

**DRAMA AS AN INSTRUCTIONAL TOOL TO DEVELOP CULTURAL COMPETENCY AMONG
LEARNERS IN MULTICULTURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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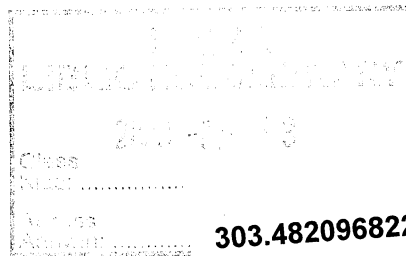
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ABSTRACT

Approaches to school desegregation in South Africa since 1994 have been largely assimilationist, viewing people's identities in a stereotyped way. The transmission of culture in South African schools does not reflect the multicultural and plural nature of South African society. Racism, stereotyping and prejudice often result in situations of conflict. Learners and teachers are urgently required to develop cultural competency, that is, complex understandings of identity, which include understandings of difference, to ensure that school environments are free of racism and other forms of discrimination and the resulting racial conflict. Cultural competency is an approach to multicultural education which needs to adopt and promote the ethos and underlying values of multiculturalism. This thesis reports on Arts-based inquiry which explores the use of dramatic tools and ethnodrama to develop cultural competency among secondary school learners in three selected multicultural schools in South Africa.

Schools and participants were selected by judgement sampling and data were gathered from learners through multiple methods, including improvisational role-play and Forum Theatre performances. Further research techniques within the mode of qualitative research were used to supplement data and these were focus group interviews and journal writing. The raw data were the basis for the creation and performance of an ethnodrama followed by post-performance audience discussion.

The findings suggest that the use of dramatic techniques within the realm of Arts-based inquiry and the ethnodrama create a safe space for the exploration of cultural identity. The improvisational role-plays allowed the learners to explore 'as if' situations and assisted in the development of empathy as the learners played the roles of others. Participants used the improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances and ethnodrama to confront issues relating to multiculturalism in order for cultural competency to develop, learners require multiple opportunities in which they explore their cultural identities and develop cultural competency.

It was concluded that dramatic techniques and an ethnodrama can be powerful instructional tools in the development of cultural competency among secondary school learners.

KEY WORDS: South Africa, Multicultural schools, Ethnodrama, Arts-based inquiry, Improvisational role-play, Forum Theatre, Cultural identity, Cultural Competency

KEY TERMS

South Africa

Multicultural schools

Ethnodrama

Arts-based inquiry

Improvisational role-play

Forum Theatre

Cultural identity

Cultural Competency

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DECLARATION

I declare that "Drama as an instructional tool to develop cultural competency among learners in multicultural secondary schools in South Africa." (title of my thesis) is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



G.L. Moore

5 March 2009

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A Midsummer Night's Dream by William Shakespeare Act III, Sc. II
So we grew together
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet an union in partition

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DRAMA AS AN INSTRUCTIONAL TOOL TO DEVELOP CULTURAL COMPETENCY AMONG LEARNERS IN MULTICULTURAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND, PROBLEM FORMULATION AND AIMS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The character of South Africa's educational provision has been seriously affected by the political system of apartheid (Carrim 1998: 301). South Africa is a society in transition progressing from an authoritarian structure of governance to one of democracy (Soudien, Carrim and Sayed 2004: 19). There have been several attempts and initiatives to desegregate and deracialise education in South Africa since the new government of 1994 (Carrim 1998: 301). The prevalence of an approach to school desegregation which was largely assimilationist has meant that a form of "bad" multiculturalism which viewed people's identities in a "fixed, stereotyped, homogenised and generalised way" came to prevail (Carrim 1998: 302). Vally and Dalamba (1999: 66) state that not enough attention has been paid to "human rights" and "anti-racism training."

Carrim (1998: 302) identified a "dire need to work with complex understandings of identity, which would incorporate notions of difference, in order to ensure that an environment free of racism and other forms of discrimination prevails within not only South African schools, but South African society as a whole."

Since 1994 the rights of all learners to equal education have been enshrined in the South African Schools Act [SASA] (No. 84 of 1996) and the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Carrim 199: 305). What followed 1994 has been a massive reconstruction of the educational system, including a redistribution of educational resources in accordance with non-racial premises (Carrim 1998: 305). The transformation of South African education officially began in 1990. 1990 saw the first announcement by the Minister of 'white' Education, Mr Piet Claase, that black students could attend 'white' schools (Carrim 1998: 304-305). There were, however, a number of preconditions: for example, the cultural ethos of such schools had to remain in tact (Carrim 1998: 308). These preconditions put into place an assimilationist approach in which 'blacks' needed to adopt and adapt to the 'white' schools' cultural ethos which was deemed superior (Carrim 1998: 308; Abdi 2002: 37-69; Cross and Chisholm 1990: 43-67).

*He and she are used interchangeably throughout the thesis and are intended to be inclusive of both genders.

The transformation of the South African education system has been a daunting task. Reconstruction required transformation across the entire educational system – from pre-school to university level (Carrim 1998: 305). There was also a fundamental redefinition of education in the sense that it moved from serving the interests of the 'white' minority to serving the interests of all South Africans (Carrim 1998: 305). The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) was set up in 1989 by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in order to put in order the preparations for the new educational dispensation (Kallaway 2002: 5). The NEPI produced a set of policy documents that was derived from the legacy of People's Education and the experience of education during the struggle and resistance to apartheid education (Kallaway 2002: 5). This set the tone for future debate regarding policy (Kallaway 2002: 5). However, "the political climate of the transition, the lack of experience of those involved in the field of policy development, and the widely varying viewpoints and approaches of the academics and the activists engaged in the process, along with the political urgency to develop demonstrably new policies, meant that it was difficult to establish broad agreement on how to proceed" (Kallaway 2002: 5). After the first democratic elections in which Nelson Mandela was appointed president, a number of policy documents, reports and Acts were published to facilitate transformation in education (Carrim 1998: 304-305). Subsequent to 1994 there has been a policy of open admissions within the South African education system (Meier and Lemmer 2001: 334). However, Kallaway (2002: 5) states that the policy changes shifted in emphasis from principles of "redress and redistribution," as highlighted in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994-6), to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR)(after 1996) and there was a change in the tone of policy. "If race separation was the defining feature of schools in the apartheid era, race integration became a defining aspiration in the post-apartheid era" (Nkomo, Chisholm and McKinney 2004: 5). However, the majority of schools within South Africa remain uni- or mono-racial with only small incidences of integration (Nkomo et al 2004: 8). Naledi Pandor, The Minister of Education in South Africa, states (Pandor 2004: 11) that during the 1980's, education thinkers did not predict that "black schools would lose pupils to distant white suburbs, and few practitioners in assembly schools prepared themselves for the entry of black pupils who would become the lifeblood of many of those schools." Furthermore, Pandor states (2004: 11) that the issue of integration within South African schools has become an embarrassment which requires urgent attention. For Pandor (2004: 15) the challenge within South African schools, however, goes beyond integration and should encompass a holistic approach which promotes "the values of dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms." Soudien, Carrim and Sayed (2004: 57) state that there is far greater deracialisation of schools which charge higher fees, in comparison to schools in which the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) is Afrikaans.

Furthermore, it would appear that schools which charge higher fees are favoured by non-English (as a home language) speaking parents (Soudien et al 2004: 57). Soudien et al (2004: 57) speculate as to whether this is because such parents desire racially-integrated schools or because they wish to have access to schools that are better resourced in order to give their children a “competitive edge.”

There are limited numbers of teaching models in existence that could be used in order to improve cultural competence in learners (Colvin-Bourke et al 2007: 225). South Africa has a well-documented history of racial conflict that was based upon a strategy of separateness and legally entrenched within the system of apartheid (Abdi: 2002; Carrim: 1998; Baloyi: 2004). The negative effects of apartheid (which are still felt today) had its roots within the legacy of Colonialism (Abdi 2002: 23). Much of this policy was realised through the agent of education. Abdi (2002: 23) states that the express purpose of education was to provide the colonisers with dominance over the lives of the native inhabitants as well as to entrench “sociocultural mechanisms” in order to augment the existing extortion of economic reserves from the indigenous people. The apartheid government effectively and legally continued in this vein by encoding the malevolences of Colonialism within the legal system (Abdi 2002: 32 and 39; Baloyi 2004: 74). “What followed next and into the 1990s, is a story of systemic delegitimisation of every rightful claim upon which black South Africans may have effected in the land of their birth” (Abdi 2002: 39). Much of the resistance during the fight against the apartheid system was fought along the front of education (Abdi 2002: 61; Baloyi 2004: 103). The post-apartheid era (after 1994) has seen many improvements in education, but is still lagging in many respects (Baloyi 2004: 215). Nkomo, Chisholm and Mc Kinney (2004: 2) state that “the defining feature of South African schooling is arguably the politics of race and racism.” Furthermore, it is one of the central flaws of South African society and it interconnects in an intricate manner with “class, gender and ethnicity” (Nkomo et al 2004: 2). In the emergent democracy, it would appear that poverty and disease are the prevailing challenges (du Plessis 2004: 879). In terms of culture, Baloyi (2004: 177) states that the state needs to respect the culture and values (to encompass those of education too) of all South Africans. Abdi (2002: 84) believes that the design of education systems in post-apartheid South Africa is deficient in terms of hybridisation of cultures (a term which is explored in greater detail further on in the study). This in turn impacts upon the development and integration of society as a whole (Abdi: 2002). School integration in South Africa is rooted in the anti-apartheid or pro-democracy project and arises from a conscious attempt to change an apartheid culture and system that was undemocratic through the replacement thereof by a “democratic, inclusive, education ethos founded on a human rights culture” (Nkomo et al 2004: 2).

O'Hagan (2001: 21) describes the concepts of culture and cultural identity as: "fundamentally dynamic, global concepts, subject to powerful influences and pressures in an increasingly technological and rapidly changing world." Multiculturalism is the approach towards education which is investigated as a means of overcoming cultural conflict and the development of cultural competency. Furthermore, Integrated Threat Theory is especially pertinent to the South African situation. There has been a high degree of intergroup conflict because prejudice during the apartheid rule was based on maintaining the status and power of the white minority (Kallaway 2002: 13). The amount and nature of contact between groups and thus intergroup knowledge was affected by apartheid where groups were separated by law (Suzman, 1993: 101). Although these laws have been repealed, parents and teachers may - in accordance with Compunction Theory - have embedded misconceptions that could possibly be activated automatically when individuals come into contact with members of other races. "Individuals' attitudes and beliefs concerning racial and gender groups can seemingly be activated without conscious awareness of the activation" (Bargh, Chaikaen, Govender, and Praitto, 1992; Bargh, Chaiken, Raymond and Hymes, 1996; in Richeson and Ambady, 2003: 177). Such feelings have the potential to be transmitted to children.

As schools have become more racially integrated, so teachers have been faced with a series of challenges. "As all schools are open to learners of all races, cultures, religious convictions and value systems, teachers are increasingly being confronted with multicultural learner compositions at school and in their classrooms (Le Roux 2000: 19). "Teachers, whether 'white', 'coloured' or 'Indian', were confronted for the first time by multilingual, multiethnic and multiracial classrooms" (Carrim 1998: 311). This, in a sense, has necessitated the adoption of a more multicultural approach by teachers (Carrim 1998: 311). "The school has become a veritable arena in which pupils of heterogeneous cultures have been thrown together in an attempt at integration, cohesion and harmonious learning" (Munsamy 1999: 1). Teaching within a multicultural class or school requires "a paradigm shift, a change of heart, an unprejudiced reorientation and an innovative attitude" (Le Roux 2000: 20). In addition to this, the issue of parental alienation within schools compounds attempts to redress previous educational disparities. Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna (2004: 72) state that "the alienation of parents, particularly Africans, from schools is well documented in South Africa." In addition to this, they state that it is imperative to understand and work with learner characteristics in order to deal with issues of diversity in an effective manner (Moletsane et al: 2004: 71).

Carrim states that the multicultural approach to education that replaced the assimilationist one has been in itself a reconstructed form of racism (1998: 312). More disturbingly he purports to state

that this type of multiculturalism in effect is “at best stereotypical and, at worst, caricatured” (Carrim 1998: 313). Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65) assert that the form of multiculturalism that is espoused in a study which they undertook placed the emphasis upon ‘tolerance’ of other ‘cultures’ and issues regarding racism were rarely tackled. Thus, learners become established in fixed identities and represented as typical of their cultural groups with any understanding of culture being limited to superficial aspects such as lifestyles, dress, food and language (Carrim 1998: 313). This does not bode well for the attrition of racist practices, as ‘differences’ are perceived in a negative light (Carrim 1998: 313). Carrim states (1998: 316) “...racism is displaced into consideration of different lifestyles and racist practices, processes and assumptions continue almost unabated.” Carrim (1998: 317) proposes that a “critical anti-racism” is what is required in order to create a greater understanding of the differences and dynamics within racial groups. This would lead to a ‘de-essentialist’ grasp of identity which would more truthfully reflect the manner in which people exist, the kind of experiences they have and the means by which their identities are shaped (Carrim 1998: 317). Mzamane (1990: 365) states that “Education for development and disalienation in South Africa must be built upon the culture of the majority, which should be accommodating, dynamic and capable of use in mass mobilisation for liberation and development.” Thus, Abdi (2002: 78) argues the case for “an extreme form of positive multiculturalism” that energetically strives towards the closure of socioeconomic and educational disparities that divide the numerous groups in South Africa. Abdi (2002: 84) and Bhabba (1994a: 10) transcend a fixed notion of culture by the idea of a “hybridised” culture and the notion of a “third space”. Thus, a new milieu is created in which its participants achieve a space in which to coexist harmoniously (Abdi 2002: 84).

It would appear that there is a need to redress previous imbalances by means of implementing a form of positive multiculturalism in South African schools. Sleeter and Grant (2007: 29-30) refer to this type of multicultural education as Multicultural Social Justice Education in which it challenges “social stratification”. This implies that schools should assist all learners to develop cultural competency necessary to function in a culturally diverse society. Cultural competency thus forms a component of multicultural education which deals with much broader categories of diversity.

Cultural competency calls for an understanding of the concepts of *culture* and *cultural identity* (O’Hagan 2001: 21). Many applications of the word culture exist (Axtmann 2002: 41). O’Hagan states that there has been an “etymological assault” on the word and thus a clear definition is required (O’Hagan 2001: 23). The original meaning of culture is centred on the earth as well as its soil which is deemed symbolically powerful. Still, the land of an individual’s birth and where that person was raised is expected to have a strong influence on his perception of culture (O’Hagan 2001:

31). Within the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the term culture came to contain the notion of improvement or refinement chiefly through education and training (O'Hagan 2001: 31). Hall stresses that: culture is not instinctive but rather a learned response; the elements of culture are interrelated and shared – culture is man's means of interaction (Axtmann 2002: 41). Hall (1973: 20) proposes that culture is: "the way of life of a people [or] the sum of their learned behavior [sic] patterns, attitudes, and material things." Abdi (2002: 71) defines culture in its simplest form as "the world of everyday life where one learns, reacts, and responds to the physical and human environment that surrounds him or her." The term culture is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. The concept of identity is created by one's affiliation with and perception of belonging to an entity, person or group of persons (O'Hagan 2001: 28). Du Plessis (2004: 879) highlights the complexities of identity within post-apartheid South Africa and explores the links between class and culture. We are unable to be aware of difference unless there has been a firm establishment of a sense of similarity and fitting in (O'Hagan 2001: 28). O'Hagan stresses the following aspects of identity: an individual may possess several identities; there is a dynamic and variable dimension to identity; often identity means feeling threatened by and a lack of tolerance of those who are perceived as different; one's sense of identity often originates from a sense of allegiance and commitment to a state (O'Hagan 2001: 28). The individual's sense of identity has been affected by the impact of globalisation (Langman 2003: 223).

This diversity in culture within South Africa means that an approach to education which deals with diversity needs to be adopted (Meier 2002: 149). Finazzo states that the goals and implications of multiculturalism are of greater importance than a definition of multiculturalism (Finazzo 1997: 100). Multicultural education should allow all learners to do extremely well and to obtain the "social skills, knowledge and attitudes" that are needed in order to improve their capacity to productively inhabit a diverse society (Finazzo 1997: 103).

It is the argument of this study that drama can be used as an effective instructional tool to improve understanding of diversity and to facilitate a greater degree of cultural competency amongst learners and educators by specifically exploring and sharing awareness and sensitivity of individuals' and their peers' identity. Vally and Dalamba (1999: 70) state that if arts and culture are effectively used, then they have the potential to aid anti-discriminatory programmes. Drama is an effective instructional tool for the facilitation of a more apt understanding and acceptance of individual identities within differing cultures because: "Drama is by nature social, communicative, interactive and gestural" (Culham 2002: 109). Thus, drama could be developed and applied effectively within the classroom and schools in order to facilitate the implementation of a "critical anti-racism" and to

explore and experience the realm of the “third space,” as well as to facilitate the hybridisation of cultures. It is this field which the researcher would like to investigate.

The classroom thus becomes a site of sharing (Axtmann 2002: 44) or safe space. When learners are able to share their experiences and cultural viewpoints through performance they gain an intuitive self-knowledge as well as knowledge of others (Axtmann 2002: 44). One’s sense of perception is broadened into a multi-faceted view of the world and so “Moving the centre in the two senses - between nations – will contribute to the freeing of world cultures from the restrictive walls of nationalism, class, race and gender” (Ngugi 1993: xvii). Thus we shift from the microcosm of the classroom to the arena of the world at large.

The history of education in South Africa has been fraught with turbulence. This is not surprising when one considers the turbulent nature of South African history in general. Much of the resistance towards an oppressive government was fought because of and through the medium of education. “Rather than incidental by-products of wider political events, educational discourses and practices were an essential factor in creating the preconditions for political change, given the nature of the volatile politics of education in the townships...” (Kallaway 2002: 7). It would be naïve to believe that it could be an easy task to redress the situation. Separate education for people of different races was entrenched in the system from its inception and exacerbated by the apartheid Nationalist Government. People “of colour” received an inadequate education. Transformation has begun but the legacies of separate education and the inadequate provision of Bantu education remain huge challenges that need to be overcome.

It is evident that greater cultural understanding is required to lead to increased personal understanding as well as a mutual understanding of people from different cultural backgrounds.

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

Against the background of the discussion in paragraph 1.1, the main research question is formulated as follows:

How can drama, as an instructional tool, be used to develop cultural competency among secondary school learners in multicultural schools in South Africa?

The main research question has been divided into the following sub-questions:

- How can concepts such as culture, cultural competency, identity formation, multiculturalism and related approaches to the development of cultural competency be defined? What are the theoretical underpinnings and the debate surrounding these concepts?
- How may drama be used as an instructional tool? How can drama assist learners from a diversity of backgrounds to gain insight into their own backgrounds and to accept themselves and others as individuals as well as members of distinctive racial, social and ethnic groups?
- How can the cultural competency of selected secondary school learners attending culturally diverse schools in Gauteng be developed through the production of an ethnodrama and other participative activities which form part of a qualitative inquiry?
- Based on the findings of the literature study and the qualitative inquiry, what recommendations can be made for the improvement of practice?

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to explore how drama as an instructional tool can be used to develop cultural competency among secondary school learners in multicultural schools in South Africa.

The main aim has been subdivided into the following objectives:

- to define concepts such as culture, cultural competency, identity formation, multiculturalism and related approaches to the development of cultural competency and to identify the theoretical underpinnings and discuss the debate surrounding these concepts;
- to investigate how drama may be used as an instructional tool to assist learners from a diversity of backgrounds to gain insight into their own backgrounds and to accept themselves and others as individuals as well as members of distinctive racial, social and ethnic groups;

- to explore how the cultural competency of selected secondary school learners attending culturally diverse schools in Gauteng can be developed through the production of an ethnodrama and other participative activities which form part of a qualitative inquiry;
- Based on the findings of the literature study and the qualitative inquiry, to make recommendations for the improvement of practice.

1.4 THE POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

As a teacher of English and drama to secondary school students, I have long been aware of the power of drama as an instructional tool and means of self-discovery and discovery about others. During my teaching experience in multicultural schools, I have discovered many important issues relating to learners coping with a multicultural school environment. I wished to explore these issues in order to assist educators to understand their learners better. Thus, in the shift from my position as educator to that of educational researcher, I echo the sentiments of Diaz (2002: 152): “As an educational researcher I am interested in constructing concepts which help me and other educators better understand the work that artists/teachers do.”

In addition, I was particularly struck during a school performance of “District Six” (dealing with forced removals during apartheid) by its powerful effect on the audience. I became interested in ways in which Arts-based Inquiry could utilise the responses of audiences to interact with those of the players and create a body of information that could be of benefit to those involved in the educational arena.

Hence, my position as researcher is as a participant, interpreter and facilitator to a collaborative method of data collection, analyses and performance.

1.5 DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF KEY TERMS

The following terms have been identified as key to an understanding of the study as a whole. Brief working definitions are given here, as the concepts are explored in great depth in the subsequent chapters.

1.5.1 Cultural competency

Cultural competency requires intercultural awareness, understanding and the acceptance of the differences of others in a manner which is to the benefit of the individual and society as a whole. It presupposes an understanding of the notion of culture and identity (O' Hagan 2001: 21).

1.5.2 Drama as an instructional tool

Drama as an instructional tool encompasses the synonymous terminologies of *drama in education*, *educational drama* and *process drama*. It includes, but is not synonymous with, performative inquiry and the term furthermore includes the many techniques used in educational drama. This concept also encompasses the production which forms a part of educational drama, an ethnodrama. It includes the educational qualities in the creation, performance and response to the ethnodrama.

1.5.3 Ethnodrama

Ethnodrama is performed data often with a therapeutic function for health audiences (audiences with various illnesses) wherein the audience provides feedback after the study and their contributions are included as part of the data collection (Mienzakowski, Smith and Morgan 2002: 35). In this study the health audience is not applicable, but a similar method was applied in the supposition that the performances might contain transformative elements for the audiences.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

The problem was explored by means of a literature review and an empirical investigation.

1.6.1 Literature review

Initially what is required as "substantive intellectual groundwork" (Blumenfeld-Jones 2002: 95) took place in the literature study. The literature study (Chapters 2 and 3) explored the notions of culture, multiculturalism, cultural competency, identity, racism and anti-racism detailing specifics with relevance to education in secondary schools in South Africa. It encompassed an exhaustive study of texts related to the inherent concepts and fields of drama in education, educational drama, process drama and drama as a means of conflict resolution. Furthermore, the literature review studied

methodology involved in Arts-based research within the qualitative mode of inquiry. Sources included: books, journal articles, magazine articles, newspaper articles, relevant policy documents and legislation, and the Internet. This provided a conceptual framework for the ensuing empirical inquiry.

1.6.2 The empirical investigation

The empirical investigation fell within the realm of qualitative research methodology. The format and overall method of data collection involved Arts-based inquiry. Arts-based inquiry entails the synthesis of research and art both in the collection and presentation of data (Jenoure 2002: 88).

1.6.2.1 Selection of sites and participants

Three English-medium multicultural secondary schools in Pretoria were chosen by judgement and convenience sampling as sites for the inquiry and sources of suitable participants for the study.

The school where the main data gathering was conducted was St Winifred's school, a single sex (girls) multicultural independent school with a denominational affiliation and boarding facilities. Two other schools were chosen for other phases of data gathering (cf 1.6.2.1): a single sex (boys) multicultural independent school with a denominational affiliation and boarding facilities (St Thomas's school); and a multicultural co-educational public day school (Larkminster High School). Pseudonyms are used to refer to the schools throughout the study to fulfil ethical requirements (cf par. 1.6.2.2).

Three groups of culturally diverse Grade 10 learners, between the ages of 15 and 17 years, were selected from each school respectively, using judgement sampling. Eight (8) learners were selected from St Thomas's and Larkminster; the group from St Winifred's fluctuated between eight and ten participants. The main criteria were that the group consisted of culturally diverse learners who studied drama as part of the school curriculum. Participation was informed and voluntary and pseudonyms were used throughout the study.

The audience of the ethnodrama (cf par. 1.6.2.2) comprised of invited educators and learners from St Winifred's (the other schools were invited but unable to attend). The audience also served as informal participants during "post-performance discussions" (cf par. 4.3.7).

1.6.2.2 Data collection

Data collection took the overall format of an Arts-based inquiry. Data collection comprised a combination of regular qualitative data collection techniques (focus group interviews and journal keeping) and those techniques which pertain specifically to Arts-based inquiry (improvisational role play, Forum Theatre workshops, the production of an ethnodrama and post-performance discussions between audience and participants). Although I have distinguished between these techniques in the above-mentioned comment for the purpose of clarification, they were used in an overlapping and integrated way during a performative inquiry.

Performative inquiry entails the involvement of the participants in transforming the classroom into a site of research (Fels and McGivern 2002: 25). In this study data relating to cultural competency were gleaned from *focus group interviews* and explored through the use of *improvisational role-play*. The improvisational role-plays were consequently amended and adapted and used in *Forum Theatre performances*. Once the Forum Theatre performances were completed, reflection took place through the means of discussion in *focus group interviews* and *personal responses* in the form of *journals*. The interviews and performances were recorded using audio recording and the recordings were transcribed.

An ethnodrama was developed as follows. Raw data were comprised of the transcripts of the recorded Forum Theatre performances, the interviews and the journal entries. Emerging themes were used in the development of the ethnodrama. The ethnodrama was compiled by myself and included brief self-written introductions and the edited texts of the improvisational role-play and Forum Theatre performances. The audience responses to the ethnodrama via a post-performance discussion between audience and participants provided an additional source of data.

Data were collected over a period of three months and took place according to six phases, which are explained in detail in Chapter 4 (cf par. 4.2.6). All forms of data collection took place in the natural settings of the classroom, school halls and auditoriums.

1.6.2.3 Data analysis

The raw data consisted of the transcripts of the focus group interviews, improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances, journal entries, the transcripts, video-recorded ethnodrama and post-performance audience discussions. The data were recorded (by tape recorder and by video camera),

transcribed and analysed by means of a search for emergent themes according to qualitative research methodology. Analysis took place concurrently with data collection. The qualitative researcher endeavours to study data inductively in order for unpredicted data to emerge (Borg and Gall 1989: 386). Thus, the researcher sought out patterns in the data and what emerged from these patterns were concepts, insights and illumination (Taylor and Bogdan 1984: 5). A synthesis of the findings was presented in the form of an ethnodrama performed for a selected audience. Changes were then made to the key findings in accordance with the audience response to the ethnodrama.

1.6.2.4 Presentation of findings

The findings have been presented in three ways:

- a) The first presentation of the penultimate findings took the form of an ethnodrama performed before a live and participative audience in the school auditorium at St Winifred's.
- b) The ethnodrama is presented in written format in Chapter 5 (cf par. 5.2). It was video-recorded and written to a CD Rom and is also contained in Appendix A for viewing and consideration by the reader.
- c) The entire findings (themes relating to the ethnodrama as well as findings from other data sources) are integrated into a written report in Chapter 5 (cf par. 5.3). The presentation of the findings are organised according to certain themes and are substantiated by verbatim quotations made by participants, typical of rich data generated by qualitative research.

1.6.2.5 Ethical issues

Ethical issues were dealt with as follows. Firstly, permission was sought and obtained from the principals of the participating schools. The aims and the process of data collection were explained and questions of clarification were addressed. Secondly, similar explanations were given to all the learner participants. Participants from St Winifred's signed consent forms which included parental consent. Participation was voluntary and any participant was at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time or refrain from any of the activities. The methods of recording data were explained as well as the use of the published findings for strictly research purposes.

1.6.2.6 Trustworthiness of data

Because Arts-based inquiry is a relatively new mode of qualitative inquiry, the method is largely experimental. Mienczakowski et al (2002: 44) described the ethnodrama as “a relatively under-theorized, barely researched area.” I endeavoured to avoid possible pitfalls as follows:

- a) **Skills required to undertake Arts-based inquiry:** Training and experience as drama teacher. I am trained as a drama teacher through The Trinity College of London and have taught drama for twenty one years to children and young people of all ages. My teaching experience has included the staging of many theatrical productions and musicals.
- b) **Relationship of trust:** Within the method of Arts-based inquiry, accuracy and credibility are of more importance than traditional theatrical conventions and expectations (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34). It is important to use “good standard, qualitative ethnographic interview practice and interpretative ethnography reported through the performance of data and data/informant-related scenarios” (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 37). Therefore, at all times I sought for and maintained a relationship of rapport and trust with the participants. At St Winifred’s the relationship was built on an existing relationship of good rapport, as I taught most of the learners. At the two other schools, the dramatic activities quickly eroded inhibitions and I was able to obtain candid responses from the participants.
- c) **Cross-checking with participants:** I continually asked participants whether or not they perceived that what had been written or noted was valid and an accurate representation of their responses. Furthermore, the scripts needed to be supportive of informants and families with messages that did not reflect despair but were inspirational and helpful (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 44). The study was not intended to be harmful to the subjects in any way and the informants were at all times protected from potential harm. Subjects containing a highly emotive content required thorough and deliberate reflection before the creation of scripts and performance (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 44).
- d) **Peer analysis:** The process of analysis, the interpretation of data and the presentation of findings took place together with detailed discussions and consultations with two peer researchers (the promoter of this study and the Head of Drama at St Winifred’s).

- e) **Triangulation of data collection techniques:** The use of multiple techniques in this study included: a literature review, focus group interviews, improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances, journal responses, the ethnodrama and post-performance discussions all of which served as an effective means of triangulation in order to validate data.

- f) **Audience response:** Validation can occur through analyses of audience responses to the ethnodramas (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 45). "These responses, analysed in relation to the informants' control over the script and the production of meanings within ethnodramas, have the potential to assist in the formation of typographies of meanings." (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 45). Thus, there is a cooperative synchronisation of data via audience debate. In this study, a post-performance discussion between participants and audience after the Forum Theatre and the ethnodrama respectively was used as an additional method of triangulation. The post-performance discussion after the ethnodrama is referred to in the final report; the post-performance discussion after the Forum Theatre formed part of the data analysis but is not specifically referred to.

1.7 LIMITATIONS

Typical of the nature of a qualitative inquiry, the study was limited to a relatively small sample of participants and it is not intended that the findings be generalised. The intention is to make education practitioners aware of issues of cultural competence via thematic analyses of issues which they might not have previously considered. The study is not replicable in its exact form but it is hoped that the issues raised will be able to inform practice and that the methods used could be adapted in other research contexts.

The presentation of the data as an ethnodrama posed several limitations. The use of non-print-based texts poses some logistical constraints (Bagley and Cancienne 2002: 14). The audience cannot repeatedly view the data as it wishes (Rogers et al 2002: 68). In this study the inclusion of a video-recording on CD Rom addressed this issue. Thereby, the performed data are available to wider audiences; however, the potential for viewing the data is limited to those with multi-media facilities.

Presentation of findings requires more space than other traditional written research reports. Furthermore, the audience size was limited and there were logistical, organisational, personnel and resource problems inherent in each staging of the play (Rogers et al 2002: 68).

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The study is organised according to the following chapters.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study and includes problem formulation, aims and methodology of the study.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework for an investigation of culture, cultural competency, identity formation, multiculturalism and approaches to multicultural education.

Chapter 3 deals with drama as an instructional tool and drama as a means of resolving cultural conflict.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology and research design.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the research.

Chapter 6 provides a summary and discusses the limitations of the study, as well as providing recommendations for practice and for future research.

1.9 SUMMARY

Although it has been more than ten years since the desegregation of South African schools, problems with integration still remain. It is believed that the development of greater cultural competency would assist with integration and a greater understanding of diversity. It was not the intention of the study to create an homogenous group, but rather to find ways in which individuals are able to become more sensitive by recognising and accepting differences within each other so as to improve learning and inter-group relations. It is believed that drama could be a useful instrument in achieving this aim. Furthermore, the development of cultural competency would possibly have repercussions in terms of progress towards the establishment of a more harmonious South African society as a whole.

The following chapter undertakes a study of the literature relating to issues of culture, cultural identity, multiculturalism and cultural competency.

CHAPTER 2

MULTICULTURALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL COMPETENCY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter deals with a theoretical understanding of relevant issues relating to the terms multiculturalism, multicultural education, culture, conflict resolution and cultural competency, with special reference to the development of cultural competency. O'Hagan (2001: 21) describes the concepts of culture and cultural identity as: "fundamentally dynamic, global concepts, subject to powerful influences and pressures in an increasingly technological and rapidly changing world." Multiculturalism is the approach towards education which is investigated as a means of overcoming cultural conflict and the development of cultural competency. Education performs a significant role in assisting individuals to acknowledge, understand and value diversity of people's ways of life, language, religion, culture, gender or ethnicity (Meier, van Wyk and Lemmer 2007: 162). Nkomo, Chisholm and McKinney (2004: 2) state that "In the context of South Africa, school integration is also not confined solely to race, important as it is, but should seek to address other prejudices such as ethnic parochialism or chauvinism, gender inequality, xenophobia and other intolerances that are inimical to the spirit of the constitution." One of the challenges that exists for schools globally is "to accommodate diversity in the fullest sense without prejudice." (Meier et al 2007: 162). To advocates of Multicultural Social Justice Education (described further on in this chapter), culture is a way of adjusting to life's circumstances which have in part been determined by group rivalry for resources (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 193). Some aspects of culture are passed down such as language (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 193). However, culture is fluid and is "continually created and recreated on an ongoing, everyday basis" (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 193). "No comprehensive understanding of culture exists, since cultures are never static and they do not exist in isolation" (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 15). The manner in which cultural competency is understood is dependent on the manner in which culture is perceived.

This chapter seeks to explore the aforementioned aspects to gain a deeper insight into key concepts relating to the study and the manner in which they inter-relate. It is important to understand the concept of culture as multiculturalism and cultural competency (both key concepts) are dependent upon an understanding of the concept of culture.

2.2 AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT CULTURE

In order for an understanding of the terms cultural competency and multicultural education to exist, there needs to be an adequate understanding of the concepts of culture and cultural identity (O'Hagan 2001: 21). This section will attempt to define culture and its relevant elements. Cultural identity is discussed under the heading of group or social identity. The concepts discussed in this chapter will lead to a discussion surrounding "cultural conflict" which "is a difference within a person or between two or more people that touches them in a significant way" (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 12). Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 13) go as far as to say that "conflicts are always cultural, since we are all cultural beings."

2.2.1 What is culture?

There are many applications for the word *culture* (Axtmann 2002: 41). "Owing to the multidimensional nature of this concept, there is a noticeable lack of consensus amongst researchers on a uniform definition of culture" (Le Roux 2000: 22). Abdi (2002: xi) defines culture as "how we understand and interact with the world around us." This section endeavours to give a general understanding of the term rather than remain limited to one specific definition. Hall (1989: 16) states that there are three general characteristics to definitions of culture:

- It is learned rather than innate;
- Various components of culture are interrelated;
- It is shared and as such circumscribes boundaries between various groups whilst simultaneously affecting and altering all aspects of human life.

Le Roux (2000: 22) states that "culture is the sum total of HOW we live and WHAT it is that distinguishes us from others; it is what we consider IMPORTANT (values), what we accept as the TRUTH (faith) and how we believe we should DO things (norms)." Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 30) stress that cultures are dynamic and in continuous flux. However, within this view exists a paradox for cultures are also "robust" and they are deeply entrenched in the past (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 30). Cultural messages learnt in childhood are profoundly part of an individual's identity (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 31).

Further nuances and understandings of the term are herewith explored.

2.2.2 The understandings of and contributions to the term *culture* by various academic disciplines

O'Hagan (2001) explains that various academic disciplines have differing points of emphasis with regard to the term culture. These are expanded upon here:

- ***Culture in anthropology***

As early as 1871 Edward Tyler described culture as being synonymous with civilisation and encompassing a multifarious totality to include (amongst other competencies and habits attained by man as a social being): knowledge, morals, beliefs, art, law and custom (O'Hagan 2001: 32). Furthermore, he believed that due to the similar nature and cognitive principles of man, all cultures evolved in an alike manner (O'Hagan 2001: 32). Thus culture becomes in essence a cognitive creation of human minds as a response to the complexities of human life (O'Hagan 2001: 32).

This theory was undermined by Franz Boaz in 1896. He believed that the processes by which certain phases of cultures develop and the history of these processes are paramount to the actual customs and beliefs themselves (1997: 49).

Ruth Benedict was pioneering in the sense that she focused on the values that underlie cultural tradition (O'Hagan 2001: 34). Benedict believed that these values and related ideas would more probably determine the responses of people to situations than any stimulus presented by such a situation (O'Hagan 2001: 34). Furthermore, deviancy resulted from differences among individuals and the central core values of that society.

Margaret Mead, in studying the cultural bases of personality, believed that culture superseded race or biology significantly in terms of the individual's personality development as well as in his responses to changes in life – most notably in the adolescent years (O'Hagan 2001: 34). This view has significance for the study if the development of cultural competency amongst adolescent students is to be investigated.

- ***Culture in Psychology***

Terms which have been developed include those such as “cultural blindness” and “ethnocentric fallacy” which refer to the individual’s inability to be aware of the cultural values and norms that possibly underly the beliefs and actions of others but rather to use the lens of the norms and values of one’s own culture to interpret the actions of others (O’Hagan 2001: 39). Cross-cultural psychology purports to state that that values are crucial within culture and that the assimilation of those values is a steady process of development.

The differing points of emphasis held by the various disciplines add insight into an inclusive study of the concept of *culture*. This study draws on some of the findings developed within the disciplines of Sociology and Psychology.

2.2.3 Culture as a process

Important to note is that culture is a process (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 194; Liddicoat 2004: 301). A view of culture that is static views cultural knowledge to be comprised either of facts or artefacts (Liddicoat 2004: 301). “Teachers commonly conflate ethnicity and culture, seeing them as synonymous and culture as a thing rather than as a process (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 194). Culture is a continuous creation of daily living, a manifestation of conditions which communities inhabit, but also a location of power (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 195; Liddicoat 2004: 301). Culture should be studied for more than the mere purpose of appreciation and admiration thereof, but also to understand the socio-political circumstances that assisted in giving rise to it (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 195). Culture is dynamic and is comprised of several alternative concepts relating to its central meaning (Milner and Ford 2007: 167). A dynamic perception of culture encompasses sets of changing practices in which people engage so as to live their lives and which participants continually create and recreate whilst interacting (Liddicoat 2004: 301). Furthermore, these cultural practices are representative of a ‘contextual framework’ used by people in order to structure and comprehend their social worlds and interact with other individuals (Liddicoat 2004: 301). Milner and Ford (2007: 167) define culture as “the characteristics of a person that are developed through formal and informal experiences, knowledge disposition, skills, and ways of knowing and understanding that are informed by race (the social construction of one’s skin color[sic]), ethnicity (history, heritage, customs, rituals, values, and symbols), identity (how one perceives and represents himself/herself), class (economic/resource situation), sexuality and gender.”

2.2.4 Culture and language

Language (both verbal and non-verbal) is a fundamental component of culture (Meier et al 2007: 165). Because language and culture (and therefore education) are so intricately related, staff within educational settings need to display a positive bearing towards children of different ethnic groups and not attempt to replace their own languages with English (Meier et al 2007: 165). Historically, within South Africa, language was used in segregationist policies as a foundation for the classification and division of people. Vygotsky (1986 cited in Sleeter and Grant 2007: 196) believes that language is both a social and a cultural phenomenon and that it is crucial to the development of thought; the individual's cultural and social development greatly influence cognitive development. Drama is an effective means of developing language: this is discussed in the next chapter.

2.2.5 Culture and religion

Religion is a basic component of cultural background and diversity within religion is a complex issue with which to cope in schools owing to its tremendously sensitive nature (Chidester, Dexter and James 2003: 2). Several countries which consist of a variety of faiths (e.g. Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Namibia and South Africa) have assumed an approach whereby world religion is taught (Chidester et al 2003: 2).

2.2.6 Dimensions of culture

Milner and Ford (2007: 167) present a model of culture which relies upon the work of Hofstede. Four complementary and inter-related dimensions of culture are presented. Each dimension exists along a continuum with the ends of the continuum not being dichotomous but rather, complementary (Milner and Ford 2007: 167). Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 33) discuss the same dimensions but refer to them as "guiding lights" as they maintain that there are no definite answers to the understanding of the dynamics of culture, but guiding lights exist upon which to pull in the process. Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 33-48) discuss six "guiding lights". It is important to bear in mind that, depending on the situation, individuals may be situated in the centre of the continuum or in possession of characteristics from both ends of the continuum simultaneously. The four dimensions of Milner and Ford (2007) are represented first and Lebaron and Pillay's (2006) additional two are included at the end:

- ***Personal vs. social responsibilities***

This dimension deals with how people struggle with the balance of personal responsibilities and those of the greater society. “Universalism” and “particularism” are the two opposing ends of the spectrum. “Universalism” involves the putting aside of personal objectives in the name of objectivity, whilst “particularism” involves the use of personal feelings for making decisions – family and friends are placed first.

- ***Concept of time***

The way in which people perceive and deal with time, and how individuals’ concept of time affects their interactions is another way in which cultures differ. At the poles of this continuum are monochronic and polychronic points of reference. Those at the monochronic end of the continuum view time as a commodity that is measurable and there is a restricted amount of it. Thus time must be used wisely and not wasted. People who have a polychronic view of time perceive time to be limitless and not of necessity measurable. There is always more time and people can never be too busy.

- ***Concept of self***

People within differing cultures hold varying ideas regarding “ideas, values, and perceptions of personal identity” (Milner and Ford 2007: 168). The two ends of the spectrum are “individualism” and “collectivism”. At the “individualism” end of pole, the individual is the smallest component. Independence and self-sufficiency guarantee the welfare of the individual and, in the end, the group. Thus, emphasis is placed on independence and self-reliance is of value – personal freedom is highly sought after. At the “collectivism” end of the spectrum, the primary group, usually the family, is the smallest component of survival. The individual’s identity is determined as part of his/her role within the family. Concord and inter-reliance are emphasised and valued. People think in terms of the group and in a social way.

- ***Styles of communication***

Communication involves the transmission of messages. “What people say, how they say it, and what they do not say are deeply influenced by culture” (Milner and Ford 2007: 169). Communication styles occur along a continuum of styles that are direct or indirect, within contexts that are high and low. Those with an indirect orientation tend to “infer, suggest and imply” (Milner and Ford 2007: 169) rather than express what they have to say directly. During disagreements, people of this orientation tend to avoid conflict. This intuitive understanding is referred to as context. Within cultures that are high-context non-verbal communication is of great importance. Non-verbal signals such as: personal space, touch, eye-contact, or tone when speaking entertain a good deal of attention as they assist in the passing on of messages. Direct cultures, on the other end of the spectrum, have a propensity to be individualistic. Messages are required to be put across in an unambiguous and blatant manner. People with this orientation have a tendency to express their feelings directly as opposed to inference, suggestion or implication; the spoken word contains the majority of meaning. In cultures that are low-context, the main method of communication is verbal and thus contextual signals, distinctive situations and extraordinary circumstances are unlikely to attract attention, owing to the dependence on what is verbalised rather on that which is performed.

- ***Specificity vs diffuseness***

Specificity versus diffuseness refers to orientations regarding focus and the manner in which tasks are approached. This area is difficult to describe and perhaps is most easily understood in tabular form:

Table 2.1 *General orientations privileged by specificity – diffuseness*

Specificity	Diffuseness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Specific focus ○ Efficiency and performance ○ Outcome and solutions ○ Detail orientation ○ Exactness and precision ○ Success as measurable and tangible ○ Factual and analytical ○ Simplification ○ Analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Nebulous or fuzzy focus ○ Relationships and teamwork ○ Process ○ Holistic orientation ○ Ambiguity and ambivalence ○ Success as felt and experienced ○ Relative ○ Complexity ○ Synthesis

(Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 41)

- ***Low power distance vs high power distance***

This orientation refers to the hierarchical nature of a culture. Those cultures that could be defined as “Low Powered” have structures that are based on equality, where opportunities exist for all, status is achieved, decision-making is democratic and authority is shared (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 48). On the opposite end of the continuum, those cultures that could be defined as “High Powered” have structures that are hierarchical, status is ascribed, special privileges exist, decision-making is autocratic and clear authority figures exist (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 48).

Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 48-51) have developed the concept of “cultural flowers” which describe the overlapping of starting points of the continuums. For example, cultures which favour group cohesiveness are to be expected (more often than not) to use indirect communication and thus these starting points will overlap (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 49-50).

2.2.7 Biculturals

The study of biculturals involves those who engage within more than one culture (Ho-Ying Fu, Chiu, Morris and Young 2007: 58). The study of biculturals provides important information for those wishing to learn more about cultural competency. Biculturals have the express ability to traverse

through a second culture in an expert fashion and are able to interpret and to articulate messages in situations in a similar way to the natives (Ho-Ying Fu et al 2007: 58). Learners are often adept at converting into bicultural beings as they are able to function within the wider society as well as within their own ethnic communities. However, this frequently results in the emergence of an intrapersonal struggle (Masko 2005: 177). Ho-Ying Fu et al (2007: 58) state that in accordance with this view, "learning the contents of a culture and assimilating its practices and values can be likened to an expertise building process." To this end a process of "frame switching" has been proposed by researchers in which an automatic activation of cultural frames occurs and which are interwoven systems of knowledge structures which are activated in response to signals of the cultural needs of a situation (Ho-Ying Fu et al 2007: 59). Ho-Ying Fu et al (2007: 60) have developed a method in which to measure "spontaneous correspondent inferences from cultural cues" through which they have demonstrated that "a spontaneous shift in correspondent cultural inferences is robust, reversible and specific to biculturals."

2.2.8 Culture and globalisation

Singh (2004: 103) refers to globalisation as a set of theories to which researchers have access in order to make sense of present "economic, cultural and technological changes" that is both a process and a phenomenon which is undergone in "complex, uneven, and varied ways by people across different places or locales." In this context, culture refers to the "phenomenological experience of global modernity" which in essence is the manner in which humans understand and make sense of the displacement caused by global modernity as individuals and in the collective sense (Singh 2004: 106). Displacement represents the manner in which intricate global ties diminish cultural bonds to location (Singh 2004: 106). The term "global culture" represents the increasing similarity and homogeneity of the cultures of the world (Singh 2004: 110). The global culture of education has a component of economic development and human capital which encompasses the concept of equal opportunities for competition within the labour market (Singh 2004: 110). Furthermore, individuals "simultaneously desire and resist the push-pull forces of the global culture, and in enacting these contradictory and paradoxical processes of attraction and repulsion, people appropriate resources from the "global flow" that offer societal and financial options or else the attempt to stay entrenched in their home language and culture (Singh 2004: 110).

2.2.9 Transmission of culture

Because culture is learned, it is transmitted to children via adults. The society's continuation is dependent upon adult intervention in the teaching and maintenance of culture (Ramsay 2006: 38). It is the responsibility of education to expose learners to culture and innovations in culture have an impact on education (Le Roux 2000: 22). Schools are developed partly as a means of assisting with the transmission of culture and function as a link between the family unit and more structured groups within society (Ramsay 2006: 38). Le Roux (2000: 23) states that in a society such as South Africa, which is multicultural, the transmission of culture must *reflect* society's plurality and multicultural nature.

2.2.10 Overview

Both culture and religion are key components of an individual's cultural identity. No single definition of culture exists. However, there are several dimensions of culture that can act in the interest of providing guidance towards an understanding thereof. The study of biculturals provides valuable insight into how individuals switch from one cultural framework to another. Culture is transmitted from one generation to another and schools are developed in part as a means of assisting with the transmission of culture. Thus, where subcultural pluralism exists to the extent that it does in South Africa, conflict arises over the dominant culture within a school.

2.3 IDENTITY FORMATION AND GROUP IDENTITY

O'Hagan (2001: 21) states that "Cultural competence necessitates an understanding of concepts, subject to powerful influences and pressures in an increasingly technological and rapidly-changing world." It is important to note that an individual's identity is comprised of multiple forms of difference such as gender, language, religion, race or ethnicity and social class (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 203). The expression 'cultural identity' is, in comparative terms, a recent creation. However, both words expressed independently date back prior to the formation of the English language (O'Hagan 2001: 28). Identity is first composed simultaneous to the identification with, and an awareness of, belonging to a person or entity (O'Hagan 2001: 28). Dolby (2000: 899) states that "one of the predominant theoretical floors of multicultural education is its defining, marking, and deployment of the concept of identity." Furthermore, O'Hagan (2001: 28) proposes that the individual cannot engage with difference unless he has formed a sense of similarity and "belonging".

Langman (2003: 224) states that cultural identities are “scripts that are expressed in the ritual performances that sustain solidarity and affirm distinctive roles and personae.” These “narratives of identity” characteristically commence with “mythical roots of origin” linking the present to the past and establishing a unique group of people and guarantee that it continues into the future (Langman 2003: 224). Dolby (2000: 900) examines identity as an event that instead of being a “stable entity” is dynamically “produced and reproduced.”

Erikson (cited in ACT for Youth Upstate Center of Excellence research facts and findings, November 2002: 1) proposed that whilst identity formation could take place throughout the course of an individual’s life, identity formation is the critical “developmental task” of adolescence. Erikson(1968: 95) defined identity as “the accrued confidence in the inner sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for others.” Marcia (1966 cited in Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73) expanded upon Erikson’s “bipolar framework of identity vs role confusion” to a model which was classified along the facets of “exploration and commitment.” According to Marcia (1966 cited in Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73), *Identity Achieved* adolescents have completed a personal commitment to a variety of life tasks following a time of crisis or exploration. During the *Moratorium* phase adolescents are in the process of exploring alternatives, but no commitments have been made (1966 cited in Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73). During the *Foreclosed* phase adolescents have not explored options themselves yet have determined identity commitments (1966 cited in Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73). *Identity diffusion* is characterised by “confusion, disorganisation, and lack of exploration or commitment to any relevant life-tasks” (1966 cited in Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73). The formation of identity is explored relative to a range of life domains or tasks such as *occupation, religion and politics* - these were researched initially in relation to the male gender (Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann 2003: 169). Further domains that were added include: *attitudes towards premarital sex, sexual values, gender role, friendships and dating and leisure activities* (Alberts et al: 2003: 169). Modern theorists suggest that a family environment that typically contains a high degree of parental involvement in the activities of the adolescent, contains opportunities for growth as well as open channels of communication and self-expression, foster healthy formation of identity in adolescents (Tung and Sandhu 2007: 73). Adolescents typically reformulate their views of their parents, no longer idealise them and relax their emotional dependency on their parents (Bleweitt and Broderick 1999: 2). Adolescents characteristically become increasingly autonomous from their parents and more dependent on their peers (Bleweitt and Broderick 1999: 3).

Much of a person’s identity is shaped by what is viewed in the media (Finley 2002: 163). Individuals are educated and socialised to certain identities including gender and nationality (Finley 2002: 163).

“These identities are grounded within a set of metanarratives about class, race, gender, age and sexual orientation...” (Finley 2002: 163).

The notion of identity has become fraught with problems as options have expanded due to globalisation (Langman 2003: 223). Globalisation generates forces that simultaneously standardise as well as set apart identities (Langman 2003: 223). Consumerism has made available a host of extraordinary identities and “by the end of the 20th century, popular culture valorised idealised bodies as sites of commodified forms of health, beauty and fashion promising glamorous identities and ecstatic sexuality (Langman 1993 cited in Langman 2003: 223). In addition, “fashion, race and adornment are important badges of identity since they locate the actor either inside or outside a particular group.”(Langman 2003: 226) Schools undoubtedly reinforce the elements of identity formation that persist within the media (Finley 2002: 163). Sleeter and Grant’s (2007: 195) perception of learning is as “active, social, and inextricably entwined with identity development.” Langman (2003: 226) refers to those individuals who are in control of socialisation (parents, teachers, religious leaders and the mass media) and states that they endeavour to “colonise desire, consciousness and identity.”

A commission of inquiry investigated the issue of “national historical amnesia” when issues of persistent unsolved racial tension within schools became prominent (Nkomo et al 2004: 6). Within South African schools several recent issues of racism have been highlighted in the news: “Underlying racial tension among pupils may have led to the stabbing of two Hoërskool Akasia teenagers during a fight outside the grounds” (Bateman and Da Costa: 2008). In response to this, SA Human Rights Commission deputy chief executive, Dr Andre Keet, said that a perfect opportunity for dealing with diversity in schools was missed during the first decade of democracy (Bateman and Da Costa: 2008). Furthermore, he was quoted as saying, “Now we have subtle forms of racial prejudice, almost under the surface developments, because pupils and teachers have not learnt to deal with issues of prejudice. Those incidents in schools reflect on South Africa as a whole and show subtle ingrained social prejudice,” (Bateman and Da Costa: 2008). Thus, there is a need to address issues of racism and prejudice within South African schools in a proactive sense. Masko (2005: 191) states that there is a means of developing a response by teachers, school administrators and youth leaders towards racial conflict (retroactively) once it occurs and that those “working with children should consider the consequences of utilising empathy in their disciplinary approaches to racial conflict” (Masko 2005: 192).

2.3.1 Racism

“Racism is the belief that one’s own race is superior to another (Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 15).” This belief is formed around the bogus principle that intellectual characteristics and social behaviour are determined by one’s physical attributes (Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 15). The term cultural racism is the perception that “the customs, art, music, literature, economics language, traditions and religious beliefs of minority groups are inferior to those of the dominant culture” (Bennet cited in Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 15).

