's not African music
- 7.331 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 7.332 **Male participant:** African music have drums (plays drum on chair) and I think being an African, its how you capable of, when you an African you can, its easy for you to, to do a like a traditional dance, or for white people its way to difficult to dance a traditional dance, not to beat a drums for some of them, but when you an African lady or an African man, when you have somebody visit from (you have that feeling – group member), you go mad you wanna dance, you wanna do something, ja that's what an African is.
- 7.333 **Female participant:** And you have to also know your roots, if you are African.
- 7.334 **Interviewer:** How about the black person that can't dance, are they not African, what about that black person if they hear the beat and then they don't feel it, are they not African?
- 7.335 **Interviewer:** You think all black people when they hear the beat there's a sensation?
- 7.336 **Male participant:** not all Africans, but majority rule, African people, when they into traditional dances and all that, majority of them.
- 7.337 **Male participant:** Like for example, he call black Americans, African Americans, and those African Americans respect music, so according to me I can refer African Americans as Africans.
- 7.338 **Interviewer:** Even if they were born over there?
- 7.339 **Male participant:** Yes, because of, African Americans can sing, like that's what Africans do, sing, they love music.
- 7.340 **Interviewer:** They Chinese people that can sing?
- 7.341 **Male participant:** No, like a Chinese people like to copy, like uuuh they are white but yes they have cultures, they adapt from black, most they have different morals like blacks yes.
- 7.342 **Interviewer:** So do your morals make you a black African? I want to hear your opinion.
(Group - laughter)
- 7.343 **Male participant:** I actually, I don't agree with him, I actually disagree with him, because you find that in some cases some people from other countries know more about

African than Africans they research they visits Africa they go they dig deeper into our cultures and some of the black people like for example I'm not interested in like the traditions, (ancestors – interviewer) yes ancestors cause I only believe in God, so I think yeah white people, Indians, as long as those people like love South Africa, live in South Africa, African is a rainbow nation so I regard them as Africans.

7.344 **Interviewer:** What makes them African then?

7.345 **Male participant:** What makes you Africans?

7.346 **Male participant:** The fact that you are born in Africa.

7.347 **Female participant:** And you live in Africa.

7.348 **Male participant:** And you live in Africa.

7.349 **Interviewer:** So even if you can't dance to the beat?

7.350 **Male participant:** So even if you can't dance to the beat, some like some white people support what black people view so.

7.351 **Interviewer:** That makes them African? But do you think you are less African if you don't know about cutting of the hair when somebody passes away, you don't know about slaughtering, if you don't know about the ancestors, are you less of an African then?

7.352 **Male participant:** No

7.353 **Interviewer:** Do you guys know what's "seboka"?

7.354 **Group members:** Ja, ja

7.355 **Interviewer:** Do you guys "boka" yourselves?

7.356 **Group members:** Ja

7.357 **Male participant:** I'm a Xhosa, I can boka in Xhosa

7.358 **Interviewer:** All of you, can you "boka" yourself (name)

7.359 **Female participant:** (says seboka)

7.360 **Interviewer:** Alright try to explain to me what that is, (ja tell me what did she say – interviewer) what is it when you boka yourself?

7.361 **Male participant:** It's where you come from

7.362 **Interviewer:** Cause I'm white we don't do that. Explain to me. Where you come from?

7.363 **Male participant:** Ja it tries to explain like where you come from.

7.364 **Male participant:** The clan where you from

7.365 **Male participant:** From which kind of tradition

7.366 **Interviewer:** Do you know though, where you from?

7.367 **Male participant:** Ja

7.368 **Interviewer:** Where, what clan you from? Does everyone know what clan that they from, but why don't know it, and you were saying it's important to know your traditions and your cultures'?

7.369 **Male participant:** I have not considered the traditions truly speaking, cause I told you I adopted the American style, and my mother always shout about that, but then that's how I am.

7.370 **Interviewer:** Don't you think that's important to pass onto your kids?

7.371 **Male participant:** Do I don't want my kids to be engaged on slaughtering cows, slaughtering, cause that cow get a soul like a human, if you slaughter that cow it feels pain

(Group - laughing)

7.372 **Male participant:** You don't want that very same thing to be done to you.

7.373 **Interviewer:** But how about, how about the people who is isn't, you guys say it's important if you African, you slaughter, do you want the children to do that, do you agree with him?

- 7.374 **Male participant:** It depends on how the young ones will take it, cause as an individual, my my my brothers and my dad were doing that, but I hate doing that, but it's nice when somebody is doing it, but I can't. And as Africans we have different principles, values and morals, that's why I say.
- 7.375 **Male participant:** Yeah like, sometimes slaughter to appreciate, to show appreciate to our ancestors, and that's why we doing, that's why we slaughter goat and ja.
- 7.376 **Interviewer:** Do you want your children to do it?
- 7.377 **Male participant:** Yes I want them to do it, but it's their own choice, but traditions changes, ja, but now most of the people don't slaughter cows and stuff like that.
- 7.378 **Interviewer:** But you going to tell your children about your cultures, traditions, you gonna teach your about seboka?
- 7.379 **Female participant:** Ja because my parents also taught me so I don't want to, I want to give them the opportunity to know it will be up to them that they follow it or not
- 7.380 **Male participant:** Yes I would like my kids to know their culture too, because a if you can check our grandmothers still live till today you know because of that culture and what what, so I can say that culture is very important like, ja according to me, and whether they, my kids, like it or not they going to follow it.
- 7.381 **Male participant:** Ja even my kids if they boys they have to follow my tradition.
- 7.382 **Interviewer:** And the girls, do you also feel your kids must know about going to the initiation school and they must
- 7.383 **Female participant:** No I don't want mine to go
- 7.384 **Female participant:** It's not a must
- 7.385 **Interviewer:** But normally you going to teach them how to, to "boka" themselves but they don't have to go to the initiation school?
- 7.386 **Female participant:** If they want to go I will take them.
- 7.387 **Female participant:** Ja, in my culture, because my culture my aunties tell me if you want to give to initiation you can go, if you don't want to its your opinion so I will also do the same to her, if they want to go I'll take them.
- 7.388 **Male participant:** Well I don't think its important for for for your children to learn how to "boka" themselves, because like for example white people, white people don't have it, and they still know who they are and where they came from, so I don't think it's that important because I know myself and i don't really know it so ja that's it.
- 7.389 **Male participant:** Aaah I can just add on what he says that its not that important, because if you can check now, black people can get married to white person so just imagine telling your, I'm a mod guy, so telling my child that you have to do this, you have to do this, and my wife disagrees with me, so its better if we leave it that way.
- 7.390 **Interviewer:** But are you not going to pay Lebola for that wife?
- 7.391 **Male participant:** Uhm ja I'm not going to pay anything.
(Group - laughter)
- 7.392 **Male participant:** For that they don't do, or do they pay Lebola?
- 7.393 **Female participant:** So you going to adopt your wife's culture, and what about yours?
- 7.394 **Male participant:** Like okay like, it's also an advantage for me.
- 7.395 **Female participant:** Not to pay Lebola, ja I knew it.
- 7.396 **Male participant:** Like (name) if you can check on televisions that white people search here information, are they ones who search information about black culture and in in 100 years or 10 years to come, us we will be living a white people's life and white people will be living our life.
- 7.397 **Male participant:** Do you really believe that?

- 7.398 **Male participant:** Yes because of, because of, if you can check, if you can check, just check a white person writing about your culture and earning some money do you think you won't follow it?
- 7.399 **Male participant:** No
- 7.400 **Interviewer:** Do you think you guys will be living a white culture and white people will be living a black culture, or do you think we will all be living in one culture that's white and black, and all of these Indian, Chinese colours blended, do you think we will all be living, in a hundred years we will probably not be living here, but our children or do you think its gonna swop like he says.
- 7.401 **Male participant:** No I think we meant to join forces
- 7.402 **Male participant:** I think it depends on how each and everyone us take or adopts on the situations, like now, as an individual, I'm not, my kids I know, I know they won't be living white, white, doing, they won't be living like white people because uh I will be, they will know that this is my tradition, this what has to be done, and this what has, this is what has, does not have to be done yes, and it depends on their moral, if they live like white people but they have to still grant their own culture and traditions, ja.
- 7.403 **Male participant:** Well I think it differs from generation to generation, because each and every generation makes their own decisions, like some of us choose to be ignorant we prefer living the way our parents used to live, we don't do those things they used to do, so that determines the future our children, they way to live, so obviously i don't know what's going to happen in a 100 years.
- 7.404 **Interviewer:** So you don't think cultures and traditions are so important?
- 7.405 **Male participant:** I think they are important but they not that important.
- 7.406 **Interviewer:** They not very very important, they just important?
- 7.407 **Male participant:** Ja they just important, its just what black people have to do, it's what we born with.
- 7.408 **Interviewer:** So in the next couple of years do you think we will still define ourselves that way, you will still say I'm a Sotho, I can speak Sotho, it will still be important then? That you can speak the language, that you can hear, or you can and know how to slaughter and boka yourself, will it still be important then, in a couple of year's time?
- 7.409 **Male participant:** No I don't think so.
- 7.410 **Interviewer:** Do you think it will be like him saying its fine, hip hop is the way.
- 7.411 **Male participant:** It will be like that in the next few years, because nowadays these youngsters are eish..
- 7.412 **Female participant:** Modernised
- 7.413 **Male participant:** They don't want to eat that foods, marogo and pap (says many food in Sesotho)
- 7.414 **Interviewer:** Do you think food is a big part of your culture?
- 7.415 **Group members:** Ja, yip
- 7.416 **Interviewer:** If you they eat the food and...
- 7.417 **Male participant:** There's not room for double burgers and stuff like that.
- 7.418 **Interviewer:** Eating McDonald's burgers and spur ribs.
- 7.419 **Male participant:** They just eat only loaf.
- 7.420 **Interviewer:** But do you, do you eat it, don't say they, do you eat when you go to a funeral do you eat.
- 7.421 **Group members:** Yes
- 7.422 **Female participant:** It's very delicious
- 7.423 **Interviewer:** Do you know how to cook that?
- 7.424 **Female participant:** Some of them, I'm still learning.
- 7.425 **Male participant:** I don't think guys can cook traditional food.

- 7.426 **Male participant:** We can, we can
- 7.427 **Female participant:** Their nature, so they can.
- 7.428 **Male participant:** Yes Nna I can.
- 7.429 **Interviewer:** You can cook (Tradition dish)
- 7.430 **Male participant:** Ja I can.
- 7.431 **Male participant:** Like in the restaurants they eat cloned foods, like we don't know where that beef patty come from, yes we just eat it, they are clone, yes, us blacks we eat fresh meat, kill and then eat.
- 7.432 **Female participant:** And eat at the same time
- 7.433 **Interviewer:** Alright my next question, you guys ever feel that you have, kinda different characteristics, or I don't want to say personalities, but your, when you with your friends you this kind of person, then when you're at home you this kind of person, then when you're at church you this kind of person, or are you always the same person?
- 7.434 **Male participant:** Ja I have different characters, at school ill play and do what other kids do, but when I'm at home I have to change cause now I'm a older brother for my little sister, at church I have to be focused on the priest that is preaching ja, and the way I treat people at church, are different from school and at home, at home I have to respect my mother, whatever she says I have to do it, at school my friend can just tell me do this and I'm just going to tell him or her I don't want to do it.
- 7.435 **Male participant:** At school I'm this wild person, I'm loud ja but at home I'm gonna have to be this obedient person, listen to my mom, everything she says, at church I'm this holy person, oh Lord ja, ja, ja, when I'm going to the club I'm changing now this new person, ja that's how it is.
- 7.436 **Male participant:** Ja but my mom, I love talking English with my mom, but she doesn't love talking English, she didn't want to respond with English, and she can see that I'm into hip hop, and I'm trying to uhm (laughing), okay let me just keep like that..
- 7.437 **Male participant:** Ja like I'm also different when I come to school I'm very naughty joh joh, I make jokes I'm this guy, you know comedy guy, yeah I can be put into a comedy show, a but, but, but when I get out of the gate, I have this reality strike back, I'm very much quiet, yeah at home I'm like, I'm living there, you know, just quiet, quiet all the way, at church yeah I do drums, I beat drums at church, ja, I beat, I'm into the brass band ja I'm this new person again.
- 7.438 **Male participant:** You know it's also when you have one girlfriend, when you with this one you become like this, and when you with this one, you the other person.
- 7.439 **Interviewer:** Girls what do you think are you different?
- 7.440 **Female participant:** At school we are like more free to express ourselves, and when we go home we have to like, and even choose the words, how we speak, what do we gonna say to our parents, not just say everything like we do at school, you know even when you watching TV if somebody is like kissing, there's some people like kissing, you have to pretend like, chatting or doing something, like you not seeing, you don't know.
(Group - laughter)
- 7.441 **Interviewer:** Is that the case with everyone, is that the case with everybody, like if you see.
- 7.442 **Male participant:** No, not to me
- 7.443 **Female participant:** Didn't I get the question?
- 7.444 **Interviewer:** No I was saying is that the case, we all just look away when there's a kissing scene, is this normal?
- 7.445 **Male participant:** They say to me - get out, go, go to bed.

- 7.446 **Female participant:** No actually my parents look at me and want to see what I am going to do.
- 7.447 **Interviewer:** Do you guys feel your parents understand you, or do your teachers understand you better or your friends?
- 7.448 **Male participant:** No I think my parents gonna understand me better because you know that for at this stage, I'm older enough so I can be responsible for actions I take ja she must understand now I have girlfriend. Ja, so so.
- 7.449 **Interviewer:** Does she understand, you said she must understand, but does she understand?
- 7.450 **Male participant:** Ja does she, ja she does understand.
- 7.451 **Female participant:** It's easy for guys to have eeh girlfriends, but as for us girls even now, my mom, I can say I have a boyfriend but my mom doesn't know I have a boyfriend and I can't tell her, I can't.
- 7.452 **Interviewer:** Who understands you better, your friends or parents?
- 7.453 **Male participant:** No my parents understand me better.
- 7.454 **Female participant:** They understand but they want to treat us like they were treated before, they don't, they can see all the youth of today, you know how adolescence we are, but they don't want to believe that's how we are.
- 7.455 **Interviewer:** Do you agree?
- 7.456 **Interviewer:** You say your, your...
- 7.457 **Male participant:** Parents, understand me better cause when I, when I'm writing scripts they know that, they have leave me alone, give me some space, after finishing my scripts I go, I study, whatever when I study then I go after, after doing whatever I've done with my friends coming back then they will tell me to do this, that and that, then I will do it, after that spare time, so I can see they understand me better.
- 7.458 **Interviewer:** But talking with, can you talk to them about anything; can you talk to your mother about your girlfriend?
- 7.459 **Male participant:** Nah
- 7.460 **Interviewer:** Girlfriends.
- 7.461 **Female participant:** My mom and my dad had this thing, when I came home late, they'll say where were you, you went to your boyfriend, you know all this stuff, and I explain to them, no I don't go to boyfriends or anything, when I have my moods, - your boyfriend, it's your boyfriend, no, they just don't understand me.
- 7.462 **Male participant:** Well my mother understands me better than my father, because my father is too controlling so I don't, I don't talk to, I prefer talking to my mom, and she knows everything about me, about my love, about life, life, about my life, about everything that I do, yes and she helps me with like, the decision making. Ja she's, ja she's everything.
- 7.463 **Interviewer:** But does she understand you better than your friends?
- 7.464 **Male participant:** Yes she does
- 7.465 **Interviewer:** And any better than the teachers?
- 7.466 **Male participant:** Yes
- 7.467 **Interviewer:** Tell us about the teachers, you said the teachers understand you best?
- 7.468 **Female participant:** Ja, some of them.
- 7.469 **Interviewer:** Yes
- 7.470 **Female participant:** And also my mom understands me better, but I can't talk everything to her, like to tell her I have a boyfriend you know.
- 7.471 **Male participant:** She will strangle you.
- 7.472 **Interviewer:** (name) you were saying you have one teacher that you feel really understands you?

