

**THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN YOUNG OFFENDERS’
NARRATIVES IN SWAZILAND**

by

VIRGINIA THONTEA DLAMINI-AKINTOLA



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Supervisor: Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp
Co-supervisor: Prof Elmarie Costandius

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The study of ‘identity’ straddles different fields such as psychology, sociology and linguistics. The particular approach taken to the study of identity is contingent upon the field, with some fields viewing identity as an essential, fixed phenomenon while others view identity as a discursive construction that occurs in discourse (Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrrin 2011). This study set out to investigate the discursive construction of young offenders’ identity in a youth correctional facility in Swaziland. This facility introduced formal schooling in 2008. This study thus investigated how the young offenders who are attending the school located at the correctional facility discursively construct their own identities. The study also investigated how the semiotic landscape (Jaworksi & Thurlow 2010) that is all meaning-making resources within the public landscape of the correctional facility and the school, contributes to constructing the young offenders’ identity. The study made use of arts-based methodological approaches. This included encouraging the participants to visually depict the course of their lives, their futures and the semiotic landscape which surrounds them. Since the study was situated in a ‘total institution’ (Goffman 1961), the nature of the place contributed to shaping the identities of the young offenders. This occurred through ‘mortification processes’ which enable the inmates to adapt to the life of ‘regimentation’ in the institution (Goffman 1961). This study shows that since identity is discursively constructed in discourse, the use of multimodal personal narratives combined with arts-based approaches to research are extremely useful methods with which to investigate identity construction from participants in a context that is traumatic. In addition, long-term-ethnographic studies provides rich insight into changes into a semiotic landscape and the reasons for such changes. Another major contribution of the study is the questions it raises about ethical engagement with vulnerable participants. It presents the challenges this study encountered. Ultimately, I argue that the key to moving towards an ethical engagement is to do research *with*, rather than on vulnerable participants.

OPSOMMING

Die studie van identiteit strek oor verskillende vakgebiede soos sielkunde, sosiologie en taalwetenskap. Die spesieke benadering wat geneem word ten op sigte van die studie van identiteit hang af van die vakgebied, met sommige wat identiteit beskou as 'n essensiele, vaste fenomeen terwyl ander identiteit as 'n konstruksie beskou wat deur diskoers plaasvind (Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrin 2011). Die studie het die diskursiewe identiteitskonstruksie van jong oortreders in 'n korrektiewe fasiliteit vir jong oortreders in Swaziland ondersoek. Die spesifieke fasiliteit het in 2008 formele opvoeding ingestel. Die studie het dus ondersoek hoe die jong oortreders wat die skool bywoon by die korrektiewe fasiliteit, deur diskoers hul eie identiteite konstrueer. Die studie het ook ondersoek hoe die semiotiese landskap (Jaworksi & Thurlow 2010), dit is alle betekenis-skeppende bronne, wat in die publieke landskap van die korrektiewe fasiliteit is, bydra tot die konstruksie van jong oortreders se identiteit. Die studie het gebruik gemaak van kuns-gebaseerde metodologie. Dit het metodes ingesluit wat die deelnemers aanmoedig om hul lewensverloop, hul toekoms en die semiotiese landskap wat hulle omring visueel uit te beeld. Aangesien die studie binne 'n "totale instituut" (Goffman 1961), plaasgevind het, het die kenmerke van die plek bygedra tot identiteitskonstruksie. Dit het gebeur deur mortifikasie prosesse wat gevangenes in staat stel om aan te pas in die geregimenteerde lewe van die instituut (Goffman 1961). Die studie toon aan dat aangesien identiteit in diskoers gekonstrueer word, die gebruik van multimodale persoonlike narratiewe gekombineer met kuns-gebaseerde benaderinge tot navorsing besonder nuttige metodes is waarmee identiteitskonstruksie in traumatise kontekste ondersoek kan word. Die studie toon ook aan dat langtermyn etnografiese studie ryk insae bied in veranderinge in die semiotiese landskap en hoekom daardie veranderinge aangebring is. Nog 'n groot bydra van die studie is die vrae wat dit stel oor etiese betrokkenheid by weerlose deelnemers. Die studie wys die uitdagings uit wat voorgekom het in die studie. Uiteindelik, stel ek dit dat die sleutel tot etiese betrokkenheid is om navorsing *met* weerlose deelnemers te doen, liever as oor hulle.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family: my husband, children and my mother. I am grateful to God for their support and assistance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale to the study

The lives of young offenders have generally been investigated in disciplines such as criminology, sociology, social work and psychology. Most of these studies concentrate on either investigating the reasons why the offenders became involved in criminal activity or offering some ways of stopping them from re-offending (Presser 2009: 177). Less work has been done in investigating the narratives of young offenders, or how language is used to position themselves in particular ways in relation to self and others, without necessarily focussing on the criminal activities that led them to be incarcerated. Existing research with their focus on offending and criminality, thus positions youth in correctional facilities as if the crime-related aspects of their identities are the only part of their identities. This dissertation adds to the research on young offenders by investigating the discursive construction of identity of young offenders being rehabilitated in a youth correctional facility.

In this dissertation the argument will be made that identity is primarily constructed through discursive means- thus disciplines such as discourse analysis or sociolinguistics can provide us with the analytical tools to investigate identity construction. The literature indicates that the notion of ‘identity’ can be (1) perceived as ‘as a ‘relational’ entity of individuals; that is, it “only has meaning within a chain of relationships ...; there is no fixed point of reference for ‘an identity’, [but it should be thought of as] an on-going process of identification” (Watson 2006: 509). In addition, identity can also refer to an individual’s awareness of his/her internalized perception of the self which is constantly adjusted reflexively in relation to society and culture (Boyd 2002). Hinchman and Hinchman (2001: xviii) emphasizes the importance of narrative in the construction of identity by stating that “identity is that which emerges in and through narrative”. According to Watson (2006: 510) Hinchman and Hinchman’s (2001) assertion “highlights the external, relational nature of identity construction. In this view, identities are constructed in the narratives we create and tell about our lives; how we externalize ourselves about ourselves and to others.” In line with the literature that this dissertation builds on identity is viewed as an on-going and

performative process in which individuals draw on diverse resources to construct selves, and this process emerges in and through narratives (Watson 2006; Benwell & Stokoe 2006).

In addition to contributing to the theoretical development of the notion of ‘identity’, this dissertation expands the scope of investigation into young offenders by focussing on Swaziland. According to Sarkin (2008) there is a dearth of information on prisons in Africa. This dissertation thus adds to the small body of research on prisons in Africa. In Swaziland, the correctional services offered to minors have gone through a number of fairly recent changes. Originally, the juvenile correctional facility for young offenders was a prison industrial school by Legal Notice No. 55 of 1972. Though this Notice was made into law in 1972, it was only implemented in 1974, when the school began to operate mainly as a correctional facility providing safe custody for juvenile boys who had been convicted by a court to serve their sentences in prison. The purpose of the Juvenile Centre from 1974 to 2008 was to teach life skills to the young offenders; formal education was not a priority. Only one teacher was employed to assist those who needed to write external examinations while in prison. In 2008, the department of correctional services started changing its mission to a correctional facility whose major objective is to rehabilitate offenders to become law abiding citizens, while exercising best practices in penal reform. The department also takes the responsibility to monitor the inmates’ reintegration into the society. Thus, in the case of the correctional facility for young people, there was a need to establish a school to give young inmates formal education while in incarceration. Formal schooling was introduced in 2008 by the Department of His Majesty’s Correctional Services in Swaziland (HMCS).

The school is divided into three sections: the primary school, the secondary/high school (already fully developed in terms of infrastructure and curriculum offering), and the vocational school (which is still being developed). Young offenders who are below the age of 18 years are enrolled at the primary or secondary schools depending on the level where they dropped out of previous formal schooling. Some are given vocational education depending on their academic background and intellectual needs. The school’s offering for primary and secondary education follows the same curriculum as other schools in Swaziland, while the vocational section is still benchmarking their curriculum. The young offenders are also given an opportunity to write external examinations managed by the Examination Council of Swaziland.

This new approach to the rehabilitation of young inmates through formal education has brought a number of challenges concerning the capacities needed for internal management systems. Firstly, the teachers recruited to teach and rehabilitate the young inmates were trained to teach in conventional schools and many lacked the special skills needed for educating children with a background of criminal activity. Secondly, there was a disparity between the way in which the young offenders were treated and managed by teachers and warders respectively. There was frustration amongst the teaching and non-teaching staff in that their approaches in handling the children were not compatible. The teachers viewed and treated the young offenders as normal children while the other warders focused on the retribution aspect of managing inmates in a correctional facility. Thirdly, adherence to the institutional procedures for handling inmates conflicted with systems used in normal schools for handling children. Besides these three challenges, the teachers also faced other challenges. For example, many of the young offenders presented behavioural problems that were difficult to handle. The teachers had to be given specialized training on how to handle inmates in a correctional facility.

In order to assist the teachers and warders with these challenges, the department, organized in-service training for the teachers and warders working with young offenders. One of these workshops focused on Juvenile Justice and Child Psychology, and specialists in human rights, child development and language studies were requested to lead the discussions on how children in such an environment may be supported. This is where my involvement with the school started; I was invited to be a facilitator at the workshop on Juvenile Justice and Child Psychology. In this workshop, I observed how the language used by many of the teachers and warders described the young offenders in a negative way. I was at this time wondering how this negative discursive construction impacted on rehabilitation, and especially, rehabilitation through formal education. This observation motivated me to embark on a study which investigates how the identities of young offenders are constructed.

1.2 Problem Statement

The staff at the Department of Correctional Services includes both security and professional staff who have to work together in the rehabilitation of young offenders. The teaching staff recruited

for the Juvenile School, are not usually trained for teaching children with special needs such as incarcerated youth with a history of delinquency and criminal behaviour. These teachers received regular training as educators in Swaziland from the teachers' training colleges and universities with a curriculum that does not adequately address special needs education, especially those of young offenders. HMCS then gives the teachers additional training as warders once they are employed. This training offers them knowledge for managing and dealing with individuals who are in conflict with the law. The nature of the standard teachers' training does not prepare teachers to work with children with a criminal history and extreme delinquent behaviours, and this makes working with the children at the Juvenile School a challenge. The young offenders have special needs, and there is very little educational research that is related to the local context that could guide the staff at the Juvenile School on how to handle these children, or how best to approach the task of teaching and rehabilitating them. The environment in which the study is undertaken, (i.e. the correctional facility), itself, is also fraught with tension in its functions of retribution and reformation. Such tension is enshrined in the mission statement of the department of correctional services in Swaziland which reads "the mission of HMCS is to professionally contribute to public safety by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law abiding citizens, while exercising best practices in penal reform". This study, therefore, was undertaken to investigate the discursive construction of the incarcerated youth in this context. To do this, the study investigated the impact of the semiotic landscape of the correctional facility has on the construction of the young inmates' identity, and the way in which young offenders construct their own identities.

1.3 Aims

The aim of this dissertation was firstly, to investigate how young offenders in the school, situated at the young offenders' correctional facility in Swaziland, discursively construct their own identities in narratives. The study further examined how the semiotic landscape of the place, in which these young offenders are rehabilitated, influences the way in which these young offenders view themselves and how others view them.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How does the semiotic landscape in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which the identities of the young offenders are constructed?
- 2) How do young offenders at the Juvenile Industrial School, now renamed “*Vulamasango (Open Opportunities)*”, in Swaziland discursively construct their own identities?

1.5 Theoretical point of departure

This section briefly discusses the theoretical framework that informed this study. The brief overview of this section explains how ‘identity’ is used and viewed in this dissertation, and a brief explanation on how identity construction has been investigated in previous research. Secondly, I discuss arts-based research, which played an important role in how my study was theoretically and methodologically conceptualized. Lastly, I discuss the theoretical investigation of semiotic landscapes and how previous work on this area has informed my research. More detail on the various aspects discussed in this section can be found in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

1.5.1 Identity

In some research, ‘identity’ has been described as a concept that refers to how individuals or groups perceive themselves. Currie (1998: 2) defines identity as “something well-defined about oneself, fixed and unchanging, something inside us ‘like a kernel of a nut’ ”. This definition seems to view identity as a psychological phenomenon. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 585), however, argue against identity being viewed as a mental state; instead, they describe identity as “a relational and sociocultural phenomenon” which is discursively constructed in interaction. Identity is further described as being produced by social processes that arise as we perform our ‘selves’ through “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 586), or as a way of explaining “self and others” through interaction (Watson 2009).

The literature on the construction of identity is extensive. Some studies focus on professional identities of teachers (Watson 2006, 2009; Leitch 2006); others on the identities of young people generally (Ladegaard 2012; Tucker-Raymond et al. 2007) while others like the present study, focus on young offenders in prison (Frederick 1996; Phillips 2008; Anderson 2008). These studies suggest several ways of analysing identity. Some depend on insights from various fields of study

which include sociolinguistics, social psychology, discourse analysis, and linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Some of these studies show how personal narratives have a significant role to play in analysing how identities of the participants under investigation are constructed (Frederick 1996; Watson 2006). An example of such a study is that of Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 587) who provide a framework for the analysis of identity as constituted in linguistic interaction. They argue that "... identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction". The research proposed here follows Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) argument and views identity as fluid, multiple and constantly re-constructed.

The construction of identities in prisons or other total institutions have also been investigated by previous research. Some studies have noted that prisons, by their nature, have subcultures to which inmates identify. Some of these studies reveal that in order to fit into that culture, an offender needs to conform to a number of things such as racial and ethnic divisions, power, resistance, dress code as well as linguistic interaction among inmates (Phillips 2008). Narrative approaches in research have been extensively employed in various disciplines such as economics, political science, psychology, anthropology and education (Borisenkova 2009: 3). Narratives, as the literature suggested, enabled the participants in this study to access the past, present and future issues of their experiences (Watson 2009: 5). A detailed discussion on the significance of narratives in research is presented in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

1.5.2 Arts-based research

Arts-based approaches to research were also employed in this study. The art-making process is described as a pathway of making meaning of life experiences that cannot be transparently or completely articulated linguistically (Bochner & Ellis 2003). The use of art-based research methods was very useful in this study because the arts-based activities enabled the participants to articulate their experiences without using linguistic resources.

1.5.3 Semiotic landscapes

Finally, this study also drew on research on semiotic landscapes. According to Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 1) the study of a semiotic landscape "is concerned with the interplay between language, visual discourse and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the

textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource”. Semiotic landscapes have also been shown to shape the social processes that construct space, and that such processes are embodied in language use. Stroud and Jegels (2013: 178) observe for example that “the complexity of place is reflected in the complexities of linguistic or semiotic landscapes”.

One of the first things that are obvious spatial features of incarcerating institutions (such as at the school situated within a correctional facility, where this study was undertaken) is the way in which space is demarcated by gates and locks in certain areas of the school and accommodation facilities. This research (as already stated by one of the research questions) investigated how place, space and the various semiotic modes of a verbal and visual nature intersect to construct the physical context in which the identities of the young offenders are constructed. The study investigated which linguistic signs and other visual signs appear in various spaces within the school in order to establish (i) how these signs constrain or enable the young offenders to make sense of themselves and others, and (ii) how such identities were discursively articulated in the multimodal narratives or art-products created by the participants in this study. In chapter 4 of this dissertation, the theoretical framework on the semiotic landscapes and the discursive production of space that guided this study is discussed in detail.

1.6 Significance and Contribution

The visual, linguistic and semiotic representation of identities is an area that had not been studied in the context of restorative justice in Swaziland before. This study was therefore significant in that it contributed to the study of the construction of identities in correctional facilities. The understanding of identity and identity formation is viewed as important in “understanding why people make the life-path choices that they do, especially in relation to the material, social, discursive and institutional opportunity and marginalization of certain identities for certain kinds of people” (Tucker-Raymond, Varelas, Pappas, Korzh, & Wentland 2007: 559). The study further builds on a number of previous studies, which have used narratives together with arts-based approaches in eliciting personal and private data from participants, which is a challenge when using other instruments of data collection (Leitch 2006; Frogget 2007; Tucker-Raymond et al. 2007; Presser 2009).

The study also benefitted the correctional institution for young offenders in various ways. Through my interaction with the young offenders, the teachers, the school administration and other ancillary members of the correctional facility, the research contributed to a more critical reflection on the naming of the school by the management of the Department of Correctional Services in Swaziland (See Chapter 6). But more importantly, a significant contribution of the study is that it points out the need for increased research and attention to be given to young offenders' carceral systems in Africa so that more effective strategies for the rehabilitation of young offenders may be developed. Again, the study has given insight into of how young offenders in Swaziland construct themselves and how others construct them. The findings and suggestions made in chapters 6, 7 and 8 have the potential to contribute to policy development that would facilitate a greater understanding of the needs of young offenders. This might ultimately also lead to the establishment of systems that would assist newly admitted young offenders to settle down in the incarceration environment quicker, and be psychologically prepared to be rehabilitated through formal education. In other words, by understanding how young inmates in correctional facilities construct themselves, the operating systems may be improved to ensure that carceral system anchored within the confines of discipline and punishment (e.g. 'admission procedures' and 'stripping processes') have a less negative impact on the young offenders (Foucault 1976; Goffman 1961).

The continued production of narratives and art products at the school (if adopted as part of the admission procedures) could very well be therapeutic for newly admitted young offenders. The findings affirmed the argument that arts-based inquiry and narrative research enable research participants to reflect on their past, present and future experiences and actions. This includes dealing with deep-rooted problems that might have led to criminal behaviour, which may manifest as emotions such as concern, guilt, recognition or remorse (Frogget 2007). Normally people who are in conflict with the law are labelled problematic without checking the root-causes for such criminal behaviour, or realizing that their identities are much more complex and multidimensional. This study shows that identity construction is influenced by the individuals' backgrounds and semiotic resources in that landscape. Thus, as human beings we continually construct identities depending on the social semiotic affordances that shape us from landscape to landscape. This study, I believe, will contribute to the progress of the school in that it will enable the officers, involved in the rehabilitation and reintegration of young offenders in Swaziland, to be aware that

the young offenders construct various identities for themselves depending on the environment, the context or circumstances they are in. Furthermore, the study influenced some officers and teachers (especially those who participated) to become more reflective on their interactions with young offenders. It is hoped that the study will further influence the warders and teachers to view young offenders as young people who have the potential to change and transform their lives despite the tension brought about the nature of the institution: that is, characterized by discipline and punishment.

Carrying out this research has further connected me with the professional and academic activities of this correctional facility. This study has generated some issues relating to literacy, which, if given permission, I plan to follow in the near future.

1.7 Chapter outline

Chapter 2: Young offenders and incarceration

This chapter argues that power in modern society, as well as in institutions that control society, such as correctional facilities, is exercised through discipline, which, in turn, is based on knowledge. This knowledge is generated by human sciences which set the standards for normal or abnormal behaviour of individuals. This chapter also discusses the history of prisons in Africa, tracing the introduction of prisons to an inherent element of colonial rule adopted by post-colonial governments. Since the study is on youth offending, this chapter reviews literature on the effectiveness of youth rehabilitation.

Chapter 3: The discursive construction of identity

This chapter traces the development of approaches and theories to the analysis of identity construction from the essentialists to the constructivists' views of identity. Close attention is paid to positioning theory, narrative approaches to identity construction, and approaches developed in interactional sociolinguistics.

Chapter 4: Semiotic landscapes and the discursive production of space

This chapter reviews literature on the field of semiotic landscapes, discussing what the discipline entails, and how other researchers have explained the processes involved in the discursive production of space. The key concepts that will be discussed in this chapter include: ‘landscape’, ‘semiotic landscapes’, ‘semiotic resources’, ‘landscaping’, ‘mindscaping’, and ‘appropriation’. The discussion on the discursive production of space will show how language, visual discourse and social practices in a landscape combine to generate meaning surrounding a particular phenomenon, and therefore show that the production of meaning and the identities positioned within that landscape by representational and no-representational systems are closely interconnected in the discursive construction of local places (Stroud & Jegels 2014; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010).

Chapter 5: Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodologies employed in this study; thus explaining: the various approaches used, the design and methods employed for data collection and data analysis. Here, I also explain how ethical issues on the methodological matters were taken into consideration in this study. Finally, I examine the limitations, validity and trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter 6: Semiotic landscapes: Control, confinement and contradiction

In this chapter, I present and discuss findings which address the first research question: how did the semiotic landscape in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which the identities of the young offenders are constructed? In particular I focus on signage, notices and the physical and architectural landscape.

Chapter 7: Re-creating semiotic landscapes: Representations by young offenders

This chapter presents the young offenders’ depictions of aspects of the semiotic landscape such as the school and the dormitory.

Chapter 8: Constructions of self through master and counter narratives

The data presented and discussed in this chapter addresses the question: How do the young offenders themselves discursively construct their own identities. The focus of the chapter is on the

construction of self through narratives and other semiotic resources and focussing primarily on master and counter narratives.

Chapter 9: Significance of the study

This chapter discusses the significance of the study. The use of ethical procedures in the study receives special attention.

CHAPTER 2

YOUNG OFFENDERS AND INCARCERATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the effects of incarceration on young offenders. The nature of the contemporary prison is discussed first, focusing on the themes of punishment, and techniques of power as well as the characteristics of prisons as a form of total institution and its impact on the incarcerated offender. The discussion will then shift focus to the history of prisons in Africa as the study is conducted within the Southern African context. This chapter then reviews literature on the effects of incarceration on young offenders, specifically with regard to the role of formal education in the rehabilitation and reintegration processes of young offenders.

2.2 The nature of the contemporary prison: A place of confinement and discipline

Foucault (1976) describes the contemporary prison as a penitentiary that aims to deprive offenders of their freedom and reforms them through the implementation of a carceral system. A carceral system underpins the nature of the prison architecture and its impact on the incarcerated individual. It also underpins the operations of the prison – the prison regulations, and the role played by the prison staff. The main components of a carceral system are discipline and punishment, subtly embedded in the techniques of managing the incarcerated offenders, and in the strategies of reform. These strategies also extend to the rest of the society where they function as a deterrent for criminality. Prisons then are a type of total institution¹ (Goffman 1961) in which interaction among individuals is strictly guided by power relations anchored in discipline and punishment.

2.2.1 Punishment and techniques of power as social practice in carceral institutions

Offenders are usually viewed as a nuisance to the community; they are viewed as criminals who are in most cases selfish, violent, and able to “cause substantial economic, physical and emotional hardships for their victims and the families of their victims, their own families and the larger community” (Steinberg, Chung & Little 2004: 2). This view seems to favour a justice system that

¹ Goffman did not coin the term ‘total institution’ although it is associated with him. According to Burns (1992), Goffman heard it from Everett Hughes in 1952 in a graduate seminar on institutions.

deals with young offenders by taking such nuisances out of the communities. Such a system provides punitive measures against juvenile offenders in order to protect the public and deter the youth from future offending. Other scholars view the prison as a place of punishment and discipline that instead of deterring offending perpetuates violence. This argument holds that incarcerated members of the community are exposed to repression in prison that accentuates their propensity for offending (Bernault 2003: 2). In that sense, the prisoner is transformed by the prison to become a delinquent: an individual hardened by the strict regulation of a carceral system and seen as abnormal by the sub-authorities of the judicial system (Foucault 1976). According to Foucault (1976: 9), “punishment has become the most hidden part of the penal process: it leaves the domain of more or less everyday perception and enters that of abstract consciousness; its effectiveness is seen as resulting from its inevitability, not from visible intensity”. Literature reveals the transition from torture to reformation in prisons as a response to the calls against the nature of brutality that was used to discipline prisoners in the eighteenth century (Bernault 2003). However, Foucault (1976: 28) argues that the reformations were not motivated by a concern for the welfare of the prisoners. Rather, the reformations focused on making sure that the ‘techniques of power’ – to punish and discipline – operate effectively within prisons. Discipline, in this context, refers to a series of techniques by which the body’s operations are controlled; it works by coercion and restricting the incarcerated individual’s movement and experience of space and time. This is achieved through techniques such as strict adherence to timetables, explicit general codes, and unified rules of procedure (or prison regulations) (Foucault 1976: 6). These techniques function as a form of punishment. Foucault (1976: 15) observes that “imprisonment has never functioned without additional elements of punishment that concern the body: rationing of food, sexual deprivation, corporal punishment, solitary confinement”. In other words, though torture is no longer used to afflict the body, the body is still the direct recipient of the regulations that control and discipline the individual.

The operation of prisons is embedded in the reorganisation of the power to punish that no longer targets the body; it is now a political force that propels the incarcerated individual to reform from the forces that made him commit crime. In addition, it also serves to discourage those who have not yet committed criminal offences from doing so. Foucault (1976) claims that the target for rehabilitation is not the body, but the soul. The soul is the non-corporal element of the body: “the

present correlative of certain technology of power over the body; ... born out of methods of punishment, supervision and constraint” (Foucault 1976: 29). The soul is created by techniques and strategies of this modern power to punish and discipline. These techniques are based on surveillance, strict supervision and organisation of bodies in time and space. They are employed according to strict technical knowledge related to human nature and behaviour, which are measured against the norm. The technical knowledge used to punish comes from different fields in human sciences, such as criminology, psychiatry, psychology, medicine, chaplaincy, and education. These provide the means of shifting discipline away from the body to the soul. According to Foucault (1976: 24), if the body is manipulated, the objective is to rehabilitate the bodiless reality: the soul. Therefore, the whole process of sentencing and judging is no longer focused on identifying and disciplining the offender for the crime committed; that is, it is no longer focused on punishing the body (Foucault 1976: 19). The sentence given by a judge condemns or acquits an offender. It is not simply a judgement of guilt and a legal decision that lays down punishment, but it bears within it an assessment of normality and a technical prescription for normalisation that is left to the penal system to implement. The assessment and treatment of the offender during imprisonment is based on knowledge drawn from the human sciences. The latter have introduced a series of subsidiary authorities in the penal system – small-scale legal systems and parallel judges – such as psychiatric and psychological experts, doctors, educationists, and members of the prison service. They all fragment the legal power to punish, and they employ punishment at their discretion (Foucault 1976: 21). For example, the role of the psychiatrist in penal matters is not that of an expert assessing and helping an offender. Rather, the psychiatrist is there to determine whether the offender is mentally sane or not. The psychiatrist also has a duty to prescribe how an offender should be treated to the point of submission – whether through force or mock persuasion. The educationists, in turn, focus on giving education to offenders and have the potential to direct their lives away from offending. Foucault (1976: 22) argues that educationists, psychiatrists and other experts serving in the carceral system provide medico-judicial treatment consisting of codes and methods which forms the power to punish and discipline. Therefore, the punishment and discipline of the offender is influenced and controlled by authoritative power, and this punishment is not presented as discipline for the crime committed, but it is seen as a method of rehabilitating the individual. The combination of punishment, discipline and rehabilitation constitutes the basic function of a modern prison. These objectives are always in conflict in that

the methods used for punishment in prisons are concrete systems of punishment that are guided by the technology of power and complex social systems that operate in this context to manage the rehabilitation of inmates (Foucault 1976). For rehabilitation strategies to be effective in correctional contexts, the system of punishment and discipline has to be in place to support the former.

The next section discusses how the technology of power operates in total institutions. It describes the treatment of incarcerated inmates in such institutions.

2.2.2 The characteristics of total institutions and the moral career of the offender

Prisons, like other total institutions that use techniques of power to discipline, aim to bring about what Goffman (1961: 24) calls a ‘moral career’ – “a career composed of the progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others” – that changes their behaviour. In the context of prisons, the offender is viewed as a social delinquent who has an abnormal soul that must be normalised through discipline, guided by strategies of power (Foucault 1976). Goffman (1961) presents a framework that explains how inmates of total institutions in general are treated and affected by the nature of the institutions as well as the experiences accumulated in such facilities. Goffman (cited in Weinstein 2011: 268) sees a total institution “as an authoritarian system that forces ... [inmates] to define themselves [as expected by the institution; that is, mentally ill if it is a mental hospital or criminal if it is a prison], change their thinking and behaviour, suffer humiliations, accept restrictions, and adjust to institutional life”. This authoritarian system is informed by the politics of power to punish, identified by Foucault (1976). This section describes how this system of power to discipline and punish works in total institutions, such as prisons, to reform delinquents by making them acquire the set social standards (or norms) they have deviated from.

First, Goffman (1961: 23) points out that when inmates are admitted into an institution they bring with them a presenting culture, which he describes as “a way of life and a round of activities taken for granted until the point of admission”. In addition to this, the individual is not only independent before admission into the total institution, (prison in this case), but s/he also has support from his or her social networks, whether from family or any other social relationship that has already been

established. Hence, “the recruit [or inmate] comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world” (Goffman 1961: 24). It is true that the home world (family and community) plays a major role in the socialisation of the youth. In most cases, we tend to focus on the good aspects of the socialisation process, yet in the case of offending youth, research in criminology suggests that many who engage in criminal activities have very unstable family ties that make them vulnerable to negative influences within their social environments. However, it should be pointed out that even though the inmate is already exposed to criminal tendencies, s/he is never ready for the mortification processes that s/he encounters when admitted into the correctional facility.

Correctional facilities, like other total institutions have an inherent character that drives the mortification of the inmate to adapt to the new context. Goffman (1961) notes that both the mortification processes and the inmate’s response to it gradually change his or her moral career – “the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others” (Goffman 1961: 24). On this issue, Weinstein (2011) explains that the moral career of an inmate reflects changes that occur from the point of the inmate’s admission to the point that reconstructed characteristics occur during the institutionalisation phase. The inmate is aware of such changes and Weinstein (2011: 268) observes that “as part of the moral career [inmates] slowly come to accept the [criminal] view of themselves [and] anxiety then accompanies this perception of [self]”. It is the consequences of these processes and reactions that eventually leave a lasting impact on the character of the inmate. Recent studies suggest that incarceration affects young inmates in such a way that some fail to assimilate into mainstream society after incarceration, and others engage in more serious crime after release (Gottfredson 1999; Biggam & Power 2002; Giguere 2005).

The processes by which the inmate is mortified are divided into three types: direct assault against the self, indirect effects, and the inmate’s reaction to these. Goffman (1961) posits that the direct assault of the self, the first type of mortification, is achieved by curtailing the self-concept of the inmate through admission procedures, role dispossession, and contaminative exposure. These processes are generally provided for by the rules and procedures that guide the daily operations of total institutions, such as correctional facilities. On admission, the inmate goes through humiliating activities aimed at stripping one of one’s sense of self as s/he joins the regimented life of the

institution. These acts by staff are usually accompanied with heavy punishment if the inmate displays any form of disobedience. Goffman (1961) explains that the punishment may be physical or emotional (achieved by a harsh tone when addressing the inmate). It is physical, for instance, when the inmate is stripped naked, forced to bath, and given institutional clothes – the latter changing his or her physical appearance completely. Such acts can be very traumatic for the inmate because his or her private self is likely to be viewed by the admitting officers or even other inmates in the vicinity. In addition to physical examination, the inmate's picture can also be taken by officials. Knowing that security officers now have one's identikit may be unsettling because it can be used against him or her at any time in future. Verbal abuse is experienced when questioned in a public setting about issues that usually touch on the inmate's privacy, forcing an explanation to strangers. At this point, everything is done to make the inmate realise his or her lack of independence in the facility and that the officers are in charge. Verbal abuse or indignities of speech, as another form of curtailment, is also reported to occur among inmates themselves, where one is called obscene names, cursed, teased, and discussed (especially personal issues or negative attributes) in one's presence as if one is not there, just to reduce morale (Goffman 1961: 31). Therefore, by the time the inmate has completed the admissions process, his or her sense of self is already eroded. New inmates must quickly learn the new culture of doing things in this new environment. Like all other inmates in total institutions, incarcerated inmates also lose their legal roles in matters concerning them, both in the outside world and in the institution. They are deliberately left out of decisions taken about them; this can really depress them and actually force them to detach themselves from important others.

Admission procedures provided by the Prisons Act No. 40 of 1964 in Correctional Facilities in Swaziland demand that inmates have to be thoroughly checked physically to establish their health; that is, they must be checked for any visible injuries sustained or sicknesses contracted while in the custody of the Police Department or before that. It seems that admissions procedures are regulated and expected to be done by law in many countries. This is shown by the first report of the House of Commons in Britain (2005) that sees admission procedures as an 'offenders assessment system'. The Report states that this system needs to be properly implemented because "The first step in rehabilitation is accurate individual assessment of prisoners on admission to prison" (p. 6). From a regulator's point of view, the admission procedures are seen as necessary

because the assessment of the inmate on entry gives the institution information about the individual that will enable officers to correctly place him or her in an appropriate system of rehabilitation or protect officers and other inmates in case the inmate is diagnosed with an infectious disease, for example. One may note that the expectation of the House of Commons may be appropriate and even noble, but the effects of the admission procedures on the inmate result in the mortification of the individual.

Goffman (1961: 31) also points out that since inmates are treated as a batch, there is the occurrence of contaminative exposure, which violates the individual's preserve of the self. As noted earlier, personal information about an individual inmate is discussed in public, usually by the officers and even other inmates, to the embarrassment of the inmate. The inmate's privacy is also invaded by sharing open toilets, sharing showers, and sleeping in crowded cells. In such contexts, the inmate is exposed to the dirt of others and is expected to tolerate it. Sometimes the inmate may be in the company of people perceived to be more dangerous than him- or herself, or different, in terms of race, age, and language. Such perceptions create anxiety in the inmate, and s/he gradually has to amass an inner strength to cope with these situations. In this mortification process then, the inmate becomes hardened; thus, his or her moral career changes from what it was before admission. The inmate may be obdurate and may then withdraw from the situation as an initial reaction to the humiliation and shock of the stripping processes. Though such withdrawal or obstinate reactions do not last long, the staff do not tolerate it, so the inmate quickly drops these acts and identifies coping strategies. The inmate is affected by this trauma, and his or her perception of things changes from what they were before incarceration, all contributing to the change of the inmate's moral career (Goffman 1961).

Humiliation not only affects the inmate's physical being, but it also has emotional effects that tend to induce stress. Goffman (1961) explains that the indirect effect of mortification are results of looping, and regimentation and tyrannisation – processes that are described as disruption of the usual relationship between the individual actor and the acts. Looping describes the action an inmate takes in order to protect him- or herself from an assault and usually results in the creation and occurrence of deference patterns. This is because “the individual finds that his protective response to an assault upon self is collapsed into the situation; [s/he] cannot defend [him- or herself] in the

usual way by establishing distance between the mortifying situation and [him- or herself]” (Goffman 1961: 41). Because the individual fails to alienate him- or herself from the curtailing situation, his or her response has to align with it. Such alignment may have an emotional effect since the inmate is usually cognitively aware of what is happening.

Regimentation and tyrannisation make the inmate anxious, especially at the initial stages of institutionalisation. Goffman (1961: 43) asserts that inmates in total institutions are strictly controlled and all their social activities are regulated such that the inmate may feel overwhelmed by the strict controls and judgments by staff, who generally treat them as a collective and monitor all their activities no matter how mundane they are, thus causing frustration to a newly admitted inmate. In that way, the inmate’s individual attributes are often suppressed, and s/he gradually adopts the characteristics of the group in which s/he is regimented. Goffman (1961: 43) concludes that “each specification robs the individual of an opportunity to balance [his or her] needs and objectives in a personally efficient way and opens up [his or her] line of action to sanctions”, so s/he always has to monitor his or her actions, ensuring they are within the bounds of authority set by the staff who are guided by institutional operational procedures.

Goffman (1961) describes how inmates adapt and adjust to the demands of total institutions. He observes that the mortification process strips the inmate’s self, and the inmate is given opportunities to go through what he calls a personal reorganisation – the point at which the inmate is ready to accept the “... explicit and formal set of prescriptions and proscriptions that lays out the main requirements of inmate conduct” (Goffman 1961: 53). Adapting to life in total institutions means that the inmate begins to appreciate the minimal privileges (those things that were generally taken for granted while on the outside) that are given by staff. The inmate also begins to understand the type of punishment one gets for certain types of behaviour. By this time the inmate knows the rules and how to survive in the institution. This is another experience the inmate will take with him or her on release.

2.3 A history of prisons in Africa

This section examines the history of prisons in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa, showing the causes of the tension that exists between the role of imprisonment in the modern

society, and the social practice that underpins the operations of the prisons, together with the management of inmates (Bernault 2003; Sarkin 2008; Vansina 2003).

Bernault (2003: 3) argues that the history of prisons in Africa must not be located in the context of pre-colonial but colonial tactics of confinement; these form a basis for the tensions that exists between the contemporary prison and its functions in the society it 'serves'. This history also should not be viewed as a European system that was imported into Africa by colonial powers because the colonial authority created the prison for a different purpose and used different systems from both the pre-colonial and European systems.

Penal incarceration was rare in pre-colonial Africa as its societies had a system different from that of the Europeans (Bernault 2003: 2). Following that line of thought, Vansina (2003: 57) argues that "pre-colonial African societies did not practice penal servitude as a judiciary institution or institute prisons as a specific place for incarceration". Therefore, detention does not appear to have been regarded as a punishment in itself. Wrongdoing was rectified by restitution rather than punishment, but even then, that restitution was achieved through fines and enslavement, and it was the responsibility of the offender, his or her family, and the community (that is, if the offense committed was across communities). Members of such communities got involved in the restitution process to avoid communal conflicts that could lead to war if not properly handled (Sarkin 2008). The main focus of the pre-colonial penal system, therefore, was to secure compensation for the victim and to restore the equilibrium of society as opposed to punishment of the offender, which is the sole focus and responsibility of the state in contemporary society. A severe punishment that was common and directed at the offender was to have him or her ostracised or banished from the community. Capital and corporal punishment were rarely used in many traditional African societies; they were reserved only for serious crimes such as treason, murder and witchcraft (Bernault 2003). Imprisonment was not used to confine offenders for long periods of time but was meant to prevent prisoners of war, for example, from escaping. Incarceration structures, therefore, did not exist in African societies. Hence, a prisoner that needed to be incarcerated would just be tied to a tree or locked in a shelter that was not specifically built to perform the function of a prison.

