

Male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township: a hidden epidemic.

By

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Declaration of Honesty

I declare that this research paper is my own original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from a printed source or from the internet), it has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Pretoria's requirements.

Vangile Bingma

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Abstract

Early school leaving is a key problem confronting the formal education system in South Africa. This study focuses on black male early high school leaving in a peri-urban township south of Johannesburg. Its overarching aim is to *explain* male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township amongst 18-25 year olds.

Two research questions underpinned the study: Why do young men leave high school before finishing grade 12 – and, what alternatives do they explore to negotiate their ‘life chances’? Methodologically speaking a case study was carried out. The latter made use of specialised qualitative data collection techniques and analysis, namely; life history as well as in-depth interviewing techniques and narrative analysis. Nine participants were selected from different ‘sections’ of Orange Farm by means of purposive and snowball sampling and numerous stakeholder interviews were completed. This approach creates the opportunity to disaggregate the nuance and complexity of social behaviour at a time in the lives of young people when they find themselves at tipping points which very often shape their futures together with that of their societies.

In deciding to leave high school prior to matriculating in the context in which South Africa finds itself, young black men limit their life chances and their choices. In capturing the daily lived experiences of the sample who are the focus of this study reflection on the part of the participant is encouraged and prodded. The latter was enhanced through drawing on a number of conceptual and theoretical tools that facilitated the identification and understanding of the intersecting variables playing both a role in the decision to leave high school as well as those shaping the coping and survival strategies adopted by individuals beyond the schooling system.

The research findings reveal the interplay of institutional structures and actions in deciding to leave high school before completing year 12. The intersectionality of different variables at specific points in time also constrains and/or determines the extent to which individuals access resources through established networks. Fundamentally, black male early high school leaving does not only reproduce the structural patterns characterising the community; it essentially traps young men in a downward trajectory of social mobility that is leading to the growth of a significant underclass in South Africa.

Keywords: male early high school leaving, social capital, stigma, social reproduction, sociology of education and marginality.

Opsomming

Vroeë skoolverlating is 'n kernprobleem wat die formele onderwysstelsel in Suid-Afrika in die gesig staar. Hierdie studie fokus op swart manlike vroeë skoolverlaters in 'n stedelike *township* suid van Johannesburg. Die oorhoofse doel is om manlike vroeë hoërskoolverlating in die ouderdomsgroep 18-25 jaar in die Orange Farm *township* te verklaar.

Twee navorsingsvrae onderlê die studie: Hoekom verlaat jong mans die hoërskool voordat hulle matriek voltooi het, en watter alternatiewe ondersoek hulle ten einde hulle leefkansse te onderhandel en behartig? Metodologies is 'n gevallestudie onderneem wat gebruik gemaak het van gespesialiseerde data insamelingstegnieke en ontledings, naamlik lewensgeskiedenis, asook in-diepte onderhoudstegnieke en narratiewe ontledings. Nege deelnemers is gekies vanuit verskillende seksies in Orange Farm deur middel van 'n doelgerigte en sneeubal-steekproef en verskeie deelhebberonderhoude is gedoen. Hierdie benadering skep die geleentheid om die nuanse en kompleksiteit van sosiale gedrag in die lewe van jong mense te disaggregeer tydens 'n tydperk van hulle lewe waarin hulle hulself op 'n punt bevind wat dikwels hulle toekoms bepaal, tesame met dié van hulle gemeenskappe.

Deur te besluit om die hoërskool te verlaat voordat hulle gematrikuleer het in die konteks waarin Suid-Afrika tans is, beperk jong swartmans hulle lewenskansse en hulle keuses. Deur die daaglikse belewenisse van die proefgroep wat die fokus van hierdie studie is, vas te lê, word refleksie deur die deelnemer aangemoedig. Sodanige refleksie is versterk deur gebruik te maak van 'n aantal konseptuele en teoretiese instrumente wat die idenitifisering en verstaan moontlik gemaak het van die kruissnydende veranderlikes wat 'n rol speel in die besluit om die hoërskool te verlaat en wat die besluite wat die hanterings- en oorlewingstrategieë wat deur individue ná die skoolstelsel aangewend word, vorm.

Die navorsingsbevindinge onthul die wisselwerking tussen institusionele strukture en aksies in die besluit om die hoërskool te verlaat voor voltooiing van die twaalfde jaar. Die kruissnyding van verskillende veranderlikes op spesifieke punte in tyd beperk en/of determineer die mate waarin individue toegang kry tot hulpbronne deur middel van gevestigde netwerke. Op 'n fundamentele manier reproduseer swart manlike vroeë skoolverlaters nie net die strukturele patrone wat die gemeenskap kenmerk nie, maar word hulle ook vasgevang in 'n afwaartse trajek van sosiale mobiliteit wat lei tot die groei van 'n beduidende 'onderklas' in Suid-Afrika.

Sleutelwoorde: manlike vroeë skoolverlating, sosiale kapitaal, stigma, sosiale reproduksie, sosiologie van onderwys en marginaliteit.

Table of contents

Declaration of honesty	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Opsomming	iv
Chapter 1: Setting the scene	
Introduction	1
1.1 Setting out the context of the problem	1
1.2 Objectives and research questions	4
1.3 Outline of the chapters	5
Chapter 2: Politics of Education in South African	
Introduction	6
2.1 Functions of schooling in society	7
2.2 From past to present	8
2.3 Conclusion	15
Chapter 3: Early school leaving: a social process	
Introduction	17
3.1 Individual in context	18
3.2 Peer relations	21
3.3 School factors	22
3.4 Male early school leaving	23
3.5 Life chances of early school leavers	27
3.6 Conclusion	29
Chapter 4: Conceptual tools	
Introduction	31
4.1 Stigma	31
4.2 Social capital	33

4.3 Some critical reflections on social capital	35
4.4 Conclusion	37

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction	39
5.1 Methodology and research questions	39
5.2 A case study design	40
5.3 Location of the researcher: limitations and possibilities	42
5.3.1 Reading home scientifically	43
5.3.2 Dealing with expectations	45
5.4 Ethical considerations	45
5.5 Sampling and Recruitment of participants	46
5.5.1 Criteria guiding sampling	47
5.6 Data collection an on-going process	48
5.6.1 A setting for gathering data	49
5.6.2 Interviewing	49
5.6.3 Reflexive interviewing	51
5.6.4 Observations	52
5.6.5 Journal notes and debriefing	52
5.7 Data capturing, transcribing and editing	52
5.8 Methods of analysis	53
5.8.1 Narrative analysis	53
5.8.2 Analysis procedures and implications	57
5.9 Conclusion	57

Chapter 6: Orange Farm as a context

Introduction	59
6.1 Demarcation and demographic profile	59
6.2 Socio-historical development of Orange Farm	60
6.3 Infrastructure development	61
6.3.1 Service delivery and local government	61
6.3.1.1 Housing	62
6.3.1.2 Schools in Orange Farm	64
6.3.1.3 Schooling in Orange Farm	65

6.3.1.4 Policing	69
6.4 Recreational spaces	72
6.5 Nature of community life	73
6.5.1 Poverty	74
6.5.2 HIV/AIDS	77
6.5.3 Alcohol abuse	78
6.5.4 Positive role models	78
6.6 Young men in Orange Farm	79
6.6.1 Initiation practice	79
6.7 Conclusion	84
Chapter 7: Male early high school leaving in context	
Introduction	86
7.1 Participants	86
7.2 Everyday life	92
7.3 Education and schooling	104
7.3.1 School experiences	108
7.3.2 Discipline	112
7.4 Male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township	116
7.5 Conclusion	135
Chapter 8: Marginality of male early high school leavers	
Introduction	137
8.1 Lack of opportunities	137
8.2 Alienation	138
8.3 Illicit drug abuse	145
8.4 Going nowhere slowly	153
8.5 Conclusion	155
Chapter 9: Conclusions, limitations of the study and recommendations	
9.1 Limitations of the study	158
9.2 Recommendations	159

Bibliography	161
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Information letter	178
Appendix 2: Consent form	179
Appendix 3: Interview schedules	180
Appendix 4: Original Interview extracts	182

Chapter 1

Setting the scene

Introduction

“Besides problems of low enrolment and attendance, one of the biggest concerns for educational systems in Africa is their ability to retain *learners* until they graduate from primary or secondary school” (Sibanda, 2004: 99).

Early school leaving is a key problem confronting formal education systems in developing societies. Due to its inseparability from broader social exigencies, understanding the phenomena requires in-depth consideration of each case so as to understand the possibility for social mobility and life chances of the many thousands of individuals concerned. Early high school leaving calls into question the schooling system: its organisational components (Coleman, 1988), curriculum and pedagogical approaches (Freire, 1968; Illich, 1970) and the very context within which schooling occurs. The latter is central to this project. It provides a starting point within which the lives and stories of young men are to be located.

In 2004, the year I matriculated from Leshata Secondary School I promised myself and others that I would plough back into the community by working with young people (Abrahamson 2004). During visits to Orange Farm I observed groups of young people of school going age who were not at school. Following a process of asking community members what the issues were, I pursued an honours research project (Bingma 2008) in which I explored early school leaving in the township. It was during field work for this project that it became clear that early high school leaving by males was a significant social problem in Orange Farm.

1.1 Setting out the context of the problem

Historically, the social construction of youth problems has been slanted in racist ways that focused on young black South Africans; in particular “young, black men”. In the 1980s the problematic youth were categorised as the ‘lost generation’. Explanations of the phenomenon focused on the purported ‘normlessness’ (Seekings, 1996: 103-109) they exhibited in their actions. The role of the “media, politicians and researchers” (ibid 108) played in constructing the youth problem is

evident. For Cohen responses to purported moral panics reveal the positionality, “statuses, interests, ideologies and values” of those responding (2002: 161). Jonny Steinberg notes how in post-apartheid South Africa black young men living in townships continue to be targeted by police, blurring the lines between criminals and young men in general (2010). This study is not an attempt to invoke a “moral panic” around young, black¹ men. It is an analysis of how institutions in society as well as individual experiences within and beyond them impact educational processes and outputs (Ballantine, 2007: 2). The latter is facilitated through the employment of two theoretical tools: social capital and stigma. Coleman defines social capital by “its function”: it makes “possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible” (1988: 98). Stigma on the other hand is “an attribute that is deeply discrediting” (Goffman, 1963: 3). The theoretical tools chosen are valuable in making sense of the phenomenon given that early school leaving is fundamentally linked to matters of social reproduction.

In an introduction to: *Makers and breakers: children and youth in post-colonial Africa*, De Boeck and Honwana raise two important questions. Within the context of pronounced social problems such as democratic South Africa is experiencing; “how do young people organise and make sense of their daily lives? How do they negotiate their private and public roles and envision their future?” (2005: 1). These were the broader questions that occupied the mind and drove the process during which the research problem that drives this dissertation crystallised.

Early high school leaving is pronounced between the ages 16-18, roughly grades 10-12, which is also the end of compulsory schooling in terms of the South African

¹ ‘Black’ in the study refers to ‘black Africans’ in terms of South African racial categorisation as legally captured by the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950. While the researcher is aware of and appreciates the complexities of racial categories in the context of South Africa’s past, and its post 1994 attempts to cultivate a non-racial discourse amongst the citizenry, some of the problems the research speaks to and their continuation given the myriad of structural inefficiencies in post-apartheid South Africa are historicised. Although Orange Farm’s demographic profile is changing, ‘black African’ people as per the above conceptualisation remain the majority in the township. Blackness is however contested and fluid, through social constructions such as ‘coconuts’. Coconut is used to describe black people who adopt values, behaviours and beliefs that are considered ‘white’. It is often used in a derogatory sense.

Education Policy (Panday and Arends, 2008). Female learners have been found to be more age-appropriate than boys by grade 9. Male learners fare worse when it comes to repetition. They drop out more than females² (Motala et al 2009).

Orange Farm is amongst the fastest growing townships in South Africa. Educating individuals is an investment that not only benefits households and the community, but the surrounding central business districts as well. Some young men in Orange Farm exit the schooling system before finishing grade 12 which is a *prerequisite* for most career training institutions and employment opportunities. Usually these young men do not pursue further education in Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) or Further Education and Training (FET) institutions in order to gain skills and better their chances of securing employment. This essentially limits the opportunities they have to access the world of work.

An analysis of the narratives of young men in this regard is helpful. It provides insight into how male ex-learners explain and make sense of their actions. Furthermore their stories shed light on the possible alternatives that male early high school leavers explore to negotiate their life chances. As to the researcher's knowledge such qualitative studies have not been undertaken either in Orange Farm or South Africa at large.

Notwithstanding a body of literature that has long called for the 'deschooling' of society (Illich, 1970)³, I argue that a concerted effort to formally educate young people and assist those who do not finish their basic education, is critical in shaping life chances. Male early high school leaving prolongs dependence on families indefinitely, whilst intensifying the pressure on young men to devise strategies for survival.

Economic growth and the sustenance of South Africa's young democracy require an unwavering commitment to equipping citizens with the necessary skills to become

² The study was carried out in two districts-Ekurhuleni South in Gauteng and Duthwa in the Eastern Cape. Although teenage pregnancy accounts for most female learners who leave school before finishing, opportunities for returning to school are created.

³ Also see Hurn (1993: 56) on different ways of learning, and a critical evaluation of the school system.

active participants in the development of the country. Such processes cannot proceed outside of the broader social transformation in the material conditions of everyday life of those affected.

1.2 Objectives and research questions

The overarching objective of this project is to explain male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township by giving young men space to tell their stories. Individuals negotiate and engage community dynamics as active agents in history making. My understanding of education in its broadest sense has been shaped by my primary and high school years in Orange Farm Township. Amidst the poverty, evident social disintegration, and the drudgery that characterised everyday life; schooling provided a space wherein one could gain a sense of control and hope.

The following research questions⁴ are considered:

- Why do young men leave high school before finishing grade 12?

Is early high school leaving among young men in Orange Farm a “resistance” to the conventional trajectories of attaining or realising goals? Is it a form of resistance to schooling specifically, but not to the broader education system? Or is early high school leaving a “rational” decision shaped by contextual exigencies? These questions and their answers have significant implications for policy formulation and interventions within and beyond the schooling system. Do young men in Orange Farm see education, and schooling specifically, as a means through which they can secure future employment or as providing leverage towards negotiating their ‘life chances’? Do their narratives point to contextual cleavages and contradictions that indicate particular local constraints that contain individuals’ sense of agency and the possibilities that can be imagined?

- How do male early high school leavers negotiate their livelihoods?

⁴ Khumisho Moguerane’s feedback on the initial conceptualisation of questions the study addresses was invaluable.

1.3 Outline of the chapters

Chapter 2: *Politics of Education in South African* are briefly considered. Chapter 3: *Early high school leaving: a social process* seeks to review some of the empirical literature dealing early school leaving in general. Studies addressing male early high school leaving before finishing year twelve of their basic education are also considered. Chapter 4: *Conceptual tools* engages arguments that may be employed to explain early high school leaving by the participants. Chapter 5: *Methodology* deals with the processes, methods and techniques followed in carrying out the research project and how they unfolded. Chapter 6: *Orange Farm: a case study* deals with the context within which the lives of the participants may be understood and in which they are embedded. The complexities and contradictions of Orange Farm as a social space are highlighted. This chapter also unpacks data gathered throughout the period of field observation including that gathered during interviews with a number of stakeholders within the community. Chapter 7 and 8: *Stories of male early high school leavers* analyses the narratives of the participants. Chapter 9: *Discussion, summary, conclusions, limitations and recommendations* pulls together threads that emerged from the stories of the young men through the use of the theoretical tools chosen. Finally a summary of key findings is set out and recommendations for interventions and further study are unpacked.

Chapter 2

Politics of education in South Africa⁵

Introduction

“Thuto ke lesedi, lesedi la ditshaba, are ruteng bana barona” (Sephuma, 2009).

The above quote is taken from a Sepedi song and directly translates as follows: ‘Education is light, light for all nations, let us educate our children’. Schooling has received much attention in recent years as different sectors of society grapple with rapid social change in South Africa as well as global developments. The developments are largely embedded within a societal structural context heavily reliant on the ever-changing global technologies that require specialised skills. At the core of the push for “quality” schooling-is the assumption that individuals from different contexts need to be able to compete in the labour market.

Viewed from a global perspective, South Africa is a developing, middle-income country that is required to focus on the “knowledge economy” in order to aid productivity, compete at a global level and create more employment opportunities. A challenge to the latter’s achievement is the poor quality of education. In international literacy and numeracy tests⁶ South Africa has consistently performed less well than other developing countries whose expenditure on education is far less.

South African scholars have addressed issues pertaining to: formal education under apartheid (Kallaway 1984; Alexander 1990; Christie 1991 and Hyslop 1999); policy developments post-apartheid (Chisholm et al 2003; Jansen & Christie 1999; Ramphele 2008); quality of schooling in South Africa (Jansen 2006; Ramphele 2002); the quality of teaching (James 2011); the involvement of parents in the schooling of their children (Smit & Liebenberg 2003); the negative impact of schooling on individuals (Harber 2004) and persistent inequalities in the education

⁵ Significant gains have been made since the discriminatory system of schooling that characterised South Africa particularly during the apartheid years-was ended in 1994. Many of these will not be developed here. The problems with the system post-1994 will receive most attention.

⁶ The South African Annual National Assessment of February 2011 has indicated how desperate the situation is.

system (Equal Education 2010)⁷ etc. Graeme Bloch in his book *The Toxic Mix: what is wrong with South Africa's schools and how to fix it* (2009), provides an analysis that considers the problems in the formal education system in the context of broader societal issues and how to solve them.

Developments within schools are connected to societal workings that are rooted in socio-political and socio-economic dynamics of a society. As such, if we are to grapple with early high school leaving in South Africa and in the townships specifically, analyses require the unpacking of the socio-historical trajectory of schooling and community politics in South Africa. This discussion locates some of the problems within the schooling institutions in a context of continuity with the past as well as structural inefficiencies arising from the interventions or lack thereof by the post-apartheid state within and beyond the schools. The chapter is not meant to be a comprehensive historical account of the formal South African Education System. It identifies 'significant' moments in the socio-historical development of schooling in South Africa, particularly those that may be useful in making sense of the current problems that beset the system. As a starting point, I need to underline a number of points with regards to schooling as a social process.

2.1 Functions of schooling in society

Schooling has varying functions in society. For Nsamenang it is a kind of "enculturation and socialisation" (2002: 61), it is a vehicle through which societal expectations pertaining to knowledge and the values thereof are passed from generation to generation. The present minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, in her 2011/2012 budget speech notes the importance of (formal) education in the government's efforts to decrease poverty. She captures the commitment and the positive association of education and schooling specifically, with the alleviation of societal problems (2011). Schooling provides the foothold through which individuals can access further training and capacity-building programmes for employment purposes.

⁷ Equal Education is a non-profit organisation that advocates around education matters. For more information see their website: www.equaleducation.org.za

Therefore there is an assumption that education is important for social reproduction: the social reproduction of “processes which perpetuate” or transform “characteristics of social structure over periods of time” (Ballantine, 2007: 10).

Knowledge, values and norms are intertwined with socialising people for work, grading people for specific qualifications as well as social interaction with others (Christie, 1991: 16). A lack of, or incomplete schooling reduces the chances that an individual or community has to access formal work. Therefore educational attainment is an important part of both the socio-political and socio-economic reproduction of a society.

However, there are tensions between what is assumed to be a necessity in the developmental trajectory of a society and its unintended consequences for individuals, collectivities and society. There is a body of literature that highlights contradictions within the institution of schooling. This pertains to the possibilities regarding positive socio-economic and political development on the one hand, and the reproduction of social inequality on the other (Harber & Mncube, 2011). Basic schooling is increasingly argued not to be “a reliable signal of capabilities” (South African National Treasury⁸ 2011: 15). To grasp the context for and extent of the problems within the South African schooling system, a brief overview of the historical landscape follows, before matters relating to the post 1994 democratic dispensation are addressed.

2.2 From past to present

To analyse issues of schooling in South African townships, one needs to consider the current developments in the context of the past. Here the period 1948-1990s⁹ is considered. The intention is not to reproduce all existing literature on schooling in South Africa, but to draw attention to ‘significant’ moments that have had an impact

⁸ See the National Treasury’s Discussion Paper on *Confronting youth unemployment: policy options for South Africa at*

<http://www.treasury.gov.za/documents/national%20budget/2011/Confronting%20youth%20unemployment%20-%20Policy%20options.pdf> (Accessed 18 October 2011)

⁹ The author acknowledges the social inequality that existed in formal education prior to the institutionalisation of Apartheid and its impact on gender, racial and class inequality. Given the aim of this current undertaking that history will not be focused on.

on the nature and development of the schooling system in South Africa, particularly in townships. Pam Christie's *The right to learn: the struggle for education in South Africa* as well as Jonathan Hyslop's *The classroom struggle: the struggle for education in South Africa* are key sources in the following discussion. The two authors provide an overview of the systematic development of the formal education system in South Africa. I will raise two points: national education policies and their implementation as well as resistance and decline.

The legal institutionalisation of apartheid in 1948 formally embedded race based policies in the political, social and economic spheres even further. The social stratification of Apartheid perpetuated the hegemony over the country by one racial group. One vehicle to reproduce prejudicial social constructions of inferiority of particular groupings and communities in society- was schooling.

The infamous Bantu Education Act (no. 47) of 1953 (Statutes of The Union of South Africa 1953) became the legally institutionalised cornerstone upon which the inequality that existed in the delivery of formal education and the expenditure of resources was built. It "was an expression given to apartheid policy in the field of schooling" (Hyslop, 1999: 1) although it was not a fixed policy. Industrial developments were a social force which necessitated reorientations as needs emerged for better skilled workers. Teachers were amongst the first to object to the implementation of the Bantu Education Act following their increased workload; they were teaching large classes and receiving no adjustment in salaries (Christie, 1991: 228). The teacher's resistance would span decades before learners decisively registered their resistance.

The 1970s ushered in social contracts through which collectivities, organised and disorganised, asserted yet again the need for fundamental change in societal structure. School boycotts in protest against the proposed changes in language policy and the encompassing broader system of discrimination in everyday South African life, thrust learners to the forefront of the freedom struggle. The 1976 SOWETO student protests highlighted a general crisis in schooling. A shortage of classrooms existed which meant overcrowding and a shortage of teachers resulting in high student-teacher ratios was evident. Poorly qualified teachers, weak

infrastructure development and high failure rates reflected the status quo. Broader societal issues such as an economy that was in recession, resulting in retrenchments, high inflation and increasing food prices compounded the crisis. Societal mobility was curtailed by pass laws, influx control and a system of compulsory Bantu homeland citizenship (Christie, 1991: 243). Amendments to the Bantu Education Act as a product of growing resistance were rejected as they did not attempt to redress the racial categorisations and accompanying unequal opportunities that were central to the Act (Nekhwevha, 2002: 136, Christie, 1991: 57).

As the state tightened its grip-by clamping down on dissent in the crisis that characterised the late 1970s-1980s, many young people, largely black males became intimately involved in violent resistance to the state (see for example Cock, 1989). By the middle of the 1980s schooling for black people totally collapsed in the urban areas (Hyslop, 1999: 173) as school boycotts continued, demonstrating the extent towards which institutions of learning had become sites of struggle (Kallaway, 1984: 19; Majeke, 1994: 123).

The implementation of strategies by the liberation movement such as making South Africa ungovernable as well as the “liberation before education” campaign (Majeke, 1994: 126) intensified mobilisation against apartheid. Johan Muller (1996) questioned the ‘immediatism’ given the unintended consequences of adopting such a strategy. The latter had to do with the sacrifices that were made in efforts to bolster the liberation movement’s efforts in opposing the apartheid state. Alexander starkly captures the dilemma that learners faced:

“Conditions of crisis both inside and outside the schools simply make it impossible for black students in South Africa ... to enjoy the luxury of even the segregated inferior normality...” (1990: 40)

As from 1994 the post-apartheid state has formulated policies and intervened within the schooling system in ways that demonstrated a democratic imperative and commitment to the building, structuring and consolidation of a non-racial South African Education Sector. When arguing for the transformation of education systems, the following point should be made:

“Educational transformations are always the result and the symptom of ... social transformation... (where) new ideas (are required) for which the old system is no longer adequate” (Durkheim, 2007: 23) emerge.

There is much to be said about the restructuring of the post-apartheid formal education system in South Africa¹⁰ as the introduction of the dissertation has suggested. I will make three key points in this regard: transitional necessities (amalgamation, redress); the national democratic education policy direction, as well as continuities with the past and apparent regression.

In the first instance, attention is drawn to the importance of the formal education system as a socialising and perhaps a re-socialising agent in rebuilding for the future in contexts with a history of conflict (Grobbelaar, 2005). The first task of the democratic government was to create a single national department of education through which the necessary interventions would be coordinated. In post-1994 South Africa was one where the state pursued reconciliatory politics that sought to reframe, redress and fundamentally alter and transform the workings of apartheid that had been rooted in legal and, racial discrimination as well as the associated unequal distribution of resources.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 adopted by the first democratic parliament was the foundation upon which nation building was to be built. The Constitution, Chapter 2: Bill of Rights-Section 29 enshrines the “right to basic education and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible” (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The South African Schools Act No 84 of 1996 captures the spirit of the constitution. Education is compulsory for all South Africans from age

¹⁰ Print media has served as a platform to debate the ‘crises’ in the South African Education System post 1994. See recent articles: Pinky Khoabane “Get set for another 12 years of trial and error in schools”, Sunday Times, p.(4) 11 July 2010./Wilmot James “Quality education is the answer”, City Press, p.(24) 30 January 2011./Tebogo Ditshego “Our children are not guinea pigs”, Sunday Times, p(8) 27 February 2011./Prega Govender “Motshega outlines her action plan”, Sunday Times, p(4) 27 February 2011./Mamphela Ramphela “Destroying seeds of our future”, Sunday Times, p.(5) 06 March 2011 and Jonathan Jansen “Education’s date with bad fate”, The Times, p (7) 14 April 2011 amongst many others.

seven (grade one) to age fifteen or to the completion of grade nine. Opportunities are created for those with low levels of formal education attainment to acquire vocational skills through Further Education and Training institutions (FET) and to improve literacy through Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) policy. In the case of FET colleges for example, the enrolments, quality as well as accessibility of the programmes have been subject to debate.

Rightly or wrongly, the break with the Apartheid education system led to the introduction of a new curriculum-Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in the year 2000 (Chisholm et al, 2003). Although the policies put in place to redress the structural inequalities that characterised the Apartheid formal education system are impressive, there are many obstacles to bringing about meaningful changes through policy frameworks (Kraak, 2002: 91). For example, some township and rural schools continue to experience serious trouble in this regard as not enough interventions have been put in place to deal with the problems (Jansen, 2006: 8). In his 2011 visit to South Africa for a launch of the Centre for the Community School at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Pedro Noguera¹¹ noted the following:

“Education is essential...Not an education that is focused on preparing learners to pass tests and certainly not the education being provided now in many township schools that leaves their learners barely literate and largely unprepared for a university-level education or a meaningful job at a decent wage” (Noguera, 2011: 32)¹².

A point to stress here is that many South African townships and township schools are not socially conducive to promoting the wholistic education Noguera suggests. By this I do not disregard or ignore the township schools committed to teaching and learning from which many young people come. I am concerned to make a broader point about the context within which schooling takes place and the impact such a context has on the nature and process of schooling and the individuals and

¹¹ Noguera is an urban sociologist whose interests include the sociology of education. He has done extensive work on the education of black boys in the United States.

¹² Noguera suggests an education that develops the ‘whole child’, an education that empowers, such an education must ‘promote education for economic and community development as well as foster ‘creativity, problem solving and the development of intellectual potential. See the Mail & Guardian, September 2 to 8 2011, page 32.

communities within that context. It is Bourdieu who provides a pointed analysis of the formal education system's contradictions. The following argument is central to this research project and, in trying to make sense of what is happening in the South African formal education system. Bourdieu suggests that,

“...by doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the education system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give...mainly linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture...” (1973: 80).

When the system does or does not give equally what it requires from everyone “vast inequalities are produced and reproduced in schools” (Bloch, 2009: 59)¹³. This is evident in the “quality of learning outcomes (which) is among the lowest of middle income countries” (Department of Basic Education, 2011: 09)¹⁴. In fact, Jansen argues that “if the whites and middle classes were taken out of the system, the real inequalities and underperformance of the majority of the population would become evident” (2011: 101). What is the formal education system not giving that it demands from everyone? Jansen refers to what he calls a knowledge problem:

“Knowledge of the subject matter (content knowledge); knowledge of teaching (pedagogy); knowledge of learners (psychology); knowledge about knowledge (epistemology); knowledge of communities from which the learners come (anthropology, sociology of learning); knowledge of classroom organisation and discipline (managerial knowledge)...” (2011: 107).

While the above problems may relate to teachers and school management, there are three points to be made that are intimately linked with the knowledge problem in the expenditure on formal education.

¹³ I would like to thank Graeme Bloch whom I engaged on schooling issues in South Africa. He alerted me to some of the key debates in the sector and key readings on youth in South Africa (Personal interview 21 May 2010).

¹⁴ See the Department of Education's Annual Performance Plan 2011-2012, the National Education Infrastructure Management System-NEIMS (May 2011) at

<http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=hHaBCAerGXc%3D&tabid=358&mid=1802>.

Also see the Diagnostic report of the National Planning Commission 2011 at

<http://www.saatheart.co.za/files/NPC%20Diagnostic%202011.pdf>.

- Government expenditure on schooling indicates their assumption that schooling is a “good thing” (Harber, 2004: 7). In 2010 the Basic Education Department’s budget was R7, 499 Billion. In 2011 it doubled to R13, 868 Billion. South Africa spends the largest share (21% of non-interest allocations) of its government spending on formal education, the highest in any developing country (Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga), why are the results not reflecting this? While resources are important, a crucial element is the partnership with community leaders and parents through school governing bodies. It is through these links that knowledge and understanding about learners and communities may be gained.
- The centrality of learners in the processes of schooling is underlined. Appreciating the social and material conditions from which some learners come and have to negotiate their life chances beyond the school is critical.
- Part of Jansen’s knowledge problem is the miscalculation of intervening in schools without improving the broader social conditions within which schools exist and within which schooling takes place. In a context where both schools and communities are plagued by problems, there is nothing to hold learners.

A myriad of trade-offs continue to be made in community struggles. If we depart from the notion that schools by and large-reflect what is unfolding in society (Alexander, 1990: 6), two examples are relevant here.

- Khutsong Township is an example of how institutions of learning become embroiled in community struggles for development. In 2010 schooling came to a halt as community members, together with learners, protested against its incorporation into the North West Province. The standoff had been on-going for more than five years. The perception from community members was that incorporating the township into North West would severely affect service delivery in the area.

- The burning of a library and destruction of property in Siyathemba Township in Balfour, Mpumalanga on 09 February 2010 made headlines as community members protested what they experienced as lack of service delivery and corruption in their municipality.

In both Khutsong and Siyathemba, and other such protests, television footage speaks volumes about the involvement of youth in the protests, particularly young men. Bundy notes that “under any government ... schools will continue to be laboratories and strongholds of protest” (1992: 3). Murray makes a key observation in this regard:

“...it is often the most successfully militant schools that are now in shambles, the teachers (are) disrupted and unmotivated, teachers’ militancy turned into a self-interested concern for material conditions of service, habits of learning destroyed by months and years of educational boycotts” (1996: 183).

Largely, the *repertoires* of struggle in peri-urban, post-apartheid South Africa indicate the legacy of a militant past (Bozzoli 2004). The recycling of old means of protest offers different gains for communities as such strategies are rooted in the strategy of the ‘ungovernability’ of local spaces, putting the state in a conundrum.

2.3 Conclusion

Developments in formal education are intimately intertwined with national ideological and socio-economic struggles at any given time. In the Apartheid era measures were implemented by the state and the liberation struggle movement to achieve various goals at different points in time. It is in this context of increasing conflict and the challenge to illegitimate rule-within which early high school leaving must be understood especially during the final years of Apartheid in South Africa. Post-Apartheid South Africa is characterised by structural problems of policy implementation in relation to such socio-historical contextual realities which exhibit themselves in the schooling system.

The sphere of formal education was and continues to be a critical part of the goals for societal change and transformation in South Africa. The developments in the system were embedded within broader state politics and economics, avenues

through which the perpetuation of Apartheid was driven. Post-Apartheid South Africa is argued to have two education systems, one for the poor and one for the rich (Bowman, 2010), reflecting broad societal developments and widening class inequalities. The latter does not contribute positively towards strengthening a democracy rooted in constitutional rule.

Apartheid education policies and their implementation were driven by national ideological underpinnings based on race and societal reproduction. The liberation struggle's resistance yielded contradictory outcomes, one of which is a democratic dispensation gained through the destruction of the very institutions that would be and are vital to its sustenance and success i.e. the schooling system.

The post-Apartheid state rebuilds with an aim of inclusiveness and redress towards democracy. These efforts unfold on terrain which is partly functional, but largely physically exclusionary in nature. The foundations are fractured and unstable. Some areas indicate redress while others are in decline. Early high school leaving is a problem as it limits the possibilities for upward social mobility. A failure to keep young people in school until they have a qualification through which they can negotiate gainful employment opportunities contributes to South Africa's widening inequality. Its current Gini co-efficient is one of the highest in the world. These young people find themselves with limited prospects for a better life and live largely on the margins of society.

Chapter 3

Early school leaving: a social process

Introduction

This chapter focuses on early school leaving as a serious problem within the schooling system. Empirical studies dealing with early school leaving in South Africa, and where indicated, on the African continent and beyond are reviewed. Factors contributing to early school leaving, the impact of early school leaving on society as well as what early school leavers do with their time are focussed on. Data gathered in an earlier study (Bingma 2008) conducted in Orange Farm on early high school leavers will also be introduced.

Although it is not always the case, early high school leaving is common amongst the poor, minorities as well as urban children attending large, public high schools (Bridgeland et al 2006). Early high school leavers are a diverse group. Variables such as age, socio-economic status and locality compounded by social structures and cleavages such as race and gender contribute to their heterogeneity. In their study Voss et al (1966) identify “involuntary” early school leavers as those who might be facing personal crisis; “retarded” early school leavers as those who struggle with academic work and do not meet the set expectations and those “capable” early school leavers who have an academic ability, but terminate their studies.

There is consensus in South Africa that between grades 10-12 early school leaving is pronounced (see for example Pandor 2006, Panday & Arends 2008). The debate in local forums is centred on the different methodologies employed in analysing and reading available data. For example, former Minister of Education Naledi Pandor (2006) lamented suggestions in a media report that indicated a staggering 60% of learners fell out of the system before they reached matric. In response to a Parliamentary question at the time, the Minister argued that factors such as grade repetition, entry into FET colleges, sickness and postponing school exit due to financial constraints were not taken into consideration properly.

Criteria used to choose the literature considered a number of factors. Initially, only Journal articles, book chapters, official reports that discussed “high school dropouts” or “early high school leaving” were selected. In the context of South Africa, the above sources were key, but a decision was taken to include newspaper articles due to the debates that were carried in the media with regard to school dropouts/early school leaving over the past years. Most of the South African academic articles that were located dealing with early school leaving, consisted of some work on female early high school leavers and nothing on male early high school leavers. Sources were also considered in-so-far as they gave a sense of the issues in different geographical contexts¹⁵.

The paragraphs to follow will consider individual and family, peer, school, community and societal factors as variables in the decision to leave school before finishing. Although discussed separately for analytical purposes, these factors are intertwined and complex and should be understood as such. Apart from a gender distinction made with regards to who is likely to leave early, focusing on female early school leavers; to my knowledge the South African literature addresses early school leaving in general terms.

3.1 Individual in context

Early high school leaving occurs at the onset, of or during adolescence¹⁶. As a point of departure, psychosocial development theory provides starting points about this phase in people’s developmental trajectory. The notion of a psycho-social identity popularised by Erickson (1971) is instructive in the theorising and conceptualising of early school leaving. In his studies on psychosocial development and maturation Erickson suggested the notion of increasing ‘self-definition’ and greater ‘experimentation’ by adolescents as key elements. Although this may result in greater independence and positive growth, it may also be marked by disengagement

¹⁵ These sources were traced through reading abstracts, working through bibliography lists and book reviews. With regard to the international literature, which is comprehensive (Canada, Australia and United State of America) the criterion of diversity was used. The year in which a study was published was important, i.e. studies published after 2000 where considered.

¹⁶ Adolescence is “the transitional stage of human development in which a juvenile matures into an adult. The phase entails “biological, social and psychological changes, though the biological ones are the easiest to measure objectively” (Ballantine, 2007: 22).

from school. During adolescence, the learners' key task is establishing an "attachment to school", a social institution that is important for the reproduction of society's values, norms and work force. Early school leaving is a significant problem in societies where it occurs. Early school leaving in a context of rapid skills advancements indefinitely prolongs the dependence of individuals on the family. For young men whose self-definition is socially intertwined with an ability to provide materially for the household; the pressure is greater to compensate in some ways. Below I discuss some of the factors that contribute to early school leaving at an individual level.

Individual factors have to do with the physical and or psychological incapacity of an individual. The factors include disability (Department of Basic Education 2011), persistent health problems, sight or hearing problems and cognitive problems (Porteus et al 2000: 11)¹⁷. Individual factors are also rooted in contextual factors resulting in a lack of motivation (Graeme Bloch in Bowman, 2010); poor school attendance and repetition (Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah, 2009: 229¹⁸) and absenteeism (Bridgeland et al 2006).

As part of the immediate context in an individual's life the family plays the role as a primary socialising agent pertaining to societal expectations and enforcing sanctions for noncompliance. This constitutes informal and ubiquitous learning that is critical for formal education, preparing individuals to be productive citizens in a society. Four points can be made with regards to the family's role.

- A lack of family support (Panday and Arends, 2008¹⁹, Munsaka, 2009: 70²⁰, Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah, 2009: 229) and instability within the home (Porteus et al 2000: 11) may contribute to the process of leaving school before

¹⁷ The study was commissioned by the Gauteng Department of education in three communities in the Gauteng region. It involved children between the ages five and seventeen years. Marginalised out-of-school urban children made up that population.

¹⁸ Their research project selected 89 children (7-16) in a northern region of Ghana, who were not in school. Individual stories about school experiences and factors leading to them leaving school were explored.

¹⁹ South African study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council

²⁰ Study was conducted in Zambia through in-depth interviews

completing matric. Adolescents depend on the family at this stage of maturation and experimentation. Family support and stability provides young people with a sense of predictability and security as they progress along a trajectory of identity formation.

- Conditions of poverty (Sibanda, 2004:99²¹; Panday and Arends, 2008; Porteus et al 2010: 10; Inglis, 2009: 35²²) make it difficult for families to create a stable environment for their children. Rapid urbanisation further isolates families from their traditional source of social networks. As such, the impact of poverty on families varies and is largely dependent upon the family's ability to mobilise alternative survival strategies. Porteus et al identifies different forms of poverty: *physical poverty* which largely entails the material resources needed for daily survival; *social isolation* refers to having 'no-one to turn to' or losing hope and *psychological disempowerment* meaning giving up, being discouraged from trying (Porteus et al 2010: 10). A lack of social welfare resources (Department of Education, 2011) intensifies the experience of poverty²³ captured above. Smit and Liebenberg (2003: 4) underline the need to understand the social dynamics of parental involvement in such conditions. Parents are often engaged in activities outside the home in order to generate income, and consequently have little time to spend with their children.
- The impact of HIV/AIDS is unravelling the family network through which individuals can mobilise resources resulting in a sense of isolation. Caring for family members who have AIDS (Panday and Arends, 2008) is an expensive and devastatingly difficult process for families. As a result, in the absence of parents, carrying out household responsibilities (Terry, 2008²⁴) in child-headed households (Graeme Bloch in Bowman, 2010) places a large burden

²¹ The author utilised the South African public-use sample from the 1996 national census count

²² The study was carried out in a coloured community in the Western Cape (Stellenbosch), South Africa. It focused on young people who were at risk of early school leaving.

²³ Social grants give some relief to many of South Africa's poverty-stricken families (plus/minus 16 million people in South Africa receive social grants).

²⁴ The study looked at the effects family members and peers have on students' decision to leave school before graduating in Manitoba, Canada.

on children. The absence of parents/guardians escalates the physical poverty, psychological disempowerment and social isolation.