- 7.473 **Male participant:** Mmmm actually we not talking about the, the relationship stuff thing, but when it come to that kind of stuff, I talk to my sister, we sit and we talk now, ja we talk about what happened, how is he kissing you and all that (laughing).
- 7.474 **Interviewer:** So your sister understands you better than your parents, better than your teachers?
- 7.475 **Male participant:** My mom does understand me, but at some stage she's trying to be ignorant about some things, so, ag I leave her alone.
- 7.476 **Interviewer:** Do you guys like being teenagers?
- 7.477 **Male participant:** A lot
- 7.478 **Interviewer:** Let's go around, everyone say what they like.
- 7.479 **Interviewer:** He says a lot; he says a lot, what do you like about it?
- 7.480 **Male participant:** Sometimes I steal myself, do some things that my parents don't want me to do.
- 7.481 **Interviewer:** Like?
- 7.482 **Male participant:** Like going out, arriving at 4 o'clock in the morning, all those stuff, (*laugh*) so it's good being a teenager.
- 7.483 **Male participant:** Ja its good, I wish I wish I could be forever young, its good because of when I do something like going out and coming back late, and coming back late, they they they just they ja talk to me, like where do you come form, and then later they understand why, he's controlled by by by stage.
- 7.484 **Interviewer:** By the stage?
- 7.485 **Male participant:** Yeah that's one of the things I like about being a teenager.
- 7.486 **Female participant:** umm I can say um it's good to be a teenager because I experience a lot of things that my parents did not experience when they are young, um ja.
- 7.487 **Interviewer:** Like what?
- 7.488 **Female participant:** Dating, ja.
- 7.489 **Male participant:** I can say its good and bad at the same time, cause when it comes to the bad side, there's a lot of pressure, your friends pressurize you because a it comes to a stage that you wanna, you don't wanna do something and it force you to do it, you don't wanna do it, and in a good side it, I can say it's good because we experience things that our parents were not experiencing back then, we can go clubbing with white people, we can do a lot of things that were not done back then, so to be young is..
- 7.490 **Female participant:** It's not good for me, because my parents are control freaks so I wish like, you know passing this stage, and being independent, working for myself, so I can do whatever I want to.
- 7.491 **Interviewer:** Are you tired of asking for money?
- 7.492 **Female participant:** Huh?
- 7.493 **Interviewer:** You tired of asking for money?
- 7.494 **Male participant:** Ja
- 7.495 **Female participant:** And permission to go to the shop, to anywhere, mom I'm going somewhere, no, eish I'm tired.
- 7.496 **Male participant:** What I can say is good to be young person, I cant imagine myself walking with a walking stick, and (*laughing*) I feel much comfortable
- 7.497 **Interviewer:** So you healthy and fit?
- 7.498 **Male participant:** Ja, I feel much comfortable when I'm young, that's what I like.
- 7.499 **Interviewer:** What else do you like about being teenagers?
- 7.500 **Male participant:** Keep asking money from my mom, want things, I need things, I don't like to work much, ja I say mom provide me with this and this and ja.
- 7.501 **Female participant:** For me, I don't know what can I say, Its just that, I, I just want to pass this stage, I just want to work, to have my money, just be independent not to

- always focus onto someone, always to beg my mother to give me money, I just want to be independent.
- 7.502 **Male participant:** Uhm I see both ways, uhm I like being a teenager because of those things that achieved, but then again I'm a guy who likes cars, so like I'm always asking my brothers to borrow me their cars, my father, so I just like, um well some people are successful in life, I just want to see myself, whether I'm gonna be successful or not, I just want to see life, I just wanna explore life, have many cars, I just wanna pass the teenage stage, ja.
- 7.503 **Female participant:** The thing that bothers me, to always explain, even when my phone is ringing, who call you, what did he or she say, its none of their business.
- 7.504 **Interviewer:** Anybody else, anybody have something to add, something you think you haven't said about being a teenager?
- 7.505 **Male participant:** Uhm I just wish that I could be a millionaire at this stage, so that I can have anything I want.
- 7.506 **Interviewer:** And have the...
- 7.507 **Male participant:** Ja you know, that we wish to have, living on my own, ja but not working hard.
- 7.508 **Interviewer:** So you don't wanna go work for it, you wanna get it now?
- 7.509 **Male participant:** Ja I wanna get it now.
- 7.510 **Interviewer:** Get the empire now, get the cars now, get the money now.
- 7.511 **Interviewer:** Without the work
- 7.512 **Male participant:** When you this age, you end up doing lot of things, and indulging in wrong things, doing things that you pray, you not intending to do, but as he said he's want to explore, and when your exploring, when you in the way of exploring, there will be things that you will be indulging into, negative things, wrong stuff, so we have to, when you say you wanna explore this stage, choose things that will benefit you, not take you to the wrong side of ja.
- 7.513 **Male participant:** Uhm I don't know, to answer what he just said, someone once said to me that if you don't stand for something you will fall for anything and for me that's a big message, ja it keeps me going, I know what I want in life, that's why I'm saying I want to explore, I have goals, I have long term goals and short term goals, and I, I know how to get there, I know how to teach them, I'm prepared, yes, so I don't think ill walk on the wrong path or
- 7.514 **Male participant:** You can be prepared of doing anything, but you don't know what's coming your way, you can't predict the, what's going to happen tomorrow, so you don't know what is it that's gonna come your way, and you can't okay, you gonna no or yes about what's going to happen tomorrow, you can't.
- 7.515 **Male participant:** That's why I'm saying I'm prepared.
- 7.516 **Female participant:** You deal with it when you are there, deal with the situation.
- 7.517 **Interviewer:** What about um, you were talking about your phone, what about social network, how important is facebook and mxit and
- 7.518 **Female participant:** They relieve stress
- 7.519 **Interviewer:** They relieve stress?
- 7.520 **Female participant:** Parent stress, ja, when they shouting at you, you put on your headphones and chat, you forget about them.
- 7.521 **Interviewer:** Do you guys all chat, do you all have facebook and mxit and twitter and
- 7.522 **Male participant:** No we don't have
- 7.523 **Male participant:** I used to have those things
- 7.524 **Male participant:** The social networks are, yes are good some other way, and some other way are bad, I don't know how to say it, but if you chat with the people you

know, yes its good, but when you chat to people you don't know it's bad because you don't know what is gonna happen to you if you meeting someone, a stranger and all that, yeah so, you need the social network.

7.525 **Interviewer:** You all chatting?

7.526 **Female participant:** No, I don't know, I didn't like it.

7.527 **Interviewer:** Is it?

7.528 **Female participant:** Ja

7.529 **Male participant:** I chat, I think it helps me in a way that when I'm at home, I feel like I'm still with my fiends I can chat to them as if like, they sitting right here next to me, we share information.

7.530 **Female participant:** Yes I say chatting with the people you don't know it's more fun, the ones people that you know they are boring, I prefer chatting

7.531 **Interviewer:** With strangers?

7.532 **Female participant:** Ja I prefer chatting with strangers

7.533 **Interviewer:** So I can sit here and telling you I'm from Limpopo, but I'm actually right here?

7.534 **Female participant:** Ja and as long as I don't know you, the classmates I will ask them do we have homework, what homework, but ja that's it, we will meet tomorrow at school.

7.535 **Female participant:** Ja its conversation.

7.536 **Female participant:** Ja sometimes its bad because you lose concentration on your books

7.537 **Male participant:** Studies

7.538 **Female participant:** I think you must have limits, you know

7.539 **Interviewer:** Is it normal, is it, not normal, but can you have a limit though, are you somebody who doesn't sleep, sleep with the charger in the bed, chat now, or do you have a limit, ay okay I must study now?

7.540 **Male participant:** Sometimes the topic

7.541 **Female participant:** But you have to sacrifice

7.542 **Interviewer:** So you stopped chatting because of that?

7.543 **Male participant:** Cause I failed Grade 10, and I was like, it was mxit, if I could stop chatting, I would have passed, then I was like, stopped chatting then I passed.

7.544 **Interviewer:** So you stopped completely, totally?

7.545 **Male participant:** No, no I started chatting in Grade 11, ooo big mistake again, I failed again, but then here in matric I stopped chatting, still doing my work.

7.546 **Interviewer:** So you not gonna go back to chatting?

7.547 **Male participant:** No

7.548 **Male participant:** I think it depends on how, you, you can be addictive to your, to mxit, I started chatting when I was doing Grade 7, that's when I started having mxit, until today I'm still having mxit, and each and every term I passed, when like, when we are told this is a test week, that's when I'm deleting mxit, whatsapp, facebook, everything stops, my mom takes my cell phone, that's when I can do this, then after some, those things have passed, schools are closed, then I can take back my cell phone, and download back and all that.

7.549 **Interviewer:** So you able to do it, able to let it go and it be there?

7.550 **Male participant:** Not at all, like now I don't have it, my mom has taken it, I don't have mxit, whatsapp, twitter and all that, and my friends know when it comes to test week our exams I don't chat I don't do.

7.551 **Male participant:** And I think it depends on you as a person, cause like some of us have study timetables and you know when its your time for study, you have to study, if

its time to socialise with your friends, and then that's the time you can use to chat, but you have to live your life according to the timetable because that makes you matric, ja.

7.552 **Interviewer:** From me that's it.

7.553 **Interviewer:** Anything else you guys wanna add, about being a teenager, about being a black African teenager, anything?

7.554 **Male participant:** (*laughing*), I don't think we have anything to add.

7.555 **Male participant:** I would just like to ask you a how did we present you, present us to you, how did we manage your questions?

7.556 **Interviewer:** Very nicely, you guys were very open, and I think we got a lot of information, thank you.

APPENDIX O

TRANSCRIPT: FOCUS GROUP 8

- 8.1 **Interviewer:** In this focus group, I want us to discuss how you describe yourself? Remember that there are no right and wrong answers, we are just having a discussion, just talking freely without judging each other. I want to know how you feel and think, and not everybody else's opinion.
- 8.2 **Interviewer:** So the first question is to describe yourself? For instance tell me about the person you are? How do you see yourself, what is your personality like? What makes you different from the person sitting next to you?
- 8.3 **Female participant:** I am a very loud person. I like to debate, I'm so freaking happy and all over the place. Ja that's me.
- 8.4 **Interviewer:** Good
- 8.5 **Male participant:** Ah, ok. I am a hard worker, I like jokes, laughing. I like people. That's who I am.
- 8.6 **Interviewer:** Okay
- 8.7 **Female participant:** I am also a hard worker. I am shy. Uhm, I don't like people that gossip.
- 8.8 **Male participant:** Eh, I am a hard worker and I am a patient person and I like to make jokes and I like believe in myself.
- 8.9 **Female participant:** I am a hard worker, I have a lot of potential and I like to meet new people.
- 8.10 **Interviewer:** Nice
- 8.11 **Male participant:** Me, I think...even I don't think, I know. I am kind you see. I...I like people; I am a person of my jokes. You know what I don't like? I don't like other people who maybe just like like bullying you see. Ja, I don't like those things. I think I am different from the other people uh eish, my personality actually doesn't be the same as with other people because when I look at other people ne', I think I can...even if I'm not...how can I say...uhm... (says in Sesotho)
(*Group – laughs*)
- 8.12 **Male participant:**Continues in Sotho
- 8.13 **Interviewer:** *Ke Itutah Sesotho, hanjane.* So you got to speak English
- 8.14 **Male participant:** Continues in Sotho
- 8.15 **Interviewer:** So you flourish when it is a group discussion
- 8.16 **Male participant:** Continues in Sotho
- 8.17 **Male participant:** I am a hard worker. I love to do my work. Like school work, I like debating and I want to become a lawyer.
- 8.18 **Interviewer:** Ah, good with debating
- 8.19 **Male participant:** Me, I am a hard worker also, but I respect like I use to respect others here. I don't like people who like to tease you know, there are some people who like to tease or something bad. And after this I just want to be a pilot. Ja, so there.
- 8.20 **Interviewer:** So this will be good for you because you are loud and you like debating. We have one shy person here, so this might not be so nice for you, but the rest of you are going to enjoy this. Right.... Who plays a part in who, how you decide who you want to be, your identity? How do you decide?
- 8.21 **Female participant:** I really love my mom, but Oprah Winfrey really inspires me. She is so good, intelligent, humble you know? I like her. She inspires me so much.
- 8.22 **Male participant:** I like my mom. My mom is my mentor. She shows me how to do things and how to respect other people. So (continues in Sotho)
- 8.23 **Interviewer:** Do you listen when she guides you from wrong to right?
- 8.24 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.25 **Interviewer:** You listen. Ok

- 8.26 **Interviewer:** If I gather correctly, mom is your mentor because she helps you between right and wrong and making the right decisions.
- 8.27 **Female participant:** Ok, uhm, I like my pastor. Uhm, he is so kind and he gives the good advice, he likes people. And also my mom, he teach teaches me the right way.
- 8.28 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 8.29 **Male participant:** Uhm, my Stepfather. Ja. That man, he encourages me and gives me advice, and then we share lots of things with him.
- 8.30 **Female participant:** I like my Grandmother, because she is always there for me and she gives me lots of support.
- 8.31 **Male participant:** I love my mother. The person that I love mostly is the Adolf Hitler, do you...
- 8.32 **Interviewer:** Hitler!?
- 8.33 **Interviewer:** Sjoe
- 8.34 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 8.35 **Male participant:** Because he is a detector. A detector is a person who, is a ruler with a complete power.
- 8.36 **Interviewer:** Ah, so you would like to have complete power one day?
- 8.37 **Male participant:** Yes. He was ruling the like...the whole nation of the Germans
- 8.38 **Interviewer:** Yes. Everybody believed everything he said. Everybody was too scared to say no to him.
- 8.39 **Male participant:** Yeah
- 8.40 **Interviewer:** Right. Do you think you are like him?
- 8.41 **Male participant:** Ja, I like him
- 8.42 **Interviewer:** Ah.
- 8.43 **Male participant:** Ah, ok. I think I like both of them. My mother and my father, because they are always there for me. Not only my mother or only my father. They are both always there for me, support me, encourage me, tell me what to do and in some other situations telling me what to do. Yeah, that is why I...that is the most thing I love.
- 8.44 **Male participant:** For me it is my Granny cause she is always there telling me what to do and what not to do, encourage me to study hard. You know. Every time when I...I don't get the spare time when I am at home cause she always wants me on the books.
- 8.45 **Interviewer:** Ah
- 8.46 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.47 **Interviewer:** You guys all talked about parents and then grown people who are influencing your life. What about friends or people that are your peers? Don't they ever influence your life?
- 8.48 **Male participant:** They do
- 8.49 **Female participant:** They...they influence us negatively I can say most of the time
- 8.50 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.51 **Female participant:** They are not honest
- 8.52 **Male participant:** Some of them
- 8.53 **Female participant:** It could be some. You can found out that that person who used to be loyal to you, honest, the next thing she turns or he turns. You know friends are just people who occupies the world. I don't actually love friends, you know. Because....
- 8.54 **Interviewer:** You can't trust them?
- 8.55 **Female participant:** I can't trust them.
- 8.56 **Female participant:** Ke Nna, I can. I got friend for me, friend who encourage me you know.
- 8.57 **Interviewer:** So you don't have a lot of friends?