2.3.2 Stereotypes and Prejudice

Stephan (1999: xiii) alludes to the complexity and multifaceted nature of racism and stereotyping. There are many definitions of prejudice, however. Sogunro (2001: 24) states that “one thing common to all forms of prejudice is the psychological backlash on human behaviour.” Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65) call for anti-racist programmes to be put in place within South African schools. Many questions with regard to the nature of prejudice and stereotyping are posed by Stephan (1999: xiii) but he expresses that mere intergroup contact within our schools and the teaching that racism and stereotyping is wrong is not enough to prevent children either from exhibiting prejudicial behaviour or from the act of stereotyping of other people. Stephan’s (1999: xiii) focus is upon practices which educators could adopt in order to reduce stereotyping and prejudice.

- ***Stereotypes***

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982: 1042) defines stereotype as an “unduly fixed mental impression...make unchangeable, impart monotonous regularity to, fix in all details, formalise.” Similarly, Lemmer and Squelch (1993: 16) refer to the fixed nature of stereotypes: “A stereotype is a simple, rigid and generalised description of a person or group.” Furthermore, Lemmer and Squelch (1993: 16) state, “When a stereotyped description is attached to a racial, cultural or national group, there is often the implication that the characteristics are genetically determined and so cannot be changed.” Stereotypes are comprised of “the traits attributed to social groups” (Stephan 1999: 1). When stereotypes are applied to social groups they may prove detrimental to intergroup relations because they are frequently “negative, over-generalised and incorrect” (Stephan 1999: 1). These stereotypes are dangerous as they develop into the core for interactions between “group” members and in turn create problems for both the groups using the stereotypes and for those associated with

the stereotyped groups (Stephan 1999: 2). Furthermore, Stephan (1999: 2) states that the reasons why the stereotypes are so difficult for individuals to let go of are that they serve a multiplicity of functions - for example, to assist in the maintenance of a positive self-image and thus the justification of "social status and worldview" (Jost and Banaji, 1993 cited in Stephan 1999: 2); the reduction of the complexity of the social world and the provision of guidelines for social interaction. Thus, people create social categories in which people are labelled according to characteristics that make them distinguishable from other people (Stephan 1999: 2). Stephan (1992: 16) delineates several difficulties which teachers encounter with regard to stereotypes:

- the nature of stereotype is often "negative, overgeneralised and incorrect";
- when individuals are categorised into social groups, differences are often exaggerated and similarities between members of the "outgroup" are overstated;
- information about outgroups is processed in terms of character traits, especially with regard to negative behaviour which serves to trigger the negative traits in the mind of the individual;
- when traits are activated subconsciously, they yield more severe judgements of the stereotyped groups than the apparent evidence would suggest;
- when collecting information with regard to others there is a tendency to search for evidence that affirms preconceptions and to ignore information that refutes negative information;
- the regularity with which negative behaviour occurs within "outgroups" is overestimated;
- there is a predisposition to recall negative behaviour before positive behaviour with regard to "outgroups";
- a negative mood predisposes individuals to focus upon negative information with regard to others.

Thus, the dynamics that affect and sustain stereotyping are vast and daunting. It would appear that in order to overcome stereotyping, a complex approach is required.

- ***Prejudice***

Prejudice has been defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982: 819) as a "preconceived opinion, bias (against, or in favour of), person or thing." Lemmer and Squelch (1993: 16) add to this definition by stating that: prejudice involves the formation of a judgement or opinion without the

appropriate investigation of relevant facts; it implies an unflattering sensation or judgement without the relevant data, thought or rationale; the feelings and opinions or attitudes are deemed hostile and are directed against a particular “racial, religious or national group”. Stephan (1992: 24) defines prejudice as “a negative attitude toward a social group.” In addition to the negativity of the attitude, Stephan (1992: 24) regards prejudice as “usually rigid, irrational, overgeneralised and unjust.” Stephan (1992: 24) believes that the essential feature of prejudice is “the negative evaluation of outgroups.” Groups towards which prejudice is directed include “other ethnic groups, females, gays and lesbians, the disabled, and the elderly” (Stephan 1999: 25). Sogunro (2001: 24) states that there are many negative effects of prejudice such as: civil unrest, racial conflict, a breakdown in communication, the cause of unwarranted suffering, a thwarting of cooperation and a worsening of crime. In addition, other antisocial behaviour results in: poor discipline, deliberate negligence and harm, withdrawal, isolation, teen pregnancy, drug abuse, crisis of identity, stress and even suicide (Sogunro 2001: 24). The complex nature of prejudice is evident in the number of theories that relate to the explanation of prejudice; however, recent interest has been directed towards less obvious and concealed demonstrations of prejudice (Stephan 1999: 25).

Stephan (1992: 25-34) reviews seven theories of prejudice which will briefly be mentioned:

- ***Symbolic Racism Theory***

This theory consists of a combination of anti-African-American feelings and the perception that African Americans violate certain values: for example; individualism, self-reliance and obedience.

- ***Aversive Racism Theory***

A discrepancy exists between values and feelings which leads the “ingroup” to avoid African-Americans so as to avoid feeling uncomfortable; this feeling often leads to over-compensatory behaviour when they think they may be behaving in a racist manner – such behaviour may be perceived as patronising.

- ***Ambivalence-Amplification Theory***

This theory considers that there is a profound ambivalence within individuals that is characterised by a conflict between sentiments of sympathy for the disadvantaged group members and a dislike for

prior conflict between the groups, the amount and type of contact between the groups, the relative statuses of the groups and knowledge of the other group” (Stephan 1999: 32).

It is relevant to note that these theories relate to American society and are based on its white majority’s proposed feelings towards the black Afro-American minority. South African society is similar in the sense of the existence of a history of racial conflict, yet is vastly different in terms of its racial construction and economic make-up. However, many of the issues raised in the aforementioned theories are pertinent to South African society. Stephan (1992: 33) states that excessive levels of prejudice have the potential to go together with “intense negative emotions such as anger, rage, resentment, and hatred, as well as hostile, aggressive, and discriminatory behavior [sic]”. If we are to work at ways of changing prejudice and thus developing cultural competency, then the nature of prejudice needs to be understood within the context of South Africa. If the Social Compunction theory is to be considered, then there is the implied belief that racism can be altered by teaching children that it is wrong.

2.3.3 Implications of stereotypes and prejudices for South Africa

Within the context of South African education, a discussion surrounding racism, stereotyping and prejudice is inextricably linked to the country’s turbulent history.

In addition, Integrated Threat Theory is especially pertinent to the South African situation. There has been a high degree of intergroup conflict as prejudice during the Apartheid rule was based on maintaining the status and power of the white minority (Kallaway 2002: 13). The amount and nature of contact between groups and thus intergroup knowledge was affected by apartheid where groups were separated by law (Suzman 1993: 101). Although these laws have been repealed, parents and teachers may – in accordance with Compunction Theory – have embedded misconceptions that could possibly be activated automatically when individuals come into contact with members of other races. “Individuals’ attitudes and beliefs concerning racial and gender groups can seemingly be activated without conscious awareness of the activation into contact with members of other races” (Richeson and Ambady 2003: 177). Such feelings have the potential to be transmitted to children. Furthermore, as a hangover from Separate Development during the apartheid years, integration at schools has occurred, but in terms of where people live, change has taken place slowly and neighbourhoods remain mostly racially and ethnically divided. In accordance with the South African Schools’ Act (Act Number 84 of 1996), no learner is to be refused admission to a public school because of an incapacity to pay school fees. However, it would appear as if refusal

does indeed happen and that the establishment of high school fees is being used as a means of excluding learners on the basis of race or class (Dept of Education 2001(a): 41). As a result, a stratified education system has developed in which social class determines the right of access (Nkomo et al 2004: 8). Such inequities need to be addressed and multiculturalism is an approach which could be used to focus on social issues such as these.

2.4 MULTICULTURALISM

Multicultural education is studied in this section as a response to racism, prejudice and stereotyping. Thus, various methods of overcoming racism, prejudice and stereotyping will be viewed as inclusive to the concept of multicultural education. The overview of these represent an attempt to explore ways in which the recognition of diversity and development of cultural competency amongst adolescent students within the context of multicultural secondary schools in South Africa could occur. Multiculturalism is the overriding theoretical framework which encompasses cultural competency.

2.4.1 What is multiculturalism?

Multiculturalism as a term has a multiplicity of meanings (Le Roux 2000: 23-24). The range of meanings extends from multi-ethnic studies to antiracism as well as education that is multicultural (Sleeter and Grant 1987: 436). Squelch (1991: 14) describes multiculturalism as inherent within a society that is comprised of several cultural groups based upon race, religion, language, ethnicity, traditions and nationality. The fundamental source for the multicultural point of view is that groups of people vary in their personal culture in so far as their joint encounters of historical, political and economic experiences result in a particular means in which people interpret and conduct themselves in their particular social milieu (Wolsko, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink 2000: 636). This is termed one's *subjective culture* and arises in "different expectations and different perceptions of the antecedents or consequences of interactions" (Triandis 1988: 33). Thus, the major goal of multiculturalism is to reduce the conflicts that result from intergroup relations via the development of an understanding and consciousness of discrepancies in group experiences (Wolsko et al 2000: 636). Sogunro (2001: 20) describes multiculturalism as "a socio-political construct aimed at promoting interconnectedness and respect between and among peoples of varying cultural and racial backgrounds."

Finazzo (1997: 100) states that it is the goals and implications of multiculturalism that are of larger importance than the definition of multiculturalism itself. Multiculturalism as an approach has developed as a means by which policy-makers deal with a multiplicity of cultures (Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 2). Early responses to diversity of culture took the form of policies which were assimilationist (wherein subordinate groups were absorbed by the dominant culture) and these have steadily been replaced with multicultural approaches (Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 2). Carrim (1998: 308) makes the point that the assimilationist approach is the approach that was put into place in South Africa by the Clouse announcement in 1990 wherein 'blacks' needed to adopt the "white" schools' cultural ethos and to adapt to it. In this study the term multicultural will be used in the context of a society that is inclusive of several diverse cultures. The progression from a form of education that is assimilationist to one which espouses the principles of multiculturalism has engendered the development of "multicultural education" as a significant approach to the education of culturally diverse groups of learners (Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 3).

2.5 MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Teachers globally are challenged with the undertaking of teaching classes in which cultural diversity is the norm. "Schools are generally perceived to have the potentialities of fostering intercultural awareness, understanding, and appreciation of cultural convergence and diversity" (Sogunro 2001: 19). In South Africa the consolidation of a new democracy is precarious (Gibson and Gouws 2000: 278). This unsteadiness is due to the high level of subcultural pluralism in a society which is profoundly divided along "racial, ethnic and linguistic lines" (Gibson and Gouws 2000: 278). A significant consequence of subcultural pluralism is political intolerance (Gibson and Gouws 2000: 278).

Complicating the issue of education is the assertion that a gap has always been in existence between teachers and learners which arises from age and role and is then often complicated due to diversity in cultural backgrounds (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 27). Recently this chasm has broadened as a growing number of students originate from homes with differing lifestyles and family compositions (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 27).

The didactic approach most widely used as a programme to improve intergroup relations is multicultural education (Stephan 1999: 61). Multicultural education has materialised as an overriding concept that encompasses race, culture, language, social class, gender, and disability (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 28).

Sogunro (2001: 22) provides the following “10-point recipe” on the teaching of multicultural education in schools:

- different cultural groups need to be studied via literature and oral presentations of various people living within the community;
- parents should be encouraged to enlighten their children with regard to their cultures;
- students should be encouraged to talk about their cultures;
- students should be encouraged to reflect upon their experiences based on the cultures which were studied;
- the reinforcement of ethical values in students’ homes should be encouraged;
- the knowledge, skills and attitudes essential for the contribution of success in others should be demonstrated;
- students should be placed in groups to complete assignments related to cultures that differ from their own;
- students should role-play the various cultures about which they have learned;
- class activities should be complemented with relevant excursions, tours and the like.

Sogunro (2001: 23) states that whilst the majority of teachers today are proficient in their subject areas, the necessary skills and attitudes for the teaching of multicultural populations is often lacking. This is because many teachers were employed prior to the implementation of multiculturalism. Le Roux (2000: 19) states that most teachers in South Africa were educated in a monocultural system and that few have the necessary skills “for the reality of multicultural teaching.” Many educators are still under the misconception that multiculturalism refers to race only (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 28). Sleeter and Grant (2007: 28) assert that race is not the main form of social equality in need of attention. Sogunro (2001: 20) states that “the intent of multicultural education is encouraged, but the practice has not kept pace with prescription.” Furthermore, professional development needs to take place in order for teacher attitudes to be in alignment with the principles of multicultural education (Sogunro 2001: 23).

Multicultural education recognises and cherishes diversity of all kinds and wishes to inculcate those same values within learners in order to foster greater tolerance within (and in so doing an enrichment thereof) society. The emphasis of a multicultural curriculum is not upon mainstream society; instead, it reflects the views of different minority groups (Stephan 1999: 61). However,

starting with the premise of diversity rather than justice possibly leads to dealing with diversity only and disregard for issues of justice (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 184).

Definitions of multicultural education are multifarious. However, multicultural education should reflect the diversity of cultures within our society and be inclusive of all such racial and cultural groups (Baptiste cited in Lemmer and Squelch 1993: 3.). Furthermore, differences not only ought to be acknowledged but should also be celebrated (Richeson and Nussbaum 2003: 2). Finazzo (1997: 103) states that multicultural education should allow all learners to do extremely well and to obtain the “social skills, knowledge and attitudes” that are needed in order to improve their capacity to productively inhabit a diverse society. Sleeter and Grant (2007: 184) are critical of the perception that the term “multicultural” refers merely to “many cultures”. Jansen (1990: 334) states that multicultural education ought to have a “strong, effective and systematic component designed to reduce personal and institutional racism.” Thus, the onus on multicultural education goes beyond the mere educating of individuals, but it has a transformative potential within society in totality. Abdi (2002: xi) asserts that culture, education and development are interlaced. Sleeter and Grant (2007: 184) emphasise that multicultural education should identify and challenge racism as well as other forms of injustice.

Le Roux (2000: 23-24) states that most definitions include the following components: multicultural education exists as a specific approach towards education; it is continuous and subject to constant change; it enhances the awareness and understanding of culture; it recognises and is accepting of cultural diversity; it develops equality; it involves the transformation of the whole school’s constituent and interrelated parts so as to attend to the needs of learners from differing cultural, language and socio economic backgrounds. Sleeter and Grant (2007: 185) add that the social issue of greatest concern is the eradication of domination of one group of people by another and thus it is a politically-guided practice.

2.5.1 Aims of multicultural education

There are several aims of multicultural education. Some of the more established aims are mentioned here. Ming and Dukes (2006: 42) state that there are three main aims of multicultural education:

- a) to prepare learners for responsible citizenship;

- b) to ensure this preparation through the consideration and respect for the cultural backgrounds of all learners within the learning process;
- c) the reform of all schools so that learners are able to experience educational success despite their backgrounds.

Finazzo (1997: 4-5) states that multiculturalism aims towards: the provision of opportunities in which learners can realistically view the diversity of their unique population; the recognition of differences and similarities of various groups of people; an investigation of the contributions made by particular members of various groups from an historical as well as present position within the realms of the academic, political, religious and scientific arenas; an awareness of the self and a feeling of pride in one's membership to a family, group, community, country and global community; a sensation of social discovery, caring and action as concerns for greater problems and issues external to the immediate world of the learner are broached; an integrated development of the child – socially, emotionally and cognitively - which occurs when learners, teachers and parents “discuss, observe, reflect, apply, criticise, question, characterise, summarise and create ...” (Finazzo 1997: 5).

Le Roux (1992: 31) states that multicultural education should aim to assist learners in conceptualising “a vision of a better society and [to] acquire the necessary knowledge, understanding and skills to enable them to move the society toward greater equality and freedom, the eradication of degrading poverty and dehumanising dependency, and the development of meaningful identity for all people.”

Sogunro (2001: 28) states that in order for there to be harmonious “coexistence” in a society that is multicultural, learners require “diverging and dynamic critical thinking; analytical, interactive, problem-solving and decision-making skills that are adaptable to various situations.” Educators need to assist students in examining their personal biases and stereotypes with regard to various cultural groups (Sogunro 2001: 28). Importantly, biases that emerge during class discussions or incidents that occur outside the classroom are not to be disregarded by the teacher (Sogunro 2001: 28).

An overt aim of multicultural education is the reduction of prejudice (Stephan 1999: 62). However, Sleeter and Grant (2007: 184) state that when multicultural education first came into being, it challenged relations of power and in particular racism. Thus, its aim was in part political. Sleeter and Grant (2007: 184) assert that the term “power” has subsequently been replaced with “more comfortable” terminology such as “tolerance” which has led to an apolitical version of

multiculturalism. To this end, they have developed an approach termed “Multicultural Social Justice Education” which deals with “oppression and social structural inequality based on race, social class, gender, and disability” (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 185). More directly, the goal within schools, is the preparation of citizens for active work towards structural equality within society; the promotion of cultural pluralism as well as different lifestyles and the promotion of equal opportunity within the school.

Within the context of South Africa, Carrim states that the multicultural approach that replaced the assimilationist one has been in itself a reconstructed form of racism (1998: 312). Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65) assert that the form of multiculturalism that is espoused in a study which they undertook placed the emphasis upon ‘tolerance’ of other ‘cultures’ and issues regarding racism were rarely tackled. Thus learners become entrapped in fixed identities and are characterised as representative of their cultural groups with any understanding of culture being limited to superficial aspects such as lifestyle, dress, food and language (Carrim 1998: 313; Sleeter and Grant 2007: 194). This view is corroborated by Suzuki (1984: 300) who states that the mere inclusion of ethnic content in the curriculum leads to an overemphasis on culture. This does not augur well for the erosion of racist practices as ‘differences’ are perceived in a negative light (Carrim 1998: 313). “...racism is displaced into consideration of different lifestyles and racist practices, processes and assumptions continue almost unabated.” (Carrim 1998: 316) Le Roux (2000: 25) states that such a view gives rise to “negative attitudes” and “cultural prejudice”. Carrim puts forward a “critical anti-racism” as that which is required in order to create a greater understanding of the differences and dynamics within racial groups. This would direct the way towards a “de-essentialist” grasp of identity which would more truthfully reflect the manner in which people exist, the kind of experiences they have and the means by which their identities are shaped (Carrim 1998: 317). Mzamane (1990: 365) states that “Education for development and disalienation in South Africa must be built upon the culture of the majority, which should be accommodating, dynamic and capable of use in mass mobilisation for liberation and development.” Thus, Abdi (2002: 84) makes a case for “an extreme form of positive multiculturalism” that vigorously struggles towards the closure of socioeconomic and educational gaps that divide the abundant groups in South Africa. Abdi (2002: 84) and Bhabba (1994: 10) go beyond an inflexible conception of culture with the notion of a “hybridised” culture and the concept of a “third space”. Thus a unique environment is created in which its members realise an opening in which to coexist in a harmonious manner (Abdi 2002: 84). The aims of the aforementioned conceptions of multiculturalism would fall within the ambit of Sleeter and Grant’s (2007: 187) approach termed Multicultural Social Justice Education as they envisage education for social change.

Thus, multicultural education aims not only to develop the cultural competency of individuals but also to teach the necessary skills in order to operate effectively within a multicultural milieu and to effect social change. It is an approach that needs to be infused within the entire system if it is to be effective. Ways of developing the skills needed to effect these aims need to be investigated.

2.5.2 Approaches to multicultural education

Much has been written regarding the history of multicultural education and thus it will not be elaborated upon here (Le Roux 2000; Sleeter and Grant: 2007; Banks and Banks: 1989). Furthermore, differing approaches exist towards the application of multicultural education. Various typologies exist regarding approaches to multicultural education (Gibson: 1976 and Kumashiro: 2002). However, one of the most recent is by Sleeter and Grant (2007: 29). This is the typology of approaches which will be elaborated upon here:

- ***Teaching the exceptional and the culturally different***

This approach centres around the adaption of instruction to student diversity in order to assist these students to be successful in mainstream society.

- ***Human relations approach***

This approach focuses on the development of love, respect and more effective communication in schools in order to bring people who are different nearer to each other.

- ***Single-Group Studies***

These studies transpired in an effort to raise awareness regarding particular groups (e.g. women, ethnic groups, gays, lesbians) of people in an attempt to “raise consciousness regarding that group’s oppression, rethink the group’s identity and mobilise for social action” (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 29).

- ***Multicultural Education***

This approach connects language, culture, race, gender, disability and social class in an effort to engage the entire school in the celebration of human diversity and the fostering of equal opportunity.

- ***Multicultural Social Justice Education***

This approach is the most recent and it involves the extension of multicultural education to the sphere of social action and focuses on challenging social stratification as well as on the celebration of human diversity and the reality of equal opportunity (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 29-30).

Multicultural Social Justice Education (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 186) aims towards teaching political literacy. People are taught to question society and its account of truth which is accepting of unfairness and inhumanity and develop into beings who are able to envisage, identify and progress towards a more just and compassionate society. It works on the basic sociological assumption that individuals form their beliefs and behaviour in accordance with their social structure. Correspondingly, an individual's position in society or the social and cultural signals received from that position, have an influence upon the individual's actions or how the actions are perceived and understood by other individuals. If an attempt to change individuals is made and the world which they experience remains unchanged, then they will rapidly return to their former ways. Thus, individuals are required to work together in order to realise social change that is greater than mere individuals. To advocates of Multicultural Social Justice Education, culture is a means of adapting to life's circumstances which have partly been determined by group rivalry for resources.

2.5.3 Critical multicultural education and its relevance to the post-apartheid South African situation

2.5.3.1 Critical theories

In order to understand what is meant by critical multicultural education, it is of use to understand the concept of critical theories. Carrim proposes a critical anti-racism theory as the form of "positive" multiculturalism which should be adopted (Carrim 1998: 317). Abdi proposes a form of critical multicultural education. Critical theories, as described by Sleeter and Grant (2007: 188), comprehend social behaviour in the collective sense that they are structured according to groups rather than on an individual basis. Social behaviour is viewed in terms of group conflict for dominance and resources (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 188). Further examples of critical theories include: critical theory, critical race theory, multicultural feminism, critical cultural studies, critical disability studies and queer theory (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 188).

2.5.3.2 Critical multicultural education in South Africa

South Africa's history as is outlined earlier in the chapter has left an education system that is trying to cope with what has been bequeathed to it by both colonial and apartheid systems. This, coupled with "the historically bewildering case of educational inequities and inequalities" (Abdi 2002: 143), has led to a call for the implementation of what has come to be termed *critical multicultural education*.

It would appear that there lurks the possibility of a malevolent danger in the apparently inept implementation of multiculturalism. Carrim's research (1998: 313) led him to conclude that the types of multiculturalism operating in the schools that he studied were "at best stereotypical and, at worst, caricatured." Carrim (1998: 313) states that not only are students located stereotypically but there is also an assumption that their identities are fixed and that they are representative of and loyal to their individual cultures. Quite disturbing is the narrow understanding of culture by educators and students who view it only in relation to ways of life, especially with regard to dress, food and language. Lemmer and Squelch (1993: 3) state that problems with multicultural education are exacerbated by "superficial school practices such as food fairs and token lessons which are passed off as multicultural education." Teachers and education officials need to be enlightened as to the broader definition of culture so as to depart from a cursory treatment thereof such as festivals to do with dance and food (Mead 1970: 64). This view is reiterated by Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65) who experienced in a study done by them that most schools adopted a form of multiculturalism wherein the emphasis was placed on "tolerance" and that seldom attended to issues of racism. Carrim (1998: 313) goes as far as to declare that forms of multiculturalism of this nature are merely "reconstructed forms of racism." Le Roux (2000: 26) states that a radical reconsideration of the "global education setting in all its facets" is required. There needs to be "a complete change of attitude, an unprejudiced empathy, a critical review of one's own classroom practice and an explicit preparedness to change, to adapt and to learn" (Le Roux 2000: 26). Within the context of South Africa, Abdi (2002: 156) emphasises the importance of "shared cultural opportunities," especially among children.

It is important to recognise and acknowledge that cultural differences are inherent within particular racial groups (Carrim 1998: 314). Furthermore, multicultural practices need to be critically evaluated so as to avoid the danger of perpetuating rather than eradicating racism (Carrim 1998: 315). Abdi (2002: 145), in reference to conservative multiculturalism, states that "if this type of multiculturalism/or multicultural education is applied in post-apartheid South Africa, the whole

experiment of the racial democracy project could actually collapse before it 'really' starts." It would appear that a major objection to this type of multiculturalism is its Eurocentric nature. Essentially, what multiculturalism suggests depends on one's conception of the term culture (Abdi 2002: 147). Thus, if culture is viewed as that which "encompasses and actively operationalises all forms and systems of human life," then multiculturalism will assume the same attitude and viewpoint (Abdi 2002: 147). However, if culture is perceived as being boxed into symbolic and ritualistic forms which are expressed and defined through static categories such as food, clothing, songs and festivals, then multiculturalism would also be consistent with those similar, socially-removed classifications of its elements (Abdi 2002: 147).

Multicultural education should be synonymous with empowerment, for according to Sleeter (1991: 2), "empowerment and multicultural education are interwoven, and together suggest powerful and far-reaching school reform." Abdi (2002: 148) explicitly states that multiculturalism within the South African context should be comprehensively striving towards evening out power relations between groups by primarily "equalising and equitising educational provisions." Multiculturalism operates within the realm of the radical critique of power relations (Stam and Shohat 1994: 299). Therefore, it is important for learners to be able to recognise and analyse inequality and oppression in society and in so doing develop the required skills for social action such as being "democratically proactive" (Sleeter 1995: 147). An issue prevalent in this chapter and which is consistent with the goals of critical multiculturalism, is to establish to what extent teachers are still adopting an assimilationist approach and to what extent black learners have or are still expected to adopt the 'white' school's cultural ethos and accept "'white' supremacist logic" (Carrim 1998: 308).

The transformative nature of multicultural education is emphasised by Abdi (2002: 158) in his discussion of the concept of "cultural therapy". This concept represents in essence the transportation of an individual's own culture to such a level of consciousness that one is able to recognise it as a likely source of bias within social interactions (Spindler and Spindler 1994: 3-4). Thus, the individual's own culture and the other culture with which interaction takes place are transformed in the process into a "third presence" separate from the individuals, in order for action to be viewed as 'caused' by a particular culture in interaction with another and not by one's personality (Spindler and Spindler 1994: 3-4). In the development of this concept, Abdi (2002: 159) adopts the term "therapeutic multicultural education" and promotes the prescription thereof for the post-apartheid educational arena.

2.5.4 A multicultural approach versus a colour-blind approach

An aspect in the debate on the improvement of intergroup relations that one cannot ignore is the 'colour-blind' dilemma. The dilemma refers to the issue of whether one should underplay group differences in the pursuit of adopting a 'colour-blind' approach (Stephan 1999: 73). By 'colour-blind', it is meant that ethnic identity is overlooked in the apparent interest of creating racial harmony. Thus, when a teacher encounters a multicultural classroom he or she proceeds as usual (Le Roux 2000: 26). This occurs due to ignorance and a vague understanding of multiculturalism (Le Roux 2000: 26). Milner and Ford (2007: 169) state that "when culture-blind ideologies are adopted, young children of color [sic] are rendered invisible; their differences are ignored and their strengths may not be seen." Some social identity theorists have revealed that strong identification with the 'ingroup' may go along with a greater degree of favouritism towards that group at the expense of the 'outgroup' (Stephan 1999: 73). However, several studies have established that persons who have the most pride in their individual groups are the least likely to be prejudiced towards 'outgroups' (Stephan 1999: 73). Wolsko et al (2000: 649) believe that a balanced approach towards the examination of inter-ethnic relations is needed and this is based upon two premises:

- a) that the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity is important both for people's psychological health, as well as for the future adaptability and creativity of the human species in a rapidly changing social and physical environment;
- b) that there is an urgent need for common ground upon which all groups may realise that as human beings we are more similar to one another than we are different, and that by agreeing on a common set of operating procedures, we can live a co-operative existence."

This pursuit of common ground has also been termed "cultural hybridity" as described by Bhabha (cited in Abdi 2002: 84).

2.5.5 Cultural hybridity and the notion of a *third space*

The "third space" is the meeting place and site of interaction of diverse cultures (Abdi 2002: 151). This should be the domain of education and this culture "will also need to adhere to both dynamism

and locational sustainability in a milieu that enhances its acceptance and acceptability across time and space (2002: 151). Bhabha and Rutherford (cited in Abdi 2002: 84) nurture the premise of discerningly creating an international culture. "The culture of the majority has to instigate the reaction of a space whose agency is transformative, but also selectively in continuous negotiations with the cultures of other groups" (Bhabha 1994: 208). This amicable coexistence of hybridised cultures is vital for both the educational and economic development of all South Africans (Abdi 2002: 84). Bhabha (1995: 156) states that "The intervention of the Third Space, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is continuously revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code." Abdi (2002: 170) wishes to adopt a South African version of Bhabha's cultural "third space" in which "former antagonistic confrontations as well as cultural domination and subordination are to be replaced by the mutually constructive and nationally promoted harmonious coexistence of all cultures, beliefs, identities and expectations." This resonates of an unobtainable utopian vision for South Africa but it is a goal worth striving towards.

2.5.6 Overview

Multicultural education is the approach adopted towards the resolution of cultural conflict and the development of harmonious relations within society. Multicultural education is an approach towards education with which to deal with the multiplicity of divisions within South African schools and social structures as social justice is an important element of multicultural education. Such an approach, which acknowledges and respects diversity, augurs well for the fostering of positive reciprocal race relations and the development of cultural pride within South Africa. An important aim of multicultural education is the reduction of prejudice; however, Sleeter and Grant (2007: 185) stress the importance of social justice and the recognition of equal opportunities within school is important. Inherent to the idea of multicultural education is the notion of empowerment and societal transformation. To this end Sleeter and Grant (2007: 29) espouse Multicultural Social Justice Education as an approach to multicultural education. Such an approach has relevance to South African education where huge disparities exist in terms of equality within education and society. Thus, multicultural education becomes a form of empowerment for individuals. Thus, to enhance the practice of multicultural education and in so doing create a more equitable and accepting society, the concept has been extended to advocate the implementation of critical multiculturalism. Inherent in the notion of the transformative nature of multicultural education is the concept of cultural therapy wherein there is a hybridisation of cultures to encompass the dialectical notion of a "third space". The pursuit of common ground or "cultural hybridity" is a goal worth striving towards

in the pursuit of amicable coexistence of cultures and subcultures within the South African context in particular.

2.6 CULTURAL COMPETENCY

Several disciplines such as social work, nursing and education have undertaken rigorous studies of cultural competency (Hess, Lanig and Vaughan 2007: 32). The development of cultural competency in education falls within the scope of multicultural education. The notion of cultural competency is derived from multiculturalism (Murrell 2006: 81). Whereas multicultural education refers to an overarching philosophy of education which informs the curriculum and approach to teaching, cultural competency refers to a set of values, skills and knowledge that is learnt and internalised by players within a particular environment and which ultimately will inform and transform behaviour. Multiculturalism refers to diversity in many forms without assigning superiority to any one kind. Cultural competency reflects specifically on a particular aspect of multiculturalism. In addition, the notion of cultural competency: “implies broader knowledge of social justice in practice and cultural context” (Murrell 2006: 81). For this reason it could be included within the sphere of Multicultural Social Justice Education. Ming and Duke (2006: 42) state that the key to the development and maintenance of culturally responsive practices under the “umbrella” of multicultural education begins with the comprehension and incorporation of cultural competency.

As is mentioned in the preceding discussion on cultural identity, O’Hagan (2001: 28) asserts that a particular cultural identity may result in a perceived threat or lack of tolerance of people’s apparent differences. Ngugi (1993 in Axtmann 2002: 44) avers that “we must mobilise our centres of perception in order to develop multiple perspectives from which to understand the world.” Thus, cultural competency would involve a reduction of or means of overcoming this perceived threat and the repression of cultural conflict. Cultural conflict is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Much of the existing literature focuses on cultural competency in the health care and social work sectors. The literature regarding cultural competency in education refers largely to the training of educators in this regard. Although this study focuses upon cultural competency amongst learners, much of the information within the available literature can be extrapolated to their situation. The following section discusses ways in which cultural competency is beneficial specifically within the realm of education. Several inter-related models and theories regarding cultural competency exist; however, the basic premise is that all cultures have something of value to offer. This is discussed below. The necessity for the development of cultural competency specifically within the field of

education is discussed as much of the existing literature focuses on cultural competency in the health care professions or within the limited scope of teacher training programmes. Sue (2006: 238) in speaking about cultural competency amongst mental health practitioners, states that one of the problems facing the cultural competency movement is the progression from “a philosophical definition to a practice- or research-oriented one.” Thus, several approaches towards cultural competency in practice as well as the theoretical underpinnings of those practices are included in this section.

2.6.1 What is cultural competency?

Aspects shared by the definitions of cultural competency include: cultural knowledge, cultural awareness, cultural sensitivity or attitudes, cultural encounters, and cultural skills (Hess et al 2007: 32). Cultural competency within the literature of education, health and social welfare has been defined as: “a professional’s ability to function and communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations” (Murrell 2006: 81).

The USA’s National Association Of Social Work (2001) identified ten standards for cultural competency: ethics and values, self-awareness, cross-cultural knowledge and skills, service delivery, empowerment and advocacy, a diverse workforce, professional education, language diversity and cross-cultural leadership (cited in Colvin-Burque, Davis-Maye and Zugazaga 2007: 224).

Liddicoat (2004: 299) identifies four broad perspectives on cultural competency for the language learner and each of these is positioned in relation to the extent to which language and culture are separated or integrated. It is of interest to this study to note the parallels between the view of culture and how the concomitant notion of culture competency is extrapolated from this view. Liddicoat’s (2004: 299) divisions are as follows:

- **High culture**

This constitutes the most traditional paradigm for the teaching of culture. Within this paradigm high culture is considered to be inherent within the literature and thus cultural competency is perceived as being able to manage an established catalogue of literature (Liddicoat 2004: 299).

- ***Areas studies***

This view sees cultural learning as knowledge of the history, geography and institutions of the country in question. Thus, cultural competency in this regard is considered to be knowledge amassed regarding a particular country.

- ***Culture as societal norms***

This view of culture perceives culture to be collections of practices and values typical of that group. Thus, cultural competency is “knowing about what people from a given cultural group are likely to do and understanding the cultural values placed upon certain ways of acting or upon certain beliefs” (Liddicoat 2004: 299).

- ***Culture as practice***

This view perceives culture to be the lived experience of people. Thus, culture perceives “action as context-sensitive, negotiated and highly variable” (Liddicoat 2004: 299). Cultural competency is viewed as the ability to intermingle within the group of people in question in an informed manner (Liddicoat 2004: 299).

A model of cultural competency which is adapted for this study comes from a Freirean approach towards service learning for trainee educators which is based on the principle that all participants are to work reciprocally, pay attention to and learn from each other in order to redress injustices and amend inequalities (Hess et al 2007: 33). Our society at present focuses on a Eurocentric perspective which purports that the disadvantaged, the poor and the underprivileged do not have anything to offer because their opinions are not worthy and are undervalued (Hess et al 2007: 33). Blunt (2007: 95) states that students bring to the classroom “prior knowledge, the triumphs of their culture, and the morals, values and traditions of their heritage” and thus an approach that recognises and values the opinions and backgrounds of all participants is required. Thus, a basic premise for cultural competency is that participants from all cultures have something of value to offer and share.

Ming and Dukes (2006: 42) state that cultural competency “entails mastering complex awareness and sensitivities, various bodies of knowledge, and a set of skills that, taken together, underlie effective cross-cultural teaching.” Whilst Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 16), in talking of cultural

proficiency, state that it is a way to “understand, embrace, and talk about differences that recognises and respects individuals and their cultures.” Cultural competency thus requires an appreciation of intercultural values and practices, insight into and the acknowledgement of the differences of others in a manner which is to the benefit of the individual and society as a whole.

For Murrell (2006: 81), social justice is an important component of cultural competency. “Social justice here means a disposition toward recognising and eradicating all forms of oppression and differential treatment extant in the practices and policies of institutions, as well as a predilection to participatory democracy as the means of this action (Murrell 2006: 81). However, Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 16) maintain that when matters of justice and inclusion are perceived to be problems that are to be solved in (amongst other areas) education, the effect is loaded with tension.

Blunt (2007: 99) claims that cultural competency both values and respects diversity, promotes ongoing cultural contemplation, appeals for the constant expansion of cultural resources and knowledge, and offers supplementary choices to educational models to fulfil the learning requirements of minority students. It is important for educators to understand the learning requirements of children whose culture differs from that of the predominant ethos of the school.

Ming and Duke (2006: 42) define cultural competency as “the ability to successfully teach students from cultures other than your own.” The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in Washington DC in the USA have described cultural competency as “congruent behaviors [sic], attitudes, and skills enabling an individual to work effectively in cross-cultural situations” (NASW 2002 cited in Teasley, Baffour, and Tyson 2005: 228).

Cultural competency within education can be extended beyond the realm of the educators to the learners too. Blunt (2007: 98) cites the US Department of Health and Human Services (DHSS) and says that “culture implies the integrated patterns of human behavior [sic] that include thoughts, communications, actions, customs, beliefs, values and institutions of racial, ethnic, religious or social groups.” Furthermore, the DHSS describes *competence* in this context as “... the ability to operate effectively as an individual or an organisation within the realm of cultural beliefs, behaviors [sic], and obligations presented by consumers and their communities” (Blunt 2007: 98). In this case ‘the organisation’ would refer to the educational arena and most specifically the classroom, whilst ‘the consumers’ would refer to the educators and learners. The promotion of cultural competency does not by necessity mean that one has to agree with the practices and beliefs of the client, but one

does need to understand the historical context, and the political, social and economic environment in which they developed (Teasley et al 2005: 227).

2.6.2 The importance of the development of cultural competency in education

Educators are required to act in response to the requirements of culturally diverse communities (Nuri-Robins, Lindsey, Terrell and Lindsey 2007: 16). Masko (2005: 177) states that schools are not culturally neutral and that the perception that one world's cultural components are inferior to those of another world creates sociocultural borders which make the transition between the home and school culture extremely challenging for learners of colour. Learners then exist within two worlds: one at school and one at home (Masko 2005: 177). Colombo (2007: 11) states that a lack of cultural competency results in gaps that are cultural and experiential between learners who are culturally and literacy diverse, and mainstream teachers.

Furthermore, there often exists a discrepancy between evident educational values and actual academic behaviour (Masko 2005: 177). For often, learners articulate the importance of education yet are unable to observe its benefits in their everyday worlds (Masko 2005: 177). Often they lack role models for whom education has been beneficial (Masko 2005: 177). This would be true in South Africa where unemployment levels are high and a matric certificate does not guarantee employment or economic stability. The high levels of crime and organised gangs could lead to the perception that crime is more lucrative than education. Masko (2005: 177) states that in America schools are established on "white, middle-class values – the values of the majority" and for students who uphold similar "values, beliefs, expectations and normative ways of behaving," the change from home to school is traversed with relatively little difficulty. However, this is not true for "poor students of color [sic]" and indicates a discrepancy between the individual and the environment (Masko 2005: 177).

Within the South African context the situation is somewhat different; however, there exists the anomaly where previously 'white' schools are attended (often mainly) by students of colour who are in actual fact the majority in the country – although commonly come from several different ethnic groups. However, the ethos of the school is frequently still based on white, middle-class values which are at variance with the learners' home experiences. This is complicated by the presence of wide-scale poverty and unemployment and teachers who are usually not culturally competent.

In addition, parents of culturally and linguistically different children are often unsure of how to support their children at school, as they are faced with language barriers (Colombo 2007: 11). These parents' ability to help students with homework and assignments is also affected by limited proficiency in English (Colombo 2007: 11).

Teachers of all cultural backgrounds need to examine themselves and their learners in an effort to reject the notion of cultural-blindness (Milner and Ford 2007: 170). It is possible for teachers from all ethnic, cultural or racial backgrounds to be successful with "any group of student when the teachers have the appropriate knowledge, attitudes, dispositions, and beliefs about teaching, learning, and their students"(Milner and Ford 2007: 170).

Cultural competency is thus a concept that is intended to create positive change (Blunt 2007: 99). Cultural competency is able to bring about positive transformation by diminishing restrictive forces of change, for instance "discrimination, prejudice, social inequalities and biased educational systems" (Blunt 2007: 101).

The enhancement of cultural competency can have an enriching effect within the classroom. "...the study of people in schools has had mainly a cultural orientation. The cultural aspect of race that schools most often focus on is holidays, festivals and fairs..." (Grant 1988: 563). Axtmann (2002: 38) in discussing transcultural performance emphasises that an understanding of transculturation can "contribute to a more effective and transdisciplinary teaching practice." There is agreement amongst scholars that a relationship exists between the culture in which children live and the manner in which they prefer to learn; furthermore, this relationship is unequivocally associated with academic, social and emotional success in school" (Guild 1994: 17). The individuals within a culture tend to exhibit a common pattern of perception when the members of that culture are compared to members of another culture (Bennett 2003: 198).

Classroom conditions for some learners, together with a teacher that is culturally responsive, can mean the difference between staying in school and leaving before completion (Masko 2005: 179). School failure takes root in classrooms wherein the norms and behaviours differ from the students' own backgrounds and, in addition, are in opposition to those they come upon with family and friends. This problem is compounded by poor teacher-parent contact (Masko 2005: 179). Furthermore, Scott and Mumford (2007: 54) have stated that several theorists argue that learner achievement is enhanced when educators are sensitive to culture, make use of culturally applicable

teaching methods and are able to establish a relationship with culturally diverse learners that is perceived to be sincerely empathetic.

Murrell (2006: 81) claims that successful urban teachers must increase cultural competency, which means the capacity to foster academic potential among all learners in social, linguistic and culture settings that differ from their own. "In order to promote clear communication and healthy relationships between teachers and students, cultural competency must be achieved at the highest level" (Blunt 2007: 111). Brown (2006: 15) states that "most teacher candidates lack sufficient cross-cultural competence and sensitivity to appropriately address the complex needs of diverse student groups, and are less likely to be aware of the hidden biases within their school community or to acknowledge and build on the cultural capital that non-majority students bring to the classroom." Thus, the development of cultural competency amongst educators is fundamental to effective learning. Furthermore, it is vital that cultural difference is understood and recognised by educators in order for it to be managed (Blunt 2007: 98). Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 16) state that the multicultural nature of schools provides new prospects for the existing notions of equity and diversity to be challenged by relating them to access and inclusion in new ways. Furthermore, when schools provide what students require and educators help learners and their families to know how to access what the school has to offer most effectively, learners' achievement will increase (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 22).

The focus of this study, however, is the development of cultural competency among learners who will one day take their place as adults within society. "Once individuals are more culturally effective, they can become system change agents. Positive change in our society can lead to a more equitable and socially just society for all people" (Hess et al 2007: 33). Cultural effectiveness, as an extension of cultural competency, involves viewing the world as others do and an attempt to understand how others view oneself (Hess et al 2007: 35).

Thus, cultural competency enhances learning and serves to improve an understanding of the individual's fellow classmates and ultimately fellow citizens.

2.6.3 Approaches to the development of cultural competency

It is of importance to note is that the development of cultural competency takes place over a lifetime (Milner and Ford 2007: 166). The development of cultural competency has to be the result of deliberate and planned effort. Teachers need to move ahead of "culture-blindness" which is an

impractical endeavour not to notice differences (Milner and Ford 2007: 169). Teachers need to acknowledge differences in order to be able to help their learners do the same and in so doing take the first steps in facilitating the development of cultural competency amongst their learners. Liddicoat (2004: 301) states that in order to develop cultural competency, a learner needs to shift the focus away from his or her own culture and that this can “only happen as the result of a deliberate process of teaching” which exposes the learners to what is required, in order to shift the focus from their own cultures and provide them with the skills and knowledge required to understand and interpret the experiences in order to achieve this shift. Likewise, Milner and Ford (2007: 167) state that the quest for cultural competency requires a merger of “awareness, sensitivity and consciousness” which may assist in the revealing of concealed “beliefs, biases, prejudices and values” that may result in a misunderstanding of their own and others’ cultural existence in education and, thus, the world.

2.6.3.1 Cultural diversity

There are various approaches to the development of cultural competency. One such approach is the focus on cultural diversity (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225). This approach promotes learners’ acquaintance with, along with other factors, the ethics, demographics, behaviours and customs of individual ethnic groups (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225). One of the strong points of this cultural diversity model is that an opportunity is created for the identification of exceptional characteristics of an individual culture as well as the development of an awareness of “universal customs, values, beliefs, and roles” (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225). However, a great deal of skill, groundwork and compassion is required on behalf of the instructor in order for the avoidance of characterisations that could cause stereotyping to occur (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225).

2.6.3.2 The development of self-awareness and sensitivity to other cultures

An alternative approach to the development of cultural competency focuses on learners’ advancement of skills that are methodologically and theoretically framed, awareness of self, and understanding of the dynamics involved in majority-minority relations (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225). A key component in developing sensitivity and eventually cultural competency is the recognition of the role of power in minority-majority experiences (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225).

Brown, (2006: 15) in an examination of the work of several theorists (Sleeter, Howard, and Gollnick and Chinn cited in Brown: 2006), maintains that, in order for prospective teachers to develop “cross-

cultural cognisance and cultural diversity sensitivity,” they initially need to be given the opportunity to “objectively clarify, and openly share the foundations of their own cultural frames of reference (e.g. class, ethnicity, gender, race and religion).” In addition, this examination should be inclusive of their own cultural groups’ implicit and explicit mutual beliefs, behaviours and values; the personal view of self in connection with these groups; and the values and attributes that the individual is prepared to share with outsiders to one’s group (Allen and Labbo 2001; Brown 2006: 15). Cultural frames of reference that are imprinted very early in life carry on developing during an individual’s life (Allport 1979; Brown 2006: 15; Bennet 2003). Banks and Howard (cited in Brown 2006: 15) state that these frames of reference “dictate our self concepts and determine how we value, respect, accept, and interact with others both within and outside of our micro-cultures and how we define ourselves in relation to the majority culture.” Several authors (Banks 2001, Bennett 2003, Goodland and Mantle-Bromley 2004 and Howard 1999 cited in Brown 2006: 15) agree that an important component to the development of solid cross-cultural competencies is “knowing, valuing and sharing both the subconscious and conscious cultures of self.” Thus, in order to raise “self-awareness” (Brown 2006: 15), cultural diversity training needs to begin with students’ own examination of their cultural foundations as a forerunner to an exploration of the cultures of others. Whilst these authors refer to teacher training, the concept can be extended to learners too. There are limited numbers of teaching models in existence that could be used in order to improve cultural competency in learners (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225).

Scott and Mumford (2007: 54) state that whilst scholars offer several differing suggestions as to the development of (teacher candidates’) cultural awareness, the common strand within most approaches is the concentration upon critical thinking. For “a self-reflective practitioner is an educated person” (Scott and Mumford 2007: 54).

This self-reflection is in keeping with Blunt’s notion of transformative education. Blunt (2007: 98) claims that in order for transformative education to take place, cultural competency is a prerequisite. Transformative education in turn forms the essence of the integration of cross-cultural issues amongst multicultural groups (Blunt 2007: 98). It may be said that transformative learning occurs when “learners develop an enhanced awareness of how their knowledge and values guide their own perspectives” Blunt (2007: 96). Mezirow (2006: 24-25) states that transformative learning makes reference to the process by which we as individuals transform our taken-for-granted “frames of reference” in order to increase inclusiveness and become more open to change and reflective, so that the frames of reference may in turn create values and attitudes that will demonstrate more truth and justification to direct action.

Two processes which have the potential to develop the transformative learning process are objective and subjective reframing (Blunt 2007: 96). Blunt's model was created and intended to facilitate the evaluation by educators of themselves and their teaching practices. Blunt's transformative education model is developed upon Birchum's model of cultural competency which delineates seven levels at which cultural competency is in the process of evolving. Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 18) have developed a cultural proficiency continuum in which the least and the most highly desired behaviours and practices are depicted as people transverse from "cultural destructiveness to cultural proficiency". These models are elaborated upon henceforth in an effort to provide further elaboration on theoretical concepts that underpin the development of cultural competency.

2.6.3.3 Birchum's model of cultural competency

The following Evolutionary Perspectives model is described by Blunt (2007: 103). This perspective delineates seven levels at which cultural competency is in the process of evolving:

- ***Cultural Awareness***

This refers to a conscious development of an individual's awareness of culture and how it forms and influences values and beliefs. Self-examination results in the individual's identification of personal beliefs that are biased or prejudiced.

- ***Cultural Knowledge***

Cultural knowledge alludes to the ongoing pursuit of information regarding different cultures.

- ***Cultural understanding***

Cultural understanding alludes to the ongoing development of insight and knowledge with regard to the influence of culture in terms of the values and convictions of diverse groups of people.

- ***Cultural sensitivity***

Cultural sensitivity develops during the process whereby the individual starts to recognise the value of and respect cultural diversity.

- **Cultural skill**

Cultural skill develops when an individual is able to effectively communicate with people of different cultures.

- **Cultural competency**

A process by which all of the previously-mentioned characteristics are used in a continuous manner so as to advance the development of knowledge with regard to culture.

- **Cultural proficiency**

This is the latest appendage to cultural competency schemas. It is in evidence in those activities that show signs of the new knowledge and the sharing of that knowledge through various means such as research and education.

(Blunt 2007: 104-105)

Blunt then took Burchum’s model of cultural competency (2002: 5-15) and developed it into “Blunt’s cultural competence transformative education model”.

2.6.3.4 Blunt’s cultural competence transformative education model

This model was created and intended to facilitate the evaluation by educators of themselves and their teaching practices. Refer to Table 2.2 for details thereof.

Table 2.2 Blunt’s cultural competence transformative education model

Blunt’s Model Stage of Functioning	Educator Type	Description of Educator Type
Cultural Transformation Breakdown	Slighting Educator	This educator slights students or does not realise their importance. Are likely to treat minority students with disdain or indifferent[ly]. Performs carelessly and inadequately.

Cultural Transformation Inability	Inefficient Educator	This educator is unable to produce the effect intended or desired of students. Has a lack of sufficient knowledge, resources, or capacity with regard to educating minorities.
Cultural Transformation Comprehension	Grasping Educator	This educator wraps his or her mind around concepts relating to minorities and makes the effort to genuinely understand them.
Cultural Transformation Cognizant	Sensitive Educator	This educator is tactful, and delicately aware of the attitudes and feelings of others, exercising caution during interaction with and treatment toward students. He or she is capable of indicating minute differences and is concerned with information involving teaching practices that are important with regard [to] educational matters.
Cultural Transformation Pre-Transformation	Adapting Educator	This educator continuously modifies activities or assignments to fit (as for a specific or new use or situation) the learning need of students. He implements a modification according to changing circumstances.
Cultural Transformation Suitability	Conducive Educator	This educator promotes critical thinking and assists students in engaging in self-reflection while giving serious consideration to students' thoughts and experiences. This educator allows students' input and accommodates special interests of students with regard to transformative learning. This educator ultimately provides students with things that are desired, needed or suited to

		<p>catalyse a transformation and in so doing fosters an atmosphere whereby the student and the educational environment are congruent.</p>
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(Blunt 2007: 110)

2.6.3.5 The Cultural Proficiency Continuum (Nuri-Robins et al)

As was mentioned previously, cultural proficiency is the latest appendage to cultural competency schemas. It is perceptible in those activities that show signs of the new knowledge and the sharing of that knowledge through various means such as research and education (Blunt 2007: 104-105).

Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 18) have developed a cultural proficiency continuum in which the least and the most highly desired behaviours and practices are depicted as people transverse from “cultural destructiveness to cultural proficiency”. The left includes culturally incompetent behaviours and involuntary practices whilst the right includes a description of the activities and attitudes of those who are positively in search of personal transformation in pursuit of the goal of equity in education (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 18).

Table 2.3 Nuri-Robins et al’s cultural proficiency continuum.

REACTIVE: Tolerance for Mandated Equity			PROACTIVE: Transformation for Desired Equity		
Destructiveness	→ Incapacity	→ Blindness	→ Precompetence	→ Competence	Proficiency
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on “them” being problems • Tolerates, excludes, separates • Diversity is a problem to be solved • Prevent, mitigate, avoid cultural dissonance and conflict • Stakeholders expect or help others assimilate • Information added to existing policies and procedures 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on “us” and “our practices” • Esteems, respects, includes • Diversity and inclusion are goals to be attained • Manage, leverage, facilitate conflict • Stakeholders adapt to meet (the) needs of others • Existing policies, procedures, (and) practices (are) examined and adapted to (the) changing environment 		

The cultural proficiency continuum is a theoretical framework which is designed to assess the progress of persons and organisations in a language common to all, which is able to describe events and policies that are healthy or dysfunctional (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 19). The following is a description of the six points on the proficiency continuum:

- ***Cultural destructiveness***

This approach involves the elimination of the culture of other persons.

- ***Cultural incapacity***

This approach is one in which the individual believes in the supremacy of his or her own culture and behaves in a manner which disempowers a different culture.

- ***Cultural blindness***

This approach is one in which the individual behaves as if cultural differences were of no consequence or did not matter or as if differences between cultures did not exist.

- ***Cultural precompetence***

In this approach one recognises the limitations of one's skills and knowledge or an organisation's actions when interaction with other cultural groups takes place.

- ***Cultural competence***

The interaction with others using the five essential elements (see below) as the benchmark.