- Having siblings as well as parents who are early school leavers often contributes to the decision to leave school before finishing grade 12 (Terry, 2008). Munsaka describes this social phenomenon as a “lack of role models” (2009: 69). As has been suggested values, norms and social expectations are established and reinforced primarily within the home. A lack of support and stability may create a breeding ground for anti-social influences as individuals seek a sense of belonging. External factors beyond the family i.e. peer groups, become a primary social force in the lives of adolescents.

3.2 Peer relations

Peer groups are a very significant part of the developmental process that individuals undergo, particularly during adolescence. Two key challenges in life are: establishing greater autonomy, and forming an identity, with peers playing a key role as a reference group (for example Erickson 1971; Roderick, 1993). The role of peer groups is particularly important in instances where adults are absent. They may be supportive and protective, but may also be detrimental to individuals who seek acceptance and recognition.

Behaviour such as apathy and rebelliousness amongst young people are often diversions to disguise trouble in parts of their lives (Helfield in Terry, 2008: 30). The troubles may include broken relationships, being undermined by others at school, not being able to fit in, and bullying (Terry 2008). In instances of lack of family support Mokwena argues that gangs provide “emotional and material support and a sense of belonging, power and status” (1992: 2) for young people. Don Pinnock’s work on gangs in Cape Town is particularly important in our context and continues to be relevant. It deals in detail with gangs in areas of Cape Town, particularly the Cape Flats. Studying the role of gangs, he argued that they become a means of survival (1984: 99). For unemployed young people, gangs provide possibilities for material gain (Mokwena, 1992: 1).

As an off-shoot of ganging and an element of gang functionality, territorial claims are not uncommon. For Pinnock (1984:101) territoriality is central in holding together gangs. In her study in Manenberg, a township on the Cape Flats in Cape Town, Salo noted how local community boundaries were produced by young men through “ganging practices and aesthetics” (2003: 351).

Such production may be attributed to a need to “create a holding society for themselves, where none adequate to their need exists” (Thrasher quoted by Pinnock, 1984:100). Conditions of instability, alienation and anomie create a space within which gangs provide a

“...powerful alternative to schooling, attracted a large proportion of unemployed and non-school going male adolescents” (Glaser, 1998: 301).

Ganging by its nature pushes boundaries of socially acceptable behaviour. Groups establish norms and values that are often in conflict with those that are widely held in society. Young people in such groups are often in antagonistic relations (Steinberg’s 2010) with law enforcement authorities. Swartz who conducted ethnographic work in Langa Township in Cape Town notes how many of her participants “spoke of jail as a rite of passage”, a means through which one gains respect in the community (2009: 38). In this regard Thando Mgqolozana observes that young people in townships are trapped in what he calls a “revolving-door-syndrome” which eventually has one of two ends: death or prison (2009: 37).

3.3 School factors

Lee and Breen (2007: 330) contend that with on-going changes in family social structures, the school as a social institution is relied upon to provide a sense of belonging by young people. There is also an assumption in the literature

“that enrolment in formal education is necessarily and inherently a good thing, that it is a key indicator of development and what happens inside schools... is automatically of benefit to both individuals and society” (Harber, 2004: 07).

While formal education can provide avenues for individual and community self-actualisation through access to employment, there arguably also exist adverse impacts of schooling. Poor standards of teaching in schools (Bloch in Bowman,

2010), the lack of stimulation and support (Department of Education, 2011) and the teaching of irrelevant material (Panday and Arends 2008) are critical problems. Terry found that too much school work was also a problem (2008). Factors such as one's distance from school, the non-payment of school fees, abuse by teachers (Porteus et al 2010: 11) and changing schools (Teachman et al, 1996: 782) clearly also contribute towards early school leaving.

The perception that even with an education an individual's life did not improve is a motivation for young people to discontinue their schooling (Munsaka, 2009: 69). In a context of high structural unemployment the value of schooling is questioned.

Violence in schools was also cited as a factor in the decision to leave school before completing matric (Terry, 2008: 32). The role that the school can play is highlighted as follows:

“schools have limited power to change the out-of-school relationships that place *learners* at risk of dropping out, ...*schools* have a duty to do whatever they can to ensure that every *learner* who has potential to *complete* will do so” (Terry, 2008: 36).

When the school environment is not able to provide a sense of belonging and holding, young people are at a higher risk of leaving school before finishing grade 12.

3.4 Male early school leaving

Pointing to the attention given to boys and their schooling Imms posits that an “...unprecedented demand for information concerning adolescent masculinity” among educational researchers (2000: 152) has been created. Central to this argument is the gender lens through which young men's decision to leave school early is read.

The literature cites the existence of multiple masculine identities (masculinities), defined as contextually contingent behaviours, languages and practices associated with males (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001: 15; Miescher and Lindsay, 2003: 4). The premise being that masculinities are socially constructed (see for example, Carrigan

et al, 1985: 589; Morrell, 2001; Whitehead, 2002: 16; Alsop et al 2002: 130; & Ouzgane and Morrell, 2005: 9). Raewyn Connell argues in this regard, a

“...new-born child has biological sex, but no social gender. As it grows older society provides ... prescriptions, templates ... of behaviour appropriate to the one sex or the other” (1987: 191).

The following discussion draws on arguments raised in three studies that focussed specifically on boys’ leaving school before finishing year 12. In Hodgson’s²⁵ research (2006) the institutional environment was implicated in the decision to leave school early. In this study early high school leaving should not be seen only as a personal matter but an institutional one as well.

“Schools as cultural and institutional practices co-construct the often painful, lengthy and contradictory processes and experiences of early school leaving. So, early high school leaving is not merely a personal or individual phenomenon, but also an institutional phenomenon” (Hodgson, 2006: 3).

The hierarchical nature of schools may “...create and sustain relations of domination and subordination” ordering some “...practices in terms of power and prestige as it defines its own distinct gender regime”. Various versions of masculinity presented through options and possibilities may be dependent on the school’s setting through which “...meanings and practices” are made available (Swain, 2005: 215).

Whilst problematising a chiefly individualistic approach to understanding early high school leaving, Hodgson (2006: 14) asserts explicitly that male early high school leavers’ voices must be part of public discourse (ibid 2008: 2). It is important therefore to reveal the conflicts, negotiations and contradictions experienced by male early high school leavers by encouraging them to tell their stories.

The point of departure for Harrington (2002) is the assertion that boys’ early school leaving may be linked to “boys’ decision making process” in the context of local discourses of masculinity. Regional discourses imply collective/communal

²⁵ Hodgson analysed narratives, meanings and constructed experiences of 5 young boys aged 14-16 years, who left secondary school before year 10 in Australia.

discoursing or what Connell terms 'collective practice' (2005: 106), about what is right or wrong, cool or not. One key feature of the stronger high schools in Orange Farm is that they still administer corporal punishment even though it is illegal to do so according to the South African Department of Education. Often learners avoid enrolling in high schools that are considered strict because they administer corporal punishment. Nonetheless, many parents want their children to enrol in these schools as a way of curbing and curtailing ill-discipline and promoting success. Writing about corporal punishment in the context of masculinity in South African schools, Morrell argues that the "willingness of students to receive it, the willingness of teachers to inflict it and the insistence of parents that it be given" (2001b:155) perpetuates the practice.

Focusing on male learners who moved to "progressive school environments" Juelskjaer notes that what is important is an analysis that considers the "multiplicity, heterogeneity and fluidity in the subjectification process" impacting upon the lives of children and adolescents resulting in them resisting going to school (2008: 60). Perhaps what captures the complexity of male early high school leaving, echoing Harrington is Juelskjaer's point that:

"Complexly the dynamics of resisting and committing to school are intertwined with local, shifting and intersecting categories of masculinity, academic learning, race and struggles of power within and between these categories, and also with struggles of what is pedagogically relevant" (p49).

While this study does not develop a systematic approach to read race in the case of male early high school leavers as it does with gender and class for example, it is useful to address some issues relating to race and gender. Whilst I will refer to black men in the following discussion, there is nothing essential, concrete or homogenous about the social group. Tendencies to homogenise black men are problematic as they fail to appreciate the intersectionality of different characteristics in social identity. Noguera's work on young black men in America is instructive. He questions the representations of black males in different realms such as literature and movies. Social discourse depicting black males as the 'other' to be feared and as embodying violence are also challenged. These social constructions of pathological black male identities according to Noguera make everyday existence a challenge. He argues

that in public schools the pervasive failure of black males is normalised through structural indifference. Often schools are not equipped to deal with learners' problems emanating from within the school system, and those emanating beyond the school system. Citing statistics of large numbers of young black males in American prisons compared to institutions of learning, Noguera laments the apparent lack of commitment at all levels to reverse the situation (2008).

One should however be cautioned against elevating racialised readings of "...attainment which can detract attention away from what may be wholly or in large part the 'real' issue, class differences"²⁶. Furthermore, racialised readings have a possibility of generating or reinforcing the same representations and potentially resulting in unintended outcomes for the very inequalities that are of concern (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2006: 143).

In considering class difference as an element of analysis, Paul Willis and Raewyn Connell's look at young men in working class settings is insightful. Paul Willis' classic contribution to working class cultural reproduction, *Learning to labour: how working class kids get working class jobs* is a major study in this regard. Willis makes crucial observations about his group in what he terms "...male white working class counter-school culture" (1997: 2). With the appreciation of context and the demographic profile of Willis' participants, two elements of his analysis are instructive. In the first instance, the author argues that,

"class identity is not truly reproduced until it has properly passed through the individual and the group, until it has been recreated in the context of what appears to be personal and collective volition" (1997: 2).

Individuals and groups internalise working class practices and reproduce them in their subjective, everyday lived experiences as their own. Secondly, Willis refers to the untidy nature of reproduction evident in social institutions. There may be disjunctures, continuities and discontinuities in patterns reproduced by an institution. Also, reproduction is not facilitated by a single institution. Willis suggests that in fact

²⁶ South Africa has a history of formalised and legally institutionalised racial discrimination through which opportunities were denied to the majority because of their skin colour. In other words the social construction of race had real consequences for individuals.

“...other kinds of institutions may lie awkwardly against real social functions” (p 176). The latter captures the interdependence and latent functions of social institutions in pursuit of their social functions. Ultimately the role of social institutions in reproduction is argued to be most evident in the “...unintended and often unseen results of their relationships and habituated patterns of interaction with located and informal cultures” (p 176). The latent institutional practices, often taken for granted, are then the ones that perpetuate reproduction.

Raewyn Connell goes further by arguing that in less developed economies²⁷ where there are high unemployment levels “...youth are growing up without any expectation of the stable employment around which familiar models of working-class masculinity were organised” (2005: 106). What takes place in the situations described above is not social reproduction by and large, but a creation of forms of underclass categories. The lack of employment opportunities or means to make a living perpetuates the indefinite dependency by young adults on their families. In a context where masculinities continue to be constructed in ways that intertwine men’s social identity with abilities to provide materially, unemployment creates ‘conditions of crisis’ (Edward: 2006: 4) within which young men negotiate their social identity. As such, looking at their future and at possibilities of fulfilling perceived male roles; many black males²⁸ look with a “sense of desperate manhood” to the future (Ratele 2001). However, the disadvantage of young men should not be read as a consequence of “young women’s relative success”.

3.5 Life chances and early school leavers

The Department of Education’s (2011) finding that “60% of youths are left with no qualification at all beyond the grade 9 level” and that finding jobs and enrolling for a course post-school has become difficult and very often impossible.

Early high school leavers are labelled outcasts and losers, some stay at home, wander the streets and/or are involved in informal trading. Others become waiters, security guards, taxi drivers, cleaners, gardeners or handymen, and often fall into a

²⁷ South Africa has a less developed economy.

²⁸ Ratele cautions against conceptions of black males as a homogenous group and notes ‘varied blacknesses and masculinities.’

life of crime and anti-social behaviour. Social networks are critical in the lives of early high school leavers with regard to employment opportunities (Panday and Arends, 2008).

Worryingly, early school leavers may be involved in “various forms of risk-taking behaviour” warn Flisher and Chalton (1995: 116-17). How are male early high school leavers spending their time in Orange Farm? The following are the stories of two male early high school leavers interviewed in Orange Farm (Bingma, 2008) detailing how they spent their days.

When schools are closed we sit at the corner with friends chat and gamble. When they are not there I do the garden. Like I said that I love reading, I go to the library to read. During the week especially on Wednesday when schools are open, I go to the library ... ‘Ekasi’ I am the ‘knocks man’ I manage the game. When I have R2 and they can start playing, they pay me. I end up having R20, maybe I get lucky when playing and the bet is at R20. I can get R200 and go buy a pair of sneakers (Thulani)

Gambling for Thulani is a means of earning an income. It also provides or becomes a seemingly relatively easy and convenient option with regards to accessing money. Thulani’s visits to the library appear to indicate his appreciation of education in its broader sense.

A lot of things happen. Maybe there will be a plan for one day of the week. The rest of the six days is unplanned. Things will happen automatically. I will wake up, while having ‘inkonzo’²⁹ and listening to music, I’ll pray. Then the phone will ring, changing all the plans. If the phone does not ring, I go out and see friends and we see how to put things together, and the sun sets. That is how things unfold (Jabulani).

The lack of meaningful engagement means that individuals are involved in non-productive activities such as smoking dagga. Not all early high school leavers will however experience struggles in their life course. Family as well as social networks

²⁹ Inkonzo is IsiXhosa for church or congregation. This term has been appropriated and is used to describe the getting together of young men to smoke dagga. It also takes place when a person who wants to ‘pray’, meaning-to smoke dagga. Dagga is considered a ‘holy herb’ and is generally smoked by young men in Orange Farm.

become important in providing opportunities to explore different and alternative avenues. We need to ask, what are the socio-economic conditions that serve as holding forces that propel individuals in such circumstances?

A study carried out on the Cape Flats in Cape Town found that, “many of the *early school leavers* would ... be very poorly equipped to compete in the labour market...” and that it was “unlikely that they would complete their schooling at a later stage” (Flisher & Chalton, 1995: 116). Overall early high school leavers are likely to receive reduced earnings (Lagana, 2004: 212³⁰). Failure to identify learners at risk of early school leaving in lower grades is a missed opportunity in intervening to retain the learner within the schooling system and in so doing, improve their life chances.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter provided an overview of different social forces impacting upon the lives of individuals and how such factors contribute to the decision to leave school before completing high school. Although the factors were discussed in an analytically distinct fashion, they interact and complicate the decision to, or not to, leave high school before completing matric. The interaction of the different factors brings to bare the negotiations, contradictions and underpinning tensions, reflecting the complex nature of this issue.

Early school leavers are a diverse group given the variety of reasons that contribute to their decision to leave school before completing grade 12 (Voss et al 1966). In the first instance, the latter requires centralising the voices of young men by making use of qualitative research methodologies to gain insights pertaining to their varying lived experiences. Secondly, the diversity necessitates a multiplicity of interventions to deal with the problem. Critical is the need to differentiate the reasons, and connecting individual male early high school leaving to a set of contextual variables as ‘varied’ and ‘contradictory’ as they are.

³⁰ The author looked at protective factors for inner-city adolescents at risk of early school leaving by investigating family and social factors. This study took place in a low income African American inner city high school in Baltimore, America.

Male early high school leaving reveals interwoven structural dynamics of race, class and gender. The intersectionality of the latter in processes of self-definition cannot be underestimated or dismissed. Noting how institutional practices (Hodgson 2006) and local discourses of masculinity (Harrington 2002) intertwine with other categories; academic progress and race for example (Juelskjaer 2008), a complex, nuanced analysis of decision making processes is possible. Also institutional practices and local discourses are complicit in reproducing “relations of domination and subordination” amongst young men (Swain, 2005: 215). The latter relationship captures Willis’ argument that other institutions within society may “lie awkwardly against real social functions” (1997: 176). The latter pertains to institutional connectedness as well as the latent functions of social institutions. Individual decision making is negotiated within this intersectionality. The above analysis in many ways captures the different forms of knowledge required by teachers in dealing with learners (see chapter 2 for Jansen’s notion of forms of knowledge).

An equally important point to make with regards to race and gender is that of structural indifference in Noguera’s terms (2008). Consequences of structural indifference can perpetuate stereotypical representations about specific groups of people.

It is clear from the literature that early school leavers’ life chances are diminished and as a result they find themselves in the lowest levels of informal employment. In particular, anti-social behaviour becomes attractive as individuals become socially isolated and dislocated from their roots.

Chapter 4

Conceptual and theoretical tools

Introduction

The “situatedness, contextuality and contingency” of knowledge production and action (Schwandt, 1993) is fundamental to understanding and locating individuals’ decision making processes. Two theoretical and conceptual tools are considered here: stigma, and social capital. The two are important in that they point to the intersectionality of variables at different points in time. Intersectionality is defined for the purpose of this study as the “relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations - as itself a central category of analysis”, rejecting the “separability of analytical and identity categories” (McCall, 2005: 1771). Early school leaving cannot be understood outside of such considerations (see chapter 3).

4.1 Stigma³¹

Stigma in the Oxford English dictionary is defined as “a mark or sign of disgrace that affects a person’s social identity”. Goffman’s conceptualisation of stigma³² refers to “an attribute that is deeply discrediting” (1963: 3). However, for an attribute to be stigmatised a “society establishes the means of categorising persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories” (ibid 2). Should early high school leavers as members of a category in Goffman’s terms be considered, they would be referred to as ‘dropouts’. They are also labelled ‘outcasts and losers’ (Panday and Arends, 2008) or dumb, lazy, deviant and failures. The aforementioned are attributes considered “ordinary and natural” for this group of people. They arguably constitute their social identity. For the purposes of this study deviance is coupled with stigma and is defined as “relative”, socially produced “judgements of social acceptability or unacceptability...” (Tittle & Paternoster, 2003: 20). It was suggested earlier that early school leavers are not a homogenous group (Voss, 1966). This point is important in considering deviance. Homogeneous categorisations by a “trait is difficult because deviance has no

³¹ I would like to acknowledge Irma Du Plessis who referred me to Goffman’s work on stigma.

³² A number of concepts developed by Goffman in his book *Stigma* (1963) are drawn upon.

inherent characteristics...” it “depends upon social definitions...” (Tittle & Paternoster, 2003: 19).

In the context of an early school leaver, dealing with stigma often results in an individual attempting to ‘correct it’ through what Goffman refers to as “remedial education”. For the person who is stigmatised “arises the sense of not knowing what the others present are really thinking about him” (p14) and the problem becomes that of “managing information about his failing...to tell or not to tell” (p42).

The notion of managing a “discreditable” attribute of one’s social identity is analytically useful in making sense of the narrative data collected for this study. It may be argued that presentations about the self are often *nonunitary*, underlining how individuals make sense of and negotiate contradictions and ambiguities in their life course. Bloom writes about “nonunitary subjectivity in narrative representation”. In examining subjectivity as it emerges in narratives, the respondents evaluate their own narratives through a process that provides opportunities wherein desires for “positive self-representation” are replaced by attempts to “understand themselves better” (1996: 193). This negotiation can, in part, be influenced by meanings individuals attach to social interaction with others (Newman, 2002: 20). The notion of a nonunitary narrative presentation is used in this study to understand how, in a context of stigma, individuals make sense of their actions. The process of ‘managing a spoilt identity’, I will argue, often requires nonunitary narrative presentations.

The notion of the management of information was evident during the process of recruiting participants as well as in their narrative accounts about why they left high school before finishing. Individuals who were approached wanted to ascertain what the research entailed, and what the risks and benefits were prior to agreeing to take part in the project. Self-identification as a male early high school leaver rested on the risks and benefits. The thought of being judged as a failure amid increased public calls for a focus on the ‘knowledge economy’ made them feel uneasy and ambivalent. This sense of uneasiness is also evident in the improvisation used in their narratives around early school leaving.

Goffman differentiates between “discreditable” and “discredited” characteristics. Discreditable features are “not immediately apparent” whilst discredited features are objectively visible. It can be argued that male early high school leavers are a discreditable group as their differentness is not immediately evident. The attribute of not having finished schooling discredits them amongst those who know them, and to those from whom they seek opportunity. For a sense of belonging in an environment where stigma results in a form of discrimination or isolation, individuals seek comfort in those who share the stigma.

“Knowing from their own experience what it is like to have this particular stigma, some of them can provide the individual with instruction in the tricks of the trade and with a circle of lament to which he can withdraw for moral support and for the comfort of feeling at home, at ease, accepted as a person who really is like any other normal person” (Goffman, 1963: 20).

The role of power as a social dynamic is central in the social reproduction of any stigma (Link and Phelan, 2001: 375). When we consider schooling, it is clear how early school leavers can be placed low on the “status hierarchy” (p 379) due to the value placed on attaining a high school certificate in order to access socioeconomic opportunities. Furthermore Link and Phelan point out that “some groups are more stigmatised than others” (P 377). In a context where the social construction of masculinities is linked with the ability to provide materially, a male early high school leaver’s social identity is discredited in so far as he is not able to meet societal expectations.

4.2 Social Capital

As a theoretical tool social capital has been written about extensively from different perspectives within different disciplines. For the purposes of this study the analysis primarily draws on work rooted in sociological conceptualisations.

In his work Portes (1998, 2000) points to the shifting meanings that have been attached to a concept that is not new, but “recaptures” already existing ideas in the discipline of sociology. By its *function* social capital is “not a single entity but a variety of different entities” (Coleman, 1988: 98), it is “less tangible” (Anthias, 2007: 801). Central to the notion of social capital is the value of the ‘reciprocity’ of networks and

norms (Putnam, 2001: 41). Overall Portes notes that the literature suggests that social capital is the actor's capacity, through affiliation to "social networks or other social structures", to "secure benefits" (1998: 6).

Two points may be made in relation to the argument that social capital is "not a single entity", is "less tangible" and that its value lies in the "reciprocity" of networks and norms. In the first instance, the idea that social capital consists of different entities and may be intangible is important in so far as it provides for the identification of significant networks or social structures in the individual's life at different points in time. In the second instance, different entities and less tangible social capital allow for individuals to draw resources from various networks for particular situations at different times. Given the aforementioned two points, Floya Anthias' notion of "differentiated social locations" (2007: 801) is useful.

Anthias makes the key point that diversity within groups along class and gender lines is significant. There is an understanding that, within the same group, individuals will not access similar resources. At different times, for specific purposes and depending on one's place in the mainstream hierarchy, different individuals place a variety of values on the networks they are part of (ibid 797).

Three functions of 'social capital' are identified in the literature by Portes. In the first instance social capital is a "*source for social control*". The latter is used by parents, caregivers and institutional authorities through which "discipline and compliance" is maintained amongst those they are responsible for. Such strictures become widely accepted and go unchallenged (Portes, 1998: 9). The internalisation of such norms and sanctions provides for predictability of social action and the maintenance of social order. Within the context of schooling social capital refers to "social networks and social interaction" that facilitate the attainment of different levels of education (Smith et al, 1992: 75).

In the second place it is a "*source of family support*". Social capital benefits the "education and personality development" of children (Portes, 1998: 9). Families, as suggested in chapter three are the primary socialising agent in the lives of young people. Social expectations with regard to context specific behaviours are learnt from

the family through direct and indirect learning. Within the context of the family the “creation of human capital in the rising generation” is a significant component in the reproduction of familial social status in the broader society. The different kinds of social capital one may access through the family include financial capital. The latter provides for access to “physical resources”. Human capital from the education accumulated by parents provides for a “cognitive environment that aids learning” (Coleman, 1988; 109).

Finally, social capital is a “*source of benefits through extra-familial networks*” (Portes, 1998: 9). Individuals are able to draw support from extended family members as well as other sources of support within their immediate environment. On the other hand categories of poverty as identified by Porteus et al (2010) (see chapter 3), as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS limit extra-familial networks through which individuals may mobilise resources.

4.3 Some critical reflections on social capital

Highlighting the not always positive outcomes, Alejandro Portes (1998) develops a critical exposition of social capital through which he argues for a balance in theorising. He argues that social capital has evolved to what he calls a “cure-all” for problems gripping society. However, the conceptualisation of social capital has been put to “severe tests” (Portes, 1998). It is cautioned that, when conceptualising social capital as a lack in “unsuccessful individuals, families, community and neighbourhoods” (Morrow, 1999: 760), one would be guilty of crude reductionism.

The use of social capital without logically delimiting and delineating the scope of the concept, or often getting trapped in ‘tautological’ arguments is also highlighted by Portes. To aid conceptualisation, a distinction is required between one; those who possess social capital (those making claims), two; sources of social capital (those agreeing to the demand) and three; the resources themselves (Portes, 1998: 5-6). When we consider male early high school leavers (possessors of social capital), the sources of social capital consist of the family, relatives, peers and teachers. The resources required by the young men may be financial, academic support, emotional support and discipline.

Four negative consequences of social capital are identified, the first being the “*exclusion of outsiders*”. This occurs when the “same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group commonly enable it to *bar* others from access” (Portes, 1998: 15, Anthias, 2007). Chapter three (p21-22) addressed the significance of peer groups in the lives of adolescents as reference groups through which individuals achieve social status, peers provide support and a sense of belonging for individuals. In the process of “self-definition” and “experimentation” (Erickson 1971) adolescents may find conformity with anti-social groups affirming. Adolescents whose schooling experiences are unpleasant may, for instance, use ganging as a means through which an alternative to school is created (Glaser, 1998). Such an alternative may be reproduced via competing local social constructions of respectability and coercion. The initiation practice in Orange Farm, for example, affords social status to individuals associated with the rites of passage. Social groupings are formed through which the power gained is exercised over others.

A second negative consequence may be the “*excessive claims on group members*”. This may undermine the success of members of groups. Citing Geertz (1963) Portes shows how “promising enterprises” are turned into what he calls “welfare hotels”, where “free-riding” occur (Portes, 1998: 16).

A third consequence may be the “*restrictions on individual freedom*”. For Portes “community or group participation necessarily creates demands for conformity”. Additionally, the reduction of “privacy and autonomy of individuals” (p16-17) is clearly evident. Subscribing to social groups such as gangs, or rite of passage practices, can result in individuals retreating from legitimate social institutions due to the internal prescriptions and sanctions of anti-social groups.

A fourth consequence may be what Portes refers to as “*downward levelling norms*”. Solidarity founded on similar experiences of “*adversity and opposition to mainstream society*” may, as an intended or unintended consequence, reproduce such experiences. In such a case the success of individuals threatens the cohesiveness of the group, as the group unity originates from the “alleged *impossibility* of such occurrences”. This serves to keep members conforming, while the ‘ambitious’ exit the group. At its *worst*, the process of the downward levelling of norms is critical for

the survival of such organisations as “mafia families, prostitution (rings), gambling rings and youth gangs” (Portes, 1998: 17).

4.4 Conclusion

Stigma and social capital as theoretical tools provide useful perspectives through which male early high school leaving may be analysed. In the first place stigma provides a lens through which socially marginalised groupings may be understood. Through narrative analysis a glimpse of how individuals view themselves, their actions, their environment and how they think others view them is possible. Narrative analysis concerns itself with negotiations of what is said, and what is not said (Riessman 2005). The utility of Goffman’s conceptualisation of stigma lies also in analysing self-representations of marginalised individuals through their negotiated narratives. Otherwise put, individuals manage details about their “discreditable” attributes (Goffman 1963) through a process of selecting what cannot be said. An important matter to consider is how stigmatised individuals mobilise social capital.

The argument against conceptualising social capital as a lack of sorts that characterise unsuccessful individuals (Morrow, 1999: 760) is fundamental if we are to engage how stigmatised individuals mobilise social capital. Anthias’ point about individuals in the same group not accessing similar resources is important in highlighting Morrow’s argument. It indicates an inability to ‘mobilise’ resources at different times, for different purposes. Also, depending on one’s place in the mainstream social hierarchy, individuals place different values on the networks (2007: 797) they possess.

Having considered the critique, social capital is then useful only when contextually conceptualised to provide a clear focus and boundaries for application. Considering the positive and negative outcomes of social capital is imperative in rigorous theorising. The use of narrative analysis allows for an identification of networks in an individual’s life as well as the value individuals place on each of the networks. Essentially, social capital becomes important in discussing social reproduction as a means through which individuals or collectivities mobilise resources at any particular point in time. For the purpose of this research undertaking I conceptualise social capital to mean-

social networks (family, peer group, school, community-source of social capital) or social structure (gender, class, ethnicity) through which social dividends (resources) accrue over time to a member (male early high school leaver - possessor of the social capital) who may (mobilise) them at different points in time.

The ability for individuals to mobilise resources through their social networks in a context of stigma requires analysis. Such an analysis tells us about the position of the individual towards access to resources, and which networks are favoured at different points in time.

Chapter 5

Methodology

Introduction

The following chapter unpacks methodological processes followed in conducting the research project. The study is concerned with researching male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township³³. The research site was chosen for a number of reasons as was suggested in chapter one. During the process of recruiting participants for an honours mini-research report on early high school leaving in 2008, it became apparent to me that male early high school leaving was a problem. While attempting to initiate a project through which young people could be encouraged to finish matric and pursue further studies at institutions of higher education (universities, universities of technology, technical colleges), it also became clear that there were no interventions directed at those individuals who had left school before finishing matric. Conversations with community members further drew attention to a rising concern about young men who were not in school, were not employed and were not pursuing any positive avenues to gain skills. This dissertation is concerned with engaging the problem of male early high school leaving in Orange Farm. It aims to promote an understanding of the problem and to present the everyday life experiences of the young men subsequent to their exit from the schooling system.

5.1 Methodology and Research Questions

South African literature rooted in a qualitative research paradigm on early school leaving is limited. Little is known about male early high school leaving in Orange Farm. In the main, as suggested in chapter 3, studies on early school leaving rely on Household Surveys. Such quantitative data does not include the lived experiences of those who have exited the system before finishing matric. It became my interest to discover why young men did not finish their high school training as well as to ascertain the nature of the activities they engaged in after leaving school. The research questions and objectives necessitated making use of a qualitative research methodology; viz a case study (research design) drawing on life story interviews (method) and narrative analysis. Two research questions underpin the study:

³³ As part of the research findings, Chapter 6 will provide a detailed account of Orange Farm as a social space.

- Why do young men leave high school before finishing grade 12?
- How do male early high school leavers negotiate their livelihoods?

Qualitative research “is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world... involving interpretive, material practices that make the world visible” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2007: 3). Furthermore, this paradigm researches “...natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret...in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (ibid). As individuals attach meaning to their everyday social interaction and action, they bring to bear their subjective constructions of reality. The study sought to establish, engage and probe explanations of early high school leaving amongst male ex-learners in Orange Farm Township through their narrative representations. Although qualitative research does not provide comparative data as it does not rely on statistically representative numbers, it does nonetheless, provide information, nuance and detail that cannot satisfactorily be recorded through quantitative methodology (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000: 38). As a social science methodology, qualitative research is invaluable in analysing the complexity of everyday life.

5.2 A case study design

A case study design was chosen as it focuses on investigating contextual occurrences at specific points in time (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 1994: 13). Given that not much is known about the research questions in relation to Orange Farm, a case study’s potential to reveal insight (Yin, 1994:40) is very useful. Case studies can be explanatory, exploratory and descriptive in nature (Yin, 1994: 1). The distinctions are driven by the research questions and what data to collect as well as the method of analysis (ibid 19). In line with the research questions and the objectives of the study, an explanatory case study was designed. The intention was to reveal ‘unique features’ of the case through the collection of in-depth data at a specific ‘time and place’ (Bryman & Teevan, 2005: 42). The study design is also aimed at describing the conditions individuals find themselves in (Babbie, 1992: 91) as well as to explain why phenomena occur as they do (ibid 92). A contextual understanding was sought and facilitated through extensive descriptive data collection and the analysis of Orange Farm as a social space. Life-story interviewing which considers the

contextual impact on the shaping of the life of an individual (see 5.6.2 of this chapter) was followed.

Case studies are however also criticised. First of all their generalisability is always a point of contention (Bryman & Teevan, 2005: 43). Their lack of representativity of the population in the locality is fundamental to the critique. Yin suggests that, as opposed to generalising statistically to populations, case studies may be generalisable to the “theoretical proportions” of the study (1994: 10). Secondly, case studies are time consuming, producing a large amount of data that may be “unreadable” (ibid). A key to countering the latter is to clearly align the question(s) the research seeks to engage and answer with the objective of the research.

Most importantly, case study research has been criticised for lack of rigour, sloppiness and “biased views to direct direction of the findings”. To guard against the above criticisms, particularly the lack of rigor and bias; different mechanisms of evaluation have been employed in this study.

First, *construct validity* is tested through utilising multiple sources and establishing a ‘chain of evidence’ (Yin, 1994: 33). This demands rigorous conceptualisation and clarity of focus. Multiple sources were used in this study, as will become clear. Reading them together, it was possible to recognise ambiguities and contradictions in the data and hence, provide a rigorous analysis.

Second, *internal validity*, particularly for explanatory studies, requires ‘pattern matching, explanation building as well as time-series analysis’ (ibid 33). This is required to establish ‘causal relationships and to make inferences’ (ibid 35). The life story interview technique is crucial as it provided opportunities to identify the threads of a story. Through the use of thematic narrative analysis, patterns and themes were identified.

Reliability and validity in this study were further sought through the development of a rigorous research proposal at the beginning of the project (ibid 33). This aided in the

tracking of information gathered and as a means to assess whether the research has deviated from the research question(s) and objective(s).

5.3 Location of the researcher: limitations and possibilities

A focus on the location of the researcher at the beginning of this chapter is essential as this positionality was negotiated throughout the research process. As an 'element of rigour', a researcher must be "ready to give an account of the way in which their personal involvement in social and fieldwork relations shaped their data collection, analysis and writing" (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2006: 147). As suggested, the researcher is an insider/outsider in Orange Farm. I lived in the township permanently and went to school there for eight years (1997-2004). I continue to visit the township regularly as my family home is there. Orange Farm is *home*. The position of being both an insider/outsider posed a number of challenges. Various points need to be made here. The researcher's location outside of the township since 2005 due to academic commitments and her perceived academic 'success' in relation to the target population was a challenge.

Also, the blurring of roles was not uncommon. In the presence of potential participants, some stakeholders identified the researcher as an 'example' that children and young people in the community should emulate. In consequence a number of potential participants were 'put off' by such identifications.

First on the list of implications of the insider/outsider position of the researcher is the question of how such a location impacts on the data collected. Puttergill and Liede look critically at the position of the researcher and researched in what they refer to as contextualising the narrator and researcher. For them, the narrator is not passively narrating their story without mediation and negotiation of what can be said and not said in an interview (2006). Being an outsider may contribute to the withholding of valuable information, or aid free and open narration by participants. Being an insider may assist in promoting the necessary rapport with the participants. However when the insider is constructed in negative ways, it will hinder access to the target population. This divide was negotiated between the researcher and the researched throughout the interview process. Adopting a broad semi-structured,

open-ended and flexible interviewing strategy provided the means through which this space was negotiated.

When one considers gender and age dynamics, they compounded the complexity of the positionality of the researcher. The researcher is female and became a “subject of affection” for some potential male participants. This resulted in conducting some of the field observations by car as at certain times of the day it becomes difficult to walk about without being stopped, obstructing the research process. A male cousin walked with me on some occasions, deterring interest and approaches from Orange Farm males. Advice from my supervisor to “dress” for the interviews was also useful in this regard, but not always.

5.3.1 Reading home scientifically

Studying familiar spaces can provide many opportunities in so far as the research process is concerned. This has to do with knowledge of the physical landscape and local etiquettes. One is aware of the unspoken rules pertaining to social ordering: where to go and where not to go, when to go as well as how to get there once in the field. With regards to safety considerations, an insider knows when to back off and devise alternative ways of accessing gender demarcated spaces, for example. This, required patience and at times the abandoning of identified locations. Knowledge of the township allowed the researcher to draw on social capital to access otherwise gated social spaces.

Being an insider may also mean that you ‘see’ and note with a familiar eye, and as a consequence, not “see” what an outsider might immediately notice. This was the case when field observation started. Observations of the landscape of Orange Farm as well as the township narratives often reinforced each other in ways that provided a specific reading of Orange Farm. Familiarity meant that one easily overlooked particularities and peculiarities in the community. I ‘saw’ the township through the eyes of an insider, taking for granted what in fact are significant changes that had taken place. Through reflection as an insider, on the other hand, I was able to identify missing links in the stakeholder interviews and my observations. For example, on rereading the interviews and reviewing photographs of the community that I took on each visit, it became clear that I needed to spend more time observing.

I asked a friend to accompany me and he noted ‘facts’ I missed out on in my earlier fieldwork trips. This corrective approach was necessary as interviews with stakeholders, and my own initial observations were fraught with discrepancies between what was being narrated to me about development in the community and my subsequent observations of the community³⁴. The latter emphasises the utility and importance of multiple sources of data.

Being an insider does not only have an impact on the researched and the nature and quality of the data collected, but impacts on the researcher as well. As an insider I had not anticipated the ‘emotional’ impact that researching ‘home’ would have on the progress of the research and my ‘reading’ of Orange Farm as a social space. It became increasingly difficult to ‘detach’ myself from the participants’ stories, as I knew, recalled and identified with much of what they said about daily life in Orange Farm.

Becker (1967) in an article titled “*whose side are we on?*” addresses similar issues as follows:

“in the course of our work...we fall into sympathy with the people we are studying, so that while the rest of the society views them as unfit in one or another respect for the deference ordinarily accorded a fellow citizen, we believe that they are at least as good as anyone else, more sinned against than sinning” (p 240)...we take the side of the underdog (p 244)”.

In addressing the latter, researchers are cautioned to separate the statement’s validity and the context within which the statement is made (Becker, 1967: 240). Clarity on the extent to which “findings cannot be safely applied” (ibid 247) must be established. Guarding against misusing a discipline’s tools and techniques (ibid 246) is fundamental. As a supplementary containing technique, I limited my visits home over the period of the fieldwork and postponed any community work that I was planning through the Akwande Foundation in Orange Farm.

³⁴ Some considerations about subjective narratives will be discussed in the sections dealing with the interviews.

5.3.2 Dealing with expectations

Being considered a ‘success story’ in the community posed many problems regarding negotiating social expectations. On introducing myself to stakeholders in the community, I was met with ‘praise’ that was often loaded with ‘what can you do to make things better?’ As a relatively novice researcher, it was tricky to negotiate the expectations and the growing burden of what “I could do”. The emotional impact that such a project has on the researcher and the researched is real, and more so if the researcher is an insider and is perceived to have answers and solutions to the problem being investigated.

The ‘give and take’ notion was literal and often meant material exchange especially for young men who are unemployed and do not have a source of income. Some interviews were cancelled as it became clear that some would only participate if I paid them, since I had been warned of rampant drug abuse amongst some of the young men who were approached for interviews.

5.4 Ethical considerations

The following discussion unfolds in the context of the previous section. As a basic tenet of any scholarly research endeavour, ethical issues are critical, notably for those focusing on human beings in marginalised groups. Fundamental to the process is the protection of the participant’s rights. Christians, amongst others, notes that confidentiality must be ensured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure (2003: 217). This was ensured through organizing a venue³⁵ from which interviews were conducted. An office was rented at the Orange Farm Community Library specifically for the interviews. Two interviews were conducted at the library hall, two at the homes of the participants and five were conducted from street corners and open areas. Absolute anonymity was not possible as some of the participants knew each other and were in groups when approached, although interviewed individually. Each individual’s story was held to be confidential. A pseudonym is used in the dissertation to protect the identity of each participant.

³⁵ The venue choice posed a number of problems that will be detailed in the section dealing with interviews.

Further measures in protecting participants included an information letter (see appendix 1) detailing the purpose of the research project, under what auspices it took place and how data would be used, as well as the confidentiality of individual responses were guaranteed. This helped in obtaining voluntary participation as well as facilitating verbal and written consent (Bradburn et al, 2004: 19) from the participants. Each participant was given a copy of the information letter as a reference for any enquiries. The nature and the reasoning behind the research project was also explained. A consent form was prepared, explained and was signed by each participant and the researcher prior to commencing with the interview (see appendix 2 for consent form).

The management of social expectations at different stages of the research process necessitated on-going reflection of the ethical commitments (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2006: 143) of the study. Researching poverty stricken community contexts calls upon the researcher to consistently consider and review the spoken and unspoken expectations by those being researched in order to contain the impact on the research process. Unrealistic expectations on the part of the researched needed to be recognised and evaluated. They held the potential for unintended consequences with regards to the information one had, or did not have access to.