- 8.58 **Female participant:** Huh uh, I rather stay at home. I walk with my cousin, my cousin walk with me.
- 8.59 **Male participant:** I love (name) he teaches at (school name) Always listen to us supporting our plans and I thought he do everything for us. (...continues in Sotho)
- 8.60 **Interviewer:** Is he in the community? He is not a teacher?
- 8.61 **Male participant:** He is a teacher, eh.
- 8.62 **Interviewer:** Is he a teacher at another school?
- 8.63 **Male participant:** At other school
- 8.64 **Interviewer:** Oh, he stays in your area. He approaches you, he comes to you? When do you have contact with him?
- 8.65 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.66 **Interviewer:** When do you have contact with him?
- 8.67 **Male participant:** I think.... (says something in Sotho) When you have problems...eh...
- 8.68 **Interviewer:** You can go to him. Oh.
- 8.69 **Interviewer:** That's nice
- 8.70 **Male participant:** There is this guy, (name). This guy I like him very much because he can guide me and he can share things with me.
- 8.71 **Interviewer:** Is he in your age group?
- 8.72 **Male participant:** Uh, no
- 8.73 **Interviewer:** He's older as well?
- 8.74 **Male participant:** With two...two years. He finished at school so he likes me to do good things.
- 8.75 **Interviewer:** Do you consider him a friend or is he a mentor? Just somebody to look up to
- 8.76 **Male participant:** A friend.
- 8.77 **Male participant:** For me there is a other father in our street like, he use to fix the cars like he is welding ne. So sometimes I spend my whole days with him. In school holidays I go there and spend my holidays there. Like right now I know how to fix the car. Like the engines of the car.
- 8.78 **Interviewer:** So he lets you come in like (says something in Sotho)
- 8.79 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.80 **Interviewer:** Anybody who says that friends are very important? The person I am...I am this person because of my friends, because of everything that I've talked to them about or how they have changed who I am?
- 8.81 **Male participant:** Eh, no one
- 8.82 **Male participant:** Not all of them
- 8.83 **Male participant:** Friends are different. Friends are different. There are good friends, true friends and not your true friends. So according to myself, I can say that can guide you to bright future.
- 8.84 **Interviewer:** Has there ever been a time in your life where friends have been very important? That it was important to have friends and to know that I am this person because I have these friends? And maybe now that you are a bit older you feel like, no maybe it wasn't that important? Or has friends never been very important?
- 8.85 **Male participant:** At my age now I can say no, but I don't know when time goes by
- 8.86 **Interviewer:** But back then.... (Says something in Sotho)...when you are smaller friends are very important?
- 8.87 **Male participant:** No
- 8.88 **Female participant:** There was a friend of mine in primary, she was so intelligent, she was my best friend, she encouraged me. I will say I am who I am today of her. Because

- I know how to do my schoolwork sometimes when time is right maybe I get good levels.
- 8.89 **Interviewer:** So she did influence you
- 8.90 **Male participant:** Me I think my, all my friends take things for granted. Cause when you choose them something that you know that they don't know, they think you make yourself better than them. So for me I
- 8.91 **Female participant:** For me, I think that ah, all my friends were not so good because all my friends in my community they are all pregnant so they are use to pressure me, they wanted me to go with them in the taverns all that stuff. So that is where I think that friends are not good for me. I use to spend time with my true cousins.
- 8.92 **Interviewer:** Now where do you have more friends? Friends from school from friends or friends from back home?
- 8.93 **Male participant:** Back home
- 8.94 **Interviewer:** Ok more friends back home
- 8.95 **Female participant:** No me its school
- 8.96 **Female participant:** Me at home I don't have even one friend. My friend is the television.
- 8.97 **Interviewer:** So what do you do? So when you come home, you watch TV? Wena you just spend time with your cousins?
- 8.98 **Female participant:** Yes, actually I only one
- 8.99 **Male participant:** For me there is a lot of guys, like we met there where like where we were fixing the cars ne'. Like it is a relative of that guy
- 8.100 **Interviewer:** Of the guy who fixes the cars?
- 8.101 **Male participant:** Ja, so like we met there. Then one day we speak about the school work ne and then he tell me like that he managed to get outstanding performance like I was not like be there getting the outstanding performance for maths. Then he like motivate me, so like last year, I managed to get outstanding performance in the other one subject
- 8.102 **Interviewer:** So he influenced you. Are you still friends?
- 8.103 **Male participant:** Yeah we are still friends, but when we meet sometimes we always talk about school work. Like he does his school work and I do my school work. And maybe we meet like....
- 8.104 **Interviewer:** But you don't have like soccer friends? Friends that you like gossiping?
- 8.105 **Female participant:** If I can say I have a friend, maybe my friend is (name) at home because if I like struggle with my school or something, I go to her to help me so I think she is my friend.
- 8.106 **Interviewer:** So you have other friends that you sit and gossip with and friends that you play soccer with
- 8.107 **Male participant:** I don't play soccer because I am tired of the school work. Eish. The school work they are being....Ja lots. So we are tired just for this year and then I will see the soccer next year. So now I'm always in home, doing my school work. ja
- 8.108 **Male participant:** Like we have the schoolwork, we have friends at home and now we don't give them time, like now we are a lot of work. Like if maybe we could like maybe you come from school now, you going to read at home, there is no chance. This happen every time, every hour is count.
- 8.109 **Interviewer:** Do you all agree?
- 8.110 **Male participant:** Like maybe we will meet them next year when the school work....
- 8.111 **Interviewer:** And last year when the school work wasn't so much how were the friends then. Were friends more important? When you were in gr 11 and there wasn't a lot of school work.

- 8.112 **Male participant:** Yes, we used to play all the time
- 8.113 **Male participant:** Friends were important
- 8.114 **Female participant:** In Grade 11 you never appear on a newspaper. This year you will appear
- 8.115 **Male participant:** Like now you are in the spotlight
- 8.116 **Female participant:** A lot of pressure
- 8.117 **Interviewer:** The pressure is on
- 8.118 **Male participant:** Yes, like spotlight is on you. Like every time you get home like others see the tie. Eish, who are you, who are you, they want to know you.
- 8.119 **Interviewer:** So they can check you in the newspaper
- 8.120 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.121 **Female participant:** Mmmm
- 8.122 **Male participant:** So like that thing make it too much. A lot of stress (says something in Sotho)
- 8.123 **Interviewer:** And you, last year your friends were important
- 8.124 **Male participant:** Ja, last year for me they were important because they were always helped me with a some stuff. Like last year I used to struggle with maths and the guy helped me you know. Cause now I really know ja I can do it.
- 8.125 **Interviewer:** Do your friends understand that this year school is important?
- 8.126 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.127 **Male participant:** Some of them
- 8.128 **Female participant:** Some are jealous
- 8.129 **Male participant:** Ja some of them, if you can see, last year ne, I was having a lot of friends. This year because I am in my grade, because of my work, my work it is not like last years work, a lot you see. So this year, you see that they just disappeared like that. They thought, maybe they thinking that I, you see make myself that like I am better than them. Because like maybe they are in gr 10, gr 11 or so ja I see myself as a better than them, so they just disappear like that.
- 8.130 **Female participant:** Sometimes they come present to make you to just make you feel, not feel, to make you loose control, loose focus because they are jealous. Some of them have fault, some of them have passed but they are not so well in school work.
- 8.131 **Male participant:** Even when they use abusive words, eish they will call me there in my flat, and ill say (something in Sotho). You see last thing is the timing. I don't have time seriously. So I just told them "*hey babba*" doing school works here, I can't come there. You see after this they will be saying but lets go to this. You see so that is where these things are wasting time. I have to focus on whatever I do
- 8.132 **Female participant:** Sometimes not only friends influence us, the community, parents, relatives, they influence us. It is either negative or positive. You find out in your community that some parents who are also jealous you know it even though they are going to try traditions doctors to do something to you. Truly they do that, black people yoh! And then for relatives they do the same thing. Ja.
- 8.133 **Interviewer:** So it's not just friends who influence us. We have community members that influence us. We have got family members that influence us.
- 8.134 **Interviewer:** How about brothers and sisters? Do you have brothers and sisters who influence you? That are older than you and you want to be like them, perform like them? Or do you have ones where you want to perform so that they would want to be like you?
- 8.135 **Female participant:** My brother he failed, he didn't pass matric so when, but because he wanted to be chartered accountant I followed that route because I wanted to make my

- family better. Correct, I wanted to fit in, in his shoes because he didn't make it last, not last it was 2009 I think yes he influenced me in such a way
- 8.136 **Interviewer:** What about siblings with younger brothers and sisters?
- 8.137 **Female participant:** Last born
- 8.138 **Interviewer:** Did you want to do something else then he failed then you followed in his steps, or...
- 8.139 **Female participant:** No, I don't know. I can't say I even know that. I want to be Chartered Accountant, economist and business women. I am just all over the place.
- 8.140 **Male participant:** Me too, my sister didn't make it, she didn't pass matric, so I told myself I am the one who is going to change the situation at home and I believe in my dream because I want to be a Chartered Accountant.
- 8.141 **Interviewer:** Do you have younger siblings?
- 8.142 **Male participant:** No, last born
- 8.143 **Male participant:** I have my younger sister so I wishes her to do I always encourage her to go to school and to be a business women.
- 8.144 **Interviewer:** So you want her to be better than you or you want her to follow in your footsteps?
- 8.145 **Male participant:** No, I want her to be better, cause I want her to more than me
- 8.146 **Interviewer:** Says something in Sotho, I can't hear what you are saying so I am trying to hear considering.
- 8.147 **Male participant:** No, I say I have my younger sister so then I want her to become a, to become a business woman, to have her company and to run her company. Cause with me I want to be a lawyer. So I want her to be
- 8.148 **Interviewer:** Right ok
- 8.149 **Female participant:** Me, I don't have brothers or sisters ok. I want to be a doc...a nurse, but in the part of army a nurse of a soldiers you know? So I want to make it cause my mother she didn't make it so I will be the one who make it.
- 8.150 **Interviewer:** Uplift the family
- 8.151 **Female participant:** Ja something like that
- 8.152 **Male participant:** Me like I want to be like somebody who works in the community. If like maybe I passed with my car, all those will say hey I want to be like that guy.
- 8.153 **Interviewer:** Then they can come to you like that uncle of yours. Then you can help them be more successful.
- 8.154 **Male participant:** Yes, I want to see my community like be success
- 8.155 **Interviewer:** But do you have siblings though do you have brothers or sisters
- 8.156 **Male participant:** No, my sisters she passed away in 2008
- 8.157 **Interviewer:** Do you have siblings
- 8.158 **Male participant:** Ja, I do have siblings, brothers. But my brother didn't make it in matric so he was doing census I also been doing census but me I think he was wants to be a, actually I...so me I want to be a, I want to make it a I want to have a talent. Me I want to be different from them, I don't want, when he said my goal is to be like come behind me. I also don't know what makes him to go there, so I want to make my ja to be different you see. Little bit different from the rest
- 8.159 **Interviewer:** Little sisters and brothers? You don't have?
- 8.160 **Male participant:** I have my little sister
- 8.161 **Interviewer:** You want her to be like you or you want her to be better?
- 8.162 **Male participant:** You see I don't want to choose anything from them. They should choose whatever they want to be in life. So me what I want only from them is to be success. Ja, you see from whether she becomes what I don't interfere with that things.

- What I want from her, them to be success in life to become maybe role model of other people you see?
- 8.163 **Male participant:** Ja, for me, I only have one sister. She did achieve in Matric, she got four distinctions and now she is at CUT. She has just finished her Masters and now she is doing a...I don't know what is it, but it is a doctorate
- 8.164 **Interviewer:** PhD
- 8.165 **Male participant:** Ja PhD. Now she is working at Kroonstad you know. I just want to follow her route you know even to be successful like her, because now she can get everything she want, ja. So even me too, I want everything that I want at anytime I want it. Ja.
- 8.166 **Female participant:** Wena, my brother didn't pass the matric class but me I think...(Continues in Sotho)
- 8.167 **Interviewer:** So it is not just your family that you want to uplift, but also you want to prove a point to the community that you can make it
- 8.168 **Female participant:** *continues in Sotho*
- 8.169 **Interviewer:** But those who have younger siblings ne, do you lets say when you wanna go partying and stuff do you think "Hey I must not do the wrong things because my sister is gonna do...hey I mustn't"
- 8.170 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.171 **Interviewer:** So you always think of them before you act in a certain manner? Or do you just party anyway and think (...continues in Sotho)
- 8.172 **Male participant:** No
- 8.173 **Interviewer:** There is no time this year hey
- 8.174 **Male participant:** No time this year.
- 8.175 **Interviewer:** Right. What does it mean to be "African"? What does it mean to you to be African? To be an African teenager?
- 8.176 **Male participant:** For me to be an African, eish. I think like ja, it is a, I feel proud of me to be an African cause here we don't have laws. All we have we are free to do anything you want except things like kill murdering people. But for me, to be an African is a good thing. I feel good.
- 8.177 **Interviewer:** What does it mean?
- 8.178 **Male participant:** Culture and traditions, all the things that Blacks do
- 8.179 **Interviewer:** Say again. Culture and...
- 8.180 **Interviewer:** Your traditions
- 8.181 **Male participant:** Things that are different from the way other countries do. Like we use to cook outside like others cook inside the house, you see.
- 8.182 **Interviewer:** So that is part of an African...cooking outside in that three pot
- 8.183 **Male participant:** Yeah
- 8.184 **Male participant:** That is a part of Africa
- 8.185 **Interviewer:** It is part of it?
- 8.186 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.187 **Male participant:** For me it is good to be an African, because we don't have a king. Sometimes you find out that the king forces you to do something that you don't want to do. So if you do not want to do that, he will kill you. That is not what I want to do
- 8.188 **Interviewer:** Like Hitler?
- 8.189 **Male participant:** Like Hitler
- 8.190 **Interviewer:** What does it mean?
- 8.191 **Interviewer:** You're an African what does it mean?
- 8.192 **Female participant:** African. What it means?
- 8.193 **Interviewer:** Says something in Sotho

- 8.194 **Interviewer:** But who is that then. What does it mean to be African?
- 8.195 **Male participant:** It is a proud of yourself.
- 8.196 **Female participant:** Different
- 8.197 **Interviewer:** How, how are you different?
- 8.198 **Female participant:** Like what he said
- 8.199 **Interviewer:** Traditions and culture?
- 8.200 **Female participant:** Culture. Like how we wear, how we present ourselves.
- 8.201 **Interviewer:** And how is that?
- 8.202 **Male participant:** Like I am different to others, like my mother like my father. I want to thank them because they didn't give me like English name you see like Peter.
- 8.203 **Interviewer:** So are they not African then?
- 8.204 **Male participant:** No, like they adopt others' names, you see
- 8.205 **Female participant:** and also to be an African, is so good and so diversive and so (...continues in Sotho) Rainbow Nation. We have different cultures, different languages and as you have said you are learning Sesotho. If one learns someone's language it is just like that in Africa.
- 8.206 **Male participant:** I beg to differ with that man who say that we just adopting. You must, you need to think that in that time you see where we have to it was a must. Now it is the freedom you see Mandela fight for freedom. So being African you see I think it is a gift from God. Uuuh so I think...I don't know how to put it...
- 8.207 **Female participant:** (...Continues in Sotho). As we are blacks we are black people and white people. We have, there are some of people... (Continues in Sotho) It is still that time ne.
- 8.208 **Interviewer:** Ok before we continue (Continue in Sotho - *Everyone agrees with what she stated*) we are considering you as if you are not here
- 8.209 **Interviewer:** Laughs. But please speak English so that I can understand why I am not here
- 8.210 **Female participant:** I am an African, we are all Africans
- 8.211 **Interviewer:** Do you think Black people are Africans, White people are Africans, Indian people are Africans
- 8.212 **Female participant:** We are all Africans, we live in South Africa. We are all Africans
- 8.213 **Interviewer:** Black, white, Indian, Chinese or just black people?
- 8.214 **Female participant:** According to what he said....
- 8.215 **Male participant:** We think...like I don't know the names of like English. Like I am from (name) like I have the culture of Africa.
- 8.216 **Interviewer:** So you are more black or African than us who are Ester and Mirriam, so we are not that black, we are not that African?
- 8.217 **Male participant:** Ja, like others, other black people they like adopt like other, like whites is not being here, they just like come from the Cape Town ja like I forgot that year you see
- 8.218 **Interviewer:** Jan van Riebeeck?
- 8.219 **Male participant:** Ja, that time. But like now blacks like to act like they are right. They like to put their own hair like the others.
- 8.220 **Female participant:** (Says something in Sotho) Like I said we are all Africans there is no (something in Sotho) until white people came from Europe but we are all Africans. Rainbow nation, all colours.
- 8.221 **Male participant:** What does the question say?
- 8.222 **Interviewer:** Yes, yes, yes
- 8.223 **Female participant:** The question say what does it mean to be African. Not talking who are Africans, what should we look as Africans, no.