The colonial rule brought a new judicial system into Africa – the confinement of offenders in repressive institutions of imprisonment. The colonial powers established prisons in all their garrisons and administrative outposts in order to expand and consolidate their colonial rule. The prisons of Africa were employed not only to control crime but to impose colonial control on the indigenous people (Bernault 2003: 12). Initially, incarcerated offenders served out their sentences as labourers for the colonial government and its masters who needed labour for infrastructure development and farm work. The prison itself was a place of vice, shame and misery for the offenders because it was characterised by brutality, overcrowding, limited resources that resulted in little food rations, dilapidated structures, and a range of physical and health challenges suffered by the inmates (Bernault 2003: 1). Sarkin (2008: 22) argues that “Africa’s earliest experience with formal prisons was not with the eye towards the rehabilitation or reintegration of criminals but rather the economic, political and social subjugation of indigenous people.”. The colonial penal system was also characterised by the use of corporal/capital punishment and racial segregation. Corporal punishment was considered as the ideal form of punishment. Bernault (2003: 3) notes that “contrary to the ideal of prison reform in Europe, the colonial penitentiary did not prevent colonisers from using archaic forms of punishment, such as corporal sentences, flogging, and public exhibition. In Africa, the prison, did not replace but rather supplemented public violence”. To the colonist, imprisonment alone was not sufficient punishment for African offenders because the prisoner was fed, accommodated, and clothed while in prison, so the use of corporal punishment was a necessary punitive dimension. Black prisoners were separated from white prisoners, and were treated more harshly than their white counterparts. Capital punishment functioned as an instrument of terror in the colonial penal system. The death sentence was used to reinforce colonial domination by acting as a symbol of white sovereignty and authority (Peté 2008: 50). Therefore, the colonial penal system used imprisonment and the different types of inhumane forms of punishment as methods of social control.

Later on, post-colonial African governments took over from colonialists, and they adopted the same system of government of which the prison was an essential part. Bernault (2003: 29) argues that in the colonial setup the focus of prisons was on laws of submission, production, discipline, and assent to the dominant order. It was further noted that the adopted system of imprisonment comprised of both the European judicial order and a large number of pre-colonial penal techniques.

Hence, the modern systems of imprisonment have characteristics of both. This then means that offending resulted not only in reparation but also in confinement that is accompanied with punishment (through hard labour), discipline (through strict regulations that control space and time), and overcrowding, with its numerous effects. Foucault (1976) suggests that the European carceral system also has evolved dramatically from the eighteenth century, where the focus of the system was to punish through physical torture. Torture, therefore, as a means of punishing the offender for the crime committed, no longer constitutes the main function of imprisonment. The body “now serves as an instrument or intermediary: if one intervenes upon it, to imprison it, or to make it work, it is in order to deprive the individual of a liberty that is regarded as a right and as property” (Foucault 1976: 11).

As the post-colonial African prison adopted this system, it became a place of internment and deprivation that retained repressive forms of managing the inmates (Sarkin 2008). For example, harsh corporal punishment of offenders did not disappear when the colonial period came to an end. However, the African system of imprisonment responded to calls by advocates of human rights, demanding a change in the inhumane treatment of inmates. According to (Peté 2008: 52), many African countries responded through the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa (UN Economic & Social Council 1996) (Uganda) and the 2002 Ouagadougou Declaration on Accelerating Penal and Prison Reform in Africa (Burkina Faso); hence, such African countries have made strides in instituting some reforms in order to limit the impact penal discipline has on the offenders. As a result of this effort, many countries have since renamed prisons as Departments of Correctional Services. Furthermore, efforts were made to improve the infrastructure of institutions through renovations and the construction of new buildings. Some scholars observe that the renovations do not necessarily make the lives of offenders better because modern facilities seem to worsen the convicts’ conditions of detention since prisons have become “places, where wardens can exert unchecked, sometimes lethal, violence on detainees” (Bernault 2003: 30). Moreover, the modern African prison, like others elsewhere, is characterised by over-crowding, which results in poor hygiene, poor sanitary conditions, limited sleeping space, sexual assault and poor health, with the spread of communicable disease on the rise and HIV/AIDS taking its toll (Sarkin 2008). Another form of terror in African prisons comes from the significant influence of prison gangs whose activities endanger prisoners through violence, intimidation, the operation of

criminal syndicates, rape, drug dealing, prostitution, and control. The gang activities are not under the surveillance of the prisons' operations, rather, they seem to be aided by corrupt prison staff (Peté 2008; Steinberg et al. 2004).

A feature of African prisons that is of concern is the management of juvenile offenders. Many African prisons detain juvenile offenders in the same facilities with adults. While prison conditions affect both the juveniles and the adults, what is of greater concern is the criminal attitudes and behaviour these young detainees acquire while interacting with adults. In many cases, such as in Swaziland, for example, efforts have been made to separate the young from the old. However, harsh prison conditions, in terms of the management of prisoners and the adoption of a prison culture by inmates, tend to remain. This has made their rehabilitation a challenge (Peté 2008).

As a way of responding to calls for human rights in prisons, the contemporary African prison has not only adjusted its systems of reformation, retribution and incapacitation, but has also made rehabilitation and reintegration part of its aims for reformation. Yet the tension that is brought about by these conflicting aims seems to make the achievement of rehabilitation and reintegration elusive (Sarkin 2008). Rehabilitation and reintegration aims seem to have been impeded by limited resources in many African countries; there is inadequate funding for rehabilitation programmes focusing on educational and vocational training, psychological support, and promotion of familiar contact beyond prison. Thus, "the consensus of opinion is that prison is a locus for detention, punishment and deterrence as opposed to rehabilitation and reintegration" (Sarkin 2008: 22). The tension between the negative (retribution and incapacitation) and positive (rehabilitation and reintegration) aims of imprisonment is further illustrated by the way the techniques of power, employed in the operation of the prisons, control offenders in a more complex way. The offender's soul is targeted through punishment and discipline in a systematic effort to rehabilitate the offenders (Foucault 1976). This technology of power employed by the carceral system is underpinned by various forms of knowledge such as education and psychiatry and other interventions aimed at rehabilitating the delinquent.

2.4 Success and failure of youth incarceration

The main purpose of incarceration, it has been argued, is to deter youth from offending, but literature shows that incarceration fails to stop future offending (Giguere 2005). Instead, incarcerated youth are affected by their experiences in correctional facilities where they acquire more criminal and delinquent behaviours. Many of them tend to either adopt criminal lives or become either bullies or emotionally affected by bullying and become victims of bullying themselves. Literature further reveals that the psychosocial development of young offenders is greatly affected by their experiences while incarcerated (Steinberg et al. 2004).

Whether incarceration does deter an offender or not has been a subject of debate by theorists in fields of criminal psychology and criminology. Labelling Theory, and Differentiation Theory suggest that sanctions, such as incarceration, affect the offender negatively in that the event and the experiences of incarceration expose the offender to being negatively labelled as a criminal. Alternatively, the offender him- or herself could become indifferent to the effects of his or her criminal activity. Lemert's (1951) and Becker's (1973) Labelling Theory asserts that individuals, especially children, tend to follow a particular deviant behaviour because they are constantly labelled as such in their social context: "once young people have been labelled as criminal they are more likely to offend" (Bernburg, Krohn & Rivera 2009: 67). The Labelling Theory describes how the self-identity and behaviour of individuals may be determined or influenced by the terms used to describe or classify them. Edwin Sutherland's Differentiation Theory posits that deviant juvenile behaviour results from the social interaction a child has with individuals with criminal behaviour, which the child perceives as appropriate, and as a result fails to differentiate between right and wrong behaviour. The child also learns antisocial behaviour in the process. These two theories suggest that exposure to criminality and incarceration may encourage and amplify deviant behaviour even after the offender has been released from prison. Giguere (2005: 1) explains that this increase in deviant behaviour is known as deviance amplification. Farrington (1977) argues that "... sanctioning [or incarceration] results in negative reactions from others, and facilitates the offender in constructing a 'deviant self-image' thereby causing him to continue or increase his participation in crime". The role of society's negative attitude towards offenders is also highlighted by Lemert (1951) who states that sanctioning, particularly incarceration, acts as a severe reaction from society that aids an individual in accepting a deviant social status. Lemert (1951) argues that

society tends to label those seen as deviant from standard norms through name-calling and stereotyping them; hence, they tend to accept their new identity that carries a stigma, and this leads to the creation of a deviant subculture.

Labelling Theory has been critically challenged because other scholars argue that not all offenders that go through the carceral system are affected by labelling (Akers & Seller 2009). The label does not create the behaviour. The behaviour itself creates the label. Akers and Sellers (2009: 156) argue that “people commit acts that violate the law or social norms for reasons that have nothing to do with labels that others apply to them.”. Becker (1973) also argues that primary and secondary deviance result in labelling. The deviant self-concept, in turn, increases the likelihood that the labelled person will commit additional deviant acts and develop a stabilised career of secondary deviance. Labelling theory overlooks the initial behaviour of the individual after the label is bestowed. It only emphasises the interactive process of labelling and ignores the processes and structures that lead to the deviant acts. Such processes might include differences in socialisation, attitudes and opportunities, and how social and economic structures impact these. These scholars observe that labelling seems to affect only young offenders who are in contact with the justice system for the first time. Those offenders who are frequently in conflict with the law and are incarcerated often are eventually not affected by labelling because its effect wear off after some time. In such cases then, incarceration is seen as failing to function as a deterrent of future offending; it only hinders the offenders’ opportunities in employment (Sampson & Laub 1999). Other scholars also argue against the general tenets of Labelling Theory, in its strict sense, because they believe that incarceration does deter future offending, but this occurs only when it imposes more costs than benefits to the offender (Goffman 1961; Sampson & Laub 1999). Labelling may not affect every offender, but there are other ways that the inmate is influenced and affected by incarceration. These include the examination of what opportunities are available to the offender after release that may direct his or her attention from continuing with offending. For example, Giguere (2005) finds that as the offender matures and gains more responsibility, such as having children and being married, the tendency is to avoid deviant behaviour since incarceration would affect those who rely on him or her for sustenance. But it should be noted that this conclusion was based on studying the trends of youth who had previously been incarcerated for drug crimes only. So, the decrease in offending as one matures may not be extended to other crimes such as person

crimes (rape, murder, and assault) or property crime (theft and fraud). Giguere's (2005) study finds plausible reasons for the decrease in offending in drug crimes. She explains that the youth involved in drug crimes are either abusing drugs themselves and get involved to satisfy their craving or are unemployed, so they get involved to get money quickly without going through the long route of acquiring education and training for a particular career. After incarceration most of them begin to have more responsibilities and get socially acceptable and sustainable employment, thus reducing the frequency of engaging in drug crimes.

This debate is ongoing since more recent studies show that incarceration does not deter youthful offending (Spohn & Holleran 2002; Gottfredson 1999; Dejong 1997). Although these studies were not necessarily trying to investigate the assertion of Labelling Theory, their findings seem to point out that many young people who go through incarceration facilities are impacted upon negatively by the experiences of incarceration. The literature reveals that instead of mitigating the situation, incarceration makes the situation worse for many young offenders. Dejong (1997) compared offending youth who were incarcerated and those who were given probation (not necessarily for similar kinds of crime). Her findings indicate that young offenders who are arrested and incarcerated for the first time are more likely to be rearrested for other crimes immediately after release than those who had not been incarcerated but given probation or community sentences. The conclusion that can be made from these findings support the suggestions made earlier that the experiences of incarceration impact youth negatively. This is further supported by Gottfredson (1999) who also reports a higher likelihood of youth rearrest and states that juvenile correctional facilities are more harmful to the offender. Most of the literature on youth and incarceration indicate that the experiences learnt in correctional facilities seem to promote criminal careers rather than deter future offending.

Goffman (1961) also observes that although many inmates tend to drop some of their acquired characteristics immediately after release, some traits learnt while in the institution are retained by the inmates permanently. Therefore, although incarcerated young inmates lose some cognitive developmental milestones, they do gain some experience from their incarceration. Goffman (1961: 63) states that the conversion adaptation process – where the inmates behave as expected by the staff – is one example where inmates may make the staff believe that they have

been rehabilitated as expected, yet this is just a strategy to survive the tension of life in the institution. But once such a strategy is practiced constantly, the inmate is likely to take on pretence as an attribute to use later in life – as a tool to convince others that whatever action s/he is involved in seems honest. This may be seen as a negative attribute from a moral perspective, but it is an effective strategy that enables the inmates to survive the effect of the cognitive assault on the development of his or her mental capacities. These problems are magnified after incarceration mainly because the prison environment generally fails to cater for the development of psychosocial capacities. Instead, correctional facilities nurture unconventional skills that make the young person unable to operate successfully in a normal society, so s/he reverts to crime. Thus, literature reveals that many incarcerated youth have a higher probability to recidivate immediately after release (Giguere 2005).

Foucault (1976) argues that the perception that prison has negative effects on the individual is a result of reticent punitive practices that seldom touch the body; if it does, it does so minimally. The body is caught up in a system of constraints and privations, obligations and prohibitions that carry out the punitive action aimed at reforming the individual. The disciplinary normalising plans, which Foucault (1976) calls biopower, are applied across society in the formation or the “moulding” of subjectivities but affect individuals differently: some become normalised or rehabilitated while others become more hardened. Hence, the negative impact of incarceration. Farrington, Osborn and West (1978) found that labelling is prevalent in offending youth below the age of 21. Their findings are significant in this study since the offending youth studied were between age 12 and 18.

However, the continuous development in human sciences that underpin the methods used to normalise the behaviour of inmates in correctional facilities reveal that education is one of the methods that are effective in reforming the deviant. Educationists are therefore experts that exercise their power to rehabilitate the inmates. The next section discusses the impact of education on incarcerated youth.

2.5 Young offenders and formal education

Despite the fact that incarceration has negative effects on young people, who are likely to become hardened, governments continue to provide education to offenders in correctional facilities as a form of rehabilitation and self-development. Literature indicates that many young offenders seem to “finish their time with the justice system and move to the adult world with just as many, if not more, problems than when they first entered [because] the psychosocial development of youthful offenders is disrupted, or arrested by their experiences within the juvenile system” (Steinberg et al. 2004: 2). However, education is able to provide a long-term intervention to such effects. This section discusses the significance of education in the rehabilitation of incarcerated youth.

In Swaziland, the transition from prisons to correction facilities has ignited the HMCS’s interests in rehabilitating the offenders in general, but the energy and focus of management seem to be on the education and rehabilitation of young offenders; hence, the establishment of a school for them in 2008. The expectation is that youthful offending will be treated by the provision of education and vocational skills. Research shows, however, that education programmes in correctional facilities need to be supported with programmes that nurture psychosocial capacities without which the young offenders may come out of the facility not having been helped (Biggam & Power 2002; Braggins & Talbot 2003). Steinberg et al. (2004: 8) argue that providing education and vocational training to incarcerated youth “may not, in itself, facilitate adequate psychosocial development [because] the consistent support from significant adults and enough freedom to exercise autonomy, the gradual process of maturation – to learn self-direction, social perspective, and responsibility – may be effectively cut off” during the incarceration period. Literature reveals that the majority of young offenders have learning difficulties and are cognitively immature to handle the pressure that comes with incarceration, making them more likely to be rearrested, both sooner and for more serious offenses, immediately after being released (Steinberg et al. 2004).

The correctional institutions provide support to young offenders through professional social welfare officers such as chaplains, psychiatrists and psychologists whose programmes are aimed at inmates’ psychosocial development. Therefore, the institutions do make an effort to provide mental health treatment for young offenders. However, Foucault (1976) argues that the provision of expert services to inmates in prisons is not necessarily for the benefit of the inmates; it is part

of the system's techniques to discipline and punish. The expert then is an authority that prescribes how the discipline is to be handled.

Correctional facilities in general are caught in the middle of discharging retribution and rehabilitating offenders. Brutal punishment from warders, for example, characterise correctional facilities. Foucault (1976: 26) further explains that there is a continuous battle in exercising power to subjugate the body. He argues that "the body is a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected [one]. This subjection is not obtained by the instruments of violence or ideology; it can also be direct, physical, pitting force against force, bearing on material elements"; that is, manipulating the body using the methods of power to punish and discipline. In Foucault's (1976) view then, punishment is central to the complex social practice of prisons, and this is likely to have an impact on the psychosocial development of young offenders as young inmates battle to come to terms with the conflicting techniques of rehabilitation and discipline.

Despite the negative impact incarceration inherently has on inmates, prisons do not only focus on retribution. Correctional facilities are also concerned with the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders in order that they may become useful and law-abiding members of the community when released from custody. Although many of these inmates "have never been 'habilitated' in society in the first place" (House of Commons Report, 2004–2005 [HC 193–1]), the institution has to offer different types of interventions to enable the individual to become fit again to operate normally in the society. Being 'fit' in Foucauldian (1976) terms means that a 'normal' individual's soul has been rehabilitated in such a way that s/he behaves according to the standards (or norms) set by the relationship of knowledge (that prescribes the standards of normality) and power (which keeps the behaviour of all individuals in society in check). Failing to meet such norms means the individual would be in conflict with the law, and discipline and punishment would then be used to normalise him or her.

Various interventions are used to rehabilitate inmates in correctional facilities around the world. These include the provision of formal and vocational education for offenders. Studies show that many offenders engage in crime because of unemployment that is exacerbated by high illiteracy rates. Natale (2010: 2) notes that

there is a proven correlation between illiteracy, innumeracy and offending [and that improving an individual's education, and] improving the skills levels of offenders could significantly increase their chances of finding a job, prevent re-offending, and ensure their successful integration back into their local community. [Therefore, to rehabilitate the offenders effectively], education and training should be an integral part of the daily prison regime and ... prison staff should be enabled to encourage offenders to participate in the learning through the use of incentives ...

Education in correctional facilities has challenges. The staff has to provide incentives or encourage the inmates to understand the privileges of learning. Natale (2010) argues that staff can help inmates focus on the positive role and outcome of education by using some privileges as incentives to choose education over other forms of work within the incarceration environment. Such incentives though are also used to reorganise the 'mortified self' of the inmate by supplying him or her with benefits that had been previously withheld from the inmate; things whose importance had been taken for granted before admission into the institution (Goffman 1961). Therefore, Goffman (1961) argues that the incentives also form part of the mortification process since inmates are likely to lose them if staff decides to withdraw them. Looking at it from the perspective of rehabilitation (and not control), offering opportunities and incentives to improve education or vocational skills should not be viewed as a privilege used to curtail the inmates' self. Instead, it can be seen as a major process of rehabilitation that has the potential for changing the life of the individual and may result in better opportunities than reoffending beyond imprisonment.

The role of education in the management and prevention of crime spurred many African governments to draw up policies that made education part of the social practice for the rehabilitation of inmates.

2.6 Influence of social practices in incarceration environment on education policy

When it comes to the rehabilitation of young offenders, many governments have realised that the provision of formal education that follows the curriculum and timelines of public schools is crucial in keeping the youth in correctional services profitably engaged. Grimwood and Strickland (2013: 1) report that "the problem of youth crime, and how best to respond to it, has attracted political

attention for decades”. Professor Gus John, the chair of the Time to Learn advisory group responsible for the study on *Prison Education from the Prisoners’ Perspective* that was commissioned by the Prison Reform Trust, notes that

prison education can open up opportunities, enlighten people, broaden their horizons and build their self-confidence. It can increase their awareness of options, giving them a real choice of life away from crime; [therefore], education can open up the legitimate means of achieving success.

One example of a government’s response to youth offending is an initiative by the Ministry of Justice in England in February 2013. It published a consultation (green) paper entitled *Transforming Youth Custody: Putting education at the heart of detention* that reiterates the fact that the majority of incarcerated youth reoffend within 12 months after release, indicating that the period spent in custody seems to have little or no effect (Grimwood & Strickland 2013). This paper also suggests that despite the negative impact incarceration has on young inmates, “custody may well represent a rare period of stability in otherwise chaotic lives [literature suggest that many offending youth have poor discipline backgrounds promoted by family breakdown and other factors], and as such presents a key opportunity to set these young people on a different track (Grimwood & Strickland 2013:15). Grimwood and Strickland’s (2013) findings are also apt for the African context, where there is transformation in the management of prisons, renamed correctional facilities, and where the provision of formal education is seen as one way to rehabilitate offenders, especially the youth who have more opportunities to turn their lives away from reoffending and become responsible citizens instead.

In Swaziland, education as an intervention to prevent reoffending was one of the goals of the transformation of prisons into correctional facilities; a process that began to gain momentum in 2008. The HMCS, with the support of UNICEF, had already established a fully-fledged school to educate young inmates as part of their rehabilitation by August 2010. Such a move is consistent with recommendations made by various studies and reports on education reform in prisons. They all highlight the importance of providing education that is not just tailored to young people in custody. The education provided should follow the government’s curriculum in public schools and

work together with other programmes that would support the young inmates' social, emotional and health needs (Grimwood & Strickland 2013). Braggins and Talbot (2003: 4) state that

The main thrust of education in prisons is to provide opportunities for offenders to attain a range of nationally recognised qualifications up to [secondary level] ... and in some cases beyond, which will enhance their employability on release. [Therefore], all prisons must provide a core curriculum, which includes: Initial assessment, National Record of Achievement, Basic skills, Key skills, English for speakers of other languages, Information and Communications Technology, Social and Life Skills [and] Generic preparation for work.

Providing education to inmates should not be seen as a measure that only results in external benefits, such as keeping inmates from reoffending and increasing their employability; it must result in personal benefits too. Generally, education transforms one's perspective on issues of life; thus, offending youth, who are rehabilitated through formal education, are more likely to end up viewing their criminal tendencies from a different angle. This would be more beneficial to themselves and the community at large. Education can also "improve self-esteem and motivation, as well as [reduce] the likelihood that their [inmates'] own children will struggle at school" (Braggins & Talbot 2003: 7).

However, the potential benefit of education can be inhibited by a number of factors. One of these is the stigma that inmates carry with them beyond their incarceration. Goffman (1961) explains that when inmates leave total institutions, they tend to drop certain characteristics, which they learn as coping mechanisms to survive the mortification process. However, there are some negative characteristics they take away with them and have to live with for life. For example, the inmates' criminal record, a permanent record kept by the state, aggravates the effect of stigmatisation by limiting employability because many employers now demand a police report, obtainable through fingerprint analysis that clears the prospective employee of any crime. So, even if the individual has learnt some skills in custody with the potential to redirect his or her life from reoffending, the existence of a criminal record would render such skills useless. To mitigate this challenge, the government of Swaziland has enacted a new law that prevents the fingerprints of offenders younger

than 18 years to be taken and used against them in future. In this case, the benefits of education to young offenders beyond incarceration are not impinged by a criminal record.

Another challenge facing the institutions is dealing with demotivated youth, some of whom have a low intelligence quotient (IQ). Natale (2010: 2) discovered that “23% of people who go into prison [in the United Kingdom] have very low IQs of less than 70[, and] 49% of prisoners throughout the system have been excluded from school”. Various studies also suggest that a high proportion of the prison population have poor literacy and numeracy skills (Gosse in Braggins & Talbot 2003). One may conclude that the issue of low IQs or the presence of both learning difficulties and communication difficulties are issues that seem to be common across correctional facilities since poor education is commonly cited in many studies as major causes of criminal careers (Grimwood & Strickland 2013: 4). But Wilson (in Braggins & Talbot 2003: 8) argues as follows:

Whilst no one would deny that there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that basic literacy and numeracy skills are lacking in some of the prison population – especially those on remand – a policy based solely on this approach implicitly suggests that those with literacy and numeracy do not commit crime, and leads to a void in regime provision for development beyond this level ...

Braggins and Talbot (2003) give us an overview of the benefits and drawbacks of learning in a prison environment, the relevance of the curriculum to their diverse needs, the range of resources available and the limitations imposed upon learning by prison routines. This study reports that the provision of education to inmates is affected by the lack of priority given to education and training, a lack of financial resources, the sudden movement of prisoners [to other facilities or upon release from incarceration], and the fact that planning for education in prison is separate from that for public education.

The general expectation for education then is to rehabilitate young offenders so as to prevent them from reoffending, and help them construct an identity that would facilitate their successful

reintegration into the community. The present study then investigates how the HMCS, though a total institution by nature, uses formal education to shape the identity of young offenders.

2.7 Summary

The discussion in this chapter traced the history of prisons in Africa, showing that the modern African prison was formed by an amalgamation of both pre-colonial and colonial penal systems (Bernault 2003). It also showed how prisons have evolved dramatically with the influence of human sciences that provide the techniques and methods to exercise the power to punish and discipline as strategies to rehabilitate offenders (Foucault 1976). In particular, knowledge from human sciences and power relations have been used by governments to attempt curbing criminality and the effects of incarceration on offenders, especially incarcerated youth. The chapter also showed how such attempts are still marred by challenges such as the mortification processes and the culture in total institutions. Both of these have negative effects on inmates, especially young offenders who come into contact with the system while still going through the formative stages of cognitive development (Goffman 1961; Steinberg et al. 2004). The discussion further showed that the aims of incarceration – retribution and rehabilitation – create an ongoing tension between them in that prison is by nature a place of punishment and discipline, yet it also serves to reform the offender in order to become a ‘normal’ citizen who acts and behaves according to the standards set by the politics of the technology of knowledge and power that controls people in societies. The chapter concluded by showing that despite these shortcomings, the provision of education to youth in custody is seen as a means to curb the increase in criminal behaviour since education provides a different path for the youth to take. Education can enable them to make positive changes to their attitudes or behaviours, and align them with those norms deemed appropriate by society.

The next chapter will discuss the discursive construction of identity.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

3.1 Introduction

The notion of ‘identity’ has been studied in various disciplines within the humanities and social sciences such as psychology, sociology, and linguistics. Although my study is interested in the discursive construction of identity, and thus draws primarily on theories developed in linguistics, I do refer to other developments in identity research within the broader humanities and social sciences. This is done because the interdisciplinary nature of ‘identity’ as a theoretical concept cannot be escaped. Identity has been studied diachronically and synchronically by using a number of approaches that shaped early and contemporary theories of identity. The earlier approaches were based on an essentialist approach to identity and were later replaced by constructivist understandings. The essentialist view sees identity as a project of the self while constructivist theories view it as a product of social interaction and as positions individuals take while engaged in discourse (Benwell & Stokoe 2006). From the constructivist approaches, more recent theories were produced; they view identity construction as an ongoing activity in which language is used to perform specific actions in specific environments as part of social practices in interaction (Georgakopoulou 2015: 257). Such theories are seen as contributing to the discursive turn in identity theorising; that is, they are theories “which treat identity as fluid, fragmentary, contingent and crucially constituted in discourse” (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 17).

This chapter traces the development of theories and approaches to the analysis of identity construction from the essentialist view to the constructivist view. Identity has been theorised from three distinct positions: as (1) a product of the self, (2) as a product of the social and collective ideologies, and (3) as constituted in discourse by a process of discursive work and other semiotic modes of interaction (Benwell & Stokoe 2003: 17). The rest of the chapter primarily discusses these three positions. Although I align myself with the third position, I discuss the other positions to provide a brief overview of the historical development of identity research that will serve to situate my study. These three positions are largely reflective of the particular intellectual movements focusing on different aspects of identity research. By providing information on identity

research in such a way, I allow a glimpse into why particular types of identity research might have remained unexplored and why there is a need for the continued study of identity.

3.2 Identity as a product of the self

Theorising identity as a product of the self emanates from an understanding that describes the individual as a subject driven by human agency and self-determination. This gives the individual an innate capacity to use experiences to formulate and interpret private and personalised identity traits and to mould an inner self. Thus, identity as a product of the self is described as an “‘essential’, cognitive, socialised, or psychic phenomenon that governs human action” (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 3). From this perspective, identity is seen as a psychological state that indicates “something well-defined about oneself, fixed and unchanging” (Currie 1998: 2). Identity is thus viewed as a permanent psychological phenomenon that is deeply entrenched in the mind, and is a private, unchanging, and pre-discursive phenomenon.

Identity as a product of the self has been studied for centuries; thus, the notion is said to have attracted various interpretations over the different periods of human intellectual development. The way in which identity as a product of the self has been studied can therefore be linked to the major intellectual movements across time. This is what Benwell & Stokoe (2006) endeavour to do in their explanation of the differences between the Enlightenment self, Romantic self, Psychodynamic self.

The Enlightenment self is based on the capacity of an individual to reason and thus remake him- or herself as a peculiar individual, different from others. Within the Romantic movement, the subject was understood to have the capacity to take responsibility for achieving his or her unique identity. The identity of an individual was therefore “theorised as an expression of something innate, but predictable on sensibility and feeling rather than cognition”, which was also a focus of the Enlightenment movement (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 19). Later, during the early twentieth century, the Psychodynamic self was theorised. This period highlighted the importance of the mind in identity formation of individuals. The mind was seen as the central mediator between the social and the psyche, and this mediation was perceived to be revealed through discourse. From the psychodynamic perspective, therefore, identity, although viewed as a mental feature, is understood

to be a feature processed in the discursive realm. With the ascendance of postmodernism as an intellectual movement, the notion of the ‘Postmodern self’ emerged. Here, identity is viewed as something that is “frequently characterised by fragmentation, relativism, a merging of the public and private spheres, and a decentring or ‘dislocation of the self’” (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 22). In other words, it is interpreted as an interface of the internal workings of the mind, and social activities around the individual, and is always changing depending on the situation and the position the individual finds him- or herself in. Thus, in postmodernist terms identity is not viewed as an absolute or fixed entity.

The central theme of identity as a product of the self is the issue of human agency, and the role of experiences in shaping the self as well as an individual’s capacity to respond to social structure and use reasoning and other mental abilities to shape identity. This essentialist view of identity is challenged by other scholars who argue that identity is not just a product of the (individual) mind but also a product of social ideology. The next section discusses how identity is seen as that kind of product.

3.3 Identity as a product of social and collective ideology

Sociopsychological approaches are underpinned by the perception that the subconscious mind is heavily influenced by an individual’s experiences. Experiences are of course located in social interactions, which is why proponents of sociopsychological approaches argue that social interactions shape identity. Instrumental in establishing more socially orientated theories of identity were Tajfel’s ‘social identity theory’ or ‘self-categorisation theory’, Giles and Johnson’s ‘ethnolinguistic identity’, and Sacks’ ‘conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis’ (Benwell & Stokoe 2006; Giles & Johnson 1987; Hansen & Liu 1997).

3.3.1 Social identity theory, self-categorisation theory and ethnolinguistic identity

Tajfel’s (1982) argument that people categorise themselves in terms of their membership within a social group forms the basis of social identity theory. Therefore, ‘social identity’ refers to “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (Hansen & Liu 1997: 567). This theory embraces the fact that one’s identity arises

from one's participation in social life and one's capacity to categorise one's identity based on social interaction. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 25) argue that "social identity theory explores the phenomenon of 'in-group' or 'out-group'". This social categorisation is said to be achieved cognitively, and it requires the members of the group to attribute some characteristics of their own group; these characteristics are understood as different from those of the out-group. Through this process of differentiation between the in-group and out-group, stereotyping and prejudice towards the out-group can occur. Members can belong to more than one group and individuals can acquire identities that vary from one social context to the other. This flexibility of social identity is also supported by Ladegaard (2012: 59) who argues that "social identity is a flexible concept which constantly changes depending on context and situation". However, Hansen and Liu (1997: 568) point out that even though social identity has the potential to vary, that variation is not always flexible since changing social groups

may not be possible, [thus, individuals may find themselves with limited options to change a particular identity except by] changing their interpretations of the characteristics of their in-group so as to view them in a more positive light or engaging in a social action to change the situation.

It seems clear that Hansen and Liu (1997), and Ladegaard (2012) all agree that identity can also be structured and constrained by various social structures and conditions. It must be emphasised also that social identity is mainly concerned with broader descriptions of identity of groups of people in terms of their social, cultural, political, and linguistic differences, as might be manifested in either public or private discourses.

Self-categorisation theory as postulated by Turner (1982) focuses on the nature, antecedents, and consequences of the psychological process of self-categorisation. The nature of the psychological process of self-categorisation enables individuals to categorise themselves as members of groups they identify with in terms of identities that classify the individual as similar to those of other members of the group. The process is termed 'depersonalisation' because the characteristics of the individual are defined based on the group values rather than the individual personal characteristics (Sindic & Condor 2014: 45). In terms of antecedents, self-categorisation theory highlights the

prominent characteristics that show the individual's readiness to use a particular category and how such a category fits the values of the group (Sindic & Condor 2014: 46).

As early as 1987, Giles and Johnson introduced ethnolinguistic identity, which is a linguistic-based theory as opposed to the sociopsychological theories (social identity theory and self-categorisation theory) discussed above. The ethnolinguistic theory originally addressed the linguistic strategies used for interethnic interactions in different contexts, where members of one ethnic group would accentuate their ethnolinguistic characteristics (such as dialect, language, or the use of specialised vocabulary) when conversing with members of an out-group, or converging towards the out-group by attenuating their linguistic distinctiveness (Giles & Johnson 1987: 69). This concept gives attention to the ethnicity, language, appearance and personality of the individual or groups of people. Language use enables the individual to identify and cognitively assimilate to a particular group that has a distinct social identity.

The ethnolinguistic theory, however, has a limitation in that it ignores certain characteristics of identity (such as personal characteristics of individuals) that differ among individuals and groups. Hansen & Liu (1997: 571) observe that “not only do ethnic groups differ in behaviour, language, and manifestation of an identity, but individuals within each group also differ in each of these elements”. People never behave the same; they do not use language in the same way, and the manifestation of their identities also varies.

The limitation of the approaches to identity work, discussed in this section, is that they locate identity as a pre-discursive construct that is responsible for the construction and understanding of social identity in language use. Some scholars argue against this focus of the sociopsychological approaches to identity – the view of identity as a mental state that places an individual in certain social categories. For example, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 585) describe identity as “a relational and sociocultural phenomenon ... rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or fixed social categories”. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 26) also challenge both Tajfel's social identity theory, and group identity since these tend to treat identity as “a cognitive, pre-discursive and essentialist phenomenon ... that correlates or causes particular behaviors [which may be social behaviors or language behaviors]”. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) note that

these limitations led to the development of other interaction-based approaches to identity, which include conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis, and discursive psychology. These are discussed in the next sections.

3.3.2 Conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis

Conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis emerged in the 1960s in the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson on identity research based on ethnomethodology (Benwell & Stokoe 2006:35; Housley & Fitzgerald 2002). Ethnomethodology (developed by Garfinkel, and influenced by other scholars) is described as a method that explains how people in a society use language to make sense of their world in an orderly way. Therefore, ethnomethodology plays a vital role in the sociological analysis of language and interaction; it provides a framework for the analysis of talk-in-interaction. Such a framework enables the exploration of situated action “in terms of themes and issues associated with wider conceptualisations of social structure, culture, and ... how senses of wider social structure and processes can be located, observed and described within situated action” (Housley & Fitzgerald 2002: 59). Sacks’s conversation analysis and membership categorisation analysis are examples of such methodological approaches to the study of talk in situated action, and in this section these two are briefly described. The section will also present the reconsidered model of membership categorisation analysis that has been developed over the years.

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 36), conversation analysis “adopts an indexical, context-bound understanding of identity, in which the self ... is oriented to production and accomplishment of interaction”. Therefore, the identity of an individual is manifested in talk during the construction of the discourse. They further note that conversation analysis does not allow preconceived identities that the analyst may bring into the research; instead it bases the identification of identity categories on what the participants orient in the conversation. Schegloff (1992) also advocates that conversation analysis does not presuppose identity categories like other approaches (such as discourse analysis). He asserts the following:

Showing that some orientation to context is demonstrably relevant to the participants is important ... in order to ensure that what informs the analysis is what is relevant to the

participants in its target event, and not what is relevant in the first instance to its academic analysts by virtue of the set analytic and theoretical commitments which they bring to their work (Schegloff 1992: 192, emphasis in original).

Conversation analysis therefore focuses on analysing identity in talk as the discourse is produced and is sensitive to changes in positions that the individual is likely to take as the conversation progresses. Housely & Fitzgerald (2002: 62) point out the following: “One of the features of description and recognisability in conversation is the display of categories and the methodological process of categorisation”. Such a display of categories is made possible by the membership categorisation analysis.

Membership categorisation analysis (MCA) focuses on “the situated and reflexive use of categories in everyday and institutional interaction” (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 38). The categories identified are said to be inferentially recognised and classified from the social culture of that particular group, following two rules of application. Firstly, the economy rule applies when a member uses a single category from any device that s/he can be recognised to be doing adequate reference to a person. Secondly, the consistency rule states that if a member of a given population has been categorised within a particular device, then other members of that population can be categorised in terms of the same collection (Sacks 1992: 221). This analysis is made possible by three analytical concepts, namely: ‘membership categorisation devices’, ‘membership categories’ and ‘category bound activities’ (Housely & Fitzgerald 2002: 62). The process of membership categorisation analysis is also enhanced by Watson’s notion of ‘incumbency’, a procedure by which members present themselves in terms of a particular category or identity. Incumbency suggests that identity is not a fixed feature of interactants but a situated interactional achievement (Housely & Fitzgerald 2002: 63). Thus, through MCA, the analyst is able to deduce the identity of the members of the group. Knowing these categories also enables the analyst to pre-empt possible category-bound activities or characteristics of the members. The significance of MCA is also highlighted by Widdicombe (1998: 53) when he argues that

categories are conventionally associated with activities, attributes, motives ... [which] makes them a powerful cultural resource in warranting, explaining and justifying

behaviour. That is, whatever is known about the category can be invoked as being relevant to the person to whom the label is applied and provides a set of inferential resources by which to interpret and account for past and present conduct, or to inform predications about likely future behaviour.

Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 39) note that membership category therefore becomes an important tool to the analyst whose “interest focuses on the multitude of potential identity ascriptions available to members of a culture”. Another development in MCA pertains to the importance of context and the ability of categories to display a normative order. Context is understood as an indexical and reflexive accomplishment in identifying categories in an interactional activity since the indexical meaning of words lies in their specific use displayed within localised interactional activities following specific norms at the time of production (Hester & Eglin 1997). Also, the use of specific lexical items enable members of the category to take certain positions and then orient to the institutional context of the interaction; thus, constructing institutional identities (Watson 1997). In line with this, Drew and Heritage (1992: 29) state that “Lexical choice is a significant way through which speakers evoke and orient to the institutional context of their talk”.

This section has shown that MCA is a useful framework in the analysis of membership categories that are constructed and displayed in the contextual setting of members’ practical linguistic work.

3.4 Discursive construction as a social practice

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 587), “... identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction”. This section will thus discuss various approaches to identity as constituted through discourse. This includes positioning theory, which developed from discursive psychology; narrative analysis, with a specific focus on small story analysis; interactional sociolinguistics, specifically the set of tools introduced by Bucholtz and Hall (2005); and performativity. This organisation is of course only one possible way of organising this section as there is a great number of overlap between the different approaches I refer to. Positioning theory is often used in various forms of narrative analysis and indeed played an instrumental role in the development of small story analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou 2008), while performativity is often used as a theoretical lens to look at identities constructed through narratives. However, all three approaches

can also stand on their own, without necessarily drawing on one of the others. For example, narratives can be analysed without using performativity or positioning theory, while performativity can be used with linguistic data other than narratives (such as interactions captured through ethnography).