5.5 Sampling and Recruitment of participants

The researcher knew some male early high school leavers because of her home visits to Orange Farm, and identified others through informants. Some of the participants were also located through walkabouts in the township. Individuals were approached; the research project was introduced and an explanation given as to what it entailed. When individuals agreed to an interview, an appointment was scheduled. Recruiting participants proved easy, but often individuals did not honour set appointments for the actual interviews. After many attempts without making any headway I realised that some of the potential participants believed I was a journalist. The social stigma associated with early school leaving also contributed to the hesitance by some individuals to participate. Assurances that the information they gave would not be used to victimise or target them were given throughout the interview process.

Nonprobability sampling methods were chosen as they prove advantageous when there is no or little data in existence on the intended population (Babbie, 2008: 203). This was the case with regards the male early high school leaving youth of Orange Farm. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used. These methods have some drawbacks and can result in a biased sample of participants. However, the researcher's knowledge of the population of study as well as the nature of research aims (Babbie, 1992: 230; Brewer & Hunter, 2006: 93) helped contain bias. A number of further measures were taken in sample selection to limit bias. Four geographical sections of Orange Farm were selected. The conditions determining the fieldwork sites required that there needed to be a primary as well as a high school in each of the chosen township sections. It was important to sample individuals who attended a number of different high schools in the township so as to search out the detail of the complexity of this matter across the township. This condition also assisted in understanding more fully the choices that young people or their parents make about which school to enrol in. Issues such as the school's reputation in the community are important.

Being familiar with one of the geographical sections of the intended population, I enlisted assistance from a resident in the section to help to identify young men who may be interested in telling their stories. This approach initially brought success and a list of names was generated by the informant. Most of the people who were subsequently approached agreed to take part in the study. However, only two individuals honoured their interview appointments out of 6 people who were approached in this section. Knowing the researcher, the individuals could not say no when they were approached by the assistant, but were really not ultimately interested in telling their stories. Using an assistant for this purpose had its shortcomings as one was never completely sure if the purpose of the research was communicated clearly and adequately.

5.5.1 Criteria guiding sampling

The criteria guiding the sampling in the first place were that participants had to be between the ages of 18 and 25³⁶. This decision was informed by the fact that 18 is

³⁶ During the recruitment phase, it was evident that there were young men who were younger than 18 years of age not in school. There were also individuals above 25 years of age who showed interest in

the legal age of consent in South Africa. Age 25 delimits the scope of the study with regards to the years that the individual was not at school or had been at school beyond 18 years, indicating grade repetition. For the purpose of this research project, a male early high school leaver was a male who left school between grades 8-12, who was, in the second place, not enrolled in any other further education and training course, but may have been employed full- or part-time when the interview took place. The participants needed to have been out of school for at least three months as it would be impossible for them to go back to school again that same year³⁷ unless 'special' circumstances were considered by the school. A decision was made to conduct 15-20 interviews with male early high school leavers (see appendix 3 for interview schedule). The target was not met. Some of the difficulties in securing interviews have been discussed in preceding sections, but chiefly, the uncertainty about the researcher's aims and the stigma associated with early school leaving hindered participation. However, a total of, 10 interviews were conducted in the four sections of the township of which nine narratives form part of the analysis. One of the participants left high school while residing in a township outside of the Gauteng province and had subsequently moved to Orange Farm.

Twelve stakeholder interviews were conducted. They were conducted for three reasons: firstly to supplement literature on Orange Farm with current accounts from members of the community who are directly involved with young men on a daily basis. Secondly, to provide multiple lenses through which the township could be viewed outside of the researcher's own point of view. Finally, and as argued above, multiple sources of data allow for the cross-checking of information, making it possible to identify contradictions, misrepresentations and biases.

5.6 Data collection: an on-going process

Data collection and data analysis are interwoven and constitute a continuous process during field work and towards the eventual analysis of the data (Babbie, 1992: 301). Data was collected between January 2010 and August 2011.

the study. This may be a potential area for further research covering a wider age range of experiences of male early school leavers in relation to negotiating livelihood.

³⁷ This would indicate whether they are planning to go back to school or tried to get back to school and what other initiatives they pursued, if any, after they left.

5.6.1 A setting for gathering data

The Orange Farm Multipurpose Centre was initially identified as a neutral venue for conducting interviews. During fieldwork for my honours research report I had used an office there to conduct interviews. When I approached the managers of the centre to conduct my interviews there again, it became clear that it would not be possible. I was referred to the ward councillor who gave me a go ahead, but I was told by the manager that they did not have space any more. The multipurpose centre was an ideal venue due to its 'neutrality' in the sense that the centre has a community swimming pool and, a gym and some community projects are run from there. After much consideration I approached the Orange Farm Community Library to rent space for my interviews. However its location next to the Orange Farm police station was not helpful, as potential participants did not feel comfortable participating in interviews there.

On many occasions over a period of 19 months (January 2010-August 2011) within which stakeholder interviews, extensive observations and interviews with male early high school leavers took place; I left the township without having conducted any interviews. Organising interviews from Pretoria became a problem as prospective participants could cancel and not honour scheduled interviews. As a result, staying in the township for a period of time was arranged as one could negotiate times and meeting venues according to the availability of the individuals to finalise the fieldwork.

5.6.2 Interviewing

I reported my presence and the purpose of the study at the Orange Farm Police Station prior to commencing interviews. Initial attempts to speak to ward councillors in the different wards were not successful. Phones were not answered and calls were not returned. On approaching the local government offices for official documents such as population demographics, I was referred to many persons and places, most of whom did not have the information I needed. No one seemed to have the information that is meant to be available to the public. I was referred to a Johannesburg office which referred me back to the Orange Farm office I had initially visited. Finally, I gave up. To follow up why the information was not forthcoming would have been a project on its own. In retrospect, perhaps my intentions were not

clearly understood or believed and this may have contributed to the reluctance to assist with the information.

As a point of departure, my supervisor suggested a focus group interview with a group of male early high school leavers to probe for a general sense of the issues. After many attempts, this did not materialise i.e. only two male early high school leavers were willing to do the interview together. The story of one of the interviewees in the pair was not included as he was 17 years old at the time of the interview.

At the end of each interview I asked the participant if he had a question he wanted to ask me and ended the interview by thanking him for participating. I stopped the recorder and double checked if the interview was properly saved. Interviews were approximately an hour long.

In depth interviews are used in qualitative research for the “discovery of new aspects of the problem by exploring in detail the explanations supplied by respondents” (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000: 108). They are conversations with a purpose to elicit stories (Berg cited in Lee & Breen, 2007: 333). Attention is given to the story by letting the interviewee more or less direct the flow of the dialogue (David & Sutton, 2004: 87). Allowing participants to tell their stories in ways that made sense to them enabled the development of rapport with each participant (Minichiello et al cited in Lee & Breen, 2007: 334).

Robert Atkinson describes life story interviewing as “a qualitative research method for gathering information on the subjective essence of the person’s entire life that is transferable across disciplines” (1998: 123). Through the telling of the story “order and meaning” are brought to bare for the teller of the story and the listener. It is in this sense a complete story that gives prominence to meaningful aspects of the person’s life (Ibid p 126).

Citing Bertaux (1981), Atkinson indicates the usefulness of the life story interview within Sociology,

“life stories can help the researcher become more aware of the range of possible roles and standards that exist within a human community. They can define an

individual's place in the social order of things and can explain or confirm experience through the moral, ethical, or social context of a given situation...provide the researcher with information about a social reality existing outside the story that is described by the story" (ibid p 129).

Life story interviews reveal how individuals "see their experiences, their own lives and their interactions with others", making links, shedding light "on possible paths through life, and glimpses of values people live by" (ibid 137).

Whilst the method is powerful, given the information that it can provide, there is space and potential for the conjuring up of stories, for fabrication and for strategic "story telling" by the participants as well. When such a situation arises, Atkinson advises:

"it may be that this type of story will also serve his or her research interests. The researcher could ask, and include some interpretation about why the individual chose a fabricated story that is, what purpose this served for the storyteller" (ibid 126).

Given the open-endedness of this kind of interviewing strategy, probes were used to clarify, elicit more detail and follow through on unexpected matters raised by the participant (Babbie, 1992: 272). This is another valuable element of qualitative data collection - the opportunity for the researcher to follow up and to ask for clarity and elaboration from the participant on the spot. This opportunity was a very valuable one and led to different *nonunitary narrative representations* by each participant exposing the contradictions and negotiations of the content and the sequence of the narrative.

5.6.3 Reflexive interviewing

It is the 'human' experience in the participants' words that is the essence of the interview. A focus on the nuanced meaning making by individuals themselves is the key. Fontana and Frey cited in Alvesson (2002: 109) suggest that a researcher may reject the "outdated" technique of avoiding getting involved or providing a personal opinion and instead engage in a 'real' conversation with 'give and take' and 'emphatic understanding'. The researcher talked about her own experiences in different situations during her schooling years in the community as an illustration, in

an attempt to clarify questions and themes. In so doing the interview was arguably more honest and more morally sound and reliable because it treated the respondent as an equal, allowing him to express personal feelings. This is a key pillar upon which life story interviews rest. It therefore presents a more 'realistic' picture that cannot be uncovered using traditional interview methods.

5.6.4 Observations

Multiple sources of data are useful for a case study, one of which is observation (Yin, 1994: 8). This method was useful in supplementing interviews with stakeholders and reflecting on interviews by male early high school leavers. Observations capture events in 'real time' as well as the context. Their drawbacks have to do with the fact that they are often costly, selective, and very time consuming (ibid 80). For the purpose of this project, observations were important in capturing landscapes, significant landmarks, changed infrastructure and visual presentation of some of the activities that young men engaged in on a daily basis. Photographs were taken as a form of recording and a reminder.

5.6.5 Journal notes and debriefing

Keeping a journal of my experiences during the fieldwork was important in reflecting on my own perceptions as a researcher. Debriefing sessions with my supervisor and a friend were needed in dealing with the emotional impact of the research process and to reflect critically on my thinking about the project, and the young men.

5.7 Data capturing, transcribing and editing

All interviews with the participants were recorded. The process of transcription involved replaying the interviews and hand-writing and typing all of them verbatim in the original language of the interview. The researcher is a fluent speaker, reader and writer of IsiXhosa and IsiZulu. She also speaks Sesotho, however the Sesotho interviews were edited by a Sesotho home language speaker. With regards to Tsotsi Taal which is a language spoken amongst the young men in townships, I asked the interviewee to clarify words or phrases I did not understand during the interview. In an effort to maintain the flow of the interview I decided to consult individuals living in the community to clarify contextual use of words and phrases. The interviews were subsequently translated as well as typed in English by the researcher. The original

extracts are cited in appendix 2 for reference and to aid the readability of the presentation of the results. Editing and post-editing involved a process of listening to the interviews repeatedly to check the accuracy of the narratives and translations thereof. Many of the participants used two or more languages during the interviews, one of which was Tsotsi Taal. As such, the process took an enormous amount of time and care. When this process was completed pseudonyms were given to each participant.

5.8 Methods of analysis

The crucial factors in doing good research include addressing “all the relevant evidence”, considering “all major rival interpretations”, and, underlining “significant aspects of the case” (Yin, 1994: 123). The aim of the analysis is to provide detailed accounts of the lives of participants through their stories and in so doing to identify particularities through which their early high school leaving may be better explained and understood. Collectively, the stories provided an opportunity to identify themes which cut across individual experience, revealing broader structural factors and forces within the community. Narrative analysis was chosen as a method of analysis to facilitate the above aim.

5.8.1 Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis is an interdisciplinary qualitative research method that makes the story told by the participants the object of investigation (Riessman, 1993: 4). For Riessman:

“Narrativization tells not only about past actions, but how individuals understand their actions, indicating the terms on which they request to be interpreted by the styles of telling they choose” (1993: 19).

Memories are more or less ‘selective’. Individuals may also be tempted to present themselves as ‘positively’ as possible, therefore “require interpretation when used as data in social research” (Riessman, 2005: 2). Narrative analyses which capture individual narratives also have potential to reveal nuanced collective discourses. Manning and Cullum-Swan point to what they call the “problem of context or the embeddedness of a ...story within personal or group experience” (1994: 474) that a

researcher needs to be mindful of. Individuals narrate through a “selection of events for the telling” (Scholes, 1980: 210).

Writing in the context of her life, Mamphela Ramphela echoes Riessman’s point about ‘selective memory’ and concedes that: “story telling is a historical imperative...because all other scripts are likely to depict ‘individuals’ in roles that fit the conventional stereotypes” (Ramphela 1995). It is important to allow participants to share stories about their lives in ways that do not depict them in stereotypical roles that may stigmatise them.

Riessman identifies a number of models of narrative analysis. Having noted that there are several to be found in the literature and that they are not mutually exclusive, she addresses four (Riessman 2005):

1. *Structural analysis* is a model in which the “way the story is told” is the emphasis. The language of the story is “treated as an object of close investigation”. This has to do with how a narrator chooses “devices” of persuasion, such as syntax and prose which are examined. Literary works rely on this model,
2. *Interactional analysis* focuses on the “dialogic process between the teller and listener” wherein “storytelling is a process of co-construction”, with meaning created collaboratively in the interaction,
3. *Performative analysis* treats storytelling as “performance”, what Riessman calls “doing” as opposed to “telling alone”. Contexts of storytelling, “dialogue between characters” as well as the response from the audience are important,
4. *Thematic analysis* captures “what is said”, the “told” rather than the “how it is said” or the “telling”. This model was chosen for this study as a method of interpretation and tool of analysis. Although the ‘telling’ is important, the research questions dealt with why young men left school before finishing grade 12 and what they were doing having left school. This particular

model facilitated “theorising across a number of case-findings, common thematic elements across research participants and the events report”. Language is understood as a “resource not a topic of investigation”. Riessman underlines the importance of context and cautions that researchers need to take into account that there will be “ambiguities” that will not “fit into a typology”. She cites “the unspoken” as an example (p 3).

A number of further points should be stressed when using narrative analysis as a method or tool of interpretation. Riessman argues that the utility of narratives lies in noting that “storytellers interpret the past rather than reproduce it as it was”, offering individuals “a way to re-imagine lives” (2005: 6). Ultimately, narratives “do not mirror, they refract the past” and in many ways, according to C Wright Mills’ underline how links “between personal biography, history and social structure” are forged (p 6).

The table below lists the themes that are presented in chapters 7&8. The themes are meant to engage the research questions and the aim of the study.

Chapter 7: Male early high school leaving in context	
1 Participants	Follows the introduction to chapter 7. Here the participants are introduced and their demographic characteristics are unpacked.
2. Conditions of everyday life	This is the first theme. Participants’ representations of Orange Farm as a social space is analysed.
3. Education and schooling	This theme looks at the goals and school experiences of the participants. It also evaluates their perceptions of education and schooling.
4. Male early high school leaving	Reasons for early school leaving are analysed.

Chapter 8: Marginality of male early high school leavers	
5. Lack of opportunities	Experiences of socio-economic activity and the nature thereof are presented.
6. Alienation	Addresses the feelings of isolation and hardship that the participants experienced.
6. Illicit drug abuse	The theme documents the problem of drugs within the township. Attention is focused on access, proliferation, police and parental responses. Drug abuse also forms part of coping strategies to deal with the alienation young men experienced
7. Going nowhere slowly: marginality	The last theme of the three findings chapters documents survival strategies employed by the young men for daily survival.

As a way of concluding the discussion on narrative analysis, a number of points need to be made about language. Robert Scholes asserts that within narratives “sequence and language... intersect...” (1980: 204). Having conducted all the interviews in two or more languages, and having translated them into a third language, there are two key points that need to be highlighted in relation to language. Both were considered in translating all interviews. The following discussion is drawn from the Oxford dictionary of Sociology (1994).

- Languages in a society “reflect ... culture”. I argue that meanings about “self-identity” are embedded in the language (s) that individuals elect to use in story telling, particularly, in life histories.
- Language can be used to exclude and defend insiders against those that are considered to be outsiders. The latter is significant as the participants in the

study used phrases and words that carried meanings that were fundamentally different to everyday meanings associated with the phrases or words. For example, church for the participants means the coming together of young men in a group and praying means smoking dagga.

5.8.2 Analysis procedures and implications

A number of analytical procedures were followed in identifying themes and focus areas from the data. As questions and areas of concern were not asked or raised in the same order for all interviewees, the researcher relied on how each interview developed. Themes were identified through listening and reading similarities from the narratives of the participants. This entailed creating further subthemes for each theme where possible. Translations are aimed at capturing the meaning as presented by the participant in the way the story was told. This was done to facilitate interpretation and keep true to the meaning and logic of the interviews. All translations are in English³⁸.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the methodological underpinnings of the research project. Research design choices were addressed in as far as they complemented the aim of the research. Limitations and strengths of the methods were also addressed. The location of the researcher as an outsider/insider was engaged particularly in relation to social expectations and the complications and complexities of researching familiar territory. The familiarity of the researcher with the social conditions experienced by the participants painted towards the impact that the research process had not only on the researched, but the researcher as well.

The importance of ethical commitments in scholarly research to protect participants and to avoid implicit and explicit misrepresentations by the researcher and unrealistic expectations by the researched were noted and discussed. Significantly, the familiarity of the researcher with the context of the researched required rigorous

³⁸ Thabang's interview was among the first batch of interviews conducted. It is the only interview that was translated directly from the audio recording without hand-writing it. The translation is not accompanied by an original narrative hence it is not italicised. The interview was conducted in IsiZulu, but had more English incorporated in the story telling.

ethical care to avoid the possibilities of abusing one's location as an insider, particularly as the young men who were interviewed constituted a vulnerable social group within the community.

Sampling decisions were discussed to provide a clear picture of how the participants were recruited and which criteria were used to do so. The data collection methods were unpacked. The latter were designed so as to provide for cross checking data validity and accuracy. Data capturing, and the techniques and methods of analysis were strategically used to unpack the narratives of the participants.

Chapter 6

Orange Farm as a context

Introduction

“We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography, and that he lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he *contributes*, however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of its history, *even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove*” (italics are mine) (Mills, 1973: 12).

The following discussion of Orange Farm³⁹ constitutes the first part of the research findings. The chapter provides an analytical discussion of the social milieu within which participants live. The social relations co-constructing, reproducing and shaping the social space are theoretically indispensable. The chapter addresses issues that emerged during stakeholder interviews in relation to the matter of young men as well as field observations. The aim here is to draw attention to everyday struggles that people have to deal with on a daily basis. In detailing local conditions of survival we may begin reading and understanding the lives of locals. Grand narratives of townships as merely hopeless and degenerating social spaces need to be problematised. Whilst grand narratives are useful, reading townships as places in “motion” (Nsizwa Dlamini in conversation with Achille Mbembe 2008: 240) is significant as it focuses attention on individual and collective agency in everyday life.

6.1 Demarcation and demographic profile

Orange Farm, affectionately referred to as ‘ema oranjini’ (where the oranges are) or ‘efama’ (at the farm) by residents, lies 45 kilometres south of Johannesburg. This peri-urban township constitutes part of region G (also known as Deep South) and forms the Southern boundary of Johannesburg City. It is typical of many settlements sprawling ‘on the urban fringe’ (Murray: 2008: 106). Part of region G includes Lenasia which is historically largely an Indian residential area. It is estimated that

³⁹ The discussion on Orange Farm is rooted in my personally lived experiences in the township. I have also conducted a range of stakeholder interviews with teachers, ward councillors and peer leaders over the past two years of fieldwork

10% of the total Johannesburg population live in Orange Farm (Murray 2008: 107). The township is divided into 13 sections or extensions incorporating Driezek and Stretford (Onyango, 2010: 78). The research project was conducted in four of these extensions. Amongst others, the community is diverse along 'ethnic' and class lines.

6.2 Socio-historical development of Orange Farm

Beginning as an informal settlement in the dying years of apartheid (late 1980s), Orange Farm was declared a township in 1997⁴⁰. The rise in informal settlements south of Johannesburg is attributed, amongst other reasons, to the abolition of influx control laws in mid-1986 (Crankshaw⁴¹, 1993: 33).

To regulate the influx of homeless people and also to attract squatters who were to be moved to Orange Farm, the then Transvaal Provincial Administration initiated 'site-service schemes there in the early 1990s' (Martin Murray, 2008: 107). The settlement developed in a context of rapid social change characterised by transition from the draconian system of Apartheid towards democracy. Although unclear as to how the latter would be achieved, democracy promised a "more human face" for most of the population of South Africa (Steve Biko cited in Buhlungu 2008).

Internal as well as cross-border migration has been the biggest contributor to the population growth of post-apartheid Orange Farm. The persistent and unabating urbanisation is attributable to the allure of Johannesburg as the 'city of dreams'. The township's proximity to Johannesburg, South Africa's economic hub, the relatively affordable accommodation, as well as access to basic needs is important. While it is a permanent home to many, the township also serves as a point of arrival for those who are looking for opportunities and a place to go back to in the evenings when life does not work out in the city. Mass population growth has placed, and is placing ever increasing strain on existing resources which, are arguably insufficient as it is.

⁴⁰ Although Orange Farm was declared a township in 1997, it is still largely referred to as an informal settlement. This is also due to the expansion of the township by illegal shack establishments.

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion on informal settlements see Crankshaw's "*Squatting, apartheid and urbanisation on the Southern Witwatersrand*" in *African Affairs*, Vol. 96(366):31-51.

6.3 Infrastructure development

Since its establishment as a township, many developments have ‘bettered’ the lives of people in the community of Orange Farm. As a framework for reading Orange Farm, infrastructural development has to do with observable, physical, concrete developments. It also includes human development as well as institutions that govern societal behaviour through communally established norms, values and sanctions. The nature and availability of physical infrastructure and social institutions that make it possible for individuals to negotiate everyday conditions of existence and devise survival strategies is critical. The crosscutting cleavages and the interconnectedness of physical infrastructure and social institutions constitute strategic references for everyday decision making processes.

6.3.1 Service delivery and local government

Service delivery as a process captures what the state needs to provide terms of physical infrastructure and formal institutions. However, people’s expectations often transcend this public visibility of the state in creating liveable spaces for everyday existence⁴². Basic service delivery⁴³ in Orange Farm is a major point of contestation between the residents and incumbent ward councillors. While visible developments in the township have taken place over time as has been noted, many problems persist. Numerous local government projects are afoot in the township and these depict, like the city of Johannesburg, a place under construction and reconstruction.

Problems relating to affordability of electricity have led to a mass of illegal connections in the community. The constant indiscriminate electricity cuts are, according to some residents, resulting in even more residents illegally connecting their electricity by bridging: ‘bayahlaba’, bypassing the electricity meter circuits.

The majority of households in Orange Farm have a tap in their yards. There are community taps that serve households without their own taps. Water meters have also been installed in some sections notwithstanding opposition from the community.

⁴²This has to do with the role the state plays in instances of absolute poverty by providing social security-grants, electricity, water, etc.

⁴³ The media provides a source of information as it details the many service delivery protests that have taken place in Orange Farm.

The Orange Farm Water Crisis Committee (OWCC) is a civil society organisation that has been at the forefront of challenging the installation of water meters. Sarah Mosoetsa's point in this regard is relevant here: "the conflict over the commodification of basic services is also closely connected to people's expectations of democracy and the electoral promises of political organisations" (2011: 149). The poor are at the centre of this "tug-of-war" within local municipalities (Naidoo, 2007). Worse, poor communities in many ways have been marginalised and criminalised (Madlingozi, 2007: 81). Communities mobilise through grassroots social movements to demand a better life for all or in response to what Dawson refers to as "the failure of real, lived democracy in South Africa" (2005:129).

6.3.1.1 Housing

Housing is the subject of many debates relating to the rendering of services to communities. The South African state has made progress in providing houses to the burgeoning post-1994 peri-urban dweller population. Murray observes that regulating informal settlements through "site-and-service schemes" and "prevention of unlawful infringement or illegal occupation of land" has been the focus of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (2008: 120)⁴⁴. It is clear that this strategy has not been successful as the mushrooming of informal settlements has not abated. The issue of housing is a very significant one. It is not only about shelter, but speaks to individual privacy within the home. In her study of young people in Langa, a peri-urban township in Cape Town, Sharlene Swartz notes how "cramped living conditions also meant that there was little privacy in the home" and that "all aspects of (a) family's (life) were on display to (young people) from birth" (Swartz, 2009: 36). For individuals who are at school, particularly high school, it is a critical matter for, amongst other things, the provision of space to read (ibid). Even though the number of RDP⁴⁵ houses continue to increase within Orange Farm, there continue to be people living in shacks which "are made of iron sheet, zinc, cardboard and other accessible forms of building material" (Onyango, 2010: 80). There are at least three points that need to be made pertaining to housing in Orange Farm:

⁴⁴ See Murray (2008) for a detailed exposition.

⁴⁵ RDP refers to the Redistribution Development Programme that the post-apartheid government embarked upon until it adopted the GEAR (Growth Employment and Redistribution) strategy in 1996.

- First, complaints about people jumping queues for RDP houses are widely spoken of within the community. Corruption fundamentally threatens due process in the provision of housing.
- There is also a suggestion among members of the community that ‘illegal’ foreign nationals are fleeing places where they can be easily identified and victimised as they do not have legal documentation to be in South Africa. Rumour has it that foreign nationals are taking up backroom shacks to rent as they are reasonably priced compared to central business district prices. This enables them to start small businesses not too far from their places of residence. Further, many homes supplement rooms with shacks for other family members (particularly young men) due to the size of the RDP houses, or rent out the shacks to supplement household income.
- Lastly, one also finds the more affluent living side by side with the poor. In the first instance, there are those individuals who have lived in Orange Farm for many years and have no intention of moving away from the township. These people have invested in housing as they do not qualify for RDP houses. In the second place, there are residents who have recently relocated to the township as a measure aimed at maintaining their lifestyles in the light of the contemporary, unstable economic conditions. It is therefore not unusual to find an immaculately built house and a shack side by side in the community.

Given the poor quality of houses and corruption that has rooted itself within the processes of delivering quality housing across South Africa, the Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, has his hands full dealing with the slow pace of housing delivery. He concedes that housing will remain a challenge with the steady population growth in peri-urban areas. He notes too that the state has a vision of deracialised residential communities through the Social Housing Act and the Estate Agency Affairs Act which are under review⁴⁶. It is the state’s view that integrated

⁴⁶ See Budget vote speech by the Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, on 19 April 2011 <http://www.dhs.gov.za/Content/Media%20Desk/2011%20Speeches/19%20April%202011.htm> (Accessed 18 October 2011).

housing units need to be considered, as Apartheid fundamentally engineered social spaces and divided people into different residential areas according to 'race'⁴⁷.

6.3.1.2 Schools in Orange Farm

There are plus-minus 42 schools in Orange Farm. Of these, 18 are public high schools. In almost all sections of the township there is a primary and a high school. The capacity of the schools and the quality of the schooling is uneven. At times, because of preference and/or lack of space-learners have to enrol in a school outside of their section and sometimes, in the schools in their section. The school buildings are in good condition overall, notwithstanding some of the furniture needing replacement. There is a lack of maintenance of gardens, lawns and the wider environment around and within the vicinity of most schools. Grass grows unchecked while sport grounds lay bare in a state of squalor. Sport is an add-on for many schools in Orange Farm, it is considered during the schools athletic sporting season and does not exist outside of that. A lack of libraries⁴⁸ and science laboratories continue to be a problem. Established in 2001, the Orange Farm Community Library has provided much needed access to a space for inculcating a culture of reading. However, its reading lists cater, in most part, for primary and high school readers, an improvement nonetheless.

There are also private primary and high schools, some of which are subsidized by the government. The Masibambane College⁴⁹ is one private education institution in Orange Farm that has modelled its teaching approach in ways that nurture academic talent. It was established in 1997 on Walter Sisulu's recommendation, by the City of Vienna in Austria through Education Africa. The immediate physical environment of this institution is well kept. Masibambane is a Christian school that falls under the authority of Dioceses of Christ the King. Through partnerships with St. John's College in Johannesburg and St. Mary's School in Waverly, as well as Orange Farm Community members, the college is able to function effectively.

⁴⁷ Also see budget speech 19 April 2011

⁴⁸ See the Equal Education website: <http://www.equaleducation.org.za/support-ee-jan-2010> on their campaign for one school, one library, and one librarian.

⁴⁹ Information on Masibambane College is from the 2005/6 Introductory Brochure at <http://www.thrass.co.uk/downloads/Masibambane%20College%20PDF.pdf> (accessed 26 May 2011).

6.3.1.3 Schooling in Orange Farm

The following discussion considers schooling in Orange Farm in light of the contextual exposition on broader formal education issues as outlined in Chapter 2.

In Orange Farm you find better, as well as badly performing schools. If we consider matric results, they peak at 100% in a particular year for one school, and then there are very poor results in another year. Schools such as Raphela, Leshata, Aha-Thuto, Jabulile and Mphethi Mahlatsi Secondary are some of the most successful schools in Orange Farm, even though they also experience good and less successful years. Some of the aforementioned schools become sites of ungovernable behaviour at times, thereby losing their best educators to better organised schools within and outside the township or to state administration positions (own knowledge).

The charge that ‘most’ township schools are dysfunctional has substance. Even though learners are locked into the school yard for the duration of the classes, what Swartz (2009: 29) calls ‘imprisoning learners for the day’, some schools continue to experience problems of ill-discipline. Echoing Noguera’s point (see chapter 2), Swartz observed that “township schools provide less education (and of inferior quality) compared to suburban schools...” (p 34) citing learners’ complaints about the quality of teaching (2009: 32). A young man from Orange Farm who detailed problems in his school noted “gambling, unmotivated teachers, ill-disciplined pupils and very little actual learning” (Ho, 2010: 1).

Below are photographs that show the gambling rings in different sections of the township.



Gambling at the Stretford Train Station (25/08/2011)



Gambling at the Stretford Train Station (27/08/2011)



Gambling at the Stretford Train Station (08/10/2011)



Gambling in Ext 7B (01/10/2011)



Gambling in Ext 6B (19/08/2011)



Gambling in Ext 7A (13/11/2010)

Most teachers, particularly those at high schools, do not live in the township. This is not a problem in itself. However one teacher argued it could be a reason why teachers do not seem to “care” for the learners, or understand the context out of which they come. The latter highlights Jonathan Jansen’s argument with regard to a deficit of anthropological and sociological knowledge (see chapter 2).

The problem with dysfunctional schools is that they are incapable of inculcating the “attitudes of mind required for a democracy” (Taylor in Bloch, 2009: 68). In an article titled: *four critical causes of underachievement in township secondary schools* Masitsa identified the medium of instruction, overcrowding, truancy and the shortage of textbooks as contributing factors (2004). Underachievement must be understood as not only a personal problem, but as a societal structural issue in C Wright Mills’ terms.

The quality of schooling, family factors, poor teaching strategies, lack of or insufficient reading material and poor management by the leadership of the school

contribute to the ‘toxic mix’ in the formal education system (Seekings & Natrass, 2005: 20). These points emphasise the factors discussed in chapter 3 of the dissertation. Teachers’ lack of commitment, their acting with ‘impunity’ and the refusal by unions to grant access into classrooms for assessing performance is considered a problem that back-tracks on the possibilities for reform in the school system in South Africa (Ramphela, 2001; James 2011).

The *Annual South African Schools Collection*⁵⁰ clearly paints the differences between suburban and township schools. Township schools overall do not feature in the listings of the best schools except for Mbilwi High School in the Vhembe District of the Limpopo Province. A lack of facilities that aid wider learning in township schools is a problem impacting on academic learning and the overall growth of the individual. Graeme Bloch (2010: 11) captures the role of schools in society as follows:

“School is not just about knowledge and skills, but also about values, attitudes and creative and emotional development, all of which contribute to ‘responsible, active and productive citizenship’”.

It is critical to note that the better high schools in Orange Farm have teachers that have committed themselves to their work and the general progress of learners. In some of the high schools, for example, morning, afternoon and weekend classes are compulsory. As a result of the combined and collective commitment from teachers, learners and parents, Orange Farm boasts top learners who feature occasionally on the Gauteng list of learners who obtain high marks, particularly in science and mathematics. Former learners from some of the better schools have done well in their respective fields. Therefore to understand why some young people leave school early requires serious consideration of all of the dynamics and variables impacting upon the lives of individuals particularly in their local environments.

There is evidence that the active involvement of parents at the school their children attend creates a solid link between the school, parents and learners (Singh et al, 2004: 303). For this reason, parent meetings are organised on Sunday mornings in

⁵⁰ The Annual South African Schools Collection includes universities and FETS. See the 2010 collection (Edition 15).

most, if not all schools in Orange Farm. This is done to accommodate all parents and guardians. As encouragement for parents to meet their children's teachers and for teachers to get to know the parents of the children whom they care for, some schools require parents or guardians themselves to pick up progress report cards. However, many parents do not attend these meetings. Either they go to church, attend funerals or attend to urgent family matters or just do not care enough. A principal in one of the better performing schools cited more than a thousand learners in his school, but argues he has never had more than two hundred parents at a school meeting. According to him, you have to threaten parents to honour meetings. Parental involvement in the school is "cosmetic" according to this principal (Personal interview 28 January 2011). The same challenge of parental participation is taken up by Maile whose work focused on the factors involved in choosing a school in South Africa. For children who migrate to former model-c schools, "distance, transport, the time of meetings and the language used for meetings" becomes a hindrance in the participation of parents (2004: 99).

A deterrent to parent participation in schools activities also has to do with hierarchical power relations between parents and teachers (Mncube 2009: 94). Parents feel intimidated (Smit & Liebenberg, 2003: 4).

Poor home discipline is a critical problem according to headmasters in three high schools. One expressed his outrage at what he described as young people who were out of control (Personal interview 28 January 2011). While teachers did not have a problem with assuming the role of primary socialising agents in a context of changing family structures and absent parents, for this headmaster it is often better for some learners to leave as they constantly disrupt the functioning of the school.

Daily commuting in relation to places of work means that employed parents and guardians are not easily able to monitor their children or connect with the school for feedback on their children's progress. Parents are long gone by the time children have to be at school, they return long after school has ended for the day. Some parents moreover have to live with their employers, leaving their own children to take care of themselves.

6.3.1.4 Policing

Until 2001, Orange Farm residents travelled north to the township periphery to access police services. The relocation of the police station to the heart of the township has been of key importance.

South Africa suffers from very high levels of crime, and this includes the township of Orange Farm. Multiple factors such as the country's violent past (Ehlers & Tait, 2009: 1), and the proportion of young people to older people (Altbeker, 2007: 117) have been identified as causal factors. The lack of post-Apartheid 'socio-environmental interventions' compounds the problem (Butchart et al, 2000).

Efforts to access crime statistics for the age group 18-25 as well as the data dealing with the nature of crimes over a five year period yielded the following rather thin but nevertheless useful information:

Age group 18-25 years						
Offence	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
Theft	0	0	0	0	0	0
Theft out of m/vehicle or m/cycle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Theft of m/vehicle or m/cycle	0	0	0	0	8	8
Att burglary business	14	3	0	0	3	20
Att burglary residence	0	0	0	0	14	14
Robbery common	8	16	4	8	12	38
Att & robbery (Residence)	0	0	0	0	9	9
Att & robbery (Business)	0	0	1	12	7	20
Att & hijacking of m/vehicle	0	1	3	1	2	7
Att and hijacking of truck	0	0	0	0	0	0
Att & robbery with f/arm	0	0	1	1	11	13
Att robbery Weapon other than f/arm	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape & Att	0	1	0	0	5	6
Assault GBH	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault common	5	0	0	0	0	5
Malicious damage to property	0	0	0	0	0	0
Murder	0	0	0	0	1	1
Att murder	1	2	0	3	1	7
Fraud	0	0	2	0	0	2
Arson	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shoplifting	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possession of stolen property	0	0	0	0	5	5
Grand total	25	23	11	25	78	162

Crime statistics from the Orange Farm Police Station (2005-2009) Received: 30/07/2010

The table suggests a number of things. In the first place, the age group 18-25 does not feature prominently as perpetrators of crime in Orange Farm according to this data, although 2009 shows an increase in the cases reported at the police station within this age group.

Secondly, there is significant evidence of ‘inventing’ and ‘down-grading’ of crime reports⁵¹. Altbeker also cautions about the limitations and validity of crime data (2005). The extent to which one can rely on the above data is limited. Conversations with community members reveal ‘terror’ experienced within the community around young men who are purported to be “running” the community as drug abuse⁵² (nyaupe, Taiwan, dagga) proliferates within the township. One headmaster described a “chronic state of drug abuse” in the community (Personal interview 28 January 2011).

Underreporting is the third problem. A former ward councillor noted that reporting drug dealers to the police placed one’s life in danger. She also talked about how police and drug dealers work together:

If one reports drug activity to the police, they (the police) go to the drug dealer and direct them (drug dealer) to the person who reported them. This resulted in people leaving things as they are (Personal interview 13 November 2010).

Partnerships between the police and community members are therefore threatened. Mob justice⁵³ is not uncommon in Orange Farm as a response to criminal behaviour. It is an attempt to create social boundaries and make a statement about crossing them. Swartz notes how young people in Langa Township speak of ‘vigilante justice’ as common and acceptable. She argues that this contributes to the ‘*normalisation of violence in everyday life*’ (2009: 37).

⁵¹ See report by South Africa Survey 2009/2010: Crime and security at www.sairr.org.za

⁵² Khubheka (2010), Dladla & Waterworth (2010: 5) and Samodien & Boomgaard (2010: 11) detail how the drug ‘whoonga’ took over townships in KwaZulu Natal, while Mabandla (2010: 11) laments the drug use in Khayelitsha Township in the Western Cape.

⁵³ Recent reports through the media of “mob justice” or “mob injustice” have caught South Africans’ attention, especially that of the law enforcement agencies.

Observing positive developments within communities around issues of 'risk', Pillay argues that it seems "poor communities are showing signs of cohering around marginalisation, social exclusion, xenophobia, and susceptibility to gender and sexual violence" (2008: 156). Perhaps more disturbing is that as the encounters between people remain "saturated with everyday violence...it may be seen to require an act of violence to secure the self" (ibid, p. 156). Significantly, Graeme Simpson's point of a "sustained crisis in the credibility of the law itself as well as justice institutions in South Africa" is instructive in making sense of community responses to combating crime and violence (2004). The government's pursuit of 'social cohesion in South Africa' is thwarted by "tendencies toward fragmentation rather than unification" within communities (Pillay, 2008: 141). This is in light of the high crime rates and in particular that of violent crime that continue to sweep through the country.

6.4 Recreational spaces

A multipurpose community centre including an Olympic-size swimming pool, an information centre providing access to the internet, and the Nike Chris Hani Sports Complex (Saethre and Stadler, 2009: 271) are among the development projects that have been established. A MaAfrika Tikkun's Arekopaneng Centre has also been established in extension eight. The latter houses a library and a media centre.

The many sports clubs formed by so called out of school youth never mature to become alternative sources of livelihood for them. Lack of transport funds to travel to league programmes outside of Orange Farm is a problem for those who do qualify for such programmes. These sports clubs do however serve as temporary holding forces.

The Orange Farm LoveLife Y-Centre⁵⁴ (a national initiative) is a place created for young people in order to deal with issues that are of interest to them. These include recreational facilities for sports (Basketball being the most preferred), a sound studio,

⁵⁴ The information on the LoveLife Y-Centre is based on a study by Prishani Naidoo (2003) and where indicated, from interviews by the researcher with LoveLife Ground Breakers at the Orange Farm Y-centre.

a computer centre, and a counselling room. The centre aims to tackle “...teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and (to) encourage a ‘positive lifestyle’ among young people” (Naidoo, 2003). Membership is for young people between the ages of 12 and 25, particularly targeting those between 12-17 years of age. However, these programmes only reach a relatively small number of young people in Orange Farm.

Interviewees in Naidoo’s study argued that the centre was “...sowing divisions among youth in the community”. These divisions had to do with aspirations espoused by the youth at the centre, such as fashion and materialism. Young people who wanted to join the programmes were often hindered by the perception of the centre as exclusive to those who lead a specific lifestyle (Naidoo, 2003). Brand clothing provides status for young people (Swartz, 2009: 41). Grace Khunou notes that advertising, in order to feed materialism, plays on “elements of desirability, accessibility and opportunity” (Mbembe, 2008: 243).