- 8.224 **Interviewer:** What is it like for you guys to be African? What does it mean to be an African?
- 8.225 **Male participant:** Proud of yourself.
- 8.226 **Female participant:** Yes to be proud of who you are. You have to be proud of your culture, you ok, you have to follow your African traditions.
- 8.227 **Male participant:** For me it is good because in Africa, you can date someone who you love. For example, my father came from Maputo but my mother lives in South Africa. So I can be able to speak Tsonga because my father knows how to speak Tsonga so I know a little bit of Tsonga so that is what I am happy for.
- 8.228 **Interviewer:** So all the different cultures, all the different traditions that is all that makes us African
- 8.229 **Male participant:** Also in South Africa I can marry white. Ja that is good
- 8.230 **Female participant:** I think only the environment also differentiates us. The big 5's, the reserves. Just an area when you look outside the environment tells us we are African.
- 8.231 **Interviewer:** If you were to....
- 8.232 **Male participant:** Also being African, I think can make us proud because here in Africa actually missed nothing. We have opportunity lot of opportunity. So being African is good because we are not the same as other continents.
- 8.233 **Interviewer:** How are we different?
- 8.234 **Male participant:** In some stage we will get here ne, where everyone has riots, we have the riots.
- 8.235 **Female participant:** I think that in that situation he compares South Africa with other countries of Africa.
- 8.236 **Interviewer:** The riots, we don't have riots
- 8.237 **Female participant:** Eh, because of other countries, other countries they seen other loss. Maybe the kids (Says something in Sotho)
- 8.238 **Male participant:** Like Africa is good you see. And also those countries, we are not hit by the natural disasters like other countries they are. We like being South Africans.
- 8.239 **Interviewer:** If you were to wake up tomorrow morning and you weren't a Black African teenager, in the Motheo district. Who would you be? How would you be different tomorrow if you weren't a Black African Teenager? If you look differently? If you woke up tomorrow and you were Chinese? How would you be different, what would be different than today when you were a Black African teenager? How would your personality be different tomorrow when you are not a Black African?
- 8.240 **Male participant:** Joh, things you do
- 8.241 **Interviewer:** Like what things?
- 8.242 **Male participant:** Ja, things you do and maybe livings and stuff
- 8.243 **Interviewer:** How would you live differently?
- 8.244 **Male participant:** Chinese, they live different to to to blacks. South Africa depend from other country to import that is the problem. If maybe I'm in China, China's people are...
- 8.245 **Interviewer:** No, no, no you wake up as a South African Chinese person. Let's say you are white, you are still South African you are just not black. You still live here in South Africa, you are just not black.
- 8.246 **Male participant:** I'm white?
- 8.247 **Female participant:** I will have intelligence. Their intelligence. I would love to be a Chinese person because of their intelligence.
- 8.248 **Interviewer:** But let's say you wake up white. You are not black, how are you going to be different because you are not black?

- 8.249 **Male participant:** I don't think I'll be different from other people because of I am an African.
- 8.250 **Interviewer:** Will you be the same person that you are today?
- 8.251 **Male participant:** Ja, I will look different
- 8.252 **Interviewer:** Just different on the outside.
- 8.253 **Male participant:** Internal, you are talking about the internal. I am going to be the same as I was just cause of my face have been changed so I have to have change my inside that thing I don't think it will work because it is going to describe my personality from the community. Even the people, who let me say I am like this today, tomorrow I am like that. People are even you wont get any job from anywhere even when your personality maybe is bad that thing is going to determine your attitude.
- 8.254 **Female participant:** I think also if, you say if I am still an African, I am still (name) but I have changed?
- 8.255 **Interviewer:** Yes, you are just not a Black African
- 8.256 **Male participant:** Do I speak English or Sesotho
- 8.257 **Interviewer:** Sorry, does Sesotho make you who you are?
- 8.258 **Male participant:** No
- 8.259 **Female participant:** What you see on the mirror are what you are on the inside. Actually no, it is different. The next day you wake up and you see yourself as a Chinese, you look on the mirror, I am a Chinese. Is going to tell you something, I am going to be different. I am not that old (name), I am going to act this way because I am this way. You understand?
- 8.260 **Male participant:** So (name), you want to say lifestyle...
- 8.261 **Female participant:** eh.... (Continues in Sotho) Because you look different. Your skin, the way you look.
- 8.262 **Interviewer:** How is it going to change?
- 8.263 **Male participant:** Maybe I am going to spend a lot, I am going to look after my skins you see. Skins like they differ
- 8.264 **Female participant:** It is not a bad thing. I attend at school at this school ne, I am going to change. Maybe I want to go to other school because, because I look like this.
- 8.265 **Male participant:** Does this thing tells you that you are going to have money when you change skin?
- 8.266 **Female participant:** Not money, people who surrounds you, yes
- 8.267 **Male participant:** And the environment.
- 8.268 **Female participant:** They don't look like you. You are going to tell yourself that they don't look like me and you will want to go somewhere.
- 8.269 **Male participant:** But no I think...
- 8.270 **Female participant:** Even if I wake up and I am white, African White, I think I will still be me, you know.
- 8.271 **Interviewer:** You will still be shy...
- 8.272 **Interviewer:** So the person you are is not necessarily based on how you look.
- 8.273 **Male participant:** Yes.
- 8.274 **Interviewer:** So you will still be shy and you would still want to be a soldier nurse
- 8.275 **Female participant:** Yeah
- 8.276 **Interviewer:** And you?
- 8.277 **Male participant:** For me I will be different because I will still be like now, I am a Christian. If I wake up in the morning a Chinese, I will start going to the Chinese church. That will be different to the traditional church. My lifestyle, everything I do is going to change. Even where I am attending school. I am going to attend school at the Chinese school, learn Chinese.

- 8.278 **Female participant:** What I don't understand is that if ever you wake up maybe being a Chinese ne, ok are you a... (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.279 **Interviewer:** Are we linking it to religion or are we linking it to...
- 8.280 **Interviewer:** Will your religion change?
- 8.281 **Female participant:** Continues in Sotho
- 8.282 **Interviewer:** The difference is we are asking you, we are asking you is it going to change?
- 8.283 **Female participant:** I think I understand it (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.284 **Interviewer:** Chinese church.
- 8.285 **Female participant:** (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.286 **Interviewer:** She says that if she she wakes up a Chinese would she still be speaking Sotho. The question is what will you be, will you still be....
- 8.287 **Interviewer:** What I want to know is, how much of being a black, African Sesotho, Setswana, Xhosa how much of that, being that determines who you are inside. Determines your personality? So if were to wake up tomorrow differently, how much of it will then be different? How much of who you are as person is based on how you look, the language you speak the culture? If that were to change, would you change on the inside?
- 8.288 **Male participant:** No
- 8.289 **Interviewer:** How would you be different?
- 8.290 **Male participant:** Like I would be different, like us as a black, we believe in our ancestors. So our ancestors will not hear you so maybe you will go to the cemetery to talk with the ancestors, they will not know when you are like speaking Chinese. So that will also affect the environment. Like people who do not understand your language you see. Maybe find it to be difficult to like to others people. And also like your parents and family inside they are going to be affected because of you're their child. And also me I am not going to change like in the religions and all that other stuff like I am going to my church also I am a child so I am going...
- 8.291 **Interviewer:** Ok so you think that when you are black that it means you speak Sesotho, you go to this church here, your family is like this, you pray to the ancestors that is what makes you this culture. So if you are Chinese then you must be speaking Chinese go to a Chinese church and...
- 8.292 **Male participant:** Ja, that is what you are.
- 8.293 **Male participant:** I think in South Africa we have maybe seven or eight languages
- 8.294 **Interviewer:** Eleven
- 8.295 **Male participant:** Ja, so even if you are an African at least you have to know four or five of languages. So what, when you are Chinese are you going to do Chinese things, talking Chinese meaning that you wont be even to learn other peoples languages. You are going to live your lifestyle only in the Chinese. In Africa, the situation is just like in education you see...
- 8.296 **Male participant:** A language is a language
- 8.297 **Male participant:** ... A language is a language but let me tell you something since you are Chinese, telling me that you are going to only speak Chinese?
- 8.298 **Interviewer:** Let's say you wake up and you are white and you can speak Sesotho
- 8.299 **Male participant:** You are going to find different culture even if you are here and can speak Sesotho, you are going to find it difficult. So the important is like the Chinese around and even the people in the environment they don't understand Chinese. So who will let you, if I want to teach you like things in Sotho without a translation you would find it difficult because I don't know a single word of Chinese. And also those writing of Chinese they will be difficult for you.

- 8.300 **Interviewer:** Help me, if I understand, language is a big part of who you are
- 8.301 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.302 **Interviewer:** Is that what you are saying? The language you speak and the way in which you get and give information through language is important in who you are as a person?
- 8.303 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.304 **Interviewer:** Do you agree?
Couple of individuals agree
- 8.305 **Female participant:** If ever I was to wake up white but I was able to speak Sesotho I will follow up my leadership
- 8.306 **Interviewer:** You will do what, you will
- 8.307 **Female participant:** It is crucial
- 8.308 **Interviewer:** So you would still do the rituals
- 8.309 **Female participant:** Eh, but I wont go to the initiations
- 8.310 **Interviewer:** Ok so Initiations...
- 8.311 **Male participant:** Initiation school
- 8.312 **Interviewer:** Are they, initiations and initiation schools are that important in the person you are, in your personality?
- 8.313 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.314 **Interviewer:** Culture
- 8.315 **Male participant:** Yes very. In other cultures like they are important like maybe Xhosa and maybe Ndebele, Zulu, Sotho but maybe like Tswana, like Tswana they don't believe in initiation schools.
- 8.316 **Male participant:** No, Setswana they go there
- 8.317 **Male participant:** Like as the follower, the roots of Tswana they don't go there.
(Big debate about whether or not Tswana's attend initiation school)
- 8.318 **Interviewer:** But the question is if you are, let's say you wake up and you are Chinese and then you speak Sesotho are you going to do what? Are you going to start coming to this school are you going to have these friends still are you going to want to change.
- 8.319 **Female participant:** There are other people that will pressurise you. The way you look, why are you here? You cannot perform in this tradition because you do not look like this. It is wrong for you to look like this and do other things like traditional schools... (Continues in Sotho) your inner person.
- 8.320 **Interviewer:** So it is because people around you will say that you must act the way you look.
- 8.321 **Female participant:** Even as an individual
- 8.322 **Interviewer:** You might want to be black...
- 8.323 **Female participant:** Continues in Sotho
- 8.324 **Interviewer:** So you would want to change because people are saying.
- 8.325 **Interviewer:** So is it...
- 8.326 **Female participant:** Continues in Sotho
- 8.327 **Interviewer:** Ok whoa whoa, what is happening?
- 8.328 **Interviewer:** Ok she says that because you are in Matric everybody asks are you going to pass, are you going to pass so because the community are saying that you are going to fail, you are going to prove them wrong. It is the same as what she is saying, that because they are saying you should be Chinese peoples voices are going to be the reason that drives you to being Chinese and eat Chinese food and do Chinese things and speak Chinese language.
- 8.329 **Female participant:** Even if you are going to deny it, is going to be like that

- 8.330 **Male participant:** Me I think, listening to your peer pressure I don't think it will work. What you are is going to determine who you are going to be. So when you listen to the people... *(A lot of opinions are given)*... listen to me for, let me finish. So when you listen to the people telling you this and this and this you will not be able to do, to become whatever you like.
(Interruption - teacher enters room they need to go they are writing test)
- 8.331 **Interviewer:** Lets move on to the next question then
- 8.332 **Interviewer:** Just because there is a lot of conversation
- 8.333 Is it more important that you look black African, or is it more important that you speak the language? Which one determines more of who you are? How you look, or the language you speak or do they go hand in hand? Is the one not more important than the other?
- 8.334 **Male participant:** Hand in hand
- 8.335 **Interviewer:** Right. How important, how much does being male or female play in who you are as person?
- 8.336 **Male participant:** Come again
- 8.337 **Interviewer:** Being a man or being a woman. How much does that determine who you are as a person? Your personality? Does it determine it greatly, if you wake up tomorrow and you are the opposite sex, are you going to be totally different, are you going to be slightly different person?
- 8.338 **Male participant:** For me I am going to be the same person
- 8.339 **Interviewer:** Same person?
- 8.340 **Male participant:** For me I am going to be angry with myself. (says something in Sotho) I don't know where I am going to start.
- 8.341 **Interviewer:** Will you act differently, will you speak differently, will you do things differently?
- 8.342 **Male participant:** Mentally I am going to be myself, but physically eish I am going to change. Like the dresses they are going to show. You know you can't go around like wearing a trouser.
- 8.343 **Interviewer:** Again society will tell you to be different
- 8.344 **Male participant:** Yeah
- 8.345 **Female participant:** Society plays a huge part
- 8.346 **Interviewer:** And then you thereby you will become different. Right. Do you like being a teenager? Would you like to change? Would you like to stay a teenager forever? Why?
- 8.347 **Male participant:** Because a teenager, there are many things we want, we can get them. When you are grown, you are going to have eish! Lots of stress.
- 8.348 **Female participant:** You can't do what you used to do, things like that.
- 8.349 **Interviewer:** So you don't want to change, you want to be a teenager forever?
- 8.350 **Female participant:** Teenager yes.
- 8.351 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 8.352 **Female participant:** It is good to be a teenager
- 8.353 **Female participant:** Being a teenager there is a lot of opportunities, also...
- 8.354 **Male participant:** Being a teenager for me I don't really, it don't work for me, because in my home ne there is these rules that I have to follow. When they say 5, 6 o'clock you must be back, 6 o'clock I'm back. So when I am grown I know what to do with my life. I can do whatever I want to do with my life, so being a teenager forever oh no.
- 8.355 **Male participant:** I want to change because I want to see how hard it is to be a father, to take responsibility for a family to provide your children with what they want. Because if your father says "I don't have money" you take like aaa, he don't want to

- give me. So if you became a father, you will know that if a father says I don't have the money, he don't have it.
- 8.356 **Interviewer:** So being an adult means that you will have to understand a bit about your parents? How they are now?
- 8.357 **Male participant:** Yes you will have the experience.
- 8.358 **Female participant:** I will like the experience, it will be different.
- 8.359 **Male participant:** Now you are happy, you are making your parents you are putting your parents under stress. So now you just want to always be a teenager giving them stress. You don't what to feel what it feel like to be grown up. Do you feel what they feel now, so you don't, even if you can jump out of your skin you are still going to grow up. You are going to feel whatever they feel. But being sometimes you have to feel pain for them when you give them stress you should feel pain for them, not giving them. Lets say there is no food in the house, who are they going rescue. People are going to to chill so you don't want that
- 8.360 **Male participant:** I don't want to get there
- 8.361 **Interviewer:** Take these responsibilities and all
- 8.362 **Male participant:** I don't want to be responsible of someone
- 8.363 **Interviewer:** Ok I don't want to keep you from your maths test. Do you ever feel that your parents don't understand you?
- 8.364 **Female participant:** Yes
- 8.365 **Interviewer:** Do your peers understand you better than your parents?
- 8.366 **Female participant:** Yes
- 8.367 **Interviewer:** And your teachers do they understand you better than your parents?
- 8.368 **Female participant:** Yes
- 8.369 **Male participant:** Like parents they African parents they are traffic. If like maybe this guy is smoking then you don't smoke
- 8.370 **Interviewer:** They will say you are smoking
- 8.371 **Male participant:** I will say it is 50/50. There are some situation where the teacher won't listen, but your mother will listen. There are some situation where your mother won't listen, but the teacher will listen. So it is 50/50
- 8.372 **Interviewer:** But do you think your peers, other teenagers understand you much better than your mother and your father and your teachers
- 8.373 **Male participant:** Argh...if we are talking about 100% I will give them 40%
- 8.374 **Male participant:** The peers they should be listening to you because they are not those who provide you with food or how situation at home has been. Is like ja
- 8.375 **Female participant:** But your peers understand you more than your parents because you are free to talk with them. You are free to do anything. You know African parents they don't do such things, sit with you down and talk girl stuff, something like that.
- 8.376 **Interviewer:** So you wish them to be more, to hear and to open more and talk about boys and sex and periods and...
- 8.377 **Female participant:** Ja
- 8.378 **Male participant:** Also like they believe in that we stuck in like maybe like if I maybe borrow (name) my book, I didn't like...like now when we are writing with the book they are going to say oh that guy who were chewing other stuff.
- 8.379 **Interviewer:** Ok thank you guys. I don't want to keep you from your test, so those of you who need to go thank you very much. Good luck
- 8.380 **Male participant:** So it is over? Or can we stay?
- 8.381 **Interviewer:** Ja ja if you don't have to write the test you can stay.
- 8.382 **Interviewer:** Ok we are just going to finish up
- 8.383 **Interviewer:** Yes, yes, yes