3.4.1 Positioning theory

Positioning theory was developed within discursive psychology (Davies & Harré 1990). According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 40), discursive psychology “challenges the traditional treatment of language as a channel to underlying mental processes, [but it focuses on] how common-sense psychological concepts are deployed in, oriented to, and handled in the talk and texts that make up social life”.

Potter and Edwards (2003: 169) state the focus of analysis within discursive psychology is on

... the *action orientation of talk and writing*. For both participants and analysts, the primary issue is the *social actions*, or interactional work, being done in the discourse. [The focus is] how events are *described* and explained, how factual reports are constructed, how cognitive states are attributed. These are defined as discursive topics, things people *topicalise or orient themselves to, or imply*, in discourse (emphasis in original).

In this framework, language is thus conceptualised not as a tool that is used to externalise psychological states but as the very way in which social actions are performed. The theoretical underpinnings of discursive psychology are not uncontested, with Coulter (2004) being quite a vocal critic. Coulter (2004) maintains that discursive psychology is not an appropriate theory or method of analysis to describe mental states or cognition processes. Coulter (2004: 338) argues that an individual’s discourse cannot be used to measure mental states in psychology because there are instances where some people are liable to misuse the language they speak: they may reason badly, they may misunderstand conceptual articulations of arguments they purport to advance, or they may even make structural errors in the discourse. As a result, all these may not necessarily reflect the real mental state of the individual. For Coulter (2004), discourse is not an appropriate tool to measure an individual’s psychological state or identity. Coulter (2004) argues that Edward

and Potter's (1997) opinion that categories, such as attitudes and stereotypes, should be treated as topics of conversations, is mere discursive reductionism. Therefore, discursive psychology cannot be viewed as a theory that can provide a methodological framework for studying psychological phenomena.

Wiggins and Potter (2008) argue that discursive psychology is not concerned with the intricacies of discourse as a field of study; rather, it is focused on discourse as "a primary arena for action, understanding and intersubjectivity. It starts with a view of people as [being] social and relational, and as a domain of practice rather than abstract contemplation". They therefore identify three theoretical principles of discourse that form the pillars of discursive psychology. These principles explain the nature of discourse as being constructed and constructive, action-oriented and situated within particular institutional settings. They assert that discourse is constructed in the sense that it is built up with linguistic structures such as words, figurative expressions, and larger texts that represent a particular social reality, which is constructed in conversations or other types of discourse (such as written or signed forms of discourse). Discourse is action-oriented because the purpose for constructing it (in any form, whether spoken or written or otherwise) is to carry out actions. It is also always contextual; that is, it is socially situated in a specific environment, and its interpretation is context-bound. Therefore, Wiggins and Potter (2008) conclude that these principles represent reality since they form the basis of descriptions of people's actions and events.

Against the backdrop of discursive psychology as discussed above, Davies and Harré (1990: 48) describe positioning as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story-lines". Their explanation strongly suggests that identity is co-constructed between the speaker and the audience (or the researcher and research participants – in this study) as they jointly produce the story through interaction. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 43) observe that during the co-construction of narratives, positioning enables individuals to "adopt, resist and offer 'subject positions' that are made available in discourses or 'master narratives' [and also] negotiate, modify or refuse positions, thus preserving individual agency in identity construction." Position theory then explains how an individual can take different identities depending on the position s/he takes in a narrative. Positioning then is seen as an approach that enables individuals to position themselves in various

ways within larger social identity frameworks through narratives. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 43) state that there is a close relationship between the identities revealed by the position individuals take in discourse, and the social power relations. Andrews (2004: 1) further observes that people resist identifications and positions that identify people based on dominant cultures (or social identity) by using ‘counter narratives’, which he defines as “the stories which people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives”. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 19) also observe that “this perspective privileges a dynamic view of identities, with individuals continuously involved in production of selves, positioning of others, revision of identity narratives, and creation of new ones which valorise new modes of being and belonging.” Identity construction then may be viewed as a matter of being subject to or taking up positions within discourse (Goffman 1959). And in that sense, positioning provides a connection between identity constructed locally within discourse (that is, the immediate context where the interaction takes place) and broader social and cultural power relations that provide a restrictive set of subject positions available in master narratives (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 43). Positioning provides this connection by enabling the individual to change positions within discourse as the individual negotiates, modifies, resists or refuses certain identification positions within discourse, thus preserving individual agency in identity construction (Bamberg 2004a).

Positioning theory provides a means to analyse how identities are shaped, produced and negotiated (either through discursive means or as performances). To (co-)construct identities individuals tend to employ interactive positioning, and reflective positioning. The former assumes one individual positioning the other while the latter is the process of positioning oneself (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 20). As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) noted, positioning oneself is often contested during interaction: individuals find themselves in a perpetual tension between self-chosen identities and others’ attempts to position them differently through the interactive positioning process. Thus, identity narratives offer a unique way to resolve this tension in that identity formation is an ongoing process where individuals are continuously involved in the production of identities, positioning themselves (reflectively) and others (interactively) in the narrative.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) draw on positioning theory as well as more postmodern views of identity to develop the following approach. They propose that three types of identities are

negotiated through the identification processes brought about by reflective and interactive positioning during an interaction. Such identities are imposed identities, assumed identities, and negotiable identities.

Imposed identities are those descriptions given by others to an individual, and are generally based on how the other sees the individual in terms of that individual's behavior, dress code, or (their understanding of the individual's) idiolect. Therefore, the given identities are not negotiable (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). In other words, the individual is usually not given the opportunity to defend him- or herself. The features mentioned above help others to classify the individual from the way they perceive such identity. Instead, others ascribe any form of identity, usually based on how society views such a characteristic or attribute.

Sometimes individuals perceive themselves in terms of broader identity characteristics that place them into categories within social groups as shown by the features of social or cultural identity (discussed in section 3.3). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) refer to such identities as assumed identities. Assumed identities describe a type of identity where an individual consciously or unconsciously assumes a particular identity (already ascribed by the social system) without any question as s/he performs certain roles in social interactions. For example, identities that are assumed in terms of our gender are performed without much conscious negotiation by the participants in a social context because the social system ascribes how individuals are expected to perform such gendered identities.

However, not all identities are either imposed or assumed. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) add that in interaction, individuals are able to negotiate some of their individual or group identities as they perform or take certain subject positions within discourse. And they refer to such identities that are constructed from negotiation as negotiable identities. These kinds of identities are those ones that are contested by groups and individuals (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 21). Negotiable identities enable the individual or group to negotiate and debate identities imposed on them by others. In most cases, the individual will argue or use other identity acts to let others accept or consider the preferred identities that might be in contrast to what was expected. Such identities also reflect the fact that individuals tend to shift from one identity to the other in different social

contexts as they perform different social roles. Negotiable identities are a result of interactive and reflective positioning that enable individuals to negotiate as they interact with others, and make personal reflections on themselves. Negotiated identities change through the individual's self-presentation.

3.4.2 Narrative analysis

According to Hinchman and Hinchman (2001: xviii) "identity is that which emerges in and through narratives". Georgakopoulou (2002) further asserts that through storytelling, individuals can produce edited descriptions and evaluations of themselves and others. The descriptions are edited in the sense that in storytelling, the narrator tends to project those descriptions that s/he feel are relevant to the interaction; hence, the narration may not contain every description that characterise the speaker or the others involved in the interaction.

Narratives are viewed as discourses that tell stories about individuals, and events that those people are engaged in at a particular time. As people tell their stories, they temporarily construct and perform identities relevant to the positions they take within the context of the interaction. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 43) point out that narratives are now commonly used in research to "examine the kinds of stories narrators place themselves within, the identities that are performed and strategically claimed, why narratives are developed in particular orders, ... the link between the immediate context of storytelling ... and the wider 'master' narratives, or cultural story lines of which the local story is a part". Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 18) also emphasise the importance of narratives in identity research when they state that narratives provide a platform for individuals to reconstruct the links between past, present, and future; they also enable individuals to display a dynamic view of identities as they are continuously involved in the production and reproduction of selves and others depending on the positions they take in the linguistic interaction. Watson (2009: 470) notes that "narratives are important ... not only or even primarily because they tell our past lives but because they enable us to make sense of the present ... [and they also] teach us how to organise experience and how to conceive of ourselves". Therefore, narratives are an important means of making sense of experience because a "narrative also interfaces self and society, constituting a crucial resource for socialising emotions, attitudes, and identities ... [hence they] are partial representations and evocations of the world as we know it" (Ochs & Capps 1996:21).

Narrative identities are also characterised by the fact that local stories individuals tell about themselves are connected to broader cultural (or master) narratives (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012; Georgakopoulou 2014). Schiffrin (1996: 170) argues that a story created in a local context by the narrator provides a “backdrop of cultural expectations about a typical course of action; our identities as social beings emerge as we construct our own individual experiences as a way to position ourselves in relation to social and cultural expectation”. Hence, each story is both personal and social in that it expresses the narrator’s lived experience, reflecting norms or events that are known by the members of that social group but shaped by the immediate situation in which the story is told (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012: 149).

The function of narratives in identity research then is to give participants a platform to tell stories in which they share their experiences. Through narratives, narrators place themselves in various positions depending on the positions they take in the discourse, thereby adopting, claiming, or refuting certain identities, and strategically performing certain roles (that identify them in some way). The narrative helps the narrator to trace his or her past, present, and the imagined future as s/he narrates the story situated in a particular context. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003: 18) emphasise the following: “Identity narratives offer a unique means of ... (re)constructing the links between past, present and future, and offer coherence where there was none.” As the narrator tells his or her own story, s/he constructs identities that are not only about him- or herself as an individual but are connected to those of the immediate social and cultural context the individual is part of (Schiffirin 1996: 170).

A recently introduced form of narrative analysis is small stories research postulated by Bamberg (2004b). This approach has become quite popular in recent years. Small stories describe those ‘tellings’ about mundane activities referring to, for example, recent events, imagined or future events, incidents that might be considered insignificant, or an interactional engagement that may seem irrelevant to a longer, coherent, and well-thought-out narrative that typically captures past events and experiences (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012: 116). Small stories are therefore not a prototypical kind of narrative that has a linear, coherent plot, tracing lived experience; they are situated within discourse, and are discursively constructed in interaction, and co-constructed by the teller, the audience, and the immediate context in which they occur. Georgakopoulou (2014:

5) therefore asserts that “small stories are ‘messy’ with no easily identifiable endpoints and their research tends to employ eclectic frameworks for analysis. However, Georgakopoulou (2014: 5) suggests a heuristic for the analysis of small stories that consists of three levels: ways of telling, sites, and tellers. Ways of telling describe “the communicative how: the socioculturally shaped and more/less conventionalised semiotic and verbal choices of a story”. Sites refer to the social spaces in which the narrative activity occurs and does not only focus on the physical setting of the narration event; it also considers the factors in a space that make the interaction capture certain incidents and not others and use language in one way and not another. Tellers refer to the participants involved and their specific profiles – not just according to their roles in the communicative event but as members of social and cultural groups, and as individuals with specific beliefs, habits, and biographies.

3.4.3 Interactional sociolinguistics

According to Gumperz (2001: 215) “interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is an approach to discourse analysis that has its origin in the search for replicable methods of qualitative analysis that account for our ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice”.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have been most influential in sketching out a theory of identity from the tenets of interactional sociolinguistics. Like other scholars, mentioned earlier, they view identity as fluid, multiple, and constantly reconstructed. They propose five principles they consider essential for the analysis of identity: the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle and the partialness principle. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) assert that their framework offers a “general sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity – that is, one that focuses on both the details of language and the workings of culture and society”. Although Bucholtz and Hall (2005) draw extensively on the conceptual tools from interactional sociolinguistics, their framework is also informed by studies of identity in different fields, including discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology, among others.

3.4.3.1 Emergence principle and positionality principle

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) assert that the first two principles, the emergence principle, and the positionality principle, challenge the psychological description of identity. The emergence

principle asserts that identity is not a mental state – something that is located in the mind of the individual – but a product that emerges from a linguistic interaction in a sociocultural context. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 587) state that “identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction”. This principle is based on the notion of ‘emergence’ initially proposed by Dell Hymes (in linguistic anthropology) and other scholars who argue that studies on the relationship between language and culture, and linguistic structure emerge in linguistic action during interaction. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 588), having considered the notion of ‘emergence’, conclude that “identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon”.

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is also viewed as the smallest description that is reflected in different positions the individual takes in discourse interactions from time to time. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 592) therefore argue that these different positions taken by individuals create various types of identities that encompass three levels, namely the “macro-level demographic categories; local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and temporally and interactionally specific stances and participant roles”. This view of identity takes into consideration that the position an individual views him- or herself from influences the linguistic choices s/he makes. For instance, the language of the youth in a particular context may have some linguistic items that help to identify the individual as belonging to a particular social context which that individual has positioned him- or herself to at the time.

3.4.3.2 The indexicality principle

The indexicality principle is important in that it shows “the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions” Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) present a mechanism known as indexicality that shows how linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions. They describe an index as “a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context for its meaning”. Ochs (1992) argues that the concept of ‘indexicality’ involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms of discourse and social meanings of the context of interaction. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) conclude therefore that “in identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological beliefs and values ... about the speakers who produce particular sorts

of language”. They explain the importance of the indexicality principle in the analysis of identity as follows:

Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions [pragmatic processes which are also used to interpret those identities that are inferred from a social linguistic context] regarding one’s own and others’ identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to on-going talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 594).

Ochs (1992, 1993) also argues that

the indexical connection between a given linguistic form and a particular social identity is not direct ... ; rather, linguistic forms that index identity are more basically associated with interactional stances ... which in turn come to be associated with particular social categories, such as gender.

Ochs’s (1992, 1993) assertion highlights the need for the analysis of identity to consider the interactional stances in discourse that index certain social categories that may not have been directly stated through linguistic forms.

3.4.3.3 The relationality principle

The relationality principle explains that identity is dependent on other identities and social roles; it is a process that is created by interrelationships of various sociocultural factors (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 598). Thus, the broad categories that have been traditionally used to classify identities – gender, power, economic status, and others – play a significant role in influencing how smaller identities are performed. The two theorists then conclude that “identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 598). Identities therefore

may be analysed by using these three pairs of relations: adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalisation, and authorisation and illegitimation.

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 599) “the term ‘adequation’ emphasises the fact that in order for groups or individuals to be positioned as alike, they need not – and in any case cannot – be identical, but must merely be understood as sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes”. Distinction on the other hand is a strategy used to highlight mainly the differences in identity relations between individuals and groups. Similarities and differences relations in identity are consciously constructed in linguistic interaction where interlocutors use linguistic items to highlight similar and shared identities or those features that highlight differences. The speaker in this case may (un)consciously use a particular linguistic variety or select certain linguistic items to distinguish him- or herself or a group s/he belongs to from others, thus reflecting social differences among individuals and groups.

The authentication relations refers to processes that enable speakers to verify certain assumptions of their identities in the discourse. Here, the speaker positions him- or herself in such a way that his or her role in the linguistic interaction is authenticated or genuine; hence, the others involved in the interaction are convinced by the authenticated identities that are displayed. However, in denaturalisation relations “such claims to the inevitability or inherent rightness of identities are subverted. What is called attention to is the ways in which identity is crafted, fragmented, problematic or false” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 602). The kinds of identities that are constructed through the denaturalisation relations tend to violate ideological expectations and reflect a hybrid of identities. This supports the idea that identity is not fixed; it changes depending on the context and circumstances which the interlocutors find themselves in. These authentication and denaturalisation relations can be helpful in the analysis of the participants’ identities in this present study in that I have to be sensitive to the plausible, implausible, and absurd identities that participants are likely to construct in their linguistic interaction. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) give a warning, by citing the work of Bailly (2000), that participants knowingly give false credentials about their identities in the discourse they construct, and later withdraw such credentials as they reveal their genuine identities. Therefore, as one analyses the discourse of subjects, these relations will be useful.

Authorisation and illegitimation relations describe the structural and institutional aspects of identity formation. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 603) state that authorisation refers to the influence of institutionalised power and ideology on the affirmation and imposition of identity. In other words, the mission and vision or ideologies of the institution tend to impact the way the members of that particular community will position and view themselves in linguistic interaction. However, illegitimation relations “address the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures [of authority within an institution]” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 603).

3.4.3.4 The partialness principle

The last principle, the partialness principle, puts forward an argument that identity should always be seen as incomplete, mainly because it is relational, and that the different sociocultural positions from which identity is constructed are largely contextual. Thus, identity is viewed as an individual’s self-awareness of his or her internalised perception of the self that is constantly adjusted reflexively in relation to society and culture (Boyd 2002). Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 606) make the following statement:

Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others’ perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that identity is recognised in its local context of production and interaction. The environment in which identities of individuals or groups also need to be described so that such identities – whether assumed, enacted, or performed – can be recognised and discussed within their respective contexts, and should not, by any means, be considered complete. In the present study the semiotic landscapes of the juvenile correctional facility will be discussed in depth, and these contexts are essential in the discourses that are constructed by the participants as each context shapes the identities that are likely to be revealed. Ferris, Peck and

Banda (2014) note that language is not the only system that can be used to analyse identities, other modes also contribute – hence the need to include the discussion of semiotic landscapes that influence the construction of identities in different contexts.

3.4.4 Identity construction as performance in discourse: Performativity

Narrators in storytelling also perform certain roles that contribute to the identification process in identity construction (Benwell & Stokoe 2006). This sub-section gives an overview of how the discursive view of identity is realised as a discursive performance shaped by the interactional context in which it occurs as theorised by Goffman (1959) and later by Butler (1990).

Goffman (1959) suggests that during interaction, individuals present themselves in a particular manner in order to make identity claims for themselves by using both material and social resources. Goffman (1959: 26) defines performance as “all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants”. Liu et al. (2015: 237) argue that identity is something that individuals engage in, rather than something they have, or something they are. Instead, it is discursively constructed and such construction depends on the individual “performing in line with the norms deemed appropriate for the socially constructed context”. Liu et al.’s (2015) argument resonates with other macro-level approaches to identity which show that while the individual agency is important in identity construction, the social or cultural structure in which the identity is narrated influences the choices of identification that the individual constructs during interaction in discourse – that is, the individual has to perform his identity “in line with the norms deemed appropriate”. Butler (1990: 333) also expounds that understanding identifications as internalisations of inner psychic space cannot be ontologically supported; however, identifications are created and “sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means” – that is, they are acted. This understanding of identity construction led to the development of the notion of ‘performativity’ introduced by Butler (1990).

In her conception of ‘performativity’, Butler (1990) argues that identity is discursively constructed and performative. Butler’s focus was on gender, a characteristic that is often used to identify individuals as either male or female, and those who perform their identities based on such broad identification. Butler argues that the gendered subject is situated in, and endlessly produced

through, discourse, and therefore lacks existential coherence and stability (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 33). It should be noted, however, that Butler is an ally of psychoanalytic-inspired French poststructuralist feminism. Therefore, her view of performativity embraces an understanding that identity (that is, gender) is a discursive performative practice governed by coherent agency within a set social structure because “a subject may not transcend the gendered discourses within which it is situated: ‘[T]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (Butler 1990: 33; Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 33). Though the subject may not transcend the social values that underpin the discursive production of identity, the subject possesses what Butler calls a performative agency, which operates as the subject performs conventionalised identity performances repetitively. Through such repetitions new elements may be introduced through “intertextual borrowings, resignifications, reflexivity and other disruptive tropes such as irony” which then accommodate the role of structure and agency in identity performances (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 33). Tucker-Raymond et al. (2007: 561) note the connection between structure and agency in identity construction by observing that “identities are the embodied performances individuals give to their values and beliefs embedded in the daily activities of their lives”. As noted earlier, identities are not single and stable; rather, individuals perform multiple identities as guided by the experiences and the demands of the social and/or cultural contexts in which the interaction occurs. Butler’s performative view of identity stresses that rather than being viewed as essentialist, identity is an actively constituted, performed, discursive achievement. Watson (2007: 372) further explains that “identity is the performance of the self that creates the ‘illusion of an interior and organising core’ [that] plays out in our everyday discursive performances”.

Both performativity and the positioning theories discussed in this section validate the fact that narrative identities may be performed or shaped by subjects taking up certain positions

3.5 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the development of the notion of ‘identity’ and approaches that have provided the theoretical frameworks for a variety of research on identity. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 49) emphasise that “identity inhabits not the mind, but the public and accountable realm of discourse. [It] is performed, constructed, enacted or produced, moment-by-moment, in

everyday conversation”. It is with this assertion that I align myself and this study. The next chapter discusses the role of semiotic landscapes and the discursive production of space in identity construction.

CHAPTER 4

SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES AND THE DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

4.1 Introduction

One of the aims of this study is to investigate how the semiotic landscapes in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which their identities are constructed. This chapter reviews literature on semiotic landscapes, discussing what the discipline entails and how other researchers have explained the processes involved in the discursive production of space. The key concepts that will be discussed in this chapter include ‘landscape’, ‘semiotic landscapes’, ‘semiotic resources’, ‘landscaping’, ‘mindscaping’, and ‘appropriation’. The discussion on the discursive production of space will show how language, visual discourse, and social practices in a landscape combine to generate meaning. The discussion will also show that the production of meaning and the identities positioned within a landscape by representational and non-representational systems are interconnected in the discursive construction of local places (Stroud & Jegels 2014; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010; Woodward 1997).

4.2 Landscape and semiotic landscape

This section of the chapter explains the concept of ‘landscape’ in scholarly work that studies meaning-making processes in various fields. The primary focus here is on the type of landscape technically referred to as ‘semiotic landscape’ although the conceptualisation of the notion of ‘landscape’ itself is drawn from various fields.

4.2.1 Understanding the concept of ‘landscape’

Studies on landscape tend to be interdisciplinary in nature involving fields such as art history, geography and sociolinguistics among others (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010). In the field of geography, whether physical, economic, social, or human geography, the term ‘landscape’ is perceived to refer to the features of a particular space, or an area, or anything one can see when viewing a stretch of land; that is, what it looks like or how that physical space is recognised and associated with certain experiences by the people who live in it and those who visit it. Therefore, a landscape is not only viewed as the physical, natural environment of an area, but the term encompasses the individuals who are actors within that space and their imaginative and creative

aspects of human experience (that is, the social and economic practices) that manifest in the linguistic, artistic, and literary responses of human beings to the visible scene (Cosgrove 1985).

Cosgrove (1985: 47) further describes the way individuals respond to a landscape as a “way of seeing the external world ... [and that] the landscape idea is a visual ideology” that enables the observer to respond to the visible physical scene. And this way of seeing sanctions individuals to “view and interpret space in ways that are contingent on geographical, social, economic, legal, cultural, and emotional circumstances, as well as our practical uses of the physical environment as nature and territory, aesthetic judgements, memory and myth” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 3). With this understanding, a landscape is seen not only as a physical entity of the environment where human beings live but as an important resource in meaning-making processes; a resource that is capable of different forms of representation and communication in addition to the linguistic and literary modes used in interaction.

Abrahamsson (1999: 51) explains that the physical landscape of a space carries symbolic values for the people who live in or visit that landscape. However, it should be noted that these symbolic values vary between individuals and groups. Symbolic values constitute significant features of individual or group identity that become distinct “through symbolic systems of representation, and through forms of social exclusion” (Woodward 1997: 29). The symbolic values are derived from the semiotic resources of the landscape that change as human activities in that space change the physical features of the environment. Lovell (1998: 10) points out that the landscape “provides a tool through which interrelationships between humans and nature and between humans [themselves] in social and situated communities are produced and reproduced [And that a landscape is] constantly re-enacted in order to transcend the vagaries of existential uncertainties”. A landscape therefore embodies both the natural and cultural heritage of the people in it; thus, it is said to contribute to people’s identity and sense of place. Keisteri (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 51) emphasises that landscape, “implies both the physical scene and pictorial representation [of space, and it also] denotes the manner in which language is observed”. The role of language is also stressed by Woodward (1997) when she states that language is a social practice as well as a symbolic system through which identity is constructed. Crang and Thrift (2000) also identify spaces of language that explain the role of language as a medium of thinking about space.

Keisteri's (cited in Abrahamsson 1999), Woodward's (1997), and Crang and Thrift's (2000) arguments noted here, highlight the important role played by language in the description and understanding of landscape and, by association, the discursive production of space. This is evidenced by the textual function of language that provides individuals with the means to express their lived, imagined, and observed experiences in a landscape. However, it is important to note that Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 2) explain that the linguistic resources of discourse "interact with other discursive modalities [such as] visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and the built environment. [And] for this reason, [a] 'linguistic' [element] is only one ... element for the construction and interpretation of place".

In other words, the landscape provides meaning from various perspectives or sources. In line with this Keisteri (cited in Abrahamsson 1999) posits what is termed the 'Multi-level Model for the Concept of Landscape'. The model describes three viewpoints to be followed when deriving meaning from a landscape: the material landscape, which describes an area as seen and perceived by the human observer (that is, the physical representation of space); the experience landscape, referring to the mental experience aroused in the human mind by the area being viewed or the associations or values that individuals attach to that physical landscape (that is, the memories or schemas activated by that landscape); and the underlying process that enables the observer to associate the physical landscape with particular experiences and values, thus making the individual engage with the landscape meaningfully. The ideals of this model are also supported by Cosgrove's assertion (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 7) that "the geographical environment [or physical landscape should be viewed] as incorporating the individual, imaginative and creative aspects of human experience". This means that the interpretation of space may be viewed through the physical, or natural, or architectural layout of the space; the conceptualisation of the symbolic systems represented in that landscape; how individuals occupying the space act on it; and how the interrelation between individuals and symbolic systems or semiotic items in that space infiltrate into the construction and interpretation of discourse. It should also be noted that interpretation of semiotic forms within a landscape is a dynamic process in that these forms "can be comprehensively and unpredictably reinterpreted and re-customised to serve very particular local

purposes” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 17). Blommaert (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 17) also notes the following:

Whenever discourses travel ..., what is carried with them is their shape, but their value, meaning or function do not travel along. Value meaning and function are a matter of uptake, they have to be granted by others on the basis of indexicality, and increasingly also on the basis of their real or potential ‘market value’ as a cultural commodity.

Abrahamsson (1999) further points out that, in addition to Keisteri’s model, the relationship between human beings and the landscape can also be explained by a complex yet organised approach proposed by Bladh (1995). Bladh (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52) posits that the landscape can be viewed from various perspectives. Just like in Keisteri’s model, Bladh’s model views landscape as a physical material landscape; the concrete environment occupied by human beings. Bladh (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52) explains that this physical material landscape is then connected to the meaningful aspect of the world, which constitutes the institutional landscape. The institutional landscape describes a context where social relations and social values that are established by that institution shape the activities and relationships of the individuals interacting within that landscape. For instance, in Chapter 2 (of this dissertation), we learnt that in a total institution the inmates and staff are expected to interact in a way that is regulated by the institutional procedures. Bladh (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52) “translates the ‘meaningful landscape’ into a semiotic landscape, a landscape shaped by the complicated interrelation between perceptions, actions, and experiences related to the language and culture”.

Bladh’s (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52) physical landscape and the meaningful landscape are connected by the landscape of action, which he describes as the “cultural landscape, a mirror of man’s actions upon the physical surface, a constantly changing reflection of actions and non-actions”. According to Keisteri (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52) the concept ‘cultural landscape’ is understood by examining the visible and experiential elements of a semiotic landscape acted upon by human activity. A cultural landscape is also perceived as the constituent of landscape that provides a sense of place and identity. The sense of place and sense of identity are abstractly interpreted from the people’s activities in the landscape through the identification of their social

values, which “play a central role in contributing and evaluating landscape condition ... [and that social values] contribute to the landscape by encouraging and restraining human activity” (Rapport, Gaudet, Karr, Baron, Bohlen, Jackson, Jones, Naiman, Norton & Pollock 1998: 3). Rapport et al. (1998:3) further explain that social values imply “a set of philosophical, ethical, moral and emotional principles that order a society [and] intrinsic properties associated with particular environments”.

Cosgrove (2004: 58) explains how landscape has been theorised in the natural and social sciences. He explains that in the natural sciences a landscape is theorised as an objective phenomenon in understanding space; hence, space was recognised as absolute, a view of landscape that focuses on the physical aspect of space that is not impacted upon by the social activities that occur within it. Yet, in the social sciences, a landscape is perceived as a relative space, which is contingent upon the social or cultural processes that construct and reconstruct the landscape. The distinction between absolute and relative space is shown by tracing the relationship between the English word ‘landscape’ and the German word ‘landschaft’. According to Cosgrove (2004: 61) landscape describes the physical nature of space, and is closely associated with scenery – which describes the absolute space. But the definition of landschaft gives a broader perspective of the concept. A landschaft refers to relative space which “points to a particular spatiality in which a geographical area and its material appearance are constituted through social practice” (Cosgrove 2004: 61). This perspective is drawn from the meaning of landschaft in German. In German, a landschaft referred to a region mainly considering its social activities based on the customs and culture observed in the interaction of the linguistic community that occupied that space. Thus, the word ‘landschaft’ comprises the perceptions of a landscape that constitute both the geographical or physical nature of space as well as the social processes that account for the reconceptualisation of space as a relative feature that is ever present in human interaction, and underlies the constructions of social values and identities of individuals who occupy that space.

Therefore, whatever model or description of landscape one may consider, what is clear is that all the models discussed in this section indicate that when describing any space, the physical environment, and the cultural landscape both contribute in the identification and interpretation of the semiotic landscape of that particular space. So whether it is Keisteri’s (1990) view and Bladh’s

approach, or Rapport's et al.'s (1998) or any other perspective on the relationship between the idea of landscape and the meaning-making processes, it is clear that individuals act on the physical landscape through identification and recognition of certain material and cognitive aspects of the landscape. Theorists in this field describe social processes that construct a landscape by identifying semiotic resources, which in turn, constitute a larger framework identified as cultural landscape. The cultural landscape then translates into a semiotic landscape, through which, the construction of identity is made possible in interaction (that is, through language use as well as in the use of other multimodal means). The next section gives a detailed description of semiotic landscapes, which is a focal point in this study.

4.2.2 Semiotic landscapes

From a sociological perspective, Greider and Garkovich (1994: 1) view landscapes as “the symbolic environments created by human acts of conferring meaning to nature”. Abrahamsson (1999: 52) therefore argues that “Every landscape is a symbolic environment. [This is because a landscape is] a reflection of cultural identities, which are human rather than natural”. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 2) also view all landscape as “semiotic; that is, its meaning is always construed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation”. Therefore, a cultural landscape; that is, values, customs, and associations identified with a particular landscape, is constantly being viewed from a semiotic perspective, where culture is understood as “the constant process of producing meaning” (Abrahamsson 1999: 52). As noted in the previous section, the natural landscape changes over time because of the ever-present impact of human activities as well as natural impacts that change landscapes. As physical landscapes change, semiotic resources and the experiences of the people in the landscape also change. However, this process of change is said to occur over time. In this section, I describe the theorisation of semiotic landscapes and concepts associated with it in order to understand how this type of landscape contributes in the meaning-making process of a landscape, and how this translates to the construction and representation of individual or group identity.

Semiotics is described as the “study of signs and sign systems” (Abrahamsson 1999: 52), and these signs and sign systems are used in the signification processes for the interpretation of semiotic resources in a cultural landscape. Signification is described as a social process where a particular

resource or sign symbolises something in a particular social context; therefore, objects are taken as signs or resources that are assigned meaning (Hopkins cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 52). Van Leeuwen (2005: 3) further explains that the term ‘resource’ rather than the word ‘sign’ is preferred as a central concept of semiotics because the term ‘sign’ seems to refer to a representation of something that is “pre-given, and not affected by its use [whereas] ‘resources’ are signifiers, observable actions and objects”. These resources are referred to as semiotic resources, which describe all aspects of a landscape or society that combine to make meaning. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003: 22), “signs in which multiple languages are used index the social worlds in which they are placed”. Here, the role of language in studying space is highlighted. But other authors argue that semiotic resources can be recognised by different modes of communication, including the use of language and gestures, different forms of art, and identification of all material objects that occupy that particular space that carry some cultural or symbolic value for individuals within that space (Abrahamsson 1999; Van Leeuwen 2005; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010; Stroud & Mpendukana 2010). The idea that semiotic resources are drawn from many communicative modes other than language is also emphasised by Banda and Jimaima (2015: 643) who state that the limitation regarding written signage in rural communities does not mean that the people are not able to make meaning about space. Instead, the people use their “memory, objects, artefacts and cultural materialities in place ... for extended meaning potentials”. Thus, semiotics enables scholars to study the creation of meaning in a social space; and such is known as a social semiotic/socio-semiotic analysis of a landscapes, which gives a symbolic “connection between ideologically charged sign systems and the material culture of everyday life” (Abrahamsson 1999: 52). This view to landscape takes a sociological approach; hence it is also known as the study of semiotic landscapes. But Scollon and Scollon (2003: 2) also explain that semiotics can just focus on a particular space, and they describe this as geosemiotics, which refers to “the study of social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of [people’s] actions in the material world”.

Semiotic landscape therefore refers to “any (public) space with visible inscriptions made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 2). According to Johnstone (cited in Lou 2010: 627), “space becomes a place through human’s interaction with it, both physical manipulation, via such activities as agriculture, architecture, and landscape, and

symbolically via such activities as remembering, ‘formulating’ (Schegloff 1972), depicting, and narrating”. Semiotic landscape, as an approach to meaning making, is therefore seen as a way of seeing the external world and as a visual ideology (Cosgrove cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 3). In this sense, some scholars use semiotic landscape approaches to view and interpret space in various ways in which interpretation is dependent upon varying circumstances that may be geographical, economic, social, or emotional as well as practical uses of the environment in its natural form where the interpretations are based on aesthetic judgements, memory or myth from which different types of discourses are constantly reproduced and interpreted (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 3). These discourses may in turn be interpreted differently by different individuals whose interpretations are influenced by different perspectives as well as varying multimodal means in which the semiotic resources are represented. Thus, multimodal narratives can be seen as one way of interacting with the landscape that evokes the narratives as people share their experiences in certain places, and through which the landscape itself may be ideologically reconstructed (Lou 2010).

In that sense then, semiotic landscape, as a field of study, allows scholars to consider the landscape as the discursive terrain for meaning-making processes, which allows different modes of interpretations within a social space (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010). These could be hermeneutic interpretations, imaginative creations, or any other resource that enable individuals to derive meaning from the landscape where social interactions are constituted (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 6). However, Cosgrove (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 6) argues that the landscape should not be confined only to refer to a site of just social construction because by nature a landscape constitutes both the physical environment – which provides the context for human action and socio-political activities, but a landscape also constitutes a symbolic system – which consists of signifiers with comprehensive affordances activated by social actors to position themselves and others in that context”. The symbolic system, one may conclude, underlies the cultural landscape of that particular place or space. And the broad affordances that point the signifiers within the symbolic system are essential elements in semiotic landscapes. Van Leeuwen (2005: 4) describes the term ‘affordances’ as the obtainable potential for constructing meaning from a particular object, (that has been identified as a semiotic resource), which is revealed by the object’s visible properties. However, it is noted that the affordances of semiotic resources are not necessarily fixed;

that is, the symbolic system does not comprise of a uniform set of meanings. But affordances enable individuals to interpret both objective and subjective meanings deduced from semiotic resources. Therefore, semiotic resources here are seen to always have a potential to derive symbols that are already known, or propel a creation of new symbolic associations depending on the perspective of the individuals analysing the semiotic potential of that material object of lived experience or activity taking place in that social space.

However, it should be noted that the process of describing a semiotic landscape may not only mean the reference to a landscape that is physically available, but the process also indicates how the semiotic landscape is interrelated with the lived experiences of individuals, and how individuals use semiotic resources to construct meaning in space, thus consciously or unconsciously representing their identities in the process. Stroud and Jegels (2014: 178) therefore argue that central to a theorisation of semiotic (or linguistic) landscapes and how to research them is an understanding of the situated social dynamics of multivocality in local spaces, manifest in the contesting lives of multiple publics ... [and that] the making of place is a fraught practice involving the investment of social and affective capital of individuals tied to, identifying themselves with, or moving through a particular locale.

The local spaces/places that Stroud and Jegels (2014) refer to here, are described as spaces “through which, and with which, lives take shape, and that biographies of place and life are intimately interwoven (Hall 2009: 581); [and that] local life, takes place, not just in place but with it” (Hall 2009: 579). Criost (2007: 111) further points out that “local places are fraught and contested constructions, complex and multi-layered, and any physical space will host many micropublics living together in ‘proximities of difference’”. In the same vein, Crang and Thrift (2000:4), identify four theoretical types of space, namely: spaces of language, where language becomes the main medium for thinking about space; spaces of self and other, where the body is seen as “a site of communication through practical action [as we define] individuals through spatialities of existence”; spaces of experience that covers all experience the individual has accumulated in time and space; and spaces of writing, which provides a landscape where the individual has an opportunity to perform all other identities negotiated through writing or other non-linguistic modes chosen to explain internal thoughts and feelings of ‘self’ or those of the

‘other’, and also share his or her experiences through narratives. The use of narratives in the understanding of place-making; more specifically identity construction in a local space (as in this study), clearly indicates that “place [should be viewed] as a discursive, contested and multimodal/transmodal construction ... [where place should be] read and construed from the perspective of local affect ... and how interpersonal relationships and local interaction orders are structured” (Stroud & Jegels 2014: 197). Lou (2010: 625) further observes the connectedness between place and narrative. She states that “[r]esearch on narrative and place has shown that not only can place evoke and enrich stories ..., stories can in turn create place, [and she also notes that] [p]lace is perhaps one of the earliest variables that has been correlated with language use”.

Space/place in this sense is seen as something that provides an arena where phenomena, whether social or physical, is constructed and represented using various means – the narrative being one of these. Hence, Thrift (2006: 140) notes that social activity is spatially distributed, and that space is relative because it is always in motion. The mobility of spaces is also recognised by Stroud and Jegels (2014: 183) who conclude the following:

Movement and interaction with people and objects in space renders place making fundamentally a practical achievement ... [which shows that place making is] a socially accomplished and embodied practice, and that [it] takes cognisance of the importance of mobility in local place making.

Moreover, every place is not just dynamic, but each place is complex in its contribution to meaning-making processes; thus Stroud and Jegels (2014: 178) observe that “the complexity of a place is reflected in the complexities of linguistic or semiotic landscapes”. Lou (2010: 627) emphasises this point when she states that “Narrative and place interact in complex ways ... [in that] place can evoke and enrich narratives...; [that] all stories shape sense of place ..., [or] how narratives also construct place (p. 628) and also ‘legitimises ...the reconstruction of place’ (Jensen cited in Lou 2010: 628)”. This argument by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009), and Lou (2010) here foregrounds the significance of semiotic landscapes in place making and meaning making processes which are manifested through interaction and are narrated in discourse situated in a particular landscape.