Why would community members say, as they have to me, that there is no development whilst there are on-going projects taking place within the community? The lack of or perceived lack of recreational facilities in the township is cited as a problem (Personal interview 13 November 2010). Safe spaces are few and far between. For a former ward councillor and others, frustration with the slow pace of development in relation to the needs of young people in Orange Farm is evident. My observations seem to tell a somewhat different story. Two points can be made about development in Orange Farm. The proximity of facilities is a problem as municipal projects are located at central places or in sections of the township where infrastructure developments have not taken place at all. People want facilities closer to where they live. A second point pertains to what development entails. Perhaps the initiatives undertaken do not address the needs of the community. Arguably improving physical spaces without access to resources or the means to access them is not enough.

6.5 Nature of community life

There are characteristics that reflect upon the nature of the constraints of societal life (Grobbelaar, 2011) that require unpacking. Physical infrastructure developments

proceed alongside high rates of unemployment, and poor education and poverty (Holborn & Eddy 2011). HIV/AIDS infections and the growing number of deaths and AIDS orphans are a serious problem (Naidoo, 2003; Ehlers & Tait, 2009: 5). South Africa has the largest burden of HIV/AIDS in the world according to UNICEF (2009: 8⁵⁵).

6.5.1 Poverty

Levels of poverty are very high in Orange Farm (Thakali, 2008: 8). The Minister of finance, Pravin Gordhan, in his 2011 budget speech noted “42% of young people between the ages of 18 and 29 as unemployed”. Black African young people make up the majority of this group by far, for obvious reasons. The General Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Zwelinzima Vavi, has described the high unemployment levels among the youth as “a ticking time bomb” that if not addressed, could mirror the 1976 youth uprising⁵⁶. Matric learners without access to funding for further studies, and the lack of a network for securing employment, will be doomed to unemployment, disengagement and marginalisation.

The photographs below capture the extent of the poverty and marginality experienced by many young men. It will also become clear in chapter 8 that the activity captured in the photographs feeds what one principal referred to as chronic drug abuse by young men in the township (see preceding section on policing).

⁵⁵ For a detailed report on children in South Africa, see their 2009 Annual report at http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/SAF_resources_annual2009.pdf (Accessed October 2010)

⁵⁶ See the Mail&Guardian Online article at <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-05-26-sa-risks-1976style-uprising-if-inequality-endures-says-vavi> (accessed 03 June 2011). Note also the recent developments in some North African countries, largely driven by young people (mostly young men) in this regard.



Photograph 1 (25/08/2011)



Photograph 2(25/08/2011)



Photograph 3 (25/08/2011)



Photograph 4 (25/08/2011)



Photograph 5 (25/08/2011)



Photograph 6 (25/08/2011)

A government employment subsidy for young people is being debated by the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) at present. It would be interesting to see if the subsidy is implemented and how it would, in the long term, contribute towards reducing the high levels of unemployment amongst those with little formal training, such as early school leavers.

Orange Farm is isolated from the city of Johannesburg due to its distant location (Saethre and Stadler, 2009: 271). Residents commute to work. Options include

taking a taxi which is expensive, but the quickest. Alternatives are the bus or the Metrorail trains. Notwithstanding the disadvantages, the Metrorail train is the most preferred means of transport because of its affordability. As for those who are “unskilled *and are unemployed*”, they are forced to “eke out a living without visible means of subsistence except social grants⁵⁷” (see, for example, Onyango, 2010: 79).

Shebeens and taverns, spaza shops, and playing ‘fah-fee’, a Chinese numbers gambling game (Onyango, 2010), are some of the ways through which individuals attempt to generate income. The photographs below show some of the goods that are sold in the variety of stalls across the township.



Orange Farm and Palm Springs Crossing (13/11/2011)



Extension 4 Four Way Crossing (05/11/2010)

Vegetable, fruit, snack and cigarette stalls are common along main roads and in strategic areas in the community⁵⁸. While these informal activities that people engage in indicate the high levels of formal unemployment they also point to initiatives taken by individuals to make a living.

⁵⁷ Almost 15 million citizens receive social grants, about a quarter of the South African population. 38% of these are pensioners, 35% are children and 19% are the people living with a disability.

⁵⁸ For a detailed account of the goods sold in the stalls, which form ‘informal markets’, see Onyango (2010). Also see appendix 7 for examples.

6.5.2 HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is arguably the most serious and detrimental health problem within townships in South Africa. It is altering family structure, support networks and the community links that individuals rely on. The devastation it causes is gaining momentum. HIV/AIDS is not 'named'. It is referred to as "the killer" or "Lento ekhona" meaning 'this thing that is around'. HIV/AIDS infections and related deaths as well as HIV/AIDS orphans are widely acknowledged as a major problem in the community. The national data estimates indicate that for the age group 15-49 years HIV/AIDS prevalence stood at 17.3% for 2010 (Statssa, 2010: 6). There are 4 clinics falling under the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council's jurisdiction (Onyango, 2010: 79) in Orange Farm. A Fire Brigade Station also serves as an emergency centre with an ambulance service. The capacity of these establishments to deal with the large number of patients and the shortage of medical specialist doctors is a serious problem. Severe cases are referred to the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in SOWETO (which has its own capacity problems). Queues to make the cut for the day can be seen at the Ext 2 Clinic as early as 06:00am. This means many people are turned away or have to wait long hours before receiving assistance.

These capacity problems are not unique to South Africa. International indicators show that health systems in developing countries are overburdened, particularly with regards to the scourge of HIV/AIDS. Amongst key issues in this regard is the 'retention' of health workers. South Africa has a problem of medical professionals seeking better employment opportunities elsewhere. The latter is linked to "financial incentives, career development and infrastructure development" (Willis-Shattuck et al 2008)⁵⁹ as well as overload and poor working conditions at South African hospitals. This means that the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of improving health outcomes in developing countries including South Africa are far from being achieved.

⁵⁹ Countries that were part of the study are: from Africa (Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe) and Asia (Bangladesh, Jordan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Malaysia and Vietnam)

6.5.3 Alcohol abuse

Alcoholism is rampant among young people in Orange Farm. The growth of tavern numbers is enormous. One high school principal recounted how learners attend classes drunk in the mornings, resulting in bad behaviour. A contributing factor to this the proximity of alcohol outlets to schools (Personal interview 28 January 2011). I observed numerous such establishments within the community, where age restrictions as well as legal operating hours are not adhered to. While individuals are trying to generate income (selling liquor), the unintended consequence is that this contributes towards undermining the rebuilding of the severely stretched community social fabric.

Alcoholism is at 'dangerous' levels in South Africa in general. In her book: *Beer, sociability, and masculinity in South Africa*, Mager makes a number of significant observations. She pays attention to the notion of 'sociability' and how the beer industry is historically linked with leisure activities (Mager, 2010). In the absence of alternatives Swartz notes that "alcohol seems to form the basis of most township recreational activities" (Swartz, 2009: 43). Perpetuating the problem are the difficulties in implementing regulatory mechanisms at national and provincial levels within the illicit alcohol industry (Mager, 2010).

6.5.4 Positive role models

All stakeholder interviewees pointed to an absence of visible, immediate, and positive role models in the township. Drug dealers have become role models. Young men are pressured into a "thug life" as the need for immediate results intensifies (Personal interview 1 November 2010). A headmaster in one of the top schools spoke of the "neglect" of young men which he argues contributes to the attacks on successful young women in the township. The growing discourse around neglect around young men feeds into the construction of young men as the "new disadvantaged" (Foster et al, 2001: 1). Such constructions posit an inversion of historical power relations between men and women, in many ways, situating women in a problematic position in relation to men.

Peer pressures have to do with 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in groups. Groups constituted by young men who have left school attract those who are struggling at

school and those that, according to a member of the LoveLife Ground Breaker team, lack self-esteem. Young men become anti-social “to prove a point” (Focus group interview with LoveLife Ground Breakers, 28 January 2011).

The lack of discipline among young men is argued to be a “generational” issue, and the absence of father figures in many homes compounds the problem. The socialisation of young men came under the spotlight as a high school principal questioned the ways in which young men are reared; wanting cars, guns and money (Personal interview 1 November 2010). While acknowledging the difficulties that many unemployed fathers face, Morrell and Richter argue that “active, responsible and engaged fathers make an important contribution to the health and wellbeing of children, to constructions of masculinity and to better gender relations” (2011: 38).

Community disintegration is evident when substance abuse, high crime rates and endemic violence, cause the flight of skills, and positive role models from townships move into higher income areas, while low performance in schools is the norm (Ramphela 1992).

6.6 Young men in Orange Farm

Almost two decades ago Colin Bundy envisioned that the post-apartheid government’s success would lie in how it “recognises” and “responds” definitively to problems confronting young South Africans (1992: 8). Having young people and specifically young men who are out of school, are not employed and are roaming the streets of townships, means that “...the costs are mounting” (Everatt, 2005:6).

6.6.1 Initiation practice

The initiation practice has re-emerged as an important rite of passage in the lives of young men in Orange Farm. A distinction needs to be made between two processes occurring in the township that involve circumcision. There is a Bophelo Pele Male Circumcision⁶⁰ Centre in Orange Farm which is linked to HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives in the township. It deals primarily with medical circumcision and HIV/AIDS testing.

⁶⁰ Circumcision is the physical removal of the fore skin of the penis whilst initiation is the sociological process inclusive of circumcision, through which young men, graduate into ‘manhood’.

There is also the socio-cultural initiation practice of isolating young men from their community for a period of time. A number of points relating to the latter need to be addressed. This discussion is by no means exhaustive, considering the complex, and often impassioned climate under which socio-cultural practices are debated. Cultural prescriptions dictate that women should be privy to as little as possible of the intricacies of the process of initiation. Such cultural prescriptions made it difficult to follow up aspects of the practice even with family members who have gone through this rite of passage. For the purpose of the following discussion, I draw on Thando Mgqolozana's *A man who is not a man* (2009).

The fundamental basis of the practice is to teach the adolescent what it means to be 'a man', as well as to impart the expectations that come with this social identity. Once an individual has gone through the circumcision ritual and the teachings, he should show maturity and the necessary respect to others (Elliott, 1970; Ramphela, 2002). In his book⁶¹ Mgqolozana states that the procedure is an "orderly" process of "training in patience" (p 65), linked to the endurance of physical and metaphorical pain (p87). John Kani in an article *Calling for the real South African men to stand up* echoes Mgqolozana. He notes further that the teachings instilled during the process provide lessons about life, about being a father, a member of the community, and being a leader (2009: 8).

So, what is happening in Orange Farm in relation to the initiation practice? From an unpublished honours research report (Bingma, 2008), an interviewee had this to say when asked why he left school before finishing his grade 12:

I left because of a friend I had... 'Treasure'. I did not even know that he had gone to initiation school. As you know here in Orange Farm there are many boys from circumcision schools. We were friends for two weeks. He told his friends from the initiation school that I know 'things' and that I want to go also. I was surprised when I was attacked the next day. I had to have R30 to buy these people something to smoke everyday. They smoked a drug (Taiwan). I had to decide to

⁶¹ The aim is not to unpack the practice comprehensively. Important points raised in the book by Mgqolozana are useful in making some sense of what is occurring in Orange Farm Township around initiation.

go to 'their' initiation school or always give them R30 every day. If I did not get it, I did not go to school. I would go the next day when I had hassled (Thulani).

On the one hand the above story speaks to social expectations and privileges around access to the knowledge attached to this symbolic and ritual act, the kinds of knowledge individuals are 'allowed' access to, at different points in time. On the other hand it speaks to change and contextual interpretations/reinterpretations of what is perceived to be sacred. One of the initiation laws (these laws are not documented, but institutionalised among initiates and sanctioned at the discretion of the elders) is that an individual who has not gone to an initiation school may not speak the language or have knowledge of the activities that take place there. Should one be found to have transgressed these norms, they are required to reveal their 'source', who has to pay a fine. This fine (Ukohlwaywa in isiXhosa) is determined by the elders. The latter is often in the form of brewed traditional beer (Umqombothi) or even a cow depending on the severity of the offence. Such sanctions are aimed at preserving the sacred ritual, nature and status of the practice (Luyanda Magazi, 2009).

If Thulani had the knowledge of elements of the practice, the logic of the punishment that he received was justified when considering initiation laws. However, the form and manner in which it was instituted was not in accordance with the custom. The use of the fine in this context was therefore not lawful. Thulani's school attendance was undermined by the demands made by the initiates. These actions are indicators of the everyday negotiations pertaining to social expectations and processes of identity construction and reconstruction. They reveal the socio-economic changes that are taking place, and the criminal elements and acts that have become part of the initiation ritual.

Adolescents as young as 14 years are being 'abducted' during school holidays to attend circumcision.

"The initiation schools are also often accused of ill-treating initiates and going as far as to assault them. Furthermore, reports indicate that some of the people who attend this rite of passage are abducted and forced to go against their own will. Abduction to initiation school seems to be a culturally accepted practice as the

deputy Minister of police also attended initiation via this route” (South African Institute of Race Relations Survey 2009/2010: 31).

The bullying of young men whose cultural orientations do not prescribe initiation leads to them changing schools or leaving school permanently. One high school principal noted that young men are lured into going through the process (Personal interview 28 January 2011). School going initiates identify boys in their schools. Meetings are held at school in the male toilets (blocking others from using the amenities). Here rituals are acted out by singing, dancing and communicating in a ‘special language’. These rituals involve alcohol and drugs (dagga).

The initiation practice may arguably be framed as a means through which young men attempt to regain their confidence in a context of increasing social fragmentation. The problem is that female authority (which is what they are confronted with at school) and what one of the teachers referred to as “institutional compliance” (Personal interview 22 October 2010) is undermined as the adolescent sees himself as a man afterwards. Disciplining young men in female headed households moreover becomes a problem on returning from the initiation school. In consequence male teachers are often requested by mothers to play the role of a father figure to their sons.

The popularity of the initiation practice in Orange Farm is argued to be a ‘fashion’ amongst young men. It supposedly provides permission for having sex. It is argued that this contributes to the high pregnancy rates in the community. A high school headmaster explained the situation in the following way: when young men struggle and leave school, they find young women who are faced with the same circumstances. The young people find solace in each other, he argued (Personal interview 28 January 2011).

Competition between older men (sugar daddies) and young men for the attention of young women at schools is also rife. The young men’s inability to provide material resources to young women means they are not always considered for sexual or romantic relationships (Personal interview 1 November 2010). It has moreover become more-or-less institutionalised that male teachers have sexual relations with

female learners. For example, Niehaus (2000: 395) found that female learners “preferred teachers as lovers because teachers had more money”. Parents’ moral reputations are questioned as there is often an acceptance of sexual relationships between teachers and learners for financial support (Personal interview 1 November 2010).

In this paragraph I introduce the notion of “moral capital” (Swartz 2009). Although it is relative to context, morality has got to do with differentiating right from wrong. Swartz argues the latter is dynamic in that it can be “enlarged, increased ... lost, gained and transferred” and “consists of accruing a record of moral stance, enactment and reputation” (Swartz, 2009: 148). Sharlene Swartz found that young people relied on immediate networks for advice. Learners described teachers as being too “busy to care”, laughing at and revealing individual problems to others and lacking knowledge about who they are (2009: 150). The young people in Swartz’s study capture what Jonathan Jansen refers to as ‘forms of knowledge’ by both parents and teachers.

Local discourses about what it means to be a man need to be understood within the context of changing priorities, alternative means of achieving goals and constant identity construction and reconstruction. As Puttergill and Leide (2006: 13) argue, the nature of identity constructions/reconstructions is bounded by space and time, intrinsically contingent upon historical as well as relational everyday politics.

The notion of the initiation practice granting men permission to have sex is dangerous in a context of rampant sexual violence against women and children in South Africa. In the category of violent crimes, rape is the most personal for those who experience it. Spokesperson for the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), Aaron Motha, noted that most rapists who join the programme are ‘school dropouts’ between ages 21 and 25 (Thale, 2002).

Police attributed the high levels of rape incidents to a:

‘Culture of masculinity instilled at circumcision schools believing that they have to subdue women to assert their masculine authority’ (Thale, 2002).

The violation of women's bodies has a long history documented in literature. A closer look at the "traditions and cultures" at various levels of expression is required (Vetten, 2007: 442). Notions of what are acceptable relations between men and women need to be interrogated in their contextual locations. Referring to the violence against women and the contradiction between the legislation and the actual implementation thereof, Vetten argues "...this state of affairs represents not so much a contradiction as an illustration of the contingent, conditional and contested nature of gender equality in South Africa" (ibid: 425).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the community conditions within which everyday choices are made by young men in Orange Farm. It reveals the structural constraints that characterise township life, limiting and shaping individual and collective agency. Albeit sporadic and limited, the chapter points to avenues of opportunity through which individuals may envisage a world beyond the drudgery that characterises everyday existence.

Hart identifies a thread within the literature that depicted the "township as paradox" (1984: 104), a place where contradictions and tensions characterise everyday life. Jacob Dlamini captures these contradictions in his book *Native nostalgia*. For Dlamini, the construction of townships as places to be escaped is problematic and monolithic in so far as it discounts the 'multiple realities' they embody (2009: 162-163). In many ways, Orange Farm mirrors the social re-construction or destruction South African townships are undergoing. The problems of access to basic services (water, proper housing, electricity, infrastructural development) and the social disintegration perpetuated by the nature and constraints of everyday existence, need to be located within the historical trajectories of societies (Mills, 1959: 9).

Orange Farm as a residential area is new in that it mushroomed in the late 1980s. Although Orange Farm did not experience the might of Apartheid as a physical space, it came into existence as a direct result of the social disorganisation and growing conflict that characterised the dying years of Apartheid. Its residents know too well the system that engineered social space in ways that fundamentally created an 'abnormal normality' for the great majority of black South Africans. Residents'

memories conjure up both experiences of Apartheid as a system they lived through, and how Orange Farm in some ways mirrors their post-apartheid experiences. These memories permeate everyday life in ways that are exhibited in post-apartheid repertoires of resistance as Belinda Bozzoli (2004) has argued.

In his compelling book: *A man who is not a man*, Thando Mqolozana describes life in a township in Cape Town as “instantaneous, abrupt, fast and in constant climax” (2009: 37). In particular he refers to many young black people faced with two ends: ending up in prison or dead (ibid), a kind of ‘living fast and dying young’ (Connell 2005). Sharlene Swartz’s *Ikasi: the moral ecology of township youth* in which she documents the daily grind that youth in townships face, captures its poignancy. For Swartz, young people continue to make decisions about moral correctness even in contexts of deprivation. Although fraught with contradictions, negotiations of everyday life nevertheless underline young people’s sense of agency (2009).

The ‘hope’ that democracy would make things better, is real. Cited by Murray, Harold Wolpe (1980) warned of what he called “unconstrained enthusiasm for reconstruction and development surfacing everywhere in the media and body politic (as) a dangerous strategy doomed to disappoint” (2008: 183). In many ways the promises continue and the ‘disappointments’ are many.

Orange Farm cannot be understood outside the broader national socio-economic and political dynamics and how they play themselves out in local contexts. C Wright Mills’ (1959) notion of contextualising “private problems” and “social issues” helps to unpack the complexity of understanding these forces. Most importantly, “Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both” (ibid 9). Male early high school leavers’ lives cannot be engaged outside of the context within which they make the decision to leave school.

Chapter 7

Male early high school leaving in context⁶²

Introduction

This chapter asks the question: why do young men leave high school before finishing grade 12. As a way of introduction, I provide short portraits of each participant. Second, I present themes that were drawn from interviews with the participants. As opposed to interspersing the narratives throughout the following two chapters, the aim is to present a comprehensive account of each participant's story. Very little mediation took place. The themes presented in this chapter were identified and are presented in order to address the first research question and its sub-questions. Narrative translations are accompanied by the original transcriptions (see appendix 4). The latter provides an opportunity to read the original language the interviews were in.

Everyday life, education and schooling as dynamic social processes and actions are addressed and need to be read as part of the whole. They attempt to capture familiarities and particularities as well as the contradictions of everyday self-representation by the participants. The stories reflect on the negotiation of individual agency and the shaping of action in the light of both the local and wider socio-structural parameters of everyday living including the historical forces that influence them.

7.1 Participants

Mlungisi

This 23 year old was born in Orange Farm. He lives with his mother, father and brother who is school going. He also has other siblings living in another province. He loves cooking and says he is good at it. He left school in June of 2009 while in grade 10 and has also lived in another province for a while, working at giving out pamphlets there. His father is employed, but he does not know what he does. His mother has a business. She sells liquor and soft drinks. He does not have a girlfriend, but is

⁶² The format of this chapter is partly modelled on Diana Inglis' Master's thesis (2009) dealing with early school leaving in a secondary school in a high risk community.

looking for one. He would go back to school only because of the ‘things’ he is seeing around him. Here he refers to drugs and the ‘bad’ behaviour of initiates in Orange Farm. When I met Mlungisi, who was very entertaining during the interview, he was sitting with some of his friends in the early afternoon. He clearly had not bathed and was walking barefoot with his pants fastened around the waist with a cell phone charger. The interview was conducted in IsiXhosa.

Thabang

This 21 year old is the first-born child. He has three siblings who are all at school. They moved to Orange Farm around 1990, he says. Both parents work. He lives with his father and the three siblings. His mother lives at her place of work and comes home sometimes. He himself has fathered a child. He left school in 2008 while in grade 11. He worked part-time for a while, but at the time of the interview he had been out of work for over seven months. If he had a chance to go back to school, he would, but not a day school as he feels he is too old to do so. He would enrol in a vocational training skills course. He decries the state of crime. He differentiates between those who are just ‘naughty’ and those who commit crime in order to survive, which he sees as a problem. Thabang attended the same school as my siblings. I had seen him on a number of occasions before approaching him for an interview. The interview was conducted in isiZulu and English.

Thabo

At the time of the interview he was 25. I met him on the same day I met Mlungisi. He was with his best friend who had completed matric. He moved to Orange Farm when he was five years old. He lives with his mother who is a home based care giver, and member of his extended family. His father died of a chronic illness. He does not have a girlfriend or children, but hopes to meet a girlfriend at his local church. He is however very careful as girls are ‘naughty’; “they can give you AIDS” he says. One of the most important people in his life is his best friend whom he views as his brother and from whom he gets advice. He left school before starting grade 11 in 2005. He tried to skill himself through a programme run in the community, but could not afford the fees and did not finish the qualification. Should he have an opportunity to go on to complete the skills programme, he would do so. Thabo is concerned about young

men whom he feels are trapped in a life of drugs. The interview was conducted in Sesotho.

Thapelo

Thapelo is 21. His family moved to Orange Farm in 1992. He lives with his grandmother and younger sister who is at school. His father died when he was 13 and his mother when he was 14. He left school in 2008 while in grade 10. He was unemployed at the time of the interview. He laments the abuse of drugs by young men in Orange Farm. I have known Thapelo over the past 10 years or so. At one point he went to the same school as my siblings. The interview was conducted in Sesotho and IsiZulu.

Thabiso

Thabiso was born in Orange Farm. At the time of the interview he was 19 years old. He lives alone, he says. Both his parents live outside of Gauteng Province. He left school in June of 2009 while in grade 11. He has two siblings who also did not finish school. He says he would leave whatever he was doing if he had a chance to go back to school. After having explained that only 18-25 year olds were eligible to participate in the study, Thabiso came along with his friend who was 17 at the time of the interview. I discovered this when I asked them for their respective ages at the start of the interview. On being aware that the other participant was 17 I continued with the interview, but have not used the 17 year old's story in my analysis. The interview was conducted in isiZulu.

Thula

The 18 year old was born in Orange Farm. He left school in 2011. He had set his mind on registering for a course as an electrician at a nearby college at the time. When this did not work out, due to financial constraints, he returned to school to continue with grade 10. Later in the grade 10 year he decided to stay at home and not continue with schooling. He says he is saving towards registering for a course which he wanted to start in 2012. I met Thula on a school day and he was with a group of his friends. His friends were hesitant to admit that they were early high school leavers or to take part in the study. The interview was conducted in isiZulu.

Thami

Thami is an 18 year old and was born in Orange Farm. On meeting him it was apparent that there were problems. He looked as though he had not taken a bath for a while. His skin was dark and his clothes were dirty and could not have been changed in weeks. He fitted the description of the many young men who smoke drugs. He however maintained that he was not involved in drugs. Throughout the interview he evaded answering questions by responding with an 'I do not know that'. When I asked him what subject he enjoyed best at school, he could not answer. His attempt to do so sounded as though he did not know what a subject was. He left high school in grade 10. Since leaving school he says he wakes up, cleans and watches television or does nothing. Thami believes that if a person 'has a brain' and even if they have not finished school they are able to attain success. He cites the South African President, Jacob Zuma as an example of such a person. He is unable to grasp the distinctions between the context within which the president grew up and those in which he lives. Strangely he also says that he wants to go back to school. The interview was conducted in isiZulu.

Xola

I met Xola at a tuck-shop - tavern. He was sitting with his friends who started moving off as a friend and I approached. Xola was one of the few people who did not leave as we approached. On introducing myself and explaining what I wanted, Xola initially thought I was working for the government and was there to provide them with information on learnerships. I had to explain again what I was doing. Xola is a 21 year old. He lives with his grandmother and his younger brother. His mother had passed away and his father is very sick. His story indicates ongoing and constant negotiation and reflection on his actions and lack thereof. He is clearly dependent on dagga. The interview was conducted in isiZulu.

Langa

I met Langa during my walkabouts in the section he lives in. He was with two of his friends. I explained what I was doing and asked if they knew of people I could speak to. When Langa indicated that he had not finished his schooling I took him aside and explained in detail what the study was about. He moved to Orange Farm with his family soon after he was born. He left school in grade 11. He says that he wants to

finish his matric. He lives with his parents and siblings. He says he is famous in the area and loves to see people laugh. The interview was conducted in isiZulu.

Demographic profile

Participant	Age	Place of birth	Parents	Grade passed	Grade left school	Years since leaving school	Employment over the period of the study (01/2010-08/2011)
1. Mlungisi	(23) 2011	Orange Farm	Lives with both but talks about his mother most	9	10	2	No
2. Thabang	(21) 2010	Elsewhere	Lives with both but talks about his mother most	10	11	4	No
3. Thabo	(25) 2011	Elsewhere	Lives with mother (father died)	10	10	6	No
4. Thapelo	(21) 2011	Elsewhere	Both parents are dead	9	10	4	No
5. Thabiso	(19) 2010	Orange Farm	Both parents are alive, but lives alone	10	11	3	No
6. Thula	(18) 2011	Orange Farm	Does not mention his father, only his mother	9	10	A few months	No
7. Thami	(18) 2011	Orange Farm	Lives with both	9	10	A few months	No
8. Xola	(21) 2011	Orange Farm	Does not live with his father (sick). Mother dead. He lives with his grandmother.	9	10	No information	No
9. Langa	(24) 2011	Elsewhere	Lives with both	10	11	6	No

Although four of the participants were not born in Orange Farm, they have lived there most of their lives. A number of points are notable with regards to parents. Thami and Langa live with both their parents. Thami's father is ill and does not work; his mother also does not work, but is well. Langa lives with both his parents, but noted that his relationship with his father had broken down before he left school. Mlungisi, Thabang and Thula only mentioned their mothers during the interview. Thabo lives with his mother as his father is dead. Xola's mother died, his father is sick and does not live with him. He currently lives with his grandmother. Thabiso's parents are both alive, but live in another province. Both of Thapelo's parents died and he lives with his grandmother.

The above summary indicates an overwhelming presence of female guardians in the lives of the young men. Even in instances where the father is present, the young men mentioned their mothers as their source of support. Female headed households as well as the centrality of women in keeping families together is not new and was also captured by teachers who were interviewed in Orange Farm (see chapter 6). Women have been resourceful in devising strategies to sustain their family's livelihoods. Such households have historical roots in South Africa, attributed amongst others to, the migrant labour system. Moreover in the last decade the impact of HIV/AIDS for example, compounded the situation.

However, household dynamics wherein the presence and role of women has become central has yielded contradictory outcomes (see Mosoetsa 2011). This development has put women in a vulnerable position within their own households. We will see how Xola and Mlungisi, for example, although relying on the grandmother and mother respectively, contribute to the insecurity of the household through stealing the very limited resources.

7.2 Everyday life

In introducing the stories of the young men who were interviewed, the first theme deals with how participants construct Orange Farm as a social space. The discussion needs to be read in the context of chapter six which provides a comprehensive analysis of the township. I asked each participant, as part of the final set of questions to assess Orange Farm as a social space and to identify some of

the social problems they felt were impacting upon the lives of young men in the township. I was interested in how individuals constructed and perceived the social spaces they inhabited⁶³. Do the narratives point to situational limits, possibilities, contradictions and cleavages? As such what do they reveal with regard to the respective individuals' assessment of their life chances given their location in their social universe?

Generally, the participants felt that Orange Farm had changed from what it used to be. The social change was attributed to different factors, and was represented as generally negative. The narratives capture nostalgia around childhood and innocence. They reflect frozen frames about how "things used to be". I asked the participants to tell me what they were observing particularly with regard to the lives of young men. The following is a story from Xola:

Orange Farm! Orange Farm my sister, according to my observation my sister, like, Orange Farm my sister, no! no! no! man. The life is fast and then many people do not have qualifications. A percentage of many of them like the youth you see my sister. And then how are they my sister? What is happening? What is happening is that their lives are fast; they smoke, they do all the things that are not permitted you see my sister. Now you see what this life does, it creates poverty you see, the rate to be high. Increases the poverty you see. It means that people need work, the unemployment becomes high you see my sister. It means people end up just abusing drugs because they are unemployed and now when they abuse drugs they feel satisfied and without stress you see. The tension is alright, they just live. They do not care about a lot of things¹.

Xola makes observations about a fast life in Orange Farm amongst the youth. He notes how young people lack qualifications and engage in socially unacceptable and rebellious behaviour. High levels of poverty together with a lack of employment opportunities are noted as the root of such behaviour. Drugs become a coping strategy through which individuals deal with hardships. Similar observations were made by teachers I interviewed who observed that young men were 'out of control' and that they lacked discipline, and abused drugs (see chapter 6).

⁶³The latter is significant in addressing sub question five of the first question.

Xola develops some of the points he makes above and elaborates as follows:

...They do not care about life. That is how I see it myself. I am also counting myself on that side, the people of Orange Farm. It means I have also told myself, I told myself that my sister, in life “you mustn’t regret the past, you mustn’t fear the future, you must rejoice the present” you see my sister. When I say that, it means I do not care about the future you see. Things that have passed, have passed, I am happy for now. I am doing for now you see. That thing when I recognise it, no! My sister it is not right because now when you think, in the future my sister you will be messed up, you will not have anything when you think for now. When you do, let me give you an example: when you work, spending your money now, in the future, or when you die, your children will be left with nothing. They will not have inheritance you see².

Xola begins by stating that he does not exclude or exonerate himself from the people he is talking about. He suggests that an ongoing collective discourse amongst young men in Orange Farm goes on, while reflecting upon his own individual behaviour at the same time. He uses colloquial phrases to make sense of what he observes. A ‘lack of caring’ about the future is decried. Xola makes connections between current decisions and actions and their long term implications for future generations. Individual decisions are closely linked with reproduction of family resources. The resources inherited by individuals through their family’s social capital are emphasised as significant with regard to the prospects of future generations (Coleman 1988).

But why do individuals not care about the future? Why do they abuse drugs? Why is there high unemployment and poverty? The following extracts provide an understanding of how Xola sees and understands the aforementioned questions. They indicate how the participant tries to make sense of the world around himself. On closer observation, he is untangling individual troubles and matters of personal responsibility from structural issues and constraints within which young men live their lives.

...It means there will be nothing. You must leave something here on earth. You will be a person, a person who pleases others whereas you in your life you are not

alright you see my sister. You will be like that. I do not like that thing. It must not be like I was a person without a life. I do not want to be a person like that. For others my sister, their lack of work is not that it is like that, he does not work. Another finds work and leaves it. He drinks alcohol, leaves school...You find that he is clever, he is alright, he is succeeding, but he does not care about those things, he wants to live the way he wants to live. Some people my sister I can say have brought it upon themselves. I can also say I brought it upon myself you see. I can stress that³.

Xola is talking about yielding to peer group pressure and its consequences for the individual. The participant notes that a lack of opportunity and talent are not always the problem, personal responsibility is. Xola recognises anomie and its relationship to peer group support. He includes himself in this regard.

The next two extracts illustrate the participant's struggles to make sense of the reach and possibilities of human agency, the limits and success thereof. Furthermore, social structure is cited as shaping choice or lack thereof.

My sister, young men my sister, their influence my sister. The problems they are facing, eish! They have influence and they do what they rally around you see my sister. Like a clique, a group of young men, when we rally around something, we do that thing. It means we do not care what people say. A person messes you up. Now those things, they do them and regret you see. They have done them you see. They regret in future and then they see that now life is not succeeding. It is stuck, because of influence, whereas the choice comes from him. When you are a person my sister you see, the choice whether drugs, whether they influence you, drugs do not influence anyone. The choice comes from the person my sister. You are the last person who makes a choice about your life you see my sister⁴.

Individuals have agency. Regret after the act is not helpful. The above extract stresses the importance of peers in structuring the lives of young men in the community as well as the tensions that underpin this process. Collective conformity also often means that individuals gain access to respectability and status within the group and from those who aspire to be members of the group albeit outside the parameters of legitimate conventional behaviour. The importance of the group dynamic is holding and fundamental in this regard.

The experienced lack of choice in acting is highlighted in the next paragraph. Xola emphasises choice as not being about what the individual wants, but being about the normative order. He underlines a perceived and coercive nature of institutionalised values and norms that is, the social structure of society on the behaviour of people once internalised. At times, he says, it is about pleasing one's friends. As has been suggested, approval from peers is an important part of adolescent social development. The lack of choice stressed by Xola is indicative of "restrictions on individual freedom" (Portes, 1998: 16) imposed by group participation.

What Xola is doing in the previous extract and the following one, is trying to make sense of the notion of agency.

Yes! You see my sister, I can say that eish! At the moment the problems we are facing are choices. We do not have a choice in life. Many guys do not have a choice you see my sister, they do not have a choice. Like, they cannot do things for themselves. They cannot like, decide for themselves. A person ends up doing something because of the way you see, he must do it. Maybe it is the way his friends like things done or it is the way, you see my sister, reality demands you see⁵.

The second narrative is from Langa. It reveals a wide range of issues through which he tries to make sense of the state of his social world. He starts by noting the effect the township has on him personally:

No, for me Orange Farm is not alright. Because I left and went to live at the place I told you about. I changed and became another person, beautiful. A smart person, alright. You could see that that brother works for himself; he is alright, has everything. Besides the fact that I was not working then, you see, but you could already see that yes small change was taking place. But when I got back here, actually I do not know, there is a slow down, I do not know. There are things that I do not get you see. I will not say it is witchcraft; just maybe it is the place, maybe when you do not like it from inside, you will judge it in many ways. You say the place is like this and this, it is boring me this, this, this you see. I do not have that enthusiasm when I am here ... to want to do something. Orange Farm is not a right place for us youth. We must leave our parents here; we must look for another life

elsewhere, where we start our lives. Right now we are staying with our parents. Ok, you can find that there is competition going on between our parents you see. There are fights somewhere; we do not know about them, we are young. That thing ends up involving us now. Things like that are not wanted you see. These things that are happening, drugs you see, police beating up people, shooting people, actually you do not get what is happening here ... actually you see. Everything is not going well⁶.

Clearly Langa does not like the Orange Farm he lives in. He compares it with having lived in another township with his grandmother. Although he argues that he would not attribute his unhappiness and problems to witchcraft, it may help offer an explanation. Witchcraft is used to explain misfortunes stemming from what he terms competition between elders in the community. While the credibility of the latter is not the focus here, in a context where people struggle, multiple ways of meaning-making are employed. He evokes Jacob Dlamini's *Native Nostalgia* in which the latter notes the social construction of townships as places to be escaped in search of a better life (2009). Langa's frustration and uneasiness is underlined by his bleak view of the township when he talks about drugs and police brutality. Whilst townships have a history of Apartheid and its draconian laws, compounding the problems are the limited post-apartheid opportunities for upward social mobility.

A third view draws attention to the social change that has taken place in the township. Thabiso has happy memories of his childhood and his parents⁶⁴. He laments the change that has taken place. He captures the situation in the following way:

It is not like before. I can say my sister, like a stage, when you grow as a person, when you are young, it used to be nice, having parents in front of you, but now it is not like that⁷.

The fourth narrative deals with the perceived social disintegration of the township. Thabo speaks about drugs as being a key problem and how parents protect their children even when they know they are involved in drugs. He speaks about theft, abuse of alcohol, and notes how the parents say that they have failed.

⁶⁴ It will become clear why Thabiso feels things have changed in the theme dealing with reasons for early school leaving.

This place is dirty. The young men here smoke nyaupe, they steal steel, and they break into people's cars, the car windscreens. That is where Orange Farm is a problem. Before there was nothing like that⁸.

I asked him what has caused the problems. Below he points to the parents as the responsible agents of socialisation for children. Those young men who live by means of anti-social behaviour, alcohol and steal people's property are responsible for the social disintegration in the community according to Thabo.

No I do not know. It seems it is their parents, I do not know. Others have left school in the middle, doing grade 12. They steal; they drink alcohol at taverns, things like that. And I do not do those things. You see! It is these young men. Orange Farm is destroyed by these young men⁹.

But what do parents say about the state of the township? Thabo argues that the parents have given up on their own children, abdicating their moral responsibility. He suggests that they have been defeated by their children.

When we tell them, others say we parents have been defeated. We have been defeated by our children. They give up on their children. We called a meeting, with the police. Still the parents refuse, they protect them. Others protect them. According to me that thing does not work. It does not work¹⁰.

Community interventions to effect change are negated by parents who protect their children. Thabo sees the situation as desperate and identifies the collapse of the moral authority of parents as being partially responsible. Moral capital as discussed by Swartz (2009) is dynamic and may be drawn from different sources within the individual's milieu. He sees lost talent, drugs and peer group pressure as part of the tragedy of the problem. In the conditions described by Thabo two significant sources of moral capital: parents and peers, fail in their "stance, enactment and reputation" (Swartz 2009: 148).

Eish! Mnci! Others have thrown away their talents, others leave school in the middle, and others have followed friends. It started in school; others smoke dagga

things like that. Yes. It starts small, it grows. Others end up not being able to concentrate in class, they end up failing, and they end up leaving school. They end up smoking things like nyaupe. All of Orange Farm, all of Orange Farm, the way I see it¹¹.

The latter narrative reflects on the disintegration of the township's social structure and moral order.

In contrast to the above narratives of Orange Farm as a 'bad' place, Thapelo notes improvement particularly relating to the problems that were caused by initiates.

Back then, Orange Farm was not sharp you see. Because you had too many issues with the initiates you see. Ok right, they were the people who inspired us to an extent you see. All of us want to go to initiation and initiation does not have solutions you see. But now I think it is better you see. Now it is alright you see. Because these things with initiates, by the way, I am also an initiate you see. Actually initiates are badly behaved you see. They are badly behaved. Small things. Have you seen; you say to a person, actually I would like to be like so and so who is an initiate. And so and so ... is a boss you see, people are afraid of him you see. You are impressed by such stupid things¹².

Thapelo laments the character of the people they admired. The idea that someone who was physically feared could demand and receive respect and status among young men indicates the extent to which violence has become institutionalised and socially acceptable. In the words of a high school principal, the absence of positive role models results in anti-social behaviour becoming attractive (see chapter 6).

The notion that an initiate is inspiring and is admired is an important issue here. Initiates are celebrated by societies that subscribe to the practice. Initiation elevates their social status. The idea that a young man is welcomed into manhood and has access to the social capital that accrues to this identity is something to be admired by young men who have yet to walk the same road. In fact, because of the 'sacredness' of the practice and the lessons believed to be imparted by the process to individuals, it attracts individuals longing for a sense of respectability and status in

society. Historically, a tradition brings continuity, hence security. Young men, who seek moral authority, and holding forces in their lives, view the practice as attractive. The initiation practice is an important rite of passage in the life of young men in different South African cultures. It is a process through which young men are ushered into manhood through circumcision and guidance by elders (see chapter 6). In providing answers regarding the state of Orange Farm, Mlungisi also indicates that the township had changed.

To support his statement he cited initiates as contributing to the change:

At least my sister in the beginning, at least it seemed to be a right place. Now, no, things that exist my sister, no, it has changed¹³ (Mlungisi).

In response to a question about what exactly was going wrong in Orange Farm in relation to the practice, Mlungisi and Thapelo's noted the following:

No, hey! There are these young men my sister who are initiates; they make life difficult for us. As December is nearing, they will take people¹⁴ (Mlungisi).

They beat up people. At times they abduct children, and take them to initiation. Other children, they take them to initiation¹⁵ (Thapelo).