- 8.384 **Interviewer:** Ok to sum it up, peers understand you much better than your parents do.
- 8.385 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.386 **Male participant:** Like most of the time I am spending like half a day in the school, my parents they are not here you see so who would understand me better like. My father like he would understand that this guy has is there and there. Like at home my father doesn't care about me my weak points and strong point he doesn't care.
- 8.387 **Interviewer:** Do you know how to, do you know your Seboka?
- 8.388 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.389 **Interviewer:** But do your parents know that?
- 8.390 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.391 **Interviewer:** So you know yours, you don't know yours. So when are you going to learn, do you think it is important to know it?
- 8.392 **Female participant:** Ja, I think it is important
- 8.393 **Interviewer:** So are you going to make plans for you to know yourself
- 8.394 **Female participant:** Ja I am going to ask my mother to help me
- 8.395 **Interviewer:** After matric when there is more time (*laughs*)
- 8.396 **Interviewer:** So you can boka yourself through that whole thing. I am from where and I do what and we are from this and we are this. You know that whole story?
- 8.397 **Male participant:** Ja, me ja
- 8.398 **Interviewer:** Would you be different if you didn't know that? Would you be a different person? Is that important to know who you are?
- 8.399 **Male participant:** Ja
- 8.400 **Interviewer:** Does that determine the person you are?
- 8.401 **Interviewer:** Are you going to pass it onto your kids or do you think now we are modern, we don't care about culture and stuff we don't slaughter anymore, its fine?
- 8.402 **Male participant:** No we have to care and we have to accept
- 8.403 **Interviewer:** Don't you think it is important for the children to know?
- 8.404 **Female participant:** Ja it is important
- 8.405 **Male participant:** Like you see know, South Africa now it belongs to the black people. Things that are different now. Maybe like 15 years a child is having children now...why is that? Previously this was not there. Things they are changing like time. Like me, I don't believe things like changing time it just not only a person that change
- 8.406 **Male participant:** So culture has to stay the same culture
- 8.407 **Interviewer:** Culture must be throughout, and does it help you to be who you are? It helps you to say I am a black person...
- 8.408 **Male participant:** to be myself ja
- 8.409 **Interviewer:** And rituals and stuff and ancestors, do you still do those things?
- 8.410 **Male participant:** Yes we do
- 8.411 **Interviewer:** And you are going to pass it on as well?
- 8.412 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.413 **Interviewer:** Does it also help you to be who you are? (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.414 **Female participant:** Eh
- 8.415 **Interviewer:** You think it is important to do all those rituals and slaughter and stuff?
- 8.416 **Male participant:** Ja, that shows that you are like true believer in a religion or culture
- 8.417 **Interviewer:** And it helps you to know who are you, your identity
- 8.418 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.419 **Interviewer:** What else shapes who you are? What else determines what type of teenager you are in this community?
- 8.420 **Male participant:** Like respect
- 8.421 **Interviewer:** Pardon

- 8.422 **Male participant:** Respect. Like must show respect to the other...if you like you now na, you can see the difference between Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana like all the stuffs ne. You can see like Xhosa they like respect others cultures like Xhosa is one of the cultures that respects a lot you see. Like Basotho they always like, I don't know what...
- 8.423 **Interviewer:** Like how are they?
- 8.424 **Male participant:** They are traffic you see
- 8.425 **Interviewer:** What does traffic mean? I don't understand the term traffic what does it mean?
- 8.426 **Male participant:** Like maybe, if maybe like boys come in from the initiation school they didn't use like to walk around like being safe like walking around that thing on where they go. Like also they throw around their sticks, their community be rough all night you see it's like riots you see. Xhosa they respect, they go there do their stuffs you see.
- 8.427 **Interviewer:** Do you guys agree
Everyone agrees
- 8.428 **Interviewer:** I want to know what else makes you, you? You said culture plays a role in making you, what else is there?
- 8.429 **Male participant:** Respect, how you do things
- 8.430 **Interviewer:** Who influences you? Who influences these things that you do, or the respect you have or...
- 8.431 **Male participant:** The elders we live with in the house.
- 8.432 **Interviewer:** Family members, they are all the people. Who else?
- 8.433 **Male participant:** Maybe those around
- 8.434 **Interviewer:** The community and the people around you
- 8.435 **Interviewer:** People in the neighbourhood
- 8.436 **Male participant:** Ja, if there are like Xhosa, you want to be like connecting with you.
- 8.437 **Interviewer:** So the Xhosa people within the community are more connected with each other and the Sotho people in the community connect with each other more
- 8.438 **Male participant:** Sotho they don't connect like a lot most of the people that connect a lot is Xhosas.
- 8.439 **Interviewer:** What about the Zulus and the Tsonga, do they connect?
- 8.440 **Male participant:** Ja, Zulu and Tsonga they also
- 8.441 **Interviewer:** So is it only the Sotho's who don't connect
- 8.442 **Male participant:** Like now, like now I am living, the neighbourhood is Tsongas like now I know a little bit of Tsonga you see and I know that they coming from Limpopo. If like maybe they come here like we offer you a job and work and if like maybe you have lots of income you can go and open yourself some thing there. You see like they are connecting with each other. They don't like maybe go around
- 8.443 **Interviewer:** Do we always have like other people in communities imprinting on us? Or can you be who you are without all of these other things? Without elders, without knowing that you are black, without knowing that you speak Xhosa, without friends, without school? Will you still be this person, whoever that is, without all of these other influences? Or do you think we need these influences to shape who we are?
- 8.444 **Male participant:** Ah, I think I you need these things to shape you. But there are some...
- 8.445 **Interviewer:** Bad or good. They can be bad or good influences.
- 8.446 **Male participant:** Ja there are some of those people where where where you live, they are not part of your family but they respect they do things according to what is good you see.
- 8.447 **Interviewer:** So, we will need them to influence us

- 8.448 **Male participant:** Yes, sometimes you go there and ask how do you manage to be like this. Then you can see
- 8.449 **Interviewer:** So it is still members in the community, community members who influence you
- 8.450 **Female participant:** Ja, I think it is a good ne. You know... (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.451 **Interviewer:** Ja I think some things are not only passed on from parents, but also from community members. Community members influence you then you become a community member and then you influence other people
- 8.452 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.453 **Interviewer:** Anything else that you think is important in being a teenager in this community? Something that we should know what it is like to be a teenager here? Something we haven't spoken about?
- 8.454 **Male participant:** Like, maybe like the old people must send you to the shop you see. Maybe like respecting them and do things that they can not do like, if maybe your grandfather is too old like walking with a stick, you must help him.
- 8.455 **Interviewer:** Do all teenagers do that in this community
- 8.456 **Female participant:** No
- 8.457 **Interviewer:** Is it only a couple of teenagers you like they have respect ...
- 8.458 **Male participant:** and culture ja
- 8.459 **Interviewer:** Do you think it is a general thing that teenagers don't have respect
- 8.460 **Male participant:** Like I don't know these days what is wrong with the teenagers of these days. Because those days...
- 8.461 **Interviewer:** Do you see yourself as a teenager? Are you still a teenager or are you not a teenager anymore?
- 8.462 **Male participant:** No, I am still a teenager. But I am doing things like different like other teenagers
- 8.463 **Interviewer:** What about social networks, do you think social networks are important? Facebook and Mxit and what else is there? Its Facebook and Mxit and Twitter and Whatsapp. You think they are important?
- 8.464 **Female participant:** I didn't... (Continues in Sotho)
- 8.465 **Interviewer:** But they can also be good things? She said you meet people on there you don't even know and the next thing you know they drag you somewhere saying lets meet. The dangers of it. But what about the good part of it? Doesn't it serve any good? To be on Facebook, is nothing good?
- 8.466 **Male participant:** Ja like maybe there was this social network on mathematics, it helping me a lot. People who struggling with mathematics, like they were struggling with mathematics
- 8.467 **Interviewer:** So you would put an equation and then they would help you to solve it
- 8.468 **Male participant:** Or maybe they give you a question and you try. If maybe you fail, they help you right you see. Then we would profit
- 8.469 **Interviewer:** Is it a big part of your life, social networking? Or is it just there, we don't use it
- 8.470 **Male participant:** Like maybe if it was there you can get there
- 8.471 **Interviewer:** But it isn't a must have to be on Facebook or you must check Facebook everyday and I must Mxit every evening
- 8.472 **Male participant:** Ah no it is not a must
- 8.473 **Interviewer:** So you guys don't have Facebook and Mxit
- 8.474 **Female participant:** I don't use them
- 8.475 **Male participant:** I use them, but I don't consider it...
- 8.476 **Interviewer:** It is not your left arm

- 8.477 **Male participant:** ...like it does not contribute to my life
- 8.478 **Male participant:** I have bbm, Facebook, Mxit, Whatsapp, to go
- 8.479 **Interviewer:** You have them? So you chat with them
- 8.480 **Male participant:** Yes
- 8.481 **Interviewer:** How often do you chat
- 8.482 **Male participant:** Everyday ja
- 8.483 **Interviewer:** If you don't chat them, do you feel something is wrong I must check them?
- 8.484 **Male participant:** (*Laughs*) Yes
- 8.485 **Interviewer:** Do you think a lot of teenagers are like that where they think, if I don't chat something is wrong with me
- 8.486 **Male participant:** Ja, most of them are addicted you know. Even in class they are always on their phones. Even when the teachers is presenting something.
- 8.487 **Male participant:** Like bbm. They are texting under the table
- 8.488 **Interviewer:** So do you have
- 8.489 **Female participant:** No I don't have
- 8.490 **Interviewer:** Nothing?
- 8.491 **Female participant:** Nothing
- 8.492 **Interviewer:** So you listen in class
- 8.493 **Interviewer:** But don't you feel like you want to have and see?
- 8.494 **Female participant:** No, huh-uh
- 8.495 **Male participant:** So ja, in this generation you know generation changes so ja
- 8.496 **Male participant:** But this is contributing to the bad results in South Africa education, I think.
- 8.497 **Interviewer:** What? How?
- 8.498 **Male participant:** Like most of the children they don't like putting most attention to the books like if maybe like you are studying for an hour you are coming out. But you can chat up until your battery is flat or your money is is
- 8.499 **Interviewer:** Your airtime is gone
- 8.500 **Male participant:** Ja, so if like maybe you don't study, and you always chat how can this contribute to your education?
- 8.501 **Interviewer:** Is education important?
- 8.502 **Male participant:** Ja it is, education guide you...
- 8.503 **Male participant:** Very important
- 8.504 **Male participant:** ...without education there is no life
- 8.505 **Interviewer:** Is being in matric part of who you are? Is it part of how you would describe yourself I am a matric pupil? Is it important to say that I have an education? It is part of who I am.
- 8.506 **Male participant:** Ja like I have more knowledge than other pupils in the other grades.
- 8.507 **Interviewer:** So the higher you go the more you would describe yourself. With a degree you will say I am this person with a degree in...
- 8.508 **Male participant:** And then you the more you go up, the more the challenges they come the more knowledge you have, the more obstacles they come then you tackle them you see.
- 8.509 **Interviewer:** That was it?
- 8.510 **Interviewer:** I think so. Thank you for staying and answering some more questions. Do you guys have any questions?

APPENDIX P

TRANSCRIPT: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 1

- 1.1 **Interviewer:** Alright, then I am going to put this one here and then we can just speak a little louder than you are use to speaking, otherwise it doesn't catch it. Alright?
- 1.2 **Participant:** Ok
- 1.3 **Interviewer:** So, tell me who are you?
- 1.4 **Participant:** Uhm (name) and uhm....sjoie....ja, uhm I am a black girl. I think I am multi-racial because my mom is Ndebele but born in Lesotho so...our Sotho is very very like good. And then uhm she was born in Lesotho so then we move here and spoke Xhosa. So I can speak Xhosa, Zulu and other languages including Spanish.
- 1.5 **Interviewer:** Spanish?
- 1.6 **Participant:** Ja
- 1.7 **Interviewer:** Where does the Spanish come from?
- 1.8 **Participant:** *Laughs* Uhm, Wikipedia, ja the internet and movies. And then a little Hindu from those movies, the Bollywood movies, ja
- 1.9 **Interviewer:** Ok, so languages are your thing
- 1.10 **Participant:** Yes, I like...I really like exploring and touring. Like I have taken the science trip. And I like to laugh, I like playing and dancing which is what I wanna do one day. Watching TV, I am a couch potato (*Laughs*)
- 1.11 **Interviewer:** Ok
- 1.12 **Participant:** Ja. What I hate the most is the noise
- 1.13 **Interviewer:** Noise
- 1.14 **Participant:** I hate noise. You don't know I wouldn't really like turn the music up to like 30 even if it is music that I like. I don't have many friends and I hate cars. I get sick in a car like breathless and things. I also get bored in a car that is why I also like a bigger space and being alone. Like during study time I use that other block, the D block because in my class, they are like chatty. So I just take the time alone for myself.
- 1.15 **Interviewer:** Alright
- 1.16 **Participant:** That is what I can say of myself
- 1.17 **Interviewer:** Tell me how important is it that you can say that you are a unique individual?
- 1.18 **Participant:** A unique individual...
- 1.19 **Interviewer:** Do you feel like you are unique or do you feel like everybody else?
- 1.20 **Participant:** Ja, uhm I am unique, I am hyperactive. Everybody in school knows me, they know my name. They just say oh the girl who walks past.
- 1.21 **Interviewer:** Ah, alright. So what makes you unique? What makes you different from the other people in school?
- 1.22 **Participant:** Because I got that energy. Whenever I would run, I would run and then like (*breathes in deeply*) like for a minute sixty seconds breathe and then I would run again. I don't get tired and I only rest when I am sleeping. That is why I am unique. I can speak many languages, I mean for somebody like me. Uhm... I think that
- 1.23 **Interviewer:** How important is language in who you are? If you see yourself, let's say you could see yourself from outside and you could look at this person, how important is language in understanding who you are?
- 1.24 **Participant:** Let me just....i think they help you like uhm communicate cause you know you at sometime you are watching like Zorro, because I like watching Spanish movies because I wanna hear sometimes they just don't use subtitles and they will just say something like uhm.... (*speaks a Spanish phrase*)why are you asking me that question and that is something that I will know and I am going to laugh
- 1.25 **Interviewer:** And what does it mean, what you said
- 1.26 **Participant:** Why are you asking me that question
- 1.27 **Interviewer:** Oh, okay