In addition to the relationship between place making and narrative, it is important to also highlight the mental activities in relation to semiotic landscapes. Thus, we connect this with Crang and Thrift's (2000) spaces of experience, which is supported by Abrahamsson's (1999) assertion that a landscape is also mentally recognised. This idea is conceptualised through the notions known as 'cognitive landscape' and 'landscaping', which are discussed in detail in the next section.

4.3 Landscaping and cognitive landscapes

Human beings have the ability to have a mental representation of real or imagined experiences or activities of a particular landscape. This section explains how the physical landscapes are imagined and mentally represented, and then used to construct meaning by the individuals who act in that landscape. Key concepts that are explained in this section include 'cognitive landscapes', 'landscaping', 'appropriation' and 'specialisation'.

Abrahamsson (1999: 52) explains that the "mental representation or *cognition* of the layout of a familiar landscape is termed a *cognitive map*, and the way of thinking about and organising the layout is called environmental cognition". A cognitive map of a particular landscape indicates that an individual is familiar with that landscape; that is, s/he knows it well. Brunn (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 53) refers to the cognitive map as a cognitive landscape, which he describes as a "coherent, geographically grounded *frame*, [that is, a fixed or exact stereotypical image or piece of information in one's mind (Nunan 1993)], through which we interpret meaning of objects and events that can be connected to a specific area". The concept, 'cognitive landscape', therefore, implies that individuals do have memories of varied physical landscapes, and such memories are instrumental in the construction of varied objective and subjective interpretations of the relationships and identities individuals construct in a particular place even though the individual may not be physically located in a particular place. Thus, Brunn (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 53) concludes that "cognitive landscapes have an emotive charge that allows us to organise them into elements that we like and elements that we dislike". The idea that cognitive landscapes have an emotive charge motivates one to assume that cognitive landscapes enable individuals to have an attachment to a landscape in terms of the way the semiotic resources trigger an individual's experiences of place or a particular space, social values attached to the landscape, and how these influence the construction and interpretation of identities that are constructed in a particular space.

As a result, Abrahamsson (1999: 53) also concludes that “cognitive maps are *mental representations of spatial relationships in the landscape*, and the more familiar we are with an area, the more accurate and thorough our cognitive landscapes will be.”

The question scholars, such as Krogh (1995), have is how then individuals construct cognitive landscapes. Krogh (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 53) states that cognitive landscapes are formed through a process technically referred to as landscaping. Landscaping is described as “man’s process of creating meaning in interaction with his environment” (Brunn cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 53). Landscaping therefore is a process that enables individuals to relate their feelings with the environment, extract knowledge from their environment (even if one is not physically present in that space), and are able to make meaning about what the landscape may implicitly provide, and (Brunn cited in Abrahamsson 1999) describes this process as inner landscaping. Abrahamsson (1999: 53) then concludes that “landscaping is thus *a process* that creates meaning in the landscapes and helps us to fill our cognitive landscapes with details”.

Related to cognitive landscapes and landscaping Jaworski and Thurlow (2010:7) use the terms ‘symbolic and mental landscapes’ to explain that physical features of the landscape, (natural or those that result from human intervention), “are described, reproduced and recreated in literary texts, art, models and maquettes in museums and so on”. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) note that the notion of ‘symbolic and mental landscapes’ seem to intersect with “Lefebvre’s 1991 dimensions of space: *the conceived* space, the mental or represented images of space; *perceived* space, the material and physical space responsible for economic production and social production; and *the lived* space; produced through ...the interaction of both conceived and perceived space”. So the cognitive/mental/symbolic landscapes of a space seem to also contribute to the construction of multiple meanings of a place and consequently the construction of identity of individuals who interact in that space.

Since literature on cognitive landscapes reveals that individuals or groups attach multiple meanings to one and the same landscape, different values and different attitudes tend to be ascribed to a landscape by individuals with different cultural, cognitive landscapes. Different groups therefore would not define themselves, their values, and attitudes in the same way even though

they may be operating within the same landscape. The process that underlies these differences in interpreting the landscape is called appropriation. The term ‘appropriation’ refers to the ability of individuals within a particular landscape to recognise the social and cultural structure of a space, and learning how to cognitively navigate that space and modify their value systems in reference to the cultural landscape in which those individuals operate. Thus, Jones (1993: 20) concludes that through appropriation a “landscape is a mirror of human values. Values are not intrinsic to the landscape; [but] *values lie within people* or groups of people”. As much as the theory of appropriation seems plausible, other scholars seem to wonder how individuals use the appropriation process to appropriate every landscape they visit or occupy in one way or the other, as individuals are by nature mobile, and mobility is now heightened by globalisation. In addition to that, the reality is that landscapes themselves are constantly changing even though change of physical landscapes is very slow. The appropriation process seems to explain the extent to which an individual is tied to a socio-cultural context, where the landscape being appropriated becomes “a codified space, a space that has been institutionalised and organised according to models, norms and value scales” (Abrahamsson 1999: 58). Two views have been proposed by some scholars to explain the appropriation process. One argument is posited by Proshansky through the ‘place identity’ concept, he refutes the possibility of having alternative identity places, while Moles, through his ‘place ici’ concept, articulates that it is possible to appropriate more than one landscape at a time (Sandstrom cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 58). However, Sandstrom explains that “alternative environments ... are ‘perceived’ and ‘absorbed’, but not appropriated in the true sense” (Abrahamsson 1999: 58). This is supported by Proshansky (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 58), who asserts that appropriation is a “*process over time*, and with a certain certainty... [Here, Proshansky] emphasises that, over time individuals and groups change their norms and values”. Hence, Abrahamsson (1999) points out that Proshansky’s assertion that, as much as individuals and groups appropriate a landscape in which they interact over time, there are instances where that space is misappropriated, especially by individuals who occupy the space only for a limited period. Misappropriation describes a situation where an individual’s values are not in line with the cultural landscape of that environment, or a case where the individual’s values and norms have changed, or his- or her perception of the landscape has changed because of one reason or the other. Whenever that happens, Abrahamsson (1999) argues that a landscape may be misappropriated. However, he is quick to point out that when some individuals misappropriate the semiotic

resources in a landscape, others usually re-appropriate the new aspects of the landscape misappropriated. The concepts of ‘appropriation’ and ‘misappropriation’ seem to explain the idea that landscapes have multiple meanings in that the individual who appropriates a space would have values and norms that are different from one who misappropriates the same landscape; hence the same landscape will derive multiple meanings depending on the experiences and social relations the people in that landscape have.

Rather than distinguishing processes of appropriation and misappropriation, Jones (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 60) gives a different perspective on the issue of landscaping. Jones (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 60) explains that “the landscape can have several *amenity values* simultaneously, and they need not be mutually exclusive”. The amenity values are of four types: intrinsic ecological value, scientific and educational value, aesthetic and recreational value, and identity value. Therefore, one may argue that Jones’ (cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 60) amenity values, identified above, demonstrate that value systems within a landscape seem to vary, and they are also not static. However, the change in values does not occur instantly since landscapes themselves do not change swiftly (Anderson cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 61). One may then conclude that, depending on which value type an individual is focusing on, he or she may appropriate some values of a landscape and not others, or alternatively incorporate new values as the individual identifies new semiotic resources in that landscape, which enable the individual or a social group to have multiple interpretations of the landscape.

The multiple interpretations drawn from a semiotic landscape by individuals or social groups indicate that there are “different processes by which space comes to be represented, organised and experienced” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 7), and this process is known as spatialisation. ‘Spatialisation’ as a notion explains how place is socially constructed and how people make sense of place. The discussion on landscape above has shown that the landscape is viewed from various perspectives, ranging from an analysis of the interrelation between the physical environment, the social construction of space, and how individuals use affordances of semiotic landscapes to construct their sense of the landscape; thus Massey (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 7) explain that the social construction of space is guided by the notion of ‘multiplicity’. This notion suggests

that the process of spatialisation enables individuals to construct meanings through multiple processes that interact with one another in a complex manner when making sense of place.

Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 8) further argue that making sense of place is a universal human activity that involves individuals' intellectual capacity in sensing the semiotic resources in a landscape; that is, the individuals in a place are able to recognise certain symbols and values of the place that are discursively constructed through depiction, narration, and remembering. Modan (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 8) observes that making sense of place is the process of spatialisation that is achieved discursively; thus, he sees "discourse as a form of spatial rather than social action, and demonstrates how ... spoken or written, public or private discourses and interactions create different conceptions of the neighbourhood and specialised identities". Therefore, the different conceptions of space construction is said to be a result of the interpretations and re-interpretations of language and other semiotic forms by different individuals in a place. Scholars (such as Blommaert 2005) point out that semiotic codes located in a particular space tend to be indexed for certain values in that space; however, when the discourses are constructed in another place, the semiotic codes tend to retain the value shape, but their value meaning and function are re-contextualised, re-interpreted and re-customised to serve specific local purposes. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 17) then explain that this occurs because spaces are structurally different. Therefore, when sociolinguistic items are used in a different space, they are re-contextualised and perceived differently, and that process changes their value system and status in such a way that their denotative meaning is reduced from what the items indexed in another space. This observation highlights the significance of indexicality in attributing meaning to semiotic resources and other sociolinguistic items in different spaces. Indexicality therefore makes the discursive construction of space an active social activity, where through the use of language and discourse, social values are constructed, organised, represented, and re-interpreted continuously by place-making processes. Harvey (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 19) states that the "process of place-making is marked by six 'moments' or 'activities' operating simultaneously ... [and these activities include:] (i) language and discourse; (ii) beliefs/values/desires; (iii) institutions/rituals; (iv) material practices; (v) social practices, and (vi) power". Harvey (1996) then explains that these activities function in a dialectical relationship in the process of place making. He also notes that these activities are important in that they institutionalise the space where they take place, and this

seems to explain why the values identified and interpreted in one place do not necessarily carry the same meaning or interpretation potential as those of another place. This process explains how semiotic landscapes are said to be discursively constructed through a connection between the material semiotic resources and the meaning indexed in a particular space and connected to the social relations of the individuals or groups occupying that place. The institutionalisation of space described here seems to be consistent with Goffman's (1961) notion of 'total institution' (discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis), which describes how some institutions have exclusive value systems which can only be taken up and perceived by individuals who have assumed membership of that space. Once they are admitted in the total institution, the members go through social processes that enable them to identify semiotic resources in the place that facilitate meaning-making processes, which in turn help the individuals identify with the activities and values of that institution – which in turn facilitates interaction in that landscape.

4.4 Graffiti as sites of semiotic landscapes

The physical or geographical place is not the only 'site of engagement' (Scollon, Scollon & Jones 2011); that is, virtual or physical spaces where humans act to make meaning in a landscape. But there are other spatial and social realities, such as 'graffiti' that provide rich material for the study of discursive marking of identity (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010; Peck & Stroud 2015). This section discusses how graffiti in physical spaces are also sites of engagement of semiotic landscapes.

4.4.1 Graffiti as a form of semiotic landscape

Graffiti is seen as one way in which public visual art is used by minority groups in societies to voice out their identity in a social space. Many forms of graffiti are perceived to be unacceptable in public places because they are perceived to be 'intrusive and disruptive', and as a result, the graffiti is quickly removed by authority (Karlander 2016: 3). Graffiti comes in various genres; thus, Lynn and Lea (cited in Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 20), present the taxonomy of the graffiti sub-genres which include: *art* (including gang and hip-hop), *slogans* (or public graffiti) and *latrinalia* (or private graffiti). These different types of graffiti may be used by different groups in different places. As already stated, graffiti tends to be used in public spaces for different reasons, and is generally associated with negative behaviour, especially in cases where the graffiti is used by criminal gangs to mark boundaries, display their superiority to attract membership and to

articulate their identity in a particular place or representing views of a dissenting political role. As a result, graffiti is seen to be transgressive in general even if it is not associated with criminal tendencies. Like all art, the purpose and interpretation of graffiti varies; hence, Lynn and Lea emphasise that “the actual location, time of creation, and authorship of graffiti are as important for their interpretation as in their form or content” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 21). Thus, if a landscape has graffiti as a semiotic resource and that graffiti needs to be analysed in terms of: who authored it, their intention and the meaning that is read from it.

Karlander’s (2016: 1) study of *backjumps* – train graffiti, in Stockholm, elaborates on yet another feature of semiotic landscapes – ‘mobility as a semiotic device’. We have noted that landscapes change over time. As humans interact with the space, there are also physical changes that alter the physical landscape which in turn influence the value system of that landscape. The study of train graffiti highlights the mobility of material resources that are swiftly created by graffiti writers on trains and erased as soon as possible because they are perceived to be intrusive and disruptive in public spaces. Karlander (2016) points out that despite being erased swiftly, backjumps characteristic of being mobile (that is they move with the train from one location to the other) change the semiotic display of the trains on which they are written, and the travellers interact and react to them based to their own value systems about train graffiti. The interpretation of the content of the train graffiti is dependent upon the place where the train is and the social values of the individual exposed to such text. For example, to the metro authority, the reaction to train graffiti is to erase it swiftly while the travellers may react to it differently – with some trying to understand the message; others just irritated by the presence of the graffiti itself while others seem indifferent or others find it useful in the study of semiotic landscapes (Karlander 2016: 11). What is important about mobility is the understanding that for the graffiti (as a form of semiotic resource) to be created the train has to be immobile – no matter how short the time might be. The immobility feature accentuates the importance of space and locality in interacting with a landscape. Without space and immobility, the creation of the graffiti would be impossible. Hence, space is a significant feature in the construction of social processes within a particular landscape. After the space has been acted upon, then mobility sets in. Thus, we note that as much as mobility is a semiotic device that propels the transfer of social values from one locality to another; the creation of that resource

requires that it happens within a specified time and space. The meaning of the graffiti text is reinterpreted as the trains move from one locale to another.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the contribution of semiotic landscapes and corporeal landscapes' to the discursive construction of space, and how these influence the construction of meaning as well as the discursive construction of identity. A number of concepts have been explained to describe the various processes that constitute semiotic landscapes and corporeal landscapes. This chapter has also given the basic tenets of the semiotic landscape approach, and how it contributes to the discursive production, representation and interpretation of place. This approach was also instrumental in providing a guide to the data collection process. This study aims to describe the semiotic landscapes of the correctional juvenile institution where the identity of the young offenders is constructed. The next chapter on methodology further describes the contribution of semiotic landscapes concerning the data collection methods used in this study.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various approaches used in the design data collection, and data analysis of this dissertation. Here, I also explain the analytical framework of the study, and how ethical issues were taken into consideration and finally, I examine the limitations, validity and trustworthiness of the study.

5.2 Research approach and research design

This was a qualitative, ethnographic, multiple-nested case study. Its focus was an aspect of human affairs – the discursive construction of young offenders’ identity. Studying aspects of human affairs requires time and close proximity to the reality being studied, which is why I used an ethnographic case study design. This section of the chapter details my reasoning for selecting this research design and its impact on the methodological choices that were made.

I opted for an ethnographic approach because it enabled me to “make direct observation of [the] behaviour” of the research participants in their social setting (Babbie & Mouton 2008: 280). Thus, the study was able “to provide an in-depth description of a small number of nested cases” (Mouton 2011: 149) that I selected for this research. I spent time at the research site (the school section of the juvenile correctional facility, henceforth the school) where I was able to observe participants’ interaction, and conduct on-going interviews. I was able to interview the young participants while they were engaged in the production of art in class and when they were engaged in extra-mural activities outside class. Extra-mural activities provided me with an opportunity to make close observations of the young participants’ interactions with each other, me as the researcher, the teachers and the warders (some of whom also participated in the study). To understand what was going on, and to get used to the participants, it was essential for me to spend time with them outside where they had more opportunities to express themselves.

The ethnographic nature of this study also enabled me to collect and analyse semiotic data that contributed to the object of analysis. The ethnographical requirement that demands that the

researcher be close to the subject of research also gave me a chance to understand the values or meanings attached to the interaction of the research participants in this particular space of the correctional juvenile facility in Swaziland. As indicated in Chapter 4, a landscape may be appropriated. Appropriation refers to the ability of individuals within a particular landscape to recognise the social and cultural structure of a space. Appropriation results in the individuals learning how to cognitively navigate that space. It was necessary for me, as an outsider, to understand the values and procedures that prevail in this environment to avoid misappropriation on my part. Misappropriation occurs when an individual's values are not in line with the cultural landscape of that environment; in some cases the individual's values and norms have changed, or his/her perception of the landscape has changed because of one reason or the other (Proshansky cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 58). An ethnographic approach thus enabled me to observe how the research participants had appropriated the landscape in which this study was undertaken. It also ensured that I as the researcher did not misappropriate the values and social structure of the landscape. Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that an ethnographic approach to a study makes it credible in that ethnography enables the researcher to employ techniques of prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer briefing and member-checking.

The case study design was selected because such a design allows one to investigate concrete, context-dependent knowledge, which gives a nuanced view of reality (Flyvbjerg 2006; Thomas 2011). Simons (2009: 21) further explains that a "case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real life' context." Case studies are important in every discipline in that they provide a scientific production of exemplars that become a basis for theory building, theory testing or illustrative and descriptive approaches to research (Flyvbjerg 2006; Thomas 2011).

Despite being used extensively in the social sciences, case study research has been criticised for a number of reasons, some of which include: (1) being subjective and biased in presenting the case since the researcher relies on his/her interpretation of the reality being studied, making the research study results less valid or scientific; (2) producing context-dependent knowledge that cannot be generalised or used to explain general theoretical context-independent knowledge; and (3) lack of methodological structure to guide researchers on how to conduct case study research (Flyvbjerg

2006; Mouton 2001; Thomas 2011; Yin 2009). However, the perceived limitations of case study research have been found to be primarily based on misunderstanding this approach. For example, Flyvbjerg (2006: 237) states that “the case study contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry”. In addition, the substantial element of narrative contained in a case study enables the researcher to dispel any contradictions and complexities by noting the contextual cues that explain these. Case studies also contribute greatly to scientific development in that cases provide exemplars that are essential for theory testing and verification, and they provide scientific descriptions and illustrations of everyday context-dependent realities. Thomas (2011) adds that when selecting a case, it is important to set its parameters in terms of spatial, temporal, personal, and organisational factors based on these two elements: the subject of the study and the object of study. The subject of a study is the characteristic unit that has a “practical historical unity” of the case being observed and the object is the “analytical or theoretical frame” of the study (Thomas 2011: 513). These two elements then guide the appropriate selection of the case, the appropriate approaches (theoretical or illustrative), and decisions about the research process and appropriate methodological requirements.

The subject of this study was the discursive construction of identity through young offenders’ narratives in Swaziland. This subject was selected as an outlier or deviant case; that is, not representative or typical. An outlier or deviant case may illuminate the object by virtue of its difference and its capacity to exemplify the analytical object of the inquiry, thus producing “exemplary knowledge” (Thomas 2011: 514).

This study was shaped as nested multiple cases that took into consideration a number of elements nested within the single case, including features of the situation and the contribution of other participants, who, by virtue of being members of the correctional facility, where this study was conducted, tend to contribute to the construction of young offenders’ identity. Thomas (2011: 17) argues that “elements are nested only in the sense that they form an integral part of a broader picture”. The study site constitutes social processes that are entrenched in the notions of ‘discipline and surveillance’. As much as the primary function of the school is to reform the young offenders, elements of retribution form part of the school. It is then with a multiple-nested case study that one can trace the interconnectedness and tension that constitute the site where this study was

conducted, and how the interconnectedness and tension contribute to the discursive construction of the young offenders' identity.

5.3 Theoretical framework and paradigm

This study used a qualitative, ethnographic, multimodal and interdisciplinary approach that resulted in the use of methodologies drawn from three areas of study, namely: semiotic landscapes, narrative analysis as well as an art-based approach to research. These three areas of study straddle a number of disciplines including linguistics, visual art, human geography and literary analysis. The contribution of each paradigm is discussed in subsequent sections.

In the following subsections, I examine how the concept of narratives has become an important method in research within various disciplines, and more specifically, how personal narratives were employed to investigate the discursive construction of identity in this study. The second section explains how semiotic landscapes were incorporated into the research process. Both narratives and semiotic landscapes are methodological tools as well as theoretical frameworks and have thus been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively. In the last part of this chapter, I discuss the art-based component of this dissertation.

5.3.1 Discursive construction of identity in personal narratives

Multimodal personal narratives were the primary source of data collected in this study. The use of such narratives was important because “at personal level, narratives are important to us not only or even primarily because they tell us about our past lives but because they enable us to make sense of the present” (Watson 2009: 470). Narratives enable individuals to interact and take certain positions within discourse as they organise their experiences in them to conceive and perform their identity, which is “understood as a product of attachment to available subject positions within the discursive field” (Watson 2009: 470). Tucker-Raymond et al. (2007: 560) explain that “interaction produces the ‘kinds of people’ we become [that is, our identities]”. These identities come from the positions we choose within discourse to represent our values and beliefs. Hence, Andersson (2008: 143) emphasises that “identity is perceived as a discursive resource in interaction, used to obtain a preferred self-presentation ... [thus] there is no ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ identity independent of the discursive environment; rather, people are positioned by particular discourses as coherent selves”.

Therefore, the view adopted in this study is that identity is constructed and performed in interaction and that multimodal narratives provide a site for such construction and performance.

Narratives or life stories have also been extensively used in research on the construction of identity in various contexts (such as studies done by Ochs & Capps 1996; Leitch 2006; Watson 2006; Tucker-Raymond et al. 2007; Driagina & Pavlenko 2007). The use of personal narratives in research on the construction and performance of identity is an appropriate methodological choice because narrative is inextricably linked to the self in that narrative stems from experience but also shapes, brings order to and connects the past, present and imagined worlds (Ochs & Capps 1996: 19). Corey (1996: 57) highlights how in the telling of stories people tend to foreground certain aspects of their experience, for example self-definition, while relegating the world they live in to the background. He also views narratives as a form of discourse in which an individual tends to be pitted against society or the self, allowing for the “rearranging [of] tensions between difference and normality, acceptance and ostracisation, silence and speech” (Corey 1996: 57).

Tucker-Raymond et al. (2007: 562) argue that ‘identities as multimodal narratives’ is a useful analytic frame for examining students’ views of their emergent present and possible identities. This is because identities are not being represented by the communication; instead, they are the representations themselves. Such representations are constituted through spoken language, written language, images, and the interaction between each of these. Phillips (2008) also explains that linguistic interaction is one of many tools that offenders use to conform to subcultures they are exposed to in prison, in addition to racial and ethnic divisions, power, resistance, and dress code they submit to in order to fit in and construct identities that would enable them to survive the incarceration environment. The multimodal narratives therefore provided a way to investigate the multifaceted construction of the young offenders’ identity in this study.

Pavlenko (2002: 214) also notes another perspective on the usefulness of narratives; she points out that narratives provide opportunities for co-construction in the sense that they “are not purely individual productions, [but that] they are powerfully shaped by social, cultural and historical conventions” in a particular social space, and that these conventions differ from one linguistic community to another as well as from landscape to landscape. Narratives that emerge in interaction

are therefore co-constructed by the teller and the audience, implying that the responsibility and ownership of the story does not rest with the teller alone (Georgakopoulou 2015: 260). Thus, speakers of more than one language are likely to bring different cultural values to their interaction, which would impact the content of the narrative constructed and how it would be interpreted. Similarly, individuals bring different experiences to their interaction, and the varied experiences contribute to the construction of their narratives. So, one may conclude that different landscapes, whether semiotic, social, or cultural, contribute to the co-construction of identity through narratives. Ochs and Capps (1996: 19) confirm this view when they state that “narrative ... interfaces self and society, constituting a crucial resource for socialising emotions, attitudes and identities”. In this study, one of the research questions considered the contribution of the sociocultural conventions (or semiotic landscape). Therefore, all these elements were interwoven in the production as well as in the analysis of the narratives in this study.

Since the study was situated in a youth correctional facility, and the subject of investigation was young offenders, it was necessary for me to review literature on criminology to identify methodologies used for research in this discipline. Many scholars have successfully used narratives to investigate issues surrounding offenders’ lives (McKendy 2006; Sorsoli 2007; Corey 2008; Evans & Wallace 2008; Presser 2009). In theoretical criminology, narratives have been used mainly to reveal the possible causes of crime. Presser (2009: 177) argues that narratives benefit studies in criminology because they

(1) [apply] to both the individual and aggregates; (2) [apply] to perpetrators and the bystanders; (3) anchors the notion of (sub-) culture; (4) circumvents the realism to which other theories of criminal behaviour are bound, and (5) can be readily collected by researchers, though not without confronting the problematic that is the socially situated production of discourse.

Presser (2009: 178) further points out that the narrative has a significant role in criminology because “we know the world through and pattern our lives after stories and via storytelling conventions [that] are culturally circumscribed”. Therefore, Presser (2009) advocates what he calls “narrative criminology that situates stories as antecedents of crime”. Presser’s (2009: 178)

‘narrative criminology’ aims to explain “the nature of both criminal behaviour and criminalisation”. Although criminal narratives provide information concerning the events that culminated in the action of the crime, the use of narratives in criminology is conceptualised as “stories of data for criminal behaviour and its causes” but with profound limitations in that there is a higher possibility that participants would not narrate the events truthfully since offenders have a tendency to be economical with the truth or distort the facts whenever sharing information relating to their crimes; something that is probably motivated by a desire to evade penal punishment. Thus, Presser (2009: 178) notes that “this exclusively representational conceptualisation of narrative informs the notion that offenders’ narratives are inauthentic because offenders are motivated to distort what happened”. The perceived inauthenticity of offenders’ narratives may result from the narrators’ decision to exclude undesirable events or behaviours of their lives in a narrative since each narrative (narrated in any context) is not necessarily a complete report of all events or incidents in the narrator’s life. Instead, a narrative is always based on selected lived experience because each time we narrate a story, we only highlight the themes we want to foreground as we recount our experiences under certain circumstances (Presser 2009: 179). Andersson (2008: 139), in his study on discourses of masculinity, states that “stories are organised so as to construct a preferred self-presentation”. In that sense, narratives produced in a correctional facility are not different from narratives produced elsewhere.

The participants in this study were young offenders located in a formal school within the correctional facility, where they were undergoing rehabilitation through formal education. Conducting research with such a group of participants presented some challenges not only in terms of my security concerns as an outsider in the correctional institution, but more importantly because of the fact that the main subjects were imprisoned young people in a sensitive environment. In addition, some of the adult participants (especially the teachers and warders) were unwilling to take part in the research, because of fear of being reprimanded by authorities for giving out information to a person who is not a member of the institution.

Despite the fact that narrative research has been seen as an appropriate method to capture human experiences, it has a shortcoming, which Leitch (2006: 551) attributes to the fact that not all human experiences are “readily available to awareness”. The information shared in this study was of a

sensitive, personal and even emotionally traumatic nature. Hence, Leitch (2006: 551) highlights the limitation of language as the core medium for expressing feelings, emotions and experiences through narratives because of its inability to access the “emotional, sensory and embodied dimensions of experience [that] lie below the threshold of consciousness and are thus often impossible to articulate in words”. Leitch (2006: 552) further notes that

Using words clearly is particularly important when attending to conscious meanings, but there is the danger of reducing all meaning to that which can be narrated ... Things that cannot be said are often at the core of our experience; we are what they are ... and there are times when putting things into words is a difficult, painful, if not an impossible process.

McKendy (2006) identifies another limitation of language that points to the shortcomings of using narratives in research. McKendy (2006: 489) observes that sometimes individuals wish to convey information but are “constrained from saying it in a forthright manner, resorting instead to what linguistics call ‘indirection’”. Indirection enables the individual to use hints and clues that enable the listener to fill in the gaps or infer what may have been left out by the speaker. This device might also be used by participants to avoid giving explicit explanation of their experiences, and such experiences could be articulated through other modes of expression other than language.

The context in which this study was undertaken is a highly complex environment that restricts expression because it is a space that is regulated by strict discipline and surveillance (Foucault 1976), and the fact that the modern prison is conceived as a space of internment and privation as well as a hidden universe or a world of silence (Bar 2003: 69). Hence, individuals confined in prison may not comfortably share their private information for fear of victimisation. If some of the participants’ sociocultural and private emotional experiences are too difficult to articulate in words, they might be missed by the investigation. For the participants to share or perform some of their subconscious and private experiences in this study, an art-based approach was incorporated to create a multimodal approach to support the narrative approach. In addition to using an art-based approach, the study also investigated the institution’s semiotic landscape to determine how the social practices in the making of place contributed to the construction and performance of the

young offenders' identities. Hence, the narratives constructed for this study were multimodal in nature.

The following sub-sections explain the significance of considering the contribution of the semiotic landscape to the research, and using an art-based approach.

5.3.2 The contribution of the semiotic landscape

As stated earlier (Chapter 4), this study aimed at investigating how the semiotic landscape in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which the identities of such offenders are constructed. Therefore, the construction and description of the semiotic landscape where this study was situated became one of the activities that the research participants engaged in.

The analysis of the semiotic landscape of the site in this study was significant because study of semiotic landscape “is concerned with the interplay between language, visual discourse and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 1). Semiotic landscapes also shape narratives of place in that the experiences constructed in such narratives are influenced by the immediate environment where the narration takes place; hence, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 5) note that “[e]ach society’s ‘moral order’ is reflected in its particular spatial order and in the language and imagery by which that spatial order is represented”. Stroud and Jegels (2014: 178) also observe that “the complexity of place is reflected in the complexities of linguistic or semiotic landscapes”.

This study was situated in an incarceration facility. This place was described by the participants in relation to how they see it or even feel about the space, which reflected their sense of belonging and identity. Goffman (1961) explained that when people are admitted into a total institution, they are initially mortified by the admission processes that they go through to be members, but later on, the members find coping strategies to operate effectively in that institution. In this case, the young offenders' construction of identity was influenced not only by the mortification processes or coping strategies but also by the semiotic landscape of the incarceration environment. Jaworski

and Thurlow (2010: 6) emphasise the impact of landscape on people when they state that “the social is spatially constituted, and people make sense of their social identity in terms of their environment”. Thus I focussed on particular places in the facility such as the where the young offenders live (cells) and the place where they receive their formal education (the school).

Space is perceived as an entity that is both physically located, and socially constructed in discourse as explained by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 7): “as people and culture are located in space, it is particularly the idea of ‘home’ (understood as points of origin and belonging) that is inevitably bound up with specific geographical locations which we come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discursual construal”. Besides being a physical entity of place, space provides meaning and a sense of identity to those who occupy that space. Simmel (cited in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 7) also states that people “create identities in part through the process of geographical imagining, locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others”. This explanation gave the insight into how imagining and positioning the self and others in the specific place under investigation enabled the young participants and the adult participants to construct and make meaning of their discourse using the space to draw information from their memories about the self and the other. Downing, Polzer and Levan (2013) also argue that the perception of space and time is crucial to both the researcher and the research participants involved in qualitative research with offenders. Downing et al. (2013: 479) argue that space and time are “central components of understanding the context of one’s research and the experiences of groups and individuals being researched”. Sensitivity to space enables the researcher and the participants to foreground those lived and imagined experiences accounted for by the dimensions of specific aspects of space and time. For example, Downing, et al. (2013: 488) observe that

Incarcerated populations have different perspectives on concepts such as space and time than their counterparts residing in the community, either as recently released or active offenders. Unlike these populations, an incarcerated individual’s space and time are constrained by the environment of the “total institution” (Goffman 1961), ... Control is established and maintained within the institution by the correctional staff, as well as

institutional policies (such as lockdowns, rules regarding contraband possession, and restrictions on visitations) and physical structures (such as fenced perimeters, cell bars, and locked doors).

An obvious spatial feature of incarcerating institutions (such as the one where this study was situated) is the way in which space is demarcated by gates and locks in certain areas of the school and accommodation facilities. It is not only the spatial features that are a constraint; movement within the correctional facilities is also highly controlled. Therefore, it is expected that the movement of young offenders within this place should be strictly controlled (Goffman 1961). This restriction also affects other people in the facilities – the officers and visitors like myself as a researcher were expected to adhere to strict regulated movement patterns. Most activities and interaction in such an environment tend to follow a regimented pattern or order which seems to make it easier for the security personnel to ensure that offenders follow orders, and also to monitor and supervise security controls to facilitate learning and order within the institution. There are other measures that relate to the penal restrictions characterising correctional facilities in general. This is a common state in correctional facilities; hence, Downing et al. (2013: 488) note that

The reality for inmates is that they live in a world where individual decision-making is practically non-existent. Their routines are dictated by the schedules of the facility. Meal times, work shifts, and sleeping times are implemented like a well-oiled machine. Disruption of these routines can have dire consequences for inmates.

Foucault (1976) also argues that discipline and surveillance in prisons are important means for controlling movement and operations of the incarcerated bodies in a constant way. Discipline and surveillance are sources of power that coerce the offenders by regulating their movement both in space and in time. In light of this, Downing et al. (2013: 478) advise that when doing research with incarcerated offenders, the researcher needs to take into consideration the nature of the space (that is, “the micro level, immediate physical surroundings of an individual or group of persons”) and the time (an “epoch to the passing of seconds and minutes within a situational dynamic of human interaction”) when it would be appropriate for offenders to be interviewed since a correctional penal environment is plagued by a number of constraints.

This study therefore investigated how the school and other semiotic forms in the vicinity, whether verbal or visual, intersected to construct the physical context in which the identities of the young offenders were negotiated, constructed and performed. The study also investigated which linguistic signs and other visual signs appear in various spaces within and outside the school to establish how these (i) might constrain or enable the ways in which the offenders made sense of themselves and others, and (ii) were articulated in their multimodal narratives or art. This shows that both language and visual art contributed to the way the participants constructed meaning and understanding of the landscape where the study was situated. Confirming the fruitfulness of multimodal inquiry, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) note that there are other elements of interaction that describe a landscape in addition to language (a mode used to construct the narratives). They state that written discourse is in dialogue with other semiotic resources such as “visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and [the] built environment ... , for the construction and the interpretation of place” (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 2). The construction of place is said to involve depicting (through written discourse and other modes such as visual art in this study), narrating (an approach utilised by this study) and remembering. This confirms that places are known, constructed and interpreted through various modes; that is, discursively, sensually and intellectually (Entrikin 1991 in Jaworski & Thurlow 2010: 8).

The physical place was not the only site of engagement (Scollon et al. 2011) that was investigated in this study. The study also focused on cognitive landscapes (mindscapes). Through inviting participants to depict their semiotic landscape themselves, we could access mindscapes, or imaginations of space and place.

5.3.3 The role of an art-based approach in this research

Art-based approaches to research have recently been introduced into the qualitative paradigm of research. According to Barone and Eisner (1997: 98) the purpose of art-based research is to enhance perspectives about information revealed by artistic creations that would otherwise not have been possible. Barone and Eisner (1997: 96) describe “enhancing perspectives” as the ability of art-based research methods to ask questions that might not have been asked if using other conventional methods to research; thus the researcher – through art-based research methods – is

able to discover various perspectives, as this process broadens and deepens on-going conversation about the phenomena being investigated, and provide more than factual information or conclusions made by the researcher. The product of art-based inquiry has an illuminating effect; that is, an ability to highlight issues that may otherwise not have been noticed (Barone & Eisner 1997: 102). Jones (2007: 117) emphasises this effect of art when he observes that the communicative potential of art creates “a sense of reciprocity between the viewer and the person depicted”. As a result, the viewers of the art or recipients of the research would not only receive the interpreted information about the art, but would also engage with the art and consequently give their own interpretations, depending on how the product had affected them. The way art affects the producer and the viewer or reader is said to contribute to the subjectivity aspect of reacting to human experiences; that is, people are likely to be affected differently by the same thing depending on their previous experiences and perspectives. Bochner and Ellis (2003: 507) therefore caution that the artists’ products should not just be perceived as findings as in conventional research, but that even if they contribute to the analysis or interpretation of a phenomenon, such products tend to have an unending effect on different observers or whoever comes across them in different contexts.

The use of art-based approaches in research is also seen to be beneficial in that the production and appreciation of art becomes a therapeutic process that enables participants (the researcher and the subjects of the research) to explore their multiple identities through art. Bochner and Ellis (2003) believe that the process of constructing and interpreting the art makes the derivation of multiple meanings from a single source possible. The art-making process therefore becomes a pathway of making meaning of life experiences that would otherwise not be transparently or completely articulated linguistically. Thus art-based methods are valuable to research because of its incisiveness, its ability to focus on salient issues and questions; generativity, its ability to promote or evoke more questions; illuminating effect, its ability to notice what has not been noticed, and generalisability, its relevance to phenomena outside of the research text (Barone & Eisner 1997: 102).

Bochner and Ellis’s (2003) research in education also reveals that art benefits individuals by enabling them to express personal and private emotions through images that represent issues that could not have been expressed in words. Moreover, art is seen as a tool that can reflect the deeper

anxieties of society, as it has the power to trigger ideas and contest prevalent opinions. Gormlie (2009: 2) emphasises that reality can be constructed through art as it is “humanity’s attempts to recreate reality or reflections of reality”. This recreation pointed out by Gormlie here is consistent with the present study that used an art-based methodology to initiate the recreation of the life stories of the research participants through visual art.

Gormlie (2009: 2) argues further that art is not created in a vacuum but is created “within a societal context, supported and buffeted by the conditions of the time [...] conditions of the moment of the creation of the art”. These conditions may be determined by the resources and the knowledge prevailing at the time, in addition to the political, economic and social conditions. This point speaks to the spatiality of the discourse or narrative produced; that is, the importance of space and time as semiotic resources that contribute to the construction of meaning and/or identity as was the case in this study.

Literature also reveals that as artists share their feelings through art, they also use it to vent their frustrations – especially in cases where the content is traumatic – which is the case with the young participants in this study. The art-making process can then be viewed as one that provides an avenue for healing because inner feelings are shared. This assists the artist not to bottle up issues that might have a negative emotional impact. Johnson (2008: 100) observes that art is valuable because “artistic activities have several benefits for prisoner rehabilitation and institutional management. These benefits fit into four general categories: therapeutic, educational, prison quality-of-life management, and societal (community involvement)”. These values of art are clearly seen in correctional facilities as shown in the sub-section that follows.

Given these potential benefits, art, more specifically visual art, was used in this study to reflect the lived experiences of the young offenders, which were channelled through the lens of their imagination and creativity. By using visual art, the young offenders shared their feelings without going through the trauma of trying to explain their experiences through the use of language.