- ***Cultural proficiency***

When culture is respected and valued, interaction within a variety of cultural groups is effective and there is a commitment to continual learning.

(Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 19)

The five essential elements are in alignment with cultural competency on the continuum. These elements are used by the culturally competent educator as benchmarks for the behaviour of individuals as well as the policies and practices of organisations. They can also be used for the planning or assessment of change or can act as guiding principles for interaction that is culturally proficient (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 19). The five essential elements include:

- assess culture;
- value diversity;
- manage the dynamics of difference;
- adapt to diversity;
- institutionalise cultural knowledge.

(Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 19)

In this approach it is believed that cultural proficiency is an “inside-out” approach in which the values and practices that allow both individuals and schools to interrelate well across cultures are defined in unambiguous terms (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 18). Fundamentally, cultural proficiency entails increasing awareness of and “closing the gap between a person’s expressed values and how he or she is actually perceived and experienced by clients, colleagues and the community” (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 18). Thus, for proficiency to be achieved, the values and educational philosophies of the educator should be in congruence with daily practices so as to create “learning communities” in the midst of and involving educators, students and their families (Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 18).

Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 18) identify several guiding principles for culturally proficient practice. These guiding principles constitute the core values of the foundation of the approach and are represented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Guiding principles for culturally proficient practice

<i>Nuri-Robins’ guiding principles for culturally proficient practice</i>
• Culture is a predominant force; it shapes behaviors [sic], values, and institutions
• The dominant group serves people who are not members of the mainstream, in varying degrees
• Diversity within cultures is as important as diversity among cultures; cultural groups are not monolithic
• Diverse populations have unique needs, which may not be met by the mainstream culture in which they are expected to succeed
• The dignity of individuals is not guaranteed unless the dignity of their cultures is affirmed and preserved
• Thought patterns of non-Western, non-European cultures provide different ways of viewing and solving problems, which often are ignored, unrecognised, or demeaned by members of Western cultures

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• People who belong to cultures that are not part of the mainstream culture must be at least bicultural to be successful |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Multicultural affirmation enriches everyone and enhances the capacity of all |

Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 18)

In addition to these guiding principles Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 19) identify three categories of barriers to cultural proficiency:

- ignorance of the need to change as well as resistance to this need;
- the assumption of entitlement and undeserved privilege;
- systems of subjugation and advantage.

(Nuri-Robins et al 2007: 19)

Nuri-Robins et al (2007: 21) identify several things that schools can do in order to instil cultural proficiency which involves the strategic work of school leaders all the way through the system, as well as the implementation of the essential elements.

- ***Objective reframing***

This involves a critical reflection of the assumptions of others.

- ***Subjective reframing***

This involves an individual's self-reflection of his/her own assumptions.

(Blunt 2007: 97)

Mezorow (2000) refers to two methods which need to be used to bring about transformative learning:

- ***Reflective discourse***

Lively discussion directs learners towards a clear understanding by together making use of experience, studying many perspectives, and reaching a level wherein improved judgement takes place (Blunt 2007: 97).

- ***Critical self-reflection***

This involves self-assessment and the assessment on an ongoing basis of (and between) teachers and learners (Blunt 2007: 98).

Brown (2006: 15) proposes the development of activities that involve students in reflecting upon the subconscious underpinnings of their “beliefs, perceptions and behaviors [sic]” and then the facilitation of “peer debriefings” on how these subconscious underpinnings affect their conscious approach to interactions that are cross-cultural. The results thereof promote positive transformation in cross-cultural attitudes and behaviours (Brown 2006: 15).

2.6.4 Models and activities that involve students in reflecting upon their subjective backgrounds

The following are included as examples of specific activities that assist students in reflecting upon their subjective backgrounds; drama is used in this study to perform a similar function (refer to Chapter 3). Elements within the design of these models, as well as the theoretical underpinnings expanded upon in the previous section, were observed and used in the development of the programme for the use of drama methodologies in the empirical study of Chapter 4.

2.6.4.1 Brown’s cultural puzzle (Brown 2006: 16-19)

This activity, developed by Brown, is for use among graduate, undergraduate and secondary students in order to facilitate the examination and sharing of their unique cultural heritages so as to achieve the following objectives:

- ***Increase the degree of self-awareness***

The intention is to make possible an understanding of the significance of the influence of family structures and values on self-concepts, cross-cultural associations, ambitions and world-views. Furthermore, an understanding of the relationship between an individual’s microcultures (e.g. religion, gender, race and social class) and one’s perception of and the nature of one’s interaction with others, is to be promoted. There is to be an exploration of the effect of the majority culture’s influence on an individual’s self-concept as a part of the dominant or non-dominant culture.

- ***Develop communication across cultures***

The development of communication across cultures is intended to improve in class participation during group discussions; encourage the collaboration with peers outside of their “comfort zones” and encourage honest on-line discussions regarding current issues.

- ***The advancement of bona fide cross-cultural awareness***

The purpose of this objective is to: disperse cultural myths; uplift communication across cultures (both verbal and non-verbal) and to aid in the development of teaching and classroom management strategies that are culturally relevant.

- ***Create a unified classroom community***

Here the purpose of the objective is to develop classroom environments that are safe and supportive; promote in-class interaction that is open, respectful and authentic inter culturally; to encourage the participation in cross-cultural group activities, discussions and research projects and to foster discussion among learners outside of the class on topics that are controversial.

Among secondary school students there are **three main aims** of the cultural puzzle activity:

To lighten some of the stress, isolation and isolation experienced by several “non majority and first generation American students within their school environment”; to increase a learner’s self-esteem and to create a sense of “belonging” within the school community (Brown 2006: 18).

The cultural puzzle requires students to develop a puzzle which depicts how they evolved into the person who they are today. The instructions given are as follows:

- each contributor was to hold family interviews that were inclusive of their present generation, at least two from a previous generation and if possible two from at least two prior generations;
- the cultural findings may be presented in any format or medium that they chose;
- the puzzles were to be shared in a three to four minute talk;

- the students had one week in which to complete the assignment.

The cultural puzzle activity was deemed to establish successfully a feeling of community which is supportive in the development of associations between cultures and in the development of techniques toward turning out to be fair multicultural decision-makers (Brown 2006: 16). The cultural puzzle was useful as a self-examination tool, as it allowed students to examine the subconscious origins of their “perceptions, attitudes and behaviors [sic]” (Brown 2006: 19) which formed the preparatory activity in the acknowledgement, acceptance and respect for other cultures. The activity occurred within a non-judgemental, safe environment as there was no perception of an invasion of one’s personal space. It promoted students to renounce the natural desire to associate and meet with those who are similar to oneself. Human curiosity regarding those outside of one’s cultural frame of reference was stimulated and genuine cross-cultural knowledge was attained which broadened the world view of the participants. It also presented an excellent means of traversing into a more in-depth form of cross-cultural training which is required for participation within a global society. Thus, the foundations for development of cross-cultural competence and “social justice advocacy” are laid among educators and students through the use of this activity (Brown 2006: 19).

2.6.4.2 A Professional Development Series

Colombo (2007: 10) describes the implementation of a program designed to “build cultural bridges between home and school” which was implemented within a district in the USA in reaction to the poor achievement of its Latino children. The program that was developed was Parent Partnership for Achieving Literacy (PAL) in conjunction with Professional Development (PD). It is the (PD) program which is highlighted here. Sixteen 2,5 hour sessions were conducted by three highly experienced university faculty members. Educators were urged to consider cultural norms and located them in activities that replicated “cultural and linguistic discontinuity” (Colombo 2007: 12). These activities included: a cultural card game called *Barnga*; storytelling of a multicultural nature in English; debate surrounding films dealing with cultural awareness. Multicultural literature was used and cultural awareness was reinforced all the way through the workshops. The workshops were interactive and included group activities.

In addition to the workshops, teachers were required to spend two 2,5 hour field experiences at family literacy nights. The family literacy nights included reading in English and Spanish, several

parent-child activities that were reading-related, homework help for children and English Second Language (ESL) classes for parents.

25 of the 27 teachers found the experience enriching. "All but two teachers reported experiencing some growth in cultural knowledge and awareness, both components of cultural competence" (Colombo 2007: 13). The following themes materialised from the analysis of data:

- ***It was significant for teachers to experience the sensation of being lost***

This experience helped teachers to understand their students better.

- ***Teachers became aware of the need to interact with culturally different others***

By doing this they learned of different circumstances affecting the families and were able to understand the families' child-rearing practices far better.

- ***The need to regroup teachers for engaging in dialogue***

The workshops encompassed small group discussions in which teachers were urged to draw parallels between the content of the workshops and the students in their classrooms. The researcher concluded that it is better to regroup teachers than to allow them to form their own groups as the same teachers often chose to work together and thus did not benefit fully from the discussions.

- ***Experiencing the "luxury of ignorance"***

The "luxury of ignorance" (Howard 1999, cited in Colombo 2006: 15) is the ability that white people have to pay no heed to their own dominance nor to the cultural viewpoints of other people. Colombo also refers to it as "the dominant perspective" (Colombo 2007: 15). Two assertions provided evidence for this approach: "They want to be part of our [mainstream] culture, too," and "children are children," (made by three teachers in the study). Whilst the "colour-blind" approach might have been well-intended, it does not understand and celebrate the diverse perspectives and strengths of students but denies differences and the effect is an inadequate notion of non-mainstream children and their families (Colombo 2007: 15).

2.6.4.3 The Self and Other Awareness Project (SOAP) by Colvin-Burque et al (2007)

This mode of instruction was developed to encourage students' attainment of knowledge about certain cultural groups, whilst at the same time augmenting their self-awareness and sensitivity (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 224). Once again, the necessity for "active learning to increase self-awareness and the capacity for self-examination" has been highlighted (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 225). Devore and Schlesinger (1996 cited in Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 224) list four key policies that support the acquisition of the fundamental knowledge that is essential before cultural competency is possible:

- acknowledgement of the effect of organisational racism in consumer troubles;
- the necessity of laying emphasis on approaches to institutional changes;
- the necessity of the incorporation of practice strategies and styles of interaction that are culturally appropriate;
- the necessity for respect for perspectives that are culturally based as a legitimate and significant part of practice that is culturally competent.

The SOAP model consists of theoretical components which are addressed in the following order:

- diversity and culture;
- power, inequality and stratification;
- minority and majority groups;
- prejudice and discrimination.

(Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 226)

Several instructional activities that are both individual and collective are used, which include:

- self-evaluation,
- large and small group activities,
- journals,
- videos,
- guest speakers,
- lensperson assignments.

(Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 226)

Learners work in groups that ensure that each student has contact with students with whom they are less familiar and thus are divided according to (for example) birth month or colour of clothing which is an adequate division to ensure diversity with regard to race or gender (Colvin-Burque et al 2007).

Group activities, both large and small, give learners the opportunity to become familiar with similarities and differences of “thought, perception, and experience” in existence amongst their peers (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 228). Small-group activities give students the opportunity to investigate prejudice and discrimination and in order to decrease the possibility of embarrassment or apprehension the session is begun with a “unifying premise that no one is immune from the experience of prejudice” (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 228). An estimated one quarter of the content of the course focuses on race and to this end videos focusing on race are used after which a concept application worksheet is completed. The Lensperson assignments are completed at home and act as important support for the process the development of cultural competency (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 224). The Lensperson assignment involves the selection by the learners (via slips of paper) of a person from a group different from their own in which they view issues from the perspective of that person (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 228).

A study was conducted in order to evaluate the SOAP model of instruction (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 237). Whilst limitations were identified, the research findings did suggest that the model may potentially enhance learner self-awareness and uphold more positive attitudes with respect to “colour-blind racial attitudes” (Colvin-Burque et al 2007: 237).

Hall (1989 cited in Colombo 2007: 16) notes that, for the process of cultural awareness to begin, it is necessary to become aware of and to deal with differences. An important finding of the study was that “effective PD provides workshops that create a sense of being lost, includes authentic field experiences, and eloquently links workshops and field experience activities” (Colombo 2007: 16). Furthermore, the providers of the PD need to: be aware that participants are at different levels of cultural awareness; point out events that should be noticed and attended to, and provide plenty of occasion for diverse group discussion (Colombo 2007: 16). Whilst the aforementioned activities took place amongst educators, the similar activities may potentially be performed amongst learners in an attempt to develop cultural competency.

2.6.5 Overview of cultural competency

Cultural competency is derived from multiculturalism. Multicultural education is used as a plan for the improvement of intergroup relations and is a concept that includes race, culture, language, social class, gender, and disability (Sleeter and Grant 2007: 28). Multicultural education refers to an all-embracing philosophy of education which informs the curriculum and approach to teaching. The notion of cultural competency is dependent on one's perspective of the term culture, thus diverse definitions of cultural competency exist. However, there are common elements, such as ethics and values, self-awareness, cross-cultural knowledge and skills, diversity of language and leadership across cultures. Central to the concept of cultural competency is the premise that participants from all cultures have valuable contributions to present.

Cultural competency is important for both educators and learners, for educators cannot promote cultural competency unless they themselves are culturally competent. Whilst many of the theories and models in existence focus on the health care and social work professions, they have valuable contributions to make that can be extrapolated into the field of education.

The development of cultural competency has the potential to transform the learning experiences of individuals, increase learners' academic performance and create socially responsible citizens. The tenuous democracy within South Africa is in need of culturally competent citizens.

Several approaches exist regarding the development of cultural competency but a common thread throughout is the need for activities which will enrich and promote self-awareness. This is in keeping with Blunt's notion of reflective discourse and critical self-reflection. Self-awareness includes self-reflection and models have been discussed which provide the tools for this self-reflection, in particular amongst educators who can then allow their learners to follow suit. It is believed that drama could be used as an effective tool for the promotion of self-awareness with the ultimate goal of the development of cultural competency.

2.7 SUMMARY

The term culture has evolved to consist of many interrelated components. Various academic disciplines have approached the study of culture from differing perspectives and the contributions of each have served to enrich the understanding of the term. There are, however, certain pertinent implicit elements that emerge from a holistic perspective that are applicable to this study.

Milner and Ford (2007: 167) present a model of culture which presents four complementary and inter-related dimensions of culture. Each dimension exists along a continuum with the ends of the continuum not being dichotomous but rather, complementary (Milner and Ford 2007: 167). Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 33) discuss the same dimensions but refer to them as “guiding lights” as, in their opinion, no definite answers to the understanding of the dynamics of culture exist, but guiding lights are present upon which to rely.

Group or social identity is important in order for inter-cultural behaviour to occur. Elements regarding cultural identity that are important to this study include the fluid nature of cultural identity, the notion that an individual can be comprised of several identities and that cultural identity can result in intolerance of others who are perceived as different and thus as a threat to an individual’s cultural identity. This is particularly evident in Social Identity Theory wherein particular affiliation to an in-group can result in increased animosity towards an out-group.

Cultural competency necessitates an appreciation of intercultural values and practices, as well as an acknowledgement of cultural differences without the feeling of a threat to an individual’s cultural identity. This, in turn, involves the amelioration of stereotype, prejudice and racism as well as a reduction in the sense of a perceived threat. Various models for the development of cultural competency exist wherein the recurrent theme is the provision of opportunities by individuals to self-reflect in order to enhance self-awareness as a cultural being.

Racism is the inherent belief in the superiority of one race over another. Stereotyping is an overgeneralised, unfounded and unchangeable ascription of traits towards another group. Prejudice involves a preconceived opinion regarding people of a particular group. Several theories of prejudice are pertinent to the understanding and development of ways in which to approach anti-racism. Stereotyping, prejudice and racism are all detrimental elements towards the development of cultural competency. Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65) state that South African schools need to have specific anti-racism programmes in place because without these, crucial issues surrounding racial integration and racism will not be addressed.

Culture in South Africa is dynamic, with evidence of a collective, new culture and new social organisation starting to emerge (Nutall and Michael 2000: 6). Within a cultural group which may be described by a general consensus of the members of that group, individual variations on that cultural theme exist. These variations between the general level consensus of the boundaries of the

culture and the individual level variations, are inevitable and it is within the gradual acceptance of these discrepancies of values, attitudes and opinions by the cultural group as a whole that what started out as a deviation from the mainstream of the culture becomes itself an aspect of that particular culture (Masumoto 2007: 91). Social transition and socio-political changes have resulted in the negotiation of cultural boundaries, and a manifestation of a hybrid of forms (Wasserman and Jacobs 2003: 29) that form the rainbow nation.

“The first image, which reminds us that we are never completely separate from those around us, comes from South Africa. The rainbow is the image most closely associated with post-apartheid South Africa. Different colors [sic] make up the rainbow, representing the coming together of races in a new national community. Like a rainbow, this new vision spans the entire nation and encompasses all. It represents hope, brightness, life and freedom. A rainbow’s beauty does not come from complete unification or blending of the different colors[sic]; instead, its magnificence is revealed in the way that the colors complement and harmonise with each other. The different colors come together and create a beautiful rainbow, yet each color’s individuality, uniqueness and brightness is not lost. In fact, it is the complete rainbow that makes the individual colors more visible. This image of the rainbow introduces the South African ideal of *ubuntu*, which means ‘I am because we are’. From this image, we remember that unity is not uniformity or sameness, but harmony in the midst of diversity. Since diversity involves differences and some of those differences bring us into conflict, our shared goal is not the elimination of conflict, but finding ways to live well with it.”

(Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 3)

It is the belief of the researcher that drama could be used as a vehicle for critical self-reflection and reflective discourse and that this is relevant not just for educators but for learners too. The concept of conflict is discussed in the following chapter as it is closely connected to the use of drama as a means of developing cultural competency which in turn does not preclude but rather empowers individuals to deal with conflict.

The following chapter deals with drama as an instructional tool with special reference to cultural competency.

CHAPTER 3

DRAMA AS AN INSTRUCTIONAL TOOL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CULTURAL COMPETENCY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is evident that transformation in South African schools has not been without its problems. In addition, the trend towards globalisation has expanded the cultural range in which people live worldwide and society has become far more diverse (Schuitema, ten Dam, and Veugelers 2007: 69). Multicultural education is an overarching approach which comprises the development of cultural competency. However, effective methodologies need to be explored in order to enhance that process. It is suggested that one of the methods that could be effective as a means of overcoming cultural conflict is the use of drama as an instructional tool in the classroom. The dramatic arts have many useful and transformative applications other than pure entertainment. Some of these will be explored in this chapter.

South Africa's turbulent past has bequeathed an inequitable education system and society with many obstacles that need to be surmounted. The development of cultural competency necessitates the means with which to deal with cultural conflict which in turn requires ways in which prejudice, stereotyping and racism are managed. Multicultural education - under the ambit of critical multiculturalism - as an approach to education could be the transformative means of developing a hybridised culture within a "third space." The evolution thereof would be the development of cultural competency among individuals which would then in turn hopefully have a transformative effect upon society in general. Cultural competency would also necessitate a recognition of the fluidity of cultural identities and the possibility of multiple affinities and thus recognition that difference need not be perceived as a threat. Crucial to the development of cultural competency is the opportunity for self-reflection. The following section deals with possible ways in which drama as a tool within education could assist learners and educators in dealing with self-awareness and self-reflection, conflict resolution, overcoming racism and in so doing facilitate the development of cultural competency.

For the purpose of this thesis two main aspects of educational drama will be considered: Schonmann (2005: 3) defines DIE (Drama in Education) as the application of drama as a *tool* for education (he bases his definitions on the "Drama Way" Project by Jouni Piekkari et al, coordinated by the University of Turku in Finland). TIE (Theatre in Education) refers to the application of "prewritten and rehearsed theatre performance as a *tool* for learning" (cited in Schonmann 2005: 3).

In addition, theatre for social change is examined. The transformative function has been explored in the works of Augusto Boal and his notion of Theatre of the Oppressed (TO). Forum Theatre is a part of Boal's TO and has been used extensively to deal with concerns around "racism, substance abuse, sexual prejudice, or bullying/school violence" (cited in Schonmann 2005: 4). In keeping with the use of drama for social change, Theatre-for-awareness or Theatre-for-development is defined as "a tool for participatory development that is intended for "social change" (cited in Schonmann 2005: 4). Schonmann (2005: 4) refers to these techniques as applied drama and theatre and states that they "are primarily concerned with finding tools for, or with targeting, learning and empowerment, personal development, discussing themes, effecting social change and making decisions." The focus of this thesis is primarily concerned with the *tools* which form part of this notion of applied drama.

Carklin (1997: 206) stresses the difference between learning *about* drama and theatre as opposed to learning *through* drama and theatre and states that although the differences are not dichotomous, they represent two potential facets of intervention. He delineates three areas of interventions: the study of theatre as a component of the formal curriculum; dramatic techniques used as a methodology by educators and theatrical interventions within the school performed by outside groups (Carklin 1997: 206). The focus of this thesis is on the latter two aspects.

Aristotle, noted to be the first drama theorist, reflected upon the mystery inherent within theatre and its ability to arouse the emotions intensely through *catharsis* (Winston 2002: 246). Drama's therapeutic nature is touched upon and the use of drama as a means of conflict resolution is explored, as it is believed that these could enhance the development of cultural competency.

Educational drama and theatre as unique art forms contain the promise of self-recognition (Martin-Smith 2005: 2). Drama is able to generate a cultural space where a fusion between self and others can occur so as to facilitate knowledge that is simultaneously "rational and emotional, moral and spiritual" (Winston 2002: 248). Drama has the ability to express challenging issues of value that are created as a result of social change, and open them for discussion (Winston 1999: 467). Such issues could include the social transformation in South Africa and create a forum for discussion which would ultimately facilitate the development of cultural competency.

3.2 EDUCATIONAL DRAMA

3.2.1 Introduction

The educational benefits of drama in the classroom have been expounded by educators and drama theorists for decades (Wagner 1999; Shier 1999: 183; Liu 2002: 54). Fleming (2006: 6) states that in the 1950s and 1960s there was a gratuitous emphasis on 'mimesis' which resulted in the 'vacuity' of much of the work at the time. However, contemporary approaches focus more on responses to drama rather than the creation thereof. Schuitema et al (2007: 78) state that the main argument for using literature and drama in the curriculum is that they offer a stimulating context within which students are able to think and reason with reference to moral dilemmas. This would seem somewhat of a narrow conception of the use of educational drama. Drama has been known to have a positive effect on attitudes such as self-confidence, commitment, sensitivity, the desire to learn and understanding (Bolton and Heathcote 1999: 11). Wagner (1999: 138) suspects that it is because of the absolute mental and physical involvement within drama that it is able to bring about the change of opinion in an individual. Drama provides one of the few opportunities within the curriculum for learners to absorb realities that differ from their own, to create, to perform and reflect upon that performance and to engage in emotional commitment with those realities (Winston 2002: 246). For this reason, it is an effective means of developing cultural competency. McLaughlin (1990) overtly states that drama has the ability to improve cross-cultural perceptions, enrich human relations and decrease racial and ethnic hostilities.

Furthermore, drama has the potential to give learners the opportunity to experiment with possibly dangerous scenarios behind the safety of a "symbolic mask" (Wagner 1999: 12). Learners are able to enact real uncertainties, hatreds and wishes with no compulsion to "own" them as they are ostensibly "in character" (Wagner 1999: 12). Through drama one is required to take a "leap of trust" so that we are momentarily able to place ourselves within another world and another way of existing (Wagner 2002: 25).

Young people are limited in experience and drama affords them the opportunity to have an effect on events in situations in which they would otherwise have been powerless (Wagner 1999: 12). Those with limited verbal abilities are able to use their physical abilities to express themselves (Wagner 1999: 12; Liu 2002: 61). Shier (2002: 195) states that research relating to drama therapy and arts therapy indicates that drama provides an alternative way of knowing, which transcends the verbal understanding through the use of the body and physical sensation. Thus, drama becomes a powerful

means of self-awareness, reflection and expression. Wagner (1999: 12) states that the involvement which comes about as a result of the identification with a fictitious character is what holds the potential for the emergence of a moral consciousness. This moral consciousness is crucial to the development of cultural competency. There has long been a tacit understanding of the potential for drama to contribute to both social and moral education in many UK schools (Winston 2002: 241). Learning to live with ambiguity and difference is fundamental to the development of cultural competency and Hay and Nye (Hay and Nye 1998: 163) suggest that the four main responsibilities of spiritual education are: assisting children in the development of an open mind; the exploration of means of perception; the encouragement of personal awareness; a move towards a personal awareness of the political and social elements of spirituality. These four aims also constitute a necessary component of the development of cultural competency.

Drama theorists have also noted the value of drama in the area of social development which comes about largely because drama is a group art (Wagner 1999: 144). Österlind (2008: 72) states that, although “everyday experiences, internalised psychological patterns, life conditions and social structures” play a role in the maintenance of the status quo, drama has a powerful transformative dimension. Furthermore, due to the nature of televised violence in war torn areas, learners need to learn to develop critical understanding of the types of drama that prevails in modern culture (Franks 2008: 25). O’Neill (1996: 145) goes as far as to assert that the purpose of drama is to promote change. Through a combination of educational drama and drama therapy theories such as conflict resolution, many tools exist to foster the development of cultural competency. Such information is recognised by South African researchers too, such as Vally and Dalamba (1999: 65-75) who recommend the utilisation of art and culture in order to provide creative assistance to projects that are anti discriminatory. Drama has the ability to enhance intercultural awareness (Culham 2002: 196; Wagner 2002: 30). Thus it has the potential to effect social change which in turn has promising implications for the development of cultural competency.

The classroom becomes a site of sharing (Axtmann 2002: 44) or safe space. When learners are able to share their experiences and cultural viewpoint through performance, they gain an intuitive self-knowledge as well as knowledge of others (Axtmann 2002: 44).

The ultimate goal in the development of cultural competency is the development of a sensitivity which comes about through the development of empathy and extends beyond the self to the interest of the common good of society. Dewey (cited in Wagner 1999: 148) states that the core function of schools is “to prepare citizens to function effectively in a democratic society.” Wagner

(1999: 148) states that the development of empathy comes about through drama and poses the question: “What better training ground for living in a democracy, which is at bottom legislated empathy – a constitutional recognition that all persons are worthy of the same rights and protections?”

Several techniques of DIE that could be of use in the facilitation of the development of cultural competency within the classroom will be clarified in this section. These include: Drama in Education (DIE) which encompasses role-play as a technique, improvised drama, extended improvised drama, drama as a means of conflict resolution and a dramatic response to literature. Much of the work within the field of educational drama purports to be about the development of self-worth, in particular within the context of various forms of oppression (Dalrymple 2006: 207). Drama is a powerful tool within education and if given the opportunity, learners “will use dramatic form as a receptacle to shape, frame and place matters of immediate concern to them” (Franks 2008: 25).

3.2.2 Drama in education (DIE)

DIE [synonymous to Educational Drama or Process Drama in North America (Liu 2002: 54)] for the purposes of this study refers to a technique influenced by Dorothy Heathcote and extended by theorists such as Betty Jane Wagner, Bolton, Bowell and Heap wherein the objective of the drama is *to educate* (Wagner 1999: 3).

The approach of these influential theorists/practitioners saw the arrival of a more “interventionist approach” to the teaching of drama which included a component of *moral* learning based on the “spiritual agenda” of progressivism (Winston 2002: 243). DIE is about the development of a dramatically created world through the collaborative interactive efforts of both learners and teachers (Liu 2002: 54). Thus, Wagner (1999) presents ways in which DIE is used to: “deepen understanding of human affairs and of the moral dilemmas in literature and history, to foster growth in interpersonal relations, to develop writing ability, and to help teachers grow.” It is believed that DIE has the ability to develop the empathetic natures of the learner and thus, by extension, develop cultural competency.

The technique employed is informal in nature and makes use of improvisational drama (Wagner 1999). It is an extension of creative drama. Creative drama is defined by The Children’s Theatre Association of America in 1972 as: “An improvisational, process-centred, non-exhibitional form of

drama in which participants are guided by a leader to imagine, enact, and reflect upon the human experience” (Wagner 1999: 3). Creative drama and DIE incorporate role-playing and improvisation.

3.2.3 Improvisation, role-play and extended improvised drama

- *Improvisation*

Because performative inquiry involves the use of improvisational drama, an account of what constitutes improvisational drama is necessary. Improvisational drama is also crucial to the field of DIE. Snowber (2002: 28) describes improvisation as the “pilgrimage to release the imaginative possibilities through our whole being.”

Improvisation is the spontaneous creation of something as one proceeds. “The word *improvisation* stems from the Latin *improvus* which means ‘unforeseen’ ” (Snowber 2002: 24). Thus, in drama, it requires an impulsive and unstructured performance where dialogue and actions emerge from spontaneous cues or thoughts or alternatively from planned sources of inspiration. This could be from a facilitator or even the audience.

The value of improvisational activity lies in the fact that the learners are not able to predict the course of events and are required to give and receive ideas from each other (Shier 2002: 194). The sense of not knowing is fundamental to improvisation (Snowber 2002: 28). Central to improvisation is the inherent scope for discovery and wonder (Snowber 2002: 25). Learners’ verbal proficiency is improved (Shier 2002: 194) as well as their communication skills. “Key to the improvisational process is the development of listening, not only with the mind, but with every cell of the body” (Snowber 2002: 27). The development of communication skills are vital if learners are to present adequate “I-messages” as well as display good listening skills as advocated in conflict resolution skills described later in the chapter (cf par. 3.4.5).

The educational benefits of improvisational role-playing within the classroom have for quite a while been proclaimed by educators and drama theorists to yield improvements in: self-expression, self-understanding, empathy, behaviour and interpersonal relations (Wagner 1999: 137). The sense of community that is developed is remarkable (Snowber 2002: 25). “Community becomes communion as safe spaces are opened up...”(Snowber 2002: 25). In addition, a new awareness of the complex nature of our lives is created (Snowber 2002: 31).

- **Role-play**

Role-play involves the intentional assumption of another's persona (or of one's own character) in an 'as if', hypothetical situation. "All groups have to step into an 'as if' fiction, but it is a fiction conceived of by a tutor/teacher/leader or trainer in terms of learning" (Bolton and Heathcote 1999: 57). Giffin and Yaffe (1999: 114) state that most contemporary programs for conflict-resolution include some degree of the implementation of role-play as a teaching strategy. Role-playing provides areas of practice within a protected environment for important roles that young people experience and will carry on with into adulthood (Wolf and Heath 1999: 92). Bolton and Heathcote (1999: 58) state that the engagement in role-play means that learners are not 'receiving' or 'acquiring' knowledge, but 'making' it. Furthermore, drama and the playing of roles representing conflict will provide opportunities for insightful performances which will thus enhance important skills and knowledge such as the capacity to: plan; reflect; collaborate; take risks in communication and to consider fresh ideas (Sizer, 1984 cited in Wolf and Heath: 93). A further benefit of role-playing is that learners are provided with the opportunity to evaluate how various responses to conflicts have the potential to increase or decrease a situation of conflict (Schmidt and Friedman 1985 cited in Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 114).

Hume and Wells (1999: 68) document the use of educational drama for a subjective rendering of historical events. The techniques used are important for the development of empathy as well as for the creation of an opportunity for self-reflection. Because culture is rooted in history, an awareness of the subjective nature of history is important in broadening learners' perceptions of what constitutes knowledge and fact and the subjective creation thereof. Learners do not work according to an established script but rather perform "in-role" whereby they adopt the position and rationale of the character which they have been allocated (Hume and Wells 1999: 68). Learners are able to take on a role that operates from a different perspective than their own and moreover stand up for it in a rational manner (Hume and Wells 1999: 73). Thus, in addition to the assumption of a role, learners are challenged to take on the responsibilities entailed within their results and thus find themselves in a situation wherein they are required to make decisions of a moral nature (Hume and Wells 1999: 73). "As students engage in drama, they try on the moral stances of imagined characters and in the process identify with them" (Wagner 1999: 141). The facilitator participates "in-role" too, to provide situations which stimulate thought amongst the participants and develops their empathetic abilities (Hume and Wells 1999: 68-73). Thus the learners develop an awareness of the subjective nature of history and also engage in the process of self-reflection. The enrichment of historical understanding increases empathy which in turn leads to moral awareness (Hume and

Wells 1999: 72). Learners are able to experience and reflect upon the consequences of their decisions (Hume and Wells 1999: 77). This transmutes into knowledge which is internalised as the learners learn via experience and not mere transmission of facts. "Interdisciplinary work involving the arts offers students a new way of knowing, as they learn to discern abstract meaning and incorporate it into their own expression" (Shier 2002: 183).

The skill of arranging a role-play rests in:

- identifying the objectives;
- choosing a suitable made up circumstance;
- the distinguishing of what is required to be done or clarified to lead into the first experience of role-playing, a recognition of the likely progression of episodes;
- providing the instruction for each episode in a manner that elucidates the confines or boundaries of the exercise .

(Bolton and Heathcote 1999: 13).

Giffin and Yaffe (1999: 114-116) highlight research which points to certain limitations of role-play:

- learners may feel self-conscious and awkward and thus reject the approach;
 - roles may be played in an unrealistic manner e.g. "hamming it up";
 - the intended impetus of the role-play may be distorted if learners add in inapplicable elements to the lives of the characters;
 - learners may encounter a deadlock in their communication or hurriedly enact the most unsuccessful conclusion and thus end the scene prematurely.
-
- ***Extended improvised drama***

In order to overcome some of these limitations, Giffin and Yaffe (1999: 115) make use of a programme of "extended improvised drama" which leads to a greater commitment by the learners to the process of conflict resolution. The focus of this approach is to teach specific conflict-resolution skills via the incitement of a genuine emotional encounter with conflict (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 127). Learners are requested to contemplate, in an analytical manner, the behaviour and to distinguish associated skills (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 127). The use of metaphor leads the learners in an exploration of potential connections between lesson content and their personal experiences (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 118). Learners are encouraged to commit to the drama by making an obvious

agreement to do so and the difference between reality and drama is made clear (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 118). "As with effective negotiation in other areas, people will commit to an agreement, to the extent that they have been included in the decision-making process" (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 118). In order to develop conflict resolution strategies in the learners the facilitator withholds adult expertise, sanctioning the learners in an age-appropriate manner to use their personal knowledge and intuition in order to solve problems (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 118). Thus, the child is given the role of the expert in accordance with Heathcote's "Mantle of the Expert" approach, "a dramatic way-in to a topic that invests the pupils'/students'/trainees' actions and discussions with a self-perpetuating source of authority, yet allowing them to feel that they are 'being themselves' " (Bolton and Heathcote 1999: 9). Furthermore, encasing the learners as the expert guides brings forth a feeling of honest performance which in turn develops compassion and affords them the emotional distance to be able to assess the situation morally without direct personal involvement (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 121). "As experts, the children are able to look without guilt or defensiveness at behavior [sic] that may be similar to their own (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 121)." Within this approach, it is important to create a sense of interdependence as this is important to the creation of an "emotional investment in community and conflict" (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 122). Learners are encouraged to experience conflict repeatedly through observation even when they are not directly involved in the drama. In this way they learn to predict and discover which affords them valuable information that can be used within later problem solving situations (Giffin and Yaffe 1999: 124).

Within the context of role-play, in addition to the fictional roles that might be played, it is important to present the concept of the participants' "cultural role" and the "social role" of the tutor/teacher (Bolton and Heathcote 1999: 113). Bolton and Heathcote (1999: 122) state that the role of the teacher/tutor becomes one of colleague to your co-contributors (your class) to your joint venture.

It has been argued extensively over time by educators and drama theorists that improvisational role-playing in the classroom is a formidable means of improving: self-expression; self-understanding; empathy; behaviour and "interpersonal relations" (Wagner 1999: 137).

3.2.4 Context, role and frame in DIE

- **Context**

The process begins by determining what Liu (2002: 57) refers to as the "pre-text" which means placing the drama in context. Howell and Heap (2002: 1) state that the "context, role and frame" of

the drama provide the key elements of the “where, when, who and why” of the drama. **Bowell and Heap (2002: 1)** refer to the context as “the fictional circumstances that will be established by the process drama (DIE) so that the participants may engage with the learning area in a meaningful way.” There is usually a diverse range of contexts, and movement between different contexts as the drama develops is possible (**Bowell and Heap 2002: 1**). **Finazzo (1997: 114)** proposes that learners role-play and dramatise those aspects which are out of the ordinary and extraordinary so as to better understand “limitations and feelings”.

- **Role**

A fundamental activity in drama is the taking on of a role and this provides the opportunity for an individual to investigate another’s position (**Bowell and Heap 2002: 1**). One of the major differences between creative drama and DIE is that whereas creative drama participants role-play themselves (e.g. within a conflict situation) in DIE children play roles that are very different to themselves with the goal of the transformation of human dilemmas and conflicts (**Wagner 1999: 4**). The learner assumes different roles, the actor plays different characters and in the process (either by witnessing the occurrence or participating him/herself) the learner is able to understand the emotional, moral and spiritual viewpoints that differ from his/her own through the model of “lived experience and reflection” that is the sanction of drama (**Winston 2002: 250**). As has been noted, the teacher too is always “in role” (**Bowell and Heap 2002: 1; Liu 2002: 59**). The teacher adopts a role and goes into the drama’s unfolding action along with the learners (**Liu 2002: 59**). In so doing the conventional teacher-learner relationship of power is nullified and in so doing the learners are empowered thereby (**Liu 2002: 59-60**).

- **Frame**

Liu (2002: 60) emphasises the importance of the existence of tension within DIE in order to sustain the drama. (**Bowell and Heap 2002: 2**) refer to this tension as the “frame”. It is this dramatic tension that provides the essence for lively participation within the drama (**Bowell and Heap 2002: 2**).

- ***A range of contexts, roles and frames***

Furthermore, a spectrum or variety of contexts, roles and frames can exist within a single drama through which the learners can move, which creates a “spectrum of circumstances” and learning experiences (Bowell and Heap 2002: 4).

3.2.5 DIE and its relationship to TIE

TIE is performed, scripted drama but with the primary intention of teaching (Hennessy 1998: 87). One of the debates in drama education has centred around the means to distinguish drama from theatre and how to shed light on the relationship between them (Bailin 1993: 423). Schonmann (2005: 5) states that we do not need to make a choice between the two as they are both important to educational drama. There are in fact several similarities between the drama and theatre: time and place is used symbolically; the person is focused upon as the most important means of expression; they are dependent on the individual’s capacity to develop roles and characters inside of the structure of an “as if” condition; they are also dependent on voice and physical gestures as the principal forms of expression (Schonmann 2005: 5). The “as if” condition is “an imaginative frame of mind giving concrete expression to a hypothetical mode of thinking...” (Hennessy 1998: 86).

DIE has been critiqued by theorists such as Hornbrook (1989) whose criticism is founded on the progressive foundations of DIE (Winston 2002: 243). Theorists such as Hornbrook called for a revisit of a more traditional approach to drama teaching in which cultural heritage was important and whose basis of knowledge lay in the traditions of the theatre. Moody (2002: 135) states that theatre which is product-oriented is a valuable part of educational drama. Theorists who criticised the likes of Hornbrook stated that the traditional methods of drama teaching focused on the texts of playwrights who contribute towards the annals of high culture rather than the more preferable social and cultural needs of learners (Winston 2002: 243). The central figure in the notion of the spiritual and moral importance of high culture was Mathew Arnold (1822-1888) who, in recognition of the decline of organised religion, viewed high culture as a new form of secular religion (Winston 2002: 243). The more traditional approach argued for “the induction of children into a specific tradition that embodies communal, spiritual values that are culturally learned” (Winston 2002: 243). Winston (2002: 244) states that this debate has diminished in recent years due to the rise of new sources of theory and fresh viewpoints on practice such as critical theory, post-colonial and feminist perspectives in particular (Winston 2002: 244). A more modern educational approach to drama practice recognises that educational drama should encompass both process- and product-oriented

approaches (Moody 2002: 139). For Moody (2002: 140) the audience is a central part of DIE. "Theatre intervenes in throwing new light onto the past, and providing the opportunity to reconceptualise self and society through dramatic expression" (Carklin 1997: 207). Winston (2002: 244) too believes that both drama and performance have the potential to develop spirituality within learners. To this end he developed a taxonomy of spiritual experience based on the premise that the proclivity for spirituality is a universal to humans (as is language and play) and that this proclivity can only be accomplished via culture. Important to this study is the scope, within the taxonomy, for reflection as reflection is crucial to the development of cultural competency.

South Africa, like the UK, has moved away from formal religious education in schools and thus the notion of the incorporation of spirituality as a form of high culture within drama is worthy of some thought. Similarly, by implication, the study or performance of the literature of other cultures provides the opportunities for learners to experience (through enactment) the cultural values of other cultures.

The potential for the development and celebration of community via performance is noteworthy within a pluralist society (Winston 2002: 249). School productions can embrace especial importance and become a secular ground for celebration and the understanding of *communitas*, the overwhelming sensation of delight and collectivism experienced by those involved in a production at its performance (Winston 2002: 250). This could be of particular benefit within schools which have experienced racial conflict or where there is a dearth of cultural competency.

An examination (using grounded-theory analysis) of the ways in which theatre (the high school musical) facilitated the emotional development of teenagers was conducted by Larson and Brown (2007: 1083-1099). It is interesting to note how the cast of the play was deemed to take on the role of a family. Such a framework could potentially be of benefit to South African children where family structures have been "destroyed by migration, urbanisation and a rapid thrust towards modernisation" (Dalrymple 2006: 209).

Theorists such as Franks (2008: 35) state, however, that there exists a predisposition towards the making of drama instead of on critical reflection. Franks (2008: 35) believes that the newer forms of mass-mediated drama need to be explored with children because, for many children, these are the most powerful forms of drama and those with which they have the most contact.

In essence, drama and theatre constitute the same dramatic art form – the difference lies in the intention and technique. What is important to note with theatre is that the process leading up to the performance presents a valuable educational opportunity.

3.2.6 Theatre as process and not product

It is worth noting Martin-Smith's (2005: 3) assertion that process-product is a false dichotomy, for every product has its process and every process has a product. However, the process (choice of play and rehearsals) leading towards the product (the final performance before an audience) needs to be considered.

The process leading up to a production has the potential for development amongst students. Shier (2002: 188) states: "I have learned never to underestimate the importance of work leading up to play selection and production." Learners develop ideas within an environment that encourages processes that are both creative and critical whilst working both cooperatively and individually (Shier 2002: 190). During the process of preparation for the final production, learners develop the skills of: social awareness, the recognition of social contradictions, and questioning the consequences of their own behaviour (Shier 2002: 190). Theatre tools can be used in order to protect the emotional well-being of participants whilst simultaneously providing concrete opportunities for the exploration of sensitive issues (Österlind 2008: 72). In addition, language skills are developed (Liu 2002: 55). All these elements are important for the development of cultural competency. Thus, the performance, although important, is merely the final product of an invaluable learning process for learners (Shier 2002: 190).

Ping Chong uses an Insider/Outsider approach to theatre (Samson 2005: 2). Chong's interest lies in the trauma experienced by individuals in the transition from one culture to another (Samson 2005: 2). Chong's approach is "talk, reveal, and seek to understand" in an attempt which "moves us toward unification, toward diminishing the barriers between peoples and thus toward embracing all that is good in civilisation" (cited in Samson 2005: 2). He begins his dramas with interview sheets in which interviewees give details as to the narratives of their lives. The script emerges from the original interview sheet and Chong uses it as he sees fit (Samson 2005: 2). People play themselves within the drama and this has a profound impact on both the audience and performers (Samson 2005: 2). The audience itself has an important contribution to make towards educational drama as well as to research processes.

3.2.7 The audience response as a part of the process

Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) was developed by Augusto Boal and is explained later in the chapter (cf par. 3.3.2). The audience is referred to in TO as 'spect-actors' as they participate within the dramatic performance. Edkvist (2005: 143) highlights Boal's emphasis on what (Boal's term) 'spect-actors' do once the performance is complete. An artistic product (in this case the play) is not complete once it has come into being as its propensity to "show and to exemplify" and the inherent possibility for the interpretation of art yields a multiplicity of orientations once it is performed (Shier 2002: 198). The actor, within the theatrical context of TIE, develops an uncommon level of closeness with the audience for whom he or she performs (Hennessy 1998: 85). A group of people with a shared social problem or conflict bring about change in their real lives through the exchange of ideas and practice of attempting various solutions inside of the structure of theatre (Edkvist 2005: 143).

The notion of the involvement of the audience within the drama leads to the concept of performative inquiry, where the interpretation of the drama provides opportunity for research. Through performance, the opportunity is provided for audiences to reveal their personal stories and they are given consent to retrieve hitherto unknown parts of themselves (Snowber 2002: 31). "We create and recreate our own stories together, and thus create and re-create our own worlds" (Snowber 2002: 31). Thus the audience is given the opportunity to share in the creative experience.

3.2.8 Overview

Within an imaginary world, learners may come to empathise with others and internalise points of view alternate to their own (Wagner 1999: 4). It is this very process which is crucial to the development of cultural competency. DIE focuses on learning "through" drama which involves either the drama itself or a reflection and discussion related to the drama (Wagner 1999: 5). This form of drama is a form of "interpretive thinking" which involves the testing of hypotheses, the invitation of supposition and the experience of the ability to think in a logical fashion (Wagner 1999: 5). All these are valuable skills in the development of cultural competency. Even more critical to the development of cultural competency is Wagner's assertion that through DIE learners are able to view the world from a different viewpoint and to develop "cultural empathy" as they expand their knowledge (Wagner 1999: 5). The tools used within DIE such as role-play, improvisation and extended improvised drama are valuable for the development of empathy and sensitivity. Just as important a tool in educational drama is TIE. Theatre is a powerful mediator which illuminates the past and provides scope for reflection upon the self and society through dramatic expression. The

process leading up to a production holds wonderful potential for the development and celebration of community amongst learners. The audience (referred to in TO as 'spect-actors') has an important role to play in TIE both in terms of education and research. Thus, drama (both DIE and TIE) holds the potential to effect emotional and cognitive change and thus transform the individual. When the individual is transformed, the change has an impact at a social level.

3.3 DRAMA FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

It has been argued by theorists that drama has the potential to provide powerful learning experiences and to focus on moral and social subjects (Day 2002: 21; Winston 2002). However, Franks (2008: 26) has expressed the need for an urgent review and reformulation of ideas regarding the location and rationale for drama as an educational approach, as a means of bringing about social change. To this end, Franks (2008: 26) proposes that dramatic texts need to be forms of re-creation, rather than "recreation, expressive or therapeutic." Drama workshops and public performances of theatre both have the potential to provide education and information and to stimulate action within young people and thus effect social change (Dalrymple 2006: 202).

3.3.1 Interventionist forms of theatre

One of the tools used in the facilitation of social change is Theatre-for-awareness or Theatre-for-development. This can take the form of participatory drama such as drama tools used by Vicki Doësebs (1998: 167) where she attempted to "build capacity" amongst rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. A dramatic tool used extensively and which proved beneficial was role-play. A group was asked to role-play a situation and to see if they could come up with insights and solutions (Doësebs 1998: 173). For Doësebs (1998: 173) the role-play provided a rare opportunity to improve facilitation skills. Another form of Theatre-for-awareness or Theatre-for-development is that where theatre groups go in and perform for specific audiences. Carklin (1997: 208) refers to this as the intervention of theatre from the outside. He states that South Africa has a long history of TIE often based strongly in university drama departments and outlines the DramaAidE project which used interventions of a multiphased nature (Carklin 1997: 208). In this type of theatre the actor is termed 'TIE actor' and within the context of the theatre performs a teaching role due to the nature of the "unique learning environment" (Hennessy 1998: 86). Dalrymple (2006: 202) - who heads the DramaAidE project - refers to "drama and theatre-based activities outside (of) the formal school curriculum and traditional theatre buildings" as "applied theatre". The emphasis in South Africa is on creating awareness and rousing a response to issues of a social nature (Dalrymple 2006: 202).

Such interventions have been used particularly in the fields of health and environmental education in South Africa (Dalrymple 2006: 202). The application of theatre and drama takes place in an effort to seek solutions through drama-based workshops and through the active engagement in the creation and performance of plays (Dalrymple 2006: 202). Within this approach, emphasis is placed on analysis, dialogue and the posing and solving of problems (Dalrymple 2006: 202).

Hennessy (1998: 87) states that this form of educational theatre differs from conventional theatre due to the methods of its production. The term “devising” is used to describe the collaborative creative process in which the actors have a core function (Hennessy 1998: 88). Another focus of Hennessy’s (1998: 90) is the potential for this type of theatre to form action research – this is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.3.2 Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed

The prominent Brazilian writer and director, Augusto Boal, focuses upon the expansion of people’s freedom to take action and effect changes (Österlind 2008: 72). Boal developed Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) which is meant to tender tools for liberation through the use of Theatre methods in order to investigate “social injustice, power relations and oppression” as well as to test problem-solving at the levels of individual, group and society (Österlind 2008: 72). Boal’s fundamental premise is that the performance by an oppressed person in the fictitious realm of theatre will enable that person to imitate that action in real life (Österlind 2008: 72). To this end, Boal developed a number of forms of theatre: Legislative Theatre (LT), Forum Theatre (FT) and Rainbow of Desire (RD). These forms of theatre were designed to deal with change in the fields of formal politics, social interaction and the personal emotional level (Österlind 2008: 72). These three levels indicate Boal’s broad focus and are based upon a shared perspective (Österlind 2008: 72). Boal does not differentiate between the significance of the macro and the micro levels, each is equally important (Österlind 2008: 72).

3.3.3 Forum Theatre

Forum Theatre, developed by Boal, provides learners with the opportunity to empathise with characters in the play through playing the roles of those characters (Schuitema 2007: 78). In Forum Theatre, learners are able to develop empathy and are encouraged to become moral mediators within their own lives through the opportunity to influence the script of their play or to perform in it (Schuitema 2007: 78). In this approach, audience members are able to participate actively within

the play by taking on the role of a character. The procedure for Forum Theatre is deceptively simple (Dwyer 2004: 202). A play is performed which presents a problem or indication of oppression in an unresolved format (Day 2002: 22). The audience is invited to observe 'with a critical eye' this struggle amid the oppressed protagonist and his or her antagonist (Dwyer 2004: 202). The play ends unfavourably for the protagonist/s who are the victims of oppression (Day 2002: 22). Dwyer (2004: 202) terms the ending "some kind of catastrophe." The unhappy ending is precipitated as a result of other characters' actions (Day 2002: 22). The play resumes a second time and during this performance the audience members are permitted to intervene and resolve the play more positively (Day 2002: 22). This may be to assist "the cause of the oppressed protagonist" (Dwyer 2004: 202). These participants are known as 'spect-actors' (Dwyer 2004: 199). 'Spect-actors' are able to intervene in the role of a particular main character (Day 2002: 22). When an audience member feels suitably confident in his/her ability to play the role of the character more effectively, he/she shouts 'stop', the action is frozen and the volunteer tries to re-enact the scene using a more desirable behaviour (Day 2002: 22). An improvisation follows with the other actors attempting to produce the original end of the play, and therefore making it challenging for the volunteer to resolve the problem (Day 2002: 22). The 'game' is facilitated by a cast member, called the "joker", who teaches the rules of the game to the audience and ensures that it runs smoothly. The joker's role is also to take care that the solutions are adequately explored by the volunteers and that they are ostensibly possible within real life (Day 2002: 22). A further role of the joker is to facilitate the amount of discussion which is desirable during a performance as well as to debrief each intervention by an audience member (Dwyer 2004: 203). The 'game' carries on with several "interventions" that are enacted by various volunteers from the audience (Day 2002: 22). The audience ultimately decides on how effective the interventions are whilst the joker continually communicates doubts to the audience in order to stimulate discussion and bring about novel ideas for additional interventions (Day 2002: 22). Boal's conception of a 'hybrid spect-actor' means that the roles of actor and spectator are correspondingly interchangeable (Dwyer 2004: 200). The joker's role is therefore all important in delineating where the focus of attention ought to be at a particular time (Dwyer 2004: 200).

Dwyer (2004: 200) states that in Forum Theatre there is "a strong visceral charge" which is to be experienced by any audience member who intervenes on stage and the desire to effect change within a scenario connects the participant with the lived experience of a particular social problem. "There is a kind of knowledge – or perhaps, better, a will to knowledge and power – which is apprehended in such circumstances and which is qualitatively different to knowledge acquired from sitting in your seat as silent witness" (Dwyer 2004: 200). Forum Theatre has the propensity to foster empathy which, in accordance with Winston, (1999: 464) in combination with reason, is able to

influence moral action. Nevertheless, the tradition of Forum Theatre involves “a leap of faith, or preferably a calculated gamble” with regard to the correlation between tactics that are rehearsed in the theatre and social struggles that occur within real life (Dwyer 2004: 208).

The Forum Theatre format used in this study (Refer to 4.3.11) was designed by researchers in a study conducted by Day (Day 2002: 21-34). Data are supplemented from comments and discussions emanating from the discussions and focus group interviews during the Forum Theatre performances. In so doing, an attempt is made to “negotiate meanings” (Mienzakowski 1997: 168) for the ethnodramatic play that will follow and to confront other viewpoints which may question the researcher’s own perceptions. Furthermore, Mienzakowski (1997: 169) states that the use of “forum presentations” wherein lies the possibility for members of the audience to influence the script, and thus the research, serves as a further attempt to address several dilemmas.

3.3.4 Entertainment-education

An alternative form of interventionist drama is entertainment-education (EE). The John Hopkins Bloomberg Centre for Communication Programmes in Baltimore, Maryland, USA has led the way in this type of educational theatre (Dalrymple 2006: 204). “Entertainment-education brings together the popularity of entertainment and the empowering potential of education through communication to achieve development and social progress” (Dalrymple 2006: 204). Examples of EE in South Africa are *Soul City* and *Tsha Tsha* (Dalrymple 2006: 204).