A point of information needs to be made before continuing the discussion. There is a practice referred to as 'ukubalekela'⁶⁵. A young man sneaks into the designated makeshift dwelling for the initiates and will not be allowed to leave. The decision is made, as the person would have seen things he is not allowed to see. The latter has also to do with the sacredness of the dwelling of the initiates and the rituals that are performed to protect the dwelling from evil spirits by an appointed medicine man.

Mlungisi notes in this regard that in Orange Farm money is the main driver of the practice and hence the abduction of young boys.

⁶⁵ This is literally sneaking into the makeshift dwelling.

For them it is forced. The other thing is money that is forcing them, yes. If you can take two there, those R750 will come to you¹⁶ (Mlungisi).

The collapse of governance structures around the initiation practice in the cities, as well as monetary gain, have resulted in versions of the practice that run counter to the core values that are held to be sacred (see Thando Mgqolozana, 2009: 37). I asked Mlungisi how much of a problem was the anti-social behaviour being carried out by initiates. He replied by describing how initiates, having returned from isolation, behave towards other young men:

Yo! It is a big problem my sister, because when the young men come back, they come back having a mind-set that they are above us¹⁷ ... Hey! My sister some of them come up to you and tell you that you are this and that, you are young, you are nothing. When you tell him that man, I am not an animal. So there is no way that these young men who come from there will not eat (smoke) nyaupe. Hey! My sister I do not know maybe when they are there they are taught about it. What I know, all of them eat (smoke) it too much¹⁸.

Bullying and coercion by the initiates is a problem, but combined with the abuse of drugs, the results are dire. What Mlungisi says next deals with the hierarchical social ordering of initiates *vis-à-vis* those that have not gone through the process, but may have been circumcised. The latter are not considered 'man enough'. Age is not the decider of seniority. It is clear to Mlungisi that a process considered sacred, that is meant to usher young men into manhood has institutionalised anti-social behaviour in the township. The collapse of the moral authority of elders raises a question about who runs the initiation schools in the township. Mlungisi sees it the following way:

My sister this is Gauteng you see, they love money very much. Another thing you see, this custom according to the law is headed up by elders. There are instances that it starts at a certain age. Here no! You can take a boy of 12 years. A boy of 12 years knows nothing about staying there. The body is not matured yet. Here they are pushing money that is it. It is money that I see here¹⁹.

Mlungisi draws attention to the absence of elders who are the custodians of the practice. He wonders what 12 year old boys know about being a man and argues

that physiologically, their bodies are not strong enough. The latter has got to do with what Thando Mqgoloza asserts is a test in resilience of physical pain (2009). Ultimately commodification of this cultural capital seems to be the driver for those running the schools. Observing cultural prescriptions and requirements is secondary. For Thabang, the practice is part of particular cultural groupings and he notes how everyone seems to be taking part in the practice, even when their cultural roots do not dictate they should. He sees corruption, violence and drug abuse as key elements.

That thing I believe that it is for culture. But being Zulu I know that I do not go there. So, but these days I do not know because it seems others are not going there for culture. Because obvious when you come back from there it is like you are a 'clever', you must be feared, because the people you associate with are known to not be 'alright'. It is known how initiates are, they are corrupt, they beat up people, they smoke drugs, and they smoke nyaupe you see... Others I do not know if they go so that they get involved in those groups (clicks) or for culture straight. I also do not know how to separate. But people who go there most of the time come back acting like 'clever'. I do not know why.

I asked Thabang to elaborate. He had this to say:

For starters I can say A person will ask you for something, when you say you do not have that, and then he will swear at you making reference to your mother. Obviously when he swears at you referring to your mother you will take offence, then that is how it starts. In truth, we who have not gone to initiation are the ones who are always feeling the consequences. If you have not gone, they call you "Nkokoto"⁶⁶. I do not know what it means. Like if you have not gone to the mountain, they say you are 'Nkokoto'. The people who are always struggling are us, 'oNkokoto'. We are the ones who get mugged; we are the ones who get beaten up for no reason; for not going to the mountain. These are the things we face like 'oNkokoto' as they say.

⁶⁶ I was not able to ascertain what this word means, but I gathered from the participants' tone and facial expression that it is derogatory. He said he did not know what it meant.

It is clear here that not having gone through the process puts some young men in a position where they are bullied, victimised and marginalised by some initiates. Conformity seems to ensure safety and the status of being considered a 'real man'. Local constructions of masculinity give advantage to particular processes as legitimate and authoritative rites of passage. Such constructions also result in ethnic derision, and prejudice, resulting in particular groups claiming superiority and perpetuating essentialist notions of social identities.

Overall, Orange Farm is presented as a place undergoing many processes of social change as urbanisation brings together diverse practices.

While one does not doubt that there are alternative presentations to the ones given by the young men interviewed, theirs give prominence to the social problems also noted by some of the stakeholders that were interviewed (see chapter 6). Peer group solidarity is important for all young men as it may provide a source of support and access to resources. In the observations of the young men, anti-social behaviour such as the abuse of drugs, theft, leaving school and ill-discipline become a point of cohesion. Individual agency is exercised under great peer group pressure to conform. Institutionalised processes such as initiation are depicted as being at the root of some of the anti-social deviance and as not being a traditional rite of passage or a cure for ill-discipline.

As a rite of passage that contributes towards socialising young men into socially acceptable norms and values as well as the social prescriptions of being a man, the initiation practice has failed many in Orange Farm. Almost all the participants spoke about the practice as internally undergoing and externally causing a crisis in Orange Farm. Interviewees spoke about abduction of children (see Mlungisi and Thapelo) and pressures of profit-making as the practice is commodified. The collapse of its governance structures, bullying behaviour, the abuse of drugs (Mlungisi), corruption (Thabang and Thabo) and violence (Thabiso, Thami and Thapelo) are argued to be characteristic of the practice in Orange Farm. The social status of the initiation practice is waning, particularly in Orange Farm. However, young men who seek a place of belonging and are socially stigmatised, are attracted to even the most anti-

social groups to provide meaning in their lives (see discussion on gangs in chapter 3).

Social context, amongst other things, has to do with social relations within a collectively defined setting, with relations defined by age, gender, class and other variables such as religion, ethnicity for example. The social context within which young men negotiate interpersonal relations in Orange Farm is characterised by poverty, abuse of substances, high unemployment, alcoholism and crime (see chapter 6). The socio-economic conditions characterising everyday life are evident in the narratives of the young men, pointing to the national trend of an increasingly dire situation of poverty, and lack of employment opportunities for particularly the unskilled sectors of the population. The above are indicative of structural constraints and social cleavages

7.3 Education and schooling

As a central theme in this undertaking, education and particularly schooling is meant to facilitate social mobility which is critical for the social reproduction of society (see chapter 2). A number of points emanating from the data need to be addressed: goal orientation, schooling experiences, the relevance of education and schooling and discipline. The latter are important in addressing the fourth sub question of the first research question: is education and schooling specifically a means to an end; a 'better life'?

Goals have to do with preparation, looking forward and ahead, to a future. Individual goals in the context of the study may be finishing high school, gaining a skill or aspiring to a specific career. I am concerned with the latter in the following extracts as it may be intimately linked with levels of education attained. Below are some of the aspirations of the young men interviewed:

Ehh...my sister, you see, I was thinking that I would deal with cooking a lot because cooking is my speciality. Cooking my sister, I make a delicious meal²⁰.

At first Mlungisi wants to become a cook and he notes that he is quite good at it. As he continues, it is clear that his aspirations are not just personally oriented. Young

people, particularly young men, are socialised into roles of responsibility. Their lives and success are seen as valuable not just to themselves, but to the family as well. Here is what he says:

My sister my wish is to see myself, because my mother has this problem of struggling; in a couple of years I want to see myself having something I can point to and say, at least I was able to build a house at home with my strength. Not always saying mother this, mother that, no. I want to have my own things I can point to and say at least that I did myself. You see my sister²¹.

The participant talks about the future, about being able to see himself attaining the status he has worked for. His mother is an important part of his plans as he notes how she struggles. He articulates a sense of pride in seeing something that he can call his own. Aspirations are not only personal, but also what his success will mean for those around him like his mother.

The second narrative tells about the re-evaluations of goals when new knowledge that conflicts with initial plans is gained:

I did Maths and Science. Earlier on in the lower grades before I reached grade 10 and realised that it was tough. I wanted to be a pilot. Once I discovered that Maths was not my thing, I changed and wanted something simple like boiler making or electricity you see (Thabang).

Xola also studied science subjects in school. Since he did not finish school, he has new aspirations for his life.

*I did Maths, Physics, Geography, Literacy, English, Yah! You see²².
...but just telling you the truth, I have told myself that now that I have done the security grades, when I finish, when I work, I will do the Security Industry Regulation Authority you see. It is the one that registers. When you have their card you may be employed, hired by a top company you see my sister. When I have done that one, my life will be perfect. To be in such a way that my sister you see, my children are eating, also at home, my family is alright you see my sister. They have clothes on their back, they have everything. You can also take them to school. Even those that*

have failed in life, you can do something for them you see my sister. Since I have done the grades, if I can get the SIRA, I wish to do a driver's licence, and a firearm licence, eish! Becoming a police officer you see. Being a police officer or soldier or something big in the community. I do not want to be just a person; I want to be something in government²³.

Xola's narrative indicates his aspirations and some plans toward achieving them. He sees being a security guard as a stepping stone towards him eventually being someone important not only in his own life, but in the eyes of his family and children and the broader community, a need to be recognised. Here the participant does not only see his life in individual terms, but connects it to his broader surroundings. He situates his life within his social context - the community as a whole. In Mills' terms, the above highlights the contribution that individuals make to their external environment, albeit in limited measure.

Langa says he had not thought through what he wanted to do, but from just talking he wanted to be like the people who work in laboratories doing tests and experiments. He is referring to empirical hard science, but he is not specific about what he really wants to get involved in, in the field.

Biology, Maths, Geography, what else? Eish! I had not thought through that, but growing up I wanted to be something, something. But as I told you I wanted to be those people who do...they test...That person, it is test tubes, they are testing, doing what, it is a lot of things in their room. This side he is cooking or doing what, you will not get what they are doing²⁴ (Langa).

Considering his position now, he wants to venture into business. Having sold different items since he was in high school he feels that business is where he is most comfortable. While Langa's businesses are largely unsustainable he believes that with more resources he can be successful. This is what he says about his love for business:

You know me myself, and that I will not let go ... actually I wish, really, I am a person who loves selling. I did not realise when I was still in school, I am a person who loves having a business. At school I had a strong business. Even at home you

see. It means I am a person who loves selling you see. Even if I fall, but I try to put that money together and go and stock something. I do not care about people really. I enjoy when I am selling. I do not get stress. Because I go around, the thing is that I love making people laugh really. When I meet a person, I love to see him/her staying happy actually you see. Even picking on you, I can pick on you when you are a girl you see. Even when you play hard to get, and say you! this, this, this, do not make yourself better because you see me selling this and that. You will get one who will tell you that. That is why they know that that one, when he gets money, however much it is, he will want to start a business, we know him. I love business with all my heart. It is just that I do not have the means. Money again you see my sister; I do not have²⁵ (Langa).

Although there are arguments that the teaching profession is no longer seen as attractive by young people in particular, Thabiso was attracted. Noteworthy is that the status of being a teacher in Thabiso's case is linked to his love for reading and what an individual may be able to access materially:

It is Mathematics for me, proper. I did History, home language, Biology, Life Orientation. I wanted to be a teacher. When you are a teacher, you can have many things. Like a gift, reading, I am a person who loves reading²⁶ (Thabiso).

Thapelo chose the science stream at school as a means to accessing aviation as a clear indication that he had information about the field of study. However, as things stand now he would like to do a course in Information Systems (IT) or Boiler making.

Which subjects did I do? I did Physics, Biology, Maths, Sesotho, Life Orientation, I do not remember²⁷.

Thabo wanted to be a lawyer while he was still at school. At the beginning of the interview I asked him which subjects he did before he left school:

Maths like, things like that²⁸.

Towards the end of the interview I asked him what he had wanted to do when he finished school. He explains why he wanted to be lawyer:

For helping people. When you are a lawyer, you stand for people; you help a person with problems. You help them. Yes. I wanted that. I wanted to be a lawyer²⁹.

It seems that Thabo did not receive career guidance. If he took science subjects and he wanted to be a lawyer, he clearly did not know the requirements for the field of study he was interested in. It is however interesting that almost all the male early high school leavers mentioned above studied mathematics. From personal experience, in Orange Farm only Aha-Thuto Secondary has Mathematics as a compulsory subject. In the other high schools, Mathematics is part of the science stream and may be taken as an option in some of the schools that do not offer Afrikaans as a language.

It is possible that, at a specific point in their schooling careers, the young men did well enough to be allowed to do Mathematics in grade 10. From my knowledge, there is serious consideration about who takes science subjects in the high schools as this has a bearing on the prospects of the school to produce good matric results. While no career guidance is offered, some individuals may be encouraged to enrol for the science stream if their grade nine marks in the science subjects are considered good enough. Overall, it is clear that the young men had and continue to have goals that they want to achieve. Their aspirations are not only personal, but are also tied to an ability to look after their family and being an upstanding individual in the community.

7.3.1. School experiences

School experiences have to do with the general experience of schooling (curriculum and pedagogy), as well as relations with teachers and peers within the school. School experience is considered a factor in deciding to leave school before finishing. The ability to establish meaningful relations with teachers and peers creates a sense of belonging for individuals (Lee & Breen, 2007: 330). Thabiso talks about tensions that existed between him and some teachers due to what he calls favouritism and being accused of abusing drugs:

I got along with teachers, but a few of them, we did not get along. There were those ones who had their favourites in the classroom. Even when you enter as a learner, when you say I do not understand here and here, the teacher says, no, it is this thing that you are smoking; now I will not be able to help you when you still smoke this thing of yours. You find that you do not do things like that. You see my sister, you can say I smoke drugs, but no it is only cigarettes. When you talk to him/her, he/she tells you of many things³⁰ (Thabiso).

In a context where learners feel that they are not supported (Hallinan, 2008: 282) such feelings can offset a process of disengagement from school. Perceptions of favouritism disrupt the social control. Institutional authorities have to enforce compliance (Portes, 1998) and therefore cannot sanction problematic behaviour. Thabiso notes that some teachers have favourites and those that are perceived to be smoking drugs are not assisted when they have academic content problems. He suggests that his appearance made him look as though he took drugs, when he did not. Favouritism or what is perceived as favouritism may arise as teachers identify and nurture learners who display potential to do well and boost their school's pass rates and in future, matric results.

Thami was the only participant who seemed disoriented and forgetful when I interviewed him. He avoided answering most of the questions by saying 'he did not know that'. The following extracts indicate some of his responses. I asked him which subjects he did in school:

I did Accounting, Maths... Yo³¹ (Thami).

He could not remember which other subjects he did. When I asked him which subject (s) he enjoyed in school, he had this to say:

I do not know that thing³² (Thami).

On explain the question further and asking it again, the participant answered this way:

I loved maths ... Because I understand it ... I wanted to do engineering³³ (Thami).

On his experience of school and his relationship with his teachers in general, he speaks about corporal punishment and the brutality with which it was administered.

It was alright. But there were those I did not like³⁴ (Thami)

Why did he not like the other teachers?

They were rough when beating us³⁵ (Thami)

What did they do specifically that he considered rough?

Yo! Yo! They pick you up and beat you; they beat you like you are a dog. He beat us on our bum, but roughly, with a pipe. There was an instance where I did not write one answer. Now I asked, what if I did not write one answer, he did not beat the others and chose to beat me alone³⁶ (Thami).

Corporal punishment is illegal in South African schools. Although the policy is official, corporal punishment is still administered unchecked and often brutally in many township and rural schools. The practice is seen as a way through which discipline is instilled and compliance is achieved. While it is favoured by parents (see Morrell (2001) chapter 3), it seems the severity and the brutality applied by the teachers in administering it qualifies as abuse. Such requires greater investigation by the Department of Basic Education. But why would a teacher do this to a learner?

He did not like me. I do not know, I did not know³⁷ (Thami).

The knowledge deficit identified by Jansen (2011), particularly psychological and sociological; is fundamental (see chapter 2). Discrimination and violent practices delegitimise institutional authority and credibility, unintentionally perpetuating delinquent behaviour. Furthermore, stigmatising actions by authority have the potential to breed institutional resistance. The latter is developed further in the next section dealing with reasons for male early high school leaving.

The following discussion indicates how Xola views education as a broader process and schooling as an element of education. He makes links between the value of education and earning a good income. He establishes a causal link between education, skills development and family pride. Additionally, the participant indicates the significance of education in 'stimulating' the mind and accumulating knowledge. The following paragraph presents his ideas:

I think education is the first thing that they can do to improve our lives. Because it is pointless, working, getting excited for hard labour. Sometimes it is not right because you will not be happy with the money you get. It will not be enough. It will not be enough. It will not satisfy you at the end. It will satisfy you at the beginning, you will think now I have money. When you go on, the expenses grow my sister you see. When you have children you will see that, no, now things are not going the way they are supposed to go you see. It means that when you are a person you see, you must get education, to be able to get a salary that you know what it will do? That will make you happy, make your family happy. That will make things be under control. That is why I say education is very important in our lives. We deserve to know. You see education will make us know our skills, where our potential is. To know that thing and do it. It will be what I have studied. When I have studied it, I will do it perfectly and I will be a person who does 100%. I will do my thing and that thing will bring food, bring...eish! My life will be alright. Because I will have passion for it, having studied it and being happy to do that thing. That is why I say school is important very much in my life. Even I, it is not that I am just sitting, when I have time I read my sister. I stimulate my mind, to know a lot of things you see³⁸.

Above Xola cites an increase in responsibilities as part of the reason why people should invest in education. For him it will enable one to earn a salary that may meet all their needs. As one does something that they have developed a skill in, it also means that they will do their job productively and with a passion. Xola is connecting a person's work with a sense of fulfilment and pride in their life.

The following extract reveals the participant's idea that individuals have a responsibility for their lives. The government can only do so much; the individual must take some steps to meeting the government half way. The second point raised relates to patience and persistence. He elaborates this point by using an analogy of

how men have to be patient when courting a woman. The women might reject or accept their proposal, either way they must persist. Xola also incorporates a religious explanation in this regard. Here is what he says:

It means that even if government is helping you, government will not help you when you are doing nothing. Without you speaking, being quiet, and say there is a person who is not working, I will give him/her work, I am transporting him/her... You must also have that money that when you are given opportunity to study for something or work. You must put things together, money to go you see, to go and study. You must get together the things that are required you see my sister. I do not want to regret. I regret. At the end I always regret... When you are like that, when you are a person turning yourself into a rock you will not get help you see. A rock is hard, it will stay like that. When you are a person you must change you see. They also say it in school, a teacher told me. She said you see in life, she said: "good, better, best, don't let it rest till your good is better than your best". It means whatever happens, it's not over until God says it's over you see my sister. It means my sister, yo! When you are a person like me, there is a slogan for men: they say a 'man tries until his death'-(does not give up) you see my sister. Even like a relationship, maybe a person plays hard to get, you must not mind, you must persist. There will come a point where God stops. Where you also see that yes, this person does not want to be with me or this person wants to be with me you see. There is time for everything my sister you see. There is time to laugh; there is time to be serious. There is time for a person to but angry... You see my sister, eintlek to fight you see my sister. Yes!³⁹ (Xola).

In addition to the points that have already been made above, two things may be added. Government delivery should not result in a sense of entitlement and complete dependence. Individual initiative is key in making things happen. While conditions might be difficult, persistence is advised. Xola is also underlining psychological strength as an important element that individuals should possess.

7.3.2 Discipline

Below the issue of discipline or lack thereof by some young men in schools is discussed. In considering a point made by Thami about the use of corporal

punishment, the following extracts speak to the persistence of ill-discipline by young men in high school. A number of points are considered below.

The thing I can say is that it is bad influence from friends. They start smoking, they start wanting to trouble teachers, and they start not wearing school uniform. They say I do not want to abide by the school rules. Those are the things that end up taking them out of school⁴⁰ (Thula).

Again peer pressure is noted as a problem. Collective behaviour, as indicated in preceding sections, is an element of peer group cohesion. To understand what Thula means by not wearing a school uniform, see chapter eight. Resistance to institutional practices or what Paul Willis (1977) terms “counter culture” may be exhibited in deviant practices such as smoking or in a refusal to wear the full school uniform. Such resistance may be brought on by different factors. Lack of respect for authority is highlighted by Thula.

They want to be seen. Maybe when the principal says I will punish you, he says no, you will not, who are you going to punish? He wants to be seen that he can beat whoever. And then at school there are rules that are followed, when you do this, they will do that. Others are expelled because they want to bring alcohol in to the school⁴¹.

In this regard one principal suggested that it is often better to expel young men who cause trouble. The Department of Basic Education introduced the locking of school gates during school hours as a security measure in most if not all township schools. Langa talks about how they are able to create alternative routes of getting in and out during school hours without being detected. Since school security guards are stationed at main gates, young men are able to go in and out of the school yard. Langa explains how:

Yes, they say they lock. No! When I was in school they locked, they locked at my school, yes, they locked. You did not get out anyhow. When you got out you fought. Unless you get out at the back, through a hole⁴².

How did the process work?

You know, we make it as if that thing is not broken there, whereas it is. When you get there you open it like a door, you get out and close it again. When they are far, teachers see it as closed. Whereas you got out through the hole. We first check if there is a teacher. If he is not there, you get out through the hole and get in again. When he is there, we stand there in the street and make as if there is something we are looking for, when we know we want to get in through the hole⁴³ (Langa).

What Langa refers to here is the palisade fencing that is used in many schools in the township. It seems the young men find ways of bypassing the security that is meant for them. On the one hand what Langa is detailing is particularly problematic as it endangers other learners through unauthorised access. On the other hand anti-social learners are able to come and go.

The next participant addresses what he calls corruption by young men in schools.

Yo! School was corrupt. I do not want to lie; it was just corrupt when we were together⁴⁴ (Thabiso).

But what does the corruption entail? Thabiso discusses issues that have to do with breaking school rules.

We broke the laws. When it was said that cigarettes are not allowed in school, we tried all the means to get it into the school and be able to sell it, things like that. That is part of corrupting. When the break is in you found that we have not gone (to the classrooms) we are in the toilets, smoking, playing dice. Like we would see like, wearing toupees today, I will not be alright. ... to jump the fence⁴⁵ (Thabiso).

Although schools try to enforce rules about smoking and gambling, young men find ways to continue these practices. Toilets are no longer private spaces, but are spaces wherein anti-social, unacceptable practices are hidden and continued by young men. The perception of toilets as unclean, germ infested spaces probably works in their favour. School toilets in many schools are spaces wherein young men gather. The ritualism that takes place in school toilets, as described by a high school principal, is captured by Thabiso. Wearing full school uniform on specific days of the week like Fridays was also seen as uncool. What Thabiso alludes to by referring to

jumping fences is the inevitability of trouble and how young men prepared themselves for such eventualities.

Below Thapelo tells us about his relationships with friends in high school and how he got into trouble at school.

Actually, I, our relationship with my friends, I never had friends that were alright at school. I do not know how it happened that I got friends like that. Since primary school, actually my friends were not good friends. I also loved them; maybe I loved their style of being naughty in school. I do not know⁴⁶.

Having 'bad' friends had been a prominent feature for most of Thapelo's school life. Associating with 'bad' company in school starts a process of long-term disengagement during which individuals seek acceptance and a sense of belonging. Also Helfield in (Terry, 2008:30) noted that rebellious behaviour could be a sign of troubles elsewhere in a young person's life. It will be clear from the following section why Thapelo found a sense of belonging in his circle of friends.

Two broad points can be made about the role of education in the lives of young men. In no particular order:

- It is clear that the participants valued schooling as indicated by the different fields of study that they wanted to pursue. The school subjects they chose were in most cases aligned with the specific career each aspired to. As a means to an end, schooling is valuable. The broader sense of education is captured by Xola. For him, education is not only about improving one's chances of employment, but about learning as a process in developing intellectually or what he calls "stimulating" the mind.
- School was characterised by strained relations with teachers, experimentation and pushing the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. It is also evident that particular institutional practices produced unintended consequences of ill-discipline and resistance. Resistance in this case, I argue,

is not necessarily against the institution itself, but against practices that specific individuals find constraining and discriminatory.

7.4 Male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township

This is the last theme of chapter 7. Below I present the stories of nine young men, detailing why they left high school before finishing grade 12. The analysis addresses the three sub questions of the first research question: is male early high school leaving a resistance to conventional means of achieving goals i.e. schooling? If resistance exists, is it directed at schooling specifically and not the broader system of education? Ultimately, is male early high school leaving a rational decision considered in light of contextual contingencies? I will address each participant's story and the issues emanating from the story individually. Some narratives are elaborate, indicating how individuals negotiate the sequence and significance of events leading up to the decision to leave high school. All narratives are presented in sequential form, but were not all necessarily told in the sequence presented here (see chapter 5).

Mlungisi

Mlungisi says he left because he was told to leave by one of his teachers.

No it is just that one miss said I am old for the grade I was in. I was old to be in that grade⁴⁷.

When I asked Mlungisi which grade he was in when he left, he explains in the following way:

Grade 10, I was 22. She took me out, I saw that I would not just sit, I went back. She took me out, I went back, and she took me out. When she chased me out for the third time, I saw that there was nothing I was staying for, let me go that side⁴⁸.

Mlungisi resists the teacher's initial attempts to have him leave school. After two attempts, the third time he leaves school and goes to settle in another province. But why was he in grade 10 at age 22, six years older than the 16 years grade specific age for grade 10? To address this question, I asked him if he was passing in school.

He answers this question by noting that there were minor problems, but does not say whether he failed at any point. Here is what he says:

No my sister you see...there were those small problems⁴⁹.

I then asked him about friends he had in high school. His response reveals he had a large group of friends. What is noteworthy here is that soon after he left, his best friend also left. In the interview he noted that his friend had problems at home.

They were many my sister. It was just sitting, you see, chatting, but there was a real friend, because when I left, he also left after me⁵⁰.

Two points can be deduced from Mlungisi's story. In the first instance, for individuals who are struggling with academic expectations and are experiencing problems elsewhere in their lives, staying in school, peers and other networks become very important. Peers and immediate networks provide support and encouragement. In the second place, how does a teacher tell a learner to leave school without: firstly considering the impact that decision will have on the individual and whether the individual has other alternatives to pursue after leaving the school? While one appreciates the difficulty of having a learner who has little chance of progressing further within the system, pushing learners out of the system without suggesting alternatives is far more detrimental to the individual.

Thula

Thula aimed to pursue a course in electricity after passing grade nine. He however could not start the course as he needed to pay R9848 for a period of three years. Thula went back to high school while his mother attempted to raise the money needed to register. The following paragraphs capture why he decided to leave school after he went back.

I was supposed to leave high school and go to... and do a course. Eish! when I had already taken a remove, it turned out I did not have enough money, and then went and looked for another school again⁵¹.

When did he leave and why?

I left this year, term two. Aiy! School bored me and again I saw that at school the subjects I knew well⁶².

Thula has not been out of school for too long. He notes that school was boring. To expand on the latter, the following extract shows that by the time he left high school he was already undergoing a process of disengagement. He wanted to pursue a skills course at a technical college.

Yes. I passed well, but eish! My heart was no longer there. I wanted to do the course. Because from grade 9 I told my mother that she must send me to ... to go and do a course. And she said I will go and do the course. And then she said I will go, I will go and do the course. And then she said I will go, I will go until I went back to...⁵³

What was happening at the new school he went to? Did he have friends there? He answers in the following way:

The friends I associated with, actually they had a bad influence. Because they were the kind of people who did not like school, they pushed corruption. Now, I saw that I must take myself out ... It was the same, I said aiy! I am leaving I will see next year. I am busy getting some money together now⁵⁴.

The importance of peer group influence is captured in chapter 3. Thula is aware of the necessary steps to take to reach his goals. Like Mlungisi, some of his friends also left school and joined him.

Aiy! Others decided to leave school, to join me. Others continued with school⁶⁵.

Thabang

Why did Thabang leave school before finishing as he was already in grade 11? He attributes his decision to a sense of responsibility he felt after his girlfriend fell pregnant.

Just that as time went on things deteriorated at home. I would not say at home, but in my life. Because I impregnated a girl and it caused me to dropout and at her home they were not well you see, in terms of finance, I had to look after the child.

I asked Thabang why he left school as he could finish and then take care of the child. This is what he had to say:

The girl was thrown out from her home, she had to come and live with me at home. At home I was still being supported; I had to try and get out and rent a place. I rented a place ..., I rented so that I could live with her. Then I got a job ... I pushed there; I pushed there, the job ended this year (2010) around March. That is when things started getting bad. Other than that, the reason was that I was not going to be able to go to school and leave her hungry.

Thabang was placed in a difficult position after his girlfriend was thrown out from home and had to live with him. As the father of the unborn baby, his sense of responsibility did not allow him to continue with school while she was left hungry. What happened at the girl's home?

A person who was 'rude' at her home was her mother. She died (the mother) when the girl was 7 months pregnant. Then they called her back home because they are three at home, all girls. She is back home and lives with her sisters now.

The girl's mother was the problem. I then asked him if there were people who supported him and asked him to stay in school. He argued that at that point in time, he had to do what was right.

Many people were asking why I was leaving. But you know sometimes other people just talk not knowing the situation you are facing at that point in time. I just told myself that, it is fine for people to have their opinions but I was doing what was right at that point in time you see. Because I had heard that there was temporary work and they were hiring, hopefully, I told myself that I could end up being taken permanently, but things did not go well.

Thabang's case reveals what I will liken to a revolving door. In the first instance an individual's network(s) goes through different cycles. What an individual may be able to access today through a network may not be accessible tomorrow. Also Anthias argues that different individuals place different values on a network (2007: 797). For different situations, individuals draw resources from different sources. The second point I want to make is that the availability of resources might not necessarily always be the issue, but the condition(s) which an individual requires in order to draw resources from a network might be more important. I want to argue that, in an attempt to deter young people from socially unacceptable behaviours, resources may be withheld for a period of time. While the consequences to the individual may be devastating in the long term, the punishment serves to establish boundaries and social control.

Xola

Xola's story is interesting, not only for its complexity and contradictions, the sequence and what he identifies as his reason for leaving school, as well as how he makes sense of it as something he brought upon himself, but also the suggestion that it came about as a result of a lack of choice. I first asked him how old he was as a standard question for every interviewee, to make certain that he was within the age range for the research. He told me he was 21. There is a tradition in townships of giving people who are 21 years old a key as a symbol of them being accepted into adulthood. This is believed to be a significant moment in a person's life. The person may make fundamental decisions about their lives. I ask Xola if he received his key yet. This is how he answered this question:

The thing is my sister, it is my lack of seriousness, it is the way I live you see. The thing is my sister; I take things for granted you see. Having just left school, eish! I left telling myself that I would succeed in life, but no, I would be messed up too much. Why do I leave information that is based on my life, which will grow my life? Making my future to be 100% quality⁵⁶.

Above, Xola reflects on different aspects of his life, questioning his own decisions. I asked him about his life at home and his performance at school. After he tells me about his grandmother and little brother whose status will be addressed in the next

chapter; he refers to himself as a Christian. I asked him which church he goes to and how it works. He develops the answer in the following way:

Ok my sister, really, really I went to...you see. Now ... it happened that I became a pastor, like I became engaged in the spirit of God. I then...I did not have time ..., I visited other churches, others you see my sister. Then it happened that eish! I am this person with a good heart. Even my friends, my brothers I lived with, they do not like me very much really because I no longer walk the same road we walked you see my sister. Ok! They, ok, somewhere they saw that I was doing the right thing, saving them. If we can be like him but we cannot. We are used to this thing. Time went on, living like that. Time came when I was failing at school and focusing too much on the Bible you see my sister. Teaching people, many people, praying for many people, my sister, all my things perfect when it came to Christianity. But in school, education, when it came to education my sister, eiy! I had a small mistake. I saw that things were not moving together because I am a pastor. Capturing the Bible, capturing certain verses that I had to read at church and with the group, when in the mist of people, you see my sister. Then at school it happened that Maths beat me badly then. Even those that I thought I was passing, eiy! It was like they were becoming a bit worse you see⁵⁷.

At first I concluded that Xola was unable to balance his church activities and his school work. His church activities took precedence and his school work suffered. It also seemed as though the focus on Bible reading and knowledge of verses had to do with an element of showing off and being seen to know the Bible. He further develops his narrative by talking about how he felt on realising that things were not going well:

Now I told myself that it means school was not my thing. Being a pastor like this. But when I had left school, I see but eish! Even English, and literacy, and the level best of my language, like English you see my sister, it did not agree. Because I had left school. And now I was a preacher, I must you see my sister, somehow it must show what is going on you see my sister. I am educated; I am not a pastor that people will hear from his utterances, just even the way you are. My sister you see now, no! It happened that I stopped. When I had left school, aaaaa! My sister it happened that now I get into the spirit that is not good now. Now I stayed with them, my friends who did not go to school now, who smoked. I ended up seeing that these

people aiy! They lived nicely, they did not have stress. And I left school. No! it is better to do these things, I sat right there my sister. I started smoking my sister. I worked, got piece jobs ... That also created a burden that made me leave school because I got used to working like 'emakuleni'⁶⁷. Like I was always emakuleni and my sister making money you see. Also here in the location you see my sister it made me leave school once. I just left and my things, I was not taking myself anywhere. They made me even poorer. Now I want to be serious with my life, but I cannot you see. I can say that I , maybe if I go back to God, maybe pray, maybe even these things that I take for granted, the ones like yours, that are important in life, take then with an alright mind; maybe things will be alright I do not know⁵⁸.

Xola's narration highlights a number of things that are important. The participant rationalises and legitimises his failing as school not being for him. However, his leaving results in his pastorship suffering as he notes a drop in his English proficiency and literacy. While English is part of preaching in township churches accompanied by a translation due to the diversity of congregants, it is also a sign of status and level of education one has attained. With his pastorship suffering, Xola attributes his troubles to bad spirits. Compounding his poor performance was the fact that he was working at piece jobs. Upon reflection, he sees a life that was going nowhere. Xola is making meaning from the events in his life by evoking a supernatural intervention as a solution: prayer. The latter can also be an indication that he does not feel he can change his circumstances by himself at this point.

At the end of the interview I realised that I had not asked Xola in which grade he left school. In his response he again develops the theme about working and its impact on his school work.

Grade 11. I passed grade 10. When I got to grade 11 I was passing, I was determined at school. I passed in March, June and September, but when it got to summer, that is when I started my naughtiness: not going to school, going to my piece jobs a lot. My piece jobs were many in summer you see my sister. I could not

⁶⁷ This term refers to people of Indian descent. It is historically a derogatory word (koolie), but it is used in everyday reference to Indian people that I doubt most people who use it know the historical use of the word with its derogatory meaning. It is also used to refer to all people of Indian descent in Townships or rural areas.

go to school and study. I did not have time to study. I told myself that I would pass, I am a clever. When you are a person you read first for what you are doing, so that you can pass you see my sister. Plus Maths like my sister, there is no guessing, you must practice, you must know it you see my sister. Not cram it. Not a person when coming from work, would arrive at night, opening the book and cramming, when morning comes there is nothing of what I was doing there you see my sister. Yes! Serious. You were playing with your time. You must just drink tea and let go of the many things, just sit you see. Because by the time that I got back from work, it is time eiy! People are sleeping. I arrived around 21:00hours when I finished my piece job there at ... Then just when I arrive, I arrive “ngokuthi kancane”⁶⁸. Yo! “Mangithi kancane”⁶⁹, I fall asleep. My grandmother ends up waking me up and saying you see, you are sleeping, you are sleeping on the sofa because of your things. It is better you wake up and go to sleep (in your bed). I tell myself no, I have captured them I will see them again in the morning. When I wake up in the morning, I wake up late you see my sister. When I wake up late, when I get to school tjo!⁷⁰ There is no point to this. I am failing not just, out of 100% I get just 10% you see my sister⁵⁹.

Making sense of Xola’s narratives reveals a number of different representations of what the problems were. Three reasons were given by Xola: overwhelming church activities as a result of which he could not make time to study; working long hours and not having time to study, and excessive failing in school. Although all are linked, his sequence of narration alludes to three things and these will be discussed in turn. First, his overwhelming church activities were the initial reason that resulted in Xola’s poor performance. Him having to memorise Bible verses, preaching to many people and praying for them; took a toll and resulted in him not coping. Also, as a consequence of him leaving school, he notes that his preaching also suffered as his literacy dropped. Here Xola is making a link between his schooling and success as a pastor.

The second reason is taking up part time work which he mentioned at the end of his first reason. Xola talks about his behaviour in summer as being problematic. He spent most of his time working and missing school. He concedes that having money

⁶⁸ The phrase cannot be translated directly and still keep the logical meaning of the sentence. What the participant is saying is that when he gets in, he takes a short nap. That is not what the phrase means, but that is what he implies in the context within which it is used.

⁶⁹ When he takes the short nap

⁷⁰ This is an acclamation for shock.

was a factor. In instances where he did not do his work, Xola recognises he wasted his own time.

Finally there is the issue of failing that Xola takes up strongly at the end of the above extract. The latter takes centre stage as he eventually gets to the ‘why’ answer he had been trying to answer. He is clear about why he left. At this stage he notes:

I left in the middle of grade 11. The thing is that I failed, I just left. I said it is all the same, for how long have I been praying and doing. But this thing I have been doing was not there. Praying I prayed, but when I am supposed to study, I did not study. Even the bible says when you are a person you must help yourself with the thing you want in life you see. Now I was not serious. I told myself that if I just prayed my God will hold my head and I would just pass. But God says that he helps those that help themselves in life. Yes! Now my sister I am tired of not helping myself. Living just because we are living. I want to help myself⁶⁰.

The central reason for Xola leaving school was failing. He gave up. Praying did not yield the desired result as he did not do the necessary work he was supposed to do. He quotes the Bible in making sense of his lack of work. Xola’s story draws attention to two methodological points: that a narrator will “interpret the past rather than reproduce it as it was” (Riessman, 2005; 6). Sequencing and editing are important elements as individuals manage what to “tell or not to tell” (Goffman, 1963: 42).

Langa

Langa narrates a story about experiencing personal and home problems and how he had to decide to do something about the situation. Two points emerged from his narrative. This is how Langa begins the story of how he eventually decided to leave school.

The thing is that I experienced some problems you see eish. Things did not go well. I also gave in and wanted to work on this side you see. What do I want to do? It is better that I get money. At least life will be better. But I saw that it was worse. It is even worse because I left. But I would like sometime when I get an opportunity to say, man here is an opportunity to be able to go back to school, and do whatever that you want. I can go back it is not a problem. Because I see now what is going

on. Now if you have not gone to school things that are happening are not right you see⁶¹.

The above narrative indicates his struggles. Below Langa explains in detail what the personal problems are that he refers to. The incident he refers to led to a breakdown in his relationship with his teachers and consequently his leaving and moving to a different school within the township, but closer to his home. His story develops in the following way:

Aaaaa they were alright. They were alright, but things were messed up after. It happened that, I got in a relationship with a girl in school. This girl was my friend's girlfriend you see. Now it seems my friend did not give this girl attention you see. And my friend liked taking me with him when he went to see this girl there at the grade 8s you see. We go and see this girl. When we get there my friend does not want to have it with this girl. He leaves us together. He goes and talks to friends. Ok this girl told me that no, so so, my friend was bad news this and that, I want a straight boyfriend this and that. I did not take her seriously ok. That is when she asked me to fetch her after school ok. I said I would fetch her after school ok. I fetched her. We left school together. She said she would accompany me ... Ok she accompanied me ... She accompanied me ... When we arrived ..., this girl did not want to leave⁶².

I interjected and asked him if he had taken his friend's girlfriend. Below he explains:

We were not even together at this stage. She did not want to leave ..., it is nice this and that you see. So it was a Thursday that day. We woke up, we did not go to school. We went to another street and locked ourselves in a shack. No, things had turned sour at school you see. No man, a person we saw leaving with that person is so and so, we know him it is... He lives in ... so and so. They came looking for me. The relationship started taking strain right there then. The teachers started disliking me saying I kidnap other people's children; I sleep with them by force you see. Being that this girl did it. Really, really I was supposed to be in prison, but this girl defended me. She said no I am the one who left with him so and so. If she did not say that, maybe I would still be in prison even now⁶³.