5.3.3.1 The value of art in prisons

Recent developments in prisons indicate a new focus on retribution, deterrence and rehabilitation targeting all offenders (Kellam 2006: 16). However, due to their conflicting goals, these three pillars produce tension within correctional institutions. For example, while warders and other officials at the correctional facility are expected to punish the offenders, they are also expected to reform and encourage them to become responsible citizens, and desist from acts that are in conflict with the law. Despite this tension, correctional facilities provide rehabilitative strategies to help offenders improve their self-awareness and communication skills and develop a positive sense of self (Robertson 2014). Research reveals that many young offenders have a battered self-esteem; thus, many are susceptible to bullying, and have poor decision-making skills. In addition, they struggle with education or fail completely to advance their education even if given the opportunities because of learning and communicative difficulties (Biggam & Power 1999, 2002; Ashkar & Kenny 2008; Grimwood & Strickland 2013). However, literature on the use of art-based approaches to therapy in correctional institutions suggest that a “multimodal art-based programme of juvenile offenders ... [indicates] improvements in participants’ attitudes toward school, resistance to peer pressure, self-efficacy, skills (for example art skill, anger management skills, communication with adults and peers, cooperation and participation), and a decrease in self-reported delinquent behaviour during the programme” (Koiv & Kaudne 2015: 2).

Art programmes in correctional facilities are reported to be beneficial to the offenders, as they provide an alternative means of learning to many offenders who have experienced failure within the conventional education system outside of the prison context. Tett, Anderson, McNeil, Overy and Sparks (2012: 172) argue that “many prisoners are more likely to have literacy difficulties than the general population ... and tend to have lower than average attainment and poor experiences of compulsory education [and with their] negative attitudes to learning [they] can be very resistant to education that is like school”. Therefore, art is seen as a useful educational tool that substitutes the conventional and generally passive learning schemes provided by mainstream education (Djurichkovic 2011). Djurichkovic (2011: 6) also emphasises that “the active learning inherent in art making is educational in its own right” and therefore, the focus should not remain on saleable artworks that are produced. Johnson (2008: 105) notes that “prison art programmes offer multi-dimensional value, facilitating opportunities, not only for further learning, but also for recreation and vocation”.

Moreover, some of the artworks produced in some correctional facilities are sold to the public (Djurichkovic 2011). For instance, in Swaziland, the art products from correctional facilities are displayed and sold to the public during the annual trade fair. Offenders become aware that they can produce products that are informative and attractive to the public, which motivates them and creates some kind of interaction between the offenders and society. It also creates an awareness of the possibilities of using their skills for income generation after their release from prison. As a result, this interaction (abstract as it is) seems to contribute to minimise the total alienation that the offenders usually face. Though such an interaction occurs once in a while, and not all offenders participate, the public is able to appreciate their drawings, music, poetry, drawings and crafts produced by the offenders. In turn, the offenders engage in implicit interaction with the community to which they ultimately return at the end of their sentences (Djurichkovic 2011). This interaction seems particularly important for the youths who, when released, have to fit into the community, and attempt to live a life free of crime.

Research also shows that art has long-term effects on youth – statistics reveal a low recidivism turnout for young offenders who are involved in art programmes during their stay in prison (Ezell & Levy 2003; Johnson 2008; Koiv & Kaudne 2015). Koiv and Kaudne (2015: 2) also point out that, even as methods for research, art therapy programmes in correctional facilities are “effective in decreasing emotional and behavioural problems among female institutionalised young offenders”. Besides the fact that an art-based approach allows for data collection in a context that would have been otherwise challenging (that is, a correctional facility), an art-based approach is also a means of strengthening offenders’ mental capacities (Barone & Eisner 1997; Ezell & Levy 2003; Leitch 2006; Johnson 2008; Meekums & Daniel 2011; Koiv & Kaudne 2015). Therefore, art, for whatever purpose, provides invaluable benefits to offenders.

Art-based research can be categorised in a number of ways. Barone and Eisner (1997) identify three types, namely: narrative construction and story-telling, educational connoisseurship and criticism, and non-literary forms of art-based inquiry. This study used two of these, namely (i) the narrative-construction-and-story-telling approach, and (ii) a non-literary form of art-based inquiry.

5.4 Participants

The participants were classified into three groups: 25 adult participants that comprised teachers and warders; 20 young participants who were offenders partaking in formal education in upper grades and literate enough to write narratives; and another 20 young participants who were offenders partaking in vocational education at the school, where visual art is one of the vocations taught. Table 5.1 shows a list of the participants whose responses constituted the data presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The young participants were all convicted of crimes and their ages ranged from 12 to 18 years. Although the whole vocational class comprising 30 young offenders took part in the research, the data presented here (the data produced by 20 of them) were selected because they gave in-depth insights into experiences that were shared by the majority of the class. Therefore, the presentation of findings does not contain all the drawings of every participant in every task.

The officers (teachers and warders) involved were purposely selected from various departments of the facility. The adult participants included the teachers, members of the administration, and warders in the social welfare department. The actual designations of the adult participants are as follows: art teachers (they helped me understand what was happening in the art class when the young offenders were drawing since I did not have the necessary experience on the teaching of art), language teachers (they were included because of their awareness of the linguistic capacity of the children), the school psychologist, and other social welfare officers (including the nurses, chaplain, hostel managers and security personnel). The school administrators (that is, the Officer-in-Charge and principals) were also interviewed since they implement the vision of the correctional department as an institution whose primary purpose in every country is to deal with “incapacitation, punishment, retribution, deterrence and rehabilitation” of offenders (Grimwood & Strickland 2013: 4). However, their designations were not stated in Chapters 6 and 7 for ethical reasons; only pseudonyms were used.

The target groups identified above were selected using “purposive sampling ... a method in which the researcher uses his or her own judgments in the selection of sample members” (Babbie & Mouton 2008: 202). My judgment in the selection of the research participants was influenced by their willingness to participate as well as their capabilities. The young participants needed to be able to write or make drawings and had to be willing to share their experiences in interviews. As

for staff, they were selected based on their training and experience in their particular field. The data collected from the two groups of young participants differed slightly in that those who were academically able produced narratives of their life stories in prose only, while those from the vocational class produced multimodal narratives initiated by drawings.

Twenty five adult participants agreed to take part in the study; the school has over fifty staff members that include teachers, warders and support staff. This is the number of officers who are usually around the school at any point, but the number of staff is more than fifty because there is day shift staff and night shift staff. They signed the consent forms after the study was explained in lengthy consultations that took a few days. The purpose of the study was explained whenever any officer interrogated me about it, and information leaflets were always given to those who showed interest to participate. Only 15 adult participants shared their thoughts or wrote narratives in response to my questions. The views of the remaining 10 adult participants were obtained through observation and unplanned interactions I had with them during the three years of this study.

The list of participants' pseudonyms, classified according to their gender and designation is presented in **Error! Reference source not found.** below. I decided to use names from the Yoruba language (spoken in West Africa) instead of either Swati or English names because these could be easily associated with some participants in the study. Moreover, some incidents in the correctional facility were extensively covered by the media, so using the local names could easily give away the identity of those involved in sensitive events reported by the media.

Table 1: List of Participants

	NAME OF PARTICIPANTS	MALE	FEMALE	OFFENDER	OFFICER
1	Adeoye	√		√	
2	Ayo	√		√	
3	Bade	√		√	
4	Bidemi	√		√	
5	Bunmi	√		√	
6	Deji	√		√	

7	Duntan	√		√	
8	Emeka	√		√	
9	Esam	√		√	
10	Funmi		√	√	
11	Jide	√		√	
12	Joko	√		√	
13	Malina		√	√	
14	Moji	√		√	
15	Mosun	√		√	
16	Mr Aboda	√			√
17	Mr Adeboye	√			√
18	Mr Adepiju	√			√
19	Mr Ajobo	√			√
20	Mr Awosan	√			√
21	Mr Dele	√			√
22	Mr Fadaka	√			√
23	Mr Olure	√			√
24	Mr Omeregbe	√			√
25	Mr Sanjo	√			√
26	Mr Tunde	√			√
27	Mrs Adatu		√		√
28	Mrs Busari		√		√
29	Mrs Odigbo		√		√
30	Mrs Oni		√		√
31	Olade		√	√	
32	Olumiti		√	√	
33	Sade		√	√	
34	Sanjo	√		√	
35	Siji	√		√	
36	Sogo	√		√	

37	Wole	√		√	
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5.5 Research Methods

This section discusses the operational processes of the study. First, the choice of research design is discussed, followed by a discussion of the research methods that guided the collection of data. Thereafter ethical issues are considered, and lastly, the methods of data analysis are detailed.

5.5.1 Multi-Method Research Design

The design employed a qualitative heuristic methodology, which was developed by Clark Moustakas in 1961 (Djuraskovic & Arthur 2010; Kleining & Witt 2000). It is an approach that enables the researcher “to discover the nature and meaning of [a] phenomenon through internal self-search, exploration, and discovery” (Djuraskovic & Arthur 2010: 1569). It also views the research process as dialogue that enables the “interaction of the research person and research topic” through guided introspection (Kleining & Witt 2000).

As noted earlier, this study is an inter-disciplinary and ethnographic multiple-nested case study which, as Thomas (2011) notes, investigates a case from multiple perspectives to explore the complexity and uniqueness of the subject under investigation. The multi-method design was deemed appropriate because it entails the application of two or more sources of data and various research methods to investigate the research question(s). For Bryman (2001), the rationale for employing multi-method research is that using one research method is likely to result in inadequate data, seeing that incorrect inferences could be deduced from such limited data. This would make the findings and conclusions drawn from such research open to criticism.

It is also worth noting the significance of applying mixed methods of data collection in that it is effective in promoting proximity to the reality being studied and of yielding immediate feedback. Distance to the object of study and lack of feedback can lead to academic blind alleys, where the effect and usefulness of the research becomes unclear and untested (Flyvbjerg 2006: 221).

As shown in Chapter 1, this study was formulated from two research questions that each required the use of a different method of investigation. Those research questions were:

- 1) How does the semiotic landscape in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which the identities of the young offenders are constructed?
- 2) How do young offenders at the Juvenile Industrial School, now renamed Vulamasango (Open Opportunities), in Swaziland discursively construct their own identities?

Given the multiple methods of investigation required for the multiple research questions, and given the benefits associated with using multiple and mixed methods of data collection, it is understandable that the study used more than one instrument to collect data. These will be detailed next.

5.5.2 Methods of Data Collection

As this is a multiple-nested case study, the collection of data for this study is based on the assumption that a case study design can incorporate a number of methods of data collection (Thomas 2011: 512). Stake (2005: 443) argues that, in itself, a case study is not a methodological instrument but a choice of what is to be studied, and it is then studied by whatever methods (or instruments) the researcher finds appropriate to study the case analytically or holistically, organically or culturally, or hermeneutically.

A multimodal narrative approach was adopted for the collection of data in the form of small stories about the young offenders' construction and performance of their identities and how others construct the identities of these young offenders through narratives. This focus on the discursive construction of young offenders' identity through narratives demanded that narratives be employed as the primary source of data. Since "the discursive construction of identity is achieved by means of language and other semiotic systems" (Oostendorp 2015: 5), the type of narrative to be employed had to be multimodal narratives. The young participants' small narratives were edited for structure and readability. Where the idea had not been clearly articulated, I discussed it with the writer, and the story was edited, without changing its content. Such narratives were further

supplemented (where necessary) with five other methods: (1) semi-structured interviews with the participants (see APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS and APPENDIX F: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (OFFICERS) for details) (2) field notes based on my observations and interaction with the participants (see APPENDIX E: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE for observation schedule), (3) visual art that was used to initiate and support the creation of personal narratives of and about young offenders' identity (APPENDIX C: ARTS-BASED TASKS FOR PARTICIPANTS shows task given to participants), (4) collection of media reports, and (5) semiotic resources which contributed to the construction of young offenders' identity.

A unique combination of methods were used with each case study group. The choice of methods depended on research participants' abilities and willingness to allow or participate in the method I employed. The research methods used to collect data from each case study group are tabulated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The research methods used to collect data from each case study group

CASE STUDY GROUP	METHODS EMPLOYED
1. Young offenders (with training in visual art) (aged between 14 and 18 years)	1. Art (drawings) 2. Written narratives 3. Semi-structured interviews 4. Observations (field notes)
2. Young offenders (with adequate writing skills) (aged between 14 to 18 years)	1. Written narratives 2. Observations (field notes)
3. Art teachers	1. Art (drawings) 2. Semi-structured interviews 3. Observations (field notes)
4. Teachers of other subjects	1. Written narratives 2. Semi-structured interviews 3. Observations (field notes)

5. Other officers (warders from other departments within the facility as well as administrators)	1. Semi-structured interviews 2. Observations (field notes)
6. Media reports	Collection of newspaper articles relevant to the subject of study
7. Semiotic landscapes	1. Photographs 2. Art (drawings)

The data collection for this study took more than two years (between 2014 and 2016) during which time I was in the school interacting with the participants, and also making sense of the place. The data collected consists of art (that is, the drawings), short personal narratives that were written out, information sourced from semi-structured interviews, and field notes from the observations I made.

The written narratives from case study groups 1 and 3 were initiated by drawings (they drew environments or parts of the body). They then narrated their experiences in writing based on the drawings. Some of the participants' short written narratives required me to probe for more information; therefore, semi-structured interviews with individual participants from case study groups 1 and 3 were conducted to clarify certain points. After completing the art-based tasks, participants were asked to explain significant aspects of their art during the semi-structured interviews. Summaries of their responses were written and added to the information on the art they produced. This resulted in the production of comprehensive narratives needed for this study. Participants who were not comfortable with discussing their stories generated by the drawings were encouraged to write more about the drawings if they were literate enough. Some were reluctant to provide the details, so they were not forced to continue with the semi-structured interviews.

The participants in case study groups 2 and 4 wrote their stories without first making drawings. They were only given the guiding questions to use in writing their small stories. Some of the participants in case study group 4, required me to conduct semi-structured interviews to clarify certain points. A different set of semi-structured interviews was used to initiate the narratives of

the adult participants who did not want to begin their narratives with the art-based tasks. The specific questions used to guide the narratives are attached (see APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS).

I spent a lot of time with case study groups 1 and 3 who used an art-based method since the process of drawing took time. The participants sometimes discussed some of their drawings at length, making decisions together with me on what aspects were missing from their drawings and what the drawings depicted in terms of their behaviour prior to imprisonment, and their behaviour at the school. The use of drawings enabled me to elicit data that I might not have been able to if I had not used this art-based method. Tucker-Raymond et al. (2007: 563) confirm my experience: “images allow students to see themselves differently than in words. In turn, we see them differently as well”.

The purpose of employing art-based tasks was to elicit stories about past experiences, especially the social and economic situation at home and the community that might have contributed to criminal behaviour; the present conditions in the incarcerated environment; and the envisioned future of the young offenders. These tasks also played a key role in capturing the semiotic landscape of the school, and the cells. The drawing of the landscape or certain semiotic resources within the landscape was significant in that it indicated how the participants represented their sense of belonging to the place (Lovell 1998). These drawings also helped me understand how they used the semiotic resources to give meaning to and construct value systems to characterise the place; and how all of these in turn impacted on the construction of their identities (Abrahamsson 1999).

These tasks provided a detailed view of the semiotic landscape and resources from the perspective of the young offenders and those of the teachers and warders working with them. The art-based tasks were of great value to this study because the school did not have many informative posters about the correctional facility, nor any representations of the school’s young offenders’ rehabilitation processes. Based on their lived experiences, the participants were able to use the art-based tasks to represent semiotic resources that they identified as having contributed to the construction of their identities.

Some of the drawings presented in the findings were co-constructed. Participants interacted with one another while they were working on the drawings, so they all knew the main themes of the content required by this study. In some cases a group of participants would first discuss their observations and then express their ideas through drawing. I also got involved in the discursive construction of the young offenders' identities. The questions I kept on asking the participants guided the content that they narrated in their small stories. My observations, and interaction with the participants assisted me to edit the narratives for structure and readability. Where the idea had not been clearly articulated, I discussed it with the writer so as not to change the narrative's content. My involvement in the creation of the narratives validates Georgakopoulou's (2015) assertion that narratives are co-constructed by the teller and the audience. The nature of the co-construction aspect of narratives is also explained by Tucker-Raymond et al. (2007: 561), who argue that "As interlocutors, we help construct experiences *and* possibilities for identities ... identities form and are formed by our interaction."

The art-based tasks that were given to case study groups 1 and 3, and which were used to generate data for case study group 7 are listed below as 1, 2, 3, and 4. It should be noted that the participants were familiar with the techniques specified in the tasks as these had been used by them before in other projects and research. Below are the tasks given to the participants.

- Task 1: Draw the environment which you would then use to share your experiences about life in this school and the hostels. You can draw any item that you would like to base your discussion on.
- Task 2: Draw a river or road. We will call this drawing "A river/road of life". In this drawing, show how you see your journey from your life at home, your life here in prison and what you think are the paths you will take in life. Use any object to symbolise obstacles and opportunities that you have experienced in this journey. [It should be noted that this task was drawn from "a theoretical framework based on a notion of 'pedagogy of discomfort'" that enables research participants to use visual art to express extreme social experiences (Leibowitz, Bozalek, Rohleder, Carolissen & Swartz 2010: 83)].

- Task 3: Draw a tree, and we will call this drawing “A tree of life”. The tree you decide to draw should depict strengths and challenges of your life. Show whether you have a strong family unit by the nature of the roots of the tree, show the support you have had in life through the tree’s trunk, and show your future through the branches and leaves. (This task has been used extensively in workshops by E. Costandius from the Department of Visual Arts, Stellenbosch University).
- Task 4: Trace an illustration of the left hand, a face and the right hand. Then on the left hand write “what I was”; that is, your behaviour before you were incarcerated; on the face write “what I am now”; that is, the experience of incarceration and impact of the rehabilitation processes; and on the right hand write, “where I want to go”; that is, your reflections about the future. (A similar task was used in Modderdam High School in a community interaction project by E. Costandius from the Department of Visual Arts, Stellenbosch University)

Though I continued to assure all participants about (1) the purpose of the study, (2) the research questions, and (3) how I was sensitive to ethical issues in this research, the use of a voice recorder was not welcomed by the majority of the participants. There was fear that whatever voice-recorded comment made during the interview might be used against them and create disciplinary problems or complicate work-related matters for them with the institution’s authorities. The environment dictates that sensitive issues that pertain to the functioning of the department should not be shared with outsiders. Jacobs (cited in Downing et al. 2013: 488) points out that the prison environment “[abounds] with rumour, suspicion, factionalism, and open conflict”. The adult participants were especially afraid of victimisation by their colleagues and supervisors, and expressed fear of saying something contrary to the vision of the facility. As a result, almost half of the adult participants who had initially agreed to participate in the study later withdrew, citing the institution’s regulations as reasons for their decision. In the end, only 15 adult participants continued with the study but not until I convinced them that their participation would not affect them negatively.

The adult participants engaged in what Downing et al. (2013: 488) refer to as groupthink decision making, where participants influence each other to stop participating in research, especially once they realise that participation is voluntary. In contrast to the adult participants, the majority of the

young participants were willing to share their stories. This is despite the fact that some of the young participants confused the process of collecting data through the multimodal narratives with their experience of interrogation during arrest, and the constant questioning by the teachers and warders. The latter are not given details about the nature of the crime committed by offenders, so they naturally become curious; hence, they tend to question the offenders themselves. The young participants' willingness to share their stories is in line with Downing et al.'s (2013: 489) observation that when it comes to willingness to participate in research, offenders tend to "welcome any opportunity to 'have the floor', especially when it allows them the opportunity to discuss topics that they have a vested interest in discussing."

To make up for the lack of a voice recorder I took extensive field notes during and after semi-structured interview sessions. In addition, I noted all observations throughout the data collection process in my research diary as field notes. Such note taking also helped me to reflect on the process and product of research. Downing et al. (2013: 480–481) describe reflexivity as a methodological practice that enables a researcher to be "relationally present" and that research participants themselves are also "capable of reflexivity in the course of their own sharing of narrative accounts". Downing et al. (2013: 483) state that "reflexive thinking on the part of the respondents also adds texture, but this reflexivity is best facilitated by acknowledging and, to the best of the researcher's ability, understanding the space-time context of the interview and interviewee". In light of this observation, I constantly reminded the participants of the purpose of the study, and that because of ethical considerations I had to respect their sensibilities. In that way, I was able to observe the participants as they carried out the tasks given. During the interviews, I was able to reiterate ethical considerations, and many became comfortable to share their experiences. Since I also spent a lot of time with them some shared their emotional experiences in the process. On the part of researchers themselves, reflexivity or relational presence "requires that researchers open themselves to the emotions and needs of their respondents, reacting organically rather than according to script or protocol" (Downing et al. 2013: 481). The ethnographic approach to this study enabled me to be relationally present since the more time I spent with the participants, the more I was able to relate to them even on issues that were outside the research scope. Reflexivity does not however mean that I, as a researcher, should demean my role as an investigator in this context. The fact that I was conscious of (1) the purpose of my presence in that

space, (2) the scientific knowledge on research methods, and (3) the expected role and behaviour of a researcher towards the object of study enabled me not to lose my focus. I kept record of all data and interactions or observations that did not address the research questions; these were not included as part of the data collected. Downing et al. (2013) also explain that

In order to establish a case for engaging respondents in reflexivity during data collection, we pay particular attention to foreground and background. In doing so, we are attempting to link space and time with actionable methodological frameworks centred on reflexivity. More specifically, we suggest that the foreground of a research project relates to a point of contact between a researcher and respondent. Thus, foreground refers to the micro space-time of an interaction. On the contrary, background refers to what Abbot (1997) suggests is ‘social time’.

Sometimes in my interaction with the participants, we would talk about issues that had no relevance to the research questions; hence, the material shared in such interactions was classified as background information that did not form part of the data. I was sensitive to the occurrence of what has been referred to as social time during data collection. The participants were also aware of instances when our interaction was not focused on the research. This is because the purpose and scope of the research had earlier been extensively shared with them. They were reminded about these from time to time.

Another instrument I used for data collection was the camera. To get an overview of the landscape of the school, I had to take photographs of the school and the signage that gives directions to the institution. I also photographed notices of important regulations within the physical landscape of the school. I was given permission to take photographs of the semiotic features of the school landscape. For ethical reasons, these photographs were taken while the young participants were in class. Furthermore, some pictures were taken from a distance to obscure the identity of anyone who was outside at the time.

I also made extensive field notes of how participants manoeuvred through the landscape. I was conscious of my movement around the school, from the time I arrived to the time I left. The fact

that I became conscious of the regulated procedure that guided my movement within the research site, made me realise that walking around the landscape was regulated by strict controls and surveillance. I noticed that individuals here moved to different zones of the school in a controlled manner following a particular pattern, and that no one was allowed to just stand anywhere for no particular reason. Hence, I began to observe how movement was used as a means to control and create order within the institution. In light of this then, I had to employ the methodological concept of ‘narrated walking’ (Stroud and Jegels 2014) as another methodology that gave me an opportunity to be sensuously aware of my movements and those of others (the young offenders, teachers and warders) within the space under investigation.

This section of the chapter has shown that the data collection process of this study employed several methods to elicit multimodal narratives from the participants. The methods were using a visual-art method (drawings), writing narratives (small stories), conducting semi-structured interviews, recording observations as field notes, employing reflexivity, taking photographs of the landscape, and doing narrated walking. The use of all these methods provided different layers to the data that allowed the research participants to be captured and described holistically. Presenting the data in such a multi-layered way enabled me to show different perspectives that might have been missed if only a single method had been used (Lou 2010; Sorsoli 2007; Flyvbjerg 2006; Thomas 2011).

Since the main subject of this study was children who were also in a facility that is associated with trauma, it was essential for me to be sensitive to ethical considerations, which, I now discuss in the next section.

5.5.3 Ethical considerations

The study was situated in a juvenile correctional facility, an environment that is associated with stigma towards individuals identified as offenders because of the criminal behaviour that led to their admission into this facility. As Downing et al. (2013) observe, doing research in correctional facilities is fraught with many challenges as already discussed in the preceding section. For that reason, in addition to the research requirement of being sensitive to ethical issues and ensuring that I obtain the consent of all those involved (in this case, the administrative wing of the Correctional

Department as well as the participants themselves), I designed a leaflet on which the participants' rights were written and used this to assure participants that they will be protected throughout the research process.

The environment, where the study was conducted, is characterised by discipline and surveillance. As a result, during the course of the research, many participants became reluctant to continue their participation. Their reluctance emanated from two issues: (1) the anxiety that their participation might attract victimisation and (2) that the investigation required them to share experiences that were very private and traumatic. As a result, they would cooperate, but on others they merely focused on questioning me on why I was doing this kind of study anyway. Reminding participants about their rights as research subjects (including the right to withdraw their consent to participate) thus became a tool that I used throughout to make sure that they were comfortable in continuing their involvement in the study. I believe that my approach of reiterating the study's ethical considerations to participants makes a valuable contribution to the practice of researching contexts that are fraught with trauma. In such contexts, where eliciting data from participants may prove challenging, researchers can reiterate the study's ethical considerations, specifically the fact that they protect the participants, and that reflecting on them forms part of the researcher's research process. Thus, ethical considerations should not just be reflected on at the initial stages of the research process, and be forgotten once the consent has been signed. The ethical considerations can be used as one of the methodological tools for data collection to reassure reluctant participants, and as a way for the researcher to regularly reflect on whether what is being done is ethically sound.

Another reason for the constant reflection on my ethical responsibility was the fact that the primary participants of my study were children who had already faced some kind of trauma in their lives. They were vulnerable in many different respects. One such respect is their vulnerability to authority. Being in a total institution such as this juvenile correctional facility implies that offenders are regularly forced to adhere to the demands made by an authority figure so as to avoid punishment. Therefore, conducting a study in such an environment required that the researcher be sensitive to this vulnerability to authority, and ensure that they are not taken advantage of and knew their rights.

The following steps were taken to ensure that participants were treated ethically:

5.5.3.1 Permission to conduct the study was sought

The researcher sought the permission of the Commissioner of the HMCS to conduct the study at the institution, to access the school while following all internal protocols and procedures, and to use the office of Research, Development and Planning for assistance. I was granted permission for the above and given access to work with young offenders, teachers, social workers, psychologists and chaplains in the school.

5.5.3.2 Ethical clearance was applied for

- a) The researcher applied for ethical clearance from the Humanities Research Ethics Committee (REC) Stellenbosch University, and the application was approved (see APPENDIX H: RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL). Furthermore, permission was sought from the Department of His Majesty's Correctional Services. This letter of permission can be found in APPENDIX G: PERMISSION LETTER.
- b) I adapted the Participant Information leaflet and Assent Form (a form provided by the Humanities REC, Stellenbosch University) (see APPENDIX B: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION LEAFLET AND ASSENT FORM for adapted form). This form was used throughout the study to explain the purpose of the research; how it would be conducted as well as how the findings would be used. In addition, I also provided a standard consent form which can be seen in APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

5.5.3.3 Voluntary participation was ensured

Participation in this study was voluntary. For example, almost half of the adult participants decided not to continue immediately after signing the consent forms. Some of the young offenders refused to share their experiences during interviews though they would be part of the class engaged in the art tasks or the writing of narratives. Many young offenders who could not refuse participation overtly; would just avoid doing the tasks or leave the tasks incomplete so that I was unable to use the materials as part of my data. Such cases were few.

5.5.3.4 Semiotic landscapes

Photography is one method that is commonly used in the collection of data used for analysing semiotic landscapes. However, because of ethical reasons, photography was not used to capture the semiotic landscape, outside of designated spaces in the school.

5.5.3.5 Anonymity was ensured

All participants' identity was protected by not using their real names on the reports. I only used their names when interacting with them, but in the thesis or any article emanating from this study, each participant is identified by a pseudonym. I decided to use names from the Yoruba language (spoken in West Africa) instead of either Swati or English names to minimise association with the relevant individuals.

Ethical considerations were also employed in the manner in which I recorded information from semi-structured interviews. Instead of using a voice recorder, I took notes of what the participants were saying, and gave myself time after each interview to write down details of the discussion immediately to avoid forgetting key information that had been shared. The fact that I did not use a voice recorder but wrote notes instead confirmed to the participants that their identity was protected.

5.5.3.6 Identification of the school

Although the identity of individual participants was concealed in this study, that of the school where the study was undertaken could not be hidden because (1) it is the only school of this nature (that is, a juvenile correctional facility) in Swaziland; therefore, identifying the real context where the study was carried out would be easy; (2) the research topic itself, the discursive construction of identity in young offenders' narratives in Swaziland, enables the reader to locate the setting of the research. Therefore, whether I had concealed the identity of the school or not, the reference to the nature of the school easily identifies it. Nevertheless the most compelling reason for not obscuring the identity of the research site comes from the fact that some of the research questions required that I explain (1) how the site's semiotic landscape contributed to the construction of identity of young offenders, and (2) how the use of language (depicted in the systematic changes

of the school names and signage) also contributed to the construction of the identity of the young offenders. Therefore, in addressing the research questions I used the name of the school, its signage as well as photographs of some of its sections to show how the nature of the setting and the semiotic resources around the school contribute to the construction of the young offenders' identity. In doing so, I had to be reflective in order to ensure that individual participants are not easily identifiable when presenting the data; so, in some narratives (especially those sourced from the print media), I deliberately blocked names whose identification would not be appropriate.

Despite this challenge, the identification and analysis of the school's name have been beneficial to the young offenders and the general administration of the school in that the administration, the teachers and warders as well as the national management of the HMCS became conscious of the significance of the school's name. Hence, the data presentation (Chapter 6) shows that the name was changed several times (resulting from the interaction I had with the school since 2014). The negative connotations of the school's name have been systematically changed to a more positive name by 2015. The young offenders also benefitted from their teachers' and warders' awareness that using disparaging names contribute to identity construction from being solely negative to more positive identification.

The ethical considerations in this study were informed by the heuristic methodology that provided me with the skills of introspection. When collecting data I was able to constantly reflect on "identifying with the focus of the inquiry, [employing] self-dialogue, tacit knowing, intuition, indwelling, focusing and the internal frame of reference" that guided this study (Djuraskovic & Arthur 2010: 1373). The ethnographic nature of this study also made it possible for me to observe the participants intensely, especially how they experienced the phenomenon under investigation. Thus, from this experience and interaction with the participants, I concluded that there was no personal harm to the participants emanating from the way the study was conducted. If harm would have occurred as a result of this study, I would have enlisted the help of the social workers and psychologists.

5.5.4 Methods of data analysis

Riessman (2003) argues that narratives analysis is a method that requires interpretation when used in social research. But there is no single method of narrative analysis. The focus of analysis may be interpreting the content, the structure or the social interaction and context, or may be a combination of different foci. Thus, the analysis may be a thematic analysis, structural analysis, interactional analysis, or performative analysis. However, the nature of the analysis depends on the type of narrative and the purpose of the study.

Sorsoli's (2007) method of layered analysis was employed for their presentation using different methods. Sorsoli (2007) argues that the use of layered analysis for multimodal narratives provides a deeper understanding of experience and an in-depth qualitative analysis of the data. Therefore, adopting such a method in this study enabled me to approach the investigation using various methods; that is, mixed methods. Each set of data required consideration during the analysis process. (Sorsoli 2007: 305) further notes that "systematic use of more than one method or layer of interpretive reading forces the existence of multiple perspectives during the process of analysis, actively encouraging researchers to go beneath the loudest stories they are hearing". The advantage of using such analysis is that it "allows the sensitive listening required to hear complex stories as well as those that are marginalised in society ... The layers ... draw attention not only to the existence and content of these often silenced stories but the ways they are being put into words" or portrayed in other modes of communication (Sorsoli 2007: 307).

Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework for the analysis of identity as constituted in interaction was employed to analyse the narrative data. As already explained in Chapter 3 (see section 3.4) Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework consists of five principles to guide the analysis, namely the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle and the partialness principle. The emergence principle asserts that identity is a product that emerges from a linguistic interaction in a sociocultural context. The positionality principle on the other hand suggests that identity should be viewed as the smallest descriptions that are reflected in different positions taken by the individual in discourse interactions from time to time. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 592) therefore argue that the different positions taken by individuals then create various types of identities that encompass three levels, namely "(1) macro-level demographic

categories; (2) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (3) temporally and interactionally specific stances and participant roles” (numbers added for emphasis). The analysis in this study was focused on identities created through temporally and interactionally specific stances and participant roles. The notion of ‘positionality’ is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 (subsection 3.4.1).

The indexicality principle shows “the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions” Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594). In this study, the linguistic style that indexes aspects of identity were identified and interpreted. Therefore indexicality was applied as a mechanism to show how linguistic forms were used by research subjects to construct identity positions during interaction. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594), the indexical processes through which identity relations emerge in interaction include:

- (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels;
- (b) implicatures and presuppositions (pragmatic processes which are also used to interpret those identities that are inferred from a social linguistic context) regarding one’s own and others’ identity position;
- (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to on-going talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and
- (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.

The analysis of data revealed the indexical elements through which the young offenders’ identity emerged. The relationality principle shows that identity is dependent on other identities and social roles; thus, it is a process that is created by interrelationships of various sociocultural factors (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 598). Thus, the broad categories that have been traditionally used to classify identities – gender, power, economic status, and others – play a significant role in influencing how smaller identities are performed. Through this principle, identities may be analysed by using the pairs of relations: adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalisation, and authorisation and illegitimation (these relations are discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

Literature indicates that the construction and performativity of identity in interaction is an ongoing activity and is always adjusted and largely contextual. The partialness principle recognises that identity should always be seen as an incomplete relational entity constructed from different sociocultural contexts and positions the interlocutors take in interaction. Hence, the partialness principle was used in this study to analyse the interactional negotiation and contestation between the broader social identities and the smaller contextual identities that emerged in the interaction.

5.6 Validity and trustworthiness of the study

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that, for a study to be valid and trustworthy, it should be evaluated in terms of its: (1) credibility (that is, confidence in the truth of the findings), (2) transferability (that is, showing that the findings have applicability to other contexts), (3) dependability (that is, showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated), and (4) confirmability (that is, a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) therefore urge the researcher to apply a number of techniques so that the study being undertaken can be considered trustworthy. The techniques they identify are (1) prolonged engagement, which I employed by designing my research as an ethnographic qualitative study, and spending long periods of time at the school; (2) persistent observation, which I applied in that I observed and reflected on the interaction between the various participants, and on the activities they were involved in, and how these contributed to the young offenders' construction of identity; (3) and triangulation, which I applied by employing multiple methods to partially overcome the bias and deficiencies that might come from the researcher or one of the methods employed (Babbie & Mouton 2008: 275). In this study, triangulation was applied from the paradigms and methodologies employed. The participants in this study were clearly identified and the co-constructed nature of the study showed the influence that I, as the researcher, had in the production of the data elicited from the respondents. As I interacted with the participants, I employed the practice of reflexivity, which enabled me and the participants to reflect on the space, time and context as we produced data for the study. This practice also allowed us to separate 'social

time' (not focusing on research) interactions from the rest of our interactions that did yield data related to the study.

Lincoln and Guba's (1985) techniques are reflected in the procedures I employed to collect and analyse the data. The approaches and methods I employed in this study have been employed in several studies; hence they have been extremely appropriated. Ethnographic research has been employed in qualitative research across disciplines and is able to bring about an in-depth analysis or thick descriptions of the phenomenon being studied. The multimodal narratives, art-based method and semi-structured interviews I used have also been applied elsewhere. They were used to elicit data from people's experiences, and were even specifically used in studies that focused on the discursive construction of identities. I also followed all ethical requirements as set out by the university and necessitated by the subjects and site of the study. The close observation of the cases studied also enabled me to establish a close rapport with the research subjects. The material evidence, that is the art produced by the participants also validated the worthiness of this study. These participants took time to produce their work, which also provided evidence that they participated actively in the study.

5.7 Limitations of the study

One major limitation of the study is inherent to the nature of the site I selected – a juvenile correctional facility. Like all prisons, this facility was fraught with tension as it is operated by strict discipline and surveillance. Access to participants was often limited by time constraints, especially in cases where they had to leave the facility before the stipulated time for various reasons ranging from parole to successful appeals of their cases. The time the young offenders spent in the correctional facility was often a constraint since many were arrested for petty crimes and the sentences to be served were, of course, short, yet a good number of these offenders did serve longer sentences ranging from two to nine years. Sometimes those who served shorter sentences in prison and were involved in the study could not complete the tasks, but their contribution as part of the group was noted in the study.

Another limitation was that I could not access their personal information such as their dates of birth, the nature of the crime they had committed or any information that the state had on them. I

had to rely on the information they gave. In the case of their level of education before incarceration, the school itself had to rely on information provided by the offenders themselves. The school authorities struggled to place many of the young offenders in the right classes. In most cases, the offenders failed to cope with their class work, and would then have to be sent to lower classes.

Another challenge was that each week the composition of the classes I worked with changed because new offenders were admitted to the school on a daily basis. The policy of government is to send an offender below age eighteen to school immediately, no matter the time of the year. The challenge this posed was that each time the class had new admissions the activities of the class would have to be changed to accommodate newcomers. Other offenders had a culture of taking care of the newcomer by helping them as they came to terms with being in incarceration, even helping them with school work. Therefore, completing the art-based tasks related to my research took longer time than expected. The young offenders were classified into two groups: convicts on remand awaiting trial, and those already serving their sentences. Those on remand would sometimes miss research sessions with me whenever they had to appear before court for their cases. The other group could be given another task outside the class. The effect of time constraints was however minimised because of the ethnographic nature of the study which enabled me to have other opportunities to interact with the participants. The school authorities also gave me a specific time on their timetable to be spent on the research activities with the participating students and teachers.

Since the school is part of the correctional department, sometimes, learning activities were usually interrupted by visitors (especially from the political wing of government, non-governmental organisations and others) and preparations for annual departmental and national activities (such as the Correctional Day, Offenders' Careers day, and cultural events). Because of this interruptions, I would sometimes use holidays and weekends to complete tasks with the young participants, especially when they had to write the narratives. Doing so allowed them to write without being rushed to another class or being affected by the prying eyes of others. Working with the young participants on non-school days had some security and supervision challenges that required very strict arrangements on my part to ensure that the officer-in-charge coordinated a number of things. He/she had to organise the transfer of the offenders from their cells to the school section, and had

to provide a few teachers and security personnel who could monitor my activities with the participants and provide support. Despite all these arrangements, it was challenging to get some officers to be on time and work swiftly as they found it easier to manage offenders inside their cells than on the school side of the facility. Because of that challenge, mid-week visits were prioritised, especially for the group that used the art-based method. This group had visual art slotted in on the timetable each week. The mid-week visits enriched the study because I had the opportunity to observe the entire school's activities. I could observe how the young offenders walked from their cells or how they were transferred from other correctional facilities (the male facility has two sections: one for the young boys below fifteen years and those above are accommodated in different section of the facility while the girls stay about fifteen kilometres away with the rest of the female prisoners). I was also able to observe their interaction with one another and with officers during break times such as lunch and sports time.