3.3.5 The ability of theatre to change attitudes and achieve social progress

A further view of Bourdieu (a French sociologist) is that the individual’s early life experiences form a scaffold via which all new knowledge, events, initiatives and concepts are filtered (Österlind 2008: 72). Bourdieu terms this, “habitus”, and for Bourdieu, we inherit social patterns (Österlind 2008: 72). Boal’s TO has the potential to allow the individual to break free of this *habitus* (Österlind 2008: 72).

Franks (2008: 26) purports that there are two levels at which drama can be viewed as a learning process. The first is that level at which learners actively engage with current issues by creating, musing about and appraising their own dramas and juxtaposing them with those that are disseminated throughout the world (Franks 2008: 26). The second is that the dramas which learners

create give insight into the ways in which students perceive, act in response to and deal with proceedings and concerns as they are received (Franks 2008: 26).

The function of an external project is to become a vehicle for transition by setting up a course of action which addresses an issue of critical importance (Dalrymple 2006: 209). The process implicitly has a positive bearing, as people will have worked collaboratively in order to ascertain difficulties, think in a critical manner and formulate solutions (Dalrymple 2006: 209).

Fleming (2006: 6), in discussing the use of drama to develop intercultural awareness states that there are two clear elements. One involves the acquisition of appropriate knowledge of and attitudes toward other cultures and the other has to do with the ability to “decentre” (Fleming 2006: 6). A further concept used by Fleming (2006: 6) is “intercultural duty” in which the individual is required to make allowances for another’s ignorance of certain local customs. “Intercultural attitude” involves a readiness to reflect on one’s own beliefs, morals and actions without the assumption that they are the obviously correct ones (Fleming 2006: 6).

One of the means through which social change can be effected through drama is through the observations of ethnodrama or ethnodramatic plays. Mienczakowski (1997: 166) states: “If we are very lucky and we have been so at times - the audiences of our ethno-dramas leave the auditorium changed in some way.” Ethnodrama takes place within the mode of performative inquiry, which is a process whereby data are gathered from drama participants and then the findings are performed as an ethnodrama. Often this leads to action research as the audience responses are noted and the ethnodrama (performance findings) are then modified.

3.3.6 Performative inquiry

Performative inquiry involves a performance of an ethnodrama, wherein the audience is required to give input, thereby creating data for analysis. It involves a symbiotic relationship between performers and the audience. Performative inquiry has as its basis an educational theory which acknowledges that learning takes place through performance (Fels and McGivern 2002: 24). Performative inquiry refers to the “creative interactive space within which participants negotiate multiple possibilities of action and, through shared participation and reflection, learn from each other both within and outside the drama” (Fels and McGivern 2002: 19). It involves the use of improvisation. Snowber (2002: 32) states that the inherent nature of improvisation is to impart opportunities for the exploration of experiences and knowledge within life that is multifaceted.

Through performative inquiry the classroom becomes the site of research as it explores a topic or issue through the performance of the learners and the reflection thereupon once the drama is concluded (Fels and McGivern 2002: 25).

“Performative inquiry is a research methodology and mode of learning that invites students to explore imaginary worlds within which space-moments of interstanding and intercultural recognitions are possible” (Fels and McGivern 2002: 23). It involves the uncovering of levels of insights (Snowber 2002: 31). Furthermore, performative inquiry accepts performance as an “action-site” in which learning may take place, thus providing the potential for research and teaching studies (Fels and McGivern 2002: 23). Performative inquiry is usually followed by a “collective sharing experience and reflections among the participants...” (Fels and McGivern 2002: 24).

The use of performative inquiry provides an opportunity to expose a “third space” of being there and discovery in which “intercultural interactions and possible negotiations and recognitions emerge” (Fels and McGivern 2002: 21). This third space or performative space is creative and interactive within which manifold possibilities of action are negotiated by participants who, through communal involvement and contemplation, learn from one another (Fels and McGivern 2002: 21). This communal involvement, reflection and sharing is theoretically vital to the development of cultural competency.

Essential to the course of action within performative inquiry is the opportunity to share as a group and reflect together on what happened, what choices of action were made, and what other possible responses or actions could have been made as well as what insights or feelings or questions came out of the experience (Fels and McGivern 2002: 24). This reflection could occur in the form of group discussions, circle-sharing, journal writing, or the revisiting of situations that came out of the initial inquiry (Fels and McGivern 2002: 24).

Fels and McGivern (2002: 25) refer to “space moments” of learning which are “moments of understanding that shift their understanding of the issues being experienced.” These “space moments” of learning occur when learners are able to comprehend their world from a perspective that is different from their own which in turn presents moments of cultural understanding of various situations (Fels and McGivern 2002: 26). “We cannot claim ownership to another individual’s or cultural group’s experience, but we can open ourselves to witness and honor [sic] their stories, experiences, and memories through the momentary glimpse that is gifted to us through drama” (Fels and McGivern 2002: 27).

3.3.7 Ethnodrama/Theatre; ethnographic playwriting

Ethnodrama is performed data often with a therapeutic function for health audiences (audiences with various illnesses) wherein the audience provide feedback after the study and their contributions are included as part of the data collection. Saldaña (2003: 218) defines ethnodrama as that which “employs traditional craft and artistic techniques of formal theatre production to mount a live performance event of research participants’ experiences and/or researchers’ interpretation of data for an audience.” The ethnodrama does not conform with ease to the conventional ideas of report writing (Mienczakowski 1997: 170). The script is comprised of analysed and dramatised selections from transcripts of interviews, field notes, journal entries and other written forms (Saldaña. 2003: 218). The script of an ethnodrama consists of significant selections from “interview transcripts, field notes, journal entries or other written artifacts” that are duly analysed and presented in dramatic form (Saldaña 2003: 213). “A performance is an interpretive event, a rehearsed or improvised creative set of activities, with a beginning, middle, and end, performed for the benefit of an audience and the performers” (Denzin 1997: 183). The characters are usually research participants played by actors but it is possible for the actual researchers and participants to perform as cast members. Such research activities fall within the qualitative mode of inquiry and have a multiplicity of applications; the implications thereof are vast – they have been used in “student performance training, health education, nursing education, research training, theatre and public research” (Mienczakowski 1997: 170). For the purposes of this study they will be used within the sphere of education.

Goldstein (2004: 311) refers to “the ethnographic play.” In her concept of the ethnographic play the characters and plot are fictitious whilst the linguistic and racial conflicts that are dramatised in the play occurred in reality. The role of ethnodrama is to entertain as well as to inform (Saldaña. 2003: 220). Ethnodramas can “undo the voyeuristic, gazing eye of the ethnographer, bringing audiences and performers into a jointly felt and shared field experience” (Denzin 1997: 182). There are several other reasons why this is a powerful instructional tool (Goldstein 2004: 316).

- ***Advantages of this form of data representation as proclaimed by ethnographic play writers.***

One of the most obvious advantages of ethnodrama is the potential for the data to be presented to a wide audience. In addition, the language of the research is in the day to day words of the

informants and not couched in academic jargon and thus the performance has increased relevancy and immediacy (Mienczakowski 1997: 159). Furthermore, the dialogue in playwriting is different to conventional playwriting as it forms the “action of the play” (Goldstein 2001: 294). The power of such research to reach large audiences holds appeal for academic institutions in terms of their increased ability to gain funding for such projects (Mienczakowski 1997: 165). Performance is the domain of all and serves as a catalyst for continuing Arts-based inquiry (Mullen and Diamond 2002: 134). Ethnography is an “interpretative, subjective, value-laden project” because ethnographers “invent” rather than “represent” ethnographic truths (Goldstein 2001: 294). The art of writing a stage production is “similar to yet different from” the creation of dramatic narratives within qualitative reports because ethnodrama uses the modes and customs of theatrical production (Saldaña. 2003: 220). The performance of the play represents a challenge to fixed, intransmutable ethnographic representations of the subjects. These representations have contributed historically to the formation of damaging ideas regarding “other people”. “Other” actors are provided with the opportunity, through performance, to act out and extend the identities of the characters that have been created by the ethnographer (Goldstein 2001: 294). Ethnographic plays allow the research subjects and “other” people to observe a performance of the work and endorse or critique its analysis. Rewriting and performance can take place in reaction to others’ responses. This creates validity within the work (Goldstein 2001: 294). Mienczakowski (1997: 159) describes ethnodramas as “public voice” researchers. Post-performance discussions with the audience provide a medium through which the emotional positions of the audience members’ epistemological foundations may be debated collectively (Mienczakowski 1997: 159). Insights are gained by the researcher and the audience that are not possible through conventional forms of qualitative data investigation, writing, and presentation (Saldaña. 2003: 230). Members of the audience experience sensory impact that is not present in print e.g. costumes, colours, live people, props and sets, words, music, sound effects (Winston 1999: 463). The changes that are possible in lines, acting, intonation, lighting, blocking and stage design can potentially influence or alter the meaning of the performed ethnographic text each time it is performed (Goldstein 2001: 294). ‘When the visual and the aural languages re-enforce one another, they are able to stir our cognitive and emotional capacities;’ (Winston 1999: 463). “The dramatic transformation of time” is what creates the most potential for moral impact, for dramatic time is flexible (Winston 1999: 463). This transformation of time renders a simplification of life which helps to make it comprehensible (Winston 1999: 464).

The ethnodrama searches for clarification and representation in a public manner which releases its meanings to both informants as well as to wider audiences (Mienczakowski 1997: 170). In addition, bodily and facial expression are crucial for understanding and yet are lost or obscured in academic

discourse (Kontos and Naglie 2006: 309). Kontos and Naglie (2006: 302) outline the rationale for presenting data in the form of an ethnodrama:

- “to provide an ‘accessible presentation’ (own emphasis) of research to audiences of diverse disciplinary backgrounds;
- to recover the experiential immediacy of the body present in the original data-gathering setting, which in the case of this dramatic production (*Expressions of Personhood in Alzheimer’s*), permits a powerful demonstration of how selfhood is manifested in gesture and action;
- to create a space to engage in a form of social inquiry that resonates simultaneously with critique and the envisioning of new possibilities” (Denzin 1997 cited in Kontos and Naglie 2006: 302).

Of relevance to this study is Alexander’s (2005: 411) assertion that performance ethnography (ethnodrama) “is and can be a strategic method of inciting culture.” Ethnodrama most frequently involves an “embodied experience” of another’s cultural practices (Alexander 2005: 412). Alexander (2005: 416) refers to the concept of “cultural performance” which “is the method in which we all define community, maintain community membership, negotiate identity, and sometimes subvert the rules of social membership and practice.” Thus, performance ethnography enhances the individual’s ability to understand and know a culture better and becomes a rehearsal process in developing into a cultural member; almost a mode of studied “enculturation”, which leads toward competency and membership of a culture (Samovar and Porter cited in Alexander 2005: 416).

Alexander (2005: 430) furthermore offers recommendations worthy of consideration in ethnodramatic productions:

- “issues of critical reflexivity are always at the center [sic] of performance ethnography;
- although the performance ethnography often seems interested in reflecting on the experience of and with the cultural other, distinctions are made through perceived characteristics of difference;
- performance ethnography needs to develop legs, or walking feet, travelling the distance to particular audiences that might effect change, such as Boal’s Legislative Theatre, or to those audiences that need an affective awareness of the issues;
- in a literal move of ‘stepping into someone else’s voice’ and consequently his or her lived experience, maybe performance ethnography continues its direction toward cross-

cultural and cross-racial performances by having people perform the narratives of others.”

“We must strengthen the commitment of performance ethnography as a civic-minded moral discourse that encourages what Hartnett (1998: 288) calls a form of “performative citizenship” – one in which the aesthetics of performance “move[s] beyond hypnotised individuality and voracious commodification to approach something closer to engaged cultural history.” “Performance writing shows, rather than tells...it is writing that is consequential, and it is about a world that is already being performed” (Denzin 2001: 36). The performance aesthetic “values performance narratives that reflexively recognise, go against the grain, and attack the dominant cultural ideologies connected to race, class, family and gender” (Denzin 2003: 248). The ethnodrama is based on the voices of the participants within the study. “Performance ethnography is literally the staged re-enactment of ethnographically-derived notes” (Alexander 2005: 411). Ethnodrama is representative of a somewhat recent development in qualitative inquiry which involves experimentation with artistic forms of representing research (Saldaña 2003: 219). It represents a means of breaking away from a mode in which the written text is privileged (Paget 1990: 137). The ethnodrama falls within what Denzin (2001: 25) refers to as the post-experimental present. “In the post-experimental period no discourse has a privileged place, no method or theory has a universal and general claim to authoritative knowledge” (Denzin 2001: 25). For Denzin (2003: 245-246) all inquiry is reflective of the position of the researcher and theory- or value-free knowledge does not exist.

- ***How are ethnodramas created?***

Ethnodramas are constructed, based on information gained during techniques such as questionnaires and performative inquiry, and performed for the relevant audiences (depending upon the target of the research). This ability to reach large audiences also, in a sense, ‘de-academises’ its research-reporting format through the translation of data into scripted performances (Mienczakowski 1997: 170). The ethnodramatic playwright does not just tell a story but he/she is a “story-reteller” (Saldaña. 2003: 223). What the participants have told the ethnodramatist in interviews has to be edited imaginatively and tactically (Saldaña. 2003: 223). Dialogue within the play is a means of indicating character “interaction” and “interplay” (terms to be found often in qualitative research literature) and it acts as a means of advancing the action (Saldaña. 2003: 226). Playwrights need to develop “scenography literacy” which refers to the details required in terms of nonverbal cues, and “establishes time and place of a play, evokes mood, and serves the required action of characters” (Saldaña. 2003: 228). Post-performance audience

3.3.8 Overview

Drama has the potential to provide powerful learning experiences and to focus on moral and social subjects, the implication being that it has the ability to effect social change. In addition to changes that could occur through the procedures of DIE and TIE there is Theatre-for-awareness or Theatre-for-development which are interventionist forms of theatre. The process whereby they are created is through a collaborative creative process in which the actors have a core function and simultaneously play the roles of both actor and teacher. Boal developed Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) which supposedly offers tools for liberation through the use of theatre methods, in order to examine matters of social injustice and concomitant imbalances in relationships of power. In Forum Theatre, the development of empathy is an aspiration and learners are encouraged to become moral intermediaries within their own circumstances through the opportunity to influence the script or performance of their play. In this approach, audience members are given the opportunity to participate actively within the play by taking on the role of a character. The purpose of interventionist drama is to act as a vehicle for transition by setting up a process which addresses issues of critical importance. The process has a positive bearing as a collaborative effort is made in order to discover difficulties, to think in a critical manner and to formulate solutions. A means of achieving social change through drama is by way of the performance of ethnodramas. Ethnodrama takes place within the mode of performative inquiry, which is a method whereby data is gathered from drama participants and then the findings are performed as an ethnodrama. Because drama has the ability to create moral awareness it is also a useful tool for the resolution of conflict.

3.4 DRAMA AS A MEANS OF RESOLVING CULTURAL CONFLICT

An extension of the notion of drama as a means of social change is the idea of drama as a means of conflict resolution, for conflict resolution is a form of social change.

3.4.1 Conflict and cultural competency

Central to the development of cultural competency is the development of a means with which to deal with conflict, which is inevitable in relationships between people. Conflict is frequently identified as a clash or confrontation involving people who are in a relationship and thus, in a measure, mutually dependent (Giffen and Yaffe 1999: 113). Culture is crucial to the understanding of conflict as culture is a component of all relationships and conflict arises in relationships (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 5). Every person is comprised of multiple cultural identities and thus all conflicts

have cultural components (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 5). Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 12), prefer the term cultural fluency (whereas in this study cultural competency is preferred) and state that it signifies the recognition of conflict as a difference in which the potential for choice and growth exist. Cultural fluency, for Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 58) is our willingness to “anticipate, internalise, express, and help shape the process of meaning-making.” Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 17) state that culture is always a component of conflict but that the acknowledgement of culture creates cultural fluency (or cultural competency) to conflicts which can assist people in making more “intentional and adaptive choices.”

Central to the development of cultural fluency (or competency) is the continuous development of self-awareness (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 60). Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 61) state that cultural fluency is a state of being and not a set of actions. It is to pay acute attention to “what is stated and not stated, what is obvious and hidden, and to listen inwardly for understanding of self and other.”

3.4.2 The dynamics of cultural conflict

Conflict may appear imperceptibly as people slowly develop an awareness of differences (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 87). Differences may transform into conflict when a scarcity of resources exist or when individuals concerned feel threatened by each other (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 87). When there is conflict, problems involving relationships are evident (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 99). Conflicts seem to be more passionate when the participants are interdependent and there is an overall feeling of paucity and threat (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 87). Conflict frequently intensifies, dividing human relationships whilst groups in opposition to each other form (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 87). Strong group attachments are related to increased political intolerance (Gibson and Gouws 2000: 289). An intensification of mistrust is experienced that exaggerates the chasm between “our side” and “their side” and a sense of “we-ness” and “they-ness” becomes apparent (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 89). This is in keeping with the notion of in-groups and out-groups discussed in Chapter 2 (2.4.2). People engaged in destructive conflict tend to “dehumanise” their rivals when the conflict has a polarising effect (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 90). The rivals become perceived as evil and they begin to be treated with less respect (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 90). “These relational spirals feed on themselves, generating corroborative evidence like multiple self-fulfilling prophecies, and the reciprocal dehumanisation of the “other side” continues to feed the conflict” (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 90).

Culture and conflict shape and reshape each other in a reciprocal relationship (Lebaron and Pillay: 2006).

3.4.3 Culture shapes and reshapes cultural conflict (Lebaron and Pillay: 2006)

It is significant to note the relationship between culture and conflict.

- Culture encases the existence of humans' conflict behavior;
- Culture lays down the borders of all potential alternatives and prescribes the nature of behaviour in a specified conflict as well as the reason for it;
- Culture denotes ingroups and outgroups;
- Culture connects the past, present and future of the dynamics of conflict;
- Culture contributes towards the spread of culture across social situations and is initiated by symbols that are common to a particular culture.

(Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 83 -104)

3.4.4 Conflict shapes and reshapes culture (Lebaron and Pillay: 2006)

Culture shapes conflict. Similarly, conflict has an interrelationship with culture.

- conflict alters the bearers of culture that bring about meaning;
- violence of a widespread nature restructures culture by spawning suffering and triumphs;
- enforced relocation of people sometimes creates an idealised vision of home;
- amalgamations of cultural groups encourage the convergence of symbols;
- social institutions and philosophies generate and propagate cultural symbols and the continuity of cultures.

(Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 83 -104)

3.4.5 Responses to conflict

D'ambra (2004) depicts a range of responses towards conflict in relation to the degree to which responses include joint involvement in attempting to resolve the conflict (cited in Grant and Sleeter 2007: 99). The responses consist of:

- the forceful repression of conflict;

- the management of conflict using force, mediation or negotiation e.g. within the classroom one would explain in simple terms the rules of the classroom and then apply them with regularity and in a consistent manner;
- the resolution of conflict would involve finding the middle ground in order to establish answers to conflicts once they have taken place;
- the prevention of conflict which would involve proactive cooperation and conciliation to recognise impending problems prior to their occurrence, and establishing pre-emptive resolutions;
- a culture of dialogue, which would involve the assumption that dissimilarity is perpetually in existence and needs to be discussed so as to cultivate a dialogue that is respectful; which is guided by compassion rather than difficulties and where dialogue across differences is prized.

Thus, within a proactive perspective, conflict is to be considered a significant component of human existence rather than either positive or negative (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 100). "Conflicts also provide opportunities to learn self-discipline, respect for others, respect for self, respect for the laws of society and respect for diversity" (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 100). Thus, whether the product of culture is constructive or destructive is dependent upon the measures effected by the participating parties.

Grant and Sleeter (2007: 101) identify three methods of solving conflict:

- ***Denial***

In a conflict situation, instead of acknowledging that he or she is angry, the individual denies the existence of any perceived wrongdoing. Thus, resolution cannot occur because the second individual is not aware of the source of that person's anger. If the situation is not dealt with, there is a possibility of a reoccurrence.

- ***Confrontation***

In a conflict situation, one or more individuals show aggression towards another individual or individuals. The show of aggression occurs most commonly when the factions are unwilling to pay attention to each other's perspective.

- **Problem Solving**

In a conflict situation, individuals attempt to settle their differences through listening to each other and searching for methods to resolve their problems agreeably.

(Grant and Sleeter 2007: 101)

The problem-solving approach is what is recommended by teachers (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 101). “In order to make it work, young students can learn skills such as communication skills, negotiation, mediation, apologising, postponing gratification, and compromising” (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 101). Giffen and Yaffe (1999: 113) add listening, observing, perspective-taking, empathising, expressing and identifying feelings, clarifying needs, anger management, co-operation and problem-solving to this list. It is the researcher’s belief that drama could be a valuable instructional tool for the teaching of these skills. Grant and Sleeter (2007: 101) identify two communication skills for the resolution of conflict: “I messages” and active listening. “I messages” locate the verbal communication and the feelings of the individuals at a level which is personal. Active listening complements the “I messages” and involves listening to the message intrinsic to the words that are uttered (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 102). Furthermore, Grant and Sleeter (2007: 105) reiterate what was stated in Chapter 2 (2.7): teachers need to understand their own cultural perspectives and assist learners to understand theirs, in order to work beneficially in resolving conflict. In addition, children need to be taught directly about prejudice and discrimination in order to provide them with the language and conceptual skills to reflect upon their schools, communities and social contexts (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 110).

3.4.6 Drama as a tool for resolving cultural conflict

As a technique, drama appears to be particularly apt as a means of conflict resolution (Giffen and Yaffe 1999: 115). Boal (1979: 7-8) states that drama is intensely effective in altering attitudes because it simultaneously takes cognisance of the authentic experience of the individual and the imaginary world in which the characters are occupied. Three reasons render drama suitable for conflict resolution: “as if” experience, reflection and negotiation (Giffen and Yaffe 1999: 115).

Dramatherapy, also termed psychodrama, is a vast topic within the field of psychology or psychodrama and will not be dealt with in detail here due to its scope. However, Jones (2008: 40), delineates core processes which define how dramatherapy is effective by identifying elements which

Table 3.1 Stages of Conflict Resolution and Dramatic Creation

Conflict Resolution		Dramatic Creation	
1a	Stating the Conflict	1b	Creating the Play
2a	Listening to Others	2b	Playing Roles
3a	Analyzing Solutions	3b	Rehearsing the Play
4a	Resolving the Conflict	4b	Performing the Play

Wolf and Heath (1999: 92) cited in Wagner (1999)

3.4.7 Overview

Drama has the tools for the effective means of conflict resolution. Conflict is inevitable where there are relationships between people. Thus, it is not to be avoided, but rather participants should be given the appropriate skills for dealing with conflict. Culture is fundamental to the understanding of conflict, as culture is a component of all relationships and conflict arises in relationships (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 5). Every person contains multiple cultural identities and thus all conflicts have cultural components. In order to develop cultural competency, the unremitting development of self-awareness needs to take place. Conflicts appear to be more intense when there is interdependency amongst participants and where there is competition for resources or a feeling of threat. Racism, stereotyping and prejudice often result in situations of conflict. Culture and conflict have a reciprocal relationship and affect one another. A range of responses towards conflict exist including: denial, confrontation, and problem solving (Grant and Sleeter 2007: 101). However, teachers should be able to understand their own cultural perspectives and facilitate learners to understand theirs, in order to work constructively in resolving conflict. As a technique, drama appears to be particularly apt as a means of conflict resolution. Three of the reasons that make drama suitable for conflict resolution are: experience, reflection and negotiation. There are also interesting parallels between the steps of conflict-resolution and the creation of a dramatic production wherein similar skills and responses are required.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with drama beyond its function as mere entertainment. Applied drama has several possible applications, many of which have the potential to develop cultural competency because it is a powerful means of self-awareness, reflection and expression. Drama holds much potential in the area of social development which comes about largely because drama is a group art. An important goal in the development of cultural competency is the development of a sensitivity

which comes about through the development of empathy and extends beyond the self to the interest of the common good of society. DIE focuses on learning *through* drama whilst TIE focuses on more conventional forms of theatre. However, the aim is also learning through the process of developing a performance. Theatre-for-awareness or Theatre-for-development are interventionist forms of theatre which also serve an educational function. Boal developed Theatre of the Oppressed and of particular note is Forum Theatre which forms a part of TO. In Forum Theatre, the involvement of the audience members is important and they too learn through the dramatic process in their roles as “spect-actors”. Ethnodrama takes place within the mode of performative inquiry and involves the performance of research findings for educational purposes. As a technique, drama appears to be particularly suitable as a means of conflict resolution. Conflict is inevitable where there are relationships between people and culture is fundamental to the understanding of conflict as culture is a component of all relationships. Dramatherapy, also termed psychodrama, is an extensive topic within the field of psychology or psychodrama and its application is evidence of the therapeutic and transformative nature of drama. Thus, several applications exist for the use of dramatic tools in an educational and transformative sense. The precise application thereof will be tested in the following chapter using the modes of Arts-based inquiry.

The following chapter delineates the research design.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There has been a notable shift within the social sciences towards ethnographic research that is founded upon the philosophies of phenomenology (Dalrymple 2006: 201). In the twenty-first century, drama and theatre are increasingly playing a part in the spheres of education and development which can be encapsulated in the concept “applied drama and theatre” (Dalrymple 2006: 202). The empirical investigation reported upon in the study represents an endeavour to implement applied drama.

In this chapter the research design for the investigation is presented using Arts-based inquiry within the qualitative research tradition. This chapter gives a detailed overview of selection of sites and participants, the procedures for and stages of data collection and data analysis. Attention is given to ethical issues and steps taken to ensure trustworthiness of the data.

4.2 THE RESEARCH APPROACH: ARTS-BASED INQUIRY

The approach to the research took the form of Arts-based inquiry. Arts-based inquiry entails the synthesis of research and art both in the collection and presentation of data (Jenoure 2002: 88). It is a new “methodological and theoretical genre” in the midst of several new modes of qualitative inquiry (Finley 2005: 682). Arts-based researchers use art forms from the visual and performing arts and, in addition, borrow constructs from literature (Finley 2005: 682). Techniques used in the arts (mainly the dramatic arts but not exclusively) are employed to gather data. “Practitioners of inquiry in this line propose reinterpretation of the methods and ethics of human social research and seek to construct action-oriented processes for inquiry that are useful within the local community where the research originates” (Finley 2005: 682). Blumenfeld Jones (2002: 92) states that research regarding education is never impersonal: “A particular researcher enacts a particular practice to produce a particular product for personal reasons.” It is felt that the Arts-based method of data collection will provide information that is not discoverable in other forms of analysis: “feelings and direct experience” (Blumenfeld Jones 2002: 95). The research methodology stems from a sense of congruency with the rationale encapsulated by (Knowles and Thomas 2002: 122-123) in the following statement:

“Our personal world views reflect a need to represent, with authenticity, the multidimensionalities and complexities of human lives. We hold a strong commitment to extend the realm of academic discourse by locating it in a public forum and making it accessible to wider audiences.”

It was important to the researcher that the participants were involved in the discovery process and gained something out of their participation. Finley (2002: 175) views the emergence of an Arts-based approach as “an alternative means for re-enacting inquiries compatible with a critical pedagogy project that nurtures rather than alienates the individual internally and in her/his connections with the larger society.”

4.3 DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

4.3.1 Introduction

The inquiry model framework includes several linked elements which provide a multidimensional format. In this study the primary methods of data collection included: descriptive observations of both visual and verbal responses and focus group interviews. The descriptive observations incorporated those of improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances and an ethnodramatic performance. These are described in paragraphs 3.2.3, 3.3.3, 3.3.6 and 3.3.7.

4.3.2 Selection of sites

For the purposes of this study, three schools were selected. All three of these schools were chosen using the methods of judgement sampling as well as convenience sampling. Judgement sampling is the selection of a sample that, in accordance with the intuition of the sampler, reflects the population accurately (Pestmanagement Online UK: 2008). Convenience sampling is “a process of selecting subjects or units for examination and analysis that is based on accessibility, ease, speed, and low cost” (Cohen and Crabtree Online: 2008). A pseudonym was selected for each of the three schools so as to protect their identities. All three schools are racially diverse yet geographically close to one another. Several languages were spoken by the learners in all three schools. However, English was the Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) in each case.

The school wherein the main body of research was conducted was St Winifred's (pseudonym). St Winifred's is an independent secondary girls' school. It is a denominational school for girls situated in the Pretoria region. The girls came from many parts of South Africa as well as from beyond South Africa's borders and boarding facilities were offered. At the time of the research I was an English teacher at the school for the senior grades and was also responsible for part of the drama curriculum. Thus, I was in the position to conduct this particular research in the school. I considered the school a site which could yield information rich data due to the learner composition and the drama curriculum offered by the school.

The second school that was selected was St Thomas's Independent School (pseudonym). St Thomas's Independent School is an independent secondary boys' school and is the brother school of St Winifred's. It is also denominational. The boys also come from many parts of South Africa as well as from beyond South Africa's borders and thus boarding facilities exist. The two schools have a close working relationship which has been the case since the inception of St Thomas's. This site was selected to gather data which could be used to compare with the data gleaned from St Winifred's and to triangulate the research.

The third school which was selected was Larkminster High School (pseudonym) Larkminster is a state secondary school which is multicultural and co-educational. The school was initially for white students only but after the 1994 elections was one of the first to open its doors to learners of all races. It is now a school that is attended by predominantly black students but has learners of many different races attending it. This site was also selected to gather data which could be used to compare with the data gleaned from St Winifred's and St Thomas's and to triangulate the research.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of participating schools

Name of school	School type	Learner enrolment	Location	Annual school fees	Learner composition
St Winifred's School	Independent school, all girls	480 – senior school	Suburban	R55 000 per annum	Racially mixed
St Thomas's Independent	Independent school, all boys	600	Suburban	R65 000 per annum	Racially mixed
Larkminster High School	Public school: former Model C, co-ed	800	Suburban	R6 000 per annum	Racially mixed 90% learners of colour

4.3.3 Selection of participants

Three groups of culturally diverse Grade 10 Learners, between the ages of 15 and 17 years, were selected from each school respectively using judgement sampling. Eight (8) learners were selected from St Thomas's and Larkminster; the group from St Winifred's fluctuated between eight and ten participants. The main criteria were that the group consisted of culturally-diverse learners who studied drama as part of the school curriculum. These learners, I judged, would be less inhibited in the expression of themselves using dramatic techniques as they were already familiar with improvisational role-play. In addition, they enjoyed this type of interaction and thus were most willing to participate in the study. Participation was informed and voluntary and pseudonyms were used throughout the study. The composition of the St Winifred's group was fluid due to absenteeism that arose as a result of other activities in which the learners were involved.

Table 4.2 provides details of the characteristics of the group:

Table 4.2: Characteristics of participating learners from St Winifred's

Pseudonym	Nationality	Racial/ethnic background
Fentse	South African	Black, Tswana
Winnie	Botswanan (boarder)	Black, Tswana
Nthabi	South African	Black, Zulu (her father's race) but prefers to think of herself as Sepedi because she has a better understanding of their ways.
Nobi	South African	Black, Zulu
Casey	Born in South Africa/parents live in Botswana	White, English home language
Kate	South African	White, Afrikaans home language
Tsatse	South African	Black, Pedi/Ndebele
Tessie	Zimbabwean	Black, Shona
Nene	South African	Black, prefers to call herself Venda; her mother is Zulu/Sotho
Lynn	South African	White, Afrikaans and English
Zoë	South African	White, English
Cara	British	White, English

The group at St Thomas's consisted of Grade 10 boys of many different races and nationalities. The boys did not take Dramatic Arts as a school subject but were involved in an extra-curricular drama group which met on a Thursday evening. Table 4.3 provides details of the characteristics of the group:

Table 4.3: Characteristics of participating learners from St Thomas's

Pseudonym	Nationality	Racial background
Warren	South African	White, English
Elvis	Zambian	Black
Jeremy	South African	White, English
Motheo	South African	Black, Sepedi
Ndumsa	South African	Black, Zulu
Gareth	South African	White, English
John	South African	White, Afrikaans
Vuyo	South African	Black, Pedi

The group at Larkminster High consisted of Grade 10 boys and girls of many different races and nationalities. The learners did not take Dramatic Arts as a school subject but were involved in an extra-curricular drama group which met on a Tuesday afternoon. Table 4.4 provides details of the characteristics of the group.

Table 4.4: Characteristics of participating learners from Larkminster High

Name (pseudonym)	Nationality	Gender	Race
Shelley	South African	Female	White
Sipho	South African	Male	Black (Pedi)
Loren	South African	Female	Coloured
Levendren	South African	Male	Indian
George	Portuguese	Male	White
Sally	Greek	Female	White
Ayanda	South African	Female	Black
Lemapo	South African	Male	Black

4.3.4 Gaining access to the research setting

Firstly, I approached the principals of the various schools, the study was explained to them and permission was gained in order to conduct research within their schools. Voluntary participation of learners was sought, the procedure explained and the learners were told that they could withdraw from the study should they at any time feel uncomfortable with the process. Consent forms explained the research process to all participants (Teasley et al 2005: 229). I explained to the learners that anonymity would be ensured through the use of pseudonyms and that information gleaned would remain confidential. Consent for participation in the study was gained from the participants' parents.

4.3.5 The role of the researcher

The fundamental characteristic of the social change purpose of qualitative research is inherent in the relationship between the researcher and the researched and relationships of a collaborative nature should be evident during and after the research process (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). "Authority, power, or privilege deployed, both implicitly and explicitly, from the side of the researcher needs to

be deconstructed, if not discarded entirely, if the researcher hopes to make a realistic difference in either schools or society.” Thus, the participants act as co-researchers in the process. I am a white female teaching English and Drama. I have had seventeen years’ experience of teaching English and twenty-one years of teaching Drama mainly (but not exclusively) to secondary school learners and am Head of the Department of Languages and Life Orientation. I had previously directed or been involved in the production of several musicals and plays involving young people. I already had a relationship with the participants at St Winifred’s as I taught at that school. This facilitated the study in the sense that a rapport already existed between myself and the participants. No prior relationship existed between myself and the participants from St Thomas’s or Larkminster High; however, the use of dramatic techniques ensured that the learners participated enthusiastically in the study and a good sense of rapport was easily established. Hence, my position as researcher was as a participant, interpreter and facilitator to a collaborative method of data collection, analyses and performance.

4.3.6. Strategies for data collection

The study was conducted within a natural setting - in this case, the school auditoriums and the school hall of the respective schools. The strategies for data collection were manifold and the collection of data took part in phases as shown in Table 4.5:

Table 4.5: The phases of the process of data collection

Phase	Method of data collection	Learners involved
Phase One	Focus group interviews	St Winifred’s
Phase Two	Improvisational role-play (followed by post-performance discussion and focus group interviews)	St Winifred’s
Phase Three	Forum Theatre Performance at St Thomas’s (followed by post-performance discussion; focus group interviews and journaling by St Winifred’s participants)	St Winifred’s and St Thomas’s

Phase Four	Forum Theatre Performance at Larkminster High (followed by discussion and focus group interviews as well as a journal response by St Winifred's)	St Winifred's and Larkminster High
Phase Five	Journal Response	St Winifred's
Phase Six	Ethnodrama (followed by post-performance discussion; interviews as well as journaling by St Winifred's participants)	St Winifred's to perform the ethnodrama. Staff, parents and learners invited from St Winifred's, St Thomas's and Larkminster High.

The following paragraphs explain in detail each of the phases tabulated above.

4.3.6.1 Phase One: Focus group interview

The first phase comprised focus group interviews. I, as the interviewer, posed a broad question as a point of departure (this is discussed further below) to the group and allowed the discussion to follow from there. The focus groups are positions where relations are forged by participants with other participants: group dynamics become a part of the research process and are inherent in the research findings (Brannen and Pattman 2005: 524). Group dynamics within the focus group have the potential to "provide a lens" focusing on relations of an emotional or social nature (Brannen and Pattman 2005: 524).

Within the focus group interview cognisance needs to be taken of non-verbal cues. For example, significant information can be gleaned from moments of silence which could indicate discomfort (Brannen and Pattmann 2005: 526). Brannen and Pattmann (2005: 529) also note the use of laughter as a means of diffusing tensions within focus groups. Researchers should also be attentive towards "feelings and emotions" that are expressed and the way in which these are evaluated (Brannen and Pattmann 2005: 537). Thus, focus group data should not just be examined in terms of what was said, but the "research encounter itself as a site of performance" (Brannen and Pattmann 2005: 538).

My role as the interviewer was to offer a response and reaction to that which was said in an attempt to pursue what the participant was articulating, requesting more detail and presenting observations to be verified by the participant (Jones 2008: 48). Throughout the discussions, learners' responses to my open-ended questions were recorded on a digital recorder as well as through written research observations. The recordings were later transcribed into notes.

The Grade Ten Dramatic Arts class at St Winifred's had been given a practical assignment in which they were required to use a workshop approach collaboratively to create their own dramatic performance. The choice of topic was open yet they chose to present the manner in which they as young South Africans perceive South African society. The topic was inspired by an incident in the news in which students from a local university recorded footage of a racist nature and placed it on U-tube on the Internet. The learners had viewed the footage. The play consisted of eight scenes and included the controversial issue of xenophobic attacks which were taking place at that time and had had a significant impact on the girls' perception of society. The play was created, directed and performed by the girls themselves and presented as a part of their practical exam to examiners, parents and peers. As a point of departure to the focus group interviews I questioned them about their responses (as well as those of their parents) to the creation and performance of the play. Some of the participants in my study had not participated in the play but all had watched it and were able to respond to my questions. Four such sessions, each consisting of approximately two hours (with breaks) were held.

4.3.6.2 Phase Two: Improvisational role-play

The second phase of the study involved improvisational role-play. After the focus group interviews, I identified pertinent concepts and themes and gave the St Winifred's girls related topics upon which to perform an improvisational role-play. In preparation for the Forum Theatre performances (phases three and four) the possibilities for alternative endings to the improvisations were sought and the implications thereof discussed. Six such improvisational role-plays took place.

Once the improvisational role-play performances were completed, reflection amongst the St Winifred's girls took place through the means of discussion in focus group interviews. Learners were asked to identify the issues and dilemmas that faced the characters in the scenes which were discussed (Norton and Toovey 2004: 318);

- learners were guided to discuss particular discourses or analyses where a discussion of these did not spontaneously emerge;
- thereafter, several of the improvised performances which had been reworked slightly where applicable were identified for use in the *Forum Theatre performances* (phases three and four – henceforth referred to as the Forum Theatre performance).

4.3.6.3 Phases Three and Four: Forum Theatre performances

Forum Theatre has been described in the previous chapter (3.3.3). It was chosen as a method of qualitative data gathering. The Forum Theatre performance lasted approximately one-and-a-half hours and two separate groups of secondary school learners from St Thomas's and Larkminster High respectively each with eight Grade 10 learners (aged approximately sixteen years) participated in the workshop. The workshop followed four steps (Refer to 3.3.3 for background to the approach):

Introduction:

I introduced myself and the participants from St Winifred's. I explained the study and the procedure for Forum Theatre.

The Forum Theatre performance took place. This consisted of the adapted improvisational role-plays from the previous phase (refer to paragraph 4.3.8); the St Winifred's participants performed the improvisational role-plays. The improvisational role-plays all consisted of situations in which some form of cultural conflict was evident.

The audience were then invited by the **joker** (refer to 3.3.3) which was played by myself in this case (as the participants were reluctant to perform this role) to take the part of one or several of the characters in the play in an effort to change the ending. The joker invited the audience to provide alternative endings by changing characters (sometimes a mere change in gender itself provided an alternative ending) and by posing "What if?" questions to stimulate a response. The change in the actions and nature of the characters provided alternate endings. This process provided an **interactive forum**.

Group discussions took place (after each of the two Forum Theatre performances) with learners from St Thomas's and Larkminster High and actors from St Winifred's in which the changes were evaluated. These discussions were facilitated by myself and were audiotaped.

The Forum Theatre performance, and in particular the reactions of the joker, made an attempt to acknowledge and note the *different experiences* faced by each participant, especially those from St Thomas's and Larkminster High. It attempted to bear in mind the potential for differing cultural identities and experiences and sought to validate the perspective that each audience member would relate differently to the performance depending on his/her own particular cultural identity. A genuine attempt was made to allow each participant to feel that their cultural identity and experiences were acknowledged and valued.

Finally, the participants from St Winifred's were asked to reflect on their experiences of the Forum Theatre performances in their journals, in particular on how the situation differed from when they were doing improvisational role-plays in phase two – without the participants from the other two schools (Refer to 4.3.8).

4.3.6.4 Phase Five: Journal responses

Participants from St Winifred's kept a journal detailing their experiences to be used to reflect upon what they discovered about themselves and others during the focus group interviews, improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances. The journals were analysed by myself and I identified themes, relating to self-discovery and understanding gleaned through the focus group interviews, improvisational role plays and Forum Theatre performance. The participants were asked to take their journals home and to write about the following:

- key events in their lives that they thought had had an influence on the formation of their cultural identities;
- any aspects that they wished to express in the written form which they did not feel comfortable expressing during the focus group interview sessions, improvisational role-play and workshops;
- what emotions were elicited in them during the focus group interviews and improvisational role-plays;
- what they had discovered about each other during the workshops;
- what they had discovered about themselves during the workshops;
- if they thought the processes they had undergone could be of benefit to their peers;
- any other aspect which was of relevance to them during the process of the study.

The participants entrusted their journals to me and I analysed them, searching for relevant themes and attempting to establish where they corroborated findings from the focus group interviews and Forum Theatre performances.

4.3.6.5 Phases Six and Seven: The ethnodrama and post-performance discussion

My reflections which arose from the previous phases were evaluated, themes were extrapolated and potentially evolved into an extension of the method of performative inquiry in the equivalent of ethnodramatic performances. The Ethnodrama is discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3.7). It involves the writing up of data in the form of a play and then the performance thereof. The actors (participants from St Winifred's in this case) are given the opportunity to comment on the script and effect changes where they believe the findings have been misrepresented or that something has been omitted. The audience responses (via post-performance discussion) served to validate data and provide an additional source of data. This, together with the initial phases of the inquiry, progressed towards a final analysis of data and a written report was compiled incorporating data gained from the audience responses to the first performance thereof. This was then performed and recorded. A CD containing the recording is included in Appendix A.

4.3.7 Action research nature of inquiry

The study contained an element of action research because it involved a cyclical format and some feedback. The data obtained in the first six phases of the research was analysed and the findings written up in an ethnodrama. The ethnodrama was performed for an audience and the audience response (in the form of a focus group interview) was used to formulate the written report. Action research involves the assumption of cycles of "planning, acting, data collecting and reflecting" (Dalrymple 2006: 215). It has the effect of validating data as participants verify the data performed in the ethnodrama. It also effectively serves to modify practice: "This approach bridges the gap between practice and research and our actor-teachers are also researchers with the aim of ongoing improvement to our strategy and methodology" (Dalrymple 2006: 215). The performance was revised in accordance with data that were generated through post-performance discussions and focus group interviews with participants and audience members "introducing a dialogic engagement in the production of the ethnodramatic script" (Kontos and Naglie 2006: 305). In the case of this study this occurred only once, whilst the potential for further change is nevertheless present after future performances.

4.3.8 The method of recording data

Owing to the collaborative nature of the workshops, recorded focus group interviews were deemed the most apt method for the gathering of data from the learners. Interviews were held with participants: after the improvisational role-plays took place, during the Forum Theatre performances, and after the final ethnodramatic performance. Data was recorded on a tape recorder and then transcribed so that it could be read and re-read in order to search for emergent themes. The Forum Theatre performances were recorded on audiotape to create an additional source of verisimilitude. The verisimilitude is used in the context of Denzin (1994: 305) which invokes a new form of truth: "a truth from experience". The ethnographic performance was also recorded using a video camera and copies thereof included in the findings.

4.3.9 Summary

A combination of regular qualitative data collection techniques and techniques specifically related to Arts-based inquiry was used in the research design. Judgement and convenience sampling were used for the selection of the three schools and the selection of the participants. Data collection took place according to six phases in the natural setting of classrooms and school auditoriums.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF DATA AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The use of Arts-based inquiry in the form of ethnodramatic representation in this study attempts to emulate descriptions by Bagley and Cancienne (2002: 5-6) in which a genuine endeavour at engendering the responsibility of not trivialising the experiences of the participants was made. "Data as performance has a demonstrable potential to construct explanations from within..." (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34). Data is studied until visual metaphoric images emerge. The purpose of such an approach is to bring the text alive in a manner in which a reading of the text is unable to achieve (Bagley and Cancienne 2002: 7). The ethnodramatic play represents a representation of the findings in an alternative intertextual format. "Performed data has an empathetic power and dimension often lacking in standard qualitative research narratives" (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34). The ethnodrama embodies an aesthetic approach in which to interpret and utilise research details in a manner which will represent the authentic responses of the informants (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34). In addition to the ethnodrama, which was deemed an appropriate method in which to express

the data, is a parallel report which highlights certain elements within the ethnodramatic process and provides reflection upon the procedures.

4.4.1 Data analysis

In this study the raw data consisted of information gleaned from observations which were recorded during the focus group interviews, improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances and reflections written by the participants within their journals.

Journal entries were specifically used as reflections on the improvisational role-play and Forum Theatre performances. They represented the most private thoughts of the individual. So as to ensure anonymity, these reflections were presented in the ethnodramatic performance of data by different personas to the ones who wrote them and with the participants' permission.

A large number of different forms of data existed in the forms of journal entries, observations through field notes and transcripts of tapes. In order to collate this all the data were transferred into typed format where they were recorded in tabular form:

Method of data collection	Typed transcript of data	Researcher observation
e.g. journal entry		

Codes were developed to analyse the participants' actions, reactions and opinions. The following procedure was adopted to facilitate the analyses: coding of data, categorisation of data and identification of themes. The themes extracted from the analysis of the data formed a basis for description of the perceptions of respondents relating to aspects of cultural competency.

Thus, the data were processed and analysed by means of a search for emergent themes according to qualitative research methodology. Therefore, themes were identified within the data which signified common threads among the participants' statements and responses. The qualitative researcher endeavours to study data inductively in order for unpredicted data to emerge (Borg and Gall 1989: 386). Thus, the researcher sought out patterns in the data and what emerged from these patterns were concepts, insights and illumination (Taylor and Bogdan 1984: 5). It was important that the selection reflected both the specificity and diversity of the data (Rogers et al 2002: 55). The content of the observational and interview data was analysed in a comparative manner "across data methods, sources and perspectives, to develop codes, categories and themes" (Day 2002: 25). The

focus group interviews were analysed first and emergent themes were sought. The data from the Forum Theatre performances were analysed next and incorporated within the initial themes and then the data from the journal responses were added to this. These findings were presented in the format of an ethnodrama using the criteria that they presented as a synopsis of the viewpoint of a particular group of people or to illustrate conflicting viewpoints of pertinent issues. The performance was recorded using multi-media and written to a CD Rom which is included in the study. A copy of the text (script) of the ethnodrama is also included in the study (cf par. 5.2.1). Bagley and Cancienne (2002: 16) state that data analysis and data representation in the format of performance are inextricably linked.

4.4.2 Presentation of findings

The findings have been presented in three ways: an ethnodrama; the script and a CD Rom version of the ethnodrama; and a final written report.

4.4.2.1 The ethnodrama and post-performance discussion

The first presentation of the penultimate findings took the form of an ethnodrama performed before a live and participative audience in the school auditorium at St Winifred's.

The ethnodrama was comprised of the transcripts of the recorded Forum Theatre performances, the interviews and the journal entries. Emerging themes were used in the development of the ethnodrama. The ethnodrama was compiled by myself and included brief self-written introductions and the edited texts of the improvisational role-play and Forum Theatre performances. In some cases, the characters were "composites" (amalgamations of the stories of more than one individual) (Mienczakowski 1997: 160) and were fundamental catalysts for discussion amongst audience members. The audience participated in post-performance discussions. The study thus involved an interaction between learners, the researcher and audiences. Dwyer (2004: 200) states that "enactment is worth more than speech, as if bodies 'speak more', and more accurately, than mere words."

Certain considerations were borne in mind as the data were analysed. In literature the dramatic nature "plot" refers to the overall structure of the play (units consisting of acts, scenes and vignettes) while "story line" refers to the way in which events progress within the plot (Saldaña 2003: 220). These terms are initially separate but eventually intermingled processes (Saldaña 2003:

220). Thus, one could have three scenes subtitled “description”, “analysis” and “interpretation”. Alternatively, one could have separate scenes for the distinct themes that emerge from the data analysis (Saldaña 2003: 221). The latter thematic format is the one used in the ethnodrama within this study. Ultimately, the researcher is to use discretion and his/her creative faculties to establish which would be the best form of representation.

Character portrayal in ethnodrama requires careful thought. Whilst characters serve several purposes in plays, in ethnodramas each character should be bestowed with “dimensionality” (Saldaña 2003: 221). The conventions for character analysis in theatre can be adapted for the analysis of data and serve as guidelines for the promotion of a three-dimensional portrayal of each participant in ethnodrama (Saldaña 2003: 221). Several possibilities are recounted by Saldaña (2003: 222) for the representation of data through characters:

- many traditional plays are told from the perspective of the protagonist and this is useful for recounting the story of an individual participant;
- two characters, in traditional protagonist and antagonist roles, are both flawed and attempt to resolve their interpersonal conflicts;
- multiple characters in several vignettes present a progression of vignettes in the form of monologues and/or small group scenes portraying significant moments from their lives – these are ensemble plays in which there are a range of voices and no leading roles;
- studies which involve small or large groups in which there are contradictory perspectives.

In the ethnodrama in this study, multiple characters were used and the role-plays involved small group scenes portraying representations of significant moments from their lives; this was an ensemble play in which there was a range of voices which were led by the director. In this study, the two parents who emerge from the suitcase during the ethnodrama (cf par. 5.3.1) played the role of the antagonists in the play.

4.4.2.2 The script and CD Rom version of the ethnodrama

The ethnodrama is presented in written format in Chapter 5 (cf par. 5.2.1.). It was video-recorded and written to a CD Rom and is also contained in Appendix A for viewing and consideration by the reader.

4.4.2.3 The written report

The entire findings (themes relating to the ethnodrama as well as findings from other data sources) are integrated into a written report in Chapter 5 (cf par 5.3). The presentation of the findings are organised according to certain themes and are substantiated by verbatim quotations made by participants, typical of rich data generated by qualitative research.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study was conducted with care for ethical issues (Refer to 4.3.4). Researchers belong to a moral community (Denzin 2001: 43). "Beyond the practical pedagogical or the pleasure of the performative, performance ethnography is moral discourse in the tradition of all qualitative research" (Alexander 2005: 416). Ethical issues were dealt with as follows. Firstly, permission was sought and obtained from the principals of the participating schools. The aims and the process of data collection were explained and questions of clarification were addressed. Secondly, similar explanations were given to all the learner participants. Participants from St Winifred's signed consent forms which included parental consent. Participation was voluntary and any participant was at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time or refrain from any of the activities. The methods of recording data were explained as well as the use of the published findings for strictly research purposes.

The researcher had to remain aware that sensitive issues are addressed towards emotionally delicate and sometimes immature (in the sense of not yet being fully adult) audiences. Mienczakowski et al (2002: 44) describe the secondary school audience as "vulnerable and impressionable." Mienczakowski et al (2002: 34-51) discuss issues relating to the use of the ethnodrama as therapy in the health arena. Given the sensitive nature of the issues explored in this study (particularly within the arena of post-apartheid South Africa), many of their concerns are applicable to this study. They stress the need for researchers to be constantly aware of the potential impact of their exchanges with subjects whilst collecting data (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 36).

Scripts need to be constructed with the consent of the participants who continually need to give their input and feel in control of the process (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 37). I, in my role as researcher, continually asked participants whether or not they perceived what I had written or noted to be valid (member checks). The "dialogic relationships" (Denzin 2001: 43) which arose as a result of the study allowed for the enactment of an ethic of "care and empowerment."

Confidentiality was an issue of great concern within the study. "Confidentiality is commonly understood as akin to privacy" (Oliver, 2003 cited in Wiles et al 2006: 287). Generally, an undertaking of confidentiality in research is closely related to questions of who will have access to data and in what manner the data will be used (Wiles et al 2006: 287). The matter of anonymity is closely related to the issue of confidentiality. The confidentiality of data, as well as the anonymity of the participants, was deemed important to this study (Wiles et al 2006: 287). It was for this reason that participants were able to voice their opinions in the selection of data for the presentation of data in the ethnodrama. To protect the participants' identities, they did not play themselves in either the Forum Theatre performances or the ethnodrama but rather a composite character representing aspects relating to the study. Audiences viewing the ethnodrama were informed of this representational aspect. Names and biographical details were changed.

Furthermore, information regarding focus groups caution researchers on issues of privacy and confidentiality within organisational situations (Brannen and Pattman 2005: 525). Information of a sensitive nature has the potential to be disclosed to others and be harmful to the participants. It is for this reason that participants were required to pledge confidentiality towards fellow participants. In addition, the participants were informed as to how the data were to be used and care was taken to obscure the sources of the responses from participants.

Denzin (1997: 205) states that "every time a text is performed, a performance ethic is enacted." For in each text exists a tension between the identity of the writer and performers and their capacity to identify with and comprehend the diversity that is definitive of another individual's world (Denzin 1997: 205).