- 1.28 **Participant:** Ola is like everybody knows that it means hello, like Ola. And I think it helps in that way and then if they say (*speaks more Spanish*). That's... I don't know, it is just something, I like it and you can communicate
- 1.29 **Interviewer:** And it sounds like you are good in languages
- 1.30 **Participant:** Ja. Though my English is becoming very, very poor, because now I am focusing on Spanish.
- 1.31 **Interviewer:** But your English is good
- 1.32 **Participant:** But I got like a level 4 and I am use to a 6. I really dropped, but ja languages has helped me a lot and that is what I can say about languages. And then I am also interested because I want to tour so I want to go to Spain because it is in UK, not UK in Europe and the money there, it is loaded.
- 1.33 **Interviewer:** How important is other people in your life?
- 1.34 **Participant:** Other people. I can say that my mom is important to me because she has been there for me forever. Even though her sisters ja... Her two sisters help her, but then she put me the only thing I do when I get home, I do the dishes. She gets to do all the work, that is the fun part of it and my aunty who she does nothing, ooh I love her. And her other sister who lives in Lesotho also do nothing because she says that is my last born right there, that is my lastborn (*whispers*).
- 1.35 **Interviewer:** Are you the last born?
- 1.36 **Participant:** No
- 1.37 **Interviewer:** Not
- 1.38 **Participant:** She takes me as well. Ja. Then I am the first born.
- 1.39 **Interviewer:** The first born.
- 1.40 **Participant:** Ja
- 1.41 **Interviewer:** So how important is being the first born in who you are? Do you think it changes who you are? Do you think...
- 1.42 **Participant:** No (*laughs*). No, it doesn't change who I am cause uhm I don't know...it is like I am the only child...ja
- 1.43 **Interviewer:** Why do you say that?
- 1.44 **Participant:** Because I get a lot of things that I want. Ja.
- 1.45 **Interviewer:** How old is your siblings? Tiny?
- 1.46 **Participant:** The other one is 12, he is going to turn 12 in October, the other one a month old.
- 1.47 **Interviewer:** Oh, a baby baby.
- 1.48 **Participant:** Ja a baby
- 1.49 **Interviewer:** And your siblings? what part do they play in who you are?
- 1.50 **Participant:** The baby, oh the baby...I just laugh, I laugh at him when he is crying...I just laugh when my mom baths her she is contracting like "Whaaaa Whaaa" (*making crying noises*) and then the 12 year old, ah, you know we share a lot of things but most of the time we would fight for the TV remote. Like I wanna watch cartoons I watch these cartoons, and I wanna watch this and then we would fight. We actually broke a remote fighting.
- 1.51 **Interviewer:** Ooooo
- 1.52 **Participant:** Ja, they bought a new one, ja. It is fun having them even though sometimes I just feel that they are up on my nerve.
- 1.53 **Interviewer:** Do you sometimes feel that you don't do bad things like, you don't want to go out partying because they are watching you and they will do the same thing or...
- 1.54 **Participant:** Oh
- 1.55 **Interviewer:** ... Not really, you don't mind.
(*Interruption - someone enters the room, teacher says something*)

- 1.56 **Participant:** Party, ah...I only went to a single party which was last year and they are the only reason why I don't go party. Like they say that if you are going to party with us, you are going to booze, and I don't booze, I have never done that. Rather stay at home, but I danced I had fun. That is why I don't like to go to party...oh! Crowd...nearly spoke Sotho...the crowd right here I am like ugh...you know I feel like everyone is watching me and that is why I go through school this fast because I want to get out of everybody's face.
- 1.57 **Interviewer:** Ok. So if you don't go partying and boozing, most of the kids here at school go partying and boozing, how do you understand, how do you...
- 1.58 **Participant:** You know like sometimes if somebody like on Monday, like today is Monday, like on Thursday I did that, I am like oh my gosh your lives are so busy. All I can do is just stay home, just looking at my books and now started studying, I have never done that in my whole life, just started studying this term. And I am like, gosh your lives are busy and then my friend would be like "oh no they can't be like you". They got to groove, some people can not be like you, you know they cannot be like you, that is impossible. Then I will be like, "ja, I know"
- 1.59 **Interviewer:** So what is your friend mean that they can't be like you? What are you like?
- 1.60 **Participant:** I don't know....I don't like crowds, I don't go partying where there are a lot of people. Even when I went to that party I don't remember, it was just like yes lets go partying because it was my classmates only and half of not even half, like a quarter of, ja a quarter and then we just went there. A crowd doesn't do it for me so I just sit home while they are partying so I am going to dance with myself then I am good.
- 1.61 **Interviewer:** And your friends, how big part do they play in who you are?
- 1.62 **Participant:** Very, very big part because they are like my only true friends. We would chat about things even though they are afraid to ask me some things and even if they are afraid to say some things in front of me. But I don't know, they think I mustn't say like everyone. I will really really say "oh that guy is hot" and they would be like "did you really just say that" and I would be like "ja, I did, is I wrong" "no, but for someone like you it is" "somebody like me" "ja" "what do you mean" "just inconceivable" "ja I can get to say that, I am only human being, I can say those things" "didn't expect it from you" that is all ja.
- 1.63 **Interviewer:** So tell me this friend who said that it is wrong for someone like you, what did she mean by someone like you?
- 1.64 **Participant:** I, Santa Maria they think I am a saint...
- 1.65 **Interviewer:** Do they call you that?
- 1.66 **Participant:** No, they think I am some kind of saint. You know when I would say something, they are like "you did not just say that" and I am like "oh I did"
- 1.67 **Interviewer:** Imagine I am from Mars and I don't know what it means when you say they think I am a saint. Explain to me what it means. What does it mean when your friends think you are a saint
- 1.68 **Participant:** I don't do bad stuff. Some, but there is only one thing that I do which is hitting, yes I like hitting. Somebody would just like touch me and I would be like "oh now you did not" and I will turn hit that. But the kindest thing is when somebody just comes and you know like his or her hand around my shoulder, you have got to ask me first if you can touch me, you have to have my permission first. If somebody great me like "oh hello" I will be like "good day sir"
- 1.69 **Interviewer:** Ok so you are polite
- 1.70 **Participant:** Ja. That is the kindest thing like I will never say something harsh. My words are very sweet

- 1.71 **Interviewer:** And tell me, ok we spoke about your family, but how does your family influence the person that you are or your characteristics, your personality, your identity. How do they influence that?
- 1.72 **Participant:** You know I wasn't like kidding about my mom. My mom took karate lessons so every time I do something stupid she would really take me down. I would just measure myself, I was standing, but now I am on the floor how did I get there then I say I am going to nail that one I can just put somebody down. And ok my mom is Christian, and her mom is Christian and my father will be Christian so my pa and my character because I can be polite and not harsh ja.
- 1.73 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about religion and Christianity. How does religion influence who you are?
- 1.74 **Participant:** It influence me a lot because you know as a Christian you've got to be polite and don't act before talking and every time, ja be polite like say thank you every time. I would say the whole me. You know at times you just say, you just hear people saying this is what happened on like their like somebody will come to you and say "oh God, I like you" and I will say "thank you very much, I like you too" "oh really, I thought you said you didn't date" and then I will say "No, I didn't mean that in that way. I mean I like you". That is the thing in the Bible; you just got to love people because love conquers all. Ja, love because of sometimes you can just say how can your pastor and his wife get married cause they started dating, then I am like ja, but I am not a pastor. It really has influenced me a lot because now I am polite, you know I was a very harsh person. I can say that what you see today is the work of the blood, I am sure you have heard that song.
- 1.75 **Interviewer:** No
- 1.76 **Participant:** Oh you've never heard of it? Praise and worship?...oh... Uhm, oh when uhm my mom and dad were dating I think she was a part then what happened...I think my mom fell pregnant and my dad said "oh no, that 'aint my child" and my mom said "oh no you were my only boyfriend" and then my dad said "oh, whatever" then my father said "abort that children" and then my mother said she is not going to abort that child. When she told me, I was I don't know intimidated, got angry, started smashing things.
- 1.77 **Interviewer:** Ok, how old were you then?
- 1.78 **Participant:** She told me, my aunty told me ja, her twin sister told me and when she told me I thought she was joking. Like she said "you are not suppose to be here" then I was like "what do you mean" and she was like "your dad wanted to abort you" "really" "ja" but then she likes joking "you serious" "ja" then he told me like ja I once told your mom to abort you like seriously. Oh, so that is the case. Then every time I see a boy (*a lot of anger in her voice*) just a boy doing something stupid I wanna hit him.
- 1.79 **Interviewer:** So how did that influence how you understand who you are if they told you that you weren't even supposed to be here?
- 1.80 **Participant:** You know at times, if something happened or like if something bad happens if I wasn't there it wasn't going to happen so why is it happening. Cause I am passed it because I am not suppose to be here. Like there are times when I am just like smashing things around the house, but then whoa.... (*participant keeps quiet*)
- 1.81 **Interviewer:** But then?
- 1.82 **Participant:** then I became a Christian, I believed and then that stopped even though I cant stop hitting boys and I will really tell my dad like "I hate you" I would tell him. Like if I said can you please do this thing he's going to tell my little sister that "I know you will gain from it, but you are not going to get it because you don't want to come to my house" "really seriously" "well you are fond of me" Am I crying (*whispers*) Oh.

- Every time I see him, he will do something stupid and this is the reason I hate you, this is the reason why I hate me, this is the reason why I am single. But my mom did it for me and God did it for me and know I can control myself ja. I can be sweet at times, I can control myself when I am talking to a boy and not take all the anger out. (*laughs*) not take out all the anger. Not to go onto all the hatred and anger on him. You know at first like in Grade 8, somebody say hi I was like why are you talking to me and I would hit him but now I am getting better and better. But I think I wanna stop with the hitting.
- 1.83 **Interviewer:** How does being a girl, being a woman, how does that influence who you are? Do you think you are different to other people because you are a girl?
- 1.84 **Participant:** Ja
- 1.85 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about that status, you said that you are a black girl. What does girl mean
- 1.86 **Participant:** Like I am extraordinary oh, adventurous, ja. You know I rarely say something that someone would not expect. I took this science trip but I know some of the things in not History...Tourism....I don't know, I am interested in everything. Even though, even if I hear something about, I don't like history, something about uhm...tourism...I am just going to research about it, I am just going to do some research. I am interested in a lot of things like ja mildly.
- 1.87 **Interviewer:** Do you think you are different, do you think you have different characteristics because you are a girl?
- 1.88 **Participant:** Ja
- 1.89 **Interviewer:** Different experiences because you are a girl
- 1.90 **Participant:** Ja, you know...uhm...because they say, they call me the man-beater
- 1.91 **Interviewer:** The what?
- 1.92 **Participant:** The man-beater
- 1.93 **Interviewer:** The man-beater
- 1.94 **Participant:** Ja, they say I've got that strength you know, I can take somebody down in a second. A lot of girls want to do I know somebody just say, someone will really say "give me your pen" they are just going to give the pen "give me your pen" "why didn't you bring yours" "no, I don't have it" "so, you wanna scratch my pen" "yes" then we just going to fight for it. May the best man win
- 1.95 **Interviewer:** Ok, so you have a fighter's instinct too it sounds like
- 1.96 **Participant:** Yes. I am violent (*laughs*)
- 1.97 **Interviewer:** Violent or fighters instinct?
- 1.98 **Participant:** Ja. I think I can do a lot of things that men can do.
- 1.99 **Interviewer:** Like? Speak to me about a couple of them
- 1.100 **Participant:** A couple of them...uhm...running, you know I can compete with a boy in marathon. What else, sometimes I say something if I want somebody to talk...uhm...my former boyfriend (*whispers*) when we need to talk I usually I knew he has great string of chicks ne, so if I wanted him to tell me about them I was going to say, (name) you know I assault this boy who was wearing uhm...a three quarter, and those things he will just be like "oh really, I have this chick and this chick and this blah blah" "I know you had them, I just wanna make talk"...ja. That is how truthful I am, that is my characteristics. I hear many people talk. I hear also four people at times. Somebody ask me something, I am just going to smile and say yes, even though it is a no.
- 1.101 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about being a teenager, how is that? Who are you as teenager?
- 1.102 **Participant:** It is kinda good... heeee
- 1.103 **Interviewer:** What is good about it?
- 1.104 **Participant:** You get to explore those things, you know

1.105 **Interviewer:** What things?

1.106 **Participant:** Even though some people may say “gosh, you are too little, you have only been in one, in a single relationship” but you know about them, hey I know a lot of things. I mean 13 months being with that time only I learned something. Like, the bodies and you just got to go out there sometimes they say to your pastor that is not how I touch, I don’t go there. And some people are like you gotta kiss. Yeah, I am not that fond of you guys, he wanted me to kiss in front on my best friend and I was like that is not how I roll, I am not a celebrity. I mean...shjo...we would fight about that for like weeks and I would do something if, you know at times I didn’t feel like kissing and he would just look at me like...and then just like oh no you ‘aint getting nothing today like on Wednesdays when we came off early and I would like preacher like I am going to the toilet and he would take my bag an leave.

1.107 **Interviewer:** So how important is dating? Having a boyfriend, you said earlier that you are single. How important is that?

1.108 **Participant:** Uhm...you know I wouldn’t say dating because like...I don’t know, I felt crap...I don’t know how I felt in Grade 9... people like “my boyfriend is him” and “there my boyfriend is doing this” and whatever the other would be like “my former boyfriend is doing that” and I am the only one without a boyfriend, not a formal boyfriend...what de...and they would be like “we heard you even had your first kiss” and I am like “yeah, I know” and they are like “oh can I have that please” they were in grade 9. The following part of boys like I always say “gosh I want a boyfriend who knows and loves me and have a marriage” “boy” that is what I gotta and he cheated too, but that is how I think they all are. Then I started dating and did it like from.... ja... 2011 November to last year December and when I told him to dump me he said no. Then we had a fight like “you’re dumping” “no, you’re dumping” “no, you’re dumping” then finally I did it. I only did it because I felt left out, I don’t see the importance anymore like what am I going to do. Ja I am having boyfriends a lot, I don’t see the importance in having them.

1.109 **Interviewer:** What are the important things now?

1.110 **Participant:** Now?

1.111 **Interviewer:** The important things that you have to say about yourself?

1.112 **Participant:** My books, my friends, ja...you know, my friends I would really like say something stupid. Like now I am going to say shjo I am going to have a boyfriend. Like oh, you didn’t tell us about him. Then I will be like I know, it is a surprise and then I show them this picture. But that is how we roll, that is how we play. We would usually say if you are going to the toilet you will say I am going to my boyfriend then when you get back they will say “oh what did he say” and I say “oh no he said this and this and this” they are like “you are just kidding” then I would be like “I am just kidding” we know that we are kidding because we are all single.

1.113 **Interviewer:** Do you feel that you have to make up a boyfriend to impress your friends

1.114 **Participant:** No, no, you know we like took a bet. We took a bet to remain single. If someone has a boyfriend we take it as a scene “oh, did you hear she has a boyfriend”. That’s how we really like operating if somebody says they have a boyfriend “you have what?” (*in a surprised tone*) your are in Grade 7 you hear somebody saying oh she is dating and you are like “oh my word, that is like the elderly stuff, oh” right now that is how we are acting if somebody, if my other friend says “oh, I have a boyfriend” “oh no you did not just say that, I mean we just said we are going to be single for the whole year” then they are saying “oh no, don’t say you, you know what is your problem” like now this is not a problem... ja

1.115 **Interviewer:** What is the problem?