Some of these young offenders committed serious crimes such as rape and murder, and thus had the potential to be very violent. Therefore, I needed to be very careful around them. I never attempted to work with or interview the young participants in a secluded environment. The interviews were carried out in the open, in the yard, where security officers would hang. Despite the openness of this space, it was still comfortable, and the young participants and I were still afforded privacy. Shade and chairs made the space comfortable for one-on-one interviews with the young participants. The security officers who usually occupy this space gave me permission to use their space for a few hours each time there was a need, so they were not able to hear the discussions between me and the interviewee. In contrast, neither security nor privacy proved challenging to observe in the case of interviews with adult participants; the officer-in-charge allocated an office space for me to use whenever I wanted to interview adult participants.

The inability to use a voice recorder for collecting data was a challenge in the beginning. But other instruments which were used later assisted in ensuring that the quality of the data remained appropriate. The camera was only used to record the drawings, and visible signs around the landscape that were relevant to the study. These pictures were then transferred to a Microsoft Word document for presentation and analysis. The multimodal approach has really minimised this limitation of the study.

5.8 Summary

In this chapter the research design and approaches, methods and instruments employed in the data collection and the procedure for analysing the data analysis were described. It also described the participants, and the theoretical framework used in the study. The various ethical issues the study considered, the study's limitations as well as its validity and worthiness were also discussed.

CHAPTER 6

SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES: CONTROL, CONFINEMENT, CONTRADICTION

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present and discuss findings that address aspects of the first research question: how does the semiotic landscape in which imprisoned young offenders receive formal schooling contribute to the ways in which the identities of the young offenders are constructed? The data presented in this chapter consists of pictures of the semiotic landscape and signage and notices within the landscape. I also draw on the institution's formal documents such as memoranda and legal notices on policy issues, print media reports and the observations that I made during my interaction with the participants to further enrich the data. Since the data were elicited using several methods, it is presented as a layered analysis (Sorsoli 2007).

This study discusses semiotic landscape from various perspectives to examine how the space assists in shaping the identity of the young offenders (Tucker-Raymond et al. 2005: 560). Space here includes the physical, social and the cognitive. The landscape of the school was seen as simultaneously a physical entity and as a social space where material and non-material objects contributed to the process of making meaning (Palang et al. 2006). In order to capture the various facets of the landscape as explained above, the study examined physical representations of the landscape, such as signage and the architecture of the buildings. The chapter is organised in the following manner: First, I, give a general overview of the architecture of the school and the dormitories. I will then discuss indexical signs or signs that “refer to something or someone in terms of its existence or location in time or space, or in relation to something or someone else” (Sebeok 2001: 10). An example of this is signage that indicates the name of the school. Then, I discuss regulatory signs or signs that have as their main function the shaping of behaviour in particular spaces, for example a non-smoking sign. Lastly, I provide a summary of the main findings presented in this chapter.

6.2 The physical landscape and architecture

In this section I present pictures of the main buildings of the school and dormitory. This general overview is necessary to create an idea of how the school is physically constructed.



Figure 1: View of the school – note the fence and building

In **Error! Reference source not found.**, one notices a layer of fencing that separates the school and dormitory for the older offenders as well as staff living quarters situated within the correctional facility for young people. In the picture the school faces the dormitory where the younger male offenders reside. In the yard, there are heaps of soil that shows that the school is still under construction.



Figure 2: Another view of the school – inner fence

Another view of the school showing the inner fence, which is shorter than the one in Figure 2. Close to the fence there is overhead lighting that improves security at night. The building on the right is part of the dormitory situated within the school premises where younger male offenders are accommodated. The kitchen is located at the back.



Figure 3: A closer view of the dormitory block within the school section

The dormitory within the school in Figure 3 is separated from the school buildings by another layer of fencing. This dormitory is fenced off from the school section to limit access to it after school, on weekends, and over holidays. There is a one steel gate through which young offenders access the school.

Having sketched the general layout of the school, I now turn my attention to particular signage found in the school and surrounding areas and how these signs contributed to the construction of identity of the young offenders.

6.3 Indexical signs

In this section, I discuss signs that point to the location of the school, such as road signs; and signs that name the school, such as those at the entrance of the school building and on the school bus. I focus specifically on changes that occurred in the signage during the period of my data collection (from 2014 to 2016) and how these changes impact identity construction. I present and discuss

seven pictures using Sorsoli's (2007) method of layered analysis to interface the signage and notices with the narratives, constructed by the young participants and adult participants, together with official documents and my own observations.

The picture in **Error! Reference source not found.** of a wall sign post was taken at the junction of the main public road signalling the direction to the school. Besides giving the direction to the juvenile correctional facility, it also clearly indicates that the institution functions as a school and a correctional facility. From January 2015 to July 2016 the text on this sign underwent significant changes. Before January 2015 the institution was known as a Juvenile Prison or Juvenile Detention Centre; however, by the time this study began, that name had been changed and the centre had been renamed Correctional Institution for Young People. This indicates that the facility was undergoing an ideological shift through the change of name from a prison to a correctional institution.

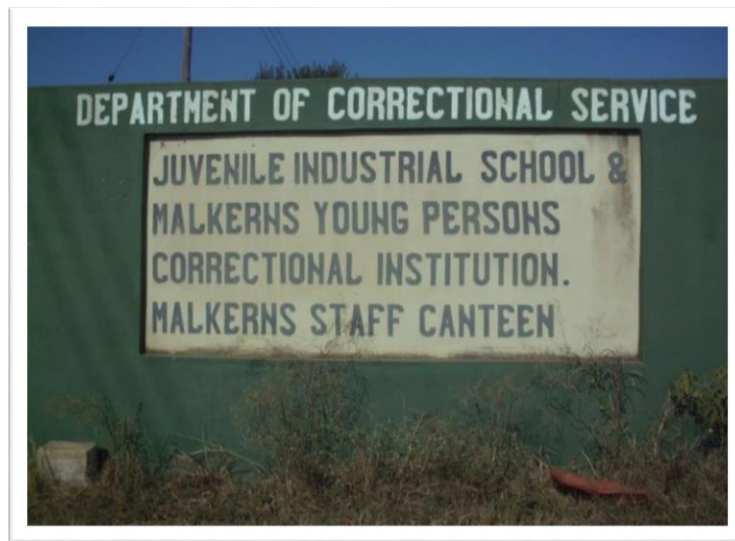


Figure 4: A sign post along the main road before March, 2015

A close observation of this sign concerns the colours used for the text. The first line identifies the name of the department: *Department of Correctional Service*. This is written in white on a dark green background (dark green is the theme colour of the Department of Correctional Services in Swaziland). The other text is placed on a white background and written in black. The information on the white background identifies: (1) the school as *Juvenile Industrial School*; (2) the nature of the prison, *Malkerns Young Persons Correctional Institution*, and (3) another facility located

within the centre, *Malkerns Staff Canteen*. *Malkerns* is the name of the town where the correctional facility is located, and the location is known as Mdutshane. Sometimes correctional centres are identified by the name of the locality where they are, so this particular correctional centre is referred to as Mdutshane Correctional Facility.

The picture in Figure 5 below shows two wall sign posts along the main road. One (in green and white) belongs to the Ministry of Agriculture, signalling the *Malkerns Research Station*, and next to it is a pink blank wall. The original text (the old name of the institution) of the second sign was erased, and the colour changed from dark green to pink. The colour change is significant given that all other items of the HMCS (staff uniforms, cars, and buildings) are dark green. At the time the picture was taken, the school was preparing for an official opening by King Mswati III. Between 2008 and 2015 the HMCS built new structures for the school, which the King was expected to open officially in August 2015. The norm is that whenever the King officially opens an institution or a building, he gives it a name that is in line with the institution's history and function/mission, as recommended by the relevant authorities of the institution.



Figure 5: A wall sign post along the main road

As part of the infrastructure changes to the school, a new gate, featured in Figure 6, was also built just before the official opening of the school in August 2015.



Figure 6: Entrance Gate 2

What is important about the pictures in Figure 5 and Figure 6 is the provision of inscriptional space; that is, a space that is used and shaped by the public or actors in that context, which in this case refers to the HMCS authorities (Mondada 2011: 289). The inscriptional spaces are the blank spaces in pink and white on these walls. Both spaces remained blank until May 2016, way beyond the official opening of the school. This is because there were on-going discussions regarding the renaming of the school, the logo and colours to be used even after the King gave the new name of the school.

The school was officially opened on 7 August 2015 as Figure 7 below indicates.



Figure 7: Placard indicating the official opening of the school

At the official opening of school, His Majesty King Mswati III named the school, Vulamasango Primary and High School. ‘Vulamasango’ is a SiSwati compound noun derived from a verb ‘vula’, which means open, and a noun ‘emasango’, which means gates. ‘Vulamasango’ then literally means open gates, but its pragmatic meaning is open opportunities.

Nine months after the negotiations, the logo and some materials that function as symbols on the signs were completed, and the colours to be used were selected. The texts for the signs were then written on all signposts and boards from the main road up to the second gate. The pictures in Figure 8 and Figure 9 below show these changes.



Figure 8: The wall sign post along the road (from May 2016)

The road sign then had text that identifies the name of the school, *Vulamasango School*. Instead of an arrow to indicate the direction to the school from the main road, a pencil is used and serves as a metaphor for education. The next signpost in Figure 9 shows the direction about fifty metres away from the school, and it was mounted on a board unlike the wall sign situated along the main public road.



Figure 9: Sign post at gate

This sign was mounted around July 2016. It is situated close to the first gate along the road. Security personnel do not operate the gate during the day; thus, vehicle drivers and pedestrians pass through it freely. My observation of this free movement through this gate was that it gives the public the impression that this is an ordinary school. This is accentuated by the meaning derived from the name of the school, open opportunities. The meaning of the school's name suggests that it provides a positive service to the nation as it opens, as it were, doors of opportunities for the children there.

It should also be noted that this sign introduces the logo of the school, which consists of an artistic drawing of an academic cap on top of a book with a statement that reads *SHINING STARS THROUGH EDUCATION*. This logo projects neither the literal meaning (open gates) nor the figurative meaning (open opportunities) of the school's new name. My investigation about this text revealed that authorities selected the statement, shining stars through education, in order to foreground the good results in national examinations that this school achieved.

The next picture, Figure 10 shows the gate 2 after the name of the school and its logo had been inscribed on it.



Figure 10: Second gate – now imprinted with the new name of the school

The logo used for the signs at gate 1 (Figure 9) and gate 2 (Figure 10) introduces another colour: blue (light and dark blue). This interface of colours led me to think of what motivated their choice. My discussion with the school management revealed that the choice of colours was not randomly done. Instead, the colours matched the school uniforms for both male and female students: the pink for girls' tunic and both shades of blue for the boys' shirt and jersey.

My collection of data over time brought to light how a space is made and re-made, and each of the different instantiations of space indexes a different portrayal of the school and the people who inhabit the school. Firstly, the school is indexed by the old signage as a Juvenile Industrial School. That sign is then replaced with a blank space, which represents the ongoing discussions about how to rename the school. Later on, a new name is used and inscribed on the space. I argue that a process of resemiotisation occurred, with each shift also causing a shift in meaning. Iedema (2003) defines resemiotisation as the manner in which meaning-making shifts across time and space from context to context. Mondada (2011: 289) argues that social action is important in the making of space. The social action that is evident in this data is that the naming of the school and the actual writing of the name of the school in all the signboards involved negotiation and discussions among those involved. Hence, the blank signboards and the time it took to write the name of the school, even after it was formerly announced, indicate that the school signs from the main road to the gate acted as inscriptional spaces which were heavily influenced by the interactants' construction of the

institutionalised young offenders' identity – a child amenable to rehabilitation. These negotiations are however not visible to the public. Only through my close involvement with the school and through my research did I realise that the name given to the school does not present the conflict and the differing views of people in the institution.

The interpretation of the name of the school that the public is likely to make from reading the road signs is that the school, to which the signage points, is a special school that provides opportunities to the students beyond school. At this point, there is no indication that the school is located within a correctional facility (highly fortified for security reasons). The HMCS sees the name of the school as consistent with its general mission of the school: to rehabilitate through formal education; thereby giving young offenders opportunities to shape their future through education. The institution has made a great effort to influence the nation's opinion of the school by changing the name. The hope is that the public also changes from constructing the school as a prison – a negative environment described in pejorative terms such as 'juvenile' – to a more positive construction thereof, using terms that depict the positive, reformatory identification of the young offenders. When I began interacting with the school in 2010, I observed that two names were used to refer to the young offenders. They were either referred to as 'tiboshwa', meaning prisoners, or as 'juv juvs', or as 'juveniles'. Before the authorities began to change the name of the school, it was also commonly referred to as 'eJuvenile Prison' by members of the public in Swaziland. So the name, 'Juvenile' has been used for a long time to refer to this facility even before the establishment of the formal school in 2008. The term juvenile has come to be seen as negative, given its association with 'juvenile delinquent'. This is a term that garners just as much "disapproval as the label 'criminal' which it replaced" (Platt & Friedman 1968: 1160). Some of the participants in my study, pointed to this negative connotation of the word. The response from one of them, Bade is presented in **Error! Reference source not found..**

Extract 1: Bade

Even if these people know your name, they just call you a ‘juvjuv’ or ‘juvi’, and they like insulting us with other words too. They enjoy calling us prisoners. To them we are not human beings but we are like cows. I don’t like this name because even at home they know I am a juvenile because I am here eJuvenile.

Besides the road signs, other signs that index the school are found on vehicles of the HMCS. They are clearly marked by the name of the Department, and are painted in the two theme colours used by the Department: white and dark green. Figure 11 and Figure 12 show two pictures on the school minibus: one with the school’s name, written on the side and the other picture shows the back view of the same minibus, but now a statement extracted from the mission of the school is placed there.



Figure 11: Side view of the minibus



Figure 12: Back view of minibus

The text inscribed on the minibus in these two pictures shows the name of the school, *JUVENILE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL* on the side, and at the back, an extract from the mission of the school *CORRECTING THROUGH EDUCATION* is inscribed. The two words identifying the type of school are significant in the construction of young offenders’ identity. The first one, juvenile, indicates that the school is for young people, but it also carries a negative connotation in that the noun; juvenile, in this context refers to young prisoners. The second word, industrial, gives the impression that the school is a vocational school, yet the reality on the ground is that the focus is on formal education, with the use of a curriculum set by the Examination Council of Swaziland. A small department offers the vocational curriculum for a group of young offenders (24 on

average) who are unable to handle formal education for one reason or the other. The HMSC offers a fully-fledged vocational programme at the facilities for adult offenders, but such a programme is not yet available in the school. However, management explained that the development of a fully-fledged vocational section of the school was still in the pipeline, which explained why the school name on the bus incorporated the adjective ‘industrial’.

The second picture, Figure 12, shows text at the back of the school’s minibus. It was taken from the school’s mission statement to reflect the school’s purpose. The extract of the mission seems to reflect a positive identity of the school, as it presents the school as one that is performing a remarkable task of correcting the young offenders’ delinquent behaviour, and giving them education.

As these vehicles are driven around, the public reads the text on it, and become aware of the existence of the institution and its mission. This is consistent with Karlander’s (2016) observation of the significance of the transport system in shaping a landscape. Thus, he introduces the notion of ‘mobility as a semiotic device’. In his study of backjumps or train graffiti, Karlander (2016) finds that the mobility of the train facilitates the mobility of the graffiti so that it reaches different locations, and enables travellers to interact with the visual texts. They thus become aware of whatever information the graffiti projects. Likewise, the text written on the minibus (which is used for running errands around the major cities in Swaziland) is a form of a mobile semiotic device since many people read the text. The interpretation of the text on the minibus is straightforward in that it identifies the nature of the school clearly. Despite some changes in the name of the school (as already stated), the minibus retained that name as at June 2017. The minibus acts as an ambassador for the school as it is driven to places where many people see it. Consequently, the name *Juvenile Industrial School* has been etched on the public’s mind. In other words, the school is associated with the negative term juvenile and the impression is created that the school is of a particular type (industrial) and does not provide normal schooling. This impression is created despite the changes in name that have since occurred in the last two years.

When we investigate the indexical signs and how they changed over time, a theme in the data that constantly re-emerges is the tension between rehabilitation and retribution. This is especially

evident in how the terms ‘juvenile’ and ‘juvvie’ persists, despite acknowledgment that this carries negative connotations. My interaction with the participants gave me an opportunity to observe how senior management in the HMSC identify offenders in general. As the name of the school was changing, teachers’ and warders’ attitudes toward young offenders changed abruptly, especially when addressing them within the formal setting of the school. The young offenders were then referred to as ‘pupils’ or ‘students’ rather than as ‘juveniles’. The other officers working with the offenders in the school section (nurses, chaplains, social welfare officers and security warders) were barred from using derogatory names to refer to young offenders or to address them. This change was explained by management as a way for minimising name-calling, which was perceived as contributing to the construction of angry young offenders. However, my field notes from semi-structured interviews with some adult participants revealed that the use of ‘juvenile’ by officers across the different section within the youth correctional facility was still common, especially when the young offenders’ issues were discussed in their absence or when interacting with them outside the classroom. The semi-structured interviews revealed that the perception that the children being rehabilitated are juvenile prisoners still persists among many officers in the institution; hence, many would use the names when addressing the young offenders if they are away from the surveillance of the management.

My observation then is that perceptions about and construction of young offenders’ identity are not necessarily changing as rapidly as the name of the school has been changed.

6.4 Regulatory signs

When walking around the school and surveying the classrooms, I found more semiotic resources in the form of notices. These notices mostly serve to regulate the behaviour of the pupils. In this section, I present these notices. Again Sorsoli’s (2007) method of layered analysis facilitates the presentation of different sets of data (pictures of notices, narratives, official documents) connected by the context and the themes being described.

The officials explained that movement within this landscape is strictly controlled for ease of security management. Young male offenders have two dormitories: one within the school for boys between 12 and 14 years old and another for boys between 16 and 18 years old (or slightly older,

if he still attends school), which is about 100 metres away from the school. They walk to the school from the dormitories and within the yard following controlled systematic patterns. In the morning, when they move from their cells/dormitories to the school section of the facility, they walk in lined batches according to which class they attend. They are expected to have left their rooms at a specific time before assembly to enable dormitory staff to count them before they move in a line to the assembly point. Those who stay at the other dormitory are counted at the dormitory too before they arrange themselves in lines to walk to the assembly square at school. They are accompanied by a number of staff including those that manage the security, the dormitory staff, from the chaplaincy to other sections of the social department within the youth facility. They have to pass through several gates within the larger compound. The young female offenders do not stay in this location, but at the women's correctional facility located about 12 kilometres away. They are transported in a prisoners' van each school day. When they arrive at school (note that they usually arrive some time before school begins), they also stand in lines on one side of the yard, waiting for the bell to ring before they also walk to the assembly square. They leave the square in a systematic way to their respective classes. Uncoordinated movement of young offenders is minimal during school hours; the security personnel positioned in different sections of the school monitor their movement intently. If an offender has to visit the restroom or be sent to another section of the school, the warders stationed outside the classes are alerted by the teacher in that class. The offender is then interrogated as s/he comes across any officer who may demand to know why s/he is not in class. During breaks, each group quickly moves to one side of the school where they take tea or lunch under the watchful eyes of security personnel.

The young offenders are not the only members whose movement is strictly controlled. Staff members and visitors also need to follow check-in and check-out procedures. On arrival, staff members and visitors, like myself, also have to follow a particular pattern of movement. Passage through gate 1, along the public road does not have any hindrance; there is no security there. But at gate 2 (point of entry into the school), the security personnel allow staff to move in, but visitors' identity is recorded, the visitors have to present their national identity card and vehicle registration number for registration, record the purpose for their visit and the person they came to see. All staff and visitors go the reception office, (located at the gatekeeper's office at the entrance of the younger offenders' dormitory), where each member of staff or visitor is checked in or checked out

later when they leave in the *Gatekeeper Occurrence Book*. Thereafter, staff members usually walk to their section of the school where they operate.

Besides the strict procedures that govern movement, notices are also used to regulate behaviour and movement. The school has notices from the second gate and notice boards around the school, on doors and some walls inside the classrooms. These notices cannot be missed since they are well-placed to attract the attention of anyone who walks around the school. The following section presents data specifically related to these notices.

6.4.1 Notices around the school



Figure 13: A 'no-smoking' notice at Gate 2

This notice is a prominent feature at the second gate of the school. I have seen the semiotic landscape of many schools in Swaziland; such a notice is not normally mounted at gates on such a huge billboard. This non-smoking rule does not even feature in many school rules I have come across because school children (even if they do smoke) do not do so on school premises. The placement of this notice at the school gate is something that is peculiar to this environment. It signals that this is one of the landscape landmarks that indicate that this is not an ordinary school since such a notice cannot be normally found at the entrance of school gates. The interesting aspect of this *NO SMOKING WITHIN PREMISES* notice is that it is directed at anyone who goes through the second gate: offenders, teachers, warders or visitors. This notice highlights a policy that affects everyone in this landscape.

The Prison Act, 1964, Section 37 (1) is the current operational legal instrument that stipulates the restriction of alcohol and tobacco within the facility; hence, the intolerance to smoking. The focus is on smoking mainly because convicts have easier access to cigarettes, which are either bought from the canteen or smuggled into the correctional facilities, than other forms of illicit substances. In March 2016, the Department circulated a memorandum to all correctional facilities in the country, entitled: *Directive no. 3 of 2016: Restrictions of Smoking of Tobacco and Other Intoxicating Substances in the Correctional Services*. In this memorandum, the authorities brought to the attention of all officers Regulation 37 of Prisons Regulations, 1965 and the Tobacco Products Act, 2013 that had just come into force, both of which restrict the use of alcohol and tobacco for health reasons not only for offenders, but also the officers themselves.

The implementation of the policy and regulation was evident in the narratives written by the young participants. These narratives reveal that many of the young offenders seem to have gotten involved in crimes of theft/robbery in order to have money to satisfy their urge for substance abuse. Therefore, the effect of this no-smoking regulation on those young offenders who were admitted into the facility already smoking, was more mortifying as they had to battle with withdrawal symptoms. One may therefore conclude that the no-smoking regulation at the school forms part of those factors that contribute to the offenders' curtailment even if stopping smoking is being viewed as a health benefit. Consider this excerpt from the written narratives of Emeka (Extract 2) and Joko (Extract 3):

Extract 2: Emeka

We are quite clear now on the dangers of smoking, and it is our wish that those of us who still go against the policy of not smoking should just stop. There is a duty for our nurses to spread the gospel further because a majority of my colleagues have the desire to stop smoking but fear the consequences [withdrawal symptoms]. It is even a sad story when you think of the crimes we are exposed to in the bid to get dagga or cigarettes in the outside world. One of the crimes that brought me here is linked to the subject in question because when you do not have money, robbery becomes the only option. We

believe more educational sessions could help bring a clear picture on the dangers of smoking.

Extract 3: Joko

Seeing is believing! For me it was a different situation. Having smoked for many years, I came across a picture of a person with lung cancer due to smoking. I was shocked, and that is when I decided to quit smoking.

6.4.2 Notice strategically placed in the yard

As one enters the school yard, one is able to identify a number of semiotic resources that contribute to the construction of the identity of the young offenders.



Figure 14: Notice in the yard

The notice in Figure 14 carries a message that is common in a school landscape. In most cases refuse bins are a clear call on people to use them to keep the environment clean. However, in this landscape the bin has an instruction written on it to reinforce the rule. Normally, we know that when there is a bin in a particular environment, as actors in that environment, we are expected to use the bin to keep the environment clean. But the fact that there is an instruction written on the bin itself indicates that the authority of power in this context uses— in this case – written text, to draw the attention of the actors (mainly the young offenders) in this environment to act according to the message on the bin, and the consequence of following the inscribed instruction is explicitly

stated. Literature on total institutions states that the offenders are subjected to regulations and judgments by staff, who use their “echelon authority” to discipline offenders since social control in total institutions are more detailed and restrictive than outside (Goffman 1961: 4). Though people know the function of refuse bins, in this case the purpose of the bin is written on the bin itself as an overt linguistic item that indexes a specific behaviour from those who appropriate this text. This notice also reinforces the importance of studying not only the linguistic items within a space, but also materiality. A study of material culture entails looking at “items, produced by humans as well as events and spaces interconnected by and with local and global mentality, culture, tradition and social life” (Aronin & Laoire 2013: 227). These objects refer to the commonly used such as food, furniture, art, and statutes and monuments. Attention is paid to where objects are placed in space, and are seen as a “reflection of identity, individual and group values: ideas, morals, ethics and standards” (Aronin & Laoire 2013: 229). This particular bin, is thus reflective of the general culture of the institution where rules and regulations are stated explicitly, and the young offenders are expected to adhere to these regulations.

6.4.3 Notice strategically placed on the walls and noticeboards

The next notice, see below in Figure 15 is a list of school rules mounted on walls along the classroom corridors, on notice boards in offices and classrooms.

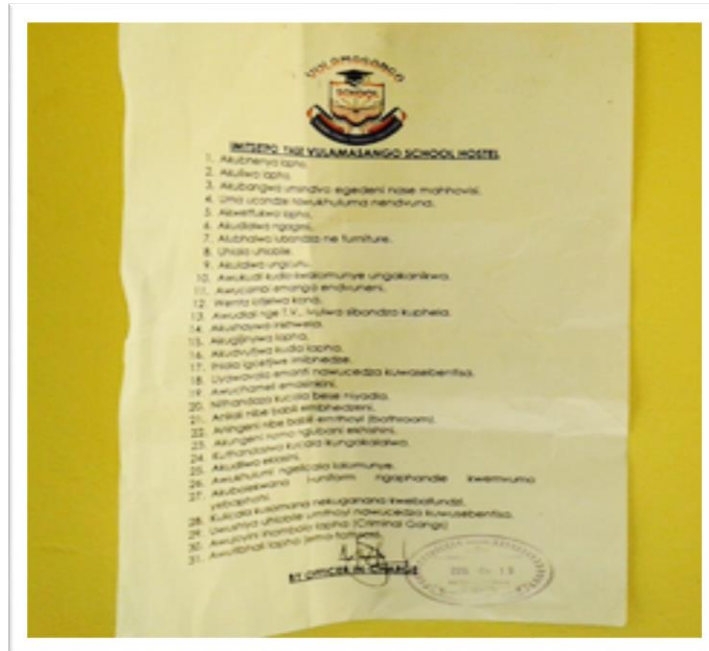


Figure 15: Notice around the walls in the school and in the classroom

These rules are written in SiSwati; the following section presents the rules with the translation into English. The administrative staff explained that the rules were written in SiSwati because the majority of the young offenders in the school were literate in their mother tongue. Thus, those able to read could read it on behalf of others who could not read, without having to translate. For this reason, no offender could claim ignorance of such rules. There are 31 rules in all. An analysis of these rules enables one to classify them into four groups. These groups deal with different sets of behaviours expected from the interaction of the young offenders among themselves, with the officers and with the landscape. The analysis that follows therefore presents the rules according to this classification, and not as they were listed in the Notice.

6.4.3.1 Rules that control young offenders' delinquent behaviour within the incarceration landscape

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Akubhenywa lapha</i> | There should be no smoking here |
| 2. <i>Akuliwa lapha</i> | There should be no fighting here |
| 3. <i>Uhlala Uhlobile</i> | You should be clean at all times |
| 4. <i>Akulalwa ngcunu</i> | Do not sleep naked |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. <i>Awukudli kudla kwalomunye ungakanikwa</i> | Do not eat another person's food without his or her permission |
| 6. <i>Akushaywa inkwela</i> | No whistling |
| 7. <i>Akugijinywa lapha</i> | Do not run here |
| 8. <i>Akudvutjwa kudla lapha</i> | Food should not be boycotted here |
| 9. <i>Nithandaza kucala bese niyadla</i> | You must pray before you eat |
| 10. <i>Kuthandazwa kucala kungakalalwa</i> | There is prayer conducted before going to bed |
| 11. <i>Anilali nibe babili embhedzeni</i> | Do not share a bed with anyone here |
| 12. <i>Aningeni nibe babili emthoyi (bathroom)</i> | Two people should not enter into the toilet or bathroom |
| 13. <i>Awukhulumi ngelicala lalomunye</i> | You must not talk about the criminal offence of another person |
| 14. <i>Akubolekwana i-uniform ngaphandle kwemvumo yebaphatsi</i> | Do not wear another's uniform without the permission from the officer on duty |
| 15. <i>Kulicala kusomana nekuganana kwebafundzi</i> | It is an offense to propose love to or be in a love relationship with one another |
| 16. <i>Awujoyini inombolo (criminal gangs)</i> | Do not join the numbers of criminal gangs |
| 17. <i>Awutibhali lapha (ema-tattoos)</i> | Do not write tattoos on your body |

6.4.3.2 Rules that control interaction among young offenders (the use of language)

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Akwetfukwa lapha</i> | Do not insult another person here |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|

6.4.3.3 Rules that control interaction between the young offenders and the officers

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Uma ucondze uma ukhuluma nendvuna</i> | Stand up straight when talking to an officer |
| 2. <i>Wenta lotjelwa kona</i> | You do what you are told (by officers) |

6.4.3.4 Rules that control the interaction between the young offenders and the landscape

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Akubangwa umsindvo egedeni nasemahhovisi</i> | Do not make noise at the gate and in offices |
| 2. <i>Akudlalwa ngagesi</i> | Do not play with electricity |
| 3. <i>Alubhalwa lubondza</i> | Do not write the wall |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. <i>Alubhalwa lubondza ne furniture</i> | Do not write the wall and the furniture |
| 5. <i>Awudlali nge T.V., ivulwa sibondza kuphela</i> | Do not play with the T.V., only the officer on duty will switch it on and off |
| 6. <i>Ihlala igcetjiwe imibhedze</i> | All beds should be made up every morning |
| 7. <i>Uyawavala emanti nawucedza kuwasebentisa</i> | Close taps after using water |
| 8. <i>Awuchameli emasinkini</i> | Do not urinate into the sinks |
| 9. <i>Uwushiya uhlobile umthoyi nawucedza kuwusebentisa</i> | Leave the toilet clean each time you use it |
| 10. <i>Akungeni noma ngubani ekhishini</i> | The Kitchen is out of bounds unless you are assigned to work there |
| 11. <i>Akudliwa eklasini</i> | Eating is not allowed in class |

The discussion in this section indicates that the context in which this study was undertaken is operated under strict regulations for all participants. But the regulations have more effect on the incarcerated population who have to abide by the regulations as they manoeuvre around the space.

6.5 Summary

This section summarises the main findings pertaining to how the physical infrastructure, indexical and regulatory signs contributed to the identity construction of the young offenders as they interacted in this landscape.

Drawing on Bamberg's (2004a) positioning analysis (PA) and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) positionality principle, the analysis of the data presented in this section shows that the naming of the school is focused on its expected role to reform the young offenders who are the focal point of all the name changes that have occurred. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 592) argue that in temporally and interactionally specific stances individuals take participant roles in which they position themselves through the linguistic choices they make in that interaction. The data presented in this section of the chapter indicates that the young offenders are positioned as the main project of action in this institution. Hence, the name of the school depicts its role in the reformation of such young offenders. Even though the institution seems to view these name changes as a positive, the young offenders, themselves, did not give any input in the process of the name change. Their views were

not sought; the negotiation that involved the name change was mainly between senior management officers. The young offenders were just treated as objects that needed to be worked on, yet every decision or action taken was meant to rehabilitate them. The authority on how the changes are managed rested with authorities. This is consistent with Foucault's (1976) concept of biopolitics (Foucault 1976), which articulates how techniques of power are used to manage people in a particular space.

The manner in which the name of the school uses certain indexes to describe the offenders is through the authorization and illegitimation relations of the relationality principle for analysing identity construction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Authorization and illegitimation relations describe the structural and institutional aspects of identity formation. Authorisation refers to the influence of institutionalised power and ideology in the affirmation and imposition of identity. In other words, the mission and vision or ideologies of the institution tend to impact the way the members of that particular community will position and view themselves or others in linguistic interaction. Authorisation occurred in the negotiation of the text written on the signposts (that is, changes of the school name). It indicates that institutionalised power and institutional ideology were imposed on the name given to the school. Note that the pejorative term 'juvenile' was changed because of the negative connotations it carries. For immediate effect, the Commissioner General used the name of the locality where the school is situated to identify the school, and it was given a 'special' name, Vulamasango, which means open opportunities in SiSwati during its official opening by the King, Mswati III of Swaziland. This name carries a positive connotation that identifies this institution as one that is good, and provides opportunities to imprisoned youth. However, a closer look at the context and meaning of this name reveals that the school still carries a negative identity of the offenders. The literal meaning of the school name, Vulamasango, is open gates. That on its own gives the impression that there is a problem, (in this context, the criminal career of the convicted), and the school's purpose is to redirect their careers from crime and open new opportunities. Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) illegitimation relations support the negative interpretation that goes with the new name as well as the persistent use of the term 'juvenile', even after the highest authority in the land had changed the name. Illegitimation relations "address the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures [of authority within an institution]" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 603). The fact that authorities within the justice system (see Figure 6.2.10) still refer to the facility as

juvenile prison or juvenile detention has shaped public discourses. The different interpretations of the names of the school discussed here show that there is a process of resemiotisation (Iedema 2003), which articulates that meaning changes from context to context. According to Iedema (2003: 41) with every resemiotising move “an increasing number of people become involved; relevant meanings are committed to minutes, reports and files; letters and other forms of correspondence summarise and thereby ‘authorise’ those meanings, and so on”. With each of these recontextualisations because of the distance from the original context, the institutional importance is increased. With the example of the name changing of the school, we see that there are various resemiotising moves – from the erasure of the old name (and the resulting blank space) to the use of different colours, signalling that something new will be inscribed, until the new name is finally revealed. The final move is then supposed to establish the new naming practice as ‘fact’. However, simultaneously in other discourses the label ‘juvenile’ is still circulating.

It is also important that the use of the name that has already been changed is a good example of the tension that exists within the landscape where an attempt to rehabilitate and reform is juxtaposed with the need for retribution through strict controls of discipline and surveillance (Bernault 2003). As a result, there are times when those working with issues of offending youth and their incarceration are likely to use these negative indexes. In terms of analysis, the indexicality principle has facilitated the identification of linguistic terms that have been used in these signposts. It shows the ideological values of this institution and identity positions taken by those in authority as they negotiated the renaming of the school. The identities that are overtly imposed on young offenders through road and car signage include juveniles, (meaning young prisoners in this context) and its variants: (i) juvi (i) juv juv, prisoners, and students, or pupils. Here, we note that the noun ‘juvenile’ and its variants, and ‘prisoners’ carry negative connotations, while the reference to young offenders as ‘students’ or ‘pupils’ give a positive identification constructed by them being in the juvenile school. The same institution gives conflicting names to the same group of individuals – the young offenders. This is another example of the existing tension in the identification of young offenders in this landscape where good attributes are juxtaposed with negative ones within the same category of individuals (young offenders). The first two identifications presuppose the criminal element of the young offenders while the last two show that they are viewed with a lens that sees them as having the potential to change and become

positive law-abiding citizens who need to be given another opportunity to change through educational rehabilitation.

Section 6.4 of this chapter presented regulatory signs. These included notices around the school that tend to focus on the school regulations and are placed at strategic areas of the school. This observation prompted me to enquire from the management of the school about these regulatory signs around the school. I was informed that the purpose for mounting these notices in strategic places around the school was to help the young offenders strictly follow the school rules and those of the dormitories, and thus avoid attracting hefty discipline from officers and teachers. Goffman (1961: 46) notes that staff members in total institutions possess an “echelon authority” that gives officials the “rights to discipline any member of the inmate class; thereby increasing the probability of sanctions”. On the surface, the school and dormitory rules can be seen as a way of helping them to remember and avoid being punished. However, literature on total institutions and Foucault’s (1976) notion of “technology of power” reveal that such rules or provision of information that promote surveillance actually contribute to the occurrence of “forced deference” – a type of mortification where the inmate is forced to pretend to be respectful, and seek permission always to carry out social acts that one would not normally do in other social contexts (Goffman 1961: 31). The rules also seem to make the young offenders to always act under the obligation and judgments of officials who always treat them as a group, and “these then make offenders to live with chronic anxiety about breaking the rules and the consequence of breaking them” (Goffman 1961: 46).

A close analysis of School Rules in Section 6.4.3 indicates the nature of the landscape where the study was undertaken. These rules are much stricter than the rules commonly used in other schools. For example, in this school, children are not permitted to run, whistle, or make a noise around the school, yet children are by nature active beings, and a school is a place punctuated by moments of quiet interaction during lessons and noisy interaction during breaks when children play, and interact freely. The fact that children are being stopped from doing normal activities, shows that the landscape has a different culture from that of other schools. The young offenders are expected to adhere to these rules otherwise they are punished. Goffman (1961) explains that the indirect effect of mortification results from “looping”, “regimentation” and “tyrannisation” – processes

that are described as disruption of the usual relationship between the individual actor and his acts. Goffman (1961: 43) asserts that offenders in total institutions are strictly controlled and all their social activities are regulated such that the inmate may feel overwhelmed by the strict controls; the judgments by staff, who generally treat them as a collective; and the monitoring all their activities no matter how mundane they are. An offender, especially one who is newly admitted into the institution, is thus frustrated. After some time the young offenders adapt to many of the rules since they resort to “forced deference” (Goffman 1961:31) in order to avoid harsh treatment from members of staff.

Data presented here shows that the use of rules forms part of the cultural landscape of correctional facilities. I learnt that the giving of orders by senior members of staff and the obeying of such orders by the junior staff was a normal practice of staff in this landscape. The same compliance is expected from the offenders being rehabilitated in this landscape. For members of the institution, the orders constitute a system that every member has to adapt to in order to operate effectively within the system (Goffman 1961). Though there is nothing wrong with motivating staff to put more effort into their work, the force with which such motivation was constructed reflects the nature of interactions in this context between those in authority and their subordinates. Some staff members informed me that once an order is given, (be it given by a staff member to an offender or given by a senior member to a subordinate), it has to be obeyed accordingly. In view of this, I concluded that in total institutions, motivation is constructed as a command that does not seem to allow negotiation between members of different ranks. This observation once again is in line with Goffman’s (1961) analysis of such a landscape, where all members (both staff and offenders) of total institutions are affected.