The study was not intended to be harmful to the subjects in any way and the informants were at all times protected from potential harm. Subjects containing a highly emotive content required thorough and deliberate reflection before the creation of scripts and performance (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 44). It is for this reason that the guidelines constructed and proposed by Mienczakowski et al (2002: 44) in order to minimise the possible risks to audiences that are potentially vulnerable, were adapted and followed in this study.

4.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF DATA

Because Arts-based inquiry is a relatively new mode of qualitative inquiry, the method is largely experimental and the researcher needed to be aware of possible pitfalls. Mienczakowski et al (2002: 44) described the ethnodrama as: “a relatively under-theorised, barely researched area.”

Concerns related to validity in qualitative research have multiplied recently (Cho and Trent 2006: 319). Within the method of Arts-based inquiry, accuracy and credibility are of more importance than traditional theatrical conventions and expectations (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34).

Cho and Trent (2006: 320) identify two essentially different approaches to the question of validity within qualitative research literature. The first, which they label the “transactional approach”, is grounded in vigorous interaction between the inquiry and the research participants using a host of techniques such as member checking, bracketing and triangulation (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). It is defined as “an interactive process between the researcher, the researched, and the collected data that is aimed at achieving a relatively higher level of accuracy and consensus by means of revisiting facts, feelings, experiences, and values or beliefs collected and interpreted” (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). The second approach is labelled “transformational validity” challenges the notion of validity and claims that work is only valid if it indicates that an eventual ideal is achieved by the validity (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). It is defined as “a progressive, emancipatory process leading toward social change that is to be achieved by the research endeavour itself” (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). Such a procedure in qualitative research exists as a crucial component to changing existing social conditions of the researched and requires a “deeper, self-reflective, empathetic understanding” of the researcher whilst interacting with the researched (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). It is hoped that this study did have an emancipatory effect on the participants in the sense that they obtained an increased level of cultural competency through their participation in the study.

Denzin (2003: 243) states that experimental ethnographic texts (such as this one) can be analysed in terms of “epistemological, aesthetic and political criteria”. These are the three interconnected criteria:

- *Interpretive sufficiency* - inherent within accounts should be “an amount of depth, detail, emotionality, nuance, and coherence” that in turn will allow for a “critical consciousness” (Denzin 2003: 258);

- *Representational adequacy* – texts should not contain stereotyping in terms of race, class or gender (Denzin 2003: 258);
- *Authentic adequacy* is present when the following three conditions have been met: multiple voices are represented, moral discernment is enhanced and social transformation should be promoted (Denzin 2003: 258).

Likewise, Richardson (cited in Alexander 2005: 428) focuses on concerns of interpretation and evaluation in the ethnodrama. Three areas of emphasis are focused as indicated in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6: Richardson’s concept of interpretation and evaluation in ethnodrama

Area of emphasis	Richardson’s concept (2000: 254 – cited in Alexander 2005: 428-9)	Question asked
Content	“substantive contribution”	Whether or not the drama contributes to an understanding of social existence.
Form	“aesthetic merit”	Does the ethnodrama accomplish what it sets out to accomplish aesthetically?
Impact	Not applicable	How are the performers and audience affected emotionally, intellectually and politically?

Madison (1998: 276-286) outlines a construction of the “performance of possibilities” which provide validity as well as direction for performance ethnography. Whilst they are too lengthy to mention here, the researcher in this study has taken note of these.

The following methods were applied in this study in order to ensure trustworthiness of data:

- a) **Skills required to do Arts-based inquiry:** training and experience as drama teacher. I am trained as a drama teacher through The Trinity College of London and have taught drama for twenty-one years to children and young people of all ages. My teaching experience has included the staging of many theatrical productions and musicals.

- b) **Relationship of trust:** within the method of Arts-based inquiry, accuracy and credibility are of more importance than traditional theatrical conventions and expectations (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 34). It is important to use "good standard, qualitative ethnographic interview practice and interpretative ethnography reported through the performance of data and data/informant-related scenarios." (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 37). Therefore, at all times I sought for and maintained a relationship of rapport and trust with the participants. At St Winifred's the relationship was built on an existing relationship of good rapport as I had taught most of the learners. At the two other schools the dramatic activities quickly eroded inhibitions and I was able to obtain many candid responses from the participants.
- c) **Cross checking with participants:** I continually asked participants whether or not they perceived that what had been written or noted was valid and an accurate representation of their responses. The study was not intended to be harmful to the subjects in any way and the informants were at all times protected from potential harm. Subjects containing a highly emotive content required thorough and deliberate reflection before the creation of scripts and performance (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 44).
- d) **Peer analysis:** the process of analysis, the interpretation of data and the presentation of findings took place together with detailed discussions and consultations with two peer researcher (the promoter of this study and the Head of Drama at St Winifred's).
- e) **Triangulation of data collection techniques:** Triangulation was used so as to verify data and multiple sources of data were consulted in order to verify the findings. The use of multiple techniques in this study served as an effective means of triangulation in order to validate data. These techniques included: a literature review, focus group interviews, improvisational role-plays, Forum Theatre performances, journal responses, the ethnodrama and post-performance discussions.
- f) **Audience response:** Validation can occur through analyses of audience responses to the ethnodramas in a post-performance discussion (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 45). "These responses, analysed in relation to the informants' control over the script and the production of meanings within ethnodramas, have the potential to assist in the formation of typographies of meanings." (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 45). Thus there is a

co-operative synchronisation of data via audience debate. In this study, a post-performance discussion between the participants and the audience was an additional method of triangulation. During the Forum Theatre performances, the audience “budded in” where they thought it appropriate and took over the role of others in an attempt to change the ending of the role-play. They also responded to what they had seen in the Forum Theatre performances in a post-performance discussion. This formed part of the data analysed but is not referred to specifically in the findings. However, the post-performance discussion after the ethnodrama is referred to specifically in the findings.

Further validation can ensue by allowing informant groups who are not involved in the initial research to comment on the ethnodrama (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 45) – for this reason the educators involved in the post-performance discussions had not previously been involved in the research process.

This study seeks to make use of the transformative method of validity in which “validity becomes ever-present and recursive as opposed to either a ‘step’ in a linear sequence or an over-reliance on subjectivity” (Cho and Trent 2006: 320). However, as is asserted in Cho and Trent (2006: 333), the use of transformative validity does not exclude the use of transactional techniques such as member checks (confirming the integrity of interpretations by the researcher with the researched) and triangulation (the use of multiple sources of data to confirm data). This study lent itself to the use of member checks via the many discussions and focus group interviews.

The interpretation and presentation of data in the form of an ethnodrama contained inherent issues of validity deemed worthy of mention. It is important to use “good standard, qualitative ethnographic interview practice and interpretative ethnography reported through the performance of data and data/informant-related scenarios” (Mienczakowski et al 2002: 37). Rasberry (2002: 113) states that “It’s too easy to play puppeteer and pull the strings in order to make the data dance in ways that best suit *me*... .” I, as the researcher, am aware of this limitation and have made every effort to avoid this pitfall. The study will not be replicable in its exact form but it is hoped that the issues raised will be able to inform practice and that the methods used will be replicable in other situations. Instead of attempting to “draw grand conclusions” that may be transferable across situations the purpose of the ethnodrama is to perform a kind of “thick” description which inquires into the interpretation of meanings formed close at hand from the perspective of the insider (Cho and Trent 2006: 329).

Rogers et al (2002: 67) state that: “any time that a sampling of information is allowed to stand for a much larger set of data, aspects of that larger set will be lost.” One method of limiting bias to an extent is by the insistence that selected passages stay in the words of the speaker and are a reflection of the speaker’s intent (Rogers et al 2002: 58).

Thus, within written academic texts, there is an attempt to derive a logical conclusion to arguments so as to create meaning. However, within the ethnodrama, conclusions are deduced by the audiences throughout performances and tested in post-performance feedback gatherings (Mienzakowski et al 2002: 49). The validity is fundamentally transformative in the sense that it is essentially present in the extent to which the study has the ability to exact change on individuals and society.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The study conducted was largely experimental in the sense that a relatively new research method was employed. A genuine attempt was made to ensure that the study was epistemologically and aesthetically sound and that moral discernment was enhanced. The promotion of social change was perceived as an important objective. Denzin (2003: 248) is adamant that ethnographic texts should have the function of empowerment which allows individuals to uncover moral truths regarding themselves and simultaneously producing “social criticism” which in turn leads to social change. It is hoped that this study will have such a function. In the following chapter the findings are presented and discussed.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

A Midsummer Night's Dream by William Shakespeare Act III, Sc. II

*So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet an union in partition.*

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter documents the findings of the study. It establishes the extent to which drama in education serves as an effective multicultural educational tool (cf par. 2.6) in the development of cultural competency amongst the participants of the study. In other words, it explores the role of drama in assisting the participants in being able to recognise, comprehend and appreciate diversity in the way of life of others. This diversity includes differences in “language, religion, culture, gender or ethnicity” (Meier, van Wyk and Lemmer 2007: 162). The groups which were studied contained a high degree of subcultural pluralism (cf par. 2.6) which in turn gave rise to the need for increased cultural competency. The study documents ways in which drama, as a tool of multicultural education, is able to deconstruct prejudices and recreate relationships that are to a greater extent inclusive and which foster understanding amongst individuals. The extent to which the individual’s subjective culture (cf par. 2.5.1) is transformed so that it fosters relations and respect amongst individuals from differing cultural and racial circumstances has been observed and noted. Specific reference is made to adolescent identity formation as this emerged as a specific area of focus during the study. An attempt has been made to note how drama (as a tool of multicultural education) has been able to foster the recognition, appreciation and tolerance of a society that is multifarious in nature. Reference to the relationship between a national South African identity and the concept of cultural pluracy is made as it emerged as a pertinent observation within the study. Observations were made where diversity was celebrated (or not) so as to improve individuals’ capacity to inhabit productively a diverse society (cf par. 2.6).

The focus of the study is the development of cultural competency amongst learners who will in the future take their places as functioning adults within society (cf par. 2.7.2). It is a commonality within most approaches to the teaching of cultural awareness that there is a focus on critical thinking (cf par. 2.7.3.2 and par. 2.7.4.1) and thus the results of dramatic activities, in which the participants were led to reflect on themselves and their relationships with others, are documented. Examples

where dramatic activities gave the participants the opportunity to view the world as others do (and concomitantly to try to understand how others view them) are recorded with the ultimate aim of establishing the extent to which cultural effectiveness – as an extension of cultural competency - (cf par. 2.7.3.2) has possibly been initiated.

The findings document an attempt to depart from the notion of fixed identities (cf par. 2.6.1) (where the emphasis is placed on “tolerance” of other “cultures”) and to establish what occurred once learners were confronted openly with issues of racism and were given the tools with which to explore such issues. The schools studied were not culturally neutral (as is typical in a multicultural society); attempts to view and then bridge the discrepancies between the cultural and experiential gaps experienced by learners between home and school are documented. It is documented that the dramatic activities became what Axtmann (2002: 44) referred to as the site of sharing or “safe space” where learners were able to disclose their experiences and cultural positioning and through performance they gained an intuitive self-knowledge as well as the knowledge of others (cf par. 3.2.1).

5.1.1 Organisation of the chapter

For the purpose of the organisation of the material in this chapter, the findings generated during the Forum Theatre performances (cf par. 4.3.10), the focus groups interviews (cf par. 4.3.7), the journals (cf par. 4.3.9), the presentation of the ethnodrama (cf par. 4.3.11) and audience comments (cf par. 4.3.11) are discussed as follows. Firstly, the findings as dramatised in the ethnodrama (5.2.1) are presented, together with an interpretive commentary (5.2.2).

In the subsequent section, the comprehensive written report (5.3) presents the significant themes which emerged from the entire data set: focus groups interviews, improvisational role-play, Forum Theatre performances, journal entries, the ethnodrama as well as the post-performance audience comments. Themes are constituted by identifiable units in the participants’ accounts, grouped according to larger units which are described in detail by means of narrative descriptive material. Where the words of the participants are quoted, no attempt has been made to correct language usage except for clarification. Thereafter, the significance of each theme which emerged from the research data is discussed respectively and linked to the literature review (Chapters 2 and 3), where appropriate. Additional literature, where it became necessary, was sourced and integrated.

5.2 THE ETHNODRAMA

The ethnodrama is a dramatic performance of the findings. The latter is included in both written and visual format on a CD Rom (Appendix A). I compiled the ethnodrama in the following manner. I wrote the introductory comments spoken by the voice-over. The dialogue, however, was compiled by the verbatim transcripts of the earlier improvisational role-plays (cf par. 4.3.6.2) and Forum Theatre performances (cf par. 4.3.6.3). Thus, the dialogue was created by the participants themselves during the earlier phases of the research. Where the participants from St Winifred's felt that amendments should be made to the final script, they were discussed with me and made where applicable.

The play was performed by the St Winifred's participants for a selected audience, consisting of educators and learners from St Winifred's. Educators from St Thomas's and Larkminster High, the other participating schools, were invited but could not attend the performance. The ethnodrama was recorded on video (see Appendix A). After the performance, the audience provided comment and asked the participants questions. These comments and responses provided an element of action research as the audience commentary was recorded, transcribed, analysed and incorporated into the final written report (5.3).

5.2.1 Text of the ethnodrama

A transcript of the ethnodrama is presented in this section.

The title is: We do believe in fairies, AND Sangomas.

Setting: A fairy-like forest scene, reminiscent of a setting for Shakespeare's 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'.

PROLOGUE

(Voice-over: read by myself)

This clearing in the forest is symbolic of a 'third space' a cultural hybridity where participants come together and share their ideas and experiences. The experiences are shown, not told. The space represents an area where no single culture is dominant. All have something of value to share and it

is a 'safe space' where participants can feel free to discuss issues of culture without fear of reprisal. A group of girls comes together to perform a play on Cultural Heritage Day. They are required to adapt a Shakespearean play to suit modern South African society. It is an outside performance in a forest. There is a Director...

(Girls appear wearing black.)

ACT ONE

Scene 1

Director: Right, morning, everyone. Welcome to our first rehearsal. We are here to perform a play to be performed on Cultural Heritage Day.

(A girl arrives late, dragging an enormous suitcase. It has large labels on it: Apartheid Baggage; Separate Development; Forced Removals etc)

Director: Welcome. And you are?

Thandi: I am Thandi. I am from Babanangu.

(Some of the girls snigger.)

Tessie: What's in the suitcase?

Thandi: Baggage. I come from Babanangu and I have baggage.

(The girls look curiously at the baggage.)

Director: OK. The play we are going to adapt is: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' by Shakespeare.

(Director hands out scripts.)

Winnie: Shakespeare? How could that be representative of all our cultures? It was written four hundred years ago in England!

(Out of Thandi's suitcase pop two black parents, representative of opposite views.)

Parent 1: You learn, my daughter! Learn the ways of the white people. It is the only way to get ahead.

Parent 2: Don't forget your culture, my daughter! Don't forget your culture!

(While they talk, everybody freezes.)

Director: But the **themes** are relevant today. And the performance is based on current issues. Right! Let's cast some characters. We need a Theseus - he is the King of Athens and he is about to marry Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons. Tessie, I think you'd make a good Theseus. Kate, try for Hippolyta.

Kate: But I'm white. He's black and besides, black people are more 'Amazonian'. I'm delicate.

Others: Ja, you can't do that.

Director: And I thought I was the Director? OK. This is part of the performance process. Let's talk about cross-cultural relationships. The parts in inverted commas are spoken by the suitcase parents.

Tsatse: It's the way your parents bring you up. What your parents tell you influences your mindset. We are brought up in a situation where your parents say, "This is how it is!" And they don't give you a chance to form your own opinion.

Nene: And my mom, like if you are at a stop street and you are supposed to go first and another driver just comes racing out of nowhere and my mom will like say, "Oh, typical white man." Also my dad will say when we come to school, "You know, you must be on top because your sister was a black girl and she was head girl." You know, things like that. It doesn't matter your colour. If you were placed in that position as head girl you were there. With every goal it has to be about colour. Ja,

it's like, "You know, I almost got shot. I was in gaol!" I am like, "You know, I don't really care."

Nobi: Ja, like our parents think of Afrikaans people as they were way back. You have to look at the context now. Like, don't generalise that all Afrikaans people are racist or that black people are stupid.

Director: What about cross-cultural marriages?

Fentse: My dad would say no. He would lecture me for like five days. It would be like, "You know back in apartheid, I got arrested!" He would look him [my boyfriend] in the eye and like say, "You know I got beaten with a *sjambok* (a whip) by these Afrikaners. He would just throw hints to him like, "Don't come back to this house!"

Cara: Yes, but then again there are different families. Like when I dated Brian. Brian's black and I am white. Like I said, my dad and them might not be accepting of my marrying a black person or anyone outside of my own race, but when I'm *dating* him it's like it doesn't matter. But his mom really didn't like it, hey?

(Parent pokes head out of the suitcase and says "... yes...disrespectful white girl!" The others laugh.)

Nene: My parents were there during apartheid and they talk about it but I have chosen not to take it to heart. We need to forget about it. All the remembering of apartheid has to be toned down. To keep harping on it just brings up old wounds.

(She wrestles the parents back into the suitcase and sits on it.)

Director: Ok. Let's role-play a situation where you take home a person from a different culture.

Girls: Oooo , a *lobola* negotiation!

Kate: What is that?

Nobi: It's like when you want to get married, the guy has to pay for you and he goes to the father and uncle.

Kate: Uncle?

Nobi: Yes. They decide how much to pay and all that.

(A role-play ensues.)

Scene 2 Role Play

Daughter: Hi, daddy.

Dad: My daughter! *(They exchange greetings.)*

Daughter: Well, I have got some good news.

Dad: Uh huh! *(With a bored expression).*

Daughter: I have a boyfriend.

Dad: And?

Daughter: He asked me to marry him.

Dad and Uncle in unison: Oh yes! *Lobola!*

Uncle: Beautiful! Beautiful!

Dad: Where is he?

(The daughter and her fiancé enter the room arm in arm.)

Uncle: He's white! That's nice. *(He does not appear to be pleased at all.)*

Chuck: Hi, hi! *(He speaks in an American accent and has a casual manner.)*

Daughter: Daddy, Uncle, this is Chuck Bass.

Dad: Chuck Base *(He pronounces it incorrectly.)*

Daughter: Chuck Bass. *(She corrects his pronunciation.)*

Daughter: I'd like you to get to know him better. What would you like him to call you?

Dad: Ogalito! Ogalito!

(Chuck sits down on a chair.)

Dad: *(He is angry that Chuck has sat down without being invited to do so.)* What's wrong with you? Why you so cheap? And he is **white**, even!

Uncle: No! No! No! Calm down and remember - we need the money!

Chuck: If it's money you're concerned about, I have some money!

Dad: You have it?

Chuck: Yes.

Dad: Oh, OK! *(His attitude changes instantly.)*

Daughter: *(Petulantly)* I don't get why you have to do this!

(The uncle and dad take out a notebook.)

Dad: Ok. Now. Here is a book of **all** the expensive things I have bought my daughter: nappies, food . *(Chuck tries to take a look).* Please don't touch it! Trips overseas and sleepovers. Hold on, Grade 1-3 cost a grand. When she got to Grade 8, it cost ten

thousand. When she got to Grade 12, it was a hundred grand. Varsity was half a million, because she went to Sweden.

Chuck: *(Tries to interject.)* Is this in dollars?

Father: Yes! American dollars, not Zim!

Uncle: Actually, pounds!

Dad: E – Euro! Act-u-a lly!

Chuck: But I can afford it. Wanna know why?

Dad: Why?

Chuck: Because I am Chuck Bass!

Dad: You know, uh, I don't even know who you ARE! This name has nothing to do with me and it doesn't go AAAAHHH! *(He sings it.)*

Chuck: Do you know Bass Enterprises?

Dad: We own a car. We own a hotel. We own a business, but no, I [have] never heard of you!

Chuck: Ok. So how much are you asking for? How much are you asking for?

(The dad and uncle put their heads together adding up figures. They reach a final figure.)

Dad: Amen!

Uncle: Amen! So starting price is a hundred billion.

Chuck: *(Looks nonplussed. Addresses the daughter)* You know, baby, I'm sorry, but somebody is waiting for me in the car.

(He leaves, the daughter is upset.)

Daughter: Oh, daddy!

Dad: He is white!

(The role-play ends and the girls sit about casually.)

Director: Ok. So perhaps we could include a *lobola* negotiation of sorts when Egeus comes to complain that his daughter wants to marry Lysander instead of Demetrius (as he wants). Maybe he could put the price up so high that Lysander changes his mind?

(Parents in the suitcase laugh and indicate approval!)

Tsatsi: *(She addresses the parents in the suitcase).* I told you! We are tired of your apartheid baggage! We are living in the present! Let's move forward!

(She closes the lid of the suitcase, effectively silencing the parents/elders.)

ACT TWO

Scene 1

Director: Alright. Welcome, everybody. Today we shall work on Act Two. We need a Quince, Snug, Bottom, Snout and Tailor.

Tessie: You haven't cast us yet.

Girls: Who am I? Who am I?

Director: I know, I know. I need to see where everyone fits in best. Perhaps it is best if you tell me a bit about yourselves. I am not sure that I know everyone too well. Where do you go to school?

Nthabi: St Winifred's.

Director: What's that like?

Thandi: Rich! That's where 'cheesegirls' go!

Director: What's a 'cheesegirl'?

Thandi: Cheese is expensive. It's someone with money.

Director: Could you role-play a scene where you're called 'cheesegirls'?

Girls: Sure! Sure!

Scene 2 Role-play

Setting: Girls at an upmarket suburban shopping mall.

(Girls in St Winifred's school uniform walk past a group of guys who 'check them out'.)

(A girl in black explains what is happening.)

Ok, basically these are the St Winifred's girls and these are the Dale guys. This actually happened at a Menlyn shop and it represents a stereotypical view of St Winifred's girls and how people see them and the Dale.

(As the girls walk past the young men, they wolf-whistle and make noises of approval.)

Guys: Whew! What's the prob? Hey! Hey! Hey! Hey!

Guy: Introduce yourself. You know!

Girl 1: Maria.

Girl 2: Harriet.

Girl 3: I'm Margaret.

Guy 1: I'm Sugar.

Girl 3: Sugar, as in Sugar?

Guy 1: Yes, I'm so sweet!

Guy 2: So where are you from?

Girl 1: St Winifred's.

Girl 2: St Winifred's.

(The guy says something disparaging.)

Guy 2: Let's just complain about how rich your daddy is. Go call daddy!

Guy 3: I think daddy is waiting for you in the parking lot!

Girl 2: *(In an affected voice)* Maybe he is! Maybe I'll just call him!

Guy 1: We're going to go play! Have some tea and scones!

(They leave.)

Scene 3: Stereotypes

Director: Ok. You are not all from the same school. Some of you are from Larks. When you say you are from Larks, what do people say?

Girl 1: We are called Ghetto (pronounced 'Geddo'). Whenever we go everywhere, people think "Oh, these poor people from Larks they are going to come and steal everything."

Director: In this country the majority of schools are not multiracial. Schools like St Thomas's or St Winifred's are the exception because most schools, for example in the

townships, are monocultural. So how do your own family or people not living in the city respond to your coming to Larkminster High?

Ayanda: (Black girl) They say we are snobbish.

Lemapo: (Black boy) They call us 'cheeseboys'.

Director: So, that is the irony that you also get called Cheeseboys/girls? Perhaps we could get each of the characters in this play to represent some or other stereotype of individuals within our society. You guys, perform it!

(A power-point image is displayed on the screen behind the girls. It presents many faces representative of the different racial and cultural groups in South Africa.)

(The girls stand in a circle. They call out words that stereotype the people to whom they refer This has been presented in Table 5.1 to facilitate the reading.)

Table 5.1 Spontaneous comments from girls.

Quince White English Teacher	Bottom Afrikaner: White	Snug Coloured	Flute Black (suburban)	Starveling Black (township)
Quite prim	Khaki Violent Boer	Violent Gangsta	Coconut	Ghetto Wannabee

Director: Ok. Now I would like you to role-play a scene in which there is racial conflict in a classroom.

Scene 4 Role play

Teacher: Ok girls – that was Sarafina.

Girl 1: It was so beautiful!

Girl 2: No, it wasn't! It was just a lot of black people behaving like savages!

- Teacher:** (*Becomes very nervous at the possibility of any conflict*) Ok – let's turn this into a debate and be calm about it, and no violence, please!
- Girl 1:** (black girl playing a white girl) Yes, that is what black people do!
- Girl 2:** (Afrikaans) *Hoor hier sor, julle mense, julle eet te veel!*
- Girl 1:** (black) I think she means we eat too much!
- Girl 3:** (black girl) Excuse me, I don't speak *boere* language!
- Girl 2:** (Afrikaans) *Ek is Afrikaans, ek is nie n boer nie!* (I am Afrikaans, I am not a *boer*!)
- Girl 1:** (black) I don't care if you are Afrikaans, Afrikaner Afri what!
- Girl 4:** (black playing an Afrikaans girl with a strong accent) Marizaan, Marizaan, let me take this one, ok? Listen, you black people, you and your beer *boeps* (bellies), just go to Virgin Active and lose some weight, alright, and that dark skin of yours, it needs to go! Go see Michael Jackson, he will tell you how!
- Girl 3:** Listen, you must admire this body, because you and your flat ass, you can go back to England! (*Shouting. The teacher just looks from one to the other becoming increasingly distressed but not able to do anything to stop the conflict.*)
- Girl 3:** Oh you wish you were tanned! With that pale skin of yours! Like Snow White!
(*derisive tone*)
- Girl 2:** At least I am pure!
- Girl 4:** Ok, you know what, I am just going to be educated about this!
- Girl 1:** Educated, my eye!
- Girl 3:** Are you saying black people are not educated?

(Lots of shouting. The teacher runs from one to the other, trying to calm them down.)

Girl 2: This is NOT apartheid you know!

Girl 1: You CAUSED IT, remember! *(Lots of shouting).*

Girl 3: That is why my granny can't speak and my granny can't read!

Girl 4: So you are blaming me for your grandmother?

Girl 2: Listen, you bushmen people, why don't you go back to the Sahara desert? We don't need you!

Girl 1: (black) Well, we don't need you too, *Boeremeisie!*

(The whole scene degenerates into a screaming match.)

Teacher: *(stands there shouting.)* STOP! STOP! STOP!

(The whole time her reaction has been one of huge discomfort.)

Director: I see, does this sort of conflict happen at ALL schools?

Larks Girl: Yes, you know that the difference between Larks and every other school is that when something happens here, everybody knows about it. If it happens here, all the people around us – pupils at Girls' High - everyone gets to know. And you know what, that's why we have got such a bad reputation because of one or two things that have happened, a couple of stabbings.

St W. Girl: Did it really happen?

Larks Girl: Just because of that. It is like wildfire. It spreads.

St W. Girl: The thing is, at St Winifred's we have mastered the art of covering up.

St W. Girl: Yes, they just tell you what to do. Wear your blazer, tie up your hair.

St W. Girl: Ja, like prize-giving. We literally practise walking in.

Larks Girl: It is the same with us when we have Open Day. We put on a front.

Director: And tell me – the whole coloured/black thing. What’s going on there?

Larks Girl: (coloured) They don’t like each other!

Larks Boy: (black) It is a war!

Larks Girl: (Coloured) It started, Ma’am, ok, when we first arrived in Grade 8, ma’am and they basically (the coloureds) like had the school in their hands. The school belonged to them and then there was this time when this coloured boy wanted to kill this other immigrant. And then the black people like declared a war. They said: “We want coloureds out of this school!” And they said, “Must someone be killed before action is taken?” because we felt that nothing was being done.

Larks Girl: (coloured) They have this thing, this like slogan: “Inja one...Inja all” (*The others join in chanting it*).

(Much excited discussion.)

St W Girl: The black saying is: “I’ve got your back...but waaay back!”

(They all laugh. The Director frantically scribbles down notes throughout the entire process.)

Director: I think I have a better idea of how to cast you. Remember, you’ll have to wear a mask.

Bottom: We shall play it in a mask. (*Holds up a mask of an Afrikaans ‘farmer’ type*).

Director: And I hope here is a play well-fitted. But masters - here are your parts and I am to entreat you, request you, and desire you to con them by tomorrow night!

Bottom: Enough! Hold, or cut bowstring.

(It gets dark...creepy figures come in and enact a physical theatre performance of an act of violent stabbing)

Voice-over: Tempt not too much the hatred of my spirit. For I am sick when I do look on thee!

People create social categories in which others are labelled according to characteristics that make them distinguishable from other people (Stephan 1999: 2). Individuals find it difficult to relinquish stereotypes because they help individuals to maintain a positive self-image and to justify “social status and worldview” When gathering information with regard to others, there is a tendency to seek evidence that affirms preconceptions and to ignore information that counters negative information (Stephan 1992: 16;). Thus, this situation was a valuable learning opportunity for the participants from both St Winifred’s and Larkminster High to realise that stereotyping of the same kind occurs within other schools and this challenged their own perceptions and stereotypes of each other. The problem with stereotypes is that they lead to prejudice. An essential feature of prejudice is a negative appraisal of outgroups (Stephan 1992: 24). When outgroups feel threatened, it leads to violence, as is seen at Larkminster where racial conflict has occurred due to the harmful consequences of prejudice.

ACT 3

Scene 1 Religion

(The girls are lying around reading their scripts.)

Director: OK. Let’s try your scene. Read the original script and we might get some ideas as to how to adapt it.

Girl 2: *(Rehearsing in an affected manner.)*

William Shakespeare’s “A Midsummer Night’s Dream” Act 1, Sc i

Stand forth Lysander: - and my gracious Duke,
This hath bewitched the bosom of my child.
Thou, thou, Lysander; thou hast given her rhymes,
And interchanged love tokens with my child.

Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung
With feigning voice verses of feigning love,
And stolen the impression of her fantasy
With bracelets of thy hair; rings, gauds, conceits,
Knacks, trifles, nosegays, sweetmeats – messengers
Of strong prevailment in unhardened youth.
With cunning hast thou filched my daughter's heart,
Turned her obedience which is due to me,
To stubborn harshness.

Kate: No! No! No! I am not so happy about this witchcraft stuff. Isn't that like a *black* thing?

Director: *(Looking pleased.)* That's quite a good idea. Tell me about black religion and ancestor worship.

Fentse: I don't know about witchcraft! I am *afraid* if I don't believe in witchcraft. My dad does!

Nene: I don't and on our Venda side it's like quite the ancestral thing. And my mom opposes it like, "None of that!" So there's that thing of my dad is like: "Yes, the ancestors!" And my mom is like, "Don't even dare!" So the thing is, there is like that kind of battle, but truthfully, for me, no, I don't believe. Because I think, once you're dead, listen, don't talk to me, you're dead!

(The suitcase starts to rattle. One of the people inside calls out to the girls in an African language)

Girl: *(Quite scared.)* Oh, my goodness! I think it is my granny's spirit (as a spirit of the ancestors) but I can't understand her. I don't speak a black language!

Nene: I have an open mind. We were taken to the *sangoma* (traditional healer) at Babanangu once and we had to do all this stuff and there was this witchdoctor.

Tsatse: They took us there and they assumed that we all knew about it.

Nene: And they took us there. They didn't ask our parents permission or anything. They put us in front of the *sangoma* and they made us drink this beer.

Tsatse: Ja, like traditional beer, like a real Zulu, Venda type thing and they made us go get our fortunes told by the *sangoma*.

Nene: And when I told my mom. My mom was so angry, hey. The thing is, my mom was so angry, she was beyond it. My mom was like, "Never ever do that again!"

Director: Ok, now who took you there?

Nene: The school, on a tour. We went to Babanangu in Grade 6 and it was in Kwazulu-Natal so we went to one of the Zulu villages.

Director: And your mom was annoyed?

Nene: Not even annoyed, she was furious (*whisper*). I have never seen my mom like that!

Director: Ok, this could be interesting. We could use this. Could you role-play it for me? Don't do the endings. We can explore different endings later.

Scene 2 Role play

(A white girl is having a nightmare, crying out in a disturbed sleep.)

Girl 2: Kate! Kate! (*Tries to wake her up*) Are you Ok? I think you have been bewitched!

Girl 1: Bewitched? No! No! No! Not me!

Girl 2: I think we should pay a visit to the *sangoma*!

Girl 1: *Sangoma*?

Girl 2: Yes.

Girl 1: I'm *white*.

Girl 2: Hello? I'm brown, er black, but we're going to pay a visit to the *sangoma*. We're cool!

Girl 1: But I'm fine, I was sleeping!

Girl 2: No! No! No! No! Kate - we're going!

(They arrive at the hut of the sangoma and her assistant.)

Assistant: Oo, *mama!* There is someone at the door (in a scary voice!)

(They knock)

Assistant: *Wena!*

Girl 2: *Molo, sisi!*

Assistant: Who are you? Do you know *sangomas* are busy these days! They have schedules (pronounced sched-ee-els)!

Girl 2: But, *sisi*, I don't have an appointment! I am sorry!

Assistant: Do you have R50? I might make space!

Girl 2: She's white!

Assistant: Do you have two fifties?

Girl 2: I think she has got two fifties.

Assistant: Ok! I will write it tomorrow! *(She pockets the money without writing a receipt.)*

(Sangoma is rubbing bones and things, making crazy noises by this time.)

Girl 1: I am scared!

Assistant: *Wena*, what is wrong?

Girl 1: *(Pulls away.)*

Assistant: *(Pulls her towards the sangoma).* What is wrong?

Girl 1: She says I'm bewitched.

Assistant: By which witch?

Girl 1: By the sleeping witch.

Sangoma: Bee bop...Beee, bee...bee bop!

Ass: Please go and put on your shoes. Stand like this. Scream! Aaameeen.

Girl 1: Aaamenn!

Assistant: Scream! Say Aaaamenn!

Sangoma: Bee bop...bee bop..bee bop!

Assistant: *(translates)* You take this lipgloss. Ok, then you go find a rat, ok?

Girl 1: You mean the crawly things?

Assistant: That one! A rrrraat!

Girl 1: OK!

Assistant: A rrrraat!

Girl 1: OK!

Assistant: You put this on your mouth, you look at the rat, and you say, "Me, I am Kate" and you kiss it!

Sangoma: Beep, beep, beep, bop!

Assistant: You will sleep tonight!

Girl 2: You will sleep tonight! *(She is happy.)*

Director: Ok, give me some possible endings to this!

(The participants improvise some endings.)

Director: What I noticed is that you seemed scared of the *sangoma*? Do you believe in them?

Winnie: It's like too frightening. You don't even know what to expect!

Others: Ja!

Tsatse: But back in the day my family used to believe, but now it's like "Whatever!" You know.

Nthabi: My dad is not so into the Zulu traditional (straight to the T) thing. But there are some things you can do. But we live in modern society now. There's no need to run around in the bush or whatever.

Winnie: There's no need for that.

Director: Would it be all right to run around in the forest?

ACT FOUR

Scene 1 Culture

Director: Ok, so if we are performing this at Cultural Heritage Day, what aspects should we include?

Girl: Well , we could all just wear traditional dress and cook traditional food.

Director: Yes, but consider that culture is more than that.

Voice over

Culture does not refer specifically to traditional customs. In Milner and Ford's definition (2007:167) it is "the characteristics of a person that are developed through formal and informal experiences, knowledge disposition, skills, and ways of knowing and understanding that are informed by race (the social construction of one's skin color [sic]), ethnicity (history, heritage, customs, rituals, values and symbols), identity (how one perceives and represents himself/herself), class (economic/resource situation) sexuality and gender." Thus, in a society that has undergone rapid social change, such as South Africa, culture has changed to the extent that young South Africans are displaced culturally. Thus, not only do they struggle to understand the cultures of their peers from different races but they are uncertain as to what constitutes their personal cultures.

Cultures do not exist in isolation and are never static entities (Lebaron and Pillay 2006:15). Furthermore, culture is learned, its components are interrelated and it is shared and as such delineates borders between various groups (Hall 1989: 16). What was discovered is that with increasing urbanisation, especially within the black communities, the limits of these boundaries are murky for the youth.

A dynamic view of culture embraces a series of changing practices in which people participate in order to live their lives and is recreated through the interaction of individuals (Liddicoat 2004: 301). Thus, those young South Africans who have moved from their home villages to attend schools in the cities recreate new cultures which are often at variance with those of their parents and grandparents.

(The elders pop out of the suitcase again: "Remember your culture, my dear, remember your culture!")

Girl 1: They are always going on about that but there is nobody to really tell me or teach me about my culture.

Girl 2: What about your grandparents?

Girl 1: I can't communicate with them. We don't speak the same language.

Director: Right, there are several weddings in the play. Let's talk about weddings in your cultures. Perhaps we could include that as a cultural element.

Girl 1: Weddings! Everyone comes, even if they don't know you! *(She is very animated.)*

Girl 2: Like I met my first cousin whom I didn't know existed at a wedding.

Girl 1: My dad always says we mustn't eat the food because the flies sit on it and the people prepare it without washing their hands but you get so hungry, you have to eat it.

Girl 2: If you invite 250 people, you have to cater for 500 and there still won't be enough food.

Nthabi: It sounds funny but weddings are the best thing ever. The men go for the booze and you don't know anyone but it is just such fun.

Girl 1: All the old people will say, "You have 'grown'."

Director: So we could make the wedding in our production of a *Midsummer Night's Dream* an African wedding?

Girl 1: Well, we usually have two: an African wedding and a white wedding.

Director: Well, there are enough weddings in the play to include both! What other functions?

Casey: We have a social experience like that every Christmas. People will say: “I remember you when you were little and you’ve grown so much and you don’t even know who they are!”

Nene: At weddings when you are changing, other women always walk in and because we come to St Winifred’s, we cover ourselves up and then they say, “I changed your diapers. Why are you covering up?” But I was like raised in the suburbs and this whole being nude thing in front of everyone is a problem. Then they want to know, “What are you hiding from me?” or “What have you got that I don’t have?” or “What is the secret? What is wrong?”

Fentse: Ja, black families like to kiss. It’s disgusting. Their lips are always wet.

Director: To go back to the *lobola* issue from Act 1 . Are you girls still keen on it?

Tessie: Yes, that (*lobola*) will never die because that is seen as the easiest way to get money.

Fentse: Certainly for me, I don’t want to be bought!

Nene: I don’t want *lobola* (*echoed in the background quite strongly by several*). It’s so weird. My sister is getting married and all (*Someone sings a traditional wedding song.*) We were basically just discussing things – cos my sister has saved and everything and she says, “No, I don’t want *lobola*.” My mom’s like: “No, no, no, no, you are having *lobola*!” My sister is like: “No, why? I don’t want to be bought, I’m not an object.”

Nobi: I want to know how much I cost. (*The others laugh.*)

Director: Ok, it seems as though a lot of the customs have become quite commercialised. What else could we include?

Nthabi: Slaughtering a cow is a common practice at special events amongst black people.

Taffy: My aunt did that. She did it twice. She did it for her marriage like where she grew up for her family and she did it again for her hotel because she owns a hotel and it was king!

Nobi: Ja, my dad is also like that! My dad buys cows for everything, everything (*laughs*) like just randomly. He says: "I don't like meat from a butcher. I'll just buy a cow."

Director: To summarise, we have a play - an adaptation of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' in which the characters of "the play within a play" are stereotypes of South African people. The weddings are traditional and Western....

(Lights dim)

Theseus comes on...

William Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream" Act V, sc i

Come now, what masques, what dances shall we have
To wear away this long age of three hours
Between our after-supper and bed-time?
Where is our usual manager of mirth?
What revels are in hand?
Is there no play to ease the anguish of a torturing hour?

EPILOGUE

(Each girl reads her reflections to the audience.)

Girl 1: I realised that I do not know a lot about my own culture and that I do not know about a lot of other cultures. I learnt that discussing social and religious issues is actually interesting and it opens our eyes to the real world filled with different cultures and traditions, unlike the new culture that we are living now called 'the modern culture'. I discovered that I am an individual and that my culture is unique.

Girl 2: There aren't a lot of events that have affected my life culturally. The only events that have influenced my life culturally are funerals and weddings. This is because I have grown up in the city and live a modern life and so many cultural activities have been left out due to the environment we live in.

Girl 3: In society nowadays culture seems to have a very small impact in our lives. We seem to have just shut it out of our lives and have created our own, called 'the modern life'. In the modern life we all do the same things and we are all interested in the same things, whether you're black, white or Asian.

Girl 4: I find it really sad how people are now adjusting to a Western way of life and quickly losing their cultures. Today's generation is becoming ashamed of their traditions and cultures as they do not fit into their new American-influenced way of life. Us, as a family will get together on big occasions such as Christmas, Easter, New Year, birthdays and on the occasional Sunday for lunch. We may not be as close or large as other cultures but we still mean a lot to each other!

Girl 5: I discovered that I was lacking in the knowledge of my culture. Also the fact that I'm a very accepting person. No matter what people say about me, my culture or country, I will easily consume it then react appropriately. I've discovered a bit of pride for my country that was hidden somewhere deep inside me. Which I do hope will grow on as I learn more about it.

Girl 6: I learnt that I wasn't the only person who's been called a coconut. I discovered that white people would find the different black cultures and practices weird at first, then very interesting. Also vice versa, I also discovered that black and white people could do the exact opposite for one thing and the exact same for another.

(All girls speak together.)

At the end of the day, we are all One Race...the Human Race.

5.2.2 Post-performance discussion: audience comments

The post-performance discussions unfolded in quite an interesting manner. The two black participants (the teacher of Sepedi and the school Chaplain) were the most forthcoming with their commentary. The school Chaplain stated that he would have liked to have learnt more about other cultures as he was aware of many of the issues raised in the ethnodrama regarding black participants. He did say, as we left the venue, that he thought the process was a good one and that “we should do it again, sometime!” Both the school Chaplain and the Sepedi teacher took the opportunity to “lecture” the girls as to how they could retain their cultures. One teacher, an Afrikaans speaker, became somewhat hostile with regard to cross-cultural relationships. She also took the opportunity to “lecture” the participants:

Mrs B: I just want to ask, someone once said, coffee is coffee, pour milk in it and it is not coffee anymore, so you need to think about this very deeply, you call yourselves coconuts, but what will your children be?

One of the teachers asked the girls how proud they were of their cultures (referring to them as “you people”) because when she had approached the issue in class the girls had not wanted to talk about it. The girls all stated that they were proud of their cultures and were quite effusive about the issue. Mrs B became somewhat affronted when the black girls dominated the discussion and pertinently asked the white girls for their opinions. Some of the white staff did not comment on the day of the ethnodrama’s performance but spoke to me the following day. The Drama teacher said that he had enjoyed the connection to ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’ and had learnt many things, particularly about how the black girls experienced culture. The Art teacher said that she had not felt comfortable talking after the performance but we discussed some of the issues raised the following day. The Sepedi teacher (Mma M) said that she thought that such a performance was of value and that she felt that everyone had learnt something from it:

Mma M: It is an eye-opener and you learn a lot, and I don’t think it is a bad thing to say “I am black” and you are white because it helps most of you. I mean the culture.

What Mma M was saying is that learning about each other’s cultures is not a racist issue but helps the girls in terms of what their backgrounds are. Further reference to the post-performance discussions is made in the written report. What did emerge from the comments, however, is that the ethnodrama had a transformative impact (even if it was a small one) on the audience.

5.2.2.1 Key issues

Certain key issues were raised in the ethnodrama. These were expanded upon in a written report (par 5.3):

- the notion of a shared or safe space for sharing ideas;
- the reconciliation of traditional culture with Western culture;
- conflicting ideals of parents that are imposed on their children and which stem from historical social conditions;
- the influence of parental prejudices on individuals;
- the wish, by the current generation of adolescents, to forget the past injustices;
- the modernisation of traditional customs such as lobola as well as the anomalies inherent in them;
- difficulties experienced by adolescents in inhabiting a modern South Africa;
- prejudices and negative stereotypes harboured by the participants;
- the role of traditional religion and the incorporation thereof into a modern, Christian society;
- the role played by traditional ceremonies and customs in the lives of the participants;
- the value of the study in terms of the development of cultural competency.

5.3 THE WRITTEN REPORT

The presentation of the findings comprises the following report which synthesises emergent patterns (cf par. 4.4.2) from the data gathering and the ethnodrama (cf par.5.2). Drama as a tool for the development of cultural competency is explored in the format of both DIE (Drama in Education) and TIE (Theatre for Education) (cf par. 3.2.5) and thus the ethnodrama relied on the input of the audience to provide an element of action research. As mentioned in paragraph 5.2.3, the performance of the ethnodrama and the audience input were incorporated during the analysis of the data and assimilated into the written report.

The analysis of the data (cf par. 4.4.2) allowed the emergence of four major themes. In this written representation of the themes they are delineated as separate entities, however, the themes are in effect not mutually exclusive and (as the ethnodrama indicates) are intertwined, each having an effect on the other. They are presented in the format of four Acts to echo the findings and follow the format of the ethnodrama.

5.3.1 Prologue

“A group of girls comes together to perform a playthis clearing in the forest is symbolic of a ‘third space’, a cultural hybridity where participants come together and share their ideas and experiences. The experiences are shown, not told. The space represents an area where no single culture is dominant. All have something of value to share and it is a ‘safe space’ where participants can feel free to discuss issues of culture without fear of reprisal” (cf. Act 1 of the ethnodrama).

The extract from the Prologue (cf par. 5.2.1) above introduced the theme of a safe space for cultural exploration. The following discussion describes and explains how the various stages of data gathering and the techniques used therein succeeded in creating a safe space for the participants to disclose themselves and to explore issues.

The focus group interviews (cf par. 4.3.7) unfolded in a controlled style and provided valuable insight and data. On the one hand, the participants participated freely, expressed themselves candidly and there was a high degree of *self-disclosure*. During the focus group interviews the participants expressed interest in the experiences of others and asked each other questions when they were curious about knowing more. However, social convention prevailed and the participants were very aware of what constitutes tolerance and trod softly for fear of insulting one another. Fentse saw herself as morally and socially superior to others as she believed it to be a virtue to be able to express herself without hurting the feelings of others. She said:

A lot of people don't know how to say their opinion without being rude or insulting and they don't understand and a lot of people would have taken it defensively which is why we put Nene as a white girl (Nene, a black girl, portrayed a white girl behaving in a racist fashion).

However, during the improvisational role-plays (cf par. 4.3.6.2) and Forum Theatre performances (cf par. 4.3.6.3), the participants were able to circumvent this fear of hurting others by using a person of another cultural group to enact a stereotypical act of prejudice or racism. Thus, sensitive issues could be explored.

Although the focus group interviews served as a valuable point of departure and the discussions were most informative, it was during the improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances that the participants were able to express verbally and through action the perceptions discussed in the focus group interviews. The improvisational role-plays allowed the participants to

demonstrate their experiences and experiment with the notion of expressing them in a performance. The role-plays allowed pertinent issues to emerge which later formed the topics chosen for the Forum Theatre performances.

The Forum Theatre performances (cf par.4.3.6.3) allowed the participants to experience the cultures of others, in role. They were able to embody and represent the persona of a person of another culture, age or gender and experiment with ways in which that person might or might not perceive the world. However, the level of self-disclosure was low at St Thomas's, a single sex school. Both the St Thomas's boys and the St Winifred's girls were inhibited in mixed company. These boys were more restrained than the boys at Larkminster High. Hence, little reference is made to what the boys at St Thomas's contributed in Forum Theatre performances, although reference is made to findings that became evident during the Forum Theatre process. Overall, there was a greater degree of self-disclosure from the female participants. Thus, the girls could take risks while they engaged in and experienced simulated cultural conflict and experimented with ways of dealing with it. The potential to develop empathy and ultimately cultural competency was an ever-present possibility. Participants had a lot of fun engaging with participants of different cultures and backgrounds. They were empowered as they were able to experience physically (by performing the role of a character through the use of their bodies and imagination) that their actions could control the outcome of a conflict situation.

The journal responses (cf par. 4.3.6.4) provided the participants with an opportunity to reflect on their experiences during the study and to express intimate thoughts which they did not feel comfortable sharing in a group. Without exception, the journal responses indicated that the participants found the study interesting and of benefit to themselves and others. Extracts from the journals are provided throughout the ensuing text.

5.3.2 Act 1

What emerged throughout data gathering phases was that participants were strongly rooted in their cultural pasts both in terms of their parents' views, their home backgrounds and social history. In particular, as Sandhu and Tung (2007: 85) state, the family environment is a "major predictor" of identity formation for adolescents. However, learners had come together from differing cultural circumstances into the milieu of the school and this in turn created a "third space" (cf par. 2.6.5). The participant groups were effectively microcosms of this third space which developed into a "safe space". Moreover, a striking metaphor in the study was the notion of: "unpack the baggage," that is,

the individuals shared information regarding their family backgrounds which accompanied them so as to engage better in a process of self-reflection, an important component of cultural competency.

5.3.2.1 Theme One: Conflicting messages from the family

The role of the nuclear family as well as the extended family in each of the participants' lives proved to be extremely important in the development of cultural identity. The family is the basic unit within which each individual begins to define himself or herself as a cultural being. Cultural messages (cf par. 2.2.1) that are taught to children are a profound component of an individual's identity (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 31). Culture is learned and not innate (cf par. 2.2.1) and is thus transmitted to children via adults. Therefore, the continuation of society is dependent upon the intervention of adults for the teaching and maintenance of culture (cf par. 2.2.9). In the case of this study, most participants had come from cultures different from those represented by the mainstream school environment in which they lived (in most cases the learners were boarders) and were educated. As cultures are fluid (cf par. 2.2.3), the participants had adapted to the new milieu of the school but it remains necessary for them to interact within their own families' cultures when they return home. The focus group interviews at St Winifred's and the Forum Theatre performances commenced with a discussion as to which racial group the individuals believed they belonged. The participants soon discovered that the 'black/white' dichotomy was an over-simplification of South African society as there are many ethnic subcultures within those polarised racial categories. A black learner maintained:

Nobi: In South Africa we have so...o...o many black cultures and languages. There are more than the white cultures who have the Afrikaans and the English but we have the Pedi, Zulu, Xhosas. You just want to explore those cultures and most of the time, culture in South Africa, it just means black, it just means black!

Thus, what emerged was the desire to explore backgrounds that went beyond the mere black/white dichotomy. The participants saw the value of knowledge of the various black cultures within Africa. The source of this knowledge would usually be parents and other elders within the community. However, the black participants received conflicting messages from these adults: they were told to "prove themselves," as previously disadvantaged people among their white counterparts. They were simultaneously berated for "losing their cultures". As Nene exclaimed, "Also my dad will say when we come to school, "You know, you must be on top, because your sister was a black girl and she was head girl!"

Yet adults were continually passing on ambiguous messages to their children that they were “losing their cultures” in the mainstream schools. The school Chaplain of St Winifred’s commented during the post-performance discussion about living in the suburbs (as opposed to the townships):

Father L: Our young people, and, of course, my kids, have lost this (their culture) because of where we live now. Because of suburbs.

A similar comment was made by another member of the audience:

Mma M: I find this mostly among the black people where they are losing their culture, but the white people still have their culture, even the Indians. But we have lost it and as a result you don’t belong there and you don’t belong here, you are somewhere in between. You don’t know who you are.

Thus, the participants felt that they were displaced culturally and were criticised by parents and teachers (of similar racial backgrounds) because of this. Culture is dynamic (cf par. 2.2.3) and thus is a manifestation of conditions which are inhabited by communities. The participants in this study inhabited very different communities from those which their parents had inhabited as children. This had a profound effect on the participants’ cultural identities and their struggle to reconcile the cultural values of home and school. A further discrepancy was between the township and the rural environments inhabited by the participants’ extended families, as opposed to the suburban environments in which the participants resided.

5.3.2.2 Theme Two: Parental expectations

The participants perceived the academic expectations of their parents to be exceptionally high. As Tsatse complained, “Yes, like we have to get four distinctions.” Parents of all participants had high expectations of their children; black participants faced specific challenges, such as the large discrepancy between the quality of education that the participants’ parents had received during apartheid (cf par. 1.1) and that which the participants were receiving. A further difficulty was that of parents’ lack of English language proficiency (cf par. 2.7.2). This is corroborated by Colombo (2007: 11) who states that parents of culturally and linguistically different children are often unsure of how to support their children at school as they themselves are faced with language barriers. The schools in the study are English medium, which is not the home language of any of the black participants’

parents (cf par. 2.7.2). Many challenges experienced by the black learners stemmed from their parents' educational past. The participants perceive the standard of their education to be much higher than that of their parents and, more importantly, believe that their parents are unable to understand this. They also noted their parents' lack of exposure to information technology.

Nene: They don't understand how much extra we are doing and we always have to help them with the hi-tech stuff like e-mail and letterheads and stuff.

Some participants felt that parental expectations were unrealistic.

Tessie: My mom tells me my uncle had four distinctions but that was Bantu Education back in the day.

Participants felt a lack of respect for parents and they deemed the high academic expectations of parents to be unfair.

Nobi: They didn't teach my dad to write – he can hardly write.

Tessie: O, My dad has only got a Grade 9. But my dad wants straight "As". He doesn't feel comfortable coming to parents' evenings so he can't ask the teachers how hard the work is.