At this point Langa had not left school. He left after he moved to the school nearer to where he lives.

For me to leave, I did not leave the same time. I saw that this side my things, even the teachers from... it was as if things were not going well. But I did not decide to leave you see. I said let me try in another school again. I went and looked for space at ... I attended there, having left doing grade 10, having passed to grade 11. So I came here then. They accepted me this side. But they resisted before they took me, yes, they said why did you not finish there? ... I attended there. Things did not go well... I arrived in my first year, doing grade 11. I became a president (SRC), I became the one in control on the school ...⁶⁴

Things did not go well at home. He explains:

There are things that happened here at home you see. We fought with my father, my mother left, she took my siblings and left you see. I was left with this father of mine and I did not get along with this person now. Now life started, I saw that, I started starving now. It caused me to stop here, and look for money to eat. Because I could not go to school, I would not be able to focus well. I do not have food, I do not have money and I was used to living a life where I was used to having money⁶⁵.

After fighting with his father, the family separated. Life for him became difficult as he struggled to feed himself. As stated in chapter three, family plays an important part in an individual's life. Instability within the home was highlighted by Porteus et al (2010:11) as a contributing factor to the decision to leave school. Also, the different forms of poverty that may be experienced by a family (see Porteus et al in chapter 3), may put strain on individuals contributing to the decision to leave school and find means of survival.

The insecurity caused by the break-up of a family is particularly severe for children. Family resources diminish whilst the social capital children rely on for negotiating difficult situations in their lives is fractured.

Thabiso

Thabiso talks about peer pressure as being central to what unfolded before he left school.

For me it is like this thing of pressuring each other. We went to the mountain. When we got to the mountain wrong things happened. It happened that others had to run away you see. Now they waited for us at the school gate. They wanted to treat us badly you see. I ended up changing. My mother said my child it is better for you to come this side. I left ... I got back for the world cup. That is when I got back this side. I left that way⁶⁶.

Unacceptable behaviour as well as life threatening acts led to him running away from the mountain. Having seen the activities that take place during the process of initiation, there were attempts to round up those that had run away, in order to take them back. The following short extract highlights the violence and brutality of the processes involved in the practice in Orange Farm.

It is like they want to take us again, you have seen that it is not grand there. They want to take you back there. When they get you, you are going back. They beat you up⁶⁷.

Violence between different schools was the problem according to Thabiso. It is not clear why the conflict exists.

Another group comes and beat up this one. They stab each other with knives⁶⁸.

But why is that?

Like my sister, that thing when it happens, it is like it is happening now. When you see there is something happening, they will not do anything to you (initiate), you will sit down. The ones in this team must fight with the others. And now when a person dies in front of you it is not right you see. It troubles you that thing, it does not sit well in your heart when a person dies in front of you⁶⁹.

What Thabiso relays in his story reveals violence, brutality that he saw and trauma that he suffered. There is a saying that what happens at the mountain stays at the mountain (see Thando Mggqolozana 2009). No one is allowed to divulge what happens at the mountain during seclusion. It means that young men have to live with the trauma of witnessing a person being killed in front of them and are not allowed to talk about it. Why do they go to the initiation schools then?

Here it is a fashion. Anyone and everyone who wants to go even if he is still young he goes. But in the rural areas you go when you are over 18⁷⁰.

The fashionable status of the initiation practice was noted by Thapelo in theme one. Whilst it is evident that the value teachings have drastically changed and that criminal elements have rooted themselves within the practice, young men are attracted and fascinated by the unknown. Also, the ritualism described by a high school principal introduces young men to an 'exclusive' world of manhood. Furthermore, in Thapelo's words, the fear that initiates evoked was also alluring. Would he go back to school?

I would abandon all this my sister, and go to school. To school, because I left while I was still in a school spirit. Even if the uniform is there for me, it will make⁷¹ (open up the mind).

Thami

Corporal punishment (see previous theme) and missing his exams during his stay at an initiation school were the main issues in Thami's case.

What made me leave was the stick (Corporal punishment) and that I went to the mountain. The thing that made me not to go back was that I did not write the exams⁷².

Thami in theme one already indicated his problem with corporal punishment in the school he went to. A point to be made about the initiation school is that in many cases the process is undertaken during school holidays, particularly the June and December school holidays. The two holidays are preferred because they are lengthy, providing enough time for the initiates to complete all their prescriptions. However, it

is also done during the March and September holidays which are much shorter. The problem with the March and September is that young men often miss a week or two of their lessons so that they are able to fulfil all their prescriptions. Missing classes increase chances of grade repetition.

When I asked him why he did not consider going back the next year, he had this to say:

Yo! I do not like failing. They said I had already failed. I want to go back properly next year⁷³.

Thabo

Thabo tells me he left high school in 2005. I asked him in which grade he was when he left. He left in grade 10. He decided to pursue a skills course and not do grade 11 at the school he was in. Below is his story:

Eish! I was a slow learner eish! In school things like that you see. I am not like other children in the class, the way they capture things. That is why I left school in grade 10. I just left. I had not started, I just left, and a lot of people do not know that. I left, I left in 2005. A lot of people do not know that⁷⁴.

What did he say when people asked him why he left school?

I said I failed grade 11 a lot of times, two times things like that. I lied to them, things like that⁷⁵.

Before he decided to leave, were there teachers who assisted him with his work?

Others helped me, others were not patient with me. They are not the same. Others were not patient with me. Like mem..., in grade 9. It is things like that. That is the thing that made me not cope, continue with school. That is the thing. It is mem..., she taught English. When you did not understand something, she forced you, things like that⁷⁶.

Thabo's case raises three points: the knowledge deficit identified by Jonathan Jansen (chapter 2), the stigma associated with being a slow learner, and institutional

indifference. It is clear from Thabo's case that the teacher he refers to might not be sufficiently trained to identify learners with special needs and to adapt the teaching strategies accordingly. It is also a fact that the South African Schooling System is beset with a myriad of problems in relation to teacher training.

Secondly, Thabo prefers a narrative of failure to that of a slow learner. The lack of awareness and stigma attached to individuals who might not be intellectually gifted to function within the current structure of the schooling system is problematic. Stigma perpetuates representations of self that are particularly unhelpful to the individual concerned. Individuals may get stuck in the system without progressing, but never explore different avenues to gain skills as they are stigmatised.

Finally, in linking the two previous points, institutional indifference is perhaps the biggest problem: teachers who do not recognise learners who are struggling academically and recommend interventions, a system that turns a blind eye to the diversity of its learners, fails the most vulnerable within it.

Thabo started a skills course after leaving high school, but did not have enough money to pay for the fees. He explains it in this way:

I tried, eish! It was because of money. I tried, I paid the school (registration) fee, I was supposed to get a certificate, and I did not get the certificate. Welding school. I was attempting the welding. I was able to understand it⁷⁷.

The extent of the socio-economic struggles Thabo has to deal with will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Thapelo

Thapelo's story reveals a process of disengagement with schooling having experienced the loss of both his parents and feeling he could not keep up his lifestyle. Bad influence from friends also contributed to the final decision to leave school. In response to me asking if he had repeated a grade, he explains in the following way:

In the middle I left. The thing was that I had too many things in my head. Many things that did not sit well with me you see. When I think about those things they disturb me in my studies. A lot, too much. Because in 2002 you see ... I got in an accident you get me. And the accident affected me a lot mentally. I became mad. Ok, maybe for a few months you see. When I think about that thing, it does not sit well with me you see. It is the thing that somewhere disturbed me in my studies. There was nothing I could do you see. Even now I am always making noise here. It is the thing that keeps me out of such things as thinking too much...⁷⁸

Above Thapelo notes the instability in his life as a significant problem. He uses music as a coping strategy (In his room there is a full music system). Apart from the accident what other problems is he referring to? Below he talks about losing both his parents within a period of two years and how as a result he struggled as he could not have money for lunch or afford the things he used to afford.

First of all I lost my mother while still young. I was 14 years in 2004, 2003 I lost my father. It was around those times, I was struggling you see, I was on last gear. Actually at home it was not sharp you see. Ok, my grandmother was able to get things done, and give us money for lunch you see, to go to school. But that thing, it was not sharp you see. Because you knew that you did not get enough money you see. Other times, when you go to school they say I do not have money, go to school you see. You go to school. By then things were not sharp⁷⁹.

In townships, particularly amongst young men in high school, it is not 'cool' to take a lunch box to school for example. This is done by female learners. As he could not get hard money for lunch, he felt he could not 'compete' with the other children who could afford it. The loss of both his parents seems to have had a great impact on Thapelo and his ability to cope in school, and particularly the resultant poverty that afflicted the family. The comparisons he makes to other children above indicate that he found himself in a difficult position and did not fit in. But why did he actually leave?

I was not happy about that. Now there are many things like boasting you see. Ok, you know that others are well off. They come to school looking sharp. They dress smartly you get me. Back then you could not do those things. That is the thing that made me decide to leave. It means I am leaving school⁸⁰.

The inability to afford the same things that other children had in school became unbearable for Thapelo. Towards the end of the interview he begins talking about peer pressure and influencing each other to leave school. He says:

We influenced each other with the guys here in the location you see. One said I am leaving, I am also leaving, I am not sure, but I want to leave. Things like that and it happened that all of us left⁸¹.

While I did not ask Thapelo how many of them eventually left, it is clear it was a group of them. The decision to leave school is influenced by the networks that one may be able to draw on once they have exited the system. If a group of friends decide to leave school together, they form a network of support and socialising, and a group dynamic is established.

A number of points need to be made in relation to the data above. On closer consideration, checking the number of years that each individual had been out of school as well as the grade an individual left school and the current age; the data reveals a number of issues. In the first place, the grades in which the participants left are in line with the South African Department of Education's (2011) argument that most early school leavers exit the schooling system beyond the compulsory school phase. While the Department of Education's close achievement of universal enrolment is laudable, the inability to retain learners and improve the quality of the system is of concern. What needs to be asked is: Why are young people and young men in this case exiting the schooling system before they finish their matric? This is important particularly for this case study as most of the young men have not pursued any other education avenues after exiting the system.

Second, although the schooling career does not always precede in a tight linear order due to learner repetition rates, if a learner starts schooling at age 7, at age 18 they are expected to be in grade 12. Two things could be happening here. In considering the age of each participant, the grade in which he left school and the year during which he left school, it is clear that almost all the participants apart from Thabang and Thabiso were a year or two above the grade specific age. This suggests that the individual probably repeated a grade(s) in their schooling career.

Certainly, grade repetition is considered a factor contributing to early school leaving (see chapter 3 on reasons for early school leaving). Although some individuals were explicitly asked if they failed a grade, they were not open about it (see Mlungisi's narrative about why he left school). The silence around failing by some young men, points to an attempt to present a self without the stigma of being found academically wanting. The context: the interviewer is a female university graduate, researching young men who are early high school leavers. The context may 'necessitate' representations of self that "refract" (Riessman 2005) the past in their narratives; editing and indicating the "terms on which they request to be interpreted" (Riessman 1993).

On the other hand failing might not be considered an important factor in the *process* of leaving school, accounting for why the young men cite other factors as reasons for leaving school early; an indication that the young men are aware of the "discrediting" (Goffman 1963) effect of presenting oneself as having failed academically, in a context where education and schooling specifically, receiving much public attention. This is evident in Xola's narrative about why he really left school (see chapter 7- reasons for early high school leaving). In contrast, Thabo preferred the narrative of failure as opposed to being considered a slow learner in a context of other groups experiencing more stigma than others (Link & Phelan, 2001). To an extent, failure externalises the problem and may be corrected, but being a slow learner internalises the problem; with individual abilities at the centre of the problem. Thabo's narrative about having left school because his teacher was not patient, but pushy even when individuals did not understand, is evidence of such externalisation.

Some individuals indicated that they would go back to school if a chance presented itself. However, in reality most of the individuals have postponed the act for a number of years as indicated by how long most of them have been out of the schooling system without exploring alternative institutions to gain a skill. Why do the young men express a desire to go back to school when they have not acted to fulfil the desire for such a long time? Two points can be made:

- Due to their age, going back to day school is an impossibility⁷¹. Other alternative institutions through which they may obtain a matric certificate are stigmatised (night school or ABET). Mlungisi lives next to one such school but indicated how he would not attend school with old people. He finds himself in a space in between. While he was told by his teacher that he was too 'old' for the grade he was in, he feels he is perhaps too young to be in a class with old people. The accessibility of FET colleges is a problem for many young people. Funding opportunities often require an individual to be registered with an FET institution or institution of higher education before consideration. It is clear that the young men cannot afford even that (see Thami's story about why he could not start his course at one of the further education institutions). Even local institutions providing skills training are not affordable for the young men (see Xola and Thabo's narratives about struggling to raise money to pay fees) pointing to a serious social problem of indigence. It will however in the following paragraphs become clear that some of the young men are 'resourceful' when it comes to mobilising resources for particular peer oriented activities, demonstrating their agency in their everyday living.
- Second, perhaps these young people are not interested in going back to school, but the status of having finished matric eludes them. As such, they voice an interest in finishing schooling as a socially acceptable expectation. The admission of not wanting to go back to school due to failing or being disillusioned by schooling imposes a stigma of being incompetent and deviant. In the case of early high school leaving, finishing schooling is a measure through which individuals are assessed and accepted into other institutions. Early high school leaving is a problem as far as individuals do not have 'proof' of their 'competencies', making it difficult to grade individuals for different social positions (Christie 1991).

Non-unitary narrative representation takes context into consideration. What may or may not be said is negotiated by the narrator through a process of remembering, reflecting, selecting, and retelling their story. More so as the action of leaving school

⁷¹ South African schools recommend FET colleges for individuals who have reach a specific age.

before finishing grade 12 ascribes a stigmatised social identity, that of a dropout. In the context of the study, the individuals are young (age), male (gender), black (race), poor (class) and lack a qualification (education). The management of stigma results in the silencing/omission of stigmatised characteristics in the 'presentation of the self in everyday life'.

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter considered reasons for male early high school leaving. Three themes were presented. Theme one addressed contextual matters, as male early high school leavers saw and experienced them. In the first place, it is clear that there exist situational constraints identified as poverty, unemployment, peer pressure and limited individual choice. Second, a direct and indirect relationship is established between the contextual constraints and social problems such as drug abuse, alcoholism, crime and social alienation. Ultimately, cleavages are identified amongst young men in the township, with the initiation practice at the centre of the differences.

Secondly, the male early high school leavers identified education and schooling specifically as important in achieving their goals. They actively took steps towards attaining their goals indicated by the subjects they chose in high school. However, their school experiences indicate a number of issues that offset the process of disengagement with school. Institutional practices (corporal punishment, perceived favouritism) are implicated as adversely impacting upon school experiences. Experimentation (Erickson 1971) and pushing institutional boundaries through what some termed corruption, smoking, gambling and anti-social peer group behaviours point to adolescent negotiations of deviant peer group practices.

In the end, it is clear that early high school leaving was a process (Bridgeland et al 2006) for the young men. Their reasons for early high school leaving also point to their diversity (Voss et al 1966) as a group. They also point to particularities and similarities amongst the young men. To address the latter and answer why young men leave high school before obtaining a matric certificate, we turn to the three sub-questions addressed in the third theme of this chapter: is high school leaving a resistance to conventional trajectories of attaining goals? Is it a resistance to

schooling specifically? Or is it a rational, reasonable decision shaped by contextual contingencies?

It does not seem that the young men are resisting schooling as a means to attaining goals or means to an end. The latter is indicated by the set of aspirations they had and continue to pursue. For instance, even individuals who conceded they struggled academically i.e. Mlungisi and Thabo; persisted within the system. In fact, Mlungisi points out that he would go back to school if he had the chance, while Thabo pursued a skills course after deciding to leave high school. Apart from Thami the rest of the young men placed significance on schooling and education specifically. Thami argued that individuals could succeed without an education and cited President Jacob Zuma as an example. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the participant fails to appreciate the contextual differences between his time and that of the state President.

Male early high school leaving is also not a resistance to schooling. What it is however is a resistance to “structural practices” (Noguera 2009) or institutional practices and broader social constraints. The different practices and social constraints are problematic, more so in the context of young men undergoing a process of self-definition and greater attachment to school (Erickson 1971). The inability of the educational institutions to deal appropriately with students experiencing academic problems limits their chances of receiving specialised interventions. Also, broader social constraints complicate the problems experienced in school. Ultimately, it may not be unreasonable⁷² to leave high school before finishing grade 12 as negotiating the intersectionality of the factors impacting upon one’s life may prove to be very tricky.

⁷² The concept of “reasonableness” (above I have used unreasonable) I borrowed from a personal conversation with Raewyn Connell, 2011 South African Sociological Association Congress, University of Pretoria.

Chapter 8

Marginality of male early high school leavers

Introduction

Male early high school leavers are a diverse group of individuals. The latter has also to do with the opportunities they have access to. This chapter addresses the second research question: what strategies do male early high school leavers explore to negotiate their livelihoods? This chapter covers four themes: lack of opportunities, alienation, illicit drug abuse and going nowhere slowly. It documents the activities that the participants are engaged in and their position within the social system with regards to social reproduction. The latter gives rise to a pertinent theoretical question: how do stigmatised individuals mobilise social capital?

8.1 Lack of opportunities

Youth unemployment is argued to be a big problem in South Africa (see 6.6.1 in chapter 6). Furthermore, early high school leavers are likely to access informal employment opportunities (see 3.6 in chapter 3) fundamentally limiting their life chances. What opportunities did the young men explore post-schooling? For purposes of this discussion, work participation is important as an indicator of the nature of jobs male early high school leavers have access to. Below five participants indicate the kinds of jobs they held for a period of time:

I did work that side. Giving out pamphlets⁸² (Mlungisi).

For now I am busy with fixing electricity tubing, irons, stoves, machines, fridges, I can fix⁸³ (Thula).

I worked at a firm ... We were making perfumes. Perfumes that are used in cars. It was temporal (Thabang).

We got work during the weekend ... stock packing. You know to an extent, now I can say I wish to now go back to school again. Because I can see since I have been sitting at home, ok right, now it is better at home you see⁸⁴ (Thapelo).

Until I got a job there ... Maybe I worked for 2 years. We dealt with seeds. Seedlings, spinach, this and that, tomato, you see ... I stopped in June this year. They told us that it is not that we are firing you see, we see that our things are not running the way they were running because it is June. Things grow slow, there is no heat, it is cold⁸⁵ (Langa).

Employment opportunities that were available to these young men were informal, insecure, and temporary in nature. Thula is self-employed. Mlungisi, Thapelo and Langa accessed insecure or precarious employment which is dependent on availability. Informal employment may by definition be insecure. Thabang accessed temporary employment that provided a contract, but no certainty. One can argue that Thula has more possibilities to generate an income as he possesses a 'skill' that he can utilise.

8.2 Alienation

The following presentation sketches the daily lives of the participants. While they are involved in some meaningful activities, they spoke overwhelmingly of social alienation and anomie, to not looking forward to anything on a daily basis.

When I wake up my sister I know that ok, I will wake up and sit, take a bath around 13:00hours. At 14:00hours when the school kids knock off. I wake up and clean my room first, from there I sit in the sun. I sit in the sun until 13:00hours⁸⁶ (Mlungisi).

Mlungisi's days are filled with mundane and unproductive activities. He argues that his brain starts working only when his friends come back from school.

My sister, at least I know that when I see that number of people, at least my mind starts working. The sun sets, I having seen people then. Now, during the day here I sit with grannies with beard. No, I cannot. Yes! My time for taking a bath is around 13:00hours. The whole day no, even now you see, I will go and take a bath now⁸⁷.

When I met Mlungisi it was clear that he had not taken a bath that day. I enquired about what exactly excites Mlungisi about the end of a school day. Here is what he says:

I look for my friends and we take a walk to the park⁸⁸.

Below are two pictures showing male early high school leavers meeting their friends outside the school yard after classes ended.



Photograph 1



Photograph 2

What do they do together that Mlungisi looks forward to everyday of the week? He starts in the following way:

No, we sit and chat my sister. Eiy! (hesitating) my sister we then smoke zol. Because it is another thing that makes the mind work. I know that at least my day ends well⁸⁹.

Smoking dagga is argued to be the norm for young men in the township (see Thabang p143). Mlungisi is dependent on dagga.

But what does he mean when he says dagga makes his mind work?

I sleep! I do not turn seven times. If I smoked around 17:00pm. No, I smoke a cigarette around 20:00pm, and go to sleep. I dose off⁹⁰.

Mlungisi drugs himself to sleep. The need to induce sleep with drugs is indicative of underlying problems. The latter is implied by him in arguing that he does not struggle to sleep when he has smoked. Where does he get the money to feed his habit if he does not work and how much does it cost him every day?

Yes! I ask my mother for R3.00. I know around the time for taking a bath, I look for the guys we open the church with. I go and buy it; we open the church with the guys⁹¹.

At R3.00 a piece, and Mlungisi smoking dagga every day, he spends approximately R84 every month on his habit. The latter is problematic as he argues that his mother is struggling and he would like to assist her (see last theme of the chapter). Church in the story is used to guise or to refer to the gathering of young men to smoke dagga. The institutional statuses of church and prayer are accorded to smoking dagga. Anti-social behaviours is stylised in new ways and forms to signify appropriation of social meanings of social institutions having a social function of giving people a sense of belonging and hope.

Thabang captures the sense of anomie and alienation causing him smoking dagga.

Pauses...mmmm, I do not know, maybe there is nothing that we are busy with most of the time. Like when we are sitting, about six of us, then what we think about is that maybe we must smoke dagga, straight, because I will not say that we have a strong reason why we do these things you see. It is just not being busy with something and you end up doing things like that.

Thabang makes a link between the inactivity that is experienced by the young men and the smoking of dagga. The latter captures a point made by Flisher and Chalton (1995) that early school leavers are likely to engage in risk taking behaviour (see chapter 3).

Xola's story gives prominence to a number of important points. Below he tells his story:

My sister, when my day is ordinary, it means my day is as if it is a Saturday/Sunday, when other children are around. My friends are around. But during the week my sister, yo! My day moves slowly you see, I also do things I am not meant to do. I go where I am not supposed to go. I just get bored my sister, I sit. I do not have money, I have nothing. I go to the library, the library bores me even worse my sister because there is no information I record. Because I do not have money to photo copy you see my sister. I get lazy to write because writing I last did at school. You see I get bored too much my sister. I do not have plans. I do not have anything. It means if I can get a job or do something, the time goes. I will know that at least in life there is something I did, I am not just sitting⁹².

Xola laments the time he wastes sitting at home and doing nothing. Echoing Flisher and Chalton (1995) he notes that he is involved in risky behaviour as he has nothing to do at home. A lack of structure to hold individuals, to give them a sense of hope has devastating consequences as individuals explore and engage in anti-social behaviours.

Langa tells a similar story to Xola's, but talks about how he makes an income although his efforts are not sustainable.

No now, now I have fallen really. Maybe last week, I woke up in the morning, bathed and be alright, wait for the time, maybe around 11 or 12, I leave and go to Pick 'n Pay, at their gate. There is a Lucky 7 at the back. I go there and stock Cool Time⁷³, two packets or three packets. I go and sell at the gate⁹³ (pick 'n pay).

Langa's description of how he attempts to earn an income is common-place in many townships. Apart from the stalls described in (6.6.1 of chapter 6), individuals stand at busy intersections and strategic points in the township selling different items. Below Langa talks about how his days unfolds, capturing the sentiments already stated by Xola and Mlungisi.

I sit and watch movies, go out and look for friends. When I do not find them I come back again. Or do some gardening. It ends like that⁹⁴.

Thapelo's story is similar in its content to the above narratives. He spends his days doing housework and other non-productive activities. There is no sense of looking forward to something.

To get time going I clean the yard. I go to the house (main) and clean for my grandmother. I come back and clean here (RDP house he lives in). It is now passed 11, passed 12. I watch two movies. That is what I do to get time going. I go and 'Bhloma'= chill, relax or sit with my friends⁹⁵.

⁷³ Cool time is a flavoured ice block sold in many townships during summer.

Further alienation results from daily struggles that have to do with personal or family problems. The following extracts draw attention to the different forms of poverty identified by Porteus et al (2010) in chapter 3.

Xola's story is as follows:

... I live with only my grandmother. My grandmother helped me when my sister got married, and did the security grades for me. I did them and now I am shot R150, I do not know how I will get it together and get my certificate and be able to go work. Because they promised me a vacancy, but when I have done the grades, not without the qualification. So, I did them, and then I do not know⁹⁶.

Xola experiences *physical poverty*, making it difficult for him to get his grades. It is important to note that Xola is able to make money, but uses it for other things, not the qualification he needs. The following extracts clarify his situation. First, he talks about his *gogo*, his father, his mother and his sick brother.

My grandmother gave that love I needed as a child. Because you see now my mother passed on and now my father does not work, he is sick. Since he separated from my mother, because of my mother's disease, he also did his things you see. He got women from ... there now he is sick, he is very sick, you know, he is infected, I can say like that. He has not told me. He is an old person he will not tell me as his child. But now, according to the way I hear things, you see, people who live with him tell me, all my aunts tell me you see. But he, I see the person does not want to tell me that he is sick. He also does not work, like the government gives them pension you see, that money is to sustain him⁹⁷.

Two points can be made about *social isolation* and the impact of HIV/AIDS on families. Xola feels socially isolated, with perhaps his grandmother to turn to. However, his grandmother is reliant on her old age pension grant to support him and his younger, ailing brother. As stated in chapter 6, HIV/AIDS is not identified by name, although it is a big social problem for many families.

Below Xola talks about his brother:

And he is sick, and I must take care of him my sister if it happens that I become alright in life, because he is sick. Even now he is in bed ... he is young. He might

have ...Eish! My sister. He has lost weight too much. And now, it is the thing that makes me smoke again, it is stress from home you see. Because now there is no one maintaining me, there is also no one maintaining my brother ... his father passed away. Me and him, we have separate fathers ... but the same mother. She is a mother to both of us, you see. His father passed away and his mother passed away. My mother passed away. Then you see that it stresses me. He is sick this side, he cannot go to school, he is always failing...it is the thing that makes me use drugs that are not alright you see my sister... Never mind it damages somewhere else you see my sister. But it makes me you see my sister ... be alright. You see when I have smoked I do not get stressed, I do not think of a lot of things you see⁹⁸.

For Xola, smoking is a means through which he escapes all the stress and trauma of having to take care of his ailing younger brother. It is a coping strategy for him. Although he concedes that drugs damage elsewhere in his body, the effect that they have on him is relieving.

Xola regrets not having listened to his teachers while at school. He evaluates his prospects of employment and links them to his level of education. He alludes to his involvement in unlawful or anti-social means in order to live and survive.

But the way I see things, like the teachers were teaching me that without education, it means that you are clueless, you do not have a lot of information about life. About the environment you are in you see. And I do not have experience, I do not have qualifications. Even at work they will not take someone without anything, who has an empty mind you see. It means now I am realising that this thing that the teachers were telling me about, it means that it was right. Now I wish to go back there, but the years have gone and now I do not work and I stay at home and now in my mind comes other thoughts that now eiy! My sister, when I want money, I do things that are not accepted by people and now, but that is how I make a living, for me to go to sleep alright, having eaten you see. Again as a person ... when I have smoked I become alright you see my sister⁹⁹ (Xola).

Realising that his teachers were correct, Xola blames himself for his problems. Education for Xola is also about life and one's context. What are these unacceptable

things that Xola becomes involved in to make a living? He notes three activities. He explains as follows:

Ok! My sister, like now when I have to get something to have pocket money, my sister I turn into a messenger here in the location. Like be a messenger. A messenger is someone they send around a lot you see. Send for beer. He goes to jail ...he comes back again. Then, I play dice...my way of trying. When I play dice some money comes in. Even there the police come and take us my sister you see... But for now like you have asked me, things that I do again my sister when I am at home and see my grandmother, I live with my grandmother you see. When she puts R20 there under the bed, I take it because I do not have money and there is no plan and there is no work you see my sister, I do not have qualifications you see. Even when my friends come and say we are going to drink or to smoke, I do not have money. It means I must do something wrong you see. I cannot do something right, because you know there is no space, there are no vacancy like where I can work, that I am able to make a living you see my sister... not turn myself into a person who is not right, just a dog and not being a dog you see¹⁰⁰ (Xola).

Above Xola notes being a messenger and playing dice as two activities that he uses to earn some money, but both have landed him in prison. The latter speaks to Jonny Steinberg argument that black young men living in townships continue to be targeted by police, blurring the lines between criminals and young men in general in post-apartheid South Africa (2010). In an effort to fit in and participate in collective initiatives by his peers, Xola resorts to stealing from his grandmother. He finds himself in a contradictory position wherein he acknowledges his grandmothers material plight, however he steals from her. The extent of his feelings of alienation is evident is his use of the dog methaphor to describe his condition.

As mentioned in chapter 7 (see introduction to the theme *everydaylife*), participants spoke about their observations of the issues afflicting young men in the township. Below Mlungisi gives an indication of the desperation that some young men face, particularly those that abuse drugs. He captures the events in this way:

Yes! Like a pole my sister, steel (pointing to a steel pole) they also work, they count, zinc et cetera. Everything that is almost steel like, yoh! That has weight e! My sister¹⁰¹.

He illustrates the aforementioned by referring to an incident that took place close to his home.

It is like that my sister, because another one last, took his mother's zinc and sold them. They gave him a place to stay, he took them out and sold them. He no longer lives at home¹⁰² (Mlungisi.)

Above Mlungisi is describing the activities of the young men captured in photographs transporting scrap material to the community scrap yard (see chapter 6 p 72). The latter tell a story about young people who are experiencing much desperation and social marginality.

Below he talks about how he gets money to buy something to smoke. He is hesitant to reveal that he also smokes dagga though.

My sister, no, I only smoke cigarettes. I say to her, mama I have this problem and need to phone a certain person you see. I say no, borrow me R2. When she borrows me R2, I go this way¹⁰³.

Again, like Xola who acknowledges that his grandmother is struggling; Mlungisi borrows money from his mother to feed his habit. I asked him if he pays her back since he is borrowing the money; he does not.

8.3 Illicit drug abuse

To unpack further the extent of the drug problem in Orange Farm different issues relating to drugs are addressed below. The following discussion unfolds in the context of chapter 6 (see p 72). The issues addressed pertain to availability of the drugs in the community, pricing, physical and psychological impact on the individual, policing, and the role of parents. Consistent reference to nyaupe by all the participants underlined the problem.

When I asked Mlungisi if he would go back to school, he answered in the following way:

I am talking about things that we see on TV my sister, I am scared of them. Going back, I would agree to go back. Because of troubles here! When I see these children, I start thinking and say man, in my time¹⁰⁴.

The motivation for going back to school is the state of things around him. School in this instance is conceptualised as a safe place, a space to escape to. But what are these things that he does not want to see?

Nyaupe! Yuuuu! No my sister, I saw it clearly¹⁰⁵.

When I probed for him to elaborate, he says:

No the young men, only steel rings in their heads¹⁰⁶.

The issue of recycling steel is addressed in the following extracts (also see chapter 6 p 72). What is important here is that some of the young men use the money to feed their drug habit. Mlungisi explains the process in this way:

You see my sister, when they have a craving there is nothing else that they think about that earns them money¹⁰⁷.

Collecting scrap metal and other items to exchange at the scrap yard is in fact an easy way to get money. Young men from different parts of the township can be seen on a daily basis travelling to the scrap yard to exchange what they have collected. In the following extract Mlungisi tells about how much the drugs cost and what kinds of material the young men exchange at the scrap yard and the desperation those smoking the drugs find themselves in.

My sister it is worse, because my sister it is easy to buy it. When I get R30, I buy it. Smoking it for the first time, you getting hooked with your body. You will never stop. Because when I wake up I think of steel, that no man, if I take the neighbours' steel I will make money. Because yesterday I was talking to one young man here, he said

hey, why do I not take some of the drums from the neighbour's roof it will make R150, I will smoke forever. I said no, that is not a right plan¹⁰⁸.

It seems the scrap yard has had unintended consequences and contradictions in the community. While it is a business and provides access to resources for those at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy within the township, it feeds one of the most destructive social problems in the community; drug abuse.

What about the people who sell the drugs? Are they known? Why are they not arrested?

People who sell it my sister do not want to hear a thing. They continue as long as it brings in money¹⁰⁹ (Mlungisi).

There is a profit motif driving those that sell the drugs. The means conflict with the end as communities attempt to generate income. There is however a fear that they (people who sell drugs) will turn on those who report them to the police.

Yes it is known. You think that tomorrow they will turn on you these people you see that thing¹¹⁰ (Mlungisi).

Above Mlungisi echoes a fear raised by a former ward councillor about the safety of police informants (see chapter 6 p 67). Thabang differentiates between dagga and other drugs. Dagga is not always considered a 'bad' drug in the same sense as nyaupe for example.

Drugs are very high, especially, Nyaupe. I do not know if I can include dagga...Dagga...everyone smokes dagga. All young men smoke dagga (Thabang).

Although a gross generalisation, Thabang's statement may highlight the extent of the use of dagga by young men in the community. The following extracts will address Xola's story as to why he smokes dagga, how big the drug problem is and where people get the drugs. His own personal use of drugs is the first thing that he addresses. This is what he says:

I smoke Stuyvesant you see my sister, and now there is a drug that I smoke, it is natural, dagga you see my sister, marijuana you see my sister. And then this drug my sister increases my appetite, it makes me alright you see. I am always alright you see. There is no misunderstanding, we understand each other. And I am able to tolerate things that you like, and things that you do not like and I am able to restrain myself and am able to not misbehave when I am with elders or my peers you see¹¹¹.

Xola is drug dependent. His social relations with others are kept civil by his use of drugs. Below he explains events in his life as well as what the dagga does for his overall wellbeing.

Yes. It helps me at some point, but when I am sober I am another person who likes doing things that are not right you see. I can say that as people say I am disturbed in the mind, now I see myself as alright, alright when I have gotten something small to stimulate my mind you see my sister, it is like that¹¹².

Above dagga is seen as helping to keep one's sanity. But are drugs a problem in general? Xola develops his answer by detailing what drugs do to a person: the long-term health impacts, legality thereof and the social perception of those who do drugs.

Yo! They are a big problem my sister. Because you see drugs; when you are a bad person, you become worse. That means they are not allowed in your life. When you are alright, you become perfect my sister. That is what I mean my sister. But they are not allowed by law. When you are a person, you must be an alright person, and not be fast. Now drugs make you fast you see. And when you are fast you see, you get into trouble because they say 'you must learn to walk before you can run' when you are a person my sister. You will not just do things. Now drugs make you fast and when you are fast, in future you get into trouble my sister you see. Your brain gets destroyed slowly you see. They damage your lungs, slowly. It does not show you. You see it where you have not thought about it and now your life will be damaged because you did nothing for your community, you did nothing for your family. It means you were just a silly person you see my sister. Now when you use drugs you are recognised as a person who is silly you see my sister. It means drugs are not right really¹¹³.

Xola understands very well the devastation drugs can cause to a person. In the latter part of his explanation Xola connects individual behaviour to family and the broader community. Access to drugs is easy within the community. In fact people in the community know who the dealers are and where they live.

Around yo! You get them a lot my sister. You see around you get them. People see in their lives you see, people from here in Orange Farm, they have told themselves that they do not care. So long as they do a thing that brings in money, they do not care. Selling alcohol to young children, they do not care as long as money is coming in. They just do not care. That is why I say here in Orange Farm, yo! My sister, yo! They are everywhere: 7B, 6B, there and there you see my sister. And now ... the drugs are sold by little children, things like that. It is because the person does not to give away the information that he is selling drugs, maybe in the community or maybe the police, in government things, you see. It means that information my sister is undetected. I can put it that way. It means you will not be able to find out you see, about it. It means that is why the police also my sister are not able to find out who is selling drugs¹¹⁴ (Xola).

Money as a first consideration is argued to be the drive for those selling drugs, and young children are recruited to be ‘pushers’ of the drugs. Xola raises a point noted in the community about the disregard for age restrictions in purchasing illicit substances. Mager (2010) highlighted the difficulty in implementing national regulations around alcohol distribution for example.

I asked Langa about the drug problem in the community. He answers the question: how do people who smoke drugs look? Langa describes them in the following way:

Eish! Eish! Drugs are finishing our brothers. They are killing them. Eish! You know what, eish! Actually I do not know what they do to them. Have you seen how a person who smokes drugs is really? Not dagga, drugs, nyaupe. He is dark, actually it is like he does not bath. The clothes are torn. It is like he is a mechanic. It is like he fixes cars you see that thing. I smoke dagga and cigarette, those are things I smoke. Ok beer I drink very much. They end up stealing from our yards. And now the person ends up being caught, beaten and he dies because of these drugs they smoke these people¹¹⁵.

In a context of growing social pressures such as high unemployment, thinning of social holding forces leads to conditions of anomie as young men grapple with everyday choices. Developing the point about stealing to feed the drug habit, Langa talks about the extent to which individuals who take drugs will go to get a fix.

You find that I have put my steel there. They steal it and take it to the scrap yard. This gate they can take (laughing). Serious! Wake up in the morning there is no gate. I am telling you. You say you are going to open the gate, there is no gate. In the morning you say you want to drive out, there is no gate. You are just getting out. They took it. But the owner of the scrap yard has banned gates. Gates are not allowed, because they say they steal them too much. They do not want them there at the scrap yard, they want other things. Because the drugs have finished them. Even the person who sells them, if you can see him, you will not say he has money. The way he is, it is as if he is a mechanic¹¹⁶.

The scrap yard feeds the drug habit in the community. Thabo also mentions the physical state of some of the young men who smoke drugs. The knowledge and proximity of those selling drugs is noted. He likens the drug (nyaupe) to Khuba which was discovered in the Eastern Cape being sold to young school going children.

I do not know. It is sold by another brother this thing. The thing is like a drug. I do not know why they love that thing. They smoke it. My other friend...he is dirty, he is dark, no, no, man ey! They amaze me. It is sold in that street (pointing to the next street), there is lots of it. It is sold. It is that thing. It is the same as the one on Third Degree (kubha⁷⁴)¹¹⁷.

But why take drugs in the first place? Langa explains what the young men say to them.

This thing treats me well. It does this and that, it makes my blood run, and I feel relieved you see. Everything, I feel as though I no longer have problems, everything. It drugs me nicely this thing. So you find that eish! But when he

⁷⁴ Here he refers to an episode of Third Degree, a South African television documentary dealing with social issues. On that specific episode, they revealed how, in the Eastern Cape, a drug named Kubha was sold. One of its side effects is sexual arousal, resulting in young people engaging in frenetic sexual intercourse (personally viewed).

continues with this thing you will see that no, this person eish! He is not right. We sit with them. It is not that we do not sit with them. We sit with them. If I can take you behind the train station during the week, and say look, and see what is going on, you will see for yourself that this thing is killing them¹¹⁸.

The extract above captures the extent of the dependence on drugs. The drugs are a coping strategy for those who smoke it. The physical appearance is again highlighted as a sign that the person is on drugs. In a context such as this one that is described above, what are the police doing about the drug problem?

The police, the police eat with these drug people. They can take my dagga when they find me with it now. They will take the dagga, and go sell it to that person, sell it to the person I just bought it from. Do you get how it works? They eat with them. When they find me with a bag or the person I bought this bag of dagga from, they will take it from me, they will take it to the person (I bought it from). For the person to continue selling to people and keep his business, they the police will get money¹¹⁹ (Langa).

Furthermore:

Even the police my sister will not, I do not see them eradicating drugs. They will not eradicate them. They eat with them. Even if you go and report the person. In this and this street, there is a person who sells drugs so and so. Before you finish, we know him. You see such things. You just give up you see. When you go and ask, now will you make a plan? Yes we will. When you wait to see them, maybe say no let me escort them, maybe you see them. They leave with 2 litre and brown bread, they get into the car and leave. Nothing has happened¹²⁰ (Langa).

The crisis and collapse of law enforcement institutions noted by Graeme Simpson (see chapter 6 p 68) is captured by Langa. Corrupt law enforcement officers who take bribes and benefit from the drug trade in the township thwart efforts to ride communities of criminal elements.

What are the parents saying about the state of things? Langa explains the parents' strategy as physical punishment through vigilante justice.

The parents eish! I have not seen them taking some action you see. No, I have not seen them taking steps for that thing you see. Because what is happening is that they say if these young men they can do something, they will capture them, beat them. And recently, they caught them, and it was these young men who smoke this thing. Ok they beat them badly, badly! One of them is in hospital. That is the way I can say they will fix it. They are not talking about drugs, that they must stop They have told themselves, once you come into my yard, having smoked this thing, I kill him¹²¹.