- 1.116 **Participant:** They say that the problem is that I got played and I don't want to get played again. But that is not the case because I knew that he was a player.
- 1.117 **Interviewer:** Ok. So what do you think it is?
- 1.118 **Participant:** No, I don't think that it is a problem. I think, I am just taking a break... ja. We will see like uhm...I am only going to get a date end of November for the... I'll be in the Matric Farewell
- 1.119 **Interviewer:** So for the Matric Farewell
- 1.120 **Participant:** Yes for the farewell only. Then I will...but just for a date, just for the Matric for the farewell.
- 1.121 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about school. How important is school in who you are? Saying that you are in (name) School in Grade 11 and that you study hard and...
- 1.122 **Participant:** Ja... you know...ah.... I never studied, I only studies this quarter and my report is very terrible. I passed physics with level 4 which was what I expected because ja I think I worked hard. And you know that physical science, if you pass very very well it was like level 3 then I said no, I am just gonna...ja just gonna buckle up my belt (*whispers*). Yes buckle up my belt and then I will do things quite well. Then when in 12 my physical test was like 39% which is level 2 then like life sciences oh, I never like that. Which is just I just hate reading I just practice it and as for medics I will really practice the previous day and then I will end up writing the following day. As for physical sciences I don't know, I just know like I am gonna pass and then oohhh ... Geography I am killing that thing. I will get level 6 even without studying. What I did this time, I knew I was writing and we wrote physical sciences and tomorrow we are writing geography, what did I do? I took the damn book and I read. The following morning I did it again and the report came out with a level 3 like I have never...I will never do that, my report is very terrible. My best mark is like Life Orientation. And as for Life Sciences I still have a lot...
- 1.123 **Interviewer:** What does it say about you that your report is terrible? What do you think it says about you?
- 1.124 **Participant:** I took things for granted. Like say I took things for granted like...ja... I just gonna pass so what is the point. I just wanna pass, but then now it is expected of me like a great pass rate cause I know ...i....even though I don't try too hard, but I always get like second position. But now I don't know, I don't think ill have that anymore. Just gonna work twice as hard. Just gonna work hard. I am going to do more than try to just maintain my position back. Because from Grade 1 oohh...ja.... from Grade 1 since I started school I was always the first position in class then oohh last year....then I was like...my boyfriend was the first position this is me second position. And we had the same mark. She got like 60% and I have 55% how the hell did this happen, her if first position and me in second position. And this year she is taking my position again. Monday when we get back here...we will no longer turn. I think I am going to study and I started this term. I will never ever take things for granted again because that is not how I operate. Say we are writing tomorrow, I am just going to take the book...ja...we are writing tomorrow....tomorrow I write and studying so that I can pass with over 50% that is alright with me. But now I don't write, no more.
- 1.125 **Interviewer:** Why?
- 1.126 **Participant:** It is just I want my position back, like back no away like now...mommy he is first position because I'm angry like...ok is first position again! How did this happen, when he gets home, he studies. What do you do when you get home? I don't know... ja... you sleep every time you get home you just sleep. You are so far...how many hours? 5 hours because school is till 15:30 when I get home it is 16:00 and I sleep and I will wake up like 22:00 and she has to wake me so that I can eat. Then I get back

to bed again. The following morning is a school day. I come home from school it is the same routine. Saturday I wake up do the dishes, watch a little TV then I they...uhm...got to wake me from my sleep because I will be sleeping and then I will sleep again.

- 1.127 **Interviewer:** So what does that first position mean? That glory. What is it...who are you when you have that?
- 1.128 **Participant:** I am loud. They feel like I can do it. Uhm...then you know...yes...cause it means I am the best. Now like second position they just look at (name) in first position who has taken my place. And I know that I can do better. It is just that I am too lazy, every time I get home I just sleep cause it is all that I can think of. You know in class, they will ask what do you do when you get home and they are like I do this. My friend will be like when I get home I am going to study certain things. Wow that is great. Or they will be saying what they are going to do when they get home and they come to you and then I will say no I am going to sleep. That is what I do. I am no longer sleeping. I don't want to sleep anymore
(*interruption - knock on the door*)
- 1.129 **Participant:** Where were we...we like helping people and now I mean I understand a lot of things but now... I just loose sometimes. Just loose it... you know... trust uhm... every time I loose it the teacher will be like it is your decision and this is your life. This is why I pressure, I am making sure you know how to live. When I am doing this, and you are not here I trust you in this so that you can see like... ja.
- 1.130 **Interviewer:** Do you feel that you are changing? Do you feel your personality is changing?
- 1.131 **Participant:** Ja, I am changing. I am trying to change it. I am trying. I wanna retain that again. On the top, the top. They cannot be bitten by a boy. This is a man's world! Buckle up girl, it is in a song, Beyoncé sings it. I like her.
- 1.132 **Interviewer:** Do you feel that you have a good idea of who you are? Do you feel...
- 1.133 **Participant:** Ja
- 1.134 **Interviewer:** Do you know who you are and that is not going to change.
- 1.135 **Participant:** Ja, I know who I am. But, not quite cause at times I am just myself...you know....
- 1.136 **Interviewer:** What don't you understand about yourself?
- 1.137 **Participant:** Sjoe....Mixed emotions. You know I will see a very vary ugly thing and we will laugh. And then we will see a very pretty thing and I am going to laugh. When I am angry laugh. Sad laugh. I hardly ever cry. That is what I don't understand you know. At a funeral people will be like crying and I will be like every time I hear like somebody...uhm...I receive a call like somebody just passed, and my word, and then I would laugh...it will just come out. And I will ask myself why? And I just feel like laughing. These people who are evil, I want to laugh.
- 1.138 **Interviewer:** What things do you understand about yourself?
- 1.139 **Participant:** About myself? Uhm.... Uhm...uhm...I think a lot of them. Except for my emotions.
- 1.140 **Interviewer:** But what are the things that you understand?
- 1.141 **Participant:** That I understand? Let's see...uhm...oh.... ooooo... That is a hard one. Very difficult. I don't know.
- 1.142 **Interviewer:** What things do you know for sure about who you are
- 1.143 **Participant:** Like you make people talk...uhm...apart from doing excellent in languages...uhm...I always get things done. Except for when I don't want to do it then I am going to make a lame excuse like...ah...I forgot.

- 1.144 **Interviewer:** Tell me what else influences who you are? We have spoken about your feelings...
- 1.145 **Participant:** TV
- 1.146 **Interviewer:** Television? Alright
- 1.147 **Participant:** That is the only reason why
- 1.148 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about how it influences you
- 1.149 **Participant:** You know like when I am watching a movie...*(cant hear the name of the movie she refers to)* do you know that movie?
- 1.150 **Interviewer:** No, I have heard about it, but I haven't seen it
- 1.151 **Participant:** Ja. Shjo that movie. I have played something like that and we were in a quiet world. Ja. Like setting up somebody... oohh... no more crowd, no more friends...shjo. Then the most movies that I hit people with I mostly get them from the TV
- 1.152 **Interviewer:** Ok.
- 1.153 **Participant:** Ja. Like how I talk. Cause I like Americans and I also like accents. They are usually a true representation. If I say that there are two boy cause I know that in my life I am just going to need it. Like if I started using the Spanish language I will literally use it and then I will return to the normal English accent.
- 1.154 **Interviewer:** Anything about yourself, your identity
- 1.155 **Participant:** My identity? Uhm...
- 1.156 **Interviewer:** Who else influences your identity like the TV
- 1.157 **Participant:** Rather than TV?uhm.....
- 1.158 **Interviewer:** How do you see that your personality has changed since you were a child to now?
- 1.159 **Participant:** When I got saved, I understand what Christian is all about. That is how I have changed.
- 1.160 **Interviewer:** Ok. Talk to me about being a black adolescent. What does that mean to you?
- 1.161 **Participant:** To me?
- 1.162 **Interviewer:** You said initially that you are a black girl and we have spoken about being a girl. So what does it mean to be black? How has that changed you? Or how does that define who you are
- 1.163 **Participant:** Black girl, black girl *(whispers this to herself)*. Uhm...you know maybe I...our parents will talk about what they know about school first. So I think what is imprinted on us is most of our parents. Because they will tell you oh no you shouldn't do this, you shouldn't do that. And I am like ah, what do you know? When you do that, you realise oh she has been there. She was standing there, why didn't you just listen to her. They play a very very important role in our lives.
- 1.164 **Interviewer:** So what does it mean to be African?
- 1.165 **Participant:** African? Ja...only live from Africa, being dark skinned, uhm...curly hair, not long enough, ja...that's even though there are White, the Black African...ja...
- 1.166 **Interviewer:** And the tradition, the sharing, how does that influence you?
- 1.167 **Participant:** Tradition? No, we only do the Christian traditions at home.
- 1.168 **Interviewer:** That is what I wanted to ask, how does it...
- 1.169 **Participant:** Going to church every Sunday and added to that we will do something like...I don't know...a concert at church...like we will sing and you see that this is church it is a whole party. We are going to party here and they play like the gospel and then I know where my party is. So even though sometimes people will go to other place and I will be like I know where my party is, right there where I pray.
- 1.170 **Interviewer:** So it sounds like God is really a big part of who you are

- 1.171 **Participant:** Yes. Even though my friends are like who they are going to bore us with the gospel. I will...ja... put on my headset... they have so many ear and they will ask, what are you listening to. “you do want to know” “I am asking because I wanna know” “I told you that you can listen to them because I just love their songs” I listen to Selina Gomez, Justin Bieber, I also listen to them, but then mostly I like to listen to gospel.
- 1.172 **Interviewer:** Ok.
- 1.173 **Participant:** (*whispers to herself*) I like partying.
- 1.174 **Interviewer:** What is the nicest thing about being a teenager
- 1.175 **Participant:** Getting to explore
- 1.176 **Interviewer:** And the thing you don’t like?
- 1.177 **Participant:** Uhm...oohh... is those... I don’t know... I wouldn’t call it peer pressure... yeah... no... yes something like that. You know they tell you have you seen that shirt, that skirt “what skirt, I have one” “those are they must haves” “you know what I wear” I will put on a pair of jeans with some sneakers and a shirt over a shirt and I am good and a cap. I am like laidback, ja. I think peer pressure mostly cause some people got to have a boyfriend so that they can do the... some say my boyfriend is going to buy me that thing. You didn’t tell me you have a boyfriend your relationship is moving to fast it is not going to bring you far. I don’t like this. But I guess you just got to accept it. Cause the peer pressure cause tell the people you got to do this and you got to do that, that I don’t like the peer pressure.
- 1.178 **Interviewer:** So how do you say no to peer pressure.
- 1.179 **Participant:** Never, if someone says something very very bad to me I am just going to laugh and tell another person like “oh really, you are making yourself feel better about me”
- 1.180 **Interviewer:** Anything else about yourself, who you are, who you are as person, your characteristics, how you see yourself?
- 1.181 **Participant:** Uhm... I think I have a kind hearted girl. Polite, very soft, easy to talk to, funny, outgoing but not really into a crowd because I get sick... ja... and my biggest problem ever is spring time I am allergic so fast. Even perfumes.
- 1.182 **Interviewer:** Anything else
- 1.183 **Participant:** Uhm
- 1.184 **Interviewer:** Do you try out different personas? Do you sometimes try to be the loud outgoing one? Sometimes try...
- 1.185 **Participant:** Oh, you know, I once tried that and somebody said that doesn’t suit you. I had this song on and I was always watching her and the song plays on the radio and you just try that. And they will ask “what are you doing” “I do what you always do, you said I am uptight, no I do what you always do then you asking me what I am doing. I am doing exactly what you told me to do and now you are asking me what am I doing” “girl just stick to what you do best, just say that I like this song”
- 1.186 **Interviewer:** And do you use their advice or not to that
- 1.187 **Participant:** Ja... ja... cause if you try it you know, if you like you really casual at school, like casual day, and they will be like where were you, you look handsome and they will be looking at that. And they will just say that guy is good, that guy is cool, that guy is handsome and they will be saying yes he is and then I am just going to say oh you wanna do that just like that. He is going to party like oohh... and I will say damn that guy. What did you just do “I am trying to be like you” and they will say just stick to what you know and say it like you don’t care. If I think that guy is good or that guy is cool then I am going to say it, so I will just remain polite that is what I will do because they say it doesn’t work for me. It is too urgh for me. I think I am using it very very wisely.

- 1.188 **Interviewer:** Thank you. Anything else that you want to say about who you are that you feel is important. Anything about being a black African adolescent here in the Motheo district?
- 1.189 **Participant:** Oh uhm... I'm missing... uhm ja... that I can dance. You know I can shake it, I can get it down, but not like...you know when I start dancing I will start doing the stupid ones and people will say oh no she cannot dance and then I will say really and my friend say you haven't seen nothing yet and then I will start dancing for real. So I will start with doing stupid moves and then doing the right moves. That is what I can do
- 1.190 **Interviewer:** The dancing queen
- 1.191 **Participant:** Yes.
- 1.192 **Interviewer:** Anything else
- 1.193 **Participant:** Anything else? Do you watch wrestling?
- 1.194 **Interviewer:** No
- 1.195 **Participant:** Oh, you know that is what I want to do. You know I fell from a table. I was cleaning the windows, no not cleaning the windows. I was ja...I was running after someone then he said wait for me I am just going to put this chair for you to get down then no, he didn't and I fell. I got up as soon as, I though I was going to get hurt, but I didn't. But the class was like oh no, no she fell and I was no I was just fine
- 1.196 **Interviewer:** Is that what make you decide to become a wrestler
- 1.197 **Participant:** No, it was just then that I realise that I can actually do this. I can become a wrestler. I fell from a table. I also wanted to be a wrestler because when I look at their bodies like Mariese, Layla and Michelle, their bodies are to die for. I just want those abs. I just want them my stomach. I have been working hard but I want those abs, those lines. Someday it is going to become my number 2 priority next year. I am going to have a dress that will show off my abs. That dress is not going to cover my tummy.
- 1.198 **Interviewer:** Alright thank you my dear
- 1.199 **Participant:** Thank You
- 1.200 **Interviewer:** If there is nothing else then that is it.

APPENDIX Q

TRANSCRIPT: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW 2

- 2.1 **Interviewer:** You have had time to think about the question now, tell me who you are what's your personality like?
- 2.2 **Participant:** Ok ja what I can say is I am a very humble person, like polite and I like, like challenges, I like being challenged ja, because like they build me I can say that they build me more and then I like coming to school like, I like being at school. I like going to church ja, like I'm a Jesus freak and then ja I think that's all that I can say.
- 2.3 **Interviewer:** Alright let's start with the last thing you said the Jesus freak, how does being a Jesus freak, how does that make you who you are, how does that make you different to.....
- 2.4 **Participant:** To other people, it makes me difference because I like God, I like being like in his presence and it makes me different from other people because I can say I am a righteous man ja, mighty man of God ja. I can say that because like I can see even when a challenge, when I'm facing a challenge I can overcome it easily and ja, I do not, I'm not let down by a challenge ja.
- 2.5 **Interviewer:** Ok, so the Bible influences who you are?
- 2.6 **Participant:** Ja a lot, it does a lot ja.
- 2.7 **Interviewer:** And school? How does school influence the person that you are? You said you like to come to school, so how does school influence who you are?
- 2.8 **Participant:** Ok when I'm at school like I learn like different things like a lot of things about life and how, how I should treat myself outside there and...
- 2.9 **Interviewer:** Like how? What things do you learn how to treat yourself out there? What practical things? Pretend I'm from mars and I don't know. Describe to me if I was from mars, how does school change or influence who you are?
- 2.10 **Participant:** Ok ja I learn a lot of things like about life, just like I said and.... (*Laughs*).
- 2.11 **Interviewer:** Try? Think we have lots of time.
- 2.12 **Participant:** Ok let me think (*Whispers to self*) it's kinda hard to think. Can you please repeat the question again? (*Laughs*)
- 2.13 **Interviewer:** Let's start just again with how school influences you?
- 2.14 **Participant:** When I'm at school like I learn more about things ne and then aaaahhh like I become, I gain, I gain more knowledge and ja and wisdom let me say it like that ja when I'm at school I learn a lot of things each and every day that I can always use when I'm outside there to help other people or something like that ja.
- 2.15 **Interviewer:** Alright and being in grade 12 how did that change you, how did that change who you are, or who you are or didn't it?
- 2.16 **Participant:** Nah, it didn't change me a lot it just, I'm still me it's just that the grades ja I'm still the same person ja its just Matric it's just like the other grades but with more work and pressure ja.
- 2.17 **Interviewer:** But you remained the same who you were last year and who you are this year still remains the same?
- 2.18 **Participant:** Ja.
- 2.19 **Interviewer:** Who influences this person that you are? Who has an influence on who you are? Or had an influence on who you become?
- 2.20 **Participant:** Does it have to be like a person or....?
- 2.21 **Interviewer:** Could be things a person, anything from outside.
- 2.22 **Participant:** God, its still God.
- 2.23 **Interviewer:** God. Any other influences? Parents?
- 2.24 **Participant:** I can say my leader at church ja. He does like influence me a lot cause he always motivates me like everything when it comes to school always tell me must study, study, study, practice, practice, ja.
- 2.25 **Interviewer:** Ok it sounds like he is a big influence on your life?