Thus, although Tessie's dad is a wealthy businessman, his own lack of formal education has led to feelings of inferiority in the school environment and ultimately to a lack of understanding between parent and child as well as to her father's unrealistic expectations of her. Blewitt and Broderick (1999: 20) state that often contemporary schools, which are not understood by parents, exhibit "formidable obstacles, either real or perceived" to parents wishing to offer children assistance or information. The discrepancy between the levels of education of parents and children were even greater in some cases.

Blewitt and Broderick (1999: 8) refer to a large body of research which differentiates between "authoritarian" parents and "authoritative" parents (in terms of parenting styles). "Authoritative" parents are demanding in the sense that they foster self-discipline and achievement by being resolute in making demands regarding maturity on their children. Coupled with this is a high degree of responsiveness in the sense that they encourage their children's "self-acceptance, confidence, and assertiveness by being warm, involved and accepting of their children's needs and feelings" (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 8). For Sandhu and Tung (2007: 86) an atmosphere at home that

contains the following characteristics, introduces adolescents to the outside world and impels them to seek and adopt life values instead of avoiding them or adopting them in accordance with parental expectations: “freedom to act, and execute, [and] encouragement to excel not only in academic framework but also in other activities.” Authoritarian parents are high on “demandingness” yet low on “responsiveness” whilst neglectful parents score low on both dimensions of “demandingness” and “responsiveness” (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 8). Parents whose own experiences differ so vastly from their children’s (as in Nobi’s case) would potentially struggle to be responsive to their children’s school experiences as it would be difficult for them to support their children with school activities or communicate with educators. Thus, the worlds of parents and participants differed vastly in terms of educational backgrounds and academic experiences.

High expectations of parents (and grandparents) stemmed from their inferior positions during apartheid. They wanted their children (and grandchildren) to fully utilise the opportunities which were never available to them.

Nene: My mom tells me my grandma was a maid in apartheid. They say we have been born in better times and so they expect us to have good marks.

Moreover, the participants from the independent schools (St Winifred’s and St Thomas’s) indicated a lack of confidence in public schools. Removal to a public school was even used as a threat in Tessie’s case.

Tessie: If I had a boyfriend, my mom would smack me. There would be no food, no luxuries. I would be put in a government school if my mom was feeling kind!

However, there were similar heartaches shared from some white participants. Kate had the following to say:

Kate: Well, it is in Afrikaans families too. My dad left my mom because of my marks. It was the worst thing ever. I have never cried so much in my life. I got 75% and my dad was saying things like he was “tired of loving me”. He asked my mom to agree with him and she just said, “No” and he left us. My marks really affect him.

It is unlikely that it was only the participant’s school performance that had caused her father to leave. However, what is significant is that the participant *perceived* her poor marks to have been the

cause of her father's departure and the break-up of the family. It was pertinent for Kate to share her experiences as many black participants thought this was a phenomenon unique to them. When Kate shared her story, the others were sympathetic and in some cases incredulous. The incident served as one of the nodes of shared experiences where participants were able to increase the ability to empathise with one another and thus improve cultural competency. A further means of developing the participants' empathetic abilities (a key component of cultural competency) was when the participants role-played their own parents in the improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances. Often this was satirical; however, it did give the girls the opportunity to develop an awareness of the subjective nature of history and in so doing to engage in a process of self-reflection as well as reflection upon their relationships with their parents (cf par. 3.2.3). Thus, it served as a positive dramatic exercise in so far as it bridged the divide between learners.

5.3.2.3 Theme Three: The superimposition of differing dimensions of culture

According to Milner and Ford's model of culture (cf par. 2.2.6), individuals within different cultural groups have diverse ideas with regard to: "ideas, values, and perceptions of personal identity" (Milner and Ford 2007: 168). The polar ends are individualism and collectivism (cf par 2.2.6). The black girls' families in this study tended towards the collectivism end of the spectrum where concord and inter-reliance are emphasised and valued; the group is thought of in a social manner. This is supported by Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann (2003: 182) who state that: "African cultures... are traditionally characterised by a stronger communal orientation, as opposed to the more individual approaches in Western cultures." Thus, social structures and the family are a crucial component in decision-making processes (Alberts et al 2003: 182). The black participants came from big families. What was more, in keeping with the values of "connection and embeddedness" as opposed to autonomy (Sandhu and Tung 2003: 74), individuals were expected to support their extended families.

Tessie: In an African family your brother's kids are your own. Whoever makes it to the top pays for all the family. My dad – who is the only one who made it – supports everyone. At family reunions they like say – he's the one with money – go ask them. You just like have to support your family. My parents pay my cousin's varsity fees and (they pay) my grandparents money, and the wife who just makes it –

This approach wherein the collective good was given priority was in contrast to the individualist approach of white participants' families.

Casey: I don't know if they [parents] support anyone but actually all our family is successful and stable.

Furthermore, based on what the participants stated, the black culture tended to have hierarchical structures that could be defined as being close towards the "High Powered" end of the continuum (cf par. 2.2.6). In such societies structures are hierarchical, status is ascribed, special privileges are in existence, decision making tends to be autocratic and clear authority figures exist (Lebaron and Pillay 2006: 48). The black participants' home culture of collectivism is merged with a Western and individualistic model of education. Further consequences of this are discussed in paragraph 5.3.2.3. What is pertinent to note is that there was a high degree of respect and authority demanded by black parents which was often met with a lack of respect from their children owing to their own poor levels of education.

5.3.2.4 Theme Four: Parenting styles

A further node of shared experience was discussion and role play regarding parenting styles. The black participants generally perceived their parents to be far stricter than the white girls' parents. They believed that they were disciplined far more strictly and that discipline was a way of enforcing respect. The black girls also perceived that their white peers had a "lack of respect" for their parents. This stemmed partly from the different modes of address for adults. Winnie, a black participant, had the following to say about visits to her white friend's home:

Winnie: When I go home to Camilla's house, I have to call her mom "Debbie" and it makes me feel uncomfortable. We have to call all adults "Aunty" or like Tessie's mom would be "Mother of Tessie" or "Mama Kholo". It is a sign of respect. Even the women who work in the kitchen we have to call "Mama" unless they tell us not to, e.g. "Lady." Even then it is uncomfortable.

However, among the white girls this was not entirely true. Conventions existed regarding the appropriate address of adults. However, these differed between the Afrikaans-speaking participant and her English-speaking counterpart. The following white learners from differing language backgrounds (cf par. 4.3.3) had the following to say:

Casey: When we were small we called other adults "Aunty" but now we call them by their first name.

Kate: We call them Mr or Mrs and our friends moms and dads we call "Tannie"(Aunty) or "Oom" (Uncle).

Zoë: it is like the first time – I would be like: "This is my mom, Mary Howard," and then once you have said, "hello" to her a few times then you can say, "Mary" to her.

Thus, the exchange proved valuable as the girls learnt that if they visited a black friend's home, there was a specific mode of address; Winnie realised that not all the parents of her white peers were to be addressed by their first names. The intercultural awareness that developed from a relatively straightforward issue as this is valuable in the development of cultural competency.

Corporal punishment as a means of discipline was common amongst all the racial groups. Adolescents from all racial groups within the study were spanked even although most were sixteen years of age. Cara stated with exasperation:

Cara: My dad still hits me!

Parents from all cultural groups had used corporal punishment and some continued to do so; however, the way in which it was administered and the perception regarding what was cruel or not differed amongst the girls.

Casey: When we were little my dad was scary – my mom would tell us he would *sort* my brother and I out and we would be like *so-oo* scared. She also used to hit us with the wooden spoon.

For Winnie a wooden spoon was a tool for food preparation and was, in turn, shared with others. Thus, owing to what it represented, it was an object which was revered as such:

Winnie: You see – my mom would never hit us with something with which somebody would eat or prepare food. She would use a stick or a belt.

It was common amongst the black girls to have to go outside and pick a stick for a beating:

Tessie: Ja, like you would have to go and pick your own stick.

This shocked the white girls.

Casey: I find that kind of cruel.

Some participants saw corporal punishment as a means of teaching respect. Tessie (who was black) and Lynn (who was white, Afrikaans-speaking) shared a view of corporal punishment.

Tessie: When we were little our parents hit us because we were learning respect.

Lynn: My mom used to hit me and I find it kind of unfair that my little brother doesn't get hit. Little kids need to learn.

Kate was from a white family; her mother was English speaking and her father was Afrikaans speaking. She had also experienced corporal punishment:

Kate: I have experienced two different cultures and, both are very strict. If we as children have done anything wrong we will be smacked/hit and punished. Crying means nothing and won't get you off the hook.

Thus, in terms of dimensions of culture, the black girls and some white girls came from families which were at the "High Powered" end of the continuum (cf par. 2.2.6) in terms of authority figures. Such families were hierarchical and parents were somewhat autocratic and indeed clear authority figures. However, where the black girls' families differed from the white girls' families was in the area of collectivism. Whereas within the white participants' families discipline was viewed as the domain of the parents, among the black participants the teaching of respect was not just the domain of parents as many of the participants lived with their extended families. For example, dressing in a modest manner seemed important to these participants as a mark of respect towards their elders. Nobi related an incident at her aunt's funeral where her cousin (who was unmarried and pregnant) arrived dressed in an apparently inappropriate manner:

Nobi: And when she got up on stage, she wasn't showing very much (her pregnancy was not visible) but she and her sister were wearing these black mini dresses. And the whole congregation got up and told them to get off the stage because she just showed total disrespect by first of all getting pregnant in her aunt's house and showing up at the funeral in her black dress with the guy that she got pregnant with and you just don't wear clothes like that!

The other black participants agreed saying:

You don't!

Some of the conventions regarding dress in the black community appeared sexist and outdated. This contrasted to the participants' definite ideas regarding how one should dress when with peers from school or in the city. For example, in Fentse's community, pants were not considered ladylike:

Fentse: I remember once with my older sister they picked on her because she was wearing jeans and they are like "ladies do not wear pants, go home and change!"

Within the white community the girls agreed that if someone was dressed inappropriately, her dress would be discussed and criticised by others. However, it would be considered offensive to tell her to go home and change her clothes. In the black community, adults from outside the family were considered within their rights to reprimand young people from within the culture. Nene remembered an incident in a shopping mall:

Nene: My dad told this dude in Menlyn to pull up his pants because they were hanging down too low!

The nature of the parenting styles in the families of many participants were at odds with the styles of discipline encountered by the learners at school. Corporal punishment within schools in South Africa is illegal and punishment for severe offences usually takes place in the format of a disciplinary hearing where all attempts to be fair to the learner are made. This democratic approach is at odds with the autocratic nature of discipline received by most learners in the study at home. This serves as a further example of where the participants are required to inhabit two different cultural environments. In addition, the prevalence of corporal punishment is a concern in light of the high degree of violence experienced within South African society.

5.3.2.5 Theme Five: Culture and cultural space

Within the field of cultural geography (cf par. 2.2.2) exists the notion of an interrelationship between individuals and their physical environment that has an effect on the evolution of culture (Lee 1997: 127). Therefore, the space which is inhabited by a group has a deterministic effect on its residents and the social processes (Lee 1997: 127). Many parents of the black participants had moved from the townships and rural areas (where their extended families remained) to the city suburbs. The participants had been born in the suburbs or were boarders in the city suburbs.

However, the black girls, despite having moved to the city, felt that home was in the rural areas where their grandmothers lived.

Tessie: When I go to my grandmother's village that is where I call home. Like when people ask me where is home – that is what I say is home.

Tsatse: When we go home everyone knows everyone else's business. For example, one lady bought a microwave and everyone was discussing how it worked. When I went to her house it was still in its plastic wrapping! Black village communities gossip like all the time.

Thus, despite voluntary urbanisation, the authentic home was considered to be in the rural areas. Yet a measure of unease existed. I asked the participants how they felt about fitting into their environments when they went to the villages.

Winnie: I feel weird – I can't speak Tswana and I have an accent and people look at me funny – I mix South African Tswana with their Tswana.

In her journal, Tessie reflected:

Tessie: When people speak in Shona, I can understand what they're saying. When it comes to my replies, they could be a bit rusty depending on what I'm trying to say. I do try to learn more about my language and culture but when you have grown up in a white environment since pre-school, it becomes hard. It would have been better if I grew up in Zim then later on moved away, knowing that my language is engraved within me. Sometimes I feel really empty because I don't know my culture and language well.

The black learners were displaced in terms of their sense of belonging. They felt as if their homes were in the villages yet did not fit in there partly owing to Westernisation and because they could not speak the language of their grandparents or the community.

The white participants came from families which had been urbanised for several generations. Only one white participant was a boarder from a rural area. However, most learners stayed together in the school's boarding house and had learnt each other's ways. Moreover, a node of shared experience proved to be when learners visited each others' homes. It appeared common for the black participants at St Winifred's to visit white homes but not vice versa.

Expectations of guests and the manner in which the participants perceived that they should behave in other girls' homes was revealing with regard to how they perceived each other's cultures. Cara had a vague notion of what is encompassed by the term culture and it proved to be a barrier that prevented her from visiting the homes of her black friends. There was a fear of the unfamiliar and she even appeared hesitant to mention the word culture for fear of offending her peers:

Cara: (addressing the black girls) But what about you guys, because you guys have like, um...

Nobi: Culture.

Cara: Ja like cos you guys have like, like it's different if a black person walks into a white person's house, compared to when a white person walks into a black person's house, black people tend to find certain things that white people do offensive.

Cara went on to relate an aspect that she had discovered through living in the boarding house which the black girls found extremely offensive. The black girls were expected (at home) to wash their own underwear; the white girls would put their underwear in the laundry and either their "helpers" or their mothers washed it. Winnie had been away with a white friend and was disturbed at not having any place to hang her underwear. When the family went to the laundromat after two weeks and unloaded their underwear into the washing machines, Winnie was shocked:

Winnie: They all put their panties in the wash. I was so shocked! Bras are ok but not panties, it is so unhygienic.

In the boarding house the matrons considered it inappropriate and unladylike if girls hung their underwear to dry outside the windows. However, the black girls perceived this differently:

Winnie: We get moaned at when our undies hang out of the window in the hostel but that is not nearly as bad as getting someone else to wash them!

Interestingly, the white boarders adopted the habit of washing their own underwear at school partly because they did not want to be considered as vulgar and because the black domestic laundry workers found it offensive to wash the underwear (even with the use of a machine).

Me: Don't they put them in the laundry here? (at boarding school)

Winnie: No – the ladies in the laundry would never wash them!

Casey: My mom always washed my undies – until I came to boarding school. Now I wash my own.

The black participants felt strongly about this issue. In the improvisational role-play concerning a cultural activity which caused conflict during visits to the homes of friends, they enacted a scene where a white guest placed her underwear in the laundry basket in a black home. The scene allowed the participants to role-play their reaction in this situation. Roles were swapped whereby a black learner played the white guest which provided her with an opportunity to experience the embarrassment experienced by the white girl because she had acted inappropriately. In so doing empathetic ability was enhanced. Learners rehearsed awkward situations and were provided with the tools to deal with them.

Many black participants from St Winifred's had visited the homes of their white peers; none of the white girls had visited the homes of the black girls. This may have been because the black girls were boarders and lived a distance away. Masko (2005: 177) maintains that schools are not culturally neutral and the transition between the home and school culture is challenging for some learners of colour (cf. par 2.7.2). Learners exist between two worlds – that of school and that of home. In this case the issue was compounded. Black girls had experienced a multicultural environment within the boarding house. Most black participants had visited the homes of their white peers, yet that world was unknown to their parents. Their own homes remained unfamiliar to their white friends; they existed between the Western worlds of their friends and the traditional worlds at home. Thus, the interchange and discussions relating to what happened at home were revealing to the participants.

Participants seldom spoke of manners but what constituted "respect" was a pertinent issue. Expectations of how children are to behave differed among the racial groups. For example, Cara's father did not like guests to behave as guests as it made him feel uncomfortable. He became irritated when Cara's friends continually asked permission to do things such as take food from the fridge.

Cara: My dad finds it strange when people find it necessary to have to ask, "Can I sit in the back?" "Must I open the door?" It really irritates him.

However, Tessie, Winnie and Nene shared that asking permission in black homes was very important:

Winnie: Like my parents *love* Gontle (a friend). She like gets in the back (of the car) and puts on her seatbelt!

Nene: With black people you like have to do that, if you don't then they find that disrespectful.

It became important for the learners to understand that different conventions prevailed in different homes. Tsatse asked if all white parents were like Cara's. Zoë replied that on a first visit to her home, her friends were expected to be respectful and help around the house. However, after a few visits, they were able to behave more informally:

Zoë: My parents need to know that you have respect in their home, and once they know you and you feel more comfortable and they know they can trust you inside the house then it becomes more of a friendship thing. You can chill and do what you want and things like that.

Thus, the participants learnt that respect is required in all homes yet there are subtleties in the way in which it is expressed. Kate stated in her journal:

Kate: I have realised that the way in which we have been raised is very similar.

Certain misconceptions were cleared during the study and participants gained greater insight into behavioural expectations in each other's homes. This too is an element of cultural competency.

5.3.2.6 Theme Six: The effect of parental prejudice on participants' cultural competency

Parental prejudice was an issue that emerged during the focus group interviews and was expanded upon during the improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances. Many participants recognised the role of parents in transferring their own prejudices to their children. However, during adolescence, individuals undergo a process called "second individuation" (Blos, 1975 cited in Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 2). During this process, adolescents reformulate their views of their parents and loosen, to an extent, their emotional dependency (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 2). During the ethnodrama, "parental baggage" served as a metaphor for the levels of prior conflict experienced by the parents of the black participants during apartheid (cf par. 2.4.2 Integrated Threat Theory). Excessive levels of prejudice may potentially accompany extreme negative emotions: anger, rage, resentment and hatred plus hostile, aggressive and discriminatory behaviour (Stephan 1992: 33). The participants testified to a large measure of evidential parental prejudice. However, the

participants were able to recognise this prejudice as something undesirable. Tsatse did point to the powerful impact of this prejudice on the thinking of individuals:

Tsatse: it's the way your parents bring you up. What your parents tell you influences your mindset. We are brought up in a situation where your parents say "This is how it is" and they don't give you a chance to form your own opinion.

Parents were often autocratic, too, in prescribing the beliefs which they wanted their children to adopt. Tsatse appeared bitter that her parents tried to impose their prejudices upon her. It was admirable to witness that participants such as Tsatse were able to formulate their own opinions despite the prejudices of their parents. Through the interaction with young people of other cultures and through different experiences from their parents, learners were able to perceive things from a new viewpoint and thus develop cultural competency, relinquishing stereotypes and prejudices retained by their parents.

The participants were able to recognise where negative stereotyping took place. Nene described an incident whilst travelling in the car with her mom:

Nene: He just comes racing out of nowhere, and my mom will like say "Oh typical white man!" It doesn't matter your colour.

Nobi was aware that her parents held negative stereotypes regarding Afrikaans people.

Nobi: Ja, like our parents think of Afrikaans people as like they were way back. You have to look at the context now, like, don't generalise that all Afrikaans people are racist or that "Black people are stupid."

The negative stereotyping recounted by the girls did not only include Afrikaans speaking people. Tsatse recalled an incident whilst shopping with her father where she felt strongly enough about an issue to openly question her father's negative stereotyping:

Tsatse: You know how in black culture it's customary to greet? As we left, the lady at the till said "aaai" (an expression of disdain) and my dad said like "Why didn't you greet? That is a *white* thing to do, to just stand there and not greet," And I said – "Why is that a *white* thing?"

The participants felt that their parents' experiences during apartheid should not affect them. Nene's father often reminded her of the violence experienced during apartheid and he felt that it should make her want to achieve higher goals. However, she did not share these sentiments:

Nene: With every goal it has to be about colour. Ja, it's like "you know I almost got shot, I was in gaol" I am like, "You know, I don't really care!"

The desire was expressed by the participants to forget the past injustices of apartheid.

Nene: My parents were there during apartheid and they talk about it but I have chosen not to take it to heart – we need to forget about it. All the remembering of apartheid has to be toned down - to keep harping on it, it just brings up old wounds.

This was an interesting comment as much of the curriculum (especially in the social sciences and Life Orientation) focuses on the history of apartheid. In the English syllabus, much of the literature centres around issues of racism and discrimination. A study conducted by Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann (2003: 180) on adolescents within South Africa (regarding perceptions of relevant identity domains) indicated a shift from the importance of politics in South African adolescents' lives (the parents of many black learners were deeply involved in politics during the liberation struggle) to an emphasis on career advancement. This shift has been influenced by the media, parents and teachers (Alberts et al 2003: 181). In the study conducted by Alberts et al (2003: 181) political issues were the least significant of the 14 life domains which were included in the study. This is significant if one considers it in the light of the active involvement of black youth in the liberation struggle. Yet in this study, the participants reiterated that they wished to place the politics of the past behind them. Alberts et al (2003: 181) concluded that the establishment of the democratic dispensation in South Africa in 1994 significantly reduced political involvement amongst black school-going youth, and that political decision-making was not considered a crucial identity-related domain. The findings of Alberts et al (2003: 181) correlate with the findings of this study.

Nene's views were reiterated in the post-performance discussion after the ethnodrama. She felt it important that one's sense of achievement was not linked to one's blackness but rather to one's ability:

Nene: My dad picks a fight with a white person, coloured, Indian, if you are not black he'll pick a fight and I am like "that's so unnecessary" Or he'll be like, you are black, you must stand out. It is not because you are good.

The focus group interview involved a discussion around what the participants thought their parents' views of intercultural relationships would be. This emphasised participants' perceptions of their parents' prejudices. When asked to comment on how their parents and families would perceive a multiracial marriage, interesting observations emerged. During apartheid inter-racial marriage and relationships were illegal under the Immorality Act. Yet many participants were keen to marry cross-culturally. There was very little consistency in what the attitudes of their parents would be. A response which was expected was Fentse's father whom she thought would not allow her to have a white boyfriend and would lecture her about the difficult time he experienced during apartheid (cf 5.2.1 Act 1 Scene 1).

The participants made a clear distinction between Afrikaans boys and others. Among the black participants, there is still much bitterness regarding Afrikaans speaking men. When asked about their dating an Afrikaans boy, there was much hilarity at the seemingly ludicrous nature of the suggestion. Perhaps this is an indication that parental prejudices did pervade despite the participants' attempts to resist them. Nobu stated that whilst her parents probably would not mind an intercultural marriage, a marriage or relationship with an Afrikaans speaking male would be out of the question:

Nobi: I don't think mine would mind. They would mind an Afrikaans boy but I don't think they'd mind a **white** boy - you know, an English one.

Some participants felt that their parents and families would be very accepting of an intercultural marriage. Many documented situations where such marriages had already occurred:

Nobi: My family is very accepting of white guys. There's a white guy in my family who's married to my cousin. They had a baby, they welcomed him just like normal family.

In an improvisational role-play (cf par 5.2.1 Act 1, Scene 2), the father and uncle of a prospective bride deliberately place an exorbitant price as her *lobola* fee so as to make her unattainable to the man in question. *Lobola* is a tradition wherein a bride price is paid to the prospective bride's parents. Traditionally the fee was paid in cattle and was ostensibly payment for prospective children that would come from the union; nowadays the fee is paid in cash. Whilst the tradition appears to be waning, it is still an expectation within most black cultures that *lobola* is paid. The participants' perception of the tradition serves as an interesting point of fusion of traditional practices with a

more Westernised culture. This improvisational role-play was also used in the Forum Theatre performances.

In one family it did not matter what race the boy was, but rather what his financial status might be. The welfare of the daughter and his socioeconomic status was far more important:

Fentse: My dad, well, my mom was like “as long as he take care of you, I am fine.” “My dad was like, “As long as he is in business I am fine.”

In certain families a white boy marrying a black girl was the lesser of the two evils. The following comment by Winnie which reflected her parents anti-Asian sentiments was met with raucous laughter by the other participants:

Winnie: My dad does have kind of a thing about Chinese people. My parents have like come to accept it because I told my mom “If you won’t let me marry a white boy then I am going to marry an old Chinese guy.”

It did highlight the issue that although there were several Asian learners in the schools, in this study none volunteered; very little was understood about them or their cultures. Thus, cultural competency in this regard is not well developed.

Many prejudices reflected an ethnic slant. Winnie’s mother is a Tswana; her father is a Herero (from Namibia):

Winnie: I think my parents would rather have me marry a white guy than marry a Tswana guy because my dad – honestly – my dad believes that Tswanas-maybe its just the chicks (girls)- but my dad believes that they have no respect. Once you meet someone they immediately want to move in with you.

This view was corroborated in Winnie’s reflective journal. She was somewhat bemused by her father’s reaction:

Winnie: from the way my dad reacts to some situations I feel like he personally doesn’t like Tswana people. This is because he finds them highly disrespectful, why? I don’t know. Well, he only says this when we discuss marriage and a potential wife for my brother.

It was interesting to note that a potential wife for the brother involved a collaborative discussion. Black culture is collaborative in nature and marriages are a communal affair (cf par 5.6.3.3 a.).

In Tessie's family, the choice of a future partner was also a communal affair and extended beyond the nuclear family to her extended family. In Tessie's reflective journal she wrote that her family's choice of a partner for her would specifically be one of the same nationality, a Zimbabwean. Tessie expressed that she had not felt comfortable expressing this to the group and thus wrote it in her journal:

Tessie: As much as I would want to marry a different race, I don't think my whole family would accept it. This includes my extended family. It would be really awkward if they found out that I was dating a different race. They would question my choices and try and persuade me to opt for a black Zimbabwean man. If I did end up marrying him [a person of a different race], I would indirectly be disowned by my family. It's happened to my mum's aunt.

The white girls' responses varied; yet, they understood from where their parents' attitudes originated; however, they professed that they themselves needed to live in the present milieu. Lynn's comment reflected a romantic view of marriage:

Lynn: I don't know – but I wouldn't want to base my marriage on the fact that my partner is a different race. If my partner was black or white or a girl or a guy it does not matter to me. I don't see any of that, it's just like – if that is my person, if I love that person and I want to spend the rest of my life with them, my parents will just have to accept it, they will, they are not very liberal but they are fine with it.

Cara had dated a black boy and whilst her parents were very accepting, his were not and had not allowed her into their home. Cara said that it would be fine to date a black boy but that her parents would not want her to marry one. Based on her personal experience, she felt that a marriage in which you were not accepted by your spouse's family would not be successful.

Cara: When I dated Brian, Brian's black and I am white. Like I said – my dad and them might not be accepting of me marrying a black person or anyone outside of my own race. But when I'm dating him it's like it doesn't matter, but his mom, really didn't like it, hey?

Shelley, a white girl from Larkminster High, said that it would be absolutely unacceptable for her to take home a black boyfriend:

Shelley: My parents, if I had to bring home a black boy, that would be the end.

In Shelley's school, the ratio of learners of colour to white learners was nine to one. Thus, she is a further example of a participant who inhabited a cultural space that was entirely different from the experience of her parents.

The participants agreed that they were of a different generation to their parents. Although they understood their parents' backgrounds, they felt the need to progress with regard to being accepting of other people. To the participants, accepting a person of a different race as a prospective son or daughter-in-law appeared to be the ultimate proof of having overcome prejudices. Zoë expressed that her parents (who are white) had grown up in a different era to her and the other participants in the study agreed with her.

Zoë: I think it comes with the generation gap, my parents grew up in a time when it was kind of like the tail end of apartheid, they were still kind of involved. They have those mindsets and ideals instilled in them and it is difficult to teach an old dog new tricks so to put new ideas and that in their minds, it's difficult. They still want to live and bring us up the way they know, you know what I mean whereas we are more accepting. We know how to handle things like this, we know how to fit into them and we are very open about it, for them it is a *back then* thing, it's an *old day* thing.

These participants were able to recognise that their parents were taking the actions of one or two individuals and generalising them across the group (cf par 2.4.1 *stereotypes*). All participants felt frustration about a common issue: the prejudices of their parents. The girls stated that they tell their parents not to burden them with their "apartheid baggage." In other words, they wish to be free from the prejudices of their parents as they were not part of the historical processes that created them (cf par. 2.4.3).

5.3.2.7 Theme Seven: Summary

Cultural competency necessitates critical self-reflection. The participants engaged in reflection upon their family backgrounds and in turn shared their thoughts with each other.

The participants came together from diverse backgrounds into the schools which espoused Western values. Their cultural values were rooted in their family backgrounds. The participants, in many

cases, inhabited a world which was unfamiliar to their parents. The black girls' parents on the whole had grown up with the injustices and deprivations of the apartheid era. Their interactions with whites reflected the domination of an unjust society. The white girls' parents (whilst generally having been in a more privileged position than the black parents) had been schooled in an era in which learners of colour were not present and had had little contact with blacks within the sphere of education. The participants in the study attended integrated schools situated in formerly white urbanised areas whilst their parents had (for the most part) attended traditional black schools situated in township areas or rural areas that are monocultural and are still attended by only black learners. Whilst the participants were free of these societal restraints, they remained tied to the past through the perceptions and experiences of their parents. The black participants received conflicting messages from the adults within their world where they were required to prove themselves in a previously unjust society and in order to do this had to adopt Western values. However, they were simultaneously berated for "losing" their cultures. Some means needs to be found in order to assist the youth of South Africa to reconcile the past and present within their cultural identities. It is believed that the dramatic improvisational role-plays, as recounted later in the chapter, assisted learners in making sense of their cultural backgrounds.

It became evident that the parents of the black learners had high academic and social expectations of their children which stemmed from their having been deprived of opportunities in the past and needing their children to prove themselves. This caused a rift between the participants and their parents as they struggled to occupy a world which they felt their parents did not understand. Nodes of shared experiences where white learners felt similar frustrations assisted learners to develop experiential empathy which is an important component of cultural competency.

The black learners' dimension of culture appeared to be of a diffusive nature where collectivist actions were more common than individualism. However, the schools which they occupied were individualist in nature. This meant that once again, differing cultural milieux had to be negotiated. However, the coming together of different cultures meant that the school environment became a third or hybrid space in which a new culture developed. Participants did not, however, understand the spaces which their peers from differing cultures inhabited at home. Through discussion and role-play, they were better able to understand the home spaces of their peers and felt less threatened about visiting the homes of their peers. This is important as such visits also provide nodes of sharing which assist in the development of cultural competency. If children could encourage their parents to interact more with the parents of their friends within each other's homes it would also assist in the development of cultural competency.

The participants were able to recognise the prejudicial attitudes of their parents and were critical of negative stereotypes espoused by them. Some of these negative stereotypes were nevertheless pervasive in the lives of the participants. The discussions indicated that learners held negative stereotypes towards Afrikaans males and Chinese people. Further evidence of prejudice amongst the participants became evident later in the study and is discussed further on in the chapter. Thus, the nature of prejudice is that it is sometimes difficult to recognise it within oneself. The learners became aware of their own prejudices through the role-plays and Forum Theatre performances.

Whilst the participants recognised the historical circumstances that shaped their parents' prejudices, they wished for the "apartheid baggage" to be forgotten and felt that it was no longer their problem. This created a further divide between parents and children. The black learners felt that their achievements should be based on their ability and not on their race. This could be because they were inhabiting a world on an equal footing with their peers and had not experienced the inequalities faced by their parents.

South African society is a society in transition. Black culture has undergone enormous socio-political changes within the last fourteen years. It would appear that many black people (of the generation of the participants' parents in this study) are neither willing to discard its traditions completely, nor to adopt unconditionally the values of the West.

A discussion of intercultural marriages reflected cultural values and the nature of existing prejudices. It also brought to light incidences where there was a fusion of traditional culture (e.g. the tradition of *lobola*) with Western culture, indicating the transformative nature of culture.

Whilst much of the aforementioned findings were based on focus group interviews (which occurred mainly with the St Winifred's girls) they served as a platform on which to base the role-plays and Forum Theatre performances which then corroborated and extended the original observations. What was overwhelmingly evident is that the participants experienced a very different world from that in which their parents had grown up because of the rapid social changes that had occurred within South African society, coupled with the consequences of its turbulent history. This compounded the development of cultural competency as many of the participants struggled to identify what constituted their own cultures. Through discussion and role-play, the learners were able to reflect critically on their own backgrounds in an attempt to discover what constituted their

cultural identities. This critical self-reflection is an important component of the development of cultural competency.

5.3.3 Act 2: The relationship between identity formation and cultural competency

5.3.3.1 Theme One: What does it mean, to be?

Identity is a complex phenomenon (cf. par. 2.2). Individuals are composed of multiple identities which originate from a feeling of belonging or a connection to a group. During the study it became evident that participants sometimes struggled to establish their identities and this was compounded by the manner in which the media and the effect of globalisation shape identity (cf par. 2.2). Erikson (cited in ACT for Youth Upstate Center of Excellence research facts and findings, 2002: 1) asserts that identity formation occurs as the critical developmental task within adolescence (cf par 2.3). The formation of identity is explored in relation to a range of life domains or tasks such as “occupation, religion and politics” - these were researched initially in relation to the male gender (Alberts et al: 2003: 169). There is a fusion of multiple identities within each individual. Individuals are not able to engage with difference unless they have formed a sense of “similarity” or belonging (O’Hagan 2001: 28). Furthermore, identities are fluid and new allegiances are continually formed which causes a transferral of senses of affinity and changes in identity. During the formation of identity, which is crucial to the developmental phase of adolescence, learners classify others and stereotype them. This has the potential to lead to racism and ultimately racial conflict.

Fundamental changes have taken place within South African society which have left the levels of disorganisation and disorientation extremely high for South Africans (Alberts et al 2002: 170). The integration of the lives of South Africans from different cultural and racial backgrounds is taking place slowly (cf par. 2.4.3) under the new socio-political dispensation; however, deep divisions and high levels of alienation separate South Africans. Alberts et al (2002) conducted a study on the ways in which South African adolescents formulate psychosocial identities (based on the hypothesis that they are formulated from different vantage points) through the investigation of the relevance of meaningful identity-related domains within the South African context. Three new domains which they included in their study were: “family matters”, “community matters” and “dealing with persons of different cultures/races.” These domains of identity formation appeared relevant to almost all the groups within the study and were deemed to have the potential to be used effectively in future research on identity formation (Alberts et al 2002: 182). In this study it was evident that these life domains were important issues within the participants’ lives, as they demonstrated the wish to

discuss and explore them and thus could be regarded as relevant to the identity formation of the adolescents in this study. Furthermore, as part of a group of urbanised black learners attending formerly white schools in urban areas, the vantage point from which the black participants experienced life domains which form identities differs from those of their counterparts in the rural or township areas (Alberts et al 2002: 180).

5.3.3.2 Theme Two: What does it mean to be me?

The Department of Education requires schools to conduct an annual census in which the staff is required to identify factors regarding their learners such as race, parents' marital status and the distance which learners travel to school. Each year the prospect of the census causes an outcry among staff who feel embarrassed asking such questions, particularly those regarding race. The participants were asked how they felt about it and whether or not the questions made them feel uncomfortable:

Fentse: It is just silly because I am not black I am brown and you are not white you are beige!

Casey: Yes and I don't see any point to it really.

Most of the girls felt that the census was pointless and they did not perceive it as racist. However, it did cause some embarrassment. Kate's parents were in the process of a divorce:

Kate: I feel a bit guilty having to say that I come from an Afrikaans home. I think it is worse when they ask whose parents have passed away or are divorced.

Kate's guilt stemmed from the historical legacy of apartheid where Afrikaners were perceived to be the oppressors. An irony existed in the white educators not wishing to cause offence to black learners when in fact the white girls also felt uncomfortable with the race classifications.

In some cases the classifications clashed with the girls' perceptions of themselves and required greater sensitivity from the staff. In the following case a coloured teacher was unintentionally insensitive.

Fentse: I feel sorry for the girls who are from multicultural homes e.g. Soraya who has a white dad and a black mom. The teacher wrote her down as coloured and she got upset and said she was white and black. The teacher said she had to pick one.

Nene: Why didn't they just put her down as "other"? I think those girls have a difficult time.

The girls who are of mixed parentage from inter-cultural marriages are expected to take on a new identity. They are not expected to identify with the cultures of either of their parents. There were no coloured learners amongst the participants at St Winifred's; however, they were able to empathise with their coloured peer. The coloured girl from Larkminster High did not appear to identify with other coloured learners from the school but did act as a kind of spokesperson for them. What is interesting to note is that whilst the participants recognised that the learners from mixed parentage experienced difficulties, they were still keen to engage in cross-cultural marriages.

Of pertinence in the educators' reluctance to conduct the census is their lack of cultural competency. Firstly, they appear unaware that the learners are quite comfortable with discussions regarding race and other issues are more sensitive. Secondly, they continue to adopt a "colour-blind" approach (cf par. 2.6.4). This stems from a poor understanding of multiculturalism (le Roux 2000: 26) and necessitates in-staff training. Furthermore (cf par. 2.6.4), studies have established that persons with the most pride in their individual groups are least likely to exhibit prejudice towards outgroups (Stephan 1999: 73). After the ethnodrama, the Life Orientation educator (who was white) posed the following question regarding pride to the participants:

Mrs D: How much pride do you people have in your culture and your language? Last year in Grade 10, I tried discussing cultural belief systems. The girls were horrified. Girls would simply not discuss it because they didn't want the girls to think that they were uncivilised and go back to the *bundu* (backwaters) and slaughter cows and in the end I stopped and I didn't do it this year because they felt uncomfortable. That is why I want to know, how much pride do you take in your culture?

The post-performance discussion gave the educator the chance to pose a question in a frank manner. However, her tone was somewhat accusatory and the reference to "you people" appeared to isolate the black girls as a form of "outgroup". The girls had previously made reference to the lessons presented by this teacher. They felt she had been judgemental of African traditional religion and had referred to her as racist. Training in multicultural education and techniques to develop greater empathy would possibly have resulted in a more positive experience and ultimately greater understanding between the educator and her learners.

The participants' response to this question was that without a doubt they took pride in their cultures. Most girls wanted to know more about their cultures:

Nthabi: I take lots of pride in my culture. I love traditions and everything and I think it is how your parents approach it. My mom is Pedi, she taught me Pedi and I just love it so much but as I grow up we lose our language but I still make an effort to remember my culture.

The presence of a black educator well versed in various black cultures had a positive influence on some participants who lacked this knowledge about their own cultures. This assisted in the formation of identity for these learners:

Fentse: I grew up Tswana but I was raised with white people so my parents never spoke to me in Tswana – they did – but I responded in English because I was raised in a white society. Still, I find it kind of interesting when Mma M (the Sepedi teacher) talks about cultures that I have never heard of in my life, it is like wow!

Thus, it is important for educators to receive training in multicultural approaches so as to interact effectively with their learners. Cultural competency requires an approach that recognises and values the opinions and backgrounds of all participants (cf par. 2.7.1). During the post-performance discussion, a teacher responded, indicating the value of cultural differences:

Mrs O: On the school's 125th birthday, part of that celebration was a multicultural day and I had one of the most memorable lessons I have ever had with my Grade 11 class because we spent two-and-a-half hours talking about our cultural memories. What was amazing was that everybody was prepared to delve a little bit and find out what their culture was from two, three generations ago and to explore what effect that had on their families and I think we all came out of that thinking that in fact we all have something to offer .

Whilst it was admirable that the lesson had been so memorable and there was value in Mrs O recounting her experience, true multicultural education should infuse all teaching and not just occur as part of a special celebration. However, Garner, Bootcheck, Lorr and Rauch (2005: 1028) state that a school's emphasis on extra-curricular activities and class festivities and rituals which are intended to be inclusive, mitigates against hostilities. At both St Winifred's and St Thomas's a pronounced emphasis was placed on extramural activities where it was compulsory for learners to play sport and be involved in cultural activities. Thus, most afternoons in a week, the learners were occupied at school. Larkminster High, however, did not have such a programme and the learners generally went home when the school day ended at 14:00. Moreover, the presence of educators from similar cultural backgrounds to that of the learners serve as a link between their home cultures and that of

the school and serve to instil a sense of pride in the learners' backgrounds which in turn results in the formation of positive identities and reduces prejudice against "outgroups". The presence of an educator from similar cultural backgrounds provides an important role model and serves as an example of cross-cultural leadership which is a component of cultural competency (cf par. 2.7.1).

5.3.3.3 Theme Three: If I am me, then what does that make you?

People create social categories in which others are labelled according to characteristics that make them distinguishable from other people (Stephan 1999: 2). Children and adults appraise themselves in contrast to others (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 3). However, for adolescents, the lack of a fixed identity renders this process passionate and sustained (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 3). Individuals find it difficult to relinquish stereotypes because they help them to maintain a positive self-image and to justify "social status and worldview" (Jost and Banagi 1993 in Stephan 1999: 2; cf. par 2.4.2). One of the categories to which the participants related when discussing stereotyping was that of how individuals within a school are stereotyped. The girls from St Winifred's recounted an incident at a shopping mall where they were stereotyped as rich and spoiled, during which they were called 'coconuts' (slang expression for black people who apparently embrace white values) or 'cheesegirls' (slang expression for those who can afford the luxury of cheese). This was enacted in an improvisational role-play; Forum Theatre performances and finally in Scene 3, of Act 1 of the ethnodrama; par 5.2.1. This scene also illustrates the perceived class distinction made by learners from Larkminster concerning the learners from the independent schools. Distinctions based on race are often complicated by issues of class. Many of society's advantages such as "the distribution of earnings and wealth, social prestige, political power, educational opportunities, and justice" are shaped by race, class and gender (Koepke 2007: 2). In addition, Fine and Weis (2005: 69) refer to identity formation in relation to "the school, economy, and family of origin" and allude to the complex interrelationship among "secondary schooling, human agency, and the formation of collective consciousness within a radically changing economic and social context." Thus, an emerging wealthy class in South Africa contributes towards the complexities experienced by individuals who are already struggling with the involved task of identity formation. The St Winifred's girls did not want to be perceived as rich and snobbish. They rationalised the perception that they did not have a lot of money by saying that their parents spent all their money on school fees:

Tsatse: I think we have the same amount of money because most of it goes to school fees and secondly, I think it's different with the boarders because our parents (boarders) pay double. Like today, we did not have money for tuck, we had to hustle ten rand.

The Larkminster participants felt that what they considered to be minor incidents had given their school a bad reputation: "a couple of stabbings". This caused great consternation among the other participants.

Interestingly, in the townships Larkminster High participants were also labelled due to their attendance at a former model C school.

Ayanda: (black) They say we are snobbish.

Lemapo: (black) They call us cheeseboys.

When gathering information with regard to others, there is a tendency to seek evidence that affirms preconceptions and to ignore information that counters negative information (Stephan 1992: 16; cf par. 2.4.2). In this situation it was a valuable learning opportunity for the participants from both St Winifred's and Larkminster High to realise that stereotyping occurs in different contexts. This challenged their own perceptions and stereotypes of each other.

Noticeable were similarities in loyalty towards one's school mates, irrespective of racial or cultural background, if they were in trouble. The Larkminster participant recounted the following incident:

Sipho: If something bad happens here...

Ayanda: I think like the attitude we have in our school is...we don't like to admit it but we're like one big family and we don't kind of hide anything from each other so if we know then everybody is going to know.

Shelley: If the beef [trouble] is there then everybody is gonna know.

The girls at St Winifred's stated that a similar form of "closing in" occurred at St Winifred's. Thus, when the girls were in trouble they all colluded with regard to what story had to be told to those in charge of discipline:

Cara: If one bad thing happens everybody knows about it...at St Winifred's even though we don't want to admit it, we all have each other's backs when it comes to somebody getting into trouble, anyone who was involved, by the end of the day they know what the story is, what happened, what report they have to write.

This substantiates the notion that the school consists of a third space, a hybrid culture becoming an amalgamation of its components into a new culture.

In terms of the official school ethos, the girls from St Winifred's complained that they were forced to conform to a particular image. They felt that this was the same at St Thomas's but were surprised to hear that the same was true of Larkminster High:

Cara: At St Winifred's, they just tell you what to do, "Wear your blazer, tie up your hair."

Winnie: Ja ,like prize-giving, we literally practise walking in.

Shelley: It is the same with us at Larks when we have Open Day we uh, put on a front.

This information shared among the participants of the three schools formed a node of shared experience.

In terms of identity, many participants noted the Americanisation of popular culture.

Nobi: This whole American gangsterism is a problem for blacks. It is because of tv and the media – like blacks can call each other "nigger" but whites can't.

Nene: We blacks just follow trends and it shouldn't be so – Americans are lazy and have the highest obesity levels in the world – now the trend is Japan.

A great deal of an individual's identity is formed by what is experienced through the media (Finley 2002: 163; cf. par 2.3). Adolescents engage in a process of "attribute substitution", involving imitation and identification as part of their identity formation wherein they "borrow and try on" certain behaviours and attributes observed in others (Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 3). Within the media these identities are grounded within a set of metanarratives about class, race, gender, age and sexual orientation..." (Finley 2002: 63). However, these identities are often at variance with the

values of the adolescents' parents. This is evident in the way in which the participants classified people in terms of the music to which they listened.

Tessie: Black music is like RNB and House.

Nene: White girls like Rock and Pop etc.

Although these classifications were considered to be almost unquestionable, music has the ability to become a node of shared experience in terms of culture. Once again there was evidence of an intermingling of cultures within the hybrid cultural space of the school. Casey indicated how her experience of the black girls' music influenced her preferences:

Casey: I never really liked any particular kind of music before I got here (to St Winifred's) now when I came here I started listening to Rock and then the black girls introduced me to House and Hip Hop. Now I listen to anything.

The influence of the media of music (and rap) on identity formation was so pervasive. One girl described an incident where it influenced a boy's speech.

Nene: When he says "hello" [on the phone], he'll say "Whatidoo, Babyboo." It rhymes and he thinks it's cute.

The effect of music and television suggest the creation of a global youth culture (cf. par. 2.2.8) that reduced cultural bonds to one location. Singh (2004: 110) states that these global forces of culture have a push-pull effect in which resources are appropriated and absorbed into one's own culture.

Examples of a youth culture is seen in dress.

Nthabi: How you dress depends on what music you listen to, like Rock – the girls wear skinny jeans, a tight Hoodie and lots of dark eye make-up.

The girls at St Winifred's classified boys in accordance with the way in which they dressed:

Fentse: My dad and I walked behind these white guys who wanna act like Solja Boys.

Me: What's a Solja Boy?

Tessie: Like a Gangsta – they wear black - usually a huge hoodie – bling and everything is huge.
They wear these sunglasses that say Solja Boy and have lots of colour.

However, particular race groups were also ascribed particular modes of dress. In doing so, Nobli was able to recognise that she was stereotyping groups of people:

Nobli: This is really a stereotype – but white girls dress short and black girls dress tight – even though they are more curvey.

Thus, people create social categories in which others are labelled according to characteristics that make them distinguishable from other people (Stephan 1999: 2; cf. par. 2.4.2). “We are who we are because we are different from what they are.” Stereotypes are comprised of “the traits attributed to social groups.” (Stephan 1999: 1) and these traits are often negative and misapplied. These stereotypes help individuals to make sense of their worlds and serve as a guide as to how social interaction is to take place (cf. par. 2.4.2). It functions as a part of globalisation forces which simultaneously standardise as well as distinguish identities (cf. par. 2.3).

5.3.3.4. Theme Four: Language and identity formation

Language (verbal and non-verbal) is a fundamental component of culture (Meier et al. 2007: 165). Historically, within South Africa, language was used in segregationist policies as a foundation for the classification and division of people (Kamwendo, 2006: 53). However, it would appear that with increased urbanisation, many black participants have lost the home language.

Nene: O, I have only really spoken English at home. I am the only grandchild who can't communicate with my Grandmother because I don't speak an African language. It is really hard – my family call me a “Coconut.”

Language is an essential part of an individual's identity;

Nthabi: People cannot speak their mother tongues well any more, the accent is completely incorrect and they now claim they are English when asked, which makes a big gap between them and the family back in the villages, with whom the only thing you had in common beside family members, is your language. This is now taken away because you shy away from what makes you who you are.

The St Winifred's girls never spoke in their vernacular during the study and nor did the St Thomas's boys. However, at Larkminster High, Sepedi was spoken during the Forum Theatre performance by the black participants. However, for MOST participants, English was the only means of communication. Larkminster High did not have a boarding school and most learners spoke Sepedi and used it for informal communication. The other learners held their parents responsible for their inability to speak an indigenous language:

Nene: But I mean I am not trying to find a scapegoat but my parents, had they spoken the language to me from a young age, I would probably have been able to speak it.

In the post-performance discussion, the school Chaplain and the Sepedi teacher, Mma M, encouraged participants to take action and learn an indigenous language.

Mma M: About blaming your parents, the greater part of where you are, your parents contributed, but now that you are aware of it, you can do something about it. Nene, you have been here for so long, you can learn a black language. You go to the kitchen, speak to those ladies and insist that they speak to you!

5.3.3.5 Theme Five: Conclusion

Identity formation is a crucial component of the adolescent's development. The formation of a concept of who the individual is in relation to who others are, takes place. South African society has undergone rapid socio-political changes which has led to identity confusion among many individuals and made the key developmental phase of adolescents within South Africa burdened with issues which have come to be unique to their generation. Traditional classifications under the apartheid government, based on difference, no longer hold. Educators need to become culturally competent in order to assist adolescents within an ambiguous society with identity formation. The presence of educators, who are representative of the various cultures within a school, has a positive effect on the learners. A multicultural approach to education needs to be adopted that goes beyond the celebration of special occasions. Through the use of drama, the process of stereotyping was explored and the participants learnt to value and respect diversity. The issue of racial conflict in the form of violence is concerning and accentuates the need for the development of cultural competency in schools. Each school in the study represented a coming together of several cultures into the formation of a new culture; however, this process is often fraught with difficulties such as racial conflict. The experiences of the Forum Theatre performances at the various schools formed

nodes of shared experiences despite the differing gender and socioeconomic backgrounds. Such interactions could assist in the formation of a more cohesive society.

The effect that popular American culture, which was conveyed through the media had on identity formation was noted by the participants and considered problematic in some instances - for example, with "gangster" culture. Nodes of shared experience were also discovered between cultures in terms of the music which the participants learnt to enjoy.

Language formed a complex component of identity formation for the participants. Many of the black participants did not speak a black language or spoke it poorly because they lived in suburban areas, attended schools where the language of instruction was English and spoke English because their parents felt that that was the means for participating in a modern world. A problem arises when the participants visit the rural areas (which they perceive to be home) and are unable to communicate with their grandparents. This caused barriers in relationships and hampered cultural transmission and thus identity formation. Because of socio-political cultural change within South Africa, adolescents who live away from the traditional world in which their parents grew up form identities from very different vantage points from that of their parents. This needs to be understood in order to assist adolescents with effective identity formation. Much of the formation of identity could be related to socioeconomic factors. Post apartheid South Africa has witnessed the emergence of a new wealthy class of blacks which has resulted in new forms of identity association and affiliation. Often these identities are at variance with the identities of the learners' families and friends from their home towns.

5.3.4 Act 3: Cultural conflict

Certain stereotypes and prejudices remain within South African society as part of the apartheid legacy (cf par. 2.4.3) and are often perpetuated by parents and adults within the community. Stereotypes lead to negative appraisals of outgroups which ultimately leads to prejudice and racial conflict (cf par. 2.4.2). Cultural competency involves the creation of an awareness of these stereotypes and prejudices, which are often embedded within the psyche, in order to overcome them. Schools exist as microcosmic cultures and consist of various social groupings. However, these social groupings no longer form chiefly along racial lines with South African schools. Instead, a status hierarchy exists that largely mirrors positions of status within the broader socio-political context and often forms along socioeconomic lines. This section also explores the relationship between the

prevalence of cultural conflict and the nature or climate of a school culture. The prevalence of oppositional cultures within school cultures is explored too.

5.3.4.1 Theme one: Entrenched stereotyping and prejudices

At Larkminster High, racial conflict has emerged between black and coloured learners. The black Larkminster participants stereotyped coloureds.

Sipho: (black boy) There are like a few coloureds and Sooo many black people, but if a black person fights with a coloured – they'll like (makes a punch sound).

Lemapo:(black boy)Coloureds are mean!

Ayanda: (black girl) we had this coloured teacher once, she was about sixty and no-one would mess with that woman, like woaaa, she would beat you, she would call her friends and she spoke our language.

Prejudice encompasses the construction of a judgement or opinion without the necessary investigation of the relevant facts. An essential feature of prejudice is a negative appraisal of outgroups (Stephan 1992: 24). This results in a negative effect as is seen at Larkminster where racial conflict has occurred due to the harmful consequences of prejudice.

A distinction was also made regarding Afrikaans-and English-speaking whites. Shelley, from Larkminster High, had the following to say:

Shelley: (white girl) Also with the Black/White thing, I think there is a thing about Afrikaans, white people like they (she refers to black people) don't like them, but English white people, they don't mind them.

Strong stereotyping and prejudice against Afrikaners was present amongst participants at all three schools in terms of appearance as well as behaviour. When talking about multicultural marriages, Fentse had the following to say despite earlier criticism of her parents for having negative stereotypes:

Fentse: The thing is for me – I would never marry these "Afrikawner Boers" (accent) with a beer belly – like you'll get smacked around.

Nene: Ja – they'll hit you with a *Sjambok* (a whip).

Fentse: I don't think they'll hit you with a *Sjambok* – they'll hit you with the open hand.

Cara was able to reflect on these perceptions:

Cara: I think you can understand where black people like you guys get the connotation that Afrikaans men are violent – it just goes all the way back to the racism thing and apartheid – it was the men who enforced all the rules. It was never women, so there will always be that kind of connotation. It's like a lot of white people also associate black people with crime – even you guys do.