As law enforcement bodies fail to address the drug problem, for Langa the community has adopted strategies that attempt to create order and send messages about invasion of private property. Although the latter strategy is effective in the short term, it normalises violence (Swartz 2009) in everyday life.

Thabiso is intimately involved in the drug trade in the section of the township he lives in. He talks about older men grooming them to push the drugs. The latter is also a strategy to protect the dealers as Xola noted already.

They want us to be their protégés. These old ones. They make us do wrong things you see. They make us do things in corners. Even if you go to our location accidentally, you will see us that we are pushing their things¹²².

What are these things that they are pushing?

Drugs¹²³.

Are drugs a problem?

They are a problem yo! They are a problem yo! Because we are the ones selling them and when we are finished selling drugs, they discover that people's things are missing, what do they want? These drugs. At the end of the day people point at us and say we are selling the drugs¹²⁴.

What kind of drugs are these?

*Rocko, Taiwan and Blueburg*¹²⁵.

Above, Thabiso captures problems of fragmentation and social distrust that the proliferation of drugs and their consequences offset in the community.

When I asked Thami: what are the problems that young men are facing, he answered in the following way:

*It is nyaupe. It makes you steal, I do not know really. R30. They steal people's iron. The ones they use to do fencing and corrugated iron*¹²⁶ (Thami).

Thami echoes what many of the young men have stated. It is clear that drugs are having a devastating impact in the community.

8.4 Going nowhere slowly

The following extracts indicate the uncertainty of the opportunities that young men are currently able to access, keeping them in the marginal position that they inhabit in the community. Mlungisi talks about having given up looking for work upon realising that employment in the community development projects occurred according to who you knew. He captures it in this way:

*Trying here my sister I did not have hope. I did not have hope at all my sister. No, my sister it seems here they hire according to where you come from*¹²⁷.

The role of networks and hence social capital is important in accessing employment opportunities for young people. In the following extract Mlungisi explains what happened to him after a person promised to get him into a job.

*No! According to who you know because I say to this person, mfondini connect me to this place. No I will connect you, I will connect you, disappeared*¹²⁸.

Thapelo talks about the social marginality that some of the young men who are out of school face. He tells me who supports him and what he does to make some money.

It is my mother, she tries. I also try. I wash people's garbage bins on Thursday⁷⁵. I also try¹²⁹.

Thula proposes a means through which young men could be engaged while they are still in school. This, he feels, could contribute positively to the lives of young men. He also echoes a sentiment expressed by one high school principal who noted a neglect of young men and more focus on females (see chapter 6).

Maybe if they can do this thing they call, for girls, 2818. They arrive at a school, speak to the girls, and take them to trips or camps sometimes, to guide them. I think if they can do boys as well, it can help¹³⁰ (Thula).

Some of the young men who were interviewed did work for brief periods. Below are some of the activities they were involved in. I asked Thabang who lost his temporary job, how he supports himself and buys things such as perfume. He explains in the following way:

That is where the problem comes. At times it does happen, there is a brother I know who is with a breakdown (cars) you see, he is the people who would come if he has work to go and tow cars, he would come and take me and we go and execute that job and he gives me something small like R100 then am able to take care of myself (Thabang).

Thabiso who sells drugs explains how he is able to access more money from the people he works for should he experience problems:

Just if I, like get that maybe in a week I make so much money, they pay me that little. I cry to them again that I want something like this; this money is not enough for that thing. They boost me, and I get that thing¹³¹ (Thabiso).

Thabiso lives alone. Relying on the people he works for makes him more dependent on them and the drugs.

⁷⁵ Thursday is the day when rubbish is collected in Orange Farm. The community uses black bins. These are also used to transport the scrap metal to the scrap yard (see photographs on page 74)

8.4 Conclusion

The social instability created by the conditions addressed above gives rise to a state of loosened social relations. While unemployment levels to a large extent have to do with the country's economy being unable to grow and absorb differently skilled groups, it also indicates the education levels and quality of education in a society. Quality of education in this instance refers to schooling and broader societal institutions fundamental to the socialisation of young people to the social expectations of a society.

Harassed by the police (see Xola's story), feared by community members (see Thabiso's story) as their inactivity is considered fertile ground for criminal behaviour to breed, male early high school leavers are stigmatised. The marginal status of male early high school leavers is not so much in the social exclusion of the young men, but is exhibited in the coping strategies and the alternatives explored as avenues to make a living (see Xola, Thabiso, Langa, Thabo and Mlungisi), to gain a sense of respectability. Institutions through which social status is attained and social capital is built; such as the initiation practice, fail to bolster some young men to positions of status as such practices are rooted in anti-social behaviours and are confounded by crisis of different forms. This chapter has painted a picture of the daily lives of the participants as they negotiate alienation, anti-social behaviour in their everyday lives.

Chapter 9

Conclusions, limitations and recommendations

Early school leaving is a problem confronting the schooling system in South Africa, as the Department of Basic Education celebrates near universal enrolment levels. What conceals the problem is the fact that early school leaving is noticeable beyond the compulsory schooling phase, making it difficult to ascertain the trajectories of early school leavers beyond this phase.

The study set out to investigate male early high school leaving amongst young men in Orange Farm Township. A case study, employing qualitative data collection techniques and analysis: life history and in-depth interviewing technique as well as narrative analysis was designed. Two questions underpinned the study: Why do young men leave high school before finishing grade 12? How do male early high school leavers negotiate their livelihoods?

In relation to the first question, a number of points can be made. Early high school leaving cannot be separated from the immediate and broader context within which the participants' decision is made. Contextualising the decision to leave school before matric is important as decisions about today and tomorrow are made with reference to the past and to perceptions about possibilities of change in the immediate environment. The young men's descriptions of their local, social environment provide indicators about how they make sense of their everyday life and future.

A closer reading of the narratives of the young men has revealed the specificities of the impact of structural collapse of households, the crisis of different social institutions, local discourses, and how the above mentioned intersect in the decision making processes about everyday life.

Understanding male early high school leaving also necessitates a greater appreciation of the extent to which individuals access resources through established networks. Individual narratives pointed to a process wherein an individual was faced with a problem (being chased out of school, disengagement from school, failing,

violence, poverty, emotional problems, struggling academically, assuming new responsibilities, negative peer influence) as well as the different attempts at finding solutions through social networks. Also, individual narratives pointed to the resources that they are able to mobilise through their established networks.

With regards to the second question, as suggested, studies done on early school leaving in South Africa have concentrated on reasons why individuals leave school early (see chapter 3). Little attention has been given to what happens to individuals once they exit the schooling system and how they negotiate their livelihoods.

It is clear that the young men understand the value of formal education in so far as it improves one's access to different kinds of opportunities. This was evident in how participants spoke about going back to school if the opportunity presented itself. As stated in chapter 7, the likelihood of the young men going back to school was questionable given the time that they had been out of the system without making efforts to go back.

Early high school leavers are not individuals without aspirations or goals for their lives or who lack initiative. These are young people who wanted to be lawyers, teachers, scientists and pilots. However, the study has shown that having left school before matric, the kinds of jobs the young men access as well as the survival strategies they employ for everyday life point to their marginality within the community, the extent to which they are able to draw on their social capital as well as the alienation brought about by lack of meaningful activity and social stigma. Their marginality has to do with lack of opportunities, hardships, drug abuse as well as the sense of alienation that characterises everyday existence. Their survival strategies indicate a myriad of ways through which they make a living. These include washing rubbish bins, gambling, selling on the street, stealing and sporadic temporary work. Such strategies draw attention to the extent to which male early high school leavers are in desperate search for means to sustain themselves.

Education as a broader system aiding the reproduction of society requires the functionality of different institutions of society for its success. This 'mix' that is required for a productive and functional formal education system is captured fully in

Graeme Bloch's book (see also chapter 2). The social conditions within which schools exist, and schooling takes place are critical for developments in schools. Failure to consider what happens within and beyond the schooling system in the pursuit of improved outcomes decontextualizes the process of learning.

The study is important in so far as it reveals the familiarities in the stories of the young men, indicating broader and common contextual factors impacting upon their lives. Particularities of each case are also highlighted giving a sense of everyday negotiations that they have to contend with. Through narrative analysis it could be ascertained that male early school leaving is a process that, if interventions are put in place, could be averted. Individuals begin a process of disengagement when they experience problems within and beyond the school. They assess their options and opportunities in relation to everyday observations of their environment. During this time they seek resources in different forms from significant people in their lives as an attempt to deal with the problems. Failure to secure the resources results in adopting strategies that in the short-term yield desired results, but with further reflection further marginalises the individual.

The young men are caught between social forces such as constructions of masculinities that are intimately linked with an ability to provide materially (Connell 2005; Ratele 2001), while they find themselves at the margins of society. I conclude that male early high school leaving does not only reproduce the structural patterns characterising the community; it essentially traps young men in a downward trajectory of social mobility that is leading to the growth of a significant underclass in the community and in South Africa.

9.1 Limitations of the study

A number of limitations of the study can be noted as emanating from the design of the research process, particularly the methodological commitments.

- Due to the commitment to protect the identity of the individual participants, photographs of the individuals could not be taken, which could have given a face to some of the physical changes that happen to some of the young men

who are now out of school and have nothing to do, as well as those who abuse drugs.

- The recruitment of male early high school leavers was complicated by the safety considerations of the researcher. Some areas were completely avoided and some individuals were not approached as the researcher did not feel safe in those situations.
- The explicit monetary requests in exchange for participation in the research meant that some individuals were not considered.
- Some individuals who either fell below or above the chosen age range expressed interest in telling their stories. The age range below 18 already indicates young people who will be growing into adulthood without any form of qualification. The age above the 25 threshold tells us about young men who have been out of the schooling system for a number of years and it is important in addressing the question of what happens after the individuals have exited the schooling system and what kind of strategies they employ to negotiate their livelihoods.
- The research focused on male early high school leavers' narratives, limiting the extent to which concrete conclusions can be made about family and school life. An integration of family and school contexts in the research interviewing process would yield a holistic depiction of the process of early school leaving.

9.2 Recommendations

- An obvious recommendation is that there is quantitative work needed to ascertain the extent of the early high school leaving problem, and male early high school leaving specifically. Qualitative work is fundamental as it gives access into the world of male early high school leavers, and particularities of their stories.

- Longitudinal studies focusing on the life course of male early high school leavers are needed, in so far as they might point to their life chances and opportunities in their life-time.
- Research focusing on what is happening in South African township schools in general is urgently needed as many of the dysfunctional schools are in townships.

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Appendices

Appendix 1:

Information letter

Title: Male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township: a hidden epidemic

I am a Masters student at the University of Pretoria in Sociology researching male early high school leaving under the Supervision of Professor Janis Grobbelaar. The study seeks to understand the early high school leaving phenomena, specifically among male learners in the community. This has to do with the reasons for leaving school, experiences in high school and current activities that individuals are engaged in.

You can help by agreeing to participate in an interview. It is anticipated that the interview may take from 1-2 hours. Mostly, I will be providing an opportunity for you to discuss your school experiences to an interested researcher. Your participation is voluntary and you may decide to withdraw your consent at any point in the interview process. Confidentiality of information is paramount; therefore, names and information that might identify you will not be used in the publication of the research report. The research data will be stored electronically at the Department of Sociology for research and archive purposes. Your permission will be sort regarding the reuse of the data in other research undertakings. Feedback on the study will be provided to participants.

If you are willing to participate in the study, please sign the consent form attached. If you have any queries, please feel free to contact me 012 420 2960/2330. Should you have concerns about the way the study has been conducted, I and my supervisor are willing to discuss this with you.

Yours sincerely

Vangile Bingma

-----/-----/-----

Appendix 2

⁷⁶Consent Form

Title: Male early high school leaving in Orange Farm Township: a hidden epidemic

I, (Full name of participant)-----have read the attached information letter. The nature of the research described in the information letter has been explained to me. I agree and consent to taking part in the study. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any stage of the research process.

I agree to take part in an interview and for this interview to be recorded for quality purposes.

Signature (participant)-----

Date-----

Signature (researcher)-----

Date-----

⁷⁶ The above consent form is adapted from Hodgson's (2006) study on male early high school leavers.

Appendix 3

Interview Schedule 1

Demographic data

- Age
- Place of birth
- Grade passed
- Number of family members (and specifically those who finished or 'dropped out of school)
- How long the individual had been out of school
- Employment status
- Dependents

Tentative questions that will guide the research interviews

Please tell me about your life as a resident in Orange Farm

- Experiences in the community
- What is the individual involved in around the community

Please tell me about your experiences in high school

- High school attended
- In relation to teachers
- Perception of the curriculum (Favourite subject(s))
- What dreams did they wanted to achieve

Leaving high school before finishing

- When?
- Why?
- Opposition to the decision to leave school from significant others?

Activities that they are involved in

- Who supports you?
- How do you earn a living?
- Recreational activities
- Would they go back to school if given a chance?

- Is it okay to contact you regarding any clarifications about the information you have just given me?

Interview schedule 2

Stakeholder interviews

Principals and Teachers

1. Introduce myself
2. What I am doing
3. Why I am doing it
4. How I am doing it
5. Tell me about young men here in Orange Farm
6. What are the issues as you see them in the school?
7. What are schools doing to curb the rates of dropout among young man?
8. Any initiatives to identify at risk young man

Ward Councillor

1. Introduce myself
2. What I am doing
3. Why I am doing it
4. How I am doing it
5. Tell me about young men here in Orange Farm
6. What are the issues?
7. What has the local government done to intervene?
8. What is the community of Orange Farm saying about high school early school leavers?

Graeme Bloch

1. Introduce myself
2. What I am doing
3. Why I am doing it
4. How I am doing it?
5. Tell me about the policy stance with regards to education in South Africa
6. The issue of early high school leaving, no one seems to be making noise about it
7. Do you know if there is a way to track high school dropouts?

Appendix 4

¹ IOrange Farm! Yona iOrange Farm my sister, according to iobservation yami ne my sister, like iOrange Farm my sister, hayi! Hayi! No! man. Ilife yakhona ifast and then ilife yakhona abaningi abantu bala e Orange Farm abekho qualificaded, ipercentage yabo abaningi like iyouth yabona my sister. And then manje mabakanjalo ke my sister, kwenzakalani? Kwenzakala ukuthi ilife yabo ifast, bayabhema, benza zonke izinto lezi ezingavumelekanga yabona my sister. Manje uyabona ukuthi ilife le yenzani, iyenza ipoverity yabona, irate ibe high. Iincrease ipoverity yabona. Kusho ukuthi ke abantu badinga umsebenzi, ne unemployment iba baie yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi abantu bagcina nje bazi (abuzela)¹ ama drugs ngoba ba unemployed and manje maba abuser amadrugs¹ ba (feeler)¹ ba satisfied and ba (feeler) bangana stress yabona, ne tension iright, bayaziphilela nje. Abanandaba nezinto eziningi.

² Ifuture abana ndaba nayo. As nami nje ku the way ngiyibona ngakhona. Nami ngingasho ngiyazibala kule side lelo, kulabantu bala eOrange Farm. Kusho ukuthi nami sengizitsheleni, ngizitshela ukuthi my sister, (elifini)² you mustn't regret the past, you mustn't fear the future, you must rejoice the present yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi mangisho kanjalo, mina anginandaba ne future yabona. Nezinto ezidlulile, zidlulile, sengijabulele manje. Sengenzela manje yabona. Ene lento leyo mangithula ngiyi recogniser, hayi! my sister ayikho right ngoba manje mawucabangela manje, ifuture my sister, my sister uzobhayiziseka, uzobe ungana niks mawucabangela manje. Mawenza, ithi ngikuphe iexample: mawusebenza, imali yakho uyidla manje, in future, noma ufa, abantwana bakho ngeke basale nga niks. Ngeke babe namafa yabona.

³ ...Kusho ukuthi angeke kube na niks. Kumele ushiye something la emhlabeni. Uzabe ungumuntu, ube ungumuntu nje ojabulisa abantu kanti wena empilweni yakho awukho right yabona my sister. Uzabe unjalo. Manje mina lento leyo angiyithandi. Kungabi ngathi mina bengiwumuntu nje ongena life. Angfuni ukuba umuntu onjalo. Abanye my sister akusiwukuthi njengoba bangasebenzi, kunjalo vele, akasebenzi...Omunye umuntu uyawuthola umsebenzi, awuyeke. Aphuze utshwala, ayeke isikolo... Uthole ukuthi uslem, u right, uyaphumelela, but akanandaba nalezinto lezi, ufuna ukuphila the way yena afuna ukuphila ngakhona. Abanye abantu my sister ngingasho ukutho bayazenza. Nami nje ngingasho ukuthi ngizenzile my sister yabona. Ngingasho kakhulu.

⁴ My sister, kusho ukuthi abantwana babafana manje my sister, kusho ukuthi iinfluence yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi manje inkinga ababhekane nazo, eish! Bane influence ene bayenza into le ebahlangene ngayo yabona my sister. Like eskimi, egroupini yabafana, masihlangene ngento e so, siyenza into e so. Kusho ukuthi asinandaba ukuthi abantu bathini. Kanti umuntu **ukhawatha wena** yabona. Manje lama problem lawo, basuke bawenze base ba regretha, yabona. Sebaziyenizile yabona. Bazi regretha in future and then bayabona ukuthi manje ukuthi impilo eyisaphumeleli manje. Imile, ngebanga le influence. Kanti umuntu ichoice nje iphuma kuye. Mawungumuntu my sister uyabona, ichoice, noma ama drugs, noma bangakujuta, mara ama drugs awajuti muntu. Umuntu

ichoise iphuma kuye my sister. Nguwe umuntu wokugcina owenza ichoice ye mpilo yakho yabona my sister.

⁵ Eya! Yabona my sister, kusho ukuthi ngingasho ngithi eish! Khona manje thina inkinga esibhekane nazo ukuthi yini, aboma choice. Asina choice elifini. Nama authi abaie, awanayo ichoice, yabona my sister, abana choice...Like abakhoni ukuzenzela bona izinto. Abakhoni like, ukuzi decidela yabona. Umuntu ungcina enza into because ku the way yabona, kumele enze ngakhona. Maybe ku the way abangani bakhe bathanda ukuthi enze ngakhona or ku the way, uyabona my sister, ireality ifuna enze ngakhona yabona. Ngingasho kanjalo my sister kuleyo question.

⁶ Hayi mina iOrange Farm akusi yindawo eright. Coz ngike ngasuka la ngayohlala la bengikutshela khona, e... Nga (chantsha)⁶ ngaba ngomunye umuntu, omuhle mani. Umuntu osmart oright. Ubona nawe ukuthi ngubhuti lo, uyazisebenzela, uright, una everything. Besides ukuthi bengingaka tholi umsebenzi yabo, but bese kubonisa ukuthi ya ichangenyana eyenzakalayo. But mangibuya ngapha, eintlek angazi, kuba nokukhathalanyana, angazi. Kunezintonyana enginga zitholi yabo. Angeke ngithi ubuthakathi, just mina mhlambe yindawo, mhlambe mawungayithandi from ngaphakathi vele uzoyi (judga)⁶ ngendlela eziningi. Uthi indawo iso so mani, iyangbhora mina so so so yabo. Angibi nalomdlandla lowo mangila ... ukuthi ngingathi ngifuna ukwenza something. I... akusiyindawo eright kahle kahle for thina iyouth. Kumele ukuthi thina sishiye abazali bethu la, thina siyofuna enye impilo somewhere, lapho thina sizoziqalela impilo yethu. Khona manje thina sihleli nabazali bethu. Ok, ungathola ukuthi kunama competition awenzakalayo between abazali bethu nabanye abazali yabo. Kunokuliwa somewhere, somewhere, thina asazi, sisase bancane yabona lento leyo. Kugcina lento leyo seyothelala ngapha ngakithi manje. Thina asenzanga niks, asazi niks yabo. Zigcina sezenzakala lapha ngakithi vele. Izinto ezinjalo azifuneki kahle kahle yabona. Nalezi zinto ezenzakalayo amadrugs, yabona. amaphoyisa ashaya abantu, adubula abantu,eintlek awutholi kwenzakalani la ..., eintlek yabo. Izinto zakhona ziyabheda nje zonke.

⁷ Akusekho nje ngaleya ndlela eyakuqala. Ngingasho my sister, nje nge stage, yabona mawukhula ungumuntu, kunento usho ukuthi usasemncane, bokuba mnandi, unabazali phambi kwakho, but manje akusase leyondlela leyo.

⁸ Pleke e e ditshila. Ba tsuba dinyaupe bashimane ba mo, ba utsoa ditshipi, ba thubela batho dikoloi, di-windscreen tsa dikoloi. Orange Farm e senya mo. Pele e ne e le siko ntho eo jwalo.

⁹ Hayi! a ke tsebe. Ekare ke batswadi ba bona, hake tsebe. Ba bang ba tloetse dikolo ka hare, ba bala bo ma grade 12. Ba utsoa, se ba nwa majwala mo tarvening e, ntho tse jwalo. And nna ha ke di etse ntho tseo. Oa bona! Ke bona bashimane ba. Orange Farm e senyoya ke bona bashemane ba.

¹⁰ Ba bang ha re ba jwetsa, ba re (sigh) sehlulekile thina abazali. Thina sihlulekile abantwana bethu. Ba give upper ka bana ba bona. Re ile ra bitsa meeting, hobe le maponesa. Still batswadi ba hana ka bana ba bona, ba ba-protector. Ba bang ba ba-protector. Ntho eo ha e loke hoea ka nna. Ha e loke.

¹¹ Eish! Mnci! Ba bang ba lahlile di talente tsa bona, ba bang ba tlohela dikolo hare, ba bang ba ile ka dichomi, e qadile bo sekolong, ba bang ba tsuba matekwane ntho tse jwalo. Ea. E qala hanyane hanyane, ea grow upper. Ba bang ba gcina mo classing basa kgone ho concentrator, bagcina ba failure, bagcina ba tlohela le sekolo. Sebaggcina seba tsuba ntho tse tsabo nyaupe. Ka ofela Orange Farm, ka ofela Orange Farm, the way nna ke bonang. E.

¹² Back then, Orange Farm ine ise sharp oa bo. Because one ho tletse dintho tse tsa makolwane oabo. Ok right, ile bona batho e eling bari inspirira hakalo oa bo. Kaofela rebatla hoa lebollong and lebollo a lena thuso oa bo. Mara nou tjena I think ise ile sharpnyana oa bo. Nou i-sharp oa bo. Hobane lenthonyana tse tsa makolwane, by the way, lenna ke lekolwane oa bo. Eintlik makolwane basile oa bo. Basile. Lenthonyana tsa bona. Okile oa bo ore homotho, eintlik o halla hotshwana le mang mang ke lekolwane. And mang mang...keboza oabo, otseoa kebatho oabo. Uchazwa ke nthonyana tse dom jwang.

¹³ Noko sisiwam ekuqaleni, noko beyi bonakala iyindawo eright. Ngoku, hayi izinto ezikhona sisiwam, hayi ijikile.

¹⁴ Hayi hey! kunabafana sisiwam abamakulwane, ngoku basiphilisa kabuhlungu. Njengoba kusondela uDecember, bazakuthatha abantu.

¹⁵ *Bashapa oa bo. Bashapa batho, Neng neng ba utsoa bana, ba baisa lebollong. Bana ba bang, ba baisa lebollong oabo.*

¹⁶ Bona yi fost (forced) Yimali kaloku enye into ebafofostisayo, eya. Xa onokuthatha ababini, ezaR750 zizangakuwe.

¹⁷ Yo! Iyinxaki enkulu sis'wam, ngoba ezintwana xazibuya, zibuya zinalanqondo yokuba zona zingaphezulu kunathi.

¹⁸ Eyi! Sis'wam abanye kuba ngomnye azokuxelela ukuba, hayi, wena uyintoni ntoni, umncinci, awunothetha niks. Yabona xa umxelelayo ukuba efondini mna andisosilwane, wena usisilwanyana. Ngoku ababafana umntu osuka le asobe angayitshayi inyaupe. Heyi sis'wam andiyazi noba xabaye le bafundiswa ngayo na. kokwa into endiyaziyo, bonke bayitya gqhithi.

¹⁹ ...sis'wam kuse Gautini yabona, bathanda imali isikakhulu. Enye into ukubone, lento yelisiko ngokomthetho liphathwa ngabantu abadala. Kuneziganeko zokuthi iqala kwinyaka engake. Apha hayi! Ungayithatha nentwana ena 12 years. Intwana ena 12 years ayazi niks ngokuyohlala ngaphaya. Umzimba awukaqini. Ngoku apha kuqhunywa imali qha. Yimali into endiyibonileyo apha.

²⁰ Ehh...sisiwam, ukubone, bendicinga ukuba...ukudeala²⁰ ngokupheka kakhulu ngoba ndithi noko ukupheka ndilichule pha. Ukupheka kona sisiwam ndilubetha uncuthu mazangwa.

²¹ Sis'wam ukunqwenela kwam mna, ukuba, ukubona ndi ndim nje. Nam ndiyafuna ukubona, ngoba umama unalenzaki yokusokola, ndibone ukuba hayi noko, nam ndifuna ukuthi eminyakeni ethile ndibe nam ndinento endiyikhombayo, ndithi, hayi noko, ndakwazi ukumisa isitina ekhaya, ngamandla wam. Ndingasoloko ndisithi hayi umama wathi, wathi, hayi. Ndifuna ukuzibonela nam ndineyam into endiyikhombayo ngezam izandla, ndithi hayi noko, le! Ndazenzela ngokwam. Uyayibona ke sis'wam.

²² Bengenza iMaths, physics, Geography, **Literacy**, English, Yah! Yabona mos.

²³ ...mara nje ngikutshele iqiniso, ngizitshela ukuthi njengoba manje sengenze ama security grades nje, mangiqeda, mangisebenza, ngenze iregistration ye SIRA-Security Industry Regulatory Authority yabona. Yile eregisterayo. Maybe mawune card yakhona ukhona ukuthi bakuqashe, bakuhayare ecompanini okuthi itop yabona my sister. Mangenze leyo, kusho ukuthi ngizokhona ukuthi impilo yami ibe perfect. Ibe in such a way that my sister yabona, abantwana bami bayadla, nakithi, ifamily yakithi iright yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi bayagqoka, banayo yonke into. Nasesikolweni uyakhona ukubayisa. Nabanye abahlulekile empilweni ngiyakhona ukuthi ngibayenzele something yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi mina njengoba ngiyenze amagrade kanje, mangingathola ne SIRA, ngifisa ukuzibona sengenze idriver's licence, ne fire arm licence, eish! My sister. Sengiyiphoyisa yabona. Ngiyiphoyisa or ngiyi soldier or ngiyi something enkulu nje emphakathini. Angifuni nje ukuthi ngibe umuntu nje. Ngifuna ukuba something eka government.

²⁴ Biology, Maths, Geography, nani futhi? Eish! Loko bengingeka kucabangi grand, but uyazi ngokukhuluma nje uthi uyazi mina ngifuna ukuba something something. But mina as bengizitshela bengifuna ukuba, yini labantu abenza ama...ba testa i... Kusho ukuthi umuntu wakhona ngama testing tube, uya testa, wenzani, kuningi nje lapha e roomini lakhe. Ngapha uyapheka or uyenzani, angeke uthole ukuthi wenzani.

²⁵ Yaziz mina my sister, and leyo angeke ngiyiyeke ke, eintlek ngiwisha ukuthi, kusho ukuthi kahle kahle, ngingumuntu othanda ukuthengisa. Zange nga realiser njengoba ngisafunda isikolo, mina ngingumuntu othanda okuba ne business. Esikolweni bengithengisa strong. Even nase khaya yabona. Kusho ukuthi ngingumuntu othanda ukuthengisa yabona. Noma **ngingawa** kanjani, but ngiyazama ukuthi imali leyo ngiyihlanganise, besengiyahamba ngiyo stocker okuthize. Angina ndaba nomuntu kahle kahle mina. Ngi stocker lento leyo angi stockayo. Ngizithengisele mangabe

ngiyazithengisela. Kusho ukuthi ngiya enjoyer mangithengisa. Angibi ne stress. Cause ngiya rounda, **kusho ukuthi** ngithanda ukuhlekisa kahle kahle. Umuntu mangihlangana naye, ngithanda ukuthi nje ingathi ngingambona ahlale ajabulile eintlek yabo. Noma **ngikulanza**, ngiyakulanza ulibele uyintombazane uyabo. Noma uthi **uyangchomela**, ukuthi hayi wena so so so so. Ungazenzi ngcono ngami ngoba ubona mina ngithengisa into e so so so. Uzothola omunye futhi naye uzokutshela lento leyo. That's why bangazi ukuthi loya, vele noma angathola imali, noma ingaba malini, uyofuna ukwenza ibusiness, siyamazi... Ngiyayithanda ibusiness ngentliziyo yami yonke, ukuthi nje amandla anginawo. Imali futhi yabona my sister, anginayo.

²⁶ Yi Maths kimi, iproper. Bengishaya iHistory, home language, Biology, Life Orientation, Mina bengfuna ukuba umeneer. Kusho ukuthi ma unguthishera, izinto eziningi uyakhona ukuthi ube nazo. Nje ngesiphiwo, ukufunda, ngingumuntu othanda ukufunda.

²⁷ Bengenza amaphi amasubject? Bengenza iPhysics, Biology, Maths, Sesotho, Life Orientation, angisakhumbuli.

²⁸ Bo Maths so, ntho tse jwalo.

²⁹ For ho thuse motho...Ha o le lawyer, o emela motho, o thusa motho o nang le mathata. Oa mothusa. Ea. ne ke batla ntho eo. Ne ke batla ho ba lawyer.

³⁰ Othishera besizwana nabo, but ifew yabo besingazwani. Ngoba kunalabo nalabo abanama favour wabo yabona eclassini. Uthi noma ungena, njengomntana wesikolo, mawuthi thishera la nala angi understandi, athi hayi, yilento oyibhemayo. Manje mina angeke ngikwazi ukukusiza uloko ubhema lento yakho le. Uthole ukuthi izinto ezinjalo awuzenzi...Yabona mina my sister, ungasho ukuthi ngibhema amadrugs, mara hayi ngugwayi nje kuphela. Mawuthi ukhuluma naye, akutshela ngezinto ezinye eziningi.

³¹ Bengenza iaccounting, iMaths...Yo!

³² Angiyazi lento leyo.

³³ Bengithanda iMaths. Angithi ngiyayi understander. Bengifuna ukwenza iengineering.

³⁴ Bekuright. Mara bekunalaba bengingabafuni.

³⁵ Bashayana rough.

³⁶ Yo! Yo! Bayakukuka, bese akushaye, ukushaya ngathi uyinja. Yena makasishaya izibunu, mara rough. Ngo pipe. Kunalapho bengingabhalanga ianswer eyi one. Manje ngiyambuza ukuthi sir, mangingabhalanga ianswer eyi one, abanye akabashayi, ukhetha ukushaya mina ngiyi one.

³⁷ Angithi bekangangifuni. Angazi. Hayi mina bengingayazi.

³⁸ Kusho ukuthi ngicabanga ukuthi ieducation yiyo eyokuqala ebangayenza ukuthi si improve ilife yethu. Ngoba kuyafana. Nokusebenza, nokujabulela ukusebenza kanzima my sister, sometimes it is not right because angeke uyijabulele lemali le oyitholayo. Ngeke ibe enough. Ngeke iku **satisfaye** at the end. Izoku satisfaya firstly. At first vele izokujabulisa, uzobona kahle ukuthi senginemali. Ma uloko uya, uya, angithi nama expense ayakhuphuka my sister yabona. Sowuba nabantwana, uzobona ukuthi hayi manje, hayi, izinto azisahambi ngalendlela ekumele zihambe ngakhona, yabona. Kusho ukuthi ma ungumuntu yabona, kumele uthole ieducation ukhona uthole isalary ezo, yazi ezoyenzani? Ezokujabulisa, ijabulise nabakini. Ezoyenza yonke into ibe under control. That is why ngithi ieducation is very important for ilife yethu. **Sideserva**³⁸ ukwazi. Yabona ieducation izokwenza ukuthi siyazi ukuthi thina sikanjani e **skillini** zethu. Ukuthi ipotential ikuphi. Ngizokhona lento leyo ngiyenze. Angukuthi sengfundile ngayo yabona. Masengifundile ngayo, ngizoyenza perfect, and ngizoba ngomunye umuntu uyenza 100%. Ngizoyenza into yami and lento le yiyo ezongifakele ukudla, ifakele...eish! Ilife yami ibe right. Ngoba ngizabe ngine passion yayo and ngfundile nangayo and ngiyi jabulela ukuyenza lento leyo. That is why ngithi isikolo si important kakhulu nje empilweni yami yabona. Kusho ukuthi noma nami nje, akusi ukuthi ngihleli nje, manginesikhathi ngiyafunda yabona my sister. Ngi stimulator igqondo yami ukuthi manje ngiyazi into eningi yabona.

³⁹ Kusho ukuthi noma u government athi uyakunceda, ngeke akuncede wena ungayenzi niks nje. Ungakhulumi, uthulile nje, athi nangu umuntu akasebenzi, ngipha umsebenzi, ngiyamgibelisa...Kumele nawe ube naleyo mali yokuthi makakuphe iopportunity yokufunda for into ethize or umsebenzi othize. Kumele uhlanganise imali yokuthi uyelapho yabona, uyofunda. Kumele uhlanganise nezinto ezifunakalayo lapho yabona my sister...Angifuni ukuzisola. Ndiyazisola. At the end ngihlala ngizisola njalo...Mawunjalo, mawungumuntu uziphendule ilitshe ngeke uncedeke yabona. Ilitshe liqinile, lizohlala linjalo. Wena mawungumuntu mele **uchantshe** mawungumuntu yabona. Bayasho nase sikolweni, umem omunye wangtshela: athi yabona elifini wathi "good, better, best, don't let it rest till your good is better than your best". Kusho ukuthi my sister noma kungenzakalani, it's not over until God says it's over yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi my sister, yo! Ma ungumuntu njengami, kuneslogan lesi esamadoda. Basho bathi "indida izama ize iyofa" yabona my sister. Noma like irelationship, maybe umuntu adlale hard to get, wena ungabi nendaba, wena qhubeka. Kuzofika la uNkulunkulu ekustopa khona. La nawe ubonayo ukuthi ya, umuntu oso akafuni ukuba name or umuntu oso uyafuna ukuba nami yabona...Kunesikhathi sayo yonke into my sister yabona. Kunesikhathi sokuthi uhleke, kunesikhathi la kumele ube serious. Kunesikhathi sokuthi ma ungumuntu ukwate...Yabona my sister, eintlek ulwe yabona my sister. Ya!

⁴⁰ Into engingayisho ukuthi yi bad influence yabangani. Baqala ukubhema, baqala ukufuna ukuhlupha abothishera, baqale ukungagqhoki ama uniform. Bathi mina angfuni ukumamela inithetho yasesikolweni. Yizo izinto ezigcina zibakhiphile esikolweni ezinye.

⁴¹ Angithi bafuna ukubonwa. Maybe uprincipal makethi uzomshaya , athi hayi, angeke azoshaya bani? Ufuna ukubonakala ukuthi yena uyashayana noma ngubani. And then esikolweni kunemithetho oyilandelayo, ukuthi mawenza so, bazoyenza so. Bese abanye bayabaxosha ngoba abanye bafuna ukuza nanotshwala esikolweni.

⁴² Eya, sebathi sebayakhiya. Hayi! Khathi mina ngilibele ngisesikolweni, bebakhiya eskolweni sami, e... Bebakhiya. Bowungaphumi nje noma kanjani. Bowuphuma sowuzwile nawe ukuthi senglwile la. Unless uphula ngale emova uphume ngembobo.

⁴³ Uyazi, sibeka ngathi lento ayiphulwanga lapho kanti iphuliwe. Wena mawufika uyivula nje ngomnyango uyaphuma uyayivala futhi. Umeneer makakude ubona ngathi kuvaliwe. Kanti wena ulibele uyaphuma lapho. Siqale siyayicheka k'qala ukuthi umeneer akekho. Mangabe akekho, ungena lapha embobeni siyaphuma, sibuya nangayo. Mangabe ukhona, soma lapha estradeni senze ingathi kunento esizibhekisa yona, kanti siyazi sifuna ukungena lapha embobeni.

⁴⁴ Yo! Eskolweni bekucorrupt. Angifuni ukuqamba amanga, bekucorrupt nje masesihlangene.

⁴⁵ Besiphula umthetho. Like makuthiwa ugwayi awufuneki eskolweni, thina besizama nga all the way ukuthi ukwazi ukuthi ungene eskolweni ukuthi sikwazi ukuwuthengisa, izinto ezinjalo. Yi part of ukucorrupter nayo leyo. Ibreak maseseyingenile uthole ukuthi thina asikakayi, sisasese toilet, kuyabhenywa, Kudlalwa amadice. Like, besinokubona like, mangingagqoka **itoupees** namhlanje, angeke ngibekahle. ... ngizojampa ifence. Uzojumper I drata.

⁴⁶ Eintlik, mina, irelationship yethu nabangani bami, nna azange ka tloa ke nale bakgotsi baright skolong vele. ... Ake tsebe le nna hore ne ho kgonahala hore ke thole bakgotsi bajwalo. Since from primary ne. Nna eintlik bakgotsi baka ine ise bakgotsi baright. Lenna ne ke baraka, kafo neke rata style seo sa hoba stout skolong. A ke tsebe.

⁴⁷ Hayi intokunayo wathi omnye umiss yabo kulegrade endikuyo sendimdala, sendimdala for ukuba kulegrade endikuyo.

⁴⁸ Grade 10 ndina 22. Wandikhupha. Ndabona ukuba andinohlala. Ndaphindela, wandikhupha, ndaphindela, wandikhupha. Ukundigxotsha kwakhe okwesithathu, ndabona ukuba hayi, Ayisekho endizayihlalela apha, mandiye ngaphaya.

⁴⁹ Noko sisiwam uke ubone...bezibakhona ezongxakinyana ezincinci.

⁵⁰ Yohh! Bezinintsi kakhulu sisiwam. Yohh! Bekukuhlala nje, ukubone, ukuncokola, kodwa beyikhona itshomi yam, tshomi yam. Ngoba ndithe ukuyeka kwam, naye emva kwam wayeka.

⁵¹ Bekumele ngphumile ..., ngiye e..., ngiyoyenza icourse. Eish! Kwatholakala ukuthi sengithathe iremove. Zange ngisaba nemali e enough, and then ngahamba ngayo funa esinye isikolo futhi.

⁵² Ngiyekele this year, term two. Aiy! Size sangbhora isikolo and futhi ngbone ukuthi eskolweni amasubject wona bengwazi kahle.

⁵³ Eya. Bengphasa kahle, but eish! Mina inhliziyoyam yona ayikho lapho. Bengfuna ukwenza icourse. Ngoba from kwa grade 9, umama wam ngamtshela ukuthi angise le e..., nghambe ng yokwenza icourse. And then athi ngzoya, ng yokwenza I course. And then athi ngzoya, ngzoyo until ngbuyele e...

⁵⁴ Abangani bengphila nabo nje, eintlek, nabo bebe nebad influence. Ngoba nabo bekuyilabantu abangathandi isikolo kahle, baphusha icorruption. Manje ngabona ukuthi mangizikhiphe...Nakhona kuyafana, ngathi aiy! Sengiyasiyekela sengizasibona next year. Nglibele nglhanganisa amasenti manje.

⁵⁵ Aiy! Nabo abanye ba decida ukudropa esikolweni, bazongijoyina. Abanye baqhubeka nesikolo.

⁵⁶ Kusho ukuthi my sister, ku the way nami nginga zimiselanga ngakhona, ku the way ngiphila ngakhona uyabona. Kusho ukuthi my sister, ngithatha izinto for granted yabona. Noma ngiyeke isikolo kanje, eish! Ngisiyeke nje ngizitshela ukuthi ngizophumelela e lifini, kanti hayi, **ngzobhayiziseka** kakhulu. Why ngyeka iinformation e based kwimpilo yam? yabona ezokhulisa impilo yami. Yenze I future yami ide 100% quality.