- 2.26 **Participant:** Ja he does.
- 2.27 **Interviewer:** Friends, how do friends influence you? Who you are how do friends influence who you are? Or how have they influenced you?
- 2.28 **Participant:** Ok I do not have like like many friends people that I call friends at school that my someone that I work with or like I eat with but my friends are mostly at my place at home ja they do influence me a lot because like..... We go to church together so they always like motivate me positively they do not say things, negative things to me no always tell me you must pass because they already finished school there so they will always tell me about matric must practice do what they give me previous question papers to practice ja.
- 2.29 **Interviewer:** Ok, school friends how do they influence you?
- 2.30 **Participant:** They will always ok, most of my friends they failed Grade 11 so ja I'm the one motivating them ja, but I'm still with them I do not ja
- 2.31 **Interviewer:** They are just not in your class anymore?
- 2.32 **Participant:** Ja
- 2.33 **Interviewer:** Ok alright how does being a man influence who you are? Being a guy and not being a girl how does that make the experiences you have different?
- 2.34 **Participant:** Can say that being a guy like..... you do not, let me think.
- 2.35 **Interviewer:** No Problem.
- 2.36 **Participant:** Ok being a guy to me it's you are not let down by challenges easy just like girls, than you do not show your emotions, keep them inside, you try to act strong and ja.
- 2.37 **Interviewer:** And do you have to keep your emotions inside?
- 2.38 **Participant:** Ja.
- 2.39 **Interviewer:** What would happen if you don't? As a guy what would it mean if you showed your emotions?
- 2.40 **Participant:** It's like you are not a man. It's like you are not a man but it's not like you're not a man you just, you just have a different way of doing things ja.
- 2.41 **Interviewer:** Would you be seen as weak?
- 2.42 **Participant:** Ja by other guys, but if you know yourself you know that no I'm not weak ja.
- 2.43 **Interviewer:** Family how do they influence you?
- 2.44 **Participant:** Family, ok they do influence me a lot cause they support me in everything that I do when when it comes to school when they, when they let me say that a career exhibition there's money that we need to pop out at school they do support me financially and like they always there to motivate me about school about life like telling me you should finish school you should follow your dreams ja should have a purpose in life ja.
- 2.45 **Interviewer:** Alright talk to me how do your family influence who you are how did they influence your characteristics and your personality?
- 2.46 **Participant:** Ok they do influence my character because they have taught me like since I was a little boy that growing up to respect adults how to talk to adults and how to treat like my peers and everybody.
- 2.47 **Interviewer:** Alright good
- 2.48 **Participant:** I think.
- 2.49 **Interviewer:** Do you have siblings, brothers and sisters?
- 2.50 **Participant:** Ja I do.
- 2.51 **Interviewer:** Do they influence your character?
- 2.52 **Participant:** My sisters they do but I have a little brother and I'm the one motivating him my sisters they do motivate me cause they also ready finished school know ja they

- tell me the other one didn't finish school so she always tell me that you should finish school its hard out there without a matric certificate to go to varsity.
- 2.53 **Interviewer:** What's your dream?
- 2.54 **Participant:** My dream? To become a chartered Accountant. Ja that's my dream.
- 2.55 **Interviewer:** What else influences your character? You have spoken about God that's a big influence and your religious leader friends, family school what else?
- 2.56 **Participant:** And also teachers
- 2.57 **Interviewer:** How do they influence your character?
- 2.58 **Participant:** By like by teaching us like they teaching us and they giving us more information more more knowledge more wisdom like to to know I don't know how to say.
- 2.59 **Interviewer:** Try you doing good.
- 2.60 **Participant:** Like they giving us information about everything like everything that you need when you go to a teacher he or she will help you with everything that you need you don't have to be scared to go to a teacher if you need help you just go there and ask that I need help with this and this just do it and that builds you because they do not just shout you what what what they tell you straight that need to do this and this and this that also builds you as a person.
- 2.61 **Interviewer:** Alright. Do you feel you understand who you are? You have a pretty good idea of who you are. Do you feel there are things about me I don't understand and.
- 2.62 **Participant:** I have just said I understand just a little bit about myself but.
- 2.63 **Interviewer:** What's that that you understand?
- 2.64 **Participant:** That what kind of person I am what do I wanna do all those kinda things but I think there's still lots more to learn as time goes on.
- 2.65 **Interviewer:** Like, give me some examples what do you think you are going to learn about yourself as time goes on?
- 2.66 **Participant:** Mmmm let me think.
- 2.67 **Interviewer:** Do you think you gonna change? Do you think the person you are gonna change?
- 2.68 **Participant:** No I don't think I will change a lot I think I will just stay as I am now like humble polite think I'm just gonna as I am because I don't think this anyone or anything that will change me ja.
- 2.69 **Interviewer:** Are you the same person you were when you were young? Your character is it the same as it was then or did it change now that you're a.
- 2.70 **Participant:** It did change a bit ja it did.
- 2.71 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about that change.
- 2.72 **Participant:** Before I was a kinda a shy person like I was not bold enough even to talk to a person like now (*laughs*), but when time goes on I started like trying to overcome this shyness that I had know.
- 2.73 **Interviewer:** And why did you try to overcome that? Why did you work on that factor?
- 2.74 **Participant:** Ok It just happened like I just felt like that after like like after accepting God I just say that after accepting God my personal lord it just happened like that, I just started talking in home cell I just started talking and then ja I was even shocked myself that I can talk now.
- 2.75 **Interviewer:** Alright did it give you that confidence?
- 2.76 **Participant:** Ja
- 2.77 **Interviewer:** Talk to me about being black African adolescent. What does it mean to be a black African teenager in this community? Is it important to you to say that you are a black African teenager?

- 2.78 **Participant:** To me colour doesn't matter to me colour doesn't matter we are all the same have the same opportunities so if you still complaining about colour that's your own thing, I don't think cause I do not I do not colour doesn't matter to me as long as I go to school and then I achieve my dream that's what matters to me ja.
- 2.79 **Interviewer:** Do you think you would be a different person if you were born an Indian? Would your character be different?
- 2.80 **Participant:** Ja I think it would be (*laughs*).
- 2.81 **Interviewer:** How would it be different if you were Indian, what would change?
- 2.82 **Participant:** Think mmmm what would change is my religion I think ja others maybe little change ja.
- 2.83 **Interviewer:** like?
- 2.84 **Participant:** Maybe I will still be shy or ja. I'll be humble still.
- 2.85 **Interviewer:** Ok alright, do you like being a teenager?
- 2.86 **Participant:** Ja I do like being a teenagers, teenager but ah I want to grow up I don't wanna I wanna grow up ja.
- 2.87 **Interviewer:** What's the thing about growing up what's so, what will happen if you grow up?
- 2.88 **Participant:** I'm just starting to see my dream that is why I always want to grow up.
- 2.89 **Interviewer:** you are a determined young man
- 2.90 **Participant:** I just want to grow up and achieve my dream then get married ja.
- 2.91 **Interviewer:** Alright is it important part of your identity and your personality to say that I'm going to be a CA is it important to you to say this is me and I'm going to be a CA that's an important part of who I am?
- 2.92 **Participant:** Ja it is very important to me to see myself ja.
- 2.93 **Interviewer:** See your dreams come true; what's the nice thing about being a teenager?
- 2.94 **Participant:** Mmmm let me think ok like a nice thing about being a teenager is that you have free it's just free like you feel like this world it is mine like you know it's just you just free and you have the opportunities like everything is just on a plate for you like this ja think that's one of the nicest things.
- 2.95 **Interviewer:** And one of the worst things about being a teenager?
- 2.96 **Participant:** mmmm no let me maybe bad influence let me say it like that ja because you get influenced easily like by things. Get influenced easy by bad things like let me say negative things ja.
- 2.97 **Interviewer:** Talk to me a bit about those negative things, what negative things influence you?
- 2.98 **Participant:** Mmm let me say peer pressure like drinking, smoking all those kinda things ja.
- 2.99 **Interviewer:** And tell me often when you experience peer pressure you must engage in that cause we need to belong we don't wanna be different to them? How do you deal with that, do you go along cause you want to belong to that group and say you belong to that group or how do you deal with peer pressure?
- 2.100 **Participant:** Like your word must be your word if you say no it must be a no it must not be a maybe or what if you are determined not to do it cause you have a choice to say no you no if you say no it must be a no, it must not be a maybe or what ja. You must be a bold person cause if you not bold enough you will be influenced easily ja.
- 2.101 **Interviewer:** Is it easy to be a bold person? Is it easy not to let peer pressure influence you?
- 2.102 **Participant:** I think it's easy, ja it's easy cause.
- 2.103 **Interviewer:** What makes it easy?
- 2.104 **Participant:** Can you please repeat the question?

- 2.105 **Interviewer:** Saying no to peer pressure, it's easy?
- 2.106 **Participant:** Its easy saying no you have a choice you know what you want to do I think like if you have a choice to say no it can just say no even if they do not to be your friends anymore there are still a lot of people that want to be your friend, so if you say no it's a no, must always say no no no its easy because you have a choice Ja, and its up to you that you make the right choice or a bad choice.
- 2.107 **Interviewer:** What else would you say about your character and who you are? What's helped you to be confident in who you are and to know this is who I am is it only God and religion or what is that what are all those factors that you feel I know who I am because this has happened because this person has told me, what gives you that faith in yourself that this is who I am?
- 2.108 **Participant:** It's always God you know ja, it's always God.
- 2.109 **Interviewer:** Tell me the African traditions and what does being African mean to you? Doesn't have to be the traditions but what does being African mean to you?
- 2.110 **Participant:** Being an African it... (*Whistles*).
- 2.111 **Interviewer:** Is it speaking a certain language, or is it doing certain traditions, is it praying to the ancestors what is it?
- 2.112 **Participant:** It is kinda like something that you say like speaking a different language is like believing in ancestors and all those kinda things making rituals, ceremonies to praise the ancestors ja I think... it's that.
- 2.113 **Interviewer:** And is that an important part of your character or do you feel?
- 2.114 **Participant:** No it's not an important part in my character, just feel it's just think that I thought.
- 2.115 **Interviewer:** This is the question I'm wondering about and I have wondered about it for a long while I don't know if there is an answer I mean none of these are right or wrong answers but how does that African tradition and praying to the ancestors how does that go with Christianity or is that why you don't feel this is important? How do they...
- 2.116 **Participant:** I don't think that they come in contact because Christianity is Christianity and then that's that cause like even if in the bible will see that it cannot serve two masters so I think it is either you choose that you do your rituals every morning or you believe in God ja that's what I think.
- 2.117 **Interviewer:** So it's a choice you make? It's either or?
- 2.118 **Participant:** Ja, ja it's a choice you make.
- 2.119 **Interviewer:** And your family are they religious, mom and dad and sisters and are they more African, traditional?
- 2.120 **Participant:** African traditional ja.
- 2.121 **Interviewer:** And talk to me about that is it difficult do they accept that you have made this choice or do they want you to make this choice? Or do you engage in that just to satisfy them?
- 2.122 **Participant:** No they have accepted it, firstly it was kinda difficult for them but when time goes on they accepted that this is a choice that he made and then he cannot change it because now he is old enough its kinda getting old enough to make his own decisions so they have accepted it ja.
- 2.123 **Interviewer:** And in the beginning was there a lot of fighting and do you and your parents fight a lot? At what age did you decide that you are going to be religious?
- 2.124 **Participant:** It was the 17th of April 2011, I was 16 years ja.
- 2.125 **Interviewer:** Ok anything else about your personality or character?
- 2.126 **Participant:** I think that's enough, for me that's all.
- 2.127 **Interviewer:** How do you show other people who you are? How do other people see?

- 2.128 **Participant:** The way I treat myself like the way I talk the way like the way I carry myself like things that come out of my mouth the way I speak like let me just put it like the way I speak and the way how I treat other people ja how I treat others.
- 2.129 **Interviewer:** Do you think you're unique? Is it important for you to say that my character is unique it is not like anyone else's? I'm one of a kind.
- 2.130 **Participant:** I am one of a kind, I think there is nobody like me this is my only character ja.
- 2.131 **Interviewer:** Anybody else that influences you? Teachers, home friends, church friends, the pastor?
- 2.132 **Participant:** Ja even my pastor ja, he does influence me a lot he does like a lot he is actually my role model ja.
- 2.133 **Interviewer:** What other role models do you have? Or is it Jesus who's in the Bible and the pastor?
- 2.134 **Participant:** The Pastor and then my leader and then ja it's only them that I don't have any celebrity role model.
- 2.135 **Interviewer:** What made you decide not to choose a celebrity role- model?
- 2.136 **Participant:** There's just no body that motivates me a lot ja. And my mom ja and my grandma ja, my number 1 role models.
- 2.137 **Interviewer:** Alright and what is it in them that makes them role models?
- 2.138 **Participant:** Mmmm they are the person like persons that are responsible for me like growing up they were there for me they were always telling me what to do and what not to do telling me how to respect, teaching me like about life like everything that I need to do, what I don't have to do they rights and the wrongs.
- 2.139 **Interviewer:** So they have influenced who you are a lot?
- 2.140 **Participant:** Ja
- 2.141 **Interviewer:** Anything else about your character who you are?
- 2.142 **Participant:** Ja I always ok let me I can always tell you about things that I like? Ok I like I like listening to music especially hip hop, hip hop gospel and I like making beats ja. I like watching TV, ja I love watching TV ja cartoons and ja.
- 2.143 **Interviewer:** Do you feel the things you like and those interests you have is that part of you and part of your personality part of your character?
- 2.144 **Participant:** Just things that I like.
- 2.145 **Interviewer:** So how do you choose friends? How do you decide who's your friend and who's not your friend?
- 2.146 **Participant:** Joh I have never thought about that one.
- 2.147 **Interviewer:** So is it just if you click you click?
- 2.148 **Participant:** If we get along ja.
- 2.149 **Interviewer:** Do you have any questions for me?
- 2.150 **Participant:** No questions.
- 2.151 **Interviewer:** Well if there's no questions, I think we spoke about a lot hey.
- 2.152 **Participant:** Yes we did.
- 2.153 **Interviewer:** Anything you feel you still want to say about your character or your personality? How others have influenced you? Is it sometimes some people that you are with where it is easier to be yourself or do you find you can be who you are with everyone? Or is it sometimes easier to be yourself with certain friends than with others?
- 2.154 **Participant:** Can you please repeat the question?
- 2.155 **Interviewer:** So being confident in who you are and knowing who you are and being that person is it always easy or is it sometimes easier to be that person with others do you sometimes keep a little bit of yourself back when you with certain people? Or is it always the when you with your church friends you can be yourself and bold and

confident, and do you find that it's that way with everyone or is there certain people that you feel like lest say an uncle far removed that you feel I must just tone it down a bit, now I can't be exactly who I am? Or not really?

2.156 **Participant:** Nah I'm just like that maybe if like it's a person that I don't know it will just be I will just hold myself back for that moment just to get on just to know that person and then just to myself ja

2.157 **Interviewer:** Alright you got any more questions? We spoke about being male how that's and African do you think being a black African adolescent in this community makes you different to other communities, or anything you experience in this community that you think others don't?

2.158 **Participant:** Mmmm

2.159 **Interviewer:** Not?

2.160 **Participant:** I don't think ja.

2.161 **Interviewer:** Anything else? Not, alright. Thank you

APPENDIX R

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