The perception that Afrikaners are aggressive stems from the high degree of conflict attributed to the majority Afrikaner party during apartheid. The perception was shared by white girls:

Kate: Afrikaners are really aggressive! My friends too, they will just hit their women.

The stereotyping tends to focus on the negative actions of the group and where these occur they strengthen the perceptions of the stereotype (cf. par. 2.4.2).

Kate: Afrikaans kids are more aggressive – the other day at my friends' school they just set this guy alight – they made like it was an accident and he was burning – his hair and everything. These *boere* type Rugby boys beat up a teacher and the teacher was taken away in an ambulance – they recorded it on Cell phones – it is terrible!

The learners were aware that they were stereotyping. For example, Zoë - who is English-speaking from a rural town, stereotyped Afrikaans speaking farmers. She felt that she was within her right to do so as she had "grown up with them":

Zoë: I can stereotype Afrikaans farmers, because I have grown up with them and been exposed to them in Magaliesberg -the Afrikaans farmers are big and they are abrupt with their workers.

Mode of dress defined these Afrikaans farmers and was a source of ridicule:

Zoë: And the really short "PT *broek*" the *khaki* like two-toned shirts (the other participants laugh), the thing is, we also stereotype the women, you know, having those huge bird's nest

hairdos with the very weird Afrikaans clothing – like aprons – when you see it you think “Afrikaans clothing”.

The improvisational role-play expanded upon in the Forum Theatre performances illustrated this stereotype.

Girl 1: (black girl playing a white Afrikaner) Ok, you know what, I am just going to be educated about this.

Girl 2: Educated, my eye!

Girl 1: (black girl playing an Afrikaner) Are you saying I am not educated?

(Lots of shouting)

Girl 1: (Playing an Afrikaner) Well honestly, I think black people are such barbarians! (Who carries a torch with a frikken fire on it, honestly?)

Girl 2: (black girl) Look at this picture here. White people do not walk around in skins. We are civilised, we sit on chairs right.

Thus, Afrikaners were stereotyped as having very poor dress sense; the black people were stereotyped as uneducated and uncivilised. Moreover, the white participants and the black girls agreed that the black girls “stereotype themselves.” This creates a sense of affinity or a bond within the group (cf. par. 2.5). During the ethnodrama rehearsal (cf. par. 4.6.11), it emerged that ‘coconut’ black learners stereotype other black people and especially those from the townships (‘ghetto’ blacks). Thus, there is prejudice among urban blacks towards those from the townships.

Examples of this can be seen in the following extract:

Winnie: Have you heard the saying he’s “the blackest white boy I have ever met?” Well the other day someone was late for choir and Sir moaned at her and she said “it is because I am black – we are always late” and Sir got really cross and said we shouldn’t stereotype ourselves. Well it is true – we succumb to our own black stereotypes and even promote them!

Cara: (white) There’s also, with this whole black/ white thing, you guys tune (insult) yourselves!

Girls: (black) Ja, that's true! That's very true!

However, black participants closed rank if they felt other race groups were critical of people from the townships.

5.3.4.2 Theme Two: Cultural plurality and status hierarchy in adolescent school culture

The *climate* of a school is described by Garner et al (2005: 1027) as a collective notion that concerns the ambience or “feeling-tone” of a school and is based on: its culture or cultures; the way in which status structures or dominance is configured and the adult authorities’ policies. School climates that foster cultural competency need to be pluralistic. The paths therein to adulthood should be different, yet equally valued and respected by learners and educators (Garner et al 2005: 1027). Youth, as they struggle to determine their identities and relate to a high degree with their peer groups, are rendered vulnerable to the pressure of peer groups. As adolescents struggle to find groups to which they belong, this potentially may compound the process of stereotyping which in turn leads to prejudice and racism. Schools represent powerful elements of socialisation in which the individual (in his quest to establish his identity) learns “obedience, conformity, rebellion, resistance, isolation, and/or co-operation” (Garner et al 2005: 1024). The development of cultural competency could be considered to form a component of identity formation and socialisation processes. Series of studies have been conducted on youth culture and what was established is that a status hierarchy which is founded on norms and values of adolescent culture exists within most schools but that the exact principle of what constitutes the popular crowd varies among schools (Garner et al 2005: 1024). The aforementioned studies were conducted in the USA and it is of interest to extrapolate elements thereof and to attempt to determine how the findings could possibly be applied (albeit that this attempt was in a relatively limited sense) to issues surrounding the development of identity and cultural competency in the South African schools.

Comas and Milner (1998 cited in Garner et al 2005: 1025) indicated that schools which were evenly attended by white and black learners do not have a singular dominant crowd in a characteristically pyramid formation. This could form part of the reason why St Winifred’s and St Thomas’s had little racial conflict as both schools had fairly even mixes of racial groups. Comas and Milner (1998 cited in Garner et al 2005: 1035) state that “status pluralism emerges in this context, both along lifestyle and racial lines. There are multiple groups with distinct identities, different uses of space and other resources, and a relatively low level of conflict and competition.” Other researchers (Milner 2004

and Schneider and Stevenson 1999) have also reported that the status hierarchies at schools decline as schools diversify. At such schools importance is attached to “expensive, sophisticated and trendy taste” which serves as an interpretation of what Garner et al (2005: 1028) classify as “prep culture”. For example, Nobi described her style of dress in the following manner:

Nobi: O -Le le and I – I dress to impress as if we are about to “hit the runway” – not too trashy but stylish.

“Prep culture” represents and emulates the larger, Westernised, middle-class, adult mainstream culture.

Larkminster High, however, had previously been an all-white school but after desegregation, it became a monocultural school consisting of 90% of black learners. There was a high degree of racial conflict at Larkminster High which had resulted in violent activities such as stabbings often attributed to coloured learners. Social identity is made up of those characteristics that are established through group membership (cf. social identity theory par. 2.4.2). Such group membership boosts positive self-images and thus stimulates a negative perception of outgroups. Racial conflict, whilst occurring subtly at St Winifred’s and St Thomas’s, was more visible at Larkminster High. The learners at Larkminster High had mentioned that there was never conflict between white and black learners but that there was a “war” between blacks and coloureds, as is mentioned in Scene 4 of Act 2 in the ethnodrama (cf par. 5.2.1)

The white learners were included with the black learners in the mainstream or *prep* culture. Interestingly, the coloured participant identified herself with the mainstream culture. The coloured learners (as an oppositional culture) fought for status hierarchy within the school, possibly because they felt threatened by the mainstream or *prep* culture or because they were identifying with adult groups that were marginalised from adult mainstream culture within South African society. In Scene 2 of Act 2 in the ethnodrama (cf par. 5.2.1) it was stated that the coloured learners at Larkminster High had a slogan: “inja one, inja all” (injure one, injure all) which meant that they saw themselves as one group.

Stephan (1999: 31) states that a particularly important cause of prejudice can be ascribed to feelings of fear and threat, which could be a possible reason for the racial conflict at Larkminster. According to Lebaron and Pillay (2006), there is a significant relationship between culture and conflict as culture shapes and reshapes conflict (cf par. 3.4.3). Furthermore, the intensity of the types of

threats on intergroup contacts can be related to factors such as: the degree of previous conflict between the groups, the extent and nature of the contact between the groups and the relative statuses of the groups as well as understanding of the other group (Stephan 1999: 32). The girl who was speaking was coloured but did not appear to include herself as one of the coloureds yet she seemed to be a self-appointed participant with regard to the actions of the coloureds. Such a person has an understanding of the group and could prove to be a valuable “go-between” for the conflicting groups

The school climate was shaped by hostility between oppositional groups, mainly the coloured and black learners. The small percentage of white learners consisted largely of foreign-born learners or those who had foreign-born parents. I asked the Larkminster High participants whether they felt there was much prejudice in their school:

Shelley: (white girl) I think we are.

Ayanda: (black girl) I think we are more prejudiced than people think.

Lemapo: (black boy) We’re prejudiced against Goths.

Shelley: (white girl) They are scared of them (she is referring to black learners).

Tessie: (From St Winifred’s) Are they in your school? (*Quite incredulous*).

Shelley: (white girl) There is a group of Goth people and ok not these guys but the black people are scared of them.

Tessie: I am scared of them. Oh my Gosh! They’ll come with a samurai sword (reference to a recent widely-publicised act of school violence).

The girls from St Winifred’s were quite incredulous that a group of Goths (A group of people or subculture commonly identified by their predominantly black clothing and dark eye make-up; some believe that they are associated with witchcraft and evil) existed at Larkminster High. No such group existed at either St Thomas’s or St Winifred’s. Garner et al (2005: 2007) refer to such groups as “oppositional cultures” within which groups such as Goths would fall. This would include previous references in the chapter to “Solja boys” and “Gangstas”. Oppositional cultures challenge *prep* cultures. Part of the formation of identity revolved around socioeconomic status which further

stratifies groups. Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed the emergence of a new middle class of black and coloured people. This has meant that new affiliations in terms of identity have been formed. "Prep" cultures in this study would be in reference to this middle class and would include cheesegirls, cheeseboys and coconuts. Oppositional cultures are more varied than "prep" culture which is more uniform (Garner et al 2005: 1027). "Gangsta" culture "expresses lower-class African-American culture" (Garner et al 2005: 1027) and through the influence of the media has been adopted in black and coloured communities in South Africa. The girls associated coloureds as "Gangstas", possibly because of the high prevalence of gangsterism within the coloured communities. Garner et al (2005: 1027) state that "all oppositional cultures define themselves in a hostile and rejecting relationship to both prep culture and the larger, white, middle-class adult mainstream culture." It would appear that within the South African context, the mainstream culture includes the ever-increasing group of middle class blacks and (relatively smaller group of) coloureds. Interestingly, certain values are shared by "prep" and "oppositional cultures." These include: "social skills, poise and coolness, physical attractiveness, and ownership of consumer goods that serve as cultural markers" (Garner et al 2005: 1027). Furthermore, researchers indicate that these oppositional sources merge from two sources: as an ideological resistance to "prep" culture and the role of adult authority figures, and as an extension and support of values and cultures of adult communities that are marginalised by the mainstream culture (Miller, 1990; Cohen, 1955). The scope of this study was not able to establish the source of the Goth culture at Larkminster High. It would appear, however, that as the black learners were so scared of the Goth group, that their identity formation as an oppositional culture could have been in reaction to the mainstream culture (which was black). What is of significance is that there were more oppositional cultures at Larkminster High, possibly owing to the prevalence of a monocultural group as well as owing to competition for resources and status (cf par. 3.4.2).

Various school cultures were distinguished at St Thomas's and St Winifred's through the use of labelling. *Whiteys* or *Darkeys* was an affectionate name for groups of whites or blacks, respectively. Afrikaners were called *Boers* (men) or *Boeremeisies* (women), but this was usually not done in an affectionate manner. Whilst these school cultures were determined along racial lines, they were not oppositional cultures and for the most part cultural conflict was limited or subtly expressed.

However, Larkminster High was characterised by excessive levels of prejudice which had led to intense negative emotions. There appeared to be a disturbing nonchalance regarding the violent nature of the confrontations. The Larkminster participants appeared more concerned about the fact

that everyone knew when a stabbing happened rather than the actual event itself. They expressed a kind of excitement regarding such incidents:

Ayanda: (black) Also, if there is gonna be a fight at break you know, you can **feel** it!

Shelley: (White) you can **feel** it!

Ayanda: Everybody starts looking around.

The girls at St Winifred's realised that they were schooled in a sheltered environment and one even appeared envious:

Fentse: I wish we had that. Some girls have been at St Winifred's since Grade 0. I went to B Primary and there (*she makes punching sounds*). Ja, it's like stimulating!

The violent nature of South African society, coupled with the effect of the media could possibly have desensitised some participants towards such acts. However, clearly the St Winifred's girls were sheltered from the levels of violence to which the Larkminster High participants were exposed. Masko (2005: 191) states that it is vital for children's learning and "connectedness with schools" that an environment is created in which every student feels both safe and respected (cf par. 2.4). This was noted by one of the St Winifred's girls in the bus on the way home:

Cara: I suppose it is kinda hard to focus on your academics when you are worried about being stabbed!

The journal reflections indicated the difference in experiences of the participants:

Kate: I was shocked by the one girl's statement about the stabbings. It's as if they are used to a completely different way of life. We have all grown up in a very safe environment and it's scary to think that other people are so used to crime and violence.

5.3.4.3 Theme Three: The social positioning of foreign (non-South African) learners

All three of the schools studied contained learners who were non-South Africans (foreigners) but were without the prevalence of one single group. St Winifred's has several learners from Botswana. However, the study took place during a series of xenophobic attacks in South Africa on immigrants from other African countries. The issue of "what it is to be foreign" in South Africa was raised as this

formed a significant component of these learners' identities. Nene stated that if she were overseas she would deny being from South Africa:

Nene: Africans are not proud of their culture – let's say you say "I am from Zim" then everybody says, "Oh my goodness, Robert Mugabe!" After that you are not going to say you are from Zimbabwe when people are blaspheming your country and even from South Africa, let's say I go overseas and Zuma becomes president, you know and people ask me where I am from I will say: "from here". (overseas).

Thus, political instabilities within certain African countries (South Africa included) affected the identities of the participants who then became reluctant to admit their origins. I asked what impact the xenophobic attacks had on the non South African participants. Tessie, a Zimbabwean, responded as follows:

Tessie: It hits hard. You watch like Third Degree on TV and see the camps with foreigners and lots of Zimbabweans and that and you think "it could be my family!" and it hurts hard and people talk and say they should go away and pack but they don't understand that those people are refugees. I want to say "I'm not affecting your life I am from a wealthy family!"

Thus, identification with socioeconomic groups (wealthy middle-class) took precedence over identification with her nationality as a Zimbabwean citizen. It was revealing to the girls to hear Tessie say these things which she had not articulated before. Fentse said that she never realised that the joking about Zimbabweans hurt Tessie's feelings so much:

Fentse: We never really did it to be spiteful. It is just that it is all over the news so of course we are gonna talk about it.

However, the girls were prejudiced against other nationalities too; Zimbabweans and Nigerians appeared to suffer the most ridicule.

Winnie: Me and my mom were laughing the other night – you can spot a Zimbabwean like anywhere. Someone from Botswana and you might not know but put a Zimbabwean and a dark South African next to each other and you can tell! Nigerians, obviously, they dress strange. Ghanians you can tell because of their heads! Ghanians have like flat heads and we laugh at their heads, it's hilarious!

Ambiguity in thinking was demonstrated here. Participants were aware that they should not be prejudiced against people of different races within South Africa; yet there was no restraint when it came to being critical of people from other countries. This has the potential to isolate foreign learners and lead to shame in their personal identities. The development of cultural competency is crucial among South African youths if a repeat of the atrocities of the recent xenophobic attacks is to be avoided.

5.3.4.4 Theme Four: Harnessing drama as a conflict resolution tool

Lebaron and Pillay (2006: 87) state that conflict may develop as individuals become aware of differences and that differences may transform into conflict when a scarcity of resources exists or when individuals concerned feel threatened by each other (cf par. 3.4.2). A dehumanising effect of rivals fuels the conflict (cf par. 3.4.2). Whilst conflict is a significant component of human existence, the manner in which it is dealt with determines whether or not it is destructive or constructive (cf par. 3.4.5). Thus, within the context of this study, learners role-played situations involving conflict. During the Forum Theatre performances they were required to perform the role-play and then the audience was asked to participate with the aim of changing the outcome. This technique could be considered to fall within what Grant and Sleeter term a “problem-solving approach” to conflict (cf par. 3.4.5). Thus, when the learners performed the Forum Theatre performances, they were encouraged to replay the scenes using “I messages” and to display active listening. They were then able to observe how their changed actions resulted in changed outcomes. This activity took place in a ‘safe space’ (cf par. 3.4.6).

The girls stated that they learnt a lot about the cultures of their peers.

I learnt that I wasn't the only person who's been called a coconut. I discovered that white people would find the different black cultures and practices weird at first, then very interesting. Also vice versa, I also discovered that black and white people could do the exact opposite for one thing and the exact same for another. At the end of the day, we are all One Race...the Human Race (cf par. 5.2.1 Act 4, epilogue).

This cultural knowledge, which in turn leads to cultural competency, fosters the development of empathy which reduces the prevalence of strong group attachments (cf par. 3.4.2). It reduces the sense of “we-ness” and “they-ness” as rivals are “re-humanised” and thus reduces the likelihood of conflict.

My previous experiences of directing musicals with adolescents proved to reduce conflict amongst groups as such productions create a node of shared experience and the stages of conflict resolution emulate the stages of dramatic creation (cf par. 3.3.7). The schools in which I have worked did not have the same violent degree of racial tension as Larkminster High, but it would potentially be of value (in terms of reducing conflict) to stage a production incorporating members from the various cultural groups.

5.3.4.5 Theme Five: Educators' roles in conflict resolution

An element which is important to a positive school climate is the congruence between formal authority structures and peer cultures, including oppositional school cultures (Garner et al 2005: 1024). In the schools studied by Garner et al (2005), that were considered to have positive school cultures, there was a strong perception by students that teachers cared for them and their academic progress. Research conducted by Wentzel (1997 cited in Blewitt and Broderick 1999: 14) found that students who perceived their teachers to be kind and supportive, as opposed to those whose teachers were not as caring, showed greater academic exertion and displayed more "prosocial goals." There was evidence to suggest that whilst the participants at St Winifred's generally found their educators to be supportive, they had experienced a form of racism which constituted a form of incongruence between authority structures and peer cultures:

The participants were asked whether or not they had ever experienced racism on the part of their educators in class, Tessie responded:

Tessie: Ooo yes, one teacher said that back in the day black people were stupid and still are and so they can't get jobs.

Whilst apparent overt racism on behalf of the educators at St Winifred's was not widespread, it should not occur at all if there is to be a positive school climate. It may have been that what the educator had said had been misinterpreted by the learner or was cited out of context. However, the formation of adolescent identity improves when the adolescent is supported by a relatively small group of adults who know the learner well and are thus able to support the progression towards responsible autonomy (Elkind 1984 cited in Blewitt and Boderick 1999: 15). Thus, it is important for teachers to recognise, acknowledge and be sensitive towards cultural differences amongst learners. Because of the gap that exists between learners' cultural experiences and those of their parents, the

need for educators to develop cultural competency is compounded so that positive identity formation takes place.

A finding that emerged in the discussion and performances on racism is that participants wanted to put the past behind them.

Winnie: Ja like when we did Grade 9 History the teacher was like all mushy and emotional as if the History was really going to affect me. But it is not like just because I am black I should get upset – I wasn't here in apartheid!

Whilst it remains important for learners to know about the past, greater cultural competency among educators will enable them to use teaching methods that are more apt and less offensive to their learners.

Teachers' responses to racial conflict appeared to be that of avoidance. Teachers need to be assisted in dealing with issues that arise (cf. par. 2.4). The girls indicated through the improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances that teachers were uncomfortable talking about race and were unable to deal with racial conflict effectively. When differences arose, the common approach was to change the subject or to turn it into a debate. The following is an extract from the Forum Theatre performance where the participants had been watching a movie about apartheid and it had turned into an argument (The teacher is a coloured male played by a black boy):

Girl 1: Our president is black.

Girl 2: Ja, that's the problem, that's why we associate darkness with evil ok, there's a reason for these things.

Teacher:*(tries to stop the conflict)* Just keep it short.

Girl 2: Sir, you asked me to speak about the movie.

Teacher: You don't need to go to that evil part of the movie.

Girl 2: What am I supposed to say?

Teacher: White people are also evil too, but let's not go there!

Thus, in this interchange the 'teacher' refused to discuss any matters dealing with race and his approach to dealing with conflict was to suppress it. The use of drama allows learners to explore such issues "in role" (cf par. 3.3.8 and 3.2.3) and assist with the development of empathy, which in turn assists learners to view the worlds as others do and thus try to understand how others view oneself (cf par. 2.7.2).

5.3.4.6 Overview

Through the study the learners discovered what it means to stereotype others and they experienced the indignity and discrepancies inherent in stereotyping through the improvisational role-plays and Forum Theatre performances. The learners from St Winifred's said that they felt that the boys from St Thomas's were very similar to themselves but that the backgrounds and experiences of those from Larkminster High were vastly different from what they had expected.

Stereotyping of various groups within South African society leads to prejudice and racial conflict. The racial conflict and in particular the learners' attitude towards it at Larkminster High is cause for concern. Such unsafe environments are not conducive to good education practice and do not augur well for positive socio-political relations in the future. Work needs to be done to reduce racial prejudice and conflict in such schools. Through the use of drama the participants were able to explore their own prejudices and hopefully overcome some of them. The learners were able to recognise prejudice but did not fully appreciate the implications of prejudice against foreigners even although there were foreigners within the study. The attitudes towards foreigners appear concerning. However, the activities using drama did result in increased acceptance of those who are "other" which served as a positive outcome of the study. Racial conflict often emerges when there is competition for resources or status. Part of this identity formation should be the development of cultural competency. Drama also proved to be a useful tool in the reduction of cultural conflict. Schools represent powerful agents of socialisation in which the adolescent forms an identity. Evidence suggests that schools which are culturally plural in nature do not have a singular dominant crowd and this usually results in more positive relations. Fewer oppositional cultures exist in such schools too. Educators have a significant role to play in the reduction of conflict and the development of cultural competency amongst learners. However, they need to be culturally competent themselves and this will require a process of retraining. Significantly, participants expressed the desire to forget the past and move on in a positive manner towards the future. This is an aspect which could be used as a foundation for improving future relations.

5.3.5 Act 4: The significance of traditional culture and religion

Religion is a fundamental component of the individual's cultural identity and diversity within religion is a multifaceted issue to manage. Religion has always played a significant role in the various cultures in Africa (Baum 2008: 1). Virtually all African cultures are defined and regulated by traditional religion (Clark 2004: 1). Education plays an important role in assisting individuals to acknowledge, understand and value the diversity of people's way of life, language, religion, culture, gender or ethnicity (Meier, van Wyk and Lemmer 2007: 162; cf par. 2.1). Many countries which consist of a variety of faiths (e.g. Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Namibia and South Africa) have assumed an approach whereby *world* religion is taught (Chidester 2003: 2). Both St Winifred's and St Thomas's are denominational schools where a strong Christian ethos prevails. Larkminster High followed departmental regulations and a comparative approach to religion was taught.

5.3.5.1 Theme One: Identity conflicts between tradition and contemporary social life

My expectation prior to the study was that the black learners would enlighten those of us from a Western culture as to what their traditional religions encompassed with the aim of developing cultural competency. What emerged, however, was that there was a dearth in the knowledge of the black girls with regard to their cultures (in terms of cultural events and customs) and traditional religion. There was, however, despite the participants' verbal denial of knowledge thereof, quite a marked understanding of the supernatural in the form of witchcraft and traditional healing. This lack of awareness regarding traditional religion and culture was confirmed by the Sepedi teacher, Mma M, who spoke to the girls after watching the ethnodrama:

Mma M: I am talking now to everybody but especially to the black girls – and I think now the focus was on just a few functions whereas in fact a lot more could have been included. I mean, talking about the black culture, there are so many that were not mentioned here which, I mean I don't know, it looks like you don't even know about them because you are being labelled as the coconuts.

It would appear that the cultures of black people are in transition. A division exists within black culture that has been extrapolated (by myself) from those used by Schechtman et al (2003: 81) to describe Arab culture in Israel. The traditional black identity is the common cultural identity of blacks in rural areas, where people live their lives with traditional collectivist values and norms within their extended families and social life. Bicultural identity would be common amongst middle-

class, educated blacks who were born in the rural areas or townships but now live in the suburbs/urban areas. Westernised blacks would be those blacks who were born and raised in the suburbs/urban areas. The black girls who were participants in this study would fall into the category of Westernised blacks whilst their parents were biculturals. However, they retained certain elements of traditional culture. Their grandparents and extended families would fall into the category of those who retained traditional black identity. A problem arises, however, where the Westernised black participants do not seem to fit into either cultures; Mma M spoke about when the black learners return to the rural areas:

Mma M: And you as a little girl can't play with the other children and you feel excluded and they can't play with you, and they already label you as a coconut or say you are full of yourself and you feel left out.

Thus, cultural competency would need to be developed in the sense of creating a greater understanding of traditional and Westernised culture so that a collective identity could be created where individuals perceived themselves to be South African and not just a part of a minority ethnic group or social class.

Dexter (2000: 71) states that all identities should be viewed in relation to the "issue of the control of and access to resources" and thus must be viewed "in relation to the state, to patterns of ownership and power, to the relations of production, as well as to geography and history." More importantly, it is Debray's belief (cited in Dexter 2000 :71) that the "residual aspects" of an identity may remain for some while. Thus, the identities which officially began during the colonialist times and were forged during the apartheid era where individuals were classified along racial lines, are still in the process of being transformed today. The apartheid state saw cultural diversity as a means of control. Cultures were viewed as static entities that had to remain unique, and pure and free of "mutual enrichment" or "contamination" from other cultures (Tayob 2000: 80). Dexter (2000: 71) states that when the creation of the national liberation movement in the form of the ANC took place, its founding statements envisaged the formation of a common South African identity and thus an end to traditional tribalism. The Pan African Congress (PAC) championed the cause for an African identity. Thus, culture became a political weapon in South Africa (Tayob 2000: 80). The United Democratic Front (UDF) of 1983, however, recognised the unique nature of cultural groups in South Africa as it was an alliance of civic, religious and cultural groups in order to oppose the apartheid state (Tayob 2000: 80). Tayob (2000: 80) perceives its emergence as a departure from an inherent suspicion that cultural pluralism worked to the benefit of the apartheid state.

Since liberation, the climate in which we have been living and the transition which has taken place has led to many contradictions (Dexter 2000: 74). "It is no surprise therefore that we find remnants of past identities, clashes between the old and the new, even embryonic social identities, in short a general climate of effervescence in relation to social identities..." (Dexter 2000: 74). Debray (cited in Dexter 2000: 76) purports that the new national project (which is the national democratic revolution) defines the boundaries within which individuals and groups of people must define themselves which means that "to live in South Africa is to partake in the new patriotism, is even to declare oneself to be against racism."

A point made by an educator in the post-performance discussion indicated that many whites in South Africa also feel culturally alienated:

Mrs O: Political hegemonies of the past have had an effect of cultural alienation and I think that many whites feel culturally alienated in this country. A case in point was last week's cultural concert, I overheard a conversation: "I am not going because a cultural concert means that I will have to put up with two hours of foot stamping and ululating" because that is what culture has come to mean. What it actually was, was the Music Department on display and it was a lovely evening and it was cultural in that broad sense. We need to be careful of our definitions and our connotations.

This point was confirmed by one of the black girls who recognised that often the white girls are excluded from discussions regarding culture as if they do not have a cultural identity:

Winnie: Yeah, we needed to incorporate you white girls.

Thus, identities are "demystified, deconstructed, reconstructed and integrated as we all are in the transformation of our country" (Dexter: 78). Tayob (2000: 81) states that religion became the favoured method through which identity was expressed during the liberation period which was characterised by uncertainty and fear.

5.3.5.2 Theme Two: Reconciliation of traditional religion with Christianity

The new Constitution of South Africa (1996) has created a structure to ensure the recognition and freedom of religious expression (Tayob 2000: 83). Debray (cited in Dexter 2000: 70) states that "religion is effective, not simply because people believe in a god, but because it organises them to

do so.” Thus, the inherent value of the religious nature of human existence is because it functions to create identity (Dexter 2000: 71). Religions, through their distinctive worldviews and moral and ethical ideas, make demands on identity and commitment (Tayob 2000: 78). Culture and religion construct “meaning and significance” in this world (Tayob 2000: 83). Alberts, Mbalo and Ackermann (2003: 181) state that according to the national statistics, over 70% of South Africans associate themselves with a Christian denomination.

However, bewitchment beliefs are widespread within black South African communities (Myers 2008: 54). The belief in the supernatural, however, is not confined to African cultures; many present-day Westerners accept as true the existence of spiritual entities both good and evil, like Satan, demons and angels (Ivey cited in Myers 2008: 55). However, these beliefs do not form an integral component of the ideologies that dominate the majority of Western cultural realities (Myers 2008: 55). The consultation of *sangomas* occurs extensively in South Africa (Myers 2008: 60). Lamprecht (cited in Myers 2008: 60) states that 84% of the black population in South Africa consults traditional healers for treatment.

Traditional religions believe that the universe, which is animated by gods and spirits, works by rules and cycles that can be identified (Ellwood 1995: 51). The essence of African traditional religions is the superimposition of our world by a world of gods and spirits of the returning dead (Boafo :3). The dead are involved in daily life on earth and the appeasement of the ancestors is a priority (Boafo: 3). Many of the participants in the study stated that they did not feel comfortable talking about traditional religion. The black participants from Larkminster High dismissed any discussion of Ancestor Worship and said that they did not believe in traditional religion and nor did their parents. When a St Winifred’s girl was asked how she incorporates Ancestor Worship with being in a Christian school she replied:

Fentse: We just kind of keep quiet about it.

Thus, she had to deny her cultural heritage in terms of religious beliefs perhaps because of fear of causing offence or out of what she perceived to be (or had been taught that this is what it constituted) respect for other cultures and religion:

Nene: You have to understand that if you chose to come to an Anglican school, you need to respect that. Do what you have to do in chapel and respect!

Myers describes the African worldview as one in which there is continual interaction between the spiritual and human worlds. Thus, it is a significant component of an individual's life that is denied expression, in cases such as Fentse and Nene's. It was felt that if an individual had chosen to attend a Christian school, she should engage with the religion of that school. The notion that one has to respect others' religions is admirable, yet the respect should be something that is mutual and should not necessitate the sublimation of the individual's own cultural beliefs as this adversely affects identity formation.

Nobi: You don't have to pretend that you believe in God (I believe in God) but you can't sit in chapel and play with your hair! I wouldn't go to a Muslim school cos I'd feel uncomfortable. People shouldn't come to a Christian school if they don't want to face God.

Nobi had a point yet many of the more established independent schools in South Africa are denominational in character. Thus, if parents prefer an elite form of education for their child, the chances are high that the school will be of a Christian denomination. The white participants in the study knew very little about traditional African religion. If we are educating learners to fit into a multicultural society then learners in a school of Christian denomination need to be educated about traditional African religion so as to be culturally competent. The black learners need to be able to feel proud of their heritage even if they have new cultural affiliations as this heritage forms a part of their identity formation.

There were often discrepancies between the religions of parents. Fentse's mother was highly offended that the school had taken Fentse on an outing in which a *sangoma* (traditional healer) was consulted. *Sangomas* involve consultation with the ancestors in their practice and thus by implication presuppose a belief in Ancestor Worship. However, Fentse's father believed in the ancestors.

Fentse: I don't keep quiet – I have been at a whole slaughtering of a goat thing but I wasn't supposed to be there – my dad just kind of took me there. My dad says that you can't not worship your ancestors too because otherwise they will bewitch you.

The slaughtering of a goat usually takes place as part of a *sangoma's* initiation (Graham 1993: 234-40). It is a ritual act which is performed by the *sangoma*. Fentse's father's words: "You can't *not* worship your ancestors *too*" encompass the notion that is held by many Christians in as much as they believe that it is possible to incorporate Ancestor Worship into Christianity. It is believed that there is one true God in traditional African religion through whom the traditional religionist receives

his identity (Boafo 2008: 6). "Christians can communicate the unique message of the Gospel to the traditional religionist without compromising the message or asking the hearers to annihilate their culture (Boafo 2008: 6). Ivey and Myers (2008: 64) found that beliefs in bewitchment actually strengthened participants' belief in God, which consequently increased awareness of evil and its materialisation in the form of witchcraft. Furthermore, the oblique influence of Christian beliefs on witchcraft-related beliefs is not atypical, as Western "acculturation" has resulted in a blending of traditional customs such as Ancestor worship with Christian beliefs (Nzimande, cited in Ivey and Myers 2008: 64).

A discussion surrounding movies raised the issue of witchcraft. Witchcraft entails secrecy and the evil use of supernatural power with the intent to cause harm to others or their property (Mbiti cited in Ivey and Myers 2008: 56). When an individual is subject to such witchcraft which is motivated by "envy, malice and resentment," one is said to be bewitched (Ivey and Myers: 2008: 56). The intention of witches is to bring adversity upon their victims and this includes illness and potentially death (Ivey and Myers 2008: 56). Because *sangomas* consult the ancestral spirits, they are often associated with witchcraft. *Sangomas* play an important role in the perpetuation of witchcraft discourses through the identification of supposed perpetrators, provision of the means of self-protection against bewitchment and the elimination of symptoms of bewitchment (Ivey and Myers 2008: 56). I asked the participants what their perceptions were regarding witchcraft:

Fentse : Black movies are all about witchcraft and betrayal.

Me: And what do you think about witchcraft and betrayal?

Nene: I think it is a very sensitive topic!

All: Ja, Ja!

Fentse: I don't know about witchcraft, I am afraid if I don't believe in witchcraft , my dad is like...

Fentse reluctantly admitted that because her father believed in traditional African religion, that she was afraid **not** to do so. This apprehension of Fentse's was compounded by a comment from a teacher at St Winifred's:

Tessie: And one teacher said that it is evil to worship ancestors.

Thus, some of the participants received conflicting messages between the home and school which places them in an ambiguous position. Educators need to be aware of ways in which traditional African religion incorporates Christianity and vice versa, so as to be able to deal with their learners in a culturally competent manner. There were discrepancies within families regarding the worship or belief in ancestral spirits (and by implication traditional African religion) as seen in Act 3, Scene 1 (cf par. 5.2.1) where Nene's father was quite in support of Ancestor Worship and her mom vehemently opposed it:

Thus, Nene's parents disagreed as to whether or not ancestors existed in the form of spirits. Nene herself had chosen not to believe in the existence of ancestral spirits. However, her friend Tsatse, disagreed with her and she believed that one's ancestors could speak to one. Whether or not the girls believed in the existence of ancestral spirits is not so much the issue as that it is important for identity formation and the development of cultural competency that they felt free to discuss such issues and to share ideas without fear of reprisal.

Even within families there are discrepancies. Winnie's family had experienced many deaths in the family (when she was about six years old) and the extended family brought in a *sangoma* to try to reduce the number of deaths. Winnie stated that the *sangoma* had made light incisions into her arms and toes with a razor blade. When her mother realised that this had taken place (without her permission), she became extremely angry and stated that Winnie was *her* daughter and that they had no right to do something like that. Winnie said that her father's family were Herero and thus were "like that." Mutilation of this kind is a common method employed by traditional healers in order to contest witchcraft or sorcery (Petrus and Bogopa 2007: 6). Within certain black cultures (such as the Zulu culture), death is perceived or assumed to be caused by witchcraft (Petrus and Bogopa 2007: 6). Winnie was able to perceive the differences in her family. The experiences of witchcraft and that of being taken to a *sangoma* were very real to Winnie within the context of traditional life within her family. However, there was a perception raised by Winnie and agreed upon by all the girls that *sangomas* were frightening. This is a perception corroborated by the findings of Ivey and Myers (2008: 69) where the *sangomas* were perceived to be evil. Furthermore, the old beliefs lingered, but were not a part of the girls' everyday life. They believed that some of the old traditions had no place in modern society. The girls stated (cf par. 5.2.1 Act 3 Scene2) that there was no need to behave in what they perceived to be a primitive fashion. Whilst Nthabi and Winnie believed that African traditional religion needed to be adapted, Professor Phiri (lecturer in African theology at the University of KwaZulu Natal) states that Christians "openly recognise the role of traditional healers and accept them as effective" (quoted in Clark 2004: 1). In the post-

performance discussion, the Sepedi teacher also stated that tradition could be adapted to fit in with the modern world:

Mma M: If you think about culture it really doesn't mean that you have to live the life of way back then. Because we live now it doesn't not allow us to do some of the stuff from way back then, we can actually just modernise it.

Role-play and the Forum Theatre performances included a visit to a *sangoma*. This role-play was performed five times indicating its importance to the participants. In each case the girl who was sleep-talking was said to be bewitched. Bewitchment may become apparent in several ways including: "hallucinations, fainting daily at the same time and place, dreams or sightings of a naked person in one's room, public undressing, eating excrement and other taboo substances, and voluntary confessions of evil doings" (Mojalefa and Van Staden cited in Ivey and Myers 2008: 57). The *sangoma* in each role-play (whether male or female) was portrayed as a frightening, inarticulate character. Some form of cure was given to the girl (rubbing a potion onto the lips and finding and kissing a rat) or *muti*. "*Muti* is an ambiguous term referring to magical substances capable of healing or harming, depending on their use" (Ivey and Myers 2008: 57).

Upon investigation, it became necessary to adapt my perceptions as I found that several aspects present in the role-play were realistic representations of actual *sangoma* practice. Remedies - the ingredients of which are often kept secret - may be drunk, inhaled, used for washing, smeared on the body, or administered as enemas (Kale 1995: 8). It is also interesting to note that whilst the girls professed to know very little about *sangomas* and traditional healing and were quite evasive (or openly denied and refused to discuss any belief in ancestral spirits as in the case of the Larkminster High participants) about what actually happens there, their role-plays proved to be quite accurate depictions of *sangoma* practices. Thus, either they had been attended to by *sangomas* more frequently than they cared to admit, or the practices of *sangomas* had been passed down to them via what Myers (2008: 63) terms "a discursive network of hearsay, folklore, media reports, and conversational anecdotes."

The reason why *sangomas* are consulted is that there is a general belief that the methods of healing employed by them are superior to medical methods. It is felt that Western doctors are not aware of bewitchment and thus are not able to diagnose correctly or treat bewitchment-related disorders (Ivey and Myers 2008: 64). However, the many people who draw on traditional beliefs also subscribe to biomedical conventions depending on the situation (Ivey and Myers 2008: 64). In

South Africa, there has been co-operation between traditional practitioners and biomedical practitioners (Wreford and Esser 2008: 18). Ivey and Myers (2008: 71) explain the belief in witchcraft by stating that individuals “create meaning out of otherwise inexplicable misfortunes by believing themselves to be bewitched, while concurrently attributing this to the malice of others who are envious of their social advancement or access to scarce resources.”

In each case the players were highly respectful and fearful of the *sangoma*. What did emerge is that the tradition has taken on a commercial and even extortionist characteristic. High fees were charged for the services, the non-payment of which would result in further “bewitchment”. Kale (1995: 80) states that fees of *sangomas* vary greatly and can be exorbitant. One of the participants in Ivey and Myers’s study (2008: 69) believed that *sangomas* were effortlessly corrupted by money and that this led to the failure of their mystical powers which resulted in their turning to witchcraft-related activities to earn an income.

Some of the black girls vividly recalled an incident where they had been taken – without the permission of their parents - to a *sangoma* on a school outing in Grade 6 whilst on tour in Natal (cf par. 5.2.1 Act 3 Scene1). They drank Zulu beer and a *sangoma* told their fortunes. When Nene’s mom found out about it she was extremely angry.

Schools are created in part to assist with the transmission of culture and act as bond between the family unit and more formal institutions within society (Ramsay 2006: 38). However, there needs to be a sensitivity on the part of educational institutions when dealing with cultural matters. There is a perception amongst certain Westernised or Bicultural blacks that traditional African religion implies something backward, of the past. Zvaba (1991: 76) attributes this identity crisis to colonisation in which he states: “The worst type of colonial enslavement is the cultural spiritual one where the colonised is given a distorted image of himself and of his God by his oppressors and he accepts that image, and continues with it unquestioningly, despising himself, his culture and his religion and slavishly aping the culture of his colonisers.” Thus, the hangover of identity formation from the past remains present and many people have rejected the notion of traditional African worship as something which is not part of the modern society which they inhabit. Myers (2008: 54) states that although the presumption exists that modernisation goes together with a move away from supernatural beliefs to more rational and scientific interpretive frameworks, this is not necessarily the case. In northern African countries it was found that increasing modernisation and access to resources frequently resulted in an increase in belief in the supernatural and in particular, the fear of bewitchment (Geshiere 2000 cited in Myers 2008: 54). It would appear that, despite the influence of

“Western rational-scientific explanatory frameworks,” bewitchment beliefs continue to prevail (Myers 2008: 54). Furthermore, witchcraft and traditional healing subsist as “cultural expressions of African people’s attempt to exist simultaneously in a natural world and a supernatural world...” (Petrus and Bogopa 2007: 8).

Thus, what emerged on issues surrounding religion is that Ancestor Worship, although not common amongst all the participants, is a component of their cultural identities about which they feel uncomfortable and sometimes even fearful. Discrepancies between parents as to their cultural beliefs also caused some confusion as to what role religion should play within the formation of identities. The participants enjoyed experimenting with various roles in different characters. For example, in the intervention at St Thomas’s, a white girl was taken to the *sangoma*. Boys played the role of *sangomas* in the interventions at both St Thomas’s and Larkminster High which gave the performances an interesting twist. What was evident is that, despite their reticence to discuss *sangomas* and ancestral spirits in the focus group interviews, they readily performed role-plays involving these religious aspects and were accurate in their depictions of the practices depicted in the literature.

5.3.5.3 Theme Three: Adherence to traditional beliefs and customs

A culturally traditional person “adheres firmly to traditional beliefs, customs, ceremonies and rituals, whereas a Westernised person has lost touch with traditional African beliefs” (Beuster and Schwär 2005: 32). The South African Traditional Belief Scale (SATBS) is an instrument that was developed by Schwär (2001) for his doctoral study. A low score on this scale would indicate that a person is Westernised while an intermediary score would indicate that the participant is “acculturated” and is thus influenced to some extent by Western culture (Schwär 2001: 158-161). The findings of this study indicate that although a person is Westernised, he or she cannot divorce him/herself from the cultures of their families or home community owing to the communal nature of black society. The South African social structure is filled with enigmas and ambiguities. What was discovered is that with increasing urbanisation, especially within the black communities, the limits of traditional boundaries are murky for the youth. A dynamic view of culture embraces series of changing practices in which people participate in order to live their lives and is recreated through the interaction of individuals (Liddicoat 2004: 301; cf. par. 2.2.3). Thus, participants who have moved from their home villages to attend schools in the cities recreate new cultures which are often at variance with those of their parents and grandparents.

Furthermore, identities are fluid and interdependent. Mwepu (2007: 135) states that Henri Lopes's belief is that "hybridisation is indispensable to building a society that perpetually reinvents itself, whose inherent dynamism constitutes the very basis of the sustenance of such society". The participants in this study were all being educated within a Westernised environment and considered themselves to be "modernised." However, when asked to discuss incidents which defined them culturally, the key cultural areas which they identified coincided largely with those in the SATBS. They were: family and kinship relations, ancestors, witchcraft and sorcery, beliefs concerning health and the causes of illness and misfortune, traditional healers, and lastly rituals (Beuster and Schwär 2005: 33). Beliefs regarding rituals were inclusive of three significant life-cycle events: birth, marriage and death (Beuster and Schwär 2005: 33). It would appear that these participants are able to subscribe to a new culture without entirely abandoning the previous one.

At a conference that I attended one of the guest speakers, Mrs Kgalalelo, stated that the children of black parents have moved to the city and with it has come a loss of their culture. I asked the girls if they agreed:

Nthabi: It is actually. I can see the whole *lobola* thing going, it is fading.

However, culture does not refer specifically to traditional customs (cf. par 2.2). In Milner and Ford's definition (2007:167) it is "the characteristics of a person that are developed through formal and informal experiences, knowledge disposition, skills, and ways of knowing and understanding that are informed by race (the social construction of one's skin color[sic], ethnicity (history, heritage, customs, rituals, values and symbols), identity (how one perceives and represents himself/herself), class (economic/resource situation) sexuality and gender." In a society that has undergone rapid social change, such as South Africa, culture has changed to the extent that participants are displaced culturally. Thus, not only do they struggle to understand the cultures of their peers from different races but they are uncertain as to what constitutes their personal cultures. The following documents the participants' attempts to understand their cultures within the context of a rapidly-changing society. The cultural components of the SATBS are largely adhered to, with the exception of: ancestors, witchcraft and sorcery, and beliefs concerning health and the causes of illness and misfortune as well as traditional healers, as these components were dealt with in the previous section.

5.3.5.4 Theme Four: Family and kinship relations

Family gatherings were important to participants of all cultures. However, the communal nature of black society was evident in the reflections of the participants:

Nthabi: I realised this holidays, my family has a lot of family gatherings.

Moving within different cultures has a positive consequence for the development of cultural competence. Nthabi's parents are from different ethnic groups and she reflects in her journal that the cultural experiences of both families had a profound effect on her. Because black families are communal in nature, it is common for children to be brought up by the extended family and thus many do not live with their biological parents but may reside with an older sister, aunt or grandparent. Nthabi initially grew up within a Sepedi family (her mother's) and then moved to live with her father's parents (who were Zulu)

Nthabi: It was really difficult for me to fit in to my father's side in terms of tradition, levels of behaviour and culture. I had to move to Tzaneen when I was really young. The language spoken there is Tsonga. Learning the language was an advantage that I am grateful for and having experienced the culture was amazing. Once again, it was difficult because Tsonga people are very straight forward and have an offensive approach when it comes to arguing and fighting. They are very strict and protective of their people. It is also hard for them to accept people of a different culture.

Nthabi recognised these experiences as having had a positive influence on her life and she appreciated the opportunity to experience the various cultures of her family:

Nthabi: All these key events have influenced me culturally because I am more open-minded towards other cultures and I am willing to learn and experience their culture, hence I am so in love with different languages, traditional food and the colourful traditional clothing.

Most of the participants were aware of how cultural activities shaped their cultural identities and enjoyed the diversity within their cultures. Cultural events involving families and kinship were important for the girls from all cultures and created special memories for them.

Slaughtering a cow is a common practice at special events among black people. Nthabi reported that her aunt slaughtered a cow when she got married and for the people at the hotel which she owns.

Nobi stated that her dad “buys cows for everything”. This represents the communal nature of the society in which they enjoy sharing with each other. Some of the traditional practices evoked a squeamish response from the black girls.

Tsatse: Ja ,we were at my cousin’s *lobola* or whatever, and I was chilling with my DVD because I don’t like being with old people and family and whatever and there was this plastic (bag). And then, I saw a foot, it was a goat’s foot peeking out of a plastic (bag) and I am like “Oh my word!”

Thus, owing to the modern, Westernised customs to which the girls were accustomed, some of the traditional customs were not appreciated by the participants.

5.3.5.5 Theme Five: Grandparents as transmitters of culture

Grandparents played an important role as transmitters of culture. Several of the girls felt that they did not relate well to their grandparents because they did not speak a black language or they did not speak it well. Language (both verbal and non-verbal) is an important component of culture (Meier et al 2007: 165). For example, Mma M pointed out in the post-performance discussion how difficult it is for grandparents who are unable to communicate with their grandchildren who were raised in the suburbs and could not speak a black language:

Mma M:In the rural areas, we meet these cases where an older person would say to your parents, “this child cannot even speak a black language!” and your parents will say, “you have to speak to her in English” and if the granny can’t speak English, tough luck!

The participants themselves found the situation untenable and did not wish the same for their children one day:

Fentse: I am not going to make the same mistake my parents did. My children are going to learn a black language. I don’t speak one and it’s hard.

Me: Who is going to teach it to them?

Fentse: That’s the grandparents’ job!

Nevertheless, grandparents insisted on the continuation of some of the cultural rites. Winnie’s granny used to phone her mom and say that she needed a cow to keep the ancestors happy and her mom would arrange it and pay for it:

Winnie: She calls my mom and says there is an unveiling (of a tombstone) and we have to bring a cow to keep the ancestors satisfied – my grandfather died like exactly twenty five years ago!

Within the above extract several elements of black culture are evident and the continuation thereof is on the insistence of the grandmother. In traditional cultures, a year after the death of a family member the unveiling of a tombstone is celebrated. It is called the *ukubuyisa idozi or ukuguqula* ceremony, although none of the participants referred to it by its African name nor were they aware of its name. The slaughtering of the cow to keep the ancestors (*amadlozi/badimo*) satisfied is traditional practice. It also serves as a means of developing community spirit as everyone shares in the celebration. The incident serves as an example of the amalgamation of Western culture and traditional culture. Neither Winnie nor her mom believe in ancestral spirits and live modern, urban lives, yet they slaughter a cow (at short notice) to appease the granny, even though the grandfather had been dead for 25 years instead of the customary one, and it is dubious as to whether the granny even believes in ancestral spirits.

In the white families relationships with grandparents were also important.

Zoë: I am very close to both sets of my grandparents. My mom's side – they have quite a bit of influence on our lives mainly because they live with us, and they are there all the time and we go on holiday with them, and my mom still consults them a lot like with my brother like what school to go to and, and decisions.

Grandparents are viewed as the connection to traditional life. The black participants stated that the place which they considered to be home was their grandparents' village. Grandparents were seen to be transmitters of culture whose inputs were valued by the participants. However, in contrast to the white girls, the black girls' relationships with their grandparents were felt to be compromised owing to the black girls' inability to speak an African language effectively.

5.3.5.6 Theme Six: Life-cycle rituals: birth, marriage and death

Significant life-cycle events are discussed as they had been experienced by the participants in the study in accordance with Schwär's (2001) classification of significant life-events. However, as a precursor to these events, sexuality has been added as an additional component as it was deemed to have relevance to the way in which these life-cycle events were experienced. Throughout the

discussion it becomes evident how the traditional cultural events have become infused with Western values.

a) Sexuality

The black participants in the study stated that they had been expressly forbidden to have relationships with boys, whilst the white girls were allowed boyfriends. The black girls found it incomprehensible that the white girls were allowed to take their boyfriends home. For the black girls, your parents met your partner if you were planning to marry him. Tessie had the following to say in her reflective journal:

Tessie: There was some information that shocked me a bit because I'd never heard of it before or didn't know it was true. E.g. White girls introducing their boyfriends to their parents!

Parents of the black girls were vigilant in ensuring that liaisons with the opposite sex did not take place. Nobu was most indignant about what she felt to be an intrusion of her privacy and Nene's dad would not even allow her to have boys as friends:

Nobi: My mom is always trying to find out ways to work out if I am dating anyone – she like checks my phone and my laptop.

Nene: My dad has a huge issue with boys – huge! I can't even have a guy friend and it is a problem.

However, the girls (probably typical of their age) were keen to have romantic liaisons with the opposite sex. Nevertheless, there were cultural discrepancies in terms of romance:

Nene: Black people aren't like as romantic as white people. That's why people will rather maybe date white boys now.

I asked the girls if they had ever seen their parents showing affection towards each other or if they were romantic. Whilst the white girls said that they had and it repulsed them, the black girls found the question ludicrously funny and it was met by the following response:

Nene: Ha ha – I have never seen them hold hands in my life!

Tsatse: I have never seen them *kiss* in my life!

Winnie: No – I am sorry – my parents are NOT romantic!

The general consensus from the participants was that black parents were not romantic. However, based on what the girls had seen through the media, they did not share their parents' views. Much of the parents' concerns relating to relationships were that the girls would fall pregnant and that this would hamper their careers:

Winnie: My mom would really I be angry if I had a child like now. My mom is always talking about it. One of my friends just had a kid, she's MY age. How do I arrive and like say, "Hey I haven't seen you in ages! I see you have had a baby."

Both white and black girl participants expressed shock at Winnie's comments. Alberts et al (2003: 182) state that in their study, sexual matters proved to be one of the two least important areas in terms of identity domains. However, among the participants in this study they were quite vocal about sexual matters and disparaging of those who were deemed to be sexually active:

Nthabi: You know on my mom's side I have rebel cousins, they are all like rebels, they all have sex when they are like fifteen.

Winnie: It is like, "Oh she ran away from home, the dad was angry, the dad hit her. My family is like so -uh uh- on my dad's side.

There are widespread indications that a relatively large proportion of South African adolescents are sexually active and that they become so at increasingly younger ages (Alberts et al 2003: 182). However, the girls at St Winifred's professed it to be contrary to their moral and religious values. Nevertheless, the role-play which they performed based on male/female interactions at Menlyn indicated that they had had experience in meeting and interacting with the opposite sex. When the same role-play was performed at Larkminster High, the interplay was more sophisticated and the participants seemed to display evidence of far more experience in male/female interactions than when the role-plays were performed at St Winifred's and St Thomas's. The participants at Larkminster High appeared to be far quicker with their quips and retorts, for example, in this fully improvised exchange:

Guy 1: (Indian from Larkminster) so what do you guys say? I am guessing you all have nothing to do.

Girl 1: (white girl from Larkminster playing the part of a St Winifred's girl) Do you think that girls like us would be talking to guys like you if we did? (have something to do)

(OOOO OH etc from audience)

Guy 1: (Indian)(continues relentlessly) Do one of you have a bandaid because I scraped my knee falling for you.

(OOhhh OH – lots of laughter...The St Winifre'sd girls laugh hysterically at the possibility of such an interaction.)

Guy 2: So girls – where might thee be from?

Girl 1: (coloured girl from the audience , a Larkminster learner) exchanges places with the white Larkminster girl), It depends!

Girl 3: We're from St Winifred's.

Guy 2: We should have known, man. I mean we haven't seen something better since uh Mal Gibson!

Girl 2: That's just whack!

Girl 3: Oh, just because we are from St Winnifred's doesn't mean that we have cash. You guys just don't know what class is.

Guy 1: I am sure if we had seen it, we would have recognised it.

Girl 3: Well, this is class.

Guy 1: Maybe I need glasses but the last time I checked it wasn't much.

Girl 1: Maybe you were looking in the mirror.

Guy 1: Time out! Time out!

(The exchange ends at the request of the actors.)