One may conclude that the strict rules used to manage young offenders in this landscape are technical strategies of power used to discipline them, and such strategies form part of the mortification processes since the offenders are consciously and subconsciously aware of the threat of punishment if they falter, and staff also know the consequences of not following the orders they receive (Foucault 1976; Goffman 1961). On a more positive note, these rules are seen as a way to assist “offenders to learn to behave properly in a social and interactive setting where conforming is more rewarding than committing delinquent behaviour. Moreover, youth benefit from avoiding

the negative experiences of institutionalisation” (Gottfredson 1987). Again, these rules and notices identified in this landscape are a strategy for personal reorganisation of young offenders Goffman (1961:51) or the development of their metacognitive processes or schemata (Nunan 1993) to enhance their agency. Agency contributes to changing the young offenders’ attitudes and the performance of their identities (Benwell & Stokoe 2006:43) as well as transforming the soul (Foucault 1976). Once their attitudes are changed or rather successfully rehabilitated, it is believed that the young offenders would be conscious of the consequences of criminality and would therefore change. The environment and its rules are a technology of power used to shape the agency (or soul) of young offenders to act responsibly after rehabilitation. Foucault (1976: 30) argues that the punishment and discipline offenders receive are directed to the non-corporeal element of the body that can be trained, supervised, and corrected through the use of power sources from human sciences – education in this context. It can be concluded that the appropriation of the semiotic resources in this landscape enables the young offenders not only to learn how to survive harrowing experience of a carceral system but to develop their metacognitive skills and agency in order to be rehabilitated.

The regimented movement of individuals within the institution is another performance that functions as a technique of biopolitics that uses interaction to contribute to the discipline and control of young offenders (Foucault 1975: 6). Biopolitics explains how authority uses techniques of power to subjugate and control people. This is consistent with Goffman’s (1961) notion of ‘regimentation’. Goffman (1961:43) asserts that regimentation facilitates the management of offenders in a total institution in that offenders are always managed as a group. In this context, those officials responsible for managing the offenders are also controlled by the institutional policies because they are part of the institution. Each group in this context is expected to act in a particular way, and the way they relate to each other is easily inferred. For example, Goffman (1961: 18) notes that members of a total institution (that is, the staff and offenders) “tend to conceive the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing offenders as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy while offenders see staff as condescending, highhanded and mean”. The control of movement, and the rules and notices as semiotic resources in this landscape are clear examples of the technology of power used to control and discipline young offenders in this environment. Although some of the notices seem to control all individuals in this landscape; for

example the no-smoking notice, the officers are not completely affected by such a rule since they only adhere to the rules while on duty, and they are able to go their houses to smoke if they want to do so. Even the controls on movement only impact the young offenders, who would be punished if found in a wrong section of the landscape. Young offenders, then, are always conscious of their movement within the facility as surveillance is focused on them. Consequently, young offenders are perpetually mortified by prison rules and that contributes to the construction of hardened personalities, and the semiotic resources in this landscape play a big part in this construction.

The school's physical landscape is demarcated by long and short fences and fortified with razor wire. The dormitory is fortified with high walls and small, burglar-proof windows. These give a strong sense of security that identifies the correctional facility as a type of total institution (Goffman 1961). It keeps members of the institution in a space that functions as a single unit and has no interaction with the public. The high fences and several gates indicate that admission into this space is strictly controlled even for those who work within the landscape. The fences do not only keep the public at bay, but they also ensure that movement within the facility is strictly controlled. A close analysis of the school's infrastructure shows that the school has physical features that are similar to those of other correctional facilities, but they differ in terms of the layout of the classrooms and the colour used for the buildings. The school also has lockable specified entry/exit points, especially to the classes that are on the upper floors. Grimwood and Strickland (2013: 17) note that the physical environment of correctional facilities tend to meet the demand of the centre in that such facilities provide "a custodial sentence [which] is a punishment, and often essential for the protection of the public. The physical environment and regime tend to reflect that". The function of the infrastructure is not just to prevent offenders from escaping, but the architecture/physical landscape serves to regulate the behaviour of the actors within this space. One can also note that not all the offenders stay in the dormitories located within the school premises: the female young offenders stay at the women's correctional facility located about 15 kilometres away from the school, and they are transported to the school in a fortified truck normally used to transport prisoners on remand from the correctional facilities to courts. Young male offenders older than 15 years are accommodated in a dormitory near the school. Each school day, they regimentally move back and forth from the cells to the school under strict security controls.

In addition to the secure architectural build of this landscape, the security provided by warders seem very tight, and they control and monitor young offenders' movements within the school throughout the day. Therefore, the presence of the warders in every corner as well as the physical shape of the school: the structures, the nature of the windows, the steel gates in some sections within the buildings and the gates, and multiple layers of fences provide physical evidence about the nature of the school as a total institution that restricts the mobility of young offenders and ensures that daily activities imposed by the system are strictly scheduled (Goffman 1961: 16; Grimwood & Strickland 2013: 13). One may note that it is a fact that educational institutions in general are fenced, but the nature of the fencing (the use of different layers of fencing within the institution) and the use of steel doors to control people's movement is peculiar to this type of environment – a correctional facility. Therefore, the controlled movement, the nature of the vehicles used to transport the female young offenders, and the controls in movement within the school help to manage the offenders (creating *order* and instilling a *sense of discipline* from the perspective of the officers), but such control does exert mortification on the young offenders which instil *fear* and *resentment* in them.

CHAPTER 7

RE-CREATING SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES: REPRESENTATIONS BY YOUNG OFFENDERS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents artistic impressions of the school and dormitory drawn by young offenders to express their views of this landscape. The section combines the art products and the stories written about the drawings. The same participants also wrote stories that come immediately after the drawing; hence, the two have to be presented together as two layers of data. Since the art and the narratives were created while I was there, my observations and interaction with the young offenders creep into the presentation and discussion of the data in this section. Sorsoli's (2007) method of layered analysis allows for this kind of presentation because presenting these sets of data separately could distort its interpretation.

First, I present drawings of the school and then move on to drawings of the dormitory. A class of 24 young offenders drew pictures of the school and dormitory. For the section on the school, I only present two drawings as they clearly showed the general impressions about the school. Figure 16 shows an artistic impression of the school. Figure 17 shows the dormitory for younger male offenders. The young female offenders did not participate in the drawing of the infrastructure; they did not show interest, but they did contribute to the discussion about the school and their dormitories. Emeka's drawing, Figure 16, and narrative present an overview of the school, articulated in several other narratives.

7.2 Re-creating the school



Figure 16: Emeka's drawing of the school

Emeka's artistic impression of the school (Figure 16) depicts it as beautiful and clean. Many young participants affirmed that they liked the school for its cleanness, and its large space as it provides a comfortable environment for studying. My observation of the school's growth since 2010 affirms the perspective of the students about the school. The infrastructure was significantly developed within three years (2014–2016), and every effort was made to ensure that there was enough furniture and teaching material. This was not the case three years ago. Many young offenders reported that they preferred to be in school rather than in the cells, meaning their dormitories. In his narrative, Emeka wrote:

Extract 4: Emeka

I like to be in school not in the cell. At school I am able to study, and I forget about the difficult life in prison. They give us better food in the school, and they encourage us to study. The school is clean. The commissioner comes to school any time, so the food is good and the toilets we use at school are many and they are clean. When we are in school, other people visit us to advise us against crime and to focus on school. We also play different things [are engaged in various extra-mural activities] at school.

Emeka perceives the school as a symbol of hope, and an environment that encourages young offenders to be the best that they can be by changing their attitude towards school as well as transforming their conduct that led them to incarceration to one that upholds respect and takes responsibility where necessary. The school is drawn as a beautiful place, quiet (note that in the drawing there are no people loitering around); therefore, conducive to learning.

The next drawing shows an overview of the dormitory where young male offenders aged 12 to 16 years are accommodated. The dormitory is within the school premises, close to the classes. Joko's drawing of the dormitory, Figure 17, together with information sought during my interaction with the young offenders and from the semi-structured interviews give insight into the young offenders' perceptions of this landscape.



Figure 17: An overview of the dormitories/ cells drawn by Joko

Note: This building is divided into various sections: on the left there is an open space and some rooms at the back; on the right there are more rooms with tiny windows; at the centre at the front we see a big door with a passage leading outside. This big door is the main entrance/exit point for all offenders residing there that leads to the school. It has a steel gate and is always locked and opened by warders who man the gate throughout day and night. There is a gate office just outside the big door, and the gate officer is responsible for giving access to anyone (staff and young offenders) entering or exiting this building. The building faces the big yard of the school that

separates the dormitory and the school. Joko decided to draw a picture of the dormitory, and in his story he also comments about the school. His narrative reads:

Extract 5: Joko

I was arrested in 2010, and I was convicted and sentenced to nine years, six months without a fine because I had many counts for armed robbery, theft, and house breaking. I felt ashamed; I thought of ways of escaping or killing myself. But the chaplain made me understand that I have to accept the situation because I do have a bright future if I can concentrate at school. I did what he told me. When I am at school, I do not feel like I am in prison. It feels like home or rehab although there are things that are not good. For example, at the reception [the entrance/exit point to the dormitory], we are punished by being beaten very hard, and you wish to decide to leave the school.

Joko's narrative (Extract 5) shows another perspective that young offenders have about the school: that even though it is aimed at providing them with education and a prospect of a better future, there is sometimes extreme cruelty in the way young offenders are managed. The office of the gatekeeper is located along this passage. He does not only control the gate, he also welcomes visitors and records the staff's shifts and registers all visitors (visiting for official purposes or visiting incarcerated family members). Therefore, it was easy for me to observe the interaction between participants at this point. Daily regimentation procedures (Goffman 1961), followed in this institution, require that the young offenders be counted as they leave the dormitory in batches and also when they come from school (during the tea and lunch breaks or after school). The counting occurs at the gate exiting the dormitory. This is the point where offenders are also punished if they are late. It was at this point that I was able to observe the punishment of young offenders, and how their visitors were checked and ferociously questioned by the officers who also monitored the interaction between visitors and offenders. The harshness of the treatment at the gate might be interpreted as contributing to the construction of the young offenders as 'hardened'. In one of my visits to the school, I observed that whenever young offenders are at this exit/entry point to the dormitory, they would look tense, pensive, angry and very uncomfortable. For example, there was a day I witnessed about ten officers beating each young male offender as they

exited the dormitory's gate for coming out of their rooms late. Each offender received a stroke of the cane from each officer, yet none of them attempted to run or skip any stroke. After some time, I realised why they were not even running through the passage to limit the impact of the stroke: one of the school rules that had been mounted on notice boards around the school was: running is not allowed in this place. In other words, even when punished, the offenders must walk slowly and receive the thorough beating from officers.

Joko's narrative and my observation of the interactions at the dormitory's gate, indicate a fluid construction of the young offenders' identity, whose, identity seems to shift from student to prisoner moment by moment. This analysis confirms the nature of identity constructed in interaction – it is an ongoing performance that is contextually situated in discourse (Butler 1990; Benwell & Stokoe 2006; Bucholtz & Hall 2005), and in a particular space.

It should be noted that the pink colour of the drawings is consistent with the actual colour of the school and dormitory. The choice of colour prompted me to interview Mrs Oni, a member of the administrative staff, as to what motivated the change of colour from the dark green used by the HMCS.

Extract 6: Mrs Oni

That pink colour was selected because the school is a children zone therefore it is important that the colour used is friendly and not cold like the dark green colour used in other correctional facilities. The colour of the uniform was not the only change, but the use of the prison flag was also discontinued on the school section of the facility. Normally correctional facilities mount two flags: the national flag and the Department's flag. But the school section of the facility only mounts one flag: the national Swazi flag, like in other schools. The removal of the Department's flag, they reported, was a sign that the Department wants to remove all signifiers in the school section that identify with the correctional institution.

The officers working in the school also wear a uniform that has a different colour from the one of other warders in the country. Officers in correctional facilities wear bottle

green and white while those working in the school wear khaki uniforms. The warders working at the school in dark green uniform belong to the security department, and provide the security needed when needed when working with clients of this nature. Thus, the colour of their uniform makes them remain as the only group associated with authority, strict controls and monitoring security and handling the management of the young offenders. The staff wearing the khaki uniform, focuses on the rehabilitation side of the facility – that is, these are the teachers and teaching support staff.

The change of colour was motivated by the ongoing desire by the Department to serve the young offenders successfully. When the school started, teachers also came to work in the standard uniform of correctional staff. But after observing the fear in students instilled by the uniform, authority changed the colour and pattern of the teachers' uniform. The standard uniform for all warders exerts authority and foregrounds a sense of punishment. The perception was that this impacted the learning process negatively. As a result, the uniform was changed, and on some days, we wear civilian clothes to show that the school functions as a normal school.

Mrs Oni's story about the colour of the school, the change of the colour of the staff's uniform as well as the removal of the HMCS's flag shows that the institution is actively involved in the ongoing changes that attempt to construct the young offenders' identity as normal children, who need to be provided education in an appropriate space not limited by the nature of the facility. Mrs Oni's explanation in this narrative shows that there is an attempt to change the social space. Although the officers cannot change the infrastructure yet, other changes are made to influence the perception of the young offenders about the school. For example, the bodily presentation of teachers and young offenders through the wearing of school uniforms, civilian clothes, and teachers' uniforms different from that of the mainstream correctional facility remove the element of fear and retribution in the minds of the young offenders in this context. Despite the mortification process imposed by the physical nature of the school as outlined above, some narratives written by young offenders show that the school is considered as a symbol of change or transformation, and therefore the young offenders appreciate that they are being rehabilitated through formal education. An extract from Bidemi's written narrative reads:

Extract 7: Bidemi

The police took me to a Magistrate where I was sentenced 7 years no fine and this sentence was harsh for me. When I was sentenced, I was taken to Juvenile Industrial School because I was young. I was so shocked that I will spend so many years in prison and life in prison is not good because I no longer have freedom but it is better now because there is a school and we are learning and I am so great [grateful] about this opportunity because I never thought I will have a second chance in life. My plan for the future is to finish school and go to the university and achieve my goal and be something tomorrow.

Bidemi's narrative reveals certain characteristics about the nature of the young participants in this study as well as their perception of how the school impacts on the construction of their identity. First, the long sentence Bidemi is serving indicates that he must have committed a grievous crime that made the court to sentence him seven years without a fine. Another interpretation drawn from this extract is that young offenders are mortified by incarceration (Goffman 1961; Giguere 2005; Biggam & Power 1999), especially the loss of freedom and other factors that made Bidemi to describe his life in prison as *not good*. About the school itself, Bidemi points to it as a *symbol of hope*; therefore, the school makes prison life better. Bidemi recognises the opportunity for learning and even shaping his thinking about his future – to complete his education and enrol for tertiary education to achieve his goal.

7.3 Re-creating the dormitories

The data presented in this section consists of the young offenders' drawings immediately followed by the narratives that explain why they chose to draw that item. The first section (Section 7.3.1) has five drawings showing different aspects of the beds in the young male offenders' dormitory. This is followed by Section 7.3.2 where the young offenders express their dislike of the restroom setup in their drawings. Each drawing is followed by the artist's narrative, which explains what the artist had in mind. In cases where the young participant wrote a narrative, that narrative is presented immediately after the related drawing for ease of reference. Sometimes, however, the young participants did not write down their narrative but gave me an explanation during a semi-structured interview. In these cases, their explanations form part of the discussion that appears immediately after the drawing. The responses from the semi-structured interviews I had with the

social welfare staff members, who monitor the young offenders' welfare in the dormitories, pertain to the claims made by the young offenders. These are also included in the discussions of the drawings.

7.3.1 Multimodal narratives depicting young offenders' cognitive landscapes triggered by material resources in their dormitories (cells)

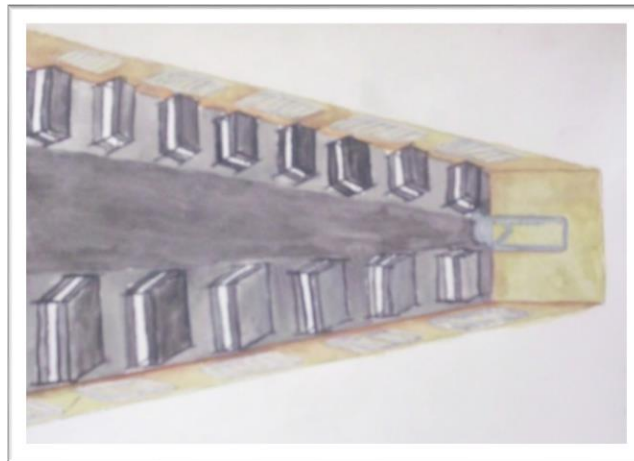


Figure 18: Moji's drawing – a layout of bunk beds in the cell/dormitory

Moji's drawing (Figure 18) shows the arrangement of bunk beds within one room. When interviewed about this drawing he stated that the rooms are overcrowded and they have limited space to move around in the cells; hence, they have no privacy, and the cells have no wardrobes or lockers wherein they can keep their personal belongings except under the beds. Bunmi depicts this lack of storage space in his drawing below (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Bunmi's drawing – lack of storage space around the bed

In the drawing above, one can see that the boxes and shoes are under the bed, the clothes are hanging on the window; television set on the wall, tiny windows. Interviews with the young participants revealed that one of their complaints was that they had to keep the room tidy, and their clothes clean all the time, without having any storage space. The rooms are small and overcrowded; hence, keeping them tidy is a challenge. The officers interviewed on this matter explained that overcrowding is sometimes a problem in the cells but were quick to add that the limited space has an advantage in the rehabilitation of young offenders; it helps offenders to think on how to keep themselves tidy and live in harmony with one another. On the wall on the right, there is a television set. When I asked Bunmi if his room had one, he responded that there was not really a T.V., but that he was using his imagination to express his wish for a television set, mounted on the dormitory wall where they would have easy access to it. He explained that the one stationed in the common room was controlled by the officers. Bunmi's assertion is consistent with one of the rules (Section 6.4.3.4, No5) that states offenders are not authorised to switch the TV on/off or change channels; only the officer on duty is authorised to do so.



Figure 20: Siji's drawing – causes of sleeping problems

Extract 8: Siji

This is the bed I sleep on in the dormitory. The problem with it is that I am unable to sleep immediately when I sleep on it because it is not comfortable. I sleep on the top part of the bed, but I am very afraid that I may fall because this bed is not like the one I sleep on at home. I always think that if I was at home, I would not sleep in such a bed. Even our clothes have no space to put them in, so we keep them under the bed. But the space under the bed is very small for our suitcases which we also keep in our dormitory.

During our discussion about his drawing (Figure 20) and his story (Extract 8), Siji explained that he was showing two young offenders sleeping: the one on the top bunk bed is shown falling through the bed because it had a hole in the middle, and the other offender sleeping peacefully at the bottom. The artist explained that this was not a real incident but was what he imagined when he was first sent to the facility. He stated that he was traumatised by the experience of sleeping on a bunk bed, and he would always dream of falling off. The clothes hanging above the head also made him feel suffocated at night since the windows in the cell are very small, and to make things worse, the windows are closed at night because of mosquitos. The reason for closing the windows is plausible because the school is built on a wetland and there is a stream running close-by. So, the prevalence of mosquitos is a reality in this environment. In our discussion, Siji explained that even

the other offender at the bottom of the bed is also uncomfortable because of the possibility that the one above might urinate on him. Siji also explained his fear of being suffocated by the cheap, dusty blankets that also prevent them from having restful sleep. Siji's claims of restless nights are corroborated by Mosun in the narrative below:

Extract 9: Mosun (Translated from siSwati)

I chose to draw the inside of the room in which we sleep at the Young People Correctional Centre because this room has many problems. This room, I sleep in, is a pain in the neck because there are two bunk beds in it, and I sleep on the upper part of one of them. The person sleeping below me wakes me up whenever he turns. In this room, there is no space for us to keep our books and our clothes. The room is always dirty and dusty. The dirt and dust are emitted by the blankets all the time. We clean the floors; the problem is the blankets, they are the grey type that is not comfortable, which we call 'blanket for donkeys' at home.

Data from many young participants showed that restlessness at night was the norm. As a result, many reported that it takes them long to fall asleep. However, once the lights are switched off by the officers, everyone must be on his bed, be quiet and go to sleep. Many reported that in the time it takes them to fall asleep, they think about their situations because they are not permitted to talk to each other to avoid disturbing those who might be sleeping. Esan depicts this scenario in the next drawing in Figure 21.



Figure 21: Esan's drawing – A reflection of anxiety at night

When we discussed his drawing, Esan told me that each night he would evaluate his situation and think about the challenges of incarceration and the pain he was going through. He said, he thinks about home, about the ill-treatment he and other young offenders receive from staff members, and about his needs and responsibilities at school. He said he would spend a long time thinking at night because sleep was made difficult by the overcrowding in the cell. He reported that poor sleep makes one anxious, moody, and irritable the next day. Esan explained that what helps him cope is the provision of counselling and psychological services in the school. When he fails to sleep immediately, he contemplates the issues that are troubling him and plans to see the counsellor the following day or reflects on guidance the counsellor might have given earlier. Esan's picture depicts the counsellor or psychologist as the officer seated at the table on the right side of the drawing.

Female young offenders did not express much negativity about their beds. They merely mentioned that they stayed in clean rooms because they cleaned and washed their clothes but conceded that the space was also limited. They also complained that they do not like to be told to sleep at a set time. The following drawing (Figure 22) was done by Sade, a young female offender.



Figure 22: Sade's drawing – a clean cell

In this drawing, Sade shows the bunk bed with the trunk boxes neatly arranged under the bed, and the beds' colourful covers. No clothes are hanging from the windows. I asked Sade about how they store their clothes in their dormitory. She explained that the warders make them remove clothes hanging on windows during the day (in case there are visitors), so they store everything in their boxes. They clean their rooms every morning. They wake up early to do the chores, have breakfast and rush to get to school on time.

7.3.2 The Restrooms

Another aspect of the dormitories that young offenders did not like was the nature of the bathrooms and toilets. Neither the showers nor the toilets have doors; they are just separated by half walls. The drawings and narratives that follow illustrate this observation.

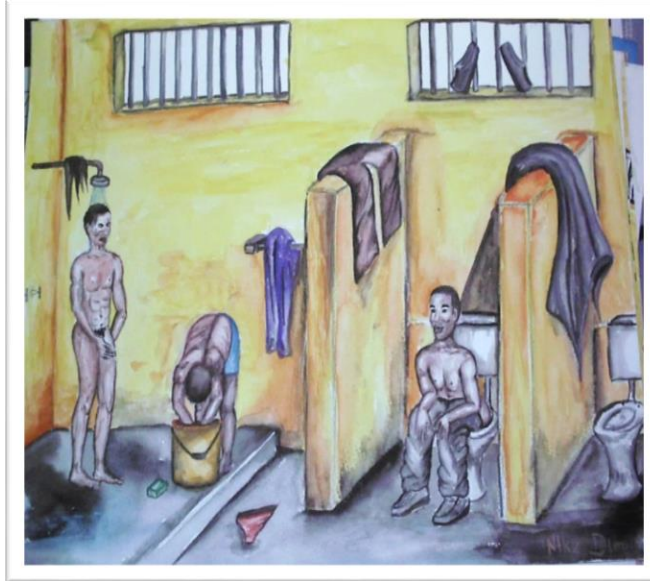


Figure 23: Wole's drawing – lack of privacy in bathrooms

Extract 10: Wole

The toilets do not have doors. When I use the toilet, I feel like I am relieving myself in the open veld; everyone can see you, and the floor is always wet, the taps are always leaking – we fail to close them. When I take a bath everyone sees you, and the boys laugh at you sometimes, I do not like it.



Figure 24: Bunmi's drawing – A clean toilet

Extract 11: Bunmi (Translated from siSwati)

I am writing about this toilet I want to say it is very beautiful and it is clean. However, there is a lot of work that still needs to be done in this toilet such as doors. The place is open, so when one uses it, you find a problem because other people look at you because it is smelling – a terrible smell. This smell also moves to our rooms where we sleep, in this room the windows are small; there is no door so we cannot close the smell out.

Bunmi's story (Extract 11) tells me that even if the space is smelly, he finds it beautiful. The picture also gives one a feeling of order since there is no mess that is lying around. The fact that it is clean is important to him (and therefore it becomes a beautiful place to him).

Interviews with dormitory staff revealed that the bathrooms and toilets either had no doors or had half unlockable ones with no handles. Small windows high on walls were all normal in this context to ensure the safety of the young offenders since they can, for example, carve weapons from door handles or have fights behind closed doors. Despite this plausible explanation, one wonders what these conditions do to a person's psychological state of mind or whether the bad conditions dissuade offenders from recidivism.

7.4 Summary

Despite the controls imposed on young offenders by the infrastructure, their stories about the school as well as the semi-structured interviews held with them reveal that the school is constructed as a beacon of hope. It is a landscape that provides the young offenders with an opportunity to perceive themselves as more than just their criminal past. Literature suggests that despite the negative impact incarceration has on young offenders, "custody may well represent a rare period of stability in otherwise chaotic lives, and as such presents a key opportunity to set these young people on a different track" (Grimwood & Strickland 2013: 15). The school in particular seems to provide that period of stability.

The data shows that the change of colours used in this landscape was a deliberate move by the institution. Colour is thus an important semiotic resource used in this landscape. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002: 345) "colour is a semiotic resource like others: regular, with signs

that are motivated in their constitution by the interests of the makers of the signs, and not at all arbitrary or anarchic”. They further implore the analyst to understand “the differential motivations and interests of signmakers in the different groups” to unpack what colour means (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2002: 345). My investigations show that pink dominates not only the buildings (also see previous chapter), but also uniforms of staff and the female young offenders. Officers and young offenders, whom I interviewed, stated that they loved the colour of the school and the uniform because it made them feel calm and clean. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002: 349) report that the USA Navy found that ‘pink’ is a colour that relaxes hostile individuals. Using colour as a resource in this way, thus seem not to be unique to this particular context. However, no claims of universality are made here, as “colour have fairly specific, limited domains, where they quite clearly relate to the specific interests of sign-makers (e.g. map-making, subduing prisoners)” (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2002: 349).

The data presented in relation to the dormitories showed that the facility have limited resources in terms of infrastructure and the rooms are small. In the semi-structured interviews with the management, I learnt that indeed the young offenders’ facility had limited space and resources. Literature indicated that the issue of limited space, overcrowding, and lack of resources are common features in African prisons, and that such features form part of the strategies used in modern prisons to discipline and punish (Bernault 2003; Foucault 1977). In addition, I learned that objects in the dormitories had meaning for the participants. In line with Banda and Jimaima (2015: 643) it can be argued that the participants used “memory, objects, artefacts and cultural materialities in place ... for extended meaning potentials”. The bunk beds evoked fears, memories from home, and a sense of unfamiliarity. The nature of the dormitories, bathrooms, and toilets contributes to stripping, that is the humiliating activities aimed at degrading an individual’s sense of self (Goffman 1961: 31). However, Bumni’s depiction of toilet space in Figure 6.6.2 (b) shows a clean, colourful environment. In other words, the semiotic landscape is interrelated with the lived experiences of individuals. There is thus evidence in the data to support Stroud and Jegels’ (2014: 178) assertion that a theorisation of semiotic landscapes needs to take into account “the situated social dynamics of multivocality in local spaces”. A long-term ethnography, like the current study, allows rich insights into such dynamics.

Young participants did not only draw resources that were physically available in their dormitories. They also added resources they wished they had. For example, Bunmi's drawing in Figure 19 has another item on the wall: a television set, while Essan imagined talking to the counsellor. This, category, I term *imagined semiotic landscapes*. These imagined landscapes were created through a process called landscaping which is described as "man's process of creating meaning in interaction with his environment" (Brunn cited in Abrahamsson 1999: 53). Landscaping is described as a process that enables individuals to relate their feelings with the environment, extract knowledge from their environment and to make meaning about what the landscape may implicitly provide, and I wish to add- can also assist in creating new meaning-potentials. In this case, particular desires are expressed through the process of landscaping. The arts-based methodology was instrumental in bringing this part of the semiotic landscape to the fore, as it is a process-orientated methodology which invites participants to tap into their creative abilities. Currently, arts-based methodology is not used to a significant extent in semiotic landscape research. My findings highlights some of the potential of this method.

CHAPTER 8

CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELF THROUGH MASTER AND COUNTER NARRATIVES

8.1 Introduction

The data presented and discussed in this chapter addresses one of the research questions: How do the young offenders discursively construct their own identities? As explained in Chapter 5, the methodology used to answer this research question is a narrative approach. I selected this method because “narratives are important to us not only or even primarily because they tell us about our past lives but because they enable us to make sense of the present” (Watson 2009: 470). Narratives then provide the opportunity to reflect not only on current constructions of self but also on those from the past and future. The narratives were elicited through arts-based methods which provide tools to represent the “emotional, sensory and embodied dimensions of experience,” which is sometimes difficult to “articulate in words” (Leitch 2006: 551). Thus, the data presented here are multimodal narratives.

The arts-based methods were structured around a number of activities. Participants were asked to create drawings, either collaboratively or individually, based on these activities. After a period of time of doing these arts-based activities with the participants, some spontaneously started drawing without being prompted by me. Often after completing the drawings, I would ask them to explain their drawings. It is from these interactions that narratives emerged. Some narrated their stories by only writing what they wished to share. Those with limited writing skills described their drawings to me and I made notes to capture what these participants shared with me. In what follows I present the data that emerged out of the arts-based activities – which includes “A tree of life” and “A river/road of life” and the “face and hands” activity (See 5.5.2 for an overview of these exercises). I use some excerpts from my field notes to contextualise the data, which echoes Sorsoli’s (2007) method of layered analysis. As stated previously, this method enables the layered presentation and analysis of data that was collected using more than one method.

8.2 Life stories

The data presented in this section were generated through the “A river/road of life” and “tree of life” tasks that required the young offenders to represent past events or experiences and future trajectories in their lives. In this section, I present stories that are examples of the general themes or that contradict the general sentiments of the group of participants. The first story is Jide’s. Jide did not write down his story. He initiated his story with the following drawing (Figure 25), which he then described, so the story is from my field notes:



Figure 25: Jide's drawing – A young inmate's journey from home to prison.

In our interaction, Jide explained that in this drawing he shows that he comes from a good home (the pink house at the top left corner is not built from the perishable raw materials, such as wood and grass, usually used by poor families in Swaziland) and that he lived with his grandmother (the woman in the drawing). His grandmother used to provide for most of his needs and advised him against antisocial behaviour many times, but Jide reported that he did not take his grandmother’s counsel. Jide explained that his grandmother also tried to dissuade him from bad friends, from smoking and from drinking alcohol. He was also warned against hankering after expensive clothes (like the red canvas shoe in the picture). The advice being given by the grandmother is represented by the picture of a red card in her hand to indicate her warning that if he did not stop his bad

behaviour; his life would be in danger. Jide explained that the face on the left of the picture, peeping through a window with police cuffs and surrounded by huge rocks represents his incarceration after being arrested and convicted of robbery. The rocks around the window represents both strict security measures in the facility and the hardships the harsh treatment he faces daily. I asked him what the benefit of his crime was; Jide explained that he bought clothes, pointing to the canvas shoes on the drawing. On the bottom left side of the drawing, there are two boys in school uniform sitting on a desk with a book, one raising a hand probably in response to a teacher's question and the other facing the same direction. With this Jide tried to show that he participated actively in learning and believed that this education would lead to a qualification beyond high school, to finding a job and to buying his own car (see the graduation cap on top of the car in the drawing).

The next drawing, Figure 26, is the product of collaboration between all the students in the visual art class, while supervised by their teachers. As part of a class discussion on how the backgrounds of many young people influence their involvement in crime, the class decided, without my prompting to do one big 2m x 2m drawing. I offered the use of some canvas material I had bought, and the teachers saw the class's initiative to collaborate as an ideal opportunity for them to practice creating art on a canvas. The other individual drawings had been done on art paper.

The discussion revolved around family or community issues that contributed to the young offenders leaving home and eventually getting involved in crime. Those who had acquired the skill of drawing then drew this picture with the assistance of the teachers, but everyone voiced their opinion of what the picture should reflect. The drawing of this picture took place over several weeks. Each week I visited the school, the group would point out and explain what new images – livestock, additional trees or mountains, etc. – they had added and why. Their explanations are summarised below.

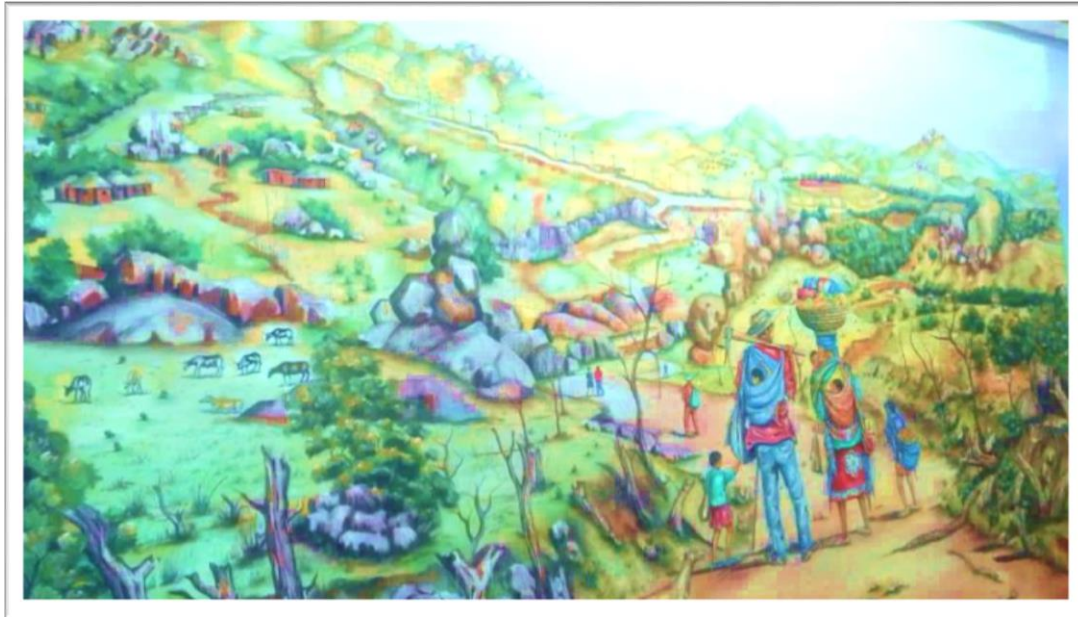


Figure 26: Activities in a rural landscape and the projection of the family

This drawing depicts the hardships of living in some rural areas. It shows a large family and how it earns a living. The rural landscape is rugged and sparsely populated. The homes are built with locally sourced materials and the people earn a living by tilling the land (see the hoe carried by the man) and keeping livestock (see the cattle and sheep to the left of the drawing). Many of the participants mentioned the fact that difficult financial circumstances led them to crime, and this is why they created this drawing.

The next drawing in Figure 27 is Adeoye's response to the exercise called "A tree of life". All young participants who drew trees in the class wrote short narratives explaining what the tree represented in their lives. I chose Adeoye's tree and accompanying narrative because it was written without any prompting from me and because it echoed themes present in the other offenders' stories.

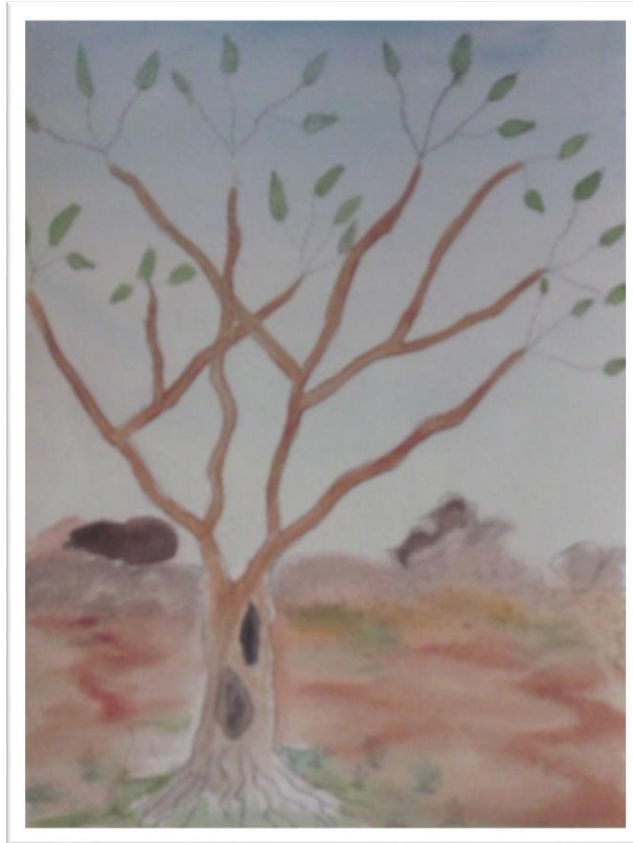


Figure 27: Adeoye's drawing – A tree of life

After drawing this tree Adeoye's wrote this story:

Extract 12: Adeoye

I chose to draw this tree because I associate my life from childhood with that of the tree. When a tree is small, it is taken care of through watering it and making sure that it always has fertile soil, and you also build some hedge around it so that it is not eaten by animals. Just like me, as I was growing up my parents took care of me, and provided everything I needed, such as food, clothes and they gave me love. Like the tree, when it has grown, it has branches and produces tasty fruits. However, some branches get dry and break.

I prompted Adeoye to explain some more and he responded as follows:

This tree in the picture has the parts of a real tree: roots, depicting my background; the tree is bare showing that I am from a poor family. The stem has some dark marks, which represents some ‘scars’ in my life – difficulties of my background and choices I have made such as being here. It has a few green leaves, and these show that I have hope for the future from what I am learning in this school.

In this story Adeoye identifies himself as the main character and the narration is about him. He acknowledges that though he has a poor background, his parents did everything they could to provide for him – they had a home; he was sent to school and he had a grounded childhood; hence his tree’s roots were firmly grounded. Adeoye recognises that as he was growing, he faced challenges: poverty (represented by the few leaves) and his incarceration (represented by the marks on the tree trunk). Although, there are only a few leaves, there are leaves nonetheless, which he explains as the hope that the life skills and vocational skills learned while incarcerated will help him find a different means of making a living. As much as Adeoye’s story is about himself, many young participants shared the same sentiments in their narratives after drawing the trees. Their story of hope is connected to the master narrative of the correctional facility – that it changes the lives of young people who had lost hope and gives them new opportunities to reorganise their lives away from offending. This connection between Adeoye’s story and the master narrative is an example of how individual stories often contain master narratives that shape identity construction through discourse (Oostendorp & Jones 2015).