⁵⁷ Ok my sister, kahle kahle mina bengingena e... yabona. Manje e... kwenzakalani, kwenzakala ukuthi manje ngaba umfundisi, like ngaba engaged kule spirit sikaNkulunkulu. Ngase... sengingena sikhathi se..., sengi visitor amanye amasonto amanye yabona my sister. Then kwayenzakala ukuthi, eish! Ngiyilomuntu olungile name. Nabangani bami, abafowethu engiphila nabo, abasangithandisisi kahle ngoba angisahambi ngalendlela ebesihamba ngayo yabona my sister. Ok! Nabo, Ok! Kayi kayi babone ukuthi wenza into e right, uyasi saver. Nathi ukuthi singafana naye, mara asikhoni yabona. Sesiwijwayele lento esiyijwayele. Kwayenzakala sihamba isikhathi, ukuthi ke ngloko ngiphila kanjalo. Kwafika lesikhathi manje ngiya failure esikolweni and ngifocused kakhulu ebhayibhelini yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi manje ngiteacher abantu aba baie, ngithandazela bantu ababaie, kusho ukuthi my sister, yonke into yami nje iperfect yabona nje masiza kwi Christianity. Mara esikolweni, education, when it comes to education my sister, eiy! Ngaba ne **mistakenyana**. Ngabona ukuthi

manje izinto angisazibambi zonke, ngoba khona manje ngingumfundisi. Ngibambe ibhayibheli, ngibamba amaverse athize engmele ngiwafunde echurch naku group, mangisebantwini, yabona my sister. Then eskolweni kwayenzakala ukuthi iMaths ingshaye kakhulu ke. Nalezi bengithi ngiyaziphasa, eiy! Ingathi ziba worsenyana yabona.

⁵⁸ Manje ngazitshela ukuthi, kusho ukuthi isikolo akusiyizinto zami. Ngloko ngingumfundisi kanje. Mara ithe masengiyeke isikolo, ngyabona mara eish! Ne English, ne literacy mara, ne level best of my language, like iEnglish yabona my sister, ayisavuminyana. Ngoba sengiyeke isikolo. And manje ngiya preacher, ukuthi manje kumele nami yabona my sister, kuphi, kuphi, kubonakale ukutho kwenzakalani yabona my sister. Ngifundile, angisilomfundisi abantu bazokuzwa ngenkulumo zakho. Nje, na the way ungakhona uyabona. My sister yabona manje, hayi! Kwayenzakala ukuthi ok ngiyayeka ke. Masengiyekile isikolo, aaaa! My sister kwayenzakala ukuthi manje sengingena kule spirit esingalunganga manje. Angithi manje nglhala nabo ekhaya, abangani bam abanga ngeni isikolo manje, ababhemayo. Ngagcina ngbona uluthi labantu laba, aiy! Baphila kamnandi, abana stress. Ene mina manje ngne stress and angina patience for uNkulunkulu kulamalanga. Ene nesikolo ngisiyekile hayi! ungcono ngenze lento lezi, ngalahla khona lapho my sister. Vele ngabhema yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi ngasebenza, ngabamba ama piece job, bona e Lens, kuphi, kuphi yabona. Nakho lokho kwayenza ukuthi kwaba yenye iburden eyenza ukuthi ngiyeke isikolo ngokuthi, besengijwayene nokusebenza like **emakuleni**, like ngahlala ngsemakuleni, and my sister ngyenza imali, yabona. Nakhona la elokishini yabona mu sister kwayanza ukuthi ngiyeke isikolo once. Ngavele ngasiyeka nganza lezinto zami lezi. Kungana la ngiziphelelisa khona. Ziyanghluphekisa okokugcina. Manje mina ngifuna ukuba serious ngempilo, but angikhoki yabona, yabona. Ngingasho ukuthi yabona mina, maybe mangingabuyela kunkulunkulu, maybe ngathandaza, maybe nazo lezinto lezi engizithatha kancane, lezi ezifana nezakho kanje, ezibalulekile empilweni, ngazithatha ngenqondo e right, maybe izinto zingalunga angazi.

⁵⁹ Grade 11. Ngiphase grade 10 ne. Mangifika ku grade 11 bengiphasa, bengizimisele esikolweni, ngaphasa. Kubo ma March, June, September, but ithe ma ifika kulezonkathi zabo sama kanje, kula bengiqala ubu towutu bami khona. Ngingayi esikolweni, kulangiya ema piece **jobini** wami kakhulu. Ama piece job wami summer bewaba maningi yabona my sister. Bengingakhoni ukuthi ngiye esikolweni futhi ngifunde. Bengingenaso isikhathi sokufunda. Bengizitshela ukuthi ngizophasa, mina ngingu clever. Ma ungumntu uyafunda kuqala for into oyenzayo, kula angaphasa khona yabona my sister. Plus abo Maths kanje my sister. Akuna kuthi uzayi **guessa**, mele uyi practize, mele uyazi yabona my sister. Ungayicremi. Manje umuntu unokuthi ma ubuya emsebenzini afike ebusuku sowuvula ingcwadi lapho uthi uyacrema, mawufika ekuseni ayisekho leyonto le bowuyenza yabona my sister. E! serious. Bowulokho udlala ngesikhathi sakho. Okwamane uziphuzele itea nje wahlukana nezinto eziningi, walala nje yabona. Ngoba nalesikhathi engifika ngaso ngibuya emsebenzini, yisikhathi eiy! Abantu balele. Ngifika ngabo 21:00pm mangiqeda ama piece job wam lapho e Lenesia. Then mangifika lapho nje, ngifika ngokuthi kancane. Yo! Mangithi kancane, nobuthongo nabo buyafika. Ugogo wami sakagcina angivusa athi bona sowuze ulele, ulele lapho esofeni yilento yakho.

Kungcono uvuke uyolala. Ngizitshela ukuthi ayisuka , ngizibambile ngizozibona futhi ekuseni. Angivuka ekuseni, ngivuka late yabona my sister. Mangvuka late, mangfika eskolweni tjo! Ayisekho phela lendaba le. Ngiya failure hayi kancane, kusho ukuthi phezu kwe 100% nginokuthola nje 10% yabona my sister.

⁶⁰ Ngiyekele phakathi kugrade 11. kusho ukuthi ngiyenga failure, ngavele ngayeka. Ngathi kuyafana, kunini ngilokho ngithandaza, ngiyenzani. Kanti mina lento le bengiyenza beyingekho. Nokuthandaza bengithandaza kodwa makumele ngifunde, angifundi. Ngoba nebhayibheli beyisho ukuthi mawungumuntu kumele uzimisele ngalento oyifunayo elifini yabona. Manje mina bengingazimisela. Bengizitshela ukuthi mangithandaza nje uNkulunkulu wami uzobamba ikhanda lami nje ngiphase. Kanti uNkulunkulu uyasho ukuthi usiza umuntu ozisizayo elifini. E! manje nami my sister ngikhathale ukuthi ngingazisizi. Ngiphile nje ngoba kuyaphilwa. Ngifuna ukuzisiza.

⁶¹ Into ngiye ngahlangabezana nenkinganyana yabo eish. Kwasho ukuthi izinto azisahambi kahle. Even nase ndlini nje izinto azizange zisahamba kahle yabona. Thola ukuthi nami ngise ngiyazinikela, ngifuna ukuyosebenza ngapha yabona. Ngifuna ukwenzani? Kungcono ngizitholele imali nami. At least mhlawumbe ilife izoba ngcono. Mara ngabona ukuthi iyabheda vele worse. Ibheda okokugcina ke manje coz ngiyekele isikolo. But ngingathanda ukuthi nami sometimes mangithola iopportunity yokuthi ndoba, naye iopportunity yokuthi ungakhona ukubuyela eskolweni, wenze whatever leyo oyifunayo. Ngingabuyela mina akusiyinkinga. Coz sengiyabona manje ukuthi kwenzakalani. Manje ukuthi ma ungayanga eskolweni izinto ezenzakala azikho right yabona.

⁶² Aaaaa beba right, beba right, but izinto ziyezamosheka after futhi. Ngoba kuye kwayenzakalani, ngiyengathandana nomunye umntwana⁶² eskolweni. Lontwana bokuyi cherry⁶² kamngani wam yabo. Manje umngani wam ingathi bekangamniki manje yabo. And umngani wam athanda ukungthatha mina athi masambe siyobheka yona lentombazana ngale emuva kuma grade 8 khona lapho yabo. Sambe vele siyoyibheka lentombazana. Makafika umngani wam ngale akasayingeni eyalomntwana lo. Sekashishiya siyi two. Yena uyahamba uyokhuluma nabangani. Ok lomntwana lo since angtshela ukuthi hayi kaso so so, lomngani wakho uyabheda ini ini, mina ngifuna iouthi estraight inini. Azange ngimnake mina ok. Kulapho angtshela khona ng'cela umngande after school ok. Ngathi ng'zok'landa after school ok. Ngamlanda. Saphuma sonke eskolweni vele sahamba. Wathi uzong'khapha la ... Ok ang'khapha, beka hlala ... Wang'khapha la ... Masifika la ..., azange asafuna ukuhamba lomntwana.

⁶³ Asikathandani nokuthandana ngalesosikhathi nalomntwana loyo. Umntwana azange asafuna ukuhamba la ..., kumnandi ini ini yabo. So ke bokuyi Thursday ilanga lakhona. Savuka, azange siye eskolweni. Sahamba sayakwesinye istraata ngale sayozikhiyela emkhukhwini naleyo ntombazana leyo. Hayi, kanti sekushubile ngale eskolweni yabo. Ukuthi hayi man, umuntu esimbonile aphuma nalomuntu ngumuntu oso so so, siyamazi ngu Uhlala e... so so so. Beza bangfuna vele. Irelationship iqale ukumosheka fede lapho ke. Nabo meneer bangasangthanda, bathi mina ngitshontsha abantwana ababantu, ng'yenzani, ng'lala nabo ngenkani yabona. Kanti ekubeni nguye

lomntwana lo oyenzile. Kahle kahle bekumele ukuthi ng'boshiwe mina kahle kahle. But kahle kahle lomntwana lo nguye owangkhulumela. Wathi hayi mina lomuntu yimi engihambe naye so so so so. Ngabe azange asho kanjalo lomntwana, mhlambe ngabe ngisa boshiwe namanje.

⁶⁴ Kuze ngiyekele ne, kusho ukuthi azange ngiyekele same time. Kusho ukuthi ngiyengabona ukuthi ngapha izinto zami, nabo meneer bangapha... ingathi azisahambi kahle. But azange ngidecide ukuthi ngiyekele yabona. Ngathi ithi ngizame kwesinye isikolo futhi. Ngasuka ngayozama isikolo la e... Ngafunda khona, ng'suke lapha ngiyenza grade 10, ngiphasele kwa grade 11 vele. So ngeza ngapha vele ke. Thola ukuthi bayangthatha ngapha. Mara baba striker before bangthatha yebo, bathi why undaqedeleli lapho? E... ngiyengafunda khona. Izinto ziyezabheda nakhona ... Ngiyengafika first year yami, ngenza grade 11. Ngaba yipresident, yaba yimi obambe isikolo vele ...

⁶⁵ Kwaba nezinto ezenzakalayo la endlini yabona. Ubaba kusho ukuthi saxabana, umama wahamba, wathatha abantwana basekhaya bahamba yabo. Kwathola ukuthi sengisele nalobaba wami and mina angizwani nalomuntu lo manje. Ilife manje yaqala, ngabona ukuthi, ngiqala nokuthi indlala ingshaya manje. Soku **coster** vele ukuthi ngcono ngiyekele ngapha, ngiyofuna imali yokuthi ngidle. Coz angeke ngikhone ukuthi ngiye esikolweni..., ngeke ngikhone **ukufocusa** kahle kahle. Anginakudla, anginamali and bengijwayele ukuphila ilife ukuthi ngijwayele ukuphatha imali mina. Everywhere bengijwayele ukuphatha imali.

⁶⁶ Mina it's like yindaba le eyokujuthana le. Sahamba saya entabeni. Masifika entabeni kwayenzakala into **eziwrono**. Kwathola ukuthi abanye kwamele babaleke yabo. Manje sizolindwa **egadini** lesikolo. Bafuna ukukusiphatha kabi yabo. Ngagcina **ngichantsha**. Umagriza wathi mntanami kungcono uze. Ngahamba ngaya ... Ngabuya ngeworld cup. Kwakhona ngifika ngapha. Kwabe ngisiyekele kanjalo.

⁶⁷ It's like bafuna ukusithatha futhi and ... sowubonile ukuthi akukho grand laphaya. Bona bafuna ukuthatha bakubuyisele laphaya. Bak'bamba uyabuyela. Bayakushaya.

⁶⁸ Kuza enye igroup bese izoshaya lena. Kuya **kapwana** ngamaphanga.

⁶⁹ Like my sister, lento leyo mayenzeka, ingathi yenzeka khona manje. Mawubona kunento eyenzakalayo, wena ngeke bakuyenze niks, uzohlala phantsi. Laba abakule team moet balwe nalaba. And manje masekufa umuntu phambikwakho akukho right yabo. Ikuphatha kabi lento leyo, ayihlali kahle entliziyweni masekufa umuntu phambi kwakho.

⁷⁰ La manje sekuyi fashion. Omunye nomunye ofuna ukuya noma usasemncanyana uyaya. But emakhaya uya sewungale kwe 18.

⁷¹ Ngingayichitha yonke lento my sister, ngiye eskolweni. Iday school ngoba ngaphuma ngiloko nginomoya wesikilo. Noma iuniform ikhona for mina, yiyo ezoyenza ukuthi (izokuvula ingqondo).

⁷² Mina ngiyekiswe yinduku nokuthi ngiyengaya entabeni. Into eyenze ukuthi ngingabuyeli ukuthi angibhalanga amaexam.

⁷³ Yo! Indaba yokufailure angiyifuni mina. Bathe sengifailile vele. Ngifuna ukubuyele kahle next year.

⁷⁴ Eish! Ne ke le slow learner, eish! Bo sekolong ntho tse jwalo oa bona. Ne ke sa gone ho tswara dintho ka speed, ntho tse jwalo oa bona. Ha ke tshoane le bana **baclassing**, the way ba di tshoarang ka teng. That's why ka tlohela sekolo ko grade 10. Ke ile ka tlohela fela. Ne ke soka ke qala, ke le ka tlohela fela, and batho ba bangata ha ba e tsebe nthoeo. Ke ile ka tlohela, ke tlohetse 2005. Ha ba e tsebe batho ba bangata ntho eo.

⁷⁵ Ntse kere ke feitse grade 11 ha ngata, ha e two ntho tse jwalo. Ke ba thetsa ntho tse jwalo.

⁷⁶ Ne ba ngthusa ba bang, ba bang ne ba ngshwela pelo. Ha ba tshwane. Ba bang ne ba ngshwela pelo. Tje ka mem o mong ba re ke mem ..., bo ma grade 9 so. Ke ntho tse jwalo. Ke eona ntho e ile ea ngketsa ke seke ka kgona, ke tswela pele ka sekolo. Ke eona ntho eo. Ke mem ..., na ruta English. Ha o sa understandi ntho, na o fostella ntho tse jwalo.

⁷⁷ Ke ile ka trya, eish! E ile yaba baka la chelete. Ke ile ka trya. School fees ne ke ntsa, tlameile ke thole certificate, azange ka thola certificate. Sekolo sa welding. Ne se ke e zama welding ea teng. Ne se ke egona ho e tshoara.

⁷⁸ Mahareng kele ka tlohela. Taba nou ke nale ntho tse ngata hlohong. Dintho tse ngata tse hore a dintshoare sharp oa bo. Akede nahana dintho tseu deang disturber thutong tsaka. Haholo, too much. Kahobane, I remember 2002 oabo ... Ke thotsi accident oangthola. And accident ea teng e ile yang affecta haholo mo kelelong. Kele kahlanya. Ok, maybe dikgwedinyana oa bo. Jwale ntho eo hantse ke e nahana, ai-ntshware sharp oa bo. Ke yona ntho hore kayi kayi iyang disturber dinthong tsaka. Ha hona niks ekikgona hoetsa oabo. Oa bo le honatje ke dula ke rasisse kamo. Ke yona ntho e eling hore **ingkepta** out of dintho tseo tse jwalo ho nahana haholo...

⁷⁹ First of all ke **luzitse** mme kesantsane kele monnyani ne. Neke le 14 years in 2004, 2003 ho hloka fetse ntate oaka. Ene ile ka nako tseo, motho one a hola ka thata oa bo, na hola ka last gear. Entlik hose sharp katlong oabo. Ok, nere kgona hore magogo ancenge hore keng, are kherise hakalo oabo, re ona hoa skolong. Mara die ding, ine esabi sharp oabo. Hobane wena oatseba hore a hothole tshetele e enough oabo. Neng neng, oa skolong bare akena tshetele, tsamaya oe sekolong oabo. O tsamaye oe sekolong. By then one osisharp.

⁸⁰ ...nna ne ke sathabeli nthoeo. Nou ona le dintho tsengata tsabo mahatellana oabo. Ok, oatsiba hore ba bang ba eme sharp. Koa skolong batla bale sharp. Batine boma smartnyana oa nthola. Oena back then ao kgone oetsa ntho tseo. Ke yona ntho e ile ya nketsa hore ke decide ho etsa eng, kere hea ngala. Kusho ukuthi manje ketlohela sekolo.

⁸¹ Rele ra jutana le ma outhi vele mo kasi yaka oabo. Omong are nna sekea tlohela, lenna kea tlohela, nna ake tsebe mara ikari ketlotlohela. Boma nthonyana tse jwalo vele and hoa etsahala hore kaofela retlohele.

⁸² Bendike ndasebenza kwelacala. **Communet**, umsebenzi lo owokunikisa ngamaphepha.

⁸³ Okwamanje ng'busy ng'lungisana nogesi ukutshupela, ama iron, izitofu, umtshini, amafrindge, ng'yakhona ukuzilungisa.

⁸⁴ Nentse rethola misebetse kaboma weekend oa ngthola ... stockpacking. Oa tseba hore nna hakalo, nou tshena nkacho kea galla hore nou ke kgotlele skolong hape hape. Ka hobane kea bona since ke dutse hae, ok right, nou hoa zameha kontlong oabo.

⁸⁵ Until vele ngizothola umsebenzi khona ngale ... Mhlambe ngisebenze boma 2 years. Besi dealer about iseed. Imbewu. Yonke, ispinach, ini ini, itamati, yabo ...ngiyekele khona this year ngo June vele. Bayasitshela vele ukuthi hayi ukuthi siyanixosha yabo, kuthi thina siyabona ukuthi into zethu azisakhoni ukuthi zigijime the way bezigijima ngakhona because sekungu June. Izinto zikhula kancane, akuna kushisa, kuyabanda.

⁸⁶ Hayi ukuvuka kwam sis'wam, sendiyayazi ukuba Ok! Hayi ndizavuka ndihlale, ndizawuhlamba pha ngo 13:00hours. Ngo 2 xa kuphuma abantwana besikolo. Ukuvuka kwam ndivuka ndi cleane iroom yam kuqala, ukusuka apho ndizogcakamela ilanga. Ndiligcakamela tot, tot ngo 1.

⁸⁷ ...sis'wam, noko ndiyakwazi ukuba xandibona abantu abangaka, noko inqondo iyaqala iyasebenza. Kutshona ndibone abantu kengoku. Ngoku apha emini ndizawuhlala nalamaxhegwazana anentshebe? Hayi andikwazi. Ewe! Ixesha lam lokuhlamba, ndihlamba khona pha ngo 1. Imini yonke hayi, nangoku yabo, ndizayoqala ukuhlamba ngoku.

⁸⁸ Hayi, ndijonga itshomi zam, bese sishaya iround ngapha ephakini.

⁸⁹ Hayi, siyahlala sincokole sis'wam, Ei! (Hesitating) Sis'wam sitshaye nezoli ke. Ngoba yenye into esebenzisa inqondo. Ndiqonde ukuba hayi noke ilanga lam litshone limnandi.

⁹⁰ Ndilala wi! Akwamele ndiguqule kayi 7. Uba ndiyitshayile pha ngo 17:00, hayi, ndatshaya ientyi ngo 8, ndiyolala. **Inyusa umqhele.**

⁹¹ E! ndithi mama ndicela noba yi R3.00. Ndiyazi ngamaxesha am okuhlamba, ndikhangele amajita wam esivula nawo icawa. Ndiyoyithenga...siyovula icawa namajita wam.

⁹² My sister, ilanga lami mali ordinary, ilanga lami kusho ukuthi kufana nokuthi yi Saturday/Sunday. Kula abanye abantwana bakhona. Impintshi zami zikhona. Mara during the week my sister, yo! Ilanga lami lihamba kancane yabona. ngenza nezinto engingamelanga ngizenze. Ngiye nala kungamelanga ngiyekhona yabona. Ngivele ngibhoreke my sister, ngihlale. Angina nemali, angina niks yabona. Ngiye nase library, ilibrary ingbhore okokugcina ke my sister because ayikho information angiyi **recordayo**. Because I don't have that money to photo copy yabona my sister. Ngitswafe nokubhala ngoba indaba zokubhala ngizigcine le esikolweni... Yabona, kusho ukuthi ngiyabhoreka kakhulu my sister. Kusho ukuthi angina ma plans. I do not have nothing. Kusho ukuthi mangingathola umsebenzi or ngiyenza something, isikhathi sibe sihamba lapho. Ngizabe ngiyazi nami ukuthi at least elifini ikhona into engiyenzayo, angihlalanga kuphela nje.

⁹³ Hayi manje, manje just like ngiwile kahle kahle. Mhlambe last week, bengivuka ekuseni ngigeze ngibe right, ngimele isikhathi, mhlambe ngabo 11 or 12, besengiyaphuma ke ngiya le e Pick 'n Pay **egatini** lakhona. Kune Lucky 7 ngale emuva. Bengifika lapho ngistocke ama cool time, two packets or three packets. Bese ngiyahamba ngiyothengisa lapha e gatini.

⁹⁴ Ngiyahlala ngibukele ama movie, ngiphume ngibheke abangani. Mangingabatholi ngiyabuya futhi. Or ngizenzelanyana ingadi. Kuphela nje kanjalo.

⁹⁵ Ho tsamaisa nako ke nale hocleana ka jariting kamona. Kea kakoa katlong ke cleanele nkgono oaka. Ke gotle ke cleane le kamo. Se ile boma passed 11, passed 12. Kelebelle movie tse pedi. Ke oana ntho etsamaisa nako. Ke tlohe ke ilo bloma le majents.

⁹⁶ ...Sengizohlala no gogo wami kuphela. Mara u gogo wami naye uye wanganceda njengoba baye bashada usis'wami, wangenzela amagrade we security, ngawayenza kusho ukuthi manje, ngishoda nge R150, angazi nokuthi nayo ngizoyihlanganisa kanjani ngithole izicertificate zami ngikhone ukuthi ngiyosebenza. Ngoba bebang'thembise i vacancy, mara mangenze amagrade, hayi ukuthi ngingena maqualification. So, ngiwayenzile, and then angazi.

⁹⁷ Kusho ukuthi ugogo wami naye ungiphe lolothando ongili **needayo** njengomntwana. Ngoba yabona manje umama ushonile and manje ubaba wami akasebenzi, uyagula. Njengoba aye wahlukana nomamami, ngebanga lesifo sika mamami, kusho ukuthi naye uye wazenzela izinto zakhe yabona. Wathola abafazi base ... lapho manje seka yagula, ukugula lokhu, uyazi nawe mos, naye seka infected, ngingasho kanjalo. Yena akangeke angitshela. Angithi vele ngumuntu omdala ngeke

angitshela njengomntwana khe. But manje, according to the way ngizwa ngakhona, yabona, abantu abaphila naye bayangtshela, nabo mamncane bami bonke bayangtshela yabona. Mara yena, ngyabona ukuthi lomuntu akafuni ukungtshela ukuthi sekayagula. Naye akasebenzi makazama, like u government ubapha le pension yabo, le mali leyo eyokuthi aziphiliseyena.

⁹⁸ And yena uyagula, and naye kumele ngimnakekele my sister makungenzakala ukuthi ngibe right elifini, ngoba uyagula, namanje usembhedeni, lomfana uyanglana, mncane. Ngathi uphethwe yi ... Eish! My sister. **Uloose** iweight kakhulu. Ene manje, into eyenza ukuthi ngibheme futhi, yiso istress sasendlini yabona. Ngoba ukuthi manje akekho umuntu ong'maintainayo, nomntwana kithi akekho umuntu omaintainayo. Ngoba naye ubaba wakhe ushonile. Mina naye, kusho ukuthi ... obaba bethu ba separate, but umama umuntu oyi 1. Ngumama wethu sonke, yabona. Kusho ukuthi ubaba wakhe yena washona, umamakhe naye ushonile, kusho ukuthi umama wami lo oshonile. Then ke, uyabona ukuthi iyang stressor. Uyagula ngapha, naseskolweni akakhoni ukuya, uhlala afailure. ...yiyo into eyenza ukuthi mina ngisebenzise lezi zidakamizwa lezi ezingekho right yabona my sister... Never mind i damager somewhere else yabona my sister. But ingenza yabona my sister and then manje ngiba right nami. Yabona mangibhemile angibi na stress, angicabangi izinto eziningi yabona.

⁹⁹ But the way mina ngibona ngakhona nje, njengoba amatishere bewangfundisa ukuthi mawungena education, kusho ukuthi you are clueless, awuna information eningi ngempilo yonke. Nange environment okuyo yabona. Ene nakhona angina experience, angina ma qualification. Nase msebenzini angeke bathathe umuntu nje ongena niks, oempty la enqondweni yakhe yabona. Kusho ukuthi manje ngiya realiser ukuthi lento le abotishere bebang'tshela yona, kusho ukuthi beyi right. Manje ngiyafisa ukubuyela khona kodwa, mara iminyaka seyihambile and manje ang'sebenzi and ng'hlala la ekhaya and manje enqondweni yami kuza inqondo ezinye zokuthi manje eiy! My sister, mangifuna boma imali, ngenze enye into okungukuthi **abayiaccepti** abantu ene manje, kanti kulendlela mina angiziphilisa ngayo, ukuthi nje ngilale ngi right, ngidlile yabona. Futhi njengomuntu obhemayo, mangibheme ngiba right yabona my sister.

¹⁰⁰ Ok! Kusho ukuthi my sister, njenga manje mina makuthi ngithole into yokuthi ngibe right epokotweni, ipocket money, ukuthi my sister ngiphenduke isteerboy¹⁰⁰ la ekasi. Like ube yi steerboy. **Isteerboy** umuntu abamthuma njalo yabona. Thuma ama beer, nini nini amaphosisa ayam bamba, Uthunywe angina plastic ayothenga ama beer. sekaya estokisini ... uyabuya futhi. Nini nini, ngidlala ama **dice** ... indlela yami yoku zama. Mangidlala ama dice imali nyana iyangena. Amaphoyisa nakhona ayafika ayasithatha my sister yabona... But okwamanje njengoba ung'buzile, izinto engenzayo futhi my sister mangisendlini ngibona uog'wam, nglhala nogogo yabona. Makabeka boma R20 lapha pantsi kombhede, **ngiyithathe** ngoba angina mali and ayikho iplan yokuthi nomsebenzi awukho yabona my sister, angina ma qualification yabona. Kusho ukuthi nabangani bam mabafike bathi siyophuza or siyobhema, angina mali. Kusho ukuthi kwamele ngenze something nyana ewrong, yabona. And into eright angikhoni kuyenza, ngoba you know akuna space, akuna ma

vacancy like la ngasebenza khona, ukuthi ngikhone ukuziphilisa yabona my sister... Ngingaziphendula umuntu okukuthi akekho right, yinja nje and ngingasiyonainja yabona.

¹⁰¹ Ee. Kufana nepali sis'wam, insimbi (pointing to an steel pole) nazo ziyasebenza, ziyakhawunta, namazinki njalo njalo...yonke into e amper buntsimbirha, yoh!, eneweight e! Sis'wam.

¹⁰² Injalo sis'wam, ngoba nomnye last ukhuphe amazenke kamama wakhe, wayo wathengisa. Bebemnike indawo yokuhlala, uyawakhupha yena uyowathengisa, akasahlali pha kowabo.

¹⁰³ Sis'wam, ...hayi, nditshaya icuba lodwa ... Yena ndithi nje mama ndinalenxaki ndifuna ukuphonela umntu othile, uyabona. Ndithi hayi nje ndiboleke iR2. Xa endiboleka R2 nditshona kanje mna (gesture).

¹⁰⁴ Sendisitsho izinto esizibona etv sisiwam, ndiyazoyika. Noko ukuphindela khona ndingavuma ukuphindela, ngoba **iziyali** ezilapha. Ndisuke ndicinge xandibona ababantwana, ndithi man, ndicinga ngezamini zam.

¹⁰⁵ Ezizenyawupe! Yuuu! Hayi sisiwam, ndiyibone kakuhle.

¹⁰⁶ Hayi abafana, kukhala intsimbi qha apha entloko.

¹⁰⁷ Kaloku uke ubone sisiwam, xabengqathekileyo ayikho enye into ebacingisayo, ebfakela imali.

¹⁰⁸ Sis'wam ayinxaki eworse, ngoba sis'wam kulula ukuyithenga, xandinofumana nje iR30, ndiyayithenga, ukuyitshaya okokuqala kukungena ngomzimba. Awusaphinde uyeke. Ngoba ukuvuka kwam sendicinga intsimbi, ukuba hayi man, ukubana ndingathatha ezantsimbi zakamakhelwane, Ndiyokwenza imali. Ngoba ndithetha izolo oku, bendithetha nomnye umfana apha, ethi heyi yintoni ungathathi eminye imigqomo apha phezu kwendlu kamakhelwane, ingenza iR150, ungathshaya unomphelo, ndathi hayi ayilocebo eliright elo.

¹⁰⁹ Abantu abayithengisayo sis'wam abafuni nokuva. Bayaqhubeka as long as bona ibafakela imali.

¹¹⁰ Ewe iyaziwa tu! Uyacinga ukuba ngomso uzovukela mna lomntu uyayobona ke lento.

¹¹¹ Kusho ukuthi mina ngibhema abo ma Stuyvesant yabone my sister, ene manje kunalento le drug engiyibhemayo, kusho ukuthi inatural, yi dagga yabona my sister, mariguana yabona mu sister. And then this drug my sister iincreasa iappertite yami, yenza ukuthi ng'hlale ngiright yabona. Kusho ukuthi ng'hlale ngiright yabona. Akuna misunderstanding, siya **understandana**. And ngiyakhona ukutolerater izinto ozithandayo, nezinto ongazithandi and ngikhona nokuzibamba and ngikhona nokuthi nginga misbehavi manginabantu abadala or intanga zami yabona.

¹¹² E. Yona iyangisiza kayi kayi, but mina mangi sober ngingumuntu omunye othanda ukwenza izinto ezingathi azikho right enqondweni yabona. Ngingasho njengoba abantu basho bathi mina ngi **disturbekile** la enqondweni, manje mina ngithi mina ngibona ngiright kodwa, ngiright makungukuthi ng'thole something nyana ezo stimulator imind yam yabona my sister, injalo.

¹¹³ Yo! Ayinkinga kakhulu my sister. Ngoba manje, yabona idrugs ne, idrugs ma ungumuntu obad, uba bad okokugcina. Kusho ukuthi ayifunakali empilweni yakho. And ma ungumuntu oright, uba perfect my sister. Ngisho kanjalo yabona my sister. Mara yona ayifunakali ukuya ngomthetho. Ma ungumuntu kumele ube ngumuntu oright, ungabi umuntu ofast. Manje idrugs izokwenza ukuthi ube fast yabona. And ma ufast yabona **uyakhawatheka** ngoba bathi you must learn to walk before you can run mawungumuntu my sister. Ngeke wenze izinto nje kuphela. Manje ama drugs lawo akwenza ukuthi ube fast and manje mawu fast, in future ukukhawatheka my sister yabona. Inqondo yakho iphela kancane, kancane yabona. Ayakudamager nama lungs, kancane kancane. Ayikubonisi. Wena uzobona lapho ungacabanganga khona ene manje impilo yakho izoba **isedangeni**, ngoba awenzelanga icommunity nothing, awuyenzelanga ifamily yakho nothing. Kusho ukuthi ubungu muntu osile nje yabona my sister. Manje mawusebenzisa ama drugs **urecognizwa** njengo muntu osile yabona my sister. Kusho ukuthi amadrugs awekho right kahla kahle.

¹¹⁴ Around yo! Atholakala kakhulu my sister. Yabona around ayatholakala. Yabona ukuthi abantu bona empilweni yabo, abantu ba la eOrange Farm, bazitshele ukuthi abanandaba, solanka bona benza into eyenza ukuthi kungene imali, abanandaba. Ukuthengisela abantwana abancane ialcohol, ini, abanandaba solanka nje kungena imali. Nje abanandaba. That's why ngithi la eOrange Farm, yo! My sister, yo! Yonke indawo akhona: 7B, 7A, kuphi kuphi yabona my sister. Ene manje umuntu wakhona while aqhubeka ama drugs athengiselwa abantwana abancane, yabona intonyana ezinjalo. It's because umuntu wakhona akafuni ukuthi aphanee nge information yokuthi yena uthengisa amadrugs, maybe emphakathini or maybe emaphoyiseni, ezintweni zika government, yabona. Kusho ukuthi le information leyo my sister iundetected. Ngasho ngiyibeka right kanjalo. Kusho ukuthi angeke nikhone **ukufinda** out yabona, ngayo. Kusho ukuthi that is why amaphoyisa nawo my sister angakhoni ukuthi a **finde** out ukuthi ngabobani abathengisa ama drugs.

¹¹⁵ Eish! Eish! Amadrugs ayabaqeda abafethu. Ayababulala mani. Eish! Yazini, eish! Eintlek angazi ukuthi abayenzani. Ukwambona umuntu obhema amadrugs ukuthi unjani kahle kahle? Hayi owentsango, owedrug, inyaupe. Umnyama, eintlek ingathi akusagezwa. Impahla zivithikile. Ngathi umakhemikha kungasi umakhenikha. Ngathi ulungisa imoto yabona lento leyo. Mina ngizibhemela intsango nogwayi, yizinto engathi ngiyazibhema. Ok ne beer ngiyayiphuza ke yona strong. Ene bagcina basitjontjela la ena yardini. Ene manje umuntu wakhona uzogcina umbamba, umshaye, bese ayafa ngenxa yalamadrugs abawabhemayo labantu laba.

¹¹⁶ Thole ukuthi ngizibekela intsimbi yami laphaya. Bayayi tjontja bayise escrap yard. Igate leli bangalikhapha (laughing). Serious! Uvuke ekuseni akusana gate. Ngyakutshela. Uthi oyovula igate, akusana gate. Ekuseni uthi ufuna ukukhipha imoto, akusana gate. Sowuphuma kuphela. Balithathile. But yena lomnikazi we scrap yard, **ubannile** indaba zokuthi amagate. Amagate awasafuneki, ngoba bathi batjontja wona kakhulu amagate. Awasafuneki lapha e scrap yard, kufuneka ezinye izinto. Because abaqedile amadrugs. Ngisho naye umuntu owathengisayo. Ma ungambona, ngeke usho ukuthi umuntu onemali lo. Naye the way engakhona ngathi umakhenikha.

¹¹⁷ A ke tsebe. Se rekisoa ke abuti¹¹⁷ o mong, ntho ena. E ka re ke drugs ntho ea teng. A ke tsebe ba e rata eng ntho eo. Se bae tsuba. Le mokgotsi oaka o mong ke... osa le moputsoa, sa le motsho, hayi! hayi! man eyi! Ba mmakatsa le nna. E rekisoa mo seterateng se kamona, ho tletse yona. E ya rekeswa. Ke yona ntho eo. E tswana le ea third degree (kubha). Batsuba ntho tse jwalo

¹¹⁸ Lento mina ingiphatha kahle. Iyenza so na so, igijimisa igazi lami, ngizwa ngiba relieved yabona. Yonke into, ngizwa ngathi angisena ma problems, yonke into. Ing'dakwe kamnandi lento lena. So uthole ukuthi eish! Mara makaloko aqhubeka nalento uzombona umntu wakhona ukuthi hayi, lomuntu eish! Akhekho right. Siyahlala nabo. Hayi ukuthi asihlali nabo. Siyahlala nabo. Mangingakusa la emuva kwesiporo during the week, ngithi bhaka, ubheke ukuthi kwenzakalani, uzobona nawe nje ukuthi lento le iyababulal.

¹¹⁹ Amaphoyisa, amaphoyisa adla nabo labo bantu bamadrugs. Bangangithathela intsango yami nabangithola ngihamba nentsango manje la kimi. Bazoyithatha lentsango leyo, bazoyithengisela yena lomntu, bazoyibuyisela kuye lomuntu lo mina engiqeda ukuthatha lentsango le kuye. Uyayithola ukuthi ihamba kanjani? Badla naye. Mabangthola nesaka, or lomuntu engilithenganga kuye le saka leli lentsango, le saka leli lentsango bazolithatha kimi, bazolisa kuye lomuntu lo. Ukuthi lomuntu loya akhone ukuthi athengisele abantu iqhubeke ibusiness yakhe, nawo wona lama phoyisa azothola imali.

¹²⁰ Nawo amaphoyisa mfethu ngeke, angiboni ukuthi bazowaqeda amadrugs. Ngeke bawaqede. Badla nabo mos. Noma ungathi uyompayisa lomuntu lo. **Estraadeni** esi so so, kunomuntu othengisa amadrugs oso so so. Ungekaqedi, bathi ramutsiba. Yabona ntho eo. Sowuvele uyagive upper uyabona. Mawuthi oyobuza, jwanong letla etsa plan? E re tla e. Mawuthi uhlezi uyazi ukuthi bazovela. Mhlambe uthi hayi ithi ngiba **escorte**, mhlambe uthi naba bakhona. Phuma ne 2 litre ne sinkwa esibrown, bangene emotweni bayahamba. Akusayenzakalanga niks.

¹²¹ Abazali eish! Mina angikaboni bathatha ama actionnyana yabo. Hayi, angikaboni bayisukumela leyo ndaba leyo yabo. Coz into eyenzakalayo nje bathi bona, if labafana mabangayenza something, siyababamba, siyabashaya. And nalast, bebe babambile, ene yibo labafana ababhema into le. Ok babashayile strong, blind! Omunye usesibhdelela. Yiyo indlela engingathi bazolungisa ngayo.

Abakhulumi ngedrug, ukuthi bayekele idrug abantu aba so so. Bona sebazitsheleni, ukuthi once uzongena ejaridini lami, ubhema lento le, ngiyambulala. E. Kanjalo nje.

¹²² Like bafuna ukuthi sibe like yabo, ngama young wabo. Laba abadala. Basenzise izinto eziwong yabo. Basenzise izinto emakhoneni. Noma ungavela ekasi chacks, ungasibona vele ukuthi yithi esibaphushela imokolo zabo.

¹²³ Idrugs

¹²⁴ Ayinkinga yo! Ngoba yithi esiwathengisayo and masiqeda kuthengisa like amadrugs, Kuvelela izinto zabantu ziyalahleka, ngoba bafunani? Lamadrugs lawa. At the end of the day abantu **bapointa** thina bathi yithi esithengisa amadrugs.

¹²⁵ Rocko, Taiwan ne Blueburg

¹²⁶ Yinyaupe. Ikwenza utshontshe, angazi kahla kahle. R30. Batshontsha insimbi zabantu. Lezi abayenza ngazo amafence, namazenke.

¹²⁷ Hayi, ukuzama kona apha sis'wam bendingena themba. Bendingena themba tu! Sis'wam. Hayi, sis'wam ingathi apha baqashana ngobukhaya.

¹²⁸ Hayi! Ngokwazana, ngoba ndibangathi kulomntu mfondini ukundifake kulendawo. Hayi ndizakufaka, ndizakufaka, phele emehlweni.

¹²⁹ Ke mme oaka, wazama. Le nna ke a zama. Ke hlatswetsa batho di dustbin ka labonne. Ke ea zama le nna.

¹³⁰ Maybe mabangayenza lento le abayibiza, ezamantombazana, i2818¹³⁰. Le bafikayo ezikolweni bakhulume namantombazana bawathathe, sometimes bawathathe bawa hambise ngama trip, ngama camp, bawa guide. I think mabangayanzela nabafana futhi, ingasiza.

¹³¹ Mina nje mangabe, like thole ukuthi maybe eviki lonke ngenze imali engaka, banokuthi bangirholise isincanyana leso. Ngiphinde ngikhalele bona futhi ukuthi ngifuna into enjena. Le mali le ayilingani lento leya. Bese bayangbooster, ngithola lento leyo.