Although the exchange was one of conflict, based on a disparity in perceived economic status, it had a fun atmosphere to it and relations between the sexes were far more relaxed at Larkminster than at the single sex schools (St Thomas' and St Winifred's). They also appeared to feel far more

comfortable acting with each other than when the exchange took place between St Thomas's and St Winifred's where the atmosphere was tense and the exchange became nasty:

Girl 1: Ja, I'm Cara, hey.

Guy 1: Oh my God. What are you wearing?

Girl 1: I am a chick.

Guy 2: No this is Boys' High – what is wrong with you?

Girl 1: But I don't understand, you seem so gay for a Boys' High Guy – I would have thought you were from St Thomas's.

Guy 2: Well the truth is, I did go to St Thomas's and then I changed my mind and I decided Boys' High was the place for me. It's how we roll, it's how we do things. But wow, you guys are so cute, but you guys seem so lost. What's wrong with you?

Girl: No we are just wandering, we are pretty happy to just keep wandering. What's your name again?

(They try to answer...)

Girl 1: I thought you guys were Neil and Bob or is that just what you do?

Guy 1: What school are you from?

[The participant answers with the abbreviation of the St Winifred's official name. The boy answers by using the abbreviation to formulate an insult.]

Guy 1: Dagga Smoking Girls, oh that's disgusting, let's go!

This perception that relations between the sexes were more relaxed and amicable at Larkminster was confirmed by one of the girls in her reflective journal:

Kate: From the drama session at St Thomas's. I did feel (that) some of the boys were very nervous but others had fun and were fine with acting.

Kate felt that although the cultural backgrounds between the three schools were different, that gender issues played a role in terms of confidence with the opposite sex:

Kate: When acting I think we all enter a common ground. I think the cultural difference between St Thomas's and St Winifred's is rather small because our background is similar, but I noticed yesterday at Larkminster that the cultural difference is large. We all have different backgrounds and come from different parts of the country. They are also in a mixed gender school so confidence comes easy to them.

Aspects which the participants did not readily discuss (such as sexuality) during the focus group interviews became evident through the Forum Theatre process and proved to be enlightening. Certain topics, such as circumcision were too personal to deal with at Larkminster High and St Thomas's as there was not enough time to build up the kind of rapport necessary to discuss such issues.

Circumcision is a cultural tradition which many black young boys undergo as a rite of passage into adulthood. I asked the participants at St Winifred's if they practised this tradition in their families. The majority of the girls said that they did not, mainly because of health risks attached to it :

Winnie: It is like not necessary. Even on my mom's Zulu side there is no circumcision – ah ah – not at all.

Fentse: Apparently some of them die from that?

Knowledge of Western medicine and health issues prevailed over the issue of circumcision. The girls were quite fastidious about things being clean and sterile and thus circumcision was not a tradition with which they felt comfortable.

Fentse: These kids joined this school – some ritual thing – and some of them got circumcised and a huge amount of them died from it, they didn't do it properly.

Tsatse: They use like a rusty knife, that's so unhealthy, and bacteria is all over!

They were also unaware that female genital mutilation occurs in parts of Africa.

Winnie: It used to be part of Botswana tradition that some of the ladies would go for circumcision. The thing is there's no sterilisation, nothing, they just like cut.

The girls shared vague snippets of tradition but were generally unsure of the exact details. They appeared ignorant of any traditional checks of virginity before marriage.

What is evident here and from other exchanges is how unclear some of the customs and traditions are to the girls.

b) Marriage

Of all the significant life events that were discussed, marriage seemed to be the one which most interested the participants and they enjoyed. Perhaps this is owing to the age of the participants where they idealised about life partners. However, for many who were largely Westernised and did not know much about their traditional cultures, this was one of which they were very much aware. Winnie was present at her mother's wedding and describes it as follows:

Winnie: Key events that have influenced me culturally have got to be African celebrations. The amount of joy there is in the soul at traditional weddings and church services is enough to make anyone proud of who they are and where they're from. A true life example is my mother's wedding. My father is 'Herero' so by tradition the bride has to dress in the traditional dress and hat. The traditional way of life is brought out by having the newly weds and their children ride on a donkey cart around the family house or wherever the celebration is held. This just made me so proud to be a part of this grounded ethnical group.

Winnie's parents had originally been married in a Home Affairs office and had a traditional wedding much later, once the children were quite old. When it came to discussing what type of wedding the participants would one day like to have, the fusion of tradition with Westernisation became most evident. The girls stated that they wanted to have both a traditional and a white wedding:

Nene: I want a traditional and a white wedding.

Others: Yes, yes!

The black participants had such fond memories and spoke with such admiration of black weddings largely because of the sense of community felt there:

Nthabi: They are so much fun, the food is good, people are drunk – it's great, it really is great!

I asked for the girls' perspective of a white wedding, expecting the white participants to respond. However, the black participants were very keen to provide their perceptions. They realised that they were commenting on white weddings, laughed at themselves and invited one of the white girls to provide her perceptions:

Nene: It is very formal, white dress.

Fentse: You look beautiful, beautiful!

Nthabi: Guys, let's ask Casey! *(laughter)*

Casey: I have been to a few weddings and I find that the service is incredibly boring, terrible, and they always pick the worst hymns to sing.

Me: And the reception?

Casey: Ja, that's the best part, you usually go to some big fancy place and they'll say a few speeches in the beginning, and then you just get drunk.

The discussion surrounding weddings indicated that the black participants straddled both traditional and Western cultures. They loved the community spirit of black weddings but were also intrigued by the formality and glamour of a Western wedding. Their experiences of weddings seemed far more favourable than those of the white girls, although the experiences of both involved witnessing the consumption of excessive amounts of alcohol. After the ethnodrama, Mma M was keen to point out the informality and communal nature of black weddings:

Mma M: If you have a wedding or anything you just announce, nobody RSVPs and you can come with your Kombi full of friends, there will be plenty for everybody.

Weddings within the black community are a celebration for the whole community. The school Chaplain commented in the post-performance discussion.

Fr L: It is such a wonderful thing to have people of the community, because in African cultures you share with other people, that's why they slaughter the cows. Whatever you have, it's not

just about going to the school hall and getting married, you have to share it with the community.

Thus, weddings in the black community are an expression of the communal nature of black society and the black participants in this study all stated that this was an aspect of their culture which they loved and were keen to retain, albeit in tandem with Western tradition of a “white” wedding.

Lobola (bride price) was referred to in several discussions. In traditional times the transaction was paid in cows but now it is often paid in cash. Tessie told how her cousin was getting married and her uncle had passed away so her father conducted the negotiations. He took out a book in which he had documented all the expenses accrued surrounding his niece, including things such as nappies and education (cf par. 5.2.1 Act 1 Scene 2).

Sometimes *lobola* takes a long time to pay. Nene stated that her father had not finished “paying” for her mom yet, despite their having been married for a long time. The tradition often hindered people from getting married. They agreed:

Fentse: I know some black guys who say they don't want to pay *lobola* so they would rather marry a white girl so that they don't have to pay...and usually the bride's father has to pay for the whole wedding.

Nene: He has a free ride.

It is often common for young people who are in love to remain unmarried because of the lack of financial resources to comply with the ritual of *lobola*. While the black participants were keen to have a traditional wedding, they were not partial to the tradition of *lobola*. Fentse said that she did not want to be bought and several of the other participants agreed with her. Nene stated that her sister was getting married and was very against *lobola*. Her mom was insistent and her father was fairly noncommittal and said that it was alright if she did not want to have *lobola* paid for her. Tessie told that *lobola* included several of the expenses of the wedding too, in the Shona tradition:

Tessie: And then you have to buy clothes for like my mother, like whatever she wants for the wedding. You have to get a hat. Then you have to get like a suit for my dad, whatever suit he wants like let's say he wants Dolce and Gabbana you go and get him Dolce and Gabbana – noooo questioning. Then you get the groceries for the house that must last them.

Thus, the tradition takes on a Western element in terms of the fashion requirements too. There are companies that advertise on the internet whereby a legal contract is drawn up to facilitate *lobola* payment. The company states in the advertisement: “The *Lobola/Magadi* contract is for a generation that prefers to practise their customs from a secure position, that prefers to dignify their marriage negotiations and legalise them at the conclusion of the agreement reached” (southafrica Online, 2008). Such an advertisement epitomises the fusion of traditional African culture with Western culture and is indicative of the tendency to assume that Roman/Dutch Law is superior to indigenous laws.

Thus, the girls viewed *lobola* in a very fiscal manner. They saw it as a financial exchange and linked *lobola* to the idea of “ownership” of the female which did not appeal to them at all. *Lobola* is a custom which the girls discussed often. The Chaplain disagreed with their view and tried to explain to the participants that the *lobola* discussion is a communal affair:

Fr L: I am saying this because it is not your wedding – it is a celebration of the community, it is for the whole family and that is why when this guy comes to marry you he doesn’t just come to the dad, uncles have to be there.

Lobola featured in the improvisational role-play and Forum Theatre performances. Here are extracts from all four role-plays at the Forum Theatre performances:

<u>St Thomas’s – Role-play</u>	<u>Larkminster - Role-Play</u>
Daughter: Daddy, Uncle, meet Chuck Bass..	<i>(The uncle and dad get a notebook out.)</i>
Father: Heavens, Chuck Bass. <i>(He struggles to pronounce it.)</i>	Dad: Ok now, here is a book of <u>all</u> the expensive things I have bought my daughter: nappies, food, (please don’t touch it)trips overseas, Cappucinos, sleepovers. Hold on, Grade 1-3 was a grand. When she got to Grade8 it got to ten thousand. When she got to Grade 12, it was a hundred grand. Varsity was half a million, because she went to Sweden.
Daughter: No Bass, the English way, Bass.	Chuck: <i>(Tries to interject)</i> Is this in dollars?
Father: <i>(Still can’t pronounce it correctly)</i> Eh, eh, eh, what’s going on?	Father: Yes, American dollars, not Zim.
Uncle: He is white! <i>(disparaging tone)</i>	Uncle: Actually, Pounds.
Daughter: He is? What’s the problem?	Dad: Ee-Euro, act-u- a -lly.
Father: Is your mother Venda? Or your dad Nigerian?	Chuck: But I can afford it, wanna know why?
Uncle: He is white	Dad: Why?
Daughter: Daddy, can we please not have this right now.	Chuck: Because I am Chuck Bass!
Chuck: Well I feel quite concerned about your daughter. My income is in dollars, billions.	Dad: You know, I don’t even know who you ARE! This
Father: Oh, is it? Hold on, hold on. We will get the book. This is a book of all the stuff I bought my daughter	
Daughter: Oh, here we go.	
Father: High school, primary, nappies.	
Chuck: U huh?	
Father: St Winifred’s, boarding school. <i>(The uncle makes</i>	

<p><i>affirmative comments after each item)</i></p> <p>Uncle: The car, the car!</p> <p>Father: And we didn't buy her a Mini Coupe – we got her a van.</p> <p>Uncle: Yes, he must recognise this (<i>heavily accented</i>).</p> <p>Daughter: Ok, you know what, I don't even want to do this <i>lobola</i> anymore!</p> <p>Uncle and Father: No,no,no,no,no!</p>	<p>name has nothing to do with me and it doesn't go AAAAHHH!</p> <p>Chuck: Do you know Bass enterprises?</p> <p>Dad: We own a car, we own a hotel, we own a business but no, I ne-e-e-ver heard of you!</p> <p>Chuck: Ok, so how much are you asking for? How much are you asking for?</p> <p><i>(Dad and uncle put their heads together adding up figures.)</i></p> <p>Dad: Amen! <i>(They reach a conclusion.)</i></p> <p>Uncle: Amen! So starting price - a hundred billion!</p> <p>Audience: JISES!!</p>
<p><u>StThomas's – Intervention</u></p> <p>Son: Daddy, hi, I have something to tell you. Over these holidays I met this guy who made me feel like I was king.</p> <p>Dad: Is it hey. <i>(interjects with 'ja' frequently)</i></p> <p>Son: He makes me feel good.</p> <p>Dad: You keep saying <i>he</i>.</p> <p>Son: Well you'll see him for yourself.</p> <p><i>(The boyfriend enters, his name is Justin.)</i></p> <p>Son: Dad, this is Justin, hey!</p> <p><i>(They try to exchange greetings.)</i></p> <p>Justin: How, ya doing, Sir?</p> <p>Dad: Don't tell me it's a...</p> <p>Son: Mom, listen dad, it's my boyfriend.</p> <p>Dad: First of all, you are gay, second of all, he's white, what is this?</p> <p>Son: It is called love, dad, love.</p>	<p><u>Larkminster - Intervention</u></p> <p>Chuck: I am a music executive</p> <p>Dad: Of what?</p> <p>Chuck: Of music. <i>(He is quite cocky)</i></p> <p>Dad: Of who?</p> <p>Chuck: I produce Madonna, you might have heard of her?</p> <p>Dad: No?</p> <p><i>(Everyone laughs.)</i></p> <p>Dad: Soweto String Choir, Ladysmith Black Mambaza, Judith Sepuma. We haven't heard of this Mandosa, whoever he is.</p> <p>Chuck: Well, we are more upper market than you guys would expect.</p> <p>Dad: When you say Madonna – it makes me think of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, but I don't think that one, is a virgin!</p> <p>Uncle: Are you saying we are poor?</p> <p>Chuck: <i>(Quite disrespectfully.)</i> If you look at what she sold - there were five hundred million copies!</p> <p>Dad: I don't care! I don't care!</p> <p>Uncle: Are you saying we are poor?</p> <p>Dad: In this house, in this house, Madonna is NOTHING! Chuck Base (mispronunciation) is NOTHING! MONEY - is something!</p> <p><i>(Everyone laughs)</i></p> <p>Uncle: You are right there! You are right there!</p> <p>Chuck: Well, I have a lot of that so I have to be</p>

	<p>something then.</p> <p>Uncle: When we talk about <i>lobola</i>, we look at all the expenses we have paid. Now we can say 50 000 plus 20 cows.</p> <p>Chuck: 20 cows? What currency do you guys work in? <i>(Much laughter.)</i></p> <p>Dad: Ahai Wena. We work in the currency of farming – have you ever heard of commercial farming?</p> <p>Chuck: Well, how much commercial Rand <i>(very disparaging!)</i> does that cost?</p> <p>Dad: It is not even in Rand, my friend, and I want the cows from Ireland!</p> <p>Chuck: 20 cows?</p> <p>Dad: You know what? Get them from 20 different cities and I will think about which one I like the best, then you can go back and get 20 of those.</p> <p>Uncle: 50 thousand!</p> <p>Chuck: 50 thousand US dollars and 20 cows?</p> <p>Uncle: Non-negotiable. Where am I going to find 20 cows?</p> <p>Dad: Fifty thousand eh? <i>(really pleased with himself)</i> No, let's make it fifty billion!</p> <p>Chuck: <i>He looks at his girlfriend – I'm sorry. He leaves, alone.</i></p>
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The black participants were most emphatic that divorce in their culture was frowned upon:

Nthabi: When it comes to divorce – you don't even mention the word. They like whisper about it. The grandparents are the only ones who are supposed to know (if someone in the family gets divorced) but they know the rest of the family knows so it is like awkward.

Divorce, is contrary to the communal nature of black society as weddings represent a union between two families. Nthabi expressed the cynical view (and once again commercial view) that *lobola* discouraged the practice of divorce because of the high costs involved:

Nthabi: That's why they don't get divorced because they think "after I have spent so much money on something, I am not going to go and marry someone else – that is another expense!"

Thus, marriage is an area in which the black girls were keen to retain their traditions. Yet, they did indicate that they wanted to incorporate Western traditions, too. They were not keen, however, on

the tradition of *lobola* as they did not like the idea of being property or being bought. This is indicative of the increased level of equality between genders within modern South Africa. The girls perceived themselves to be of value more than merely in the sense of a wife or mother. They had aspirations of their own and had a strong sense of self-determination.

c) Birth

The participants did not disclose much information regarding the traditional life cycle of birth. (They seemed far more interested in marriage). In traditional African culture it is customary for certain practices to take place such as: the birth of an eldest child is celebrated by a feast, including either the brewing of beer or the slaughtering of an animal; when a child is born the ancestors must receive offerings and sacrifices from their human family; a new-born child is to be held over the smoke of a fire; after the birth of a child the afterbirth is to be buried; a man is prohibited from being present at the birth of a child (Schwär 2005: 38-40). The participants were not aware of any of these customs but did state that the birth of a baby was to be celebrated. Tsatse told about the birth of her baby cousin where the parents of the fiancé offered to pay more for the impending birth of a child if the birth was natural and not a Caesarian section. The baby was a girl and because girls are “worth” more, the family paid more for her:

Tsatse: And then when they put the baby in the cradle the family came in and they put money on the kid, they put American dollars on the kid and it had to be like more than a \$100 and I am like, “Why are you putting money on the kid?”

Thus, the traditional practices had once again been adapted to fit Western customs. The girls perceived the tradition in terms of monetary value. Winnie noted an incident where a cousin of hers had married a white man and they had had a coloured child whom they welcomed “just like a normal family.”

Her words indicated that to welcome a new child was common practice and her notion of what constituted “normal”, was expressed. “Normal” to her was a family with two black parents. Generally, the participants did not shed much light on the celebration of birth within their cultures.

Nene: The only events that have influenced my life culturally are funerals and weddings. This is because I have grown up in the city and live a modern life and so many cultural activities have been left out due to the environment we live in.

However, even although Nene inhabited a modern environment, she still had ties to her culture through ceremonies related to life-cycle events such as funerals and weddings. The girls also felt that the loss of traditional culture was a pity and acknowledged the influence of America and the Western world. The following was expressed by a white participant:

Kate: I find it really sad how people are now adjusting to a Western way of life and quickly losing their cultures. Today's generation is becoming ashamed of their tradition and cultures as they do not fit into their new American influenced way of life. Us, as a family will get-together on big occasions such as Christmas, Easter, New Year, birthdays and on the occasional Sunday for lunch. We may not be as close or large as other cultures, but we still mean a lot to each other!

In an indirect way, Nene expressed the effect of globalisation on culture:

Nene: In society nowadays cultural seems to have a very small impact in our life. We seem to have just shut it out of our lives and created our own called "the modern life." In the modern life we all do the same things and we are all interested in the same things, whether you're black, white or Asian.

In the post-performance discussion a teacher commented that the ethnodrama illustrated several new things regarding culture and the participants' experience (or lack thereof of it):

Mma M: This was a good thing (the ethnodrama) in the sense that it is an eye-opener and you learn a lot and I don't think it is a bad thing to say, "I am black and you are white," because it helps most of you.

The participants were comfortable talking about race:

Casey: When I was in Primary School you never spoke about race – you didn't discuss anything! Now at High School the girls are very outspoken – we don't mind talking about it. It is a mixed school especially the boarding house. We don't mind talking about how we are different so no – there's no guilt.

Thus, the participants came to view difference as a positive element and were comfortable sharing their ideas. In this sense, the development of cultural competency was accomplished.

The participants found themselves situated ambiguously in terms of traditional culture. They attended schools that subscribed to Western traditions and lived modern lives within suburban areas. It is not possible for such an individual to be considered Westernised in totality as he or she still maintains contact with his/her extended families in the rural areas. Some of the beliefs, customs and traditions are passed down anecdotally and the participants had not entirely abandoned their traditional cultures. They still attended traditional weddings and funerals and the communal nature of their traditional societies was a source of pride to them. What was difficult for the black participants was the sense that they straddled both traditional cultures and Western culture and did not entirely fit into either. Thus the creation of a new culture is in evidence.

5.4 EPILOGUE

It is believed that the drama techniques used in this study served as important tools of multicultural education in the development of cultural competency. The study allowed learners to explore their own cultural identities which is an important component of cultural competency (cf. par. 2.7.3.2). It developed a sense of empathy for each other. It improved relationships among learners. The study enhanced an awareness and understanding of culture. It created a recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity. It developed self-knowledge and understanding and encouraged critical self-evaluation.

The study thus had a transformative nature and individuals within the study were able to recognise their cultures as a source of bias and individuals were able to view action as being caused by a particular cultural interaction (cf. par. 2.6.3.2). Thus, an important aim of critical multicultural education was achieved. The study provided a source of “therapeutic multicultural education” (cf. par. 2.6.3.2).

Cultural competency calls for an appreciation of intercultural values and practices, insight into and acknowledgement with regard to the differences within each other. This insight and appreciation was achieved by the learners in the study.

The participants in this study had come together from differing backgrounds and through a process of sharing and self-reflection which was facilitated by the use of drama, they increased their

empathetic abilities and learnt much about themselves and others. The participants in the study inhabited a socio-cultural world that is very different from that in which their parents were growing up. In addition, South Africa is characterised by a society in transition with many social discrepancies. This placed the adolescents in an ambiguous situation which made the task of identity formation even more difficult than it often is. The dramatic activities assisted learners in establishing nodes of shared experience which were useful in the development of cultural competency. The participants grappled with the idea of their self-identities in relation to the identities of others. This process necessitates a conscious effort to avoid racism and stereotyping. The black participants have to deal with reconciling the communal nature of black society with the individualistic nature of the Western world which they inhabit. The white participants in the study needed to understand the communal nature of their black peers so that they could operate in a culturally informed manner and overcome issues of cultural conflict. All this adaptation and accommodation ultimately leads to the formation of a new culture or hybrid space.

There is a need for the identification of “common ground” so that groups are able to recognise the similarities among human beings rather than focus on the differences. (cf. par. 2.6.4). It is believed that this study enabled the learners to establish similarities and in so doing enhance co-operative living in the pursuit of what Abdi and Bhabha term “cultural hybridity”. The pursuit of common ground is important if there are to be harmonious relations between cultures and subcultures within South Africa.

It is believed that using drama as a tool for the development of cultural competency teaches learners to become more culturally effective and thus empowers them to become system change agents (cf. par 2.7.2). Thus, cultural effectiveness – an extension of cultural competency allows the individual to view the world from the eyes of another in an attempt to understand how oneself is viewed by others (Hess et al. 2007: 35).

Thus, I conclude with the words of Henri Lopes: “The identity of a racial grouping is thus reduced to hybridisation which entails accepting the other and finding that same other within oneself”(Mwepu 2007: 131).

The following chapter synthesises the findings, provides recommendations for future research and concludes the study.

CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to investigate the use of drama as an instructional tool for the development of cultural competency amongst secondary school learners. Through the use of drama as an instructional tool, certain pertinent issues regarding the nature of cultural identity among South African adolescents in multicultural education emerged. It is hoped, that the insight gained from these findings, and the means by which they were obtained, could be of assistance in the development of greater cultural competency among learners within South African schools.

6.1.1 Overview of the investigation

This section provides an overview of the preceding study and is presented in the light of the research problem formulated in 1.2 and the aims of the study indicated in 1.3.

Since the change in government in South Africa in 1994, there has been widespread socio-political upheaval, the manifestations of which have been profound within the field of education (cf par 1.1.2). Perhaps the most significant change has been the implementation of multiracial schools. Whilst the majority of schools in South Africa remain monocultural (cf par. 1.1) or bi-cultural, integration has occurred and it is an aspiration that it will continue to do so. The transmission of culture in South African schools does not reflect the multicultural and plural nature of South African society (cf par. 2.2.9). The progression from a form of educational transition which was assimilationist in nature (cf par. 2.5.1) to one which espouses multiculturalism has not occurred as it should have because the cultural ethos of multicultural schools is that of the adoption of the white and thus Westernised values.

Cultural competency is an approach to multicultural education which needs to adopt and promote the ethos and underlying values of multiculturalism (cf par. 2.6). The politics of race and racism are a defining feature of schooling within South Africa and reflect a society in transition which has not yet recovered from the injustices of apartheid (cf par. 1.1). Cultural competency, as a form of multicultural education, requires the development of self awareness and sensitivity towards other cultures (cf par. 2.7.3.1). In order for sensitivity towards cross-cultural diversity to develop, there is

a need for individuals to clarify (in an impartial manner) and frankly share the fundamentals of their own cultural orientations (e.g. class, ethnicity, gender, race and religion).”

It is the belief of the researcher that drama could be used as a vehicle for critical self-reflection and reflective discourse on the parts of learners and educators alike. In the process, cultural competency is developed (cf par. 2.7.2).

Drama in Education (DIE) is distinguishable from Theatre in Education (TIE) (cf par. 3.2.1). Educational techniques within drama (or applied drama cf par. 31) are primarily concerned with finding tools for: personal development, knowledge and empowerment, the discussion of themes, the implementation of social change, and decision making (The focus of this thesis is primarily concerned with the *tools* which form part of this concept of applied drama cf par. 3.1).

Tools of DIE which were investigated through their use in this study include improvisational role-play (cf par 3.2.3). The context, role and frame (cf par. 3.2.4) of the improvisational role-play emerged through the initial focus group interviews (cf par. 4.3.7). Forum Theatre (developed by Boal cf par. 3.3.3) allows the roles of actor and spectator (spect-actor) to be interchangeable and thus is fundamentally empowering in nature (cf par. 3.2.7). The notion of the involvement of the audience within the drama leads to the concept of performative inquiry (cf par. 3.3.6), in which the interpretation of the drama provides opportunity for research. Performative inquiry is founded on the educational premise that learning takes place via performance. Through performance, the opportunity is provided for audiences to reveal their personal stories. In this study, an ethnodrama (cf par. 3.3.7) takes place within the mode of performative inquiry, which is a process whereby data are gathered from drama participants and then the initial findings are performed as a play which is known as an ethnodrama. The audience is then invited to ask questions of the performers and to comment on what they have seen. This audience input leads to an element of action research (cf par. 4.3.7) as the audience responses are noted and the written report is then created based on the audience’s input. The potential exists therein for the actors, as well as members of the audience, to influence the research. Important to this study is the scope, within the process of performative inquiry (cf par. 3.3.6), for self-reflection, as reflection is crucial to the development of cultural competency (cf par. 2.6.3.2). If the action research methodology were to be taken a step further, then the ethnodrama could be reformulated, performed again, the audience could provide further input and the process could continue. However, this did not take place within the scope of this study. Ethnodrama (cf par. 3.3.7) most often involves a personified encounter of a situation in which one’s ability to understand and know a culture better is enhanced and this in turn leads toward

cultural competency as well as a personal association with a culture. Drama (through the agent of empathy) thus becomes a means for social change (cf par. 3.3).

An extension of the notion of drama as a means of social change is the idea of drama as a means of resolving cultural conflict (cf par. 3.2), for conflict resolution is a form of social change. Culture is essential to the understanding of conflict as culture is a component of all relationships and it is through relationships that conflict arises. Cultural competency views conflict as a diversity inherent within which is the opportunity for choice and growth. Culture remains a component of conflict but the acknowledgement thereof creates cultural competency. Culture and conflict shape each other in a symbiotic relationship (cf par. 3.4.3 and 3.4.4).

Racism, stereotyping and prejudice (cf par. 3.4.6) often arise in situations of conflict. Learners need to be taught the tools with which to deal with this conflict and to be able to discuss their differences and to deal with conflict should it arise. In order for this to occur, the creation of a safe space occurs in differing facets so that the interactions of both artists and audiences are diverse and profound. Drama provides an effective means for the resolution of such cultural conflict (cf par. 3.4.6).

Thus, a qualitative approach within the tradition of Arts-based inquiry (cf par. 4.2) was decided upon to conduct an exploratory study into the efficacy of dramatic tools for the development of cultural competency amongst a select group of adolescent learners. This study was designed to gain greater insights into the means by which drama was able to assist with the formation of cultural identity and the sharing of those identities with one another. Thus, a group of Grade 10 learners served as the core with which the study was conducted (cf par. 4.3.2 and 4.3.3). Focus group interviews (cf par. 4.3.6.1) and improvisational role-plays (cf par. 4.3.6.2) took place with this core group. Two additional schools were visited where Forum Theatre performances (cf par. 4.3.6.3) were conducted with groups of eight Grade 10 learners. The learners from the core group wrote journal responses (cf par. 4.3.6.4) which served to verify findings and add new information that they had not felt comfortable sharing with the group. All these data were then subjected to qualitative analysis, emergent themes were sought and a preliminary synthesis of data was undertaken. The initial findings of the study were then formulated into an ethnodrama (cf par. 4.3.6.5). The ethnodrama was performed for a select audience (cf par. 4.3.7). The input of the audience was noted and this information, together with the ethnodrama, was used to compile a written report (cf par. 4.4.2.3. and par. 5.3). A further synthesis of the emergent themes was embarked upon whereby significant findings discussed in Chapter 5 were interwoven and synthesised into noteworthy components.

6.1.2 Organisation of material

The findings of the qualitative Arts-based investigation presented in Chapter 5 are synthesised in 6.2. This is followed by suggested practices within the field of education, using drama as an instructional tool, for the development of cultural competency (cf par.6.3). The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research (cf par.6.4) as well as a discussion of the limitations of this study.

6.2 SYNTHESIS OF SIGNIFICANT KEY FINDINGS

The significant themes discovered by the qualitative investigation are synthesised here and related to preceding research and theory, especially as documented in the literature review presented in Chapters 2 and 3 and in the findings of Chapter 5. The synthesised findings evolve through the scrutinisation of the findings in an attempt to establish salient and frequently-recurring aspects. The relevant data from the various themes are then described again in terms of reformulated themes.

6.2.1 The effect of urbanisation on cultural identity

One of the effects of the socio-political changes within South Africa post-1994 is the move of people of colour into areas which were previously declared to be for 'whites only' (cf par. 1.1.1). This is owing to the emergence of a new black, middle class. Whereas, during apartheid, people of colour were not encouraged to adopt so-called Western ways and were provided with an education that would not allow for social advancement, these barriers have legally been removed (cf par. 1.1.1). However, in reality, access to previously advantaged schools, which have a Westernised ethos, has been determined by socio-economic means (cf par. 1.1.1). Widescale integration has not occurred and it is largely within the schools charging higher fees (former model C schools) where the LOLT (language of learning and teaching) is English, that there has been integration (cf par. 1.1.1). This has resulted in discrepancies in terms of cultural identity within families between traditional culture and western culture which is considered to be a component of modernisation. Added to this is the effect of globalisation on culture and the adoption of, in particular, the American ways (cf par 5.4 sc2 and 3). The shift in cultural identity is most manifest in the lives of adolescents as they inhabit a world very different from that of their parents (cf par. 5.4 sc 1 and 5). However, adolescents (of all cultures) adopt a new culture or attend a school in a cultural vacuum. The cultures of their parents and extended families nevertheless have an effect on them. Thus, black adolescents in integrated schools straddle two cultures, that of traditional black culture and that of Western society. This

places them in an anomalous position which is compounded by the matter that many of these adolescents do not speak an African language or do not speak it effectively so as to be able to communicate with their extended families or grandparents who are in essence the transmitters of culture (cf par. 5.3.6.2). Socioeconomic factors and social class further complicate issues of race (cf par. 5.2.4.3). In addition to this, learners' parents have high expectations of them academically and wish them to achieve so that their children can avail themselves of opportunities that were not accessible to them and have fruitful careers (cf par. 5.3.2.2); however, they simultaneously rebuke them for 'losing' their cultures (cf par. 5.3.2.1). Consequently, whilst these adolescents do not fit into the social milieu of their traditional families and are termed 'coconuts' or 'cheesegirls/boys' they similarly do not fit in entirely into the modern Western worlds which they inhabit. Part of this has to do with the prevalence of a communal notion of living (cf par. 5.3.2.3). It is precisely the aspects of such a communal way of living which the young people enjoy about their cultures and which should not be lost. Thus, cultural events celebrating significant life events, especially that of the wedding, is what is enjoyed most by the adolescents (cf par. 5.6.3.3). However, many ambiguities exist in terms of religious beliefs and there are often differing beliefs within families (cf par. 5.6.3). The parents of black adolescents appear to be between traditional and Western culture themselves and thus the transmission of culture to their children is often presented in a confusing manner which renders the children onto the cusp of traditional culture and Western culture.

In many ways, aspects of traditional culture are fused with those of modern culture to form a new culture. For example, many of the traditions have become very fiscal in nature (cf par. 5.6.2). For example, *lobola* remains a communal tradition, whereas, cows have been substituted for cash – sometimes in international currencies – and the groom now pays for Westernised aspects of the girl's upbringing such as education and clothing. The Westernisation of traditional culture is evident in the practice of young couples having two weddings, a traditional one and a Western one (cf par. 5.6.3.3). It is also evident in the manner in which traditional religious worldviews are fused with Christian beliefs (cf par. 5.6.2).

White adolescents now attend schools that are multiracial, which differs from what their parents experienced, and they have friends of different cultures (cf par. 5.3.2.3). They too assimilate some of the cultures and practices of their peers from different cultural backgrounds.

Nodes of shared experience assist in creating a hybridised culture which the adolescent inhabits and this milieu is often completely foreign to the worldview of their parents. Such nodes include: inter-cultural relationships and friendships (cf par. 5.2.3.6), music (cf par. 5.2.4.3), fashion (cf par. 5.2.4.3),

the experience of parental prejudice (cf par. 5.2.3.6), and the effect of globalisation (cf par. 5.2.4.3). In addition to this, school cultures provide new divisions which often go beyond racial divisions and may reflect mainstream social trends. Learners experience the presence of social outgroups (cf par. 5.2.5 and par 2.4.2) and groups of individuals vying for status hierarchy and create their own jargon to define such groups. All these shared experiences contribute to the formation of a hybridised culture which adolescents inhabit. Thus, if cultural competency requires individuals to reflect on their cultures, those facilitating such reflection need to be aware of the many ambiguities faced by South African adolescents in terms of identity formation (cf par. 5.2.4). Connections between school and community culture need to be drawn so as to bridge the generation gap and assist adolescents with effective identity formation. Without exception, the black participants expressed pride in their cultures and expressed the wish to know more about their traditional cultures, not because they wished to return to those ways, but because it somehow situated and grounded them and put their pasts into perspective.

6.2.2 Adolescents' disinclination towards political activism

South African youth were characterised by strong political involvement and participation in activism during the liberation struggle pre 1994. Interestingly, within the participants was a marked disinclination towards political involvement and particularly, activism (cf par. 5.2.3.6). Most adolescents in the study criticised their parents for remaining prejudiced towards other cultural groups. Many black participants' parents had been acutely involved in resistance politics prior to the abolition of apartheid. In contrast, their children are more focused on career development and upward mobility through education and wish to forget the past. Politics did not appear to be an identity domain that was pertinent to the participants. The wish to 'forget the past' was extended to their teachers and the curriculum too. They stated that often the curriculum harps on issues surrounding apartheid and they were tired of it and wished to move on. Such "historical amnesia" is concerning for it is often felt that in order to prevent the injustices of the past from recurring, we need to remember the past and reflect on past wrongdoings. However, the participants did wish to know about their cultural heritages, an aspect which was sublimated during apartheid resistance (cf par. 5.6.3.4) as it was precisely along these lines that the apartheid government based its ideology.

6.2.3 Racial attitudes within racially integrated schools

Despite the abolition of legal forms of discrimination, negative racial attitudes nevertheless prevail within South African society and this should be documented with a view to establishing a more

tolerant society. Stereotypes exist as a means of making sense of the world and racism arises, often as a perceived threat (cf par. 2.4.2). Pronounced issues of racism occurred in the study as was reflected in the attitudes of the participants' parents towards other cultures and races (cf par. 5.2.3.6). Many of the black parents harboured anger and resentment, in particular, towards Afrikaners and negative stereotypes towards them existed among black and white learners. Incidences of violent racial conflict existed between black and coloured learners at the state school in the study (cf par. 5.2.4.3). There were incidences of racism where a teacher was perceived as behaving in a racist fashion towards black learners (cf par. 5.2.5.5) and a black parent made racist remarks about white people (cf par. 5.2.5.6). In addition, negative attitudes and racism existed towards foreigners, both African and Asian (cf par. 5.2.5.3). In the light of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, this is disturbing. In addition to this, the type of multicultural education experienced within the schools could be considered to be a reconstructed form of racism (cf par. 1.1) in the sense that that which is non-Western is deemed inherently inferior and a patronising approach towards traditional cultural practices exists on the behalf of some educators and administrators. A similar attitude exists towards traditional religion and medicine and a lack of cultural competency on behalf of authorities and teachers renders traditional religion to the realm of that which is evil and superstitious (cf par. 5.6.2). In addition, black learners make 'racist' comments towards other blacks if they are deemed too traditional or adhere to a 'township' culture (cf par. 5.2.5.1). Such commentary is deemed acceptable because they themselves are black. These learners need to be made aware of the possible negative consequences of their actions.

6.2.4 Positioning of other cultures

It was not the initial intention of the study to focus on African culture. Because of my perspective (as a white researcher), it had been my expectation that prejudices amongst white learners towards black learners would be overcome, and vice versa. However, it would appear that the majority of the findings relate to the positioning of the black participants. It could be because I, as the researcher, am white and was unaware of many, if not most, of the cultural practices and issues relating to cultural identity formation. Nevertheless, the focus of the study was on ways in which drama could be used to develop cultural competency and in that respect, drama fulfilled its function.

What emerged in terms of the white learners is that they feel comfortable amongst their black peers and were happy discussing issues of race and ethnicity (cf par. 5.6.3.4). The Afrikaans-speaking participant did feel uncomfortable disclosing that she was from an Afrikaans family because negative stereotyping towards Afrikaners persists (cf par. 5.2.4.2). They are perceived as political oppressors,

in relation to the previous position of an Afrikaans majority in government during the apartheid era, and as aggressive, with an unsophisticated sense of dress. Certain white English-speaking learners did not feel as though they had a particular 'culture' (cf par. 5.2.3.5); this stems from a lack of understanding of the concept and because English-speaking South Africans are a diffuse group. In addition to this, it did emerge that some white South Africans have a sense of cultural alienation in that they feel distanced from other cultures and perceive themselves not to 'fit in' with other cultural groups.

There were no coloured learners in the core group of the study (ie the learners from St Winifred's). However, a coloured girl participated in the group from Larkminster High. St Winifred's girls mentioned that Soraya (a coloured learner who had left the school) belonged to two cultures: white and African (cf pa. 5.2.4.2). Her father was German and her mother black; they felt that she should not have been classified as coloured. At Larkminster High the coloured learners were perceived as violent and as forming a cohesive group antagonistic towards others (cf par. 5.2.5.1). Much work regarding cultural competency and the reduction of cultural conflict needs to be done there.

The Indian, Taiwanese, Korean and Chinese learners did not wish to participate in the study. Two learners who were approached felt that the time required for the participation in the study would negatively encroach on their academic time. It also emerged, right at the end of the study, that they had felt inhibited by the prospect of performing the ethnodrama (cf par. 4.4.2.1 and par. 5.2.1). Both these aspects are possibly features of Asian culture and could be investigated fruitfully in a future study.

6.2.5 The role of the educator in the development of cultural competency

It became evident, through the post-performance discussion (cf par.5.2.3.1) and anecdotes related by the participants during interviews (cf par. 5.2.5.5) that several educators are not culturally competent. In order for cultural competency to develop, educators require training in which they explore their cultural identities and develop cultural competency. Training for educators who studied prior to the implementation of multicultural education in schools needs to take place as many appear to prefer a "colour blind" approach (cf par. 2.5.4). In addition, as part of cultural competency, educators need to understand what is meant by the term culture (cf par 2.1). Educators are not trained in the resolution of racial conflict and where it occurs they tend to avoid the issue (cf par. 5.2.5.5). Such training needs to be provided. The presence of educators who are aware of African traditional culture can assist in providing the necessary link for learners between

the world of the school and their cultures from the place which they consider to be home, which for many participants was the place in which their grandparents resided (cf par. 5.6.3.2). In addition to this, learners need to have a sense that a knowledge of one's culture does not imply 'backwardness' and culturally competent educators could assist in instilling such pride which would have a positive influence on the formation of cultural identities. Activities, such as a visit to a traditional village or a traditional healer, need to be dealt with in a sensitive manner, bearing in mind that some black parents do not want their children exposed to traditional African religion, as was the situation in the study (cf Act 3, Scene 1 of par. 5.2.1).

6.2.6 The efficacy of the dramatic tools used in the study for the development of cultural competency

What the study hoped to demonstrate, is the depth of cultural knowledge and understanding which it is possible to glean (for the participants as well as the researcher) via the use of drama as an instructional tool. The focus group interviews provided much information in terms of providing the context, role and frame for the improvisational role-plays (cf par. 3.2.4). The improvisational role-plays allowed the learners to explore 'as if' situations (cf par. 3.2.3) and assisted in the development of empathy as the learners played the roles of others. They were also, within a safe environment, able to explore contentious issues whilst playing a character and thus minimised the risk of causing offence. For this reason, much information was gleaned from the improvisational role-plays which the learners had not been able to verbalise in the focus group interviews. For example, when the learners played the role of their parents or the *sangoma*, they spoke with distinctive accents. However, (cf the DVD recording) when they played themselves, they spoke in their usual tones. Also, whilst professing not to know much about traditional African religion, when their improvisational role-plays of a visit to a traditional healer were analysed and compared to existing literature, they demonstrated an accurate knowledge of existing practices (cf par. 5.6.3). Thus, either they did not want to admit to having visited a traditional healer, or the practices were known to them via anecdotal interactions with their parents and extended families.

The Forum Theatre performances gave the participants the opportunity to interact with people whose school culture as well as, in many cases, home culture and socio-economic background differed from their own. The participants, as young people, encountered nodes of shared experience and discovered new things about each other. They were touched by similar experiences which they did not know they shared (e.g., they were all stereotyped as rich and snobbish, including the learners from the state school). They rehearsed different modes of conflict resolution and

realised the varying degrees of racial conflict within schools. The learners from St Winifred's realised that they were privileged as their school environment was safe and orderly. Forum Theatre requires a high degree of interaction from the audience (Spect-actors) (cf par. 3.3.3) and the actors. Thus, the interactions via the Forum Theatre performances were most positive as the participants relaxed in each other's company, enjoyed acting together and left sharing Mxit and Facebook (cell phone and internet chat rooms) details so that they could interact in future. The St Winifred's girls said that they had not expected to enjoy the Forum Theatre workshop at Larkminster High as much as they had because of their differing backgrounds.

The ethnodrama (cf par. 5.2) was written prior to the written report (cf par. 5.3). It was then performed (refer to the DVD recording in Appendix A). The participants became even closer to each other during the rehearsals and the performance itself developed community among the participants. The ethnodrama provided the opportunity to share the findings with a wider audience and to take note of their input (cf par. 5.2.3.1). For example, in the post-performance discussion the school Chaplain felt that more cultures could have been represented and the Sepedi educator felt that I had not represented enough of the African traditional cultures. I was able to explain to them that that was not my intention, yet became aware that I had not made that clear enough to the audience. The ethnodrama gave the opportunity for the data to speak for itself and for the audience to draw conclusions based on their own experiences. The ethnodrama could have been reformulated and performed again. However, owing to time-constraints (the participants had already spent many hours involved in the study and even more rehearsing the ethnodrama and performing it) I chose to write a written report. In writing the written report I felt that the ethnodrama had clarified many issues for me and I referred to the script often whilst formulating the written report. The written report was not able to communicate the subtle nuances, verbal exchanges, gestures and the depth of interaction between the characters. It is for this reason that I included the DVD in the study. Thus, the ethnodrama, as a method of Arts-based inquiry, could utilise the responses of the audience to interact with those of the players and create a body of information that could be of benefit to those involved in the educational arena.

The journal responses (cf par. 4.3.6.4) served as a means of triangulation and also as a measure of the extent to which the participants had found the dramatic activities to be transformative and insightful. The responses were frank and positive. The various dramatic tools that were used were most useful for the development of cultural competency; however, the possibilities - for future implementation in other areas - are manifold.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE THAT HAVE ARISEN FROM THE STUDY

The findings of this study indicate certain benefits of using drama as a means to developing cultural competency. In addition, information regarding cultural identity and cultural competency became evident through the use of drama. In the light of this, the following suggestions are made for educational practice for the development of cultural competency within South African schools:

- Drama as an educational tool needs to be incorporated into teaching methodologies beyond the subject of Arts and Culture and especially within subjects such as Life Orientation and History. Programmes need to be written to assist teachers with the incorporation of the aforementioned drama methodologies;
- Further ethnodramas could be researched, written and performed to provide educators with information and training regarding cultural competency;
- The extent to which violence as a result of racial conflict is prevalent within schools needs to be established so that a method can be implemented to reduce it, possibly with the use of drama as a tool to assist in such a programme, together with the use of theatre for social change (cf par. 3.2.8);
- Interactions between schools using Forum Theatre performances could assist with the reduction of racism and stereotyping and teach learners (and educators) to view matters from the perspectives of others, thus creating empathy, an important component of cultural competency;
- Cultural activities could incorporate the presence of elders from the community who could then explain to learners, in a sensitive manner, their cultural heritage. This would also assist with bridging the gap between the Westernised or modern environment of the school and traditional communities;
- Cultural exchanges could be encouraged so that learners from differing backgrounds go to each others' homes and learn about each other's ways and thus further develop cultural competency. Role-play before the time could prepare the learners for such interactions;
- Exchanges with foreign students (especially African) could be done to reduce the sense of 'they-ness' and 'we-ness' in an effort to reduce racism and prejudice towards foreigners. Such exchanges could take the initial form of dramatic activities and then relations could continue using cellular telephone chat rooms such as Mxit which is a popular form of communication amongst adolescents;

- Learners of all cultural and ethnic groups need to be encouraged to learn African languages so as to become more culturally competent and for the black girls to maintain links especially with their grandparents and extended family. The learning of an African language would assist with the reduction in cultural alienation for black learners and thus create more positive cultural identity formation. The learning of an African language for white, coloured or Indian learners would assist with the development of cultural competency and the integration of South African society.
- Many positive interactions have taken place at St Winifred's in the Primary School component through the implementation of a Grandparents' Day. On such a day the learners perform dramas for their grandparents and tea is served to them. Such events could be extended to the High School where transport is facilitated for grandparents from all cultural backgrounds. The learners could perform a drama relating to issues pertinent to them. In so doing there would be an attempt to bridge partially the divide between the cultural worlds of both generations.
- It would not be advisable to remove learning about apartheid times from the syllabus as this would result in a form of unhealthy 'historical amnesia'. However, ways need to be devised for learners to learn about the past in a form that is more suitable to their needs and for it to be presented to them in a more culturally competent manner. Cognisance needs to be taken of the issue that adolescents do not want to be made to feel responsible for or that they have been personally victimised by the events of apartheid.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study on drama as an instructional tool to develop cultural competency amongst learners in multicultural secondary schools in South Africa suggest the following areas of priority in the quest for further knowledge.

From a methodological perspective, it is recommended that the potential use of Arts-based inquiry in investigating issues related to cultural competency in the social sciences should be further explored. Arts-based inquiry (cf par. 4.2) is a new methodology which could supplement the necessary depth and colour to more conventional qualitative and quantitative studies. More extensive use of Arts-based methods could assist in the discovery of other unexplored areas or themes related to the development of cultural competency by allowing informants themselves to be involved in the process of research.

The limited population researched in this study necessitates comparative research on cultural competency that extends to other groups of adolescents such as those in monocultural schools, white Afrikaans-speaking learners, white English-speaking learners, Asians, Indians and Coloureds, as well as to oppositional sub-cultures such as 'Gangstas' and 'Goths'.

Further research into adolescent identity formation and significant domains related to it could be done within multicultural schools as well as in monocultural schools. In addition to this, the degree to which learners 'straddle' traditional culture and modern culture and the effects of this on cultural identity formation in "monocultural" schools should be investigated.

Further research into ways which foster greater integration within South African schools needs to be done so that fewer monocultural schools are in existence. This ameliorates the presence of racial conflict and assists with social change.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a research project based on qualitative methodology using Arts-based inquiry, this study of a small sample of adolescents demonstrated both the strengths and the limitations intrinsic to an investigation of this nature.

The small sample size, typical of the qualitative tradition, is the most apparent limitation of the study. If further schools were visited using the Forum Theatre performances, perhaps greater insight into school cultures and the dynamics thereof could have been gleaned. However, the design of the study was to be exploratory and descriptive and not to generate statistical generalisations or extrapolations based on the findings. The intention was to make education practitioners aware, via thematic analysis, of issues which they might not have previously considered. The primary goal was to understand and describe how the participants formed, maintained and inter-related their cultural identities, using drama as a tool to do so. The study will not be replicable in its exact form but it is hoped that the issues raised will be able to inform practice and that the methods used will be replicable in other situations. No endeavours were made to establish trends, to generalise or quantify the findings. Data were not quantified and were presented in descriptive terms and in the form of the ethnodrama. In addition, there was no attempt made to predict behaviour or to establish cause and effect relationships under experimental conditions. Hypotheses were not formed except in the form of speculations which arose from the informants' accounts of their experiences and from what was observed in the Forum Theatre performances and improvisational

role-plays. The overview of the literature (Chapters 2 and 3) provided an important framework for the focus group interviews; however, there was no attempt made to disprove or to prove theory. The focus was on an understanding of the participants' experiences from their perspectives. Eventually, grounded theory, that is, theory grounded in data, was devised in accordance with particular themes that emerged from the accounts of the participants.

The participants were not selected through the use of random sampling techniques and judgement sampling based on convenience was used. Thus, the method of selection was not based on sufficient objective data to ensure that the study could be replicated in its exact form. The study is thus limited in terms of the ability to predict future trends. In addition, greater racial and ethnic variation could have broadened the perspective of the study. The study was based on Grade 10 learners and thus there could be variations amongst learners from different age cohorts.

The presentation of the data as a play poses several limitations. The use of non-print-based texts poses some logistical constraints. Presentation of data requires more space than traditional written forms. Furthermore, the audience size is limited, there are logistical, organisational, personnel and resource problems inherent in the rehearsal of and staging of the play. Additional dangers of representing data as a play include amongst others: omission, confusion and misinterpretation. These concerns are true of most research and the researcher must guard against them where possible.

The potential bias in the retrospective reporting technique is acknowledged. As is the case with all qualitative research, the validity of the findings depends on the researcher's adeptness at using the chosen techniques. In such research, demands were made on my own skills as a researcher in interviewing and establishing *rappport* with the participants. I, as the researcher, was aware that I should be cautious not to manipulate data: "It's too easy to play puppeteer and pull the strings in order to make the data dance in ways that best suit me..." Rasberry (2002: 113).

Additional potential for bias was present in so far as I, as the researcher, constituted the research instrument. However, the use of several techniques complemented each other and served as a means of verifying data. The Arts-based method of inquiry allows for the learners and audiences to comment on the validity of findings by expressing ways in which they have experienced certain incidences. There is a cooperative bringing together of data via post-performance (of the ethnodrama) audience discussion. Further validation ensued by ensuring that informant groups who were not involved in the initial research commented on the ethnodrama.

However, despite the aforementioned limitations, the various dramatic techniques used as research techniques elicited several generic key issues such as: adolescent cultural identity formation; conflict resolution; the role of language; cultural alienation; the merger between traditional and Westernised cultures; and the role of the educator in the development of cultural competency, which could form the basis for future research. The *methods* of the study could potentially be replicated and adapted so as to glean information about other research topics in order to inform educator practice and to guide curriculum development. In this limited sense, the study could serve to expand our knowledge of various techniques used for the development of cultural competency and to inform the use of similar practices in order to elicit further such information.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Whilst South African society remains a society in the process of dramatic socio-political change, the development of cultural competency, especially amongst adolescents, remains an important responsibility of educators. If we are to live in a truly equitable society in a peaceful manner in South Africa, then a truly multicultural approach to education is a priority. This study has investigated the use of tools within the realm of education that have vast potential for both the development of skills in cultural competency as well as for future research. In addition, the ethnodrama as a means of research has vast potential for the dissemination of information to educators and learners alike. The complex and diverse nature of adolescent identity formation needs to be understood in a manner which incorporates notions of difference. This notion of difference should transcend race and ethnicity and include those with a different worldview (traditional or western). In this sense, the cultural ethos of the traditional (particularly within the sphere of education) should not be viewed as inferior to that of a Western cultural ethos. To encourage or to be complacent about the presence of such a perception is to deny a large percentage of the population their cultural heritage and places them in an ambiguous position where they are culturally alienated from their families.

There are limited numbers of teaching models in existence that could be used in order to improve cultural competency in learners which is essential in order to improve their ability to occupy a diverse society. Drama can be used as an effective instructional tool to improve understanding of diversity and facilitate a greater degree of cultural competency amongst learners and educators by specifically exploring and sharing awareness and sensitivity of individuals' and their peers' identity. Drama is an effective instructional tool for the facilitation of a more apt understanding and

acceptance of individual identities within differing cultures. Drama could be developed and applied effectively within the classroom and schools in order to facilitate the implementation of a “critical anti-racism” and to explore and experience the realm of the “third space,” as well as to facilitate the hybridisation of cultures. In addition to this, performances such as the ethnodrama provide learners with the ability to share their experiences and cultural viewpoints through performance, in which they gain an intuitive self-knowledge as well as knowledge of others. Thus, the ethnodrama contains transformative elements.

It has been more than ten years since the desegregation of South African schools; however, problems with integration remain. It is believed that the development of greater cultural competency would assist with integration and a greater understanding of diversity. It was not the intention of the study to create an homogenous group, but rather to find ways in which individuals were able to become more sensitive by recognising and accepting differences within each other so as to improve learning and inter-group relations. It is believed that drama is a useful instrument in achieving this aim. Furthermore, the development of cultural competency would progress towards the establishment of a more harmonious South African society.

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