As part of the exercise called “A river/road of life”, two young participants, Sogo and Sanjo, with the assistance of the visual art teachers (Mr Dele, Mr Ajobo and Mr Olure) co-constructed the next drawing, Figure 28. It depicts the journey of rehabilitation for a young offender as being long and tedious, especially for one who carries the responsibility of wondering if his or her rehabilitation will eventually be successful or not.



Figure 28: Incarceration: A long and tiring journey

The next diagram (Figure 29) gives a close-up of the road of life to enable the reader to see the objects in the drawing closely.



Figure 29: Close up – Incarceration: A long and tiring journey

In Figure 28, the offenders show that the drawing forms part of on-going research; hence the logo of the University of Swaziland (where I work) and that of Stellenbosch University (where I completed my PhD). The drawing depicts a long winding road. It is a gravel road that is wide and goes through uninhabited terrain. At the bottom of the drawing there is an old man next to the road who looks tired, and is sitting on a rock, seemingly in deep thought. Figure 29 shows a close-up of the old man. In front of the old man, there is a small bag. The offenders explained that the bag represents the few possessions that young offenders have within the incarceration environment.

During the group interview I conducted with these participants about what they were depicting in this drawing, they explained that the old man represents incarcerated young offenders. They explained that old age symbolises the suffering and hardships that young offenders had already experienced in their lives, including the difficulties they now face while incarcerated. The small bag represents the few possessions young offenders have while incarcerated. Two young offenders claimed that having few possessions in prison as a result of stealing to acquire more, had taught

them to be content with what little they now have to survive (a few donated clothes and school uniforms provided by the institution). They also claimed that having few possessions inculcated in them a sense of responsibility – being able to plan how to use the few items of clothing they have and still look neat and presentable each day. The participants also explained that their few possessions were also a reminder of wasted time, referring to the wasted opportunity of not attending school earlier.

The wide and long winding road, going through a mountainous and rocky, yet green terrain symbolises that success through education is a long process; it takes time and requires one to be patient and reflect on the journey of rehabilitation. The recurring theme present in the drawings so far show that many young offenders blame their criminal offences on the financial circumstances of their families. In addition, a master-narrative of turning their lives around, while in prison (specifically through education) emerges.

8.2.1 Ayo's counter-narrative

Sometimes young offenders would want to tell me their stories rather than write them. Ayo, for example, wanted to share his story, but not in the presence of others. We were allowed to use the office of the principal to have our discussion. For ethical reasons, I could not record Ayo's narration but made notes during our time together. In this interaction, Ayo explains the life of young offenders in general at the correctional facility. Many young offenders articulated the same sentiments as Ayo; hence his story was chosen as representative of the others. Ayo knew what he was talking about because he was about to finish his five-year sentence. In fact, he was set to leave the institution within two weeks from the date of our interview. He refused to inform me about the nature of the crime he committed, but a sentence of five years indicated that the crime might have been serious. He explained that after the death of his father, he was brought up by his mother who was a trader, and that he had a younger brother who was about to complete school at the time. The conversation below in Extract 13 was initiated with some questions which this participant responded to.

Extract 13: Interaction between me and Ayo

- Me: What have you benefitted from the rehabilitation in this school, and how will you use the knowledge learnt?
- Ayo: I learnt how to make soap and plastic shoes. I do not know how I will use this skill because I do not have money to buy the materials.
- Me: What was difficult in this place?
- Ayo: Nobody listens to you. When you report you are sick, it takes time for you to get treatment. They say you are a liar until they see the condition getting worse. Respect and being good does not help here. Once one of you does something wrong like running away, you are all to blame. It is worse if you were seen talking to that one – they punish you for not reporting the one who runs away or does other crime. But people do not tell you their plans – so you suffer for nothing. The food is not nice – they sometimes cook well. But eating one thing every day is sickening; I now hate cabbage and beans. Sometimes I do not eat; not because I am not hungry but because I am sick and tired of this food.
- Me: Is this a good place to help delinquent children?
- Ayo: No it is not good. There are many things bad things you learn here; you need to be tough and know how to take care of yourself.

Ayo's story, contradicts the earlier stories of hope. The skills he acquired are not seen as useful without money, and instead of a place of rehabilitation, his narrative depicts the correctional facility as a place of suspicion, monotony and fear.

8.3 Young offenders' narratives about their past and future

All young offenders completed the "face and hands task". Figure 30 is an example of a sketch that was completed based on this task. The drawing shows a left hand, where the young offenders wrote what led to their incarceration. The drawing also shows a face, in which they share their experiences in the school and life within the incarceration facility, while the right hand of the drawing, is designated for their thoughts about future prospects. What was interesting about this task is that the students enjoyed sketching their own faces or that of their classmates. Trying to draw details of faces in the class so captivated the students' interest that they were more relaxed

when discussing their work with me. The content summarised in Table 3 was spontaneously produced by the participants. I took all the responses to this task and put into the table format.

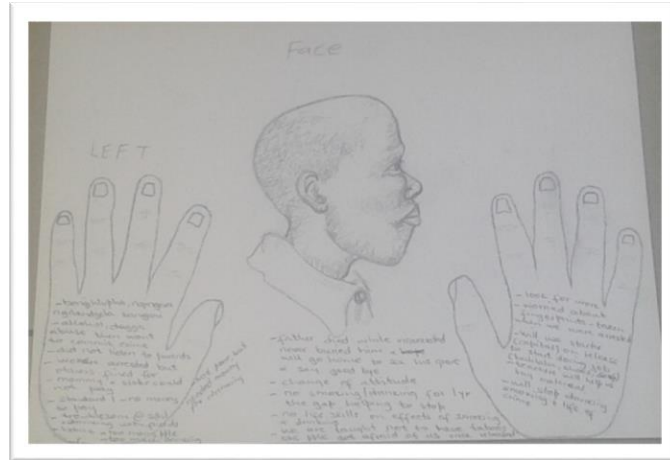


Figure 30: Example of 'hands and face task' depicting the past, present and future

The young offenders' responses to this exercise are summarised in Table 3 below. The table is thus an amalgamation of all the responses.

Table 3: A summary of young offender's response to the 'hands and face task'

LEFT HAND	FACE	RIGHT HAND
<p>1. I was troublesome – I spent time with friends and I did not take any advice given by adults (parents/guardian)</p> <p>2. The members of my family drank alcohol and smoked, so I learnt to smoke too.</p> <p>3. I was too naughty at home, I would steal things. I was a bad person.</p> <p>4. I hated school, so I ran away and continued with stealing.</p>	<p>1. There is no smoking here.</p> <p>2. Life is difficult here, I was not allowed to go and bury my father who died after I was arrested.</p> <p>3. We are taught not to have tattoos because we cannot remove them and people outside will always see us as criminals if we have tattoos.</p> <p>4. Being incarcerated has helped me; I have learnt to</p>	<p>1. When I am released I will look for work, but I am worried about my fingerprints that were taken by the police when I was arrested.</p> <p>2. I will try not to continue drinking alcohol.</p> <p>3. I have learnt many things I can do to make money, such as making shoes, beads, fabric softener and soap, but</p>

<p>5. I beat people.</p> <p>6. I was arrested for robbery. We targeted shops at night, especially on rainy days since power cuts are common then.</p> <p>7. Before I committed the crime, I joined friends and was not doing any chores at home. Sometimes I would not even sleep at home.</p> <p>I was a very rude, ignorant and disrespectful child. I did not care about education and my future.</p> <p>9. I was just a troublesome and hardened criminal; I committed a string of crimes and I was arrested.</p> <p>10. I lived with my grandmother because my mother and father stayed in town. One of my friends invited me to stay with her in town and we got money from guys at the bar. We drank with them and spent time with them. My friends and I beat a man because he refused to pay our friend after sleeping with her, yet he knew that he had to</p>	<p>respect adults and other children.</p> <p>5. I had to change my attitude to survive here.</p> <p>6. My relatives do not check me here; I wish I was back home.</p> <p>7. We are not hungry here; but I do not like eating beans all the time.</p> <p>8. I am now focusing on my education; I want to achieve my goals.</p> <p>9. I do not like the way we sleep in squares.</p> <p>10. What I enjoy in this place is going to school.</p> <p>11. I like it here; people at home hate me.</p> <p>12. Now I know that what I was doing was bad.</p> <p>13. They teach us a lot of things here which I would not have learnt if I were not arrested.</p> <p>14. Being in prison has made me learn many important things. Now I know what I must do in order to succeed in life and achieve success. I</p>	<p>the challenge will be getting capital to buy material.</p> <p>4. I have been here for a long time. I have changed now and the community will accept me now.</p> <p>5. I have decided to stop leading a life of crime.</p> <p>6. I want to continue with school when I complete serving my sentence.</p> <p>7. I want to own a car, a beautiful home, have children and take care of my parents.</p> <p>8. I will be patient and continue to learn so that I can be a role model in my community. I know that being in prison is not the end of my life; I have learnt a lot of things in prison.</p> <p>9. I have not thought about what I want to be.</p>
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pay. So we all attacked him using bottles.	understand that in life I must be patient to achieve.	
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The responses in the Left hand column, echoes some of the themes from the life stories but also introduces new ones. Response 10, in particular, is striking as it relays the story of a female participant who attacked a man because he refused to pay her friend for sex work. In addition, in the Left hand column, the participants allude to previous behavioural problems and do not only blame their criminal behaviour on addiction or a lack of financial resources. For this exercise, the very positive portrayal of the school and the correctional institution in general, is contradicted much more with references to hardships experienced while incarcerated. In the right hand column, which depicts the future aspirations- once again the hopeful master narrative is picked up. However, some responses contradict this, with response 9, in particular being striking: “I have not thought of what I want to be”.

8.4 Summary

This section gives an overview of the main findings and connects it to the theory discussed in Chapters 2 to 4.

In Jide’s drawing (Figure 25), the brief snippets of data presented are a representation of how many young offenders described their journeys. While incarcerated, they are forced to attend the school, as a way of rehabilitating them. The main aim of the school is to provide young offenders with education that might lead to career paths other than crime. The young offenders become aware of the mission of the school, and they are able to reiterate it in their narratives. One example of such a narrative is Jide’s narrative that echoes the institution’s purpose to give young inmates education. Jide’s perspective about life changes and he realises that to get things such as good cars, one needs to be educated and have a qualification to find a decent job and improve one’s life. The mission of the school has become the master narrative that shapes the way participants view the purpose of the school. According to Stanley (2007: 14) ‘master narrative’, was originally introduced by the French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard in 1984. Master narratives “act to universalise and cast dialogues in binary, contrasting categories that support the maintenance of dominant groups” and can be viewed as a script that determines how certain processes should be completed (Stanley

2007: 104). Perspectives that oppose these master narratives are called counter narratives. These are narratives that do not fit into the master narratives and are created out of alternative group or individual experiences.

Another master narrative that emerged from discussion is that poverty, big families and hard labour, especially in rural areas, are the causes of dropping out of school, which, in turn, is seen as a big factor in youth offending. Figure 26 shows a big family (number of children) that is supposedly surviving through hard work (tilling the land), yet the environment around has other redeeming features. There is livestock, the landscape is green with mountains in the background. When asked about these beautiful features, the offenders explained that as much as there is an element of poverty to all their stories, many of them do not come from extremely poor backgrounds. The green landscape and livestock attest to the fact that there is rain, milk, meat and fruit. The beauty of the landscape also highlights what is missing inside the prison walls. Jide's drawing also supports the fact that not all young offenders come from poor backgrounds – the house he drew to depict his home is a modern, beautiful house. His grandmother is also presented as healthy (not malnourished) and wearing good clothes.

The master narrative for the causes of youth offending is repeated elsewhere. Figure 27 shows a bare tree with only a few green leaves. The offender explained that the tree represented that his background had problems, but the few leaves represented the hope that he still has the opportunity to craft a better career life and live a life away from crime. This reference to hope for a better career is an example of another master narrative – that of education as a way in which young offenders can be rehabilitated.

Out of the conversation I had with Ayo (Extract 13), the following counter-narrative emerged. Ayo questioned whether the correctional institution was actually a place that helped and/or rehabilitated the young offenders much. Ayo counters the master narrative of the school as a space that provides positive change in the lives of offenders beyond incarceration. From the narrative, we notice Ayo's apprehension that despite having acquired soap making skills, he is likely not to be able to use such skills to earn a living because he does not have the capital to kick-start such a project. Ayo

also challenges the methods of rehabilitation in that in formal education strategies of retribution in the management of young offenders are still employed.

It is clear from the master and counter narratives that there is tension between the strategies for rehabilitation and the outcome of such processes. The HMCS tells the story of an institution that nurtures and rehabilitates offending youth through education. When young offenders interact with authority figures (such as teachers and warders), they produce narratives that show that they are being encouraged. However, when the young offenders have the opportunity to share their thoughts away from the prying eyes of authority, they open up about the difficulties they face. Watson (2009: 469) describes a counter-narrative as a story that “people tell and live, which offer[s] resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives”. Ayo’s narrative, and some of the responses from the “face and hands” task shows that counter narratives that challenges the master narrative about the school, exists.

Andersson (2008: 139) asserts that every narrative allows the narrator to organise the story in such a way that he is able “to construct a preferred self-presentation”. The narratives of young offenders like Ayo gave them an opportunity to not only challenge the dominant master narratives but also to position themselves in the discourse and express what they felt was a reality rather than the glorified outcome projected by the mission of the facility. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003: 19) observe that individuals are “continuously involved in production of selves, positioning of others, revision of identity narratives, and creation of new ones which valorise new modes of being and belonging.” Identity construction then may be viewed as a matter of being subject to or taking up positions within discourse (Goffman 1959). And in that sense, positioning provides a connection between identity constructed locally within discourse (that is, the immediate context where the interaction takes place) and broader social and cultural power relations that provide a restrictive set of subject positions available in master narratives (Benwell & Stokoe 2006: 43). The participants in this study could through narratives position themselves in connection to authority in various ways- as grateful for the opportunity of rehabilitation and as resentful of the treatment received. The projections of future opportunities are much more diverse than narratives of past and present circumstances. Worth (2009: 1058) who examined youth transition with the use of life maps argues that it is “vital for theories of youth transition to incorporate a multiplicity of futures”

as a way to engage with the complexity of the self. In the participants' expressions of their futures, the past is still entangled. For example, the one response in which the participant says that they will look for work, but is concerned about the fact that their fingerprints were taken by the police. I conclude that the multi-modal narratives gave the young offenders the space and opportunity to construct counter-narratives that gave voice to them as non-dominant actors in a context that is fraught with strict controls and tension. Barone and Eisner (1997: 96) describe "enhancing perspectives" as the ability of art-based research methods to ask questions that might not have been asked if using other conventional methods to research. The product of art-based inquiry has an illuminating effect which refers to an ability to highlight issues which might not have been noticed (Barone & Eisner 1997: 102). In addition, the arts-based methods also drew attention to the complexity of identity construction. Master narratives are intertwined with counter-narratives, and projections of the future with the past and present.

CHAPTER 9

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

9.1 Introduction

The focus of this study was to investigate the “discursive construction of young offenders’ identity through narratives”. The study took place in a correctional facility where the environment is highly regulated and characterised by tension between the discipline and rehabilitation of inmates. This chapter discusses the significance of the study as well as reflections on how to ethically engage with participants in a precarious landscape such as a youth correctional facility.

9.2 Semiotic landscapes and identity construction

The construction of young offenders’ identity, in this study, was influenced by both the physical location and architectural aspects of the school. The school is situated on a wetland, and the area can be very cold and very hot. Some of the buildings were not constructed to withstand the effect of such weather conditions, and the nature of their architectural shape is that of a prison which accentuates the impact of incarceration. The structure of the school and dormitories were different; therefore, they impacted the young inmates differently. One of the reasons, many young offenders preferred to be on the school side of the facility was the nature of the building. The school is a two-storey building and is a fairly new structure. Findings in this study also affirm that any space is ‘relative’; that is, “it comes into being as a function of other processes and phenomena (which in the world of relativity also generates time). Thus, any space is contingent upon the specific objects and processes through which it is constructed and observed” (Cosgrove 2004: 58).

The change in the signage, which names the school, shows how identities are reconstructed over time. From referring to the school as one that rehabilitates juvenile prisoners, the signage eventually reflected the new name, ‘Vulamasango School’ meaning “Open Opportunities”. This change however only happened after a lengthy process involving the management of the school and senior authority in the Department. Although the young offenders were not explicitly involved in the change of the name, their attitudes and feelings were considered in changing the names since its identification impacted them mostly. The negotiation around suitable names took cognizance of the young offenders’ reaction to the school as a form of rehabilitation. However, even in the

rebranding of the school, the tension between retribution and rehabilitation is evident. For example, the school transport still uses the word ‘juvenile’.

Notices around the school were also analysed. Such notices reveal that despite what the name of the school says, this is not a “regular school.” It is heavily regulated; therefore, there is limited interaction among the male and female young offenders, and between staff and inmates. The regimentation of movement within the institution facilitates management of the participants’ behaviour. The school section of the facility is abstractly divided into zones that guide the movements of young participants, the security officers, teachers and the visitors like me. For example, there were points of checking and registration that I had to follow from the gate (where my name, identity number and car registration number were recorded). From there, I had to walk to the Gatekeepers’ Office to register my name, institution, purpose of visit as well as the officers who would be with me as I interact with the research participants. I had to only move around spaces where I was accompanied by one of the teachers or administrators, but could not just be among the young inmates without the presence of an officer close by. The young inmates themselves did not move around haphazardly especially during break times. They would come from different classrooms and would quickly convene at different spaces in the school where they quickly form lines to receive refreshments or use the restrooms. The officers (warders and professional staff) also moved around purposefully, and when classes are in session or during breaks, they all positioned themselves in different sections of the school to participate in the disciplined movement of the young inmates. Every officer had to report to the gate keepers’ office for registration on arrival as well as when leaving the premises.

My study was also significant in that the methodological innovations led to enriched understanding of the context. The fact, that I conducted a two-year-long ethnography meant that I could observe, why and how the correctional facility systematically changed. Blommaert (2016) has criticised the fact that linguistic landscape studies have not used an ethnographic historical approach to “detect socio-political change at levels and in sites usually not judged relevant”. Through my long-term engagement with my research site, I could track how the school tried to engage with changes in the socio-political landscape such as the change in prison regulations. This ethnographic approach also allowed me to observe resemiotisation processes first hand. I could also show how even the

smallest changes, such as a change in colour, and the name of the school was significant and not just random. This dissertation thus shows the potential of long-term ethnographic approaches to the study of semiotic landscapes.

In addition, the ethical restrictions on using cameras in prison, necessitated a different way of investigating semiotic landscapes. This restriction in fact became a great strength of the dissertation as through the use of arts-based methodology, the participants themselves could depict and re-create their semiotic landscapes. According to Stroud, Peck and Williams (2019: 8) semiotic landscape studies have moved on to investigate how signs are just one dimension in a changing production of space and self. Importantly, this dissertation is at the cutting edge of this movement and point out the complex interplay of various dimensions in a context fraught with tension.

9.3 Identity construction through multimodal narratives

Watson (2009) argues that identity emerges as a result of an identification process which, in turn, is a result of how the subject positions himself within an interaction. Therefore, ‘positioning’ provides a connection between identity constructed within discourse with broader, social and cultural power relations which provide a restrictive set of subject positions available in master narratives (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 43). The master narratives of rehabilitation through education and a hopeful future emerged very strongly in the narratives of young offenders. However, counter- narratives which do not paint the school as a wonderful institution but one that uses the same kind of retributive processes also emerge, together with a counter-narrative of hopelessness. Importantly, the master and counter-narratives are entangled and past and present are intertwined with projections of the future. Subsequently, the research question that asks “how do young offenders discursively construct their own identity” is not an easy question to answer. The participants pick up pieces of discourse from the master narrative, use their own agency located within present and past experiences and forge new (or not) identities for the future. The space in which they currently find themselves in contributes to the way in which they make sense through discourse of themselves and past, present and future events.

9.4 Social Impact of the study

This study has provided important information on how carceral regimes can be improved in Swaziland and Africa as a whole. Although the school is seen as a beacon of hope and a positive change in the system, more can be done to assist offenders when they re-enter society as many of them are anxious about how their education and newly learned skills will actually assist them in the outside world. In addition, very practical issues like lack of privacy in bathrooms is something which is relatively easy to fix and will make the young offenders more comfortable and more confident. A more serious issue is to reconsider the very nature of the prison system, especially in relation to young people. Sarkin (2009) for example proposes alternative sentencing. This is a proposal that should be investigated further, taking into account the fact that young offenders form part of a very vulnerable population group.

9.5 Remarks on methodology

The ethnographic heuristic design was a valuable resource that guided me as a researcher because it facilitates a reflective observation in the collection and analysis of the data. The interpretation of the data required me to have a deep understanding of the context and the dynamics of interaction that occur in the environment where this study was situated. In this section, I explain the benefits of employing multimodal research methods and how a continual discussion of the rights of participants assisted in ensuring that the study adhered to established ethical procedures, and contributed to a deeper engagement with participants and with myself. This situation made me to reflect on my purposes for doing the study and how my participants could benefit from it in the long run.

The research employed a number of methods to collect data, which made its compilation of and its analysis rather complex. Huge amounts of data did not make it into the dissertation either simply because of space limitations or because of more serious issues such as concern for the safety of some participants. Presenting the data in a way which was systematic while not being simplistic was challenging. The layered analysis of Sorsoli (2007) proved to be a method which allowed the interweaving of multiple layers of data, which can showcase its complexity.

This study, as academic research, had to follow all ethical clearance processes laid down by the university. This study was conducted with young and incarcerated members of society. The vulnerability of these children required that I be even more sensitive in handling ethical issues. Young offenders in incarceration facilities already have limited authority over any matters in the facility. They are used to doing what those in authority (staff/warders) dictate or face punishment. Therefore, any researcher who interacts with them tends to be classified as part of authority. The young offenders feel obliged therefore to do as they were told.

In this study, it became important to fully explain to them what the research was about and their role as participants. I had to explain what they needed to consent to. Such a process was exhaustive and time-consuming, (as I repeated it on numerous occasions), but it yielded positive results in that many young participants not only made informed decisions to sign the consent forms, they also got to understand research in general. The time spent with the participants gave me more opportunities to observe them and have a clear understanding of why some were reluctant to participate in the study since every activity was constantly interrogated by those in authority. Sometimes those who had agreed to be part of the study would later refuse to do so. At such times, I would ask them to share with me the reason for not participating. The fear of being victimized was the main reason. By explaining how their identity was being protected in the collection of data some decided to continue participating in the study. An ongoing engagement with participants around ethics, and a willingness to listen to them, is the key component to conduct research in a space such a correctional facility.

9.6 Conclusion

The young people in this study have hopes, dreams and aspirations. They are frustrated, unhappy at times, fearful and very vulnerable. The young people in this study have made mistakes. Hopefully, those who read this dissertation will gain more empathy for the participants and will understand them as complex beings (as we all are). Hopefully, the act of the reading this dissertation will transform understandings, as writing this dissertation has transformed me.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

The discursive construction of identity in young offenders' narratives in Swaziland: Students, Teachers and Warders

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Ms. Virginia Thontea Dlamini-Akintola (Ph.D. candidate)**, from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you can give me information about how offending youth who are in this school for rehabilitation view themselves and others. The results of this research will enable me have a better understanding of how you see yourselves and other significant people in your life. .

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is enable me to describe the way you construct (talk about or discuss) your identity, or more simply put how you see yourself, your role in society and how you relate with other people. This will help those working with you or children in this correctional facility to understand in general the identity of children who are being rehabilitated in this school, and might lead to greater understanding amongst the young people in the facility and the staff members.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- a) To use draw various pictures to describe certain issues which you will be asked about in this study, such as your life history.
- b) To explain to me (the researcher) the message conveyed by what you have drawn; then I will ask you to write a summary of your drawing.
- c) From the activity above, I will then ask you to write a short essay or have a discussion on how you see yourself, how you think the staff members here see you and how you view other significant people in your life.

Time frame

Please note I will come to your school once a week from February 2014 to observe you work on your drawings, and have discussions with you from time to time. I will also arrange with principal to have some discussions with you during school holidays or weekends. This will ensure that the work you will do with me does not disturb your school work. Some of our discussions will be recorded, but I will give you a chance to listen to the recording. You will then tell me if you are happy with what we have recorded to be used as findings in my study.

Please note that we **may** have more than one session of discussions until we are both happy that we have collected information that we are both comfortable with. I will be coming to the school frequently until June, 2014. After that time, we will discuss if there will be a need to continue.

Location of interviews

The discussions I will have with you will be around the school premises or around the prison premises where you currently reside. Please remember that the security officers are always around the school premises and the prison facilities so they may be close-by as we work, but they will not be able to listen to our discussions. They will also not have access to the recordings that we make. Please also note that sometimes the teachers from the art department will work closely with us as they will guide us on the basics of visual arts practical. Therefore, the drawing you will be constructing will be supervised by me and the art teachers.

Your Role

Your role in this study will be to provide information asked as honestly as possible.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Being in conflict with the law and to be in prison is not a pleasant experience. Therefore, to be asked to discuss your private feelings about it may make you feel sad and depressed or angry.

In case you feel you feel sad or depressed, you will be free to inform me and we postpone discussion or terminate your participation in this study. If you agree, I will be happy to refer you the school psychologist for help.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Your benefit from this study is that it will give you a chance to explain who you are without the fear of incarceration or being blamed. It will help you to have a deep reflection of your identity. And sharing this information will help you reflect deeper on things and maybe examine your purpose in life and how your identity may be further constructed to improve your situation. Talking about things help how we feel about them.

Your participation will help the officers working with you to have an understanding of the identity of children in conflict with the law. This will enable them to improve on ways used to help them. So your information will help other children who may find themselves in this place. Doing something good for others brings joy, so you will gain that satisfaction that other children will indirectly benefit from your contribution.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Please note that there will be no payment for your participation in this project.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of using pseudo-names to conceal your identity.

All information recorded will be kept safely; it will not be given to other people to read or use against you. The only people who will have access will be my supervisors at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. My supervisors will have to see this information because they are my teachers, so they are helping me on how to go about conducting my study. The Commissioner, as head of the department of His Majesty Correctional Services will be given a copy of the completed project report (Thesis) at the end of the study – not your personal information and response to this study.

Recorded material

Please note that you will have access to recorded material so that you can decide to remove some material if you feel uncomfortable. But once the information has been used for my study the recording will be erased.

Publication

Since your real names will not be used, so your identity will be protected when the results of the study are published for submission or parts of it as articles.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me as the Principal Investigator, or my Supervisor, and Co-Investigator(s). Contact details are as follows:

Ms. Virginia T. Dlamini-Akintola

Principal Investigator

Department of English Language and Literature

University of Swaziland

Kwaluseni Campus

Matsapha

Swaziland

Cell No. + 268 782 40989

Dr. M. Oostendorp

Supervisor

Department of General Linguistics

Stellenbosch University

Matieland

Dr. E. Constandius

Co-Supervisor

Department of Visual Arts

Stellenbosch University

Matieland

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; +27 21 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE
--

The information above was described to **me** as a participant in this study *by* _____
 in siSwati and English (*circle one*), and I am in command of this language. This document was not translated from English, but the researcher took me through each section and explained in siSwati, my first language, what it is all about. I was also given the opportunity to ask questions, and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Name of Legal Representative (Principal or Officer-in-charge, Industrial Juvenile School, Malkerns, Swaziland)

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____
[*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____ [*name
of the representative*]. [*He/she*] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions.
This conversation was conducted in English / siSwati and no translator was used.

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION LEAFLET AND ASSENT FORM



TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT: *“The construction of identity in young offenders’ narratives in Swaziland.”*

RESEARCHERS NAME(S): Mrs. Virginia Thontea Dlamini-Akintola

ADDRESS: Department of English Language and Literature
University of Swaziland
Kwaluseni Campus
Matsapha
Swaziland

CONTACT NUMBER: + 268 782 40989 (day only)

1. What is RESEARCH?

Research is something we do find **NEW KNOWLEDGE** about the way things (and people) work. We use research projects or studies to help us find out more about children and teenagers and the things that affect their lives, their schools, their families and their health. We do this to try and make the world a better place!

2. What is this research project all about?

In this project, I am trying to find out how you describe yourself. I want to know your characteristics as a student, and how your present circumstances and environment influence the way you describe yourself. I am interested in you telling me more about yourself by using drawings and talking about what you are illustrating. Your description will show me how your personality or characteristics change from time to time, and how your immediate physical environment affects your characteristics.

3. Why have I been invited to take part in this research project?

I am asking you to be part of this project because you are one of the children being rehabilitated in this school. I believe there is something special or different about your characteristics / your identity. My study is only studying how young people who find themselves in prison create their personalities / identities. Therefore, I want to find study how you construct your identity by listening to your story or letting you draw your thoughts, and then tell me about your drawing.

4. Who is doing the research?

I am teacher of English language at the University of Swaziland. My work deals with teaching languages (siSwati and English) and also learning how language works (i.e. the science of language). Although I am already working, I am still a student like you. I am doing a post-graduate degree at Stellenbosch University and this research is an assignment that I have to do as part of my learning.

5. What will happen to me in this study?

- a) In this study, you will be expected to the following:
- b) Draw something that will help you tell me about yourself.
- c) Tell me what the drawing means.
- d) Write a short story about it.
- e) Discuss your story while I record the discussion. But this part of the task may not be necessary if 1 - 3 activities are clear.

6. Can anything bad happen to me?

When we talk about private sad experiences that may have contributed to a saddening or bad experience, we may end up depressed. So in this study, it is possible that after telling me about certain aspects of your experience, you remember incidents or moments that will make you unhappy.

7. Can anything good happen to me?

Sometimes talking about our painful experiences gives us relief. Telling me your story or using art to express your sad feelings may be beneficial to you since you may feel better by sharing with someone who will not use the information against you in the future.

8. Will anyone know I am in the study?

The officer-in-charge, the principals as well as the teachers in the department will know that you are part of my study. But they will not be given your exact responses as an individual. Remember that we will not use your real names in this study, so you will be free to express yourself without the fear that the information will be used against you in the future. The officers will only have access to the overall findings of the study – not just about you.



9. Who can I talk to about the study?

You can talk to the following:

1. Mr. Nxumalo – Art Department
2. Ms. Fikile Mbuyisa – the principal at the school
3. The psychologist
4. The social welfare officers

10. What if I do not want to do this?

You have a right to refuse to take part in this study even though I have been given permission by the authorities to request you to be part of this study. In case you join the study, and as time goes by you wish to stop, be free to tell me or any of the above officers any time. You will not get into trouble for withdrawing your participation.

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS BELOW BY TICKING ON YOUR PREFERRED BOX.

Do you understand this research study and are you willing to take part in it?

☐ YES☐ NO

Has the researcher answered all your questions?

☐ YES☐ NO

Do you understand that you can STOP being in the study at any time?

☐ YES☐ NO

Signature of student

Date

APPENDIX C: ARTS-BASED TASKS FOR PARTICIPANTS



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TASKS FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS USING ARTS-BASED RESEARCH METHODS

MALKERNS INDUSTRIAL [JUVENILE] SCHOOL

AUGUST 2014 – AUGUST 2016

DEPARTMENT OF VISUAL ARTS

1. Drawing their own environment: THE SCHOOL, THE HOSTEL OR ANYTHING IN THE CORRECTIONAL FACILITY YOU WOULD LIKE TO USE TO SHARE YOUR EXPERIENCE OF IN THIS FACILITY
2. River of life – they draw the story of their lives and where they think they want to go.
3. DRAW an outline of a tree and narrate how your life has developed so far and where the branches will go in future.
4. Trace each other's faces. Add hands. Write in the left hand what I was, in the face what I am now and in the right hand where I want to go. See tracing images.

RESEARCHER: V. T. Dlamini-Akintola

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS



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jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

ADULT RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

DEPARTMENT OF HIS MAJESTY CORRECTIONAL SERVICES – SCHOOL SECTION

APRIL/MAY 2016

RESEARCH QUESTION:

“The discursive construction of identity in young offenders’ narratives in Swaziland”

INSTRUCTIONS:

- a) Please do not write your name; just indicate your profession (e.g. teacher, chaplain, nurse, psychologist, security officer)*
- b) Please use the questions below (in any order) to share with me your experience and understanding of the identity of the young offenders being rehabilitated in the school. I have also attached for you a copy of the assent form you signed for me just to remind you what this study is about.*
- c) Note: The study only focuses on those inmates serving sentences; not those sent by their parents or guardians for general rehabilitation*
- d) Your narrative (or essay) should be guided by the following questions:*

1. Describe the nature of your duties in the correction and rehabilitation of the young offenders in Swaziland.

2. Describe what you think are the general characteristics of the young offenders you work with.
3. Tell me something about the behaviour of the young inmates which you think show improvement or change because of the rehabilitation through formal/vocational education. Explain how they have changed, and why?
4. Tell me something about the behaviour of the young inmates that you do not like/ show the not so good characteristics of young offenders. Explain why young offenders retain undesirable characteristics?
5. How do you feel about the efforts to rehabilitate these young offenders, give concrete examples where possible? What do you do? Is helpful or not? If not, why?
6. From your experience here at this school, how do the young offenders interact with others (among themselves or with adults) during school hours as well as at the other sections of the correctional facilities (e.g. in the Cells). Do you notice any changes in the way they behave while they are at school or when they are in the cells? What are the **traits of their character** that you can identify in the different section of the correctional facility (the school and the cells)?

THANK YOU FOR SHARING YOUR EXPERIENCES ON HOW YOU SEE THE YOUNG OFFENDERS BEING REHABILITATED IN THE SCHOOL.

RESEARCHER: V. T. Dlamini-Akintola

Cell No. 7607 2292 (Please contact me if you have any question)

APPENDIX E: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

“The discursive construction of identity in narratives of and about young offenders in Swaziland”

RESEARCHERS NAME(S): Mrs. Virginia Thontea Dlamini-Akintola

DURATION: When ethical clearance is approved -
FROM SEPTEMBER 2014 - 2016

WEEKLY VISITS FOR OBSERVATION

1. **Wednesdays (school days)** Malkerns Juvenile School
 - a) To attend art class to observe young offenders in this class and interact with the group taking art as a subject.
 - b) Discuss with each the young offender the idea / identity portrayed in his or her drawing.
 - c) Write summaries of their narratives.

2. **Saturdays (some)** Malkerns Juvenile School and Mawelawela Women and girls prison
 - a) Observe the young offenders carrying out weekend tasks.
 - b) Use the time to monitor the drawings of those not in the art class and discuss their drawings, and write short narratives on their responses.

3. **School Holidays (April-May)** Malkerns Juvenile School
Mawelawela Women and Girls Correctional centre / Prison
 - a) Observe the young offenders activities during holidays.

- b) Use the time to monitor the drawings of those not in the art class and discuss their drawings, and write short narratives on their responses.

Scheduling interaction with participating young offenders

Young offenders are in the school for the duration of their sentences. The researcher has been given a list of dates when each offender completes his or her sentence and is likely to leave the correctional facility. The one-to-one interaction with the offenders will be guided by this schedule so that the researcher does not miss out on interacting with an offender willing to participate because they have to leave.

Scheduling interaction with participating other officers

These will be arranged prior to the meeting especially during working hours when the staff is less busy.

Conclusion

The observations made during each visit will be recorded in a diary as data.

APPENDIX F: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (OFFICERS)

	STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
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TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

“The discursive construction of identity in narratives of and about young offenders in Swaziland”

RESEARCHERS NAME(S): Ms. Virginia Thontea Dlamini-Akintola

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the nature of your duties in the correction and rehabilitation of the young offenders in Swaziland.
2. Describe what you think the general characteristics of young offenders are.
3. Tell me something about the behaviour of young offenders that you do not like. Please explain why?
4. Tell me something about the behaviour of young offenders which you like.
5. How do you feel about the efforts to rehabilitate these young offenders, give concrete examples where possible?
6. In your experience here at Malkerns Juvenile School, how do the young offenders interact with others during their time in the school / correctional facility. Do they change? What change(s) have you observed as an officer working with these children?

NOTE: *the questions will be restated to suit the different officers working with the young offenders in this school. These include: management staff, teachers, security, and social welfare*

APPENDIX G: PERMISSION LETTER



Telephone: +268 404 2476/7/8
Telefax: +268 4043357
Website: <http://www.gov.sz/correctional>
Email: corrcom1@yahoo.com

The Commissioner
His Majesty's Correctional Services
P.O. Box 166
MBABANE, SWAZILAND
07th May, 2013.

Ref. CHQ/58/5/3

Mrs Virginia T. Dlamini-Akintola
PO.BOX 2205
MATSAPHA

Dear Mrs Dlamini-Akintola

RE: Ethical Clearance.

1. The above captioned subject matter refers.
2. May I take this opportunity to express our profound and heartfelt gratitude to you for the interest you have shown in working with us in conducting an investigation.
3. As an institution, we strongly believe in taking decisions that are informed by empirical evidence and as such, we are committed to supporting those individuals, organizations, academicians that are keen in under-taking scientific investigation on any facet of our work / organization as long as the results/report will be shared with us.

4. On that note, your request is hereby granted and be advised that for further assistance in this regard, I am availing the Research, Development and Planning office to your disposal.
5. You will work closely with this office and it is the same office that will facilitate your working with any entity within our institution, be it the social workers, psychologists, chaplains, teachers, etc.

Sincerely



Isaiah M. Ntshangase,
Commissioner of Correctional Services
KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND.

cc: Officers- in- Charge: Mawelawela and Juvenile
Headteacher: Malkerns Industrial School.

APPENDIX H: RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
JOU KENNISVERMOEEN • YOUR KNOWLEDGE PARTNER

Approval Notice Response to Modifications- (New Application)

11-Jul-2014
Dlamini-Akintola, Virginia Thontea VT

Proposal #: HS1031/2014
Title: The discursive construction of identity in young offenders' narratives in Swaziland.

Dear Ms Virginia Thontea Dlamini-Akintola,

Your Response to Modifications - (*New Application*) received on 09-Jul-2014, was reviewed by members of the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities) via Expedited review procedures on 10-Jul-2014 and was approved.
Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: 10-Jul-2014 -09-Jul-2015

General comments:

The researcher is advised to proofread the informed consent forms and assent forms for grammatical errors.

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your proposal number (HS1031/2014) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 0218089183.

Included Documents:

Revised informed consent form_students
Revised interview schedule
Interview Schedule
Revised informed consent form_officers
Assent Form
Consent Form
REC Application Form

