Township families and youth identity:

The family's influence on the social identity of township youth in a rapidly changing South Africa

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The opinions expressed in the report are those of the author and should not necessarily be viewed as those of the Main Committee of the Co-operative Research Programme on Marriage and Family Life.

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EKSERP

Hierdie studie is gesentreer binne die subdissipline maatskaplike sielkunde, en neem maatskaplike identiteitsteorie as uitgangspunt. Die doel van die navorsing was om die invloed van die gesin of die maatskaplike identiteit van township-jeug te ondersoek binne die raamwerk van ekonomiese en politieke druk op swart werkersklas gemeenskappe in Suid-Afrika.

Omvattende "oop" onderhoude is met 40 township-persone van tussen 17 en 23 jaar gevoer. Daar is gevind dat die jeug in sekere opsigte hul ouers se bevoegdheid as maatskaplike gidse in die moderne township-lewe bevraagteken. In die lig van die invloed van mededingende maatskaplike groeperinge, het hulle dikwels ouerlike voorskrifte of "resepte vir die lewe" bevraagteken.

Nietemin blyk dit dat township-gesinne in 'n proses van vinnige en soms stresvolle **transformasie** is, eerder as - soos dikwels deur maatskaplike en politieke ontleders beweer word - in 'n proses van **ineenstorting** en **verbrokkeling**.

Die gesin bly 'n besonder invloedryke en hoogsgewaardeerde groeplidmaatskap in die proses van maatskaplike identiteitskonstruksie deur jong township-mense.

ABSTRACT

This study is located within the subdiscipline of social psychology, and takes social identity theory as its starting point. The purpose of the research was to investigate the influence of the family on the social identity of township youth, within the context of economic and political pressures on working class black South African communities.

Detailed open-ended interviews were conducted with 40 township people aged 17 to 23 years. It was found that in certain respects the youth queried their parents' competence to act as social guides in modern township life. In the light of the influence of competing social groupings (e.g. the peer group, the comrades) they often questioned family guidelines or "recipes" for living.

Nevertheless, township families seemed to be in a process of rapid and sometimes stressful **transformation** rather than - as often alleged by social and political analysts - in a process of **breakdown** and **disintegration**. The family remains an extremely influential and highly valued group membership in the process of social identity construction by young township people.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research situates itself against the backdrop of a pilot study into the changing face of working class township family life (Campbell 1989). The purpose of this pilot study was to investigate the transforming face of township family life within the context of economic and political pressures on working class black South Africans. A dominant theme emerging from the pilot study was what informants described as the changing nature of intergenerational relationships. Parents complained that they had no control over their children. They referred repeatedly to the breakdown of respect, which they cited as a pillar of traditional African social relations. Closely related to this issue was evidence of the transformation of structures of authority/obedience within families, as well as the changing face of traditionally defined hierarchical power relations of age and gender.

The pilot study focused on the response of both parents and youth to changing power relations within families. Parental responses varied from bewilderment to anger to fear. Many parents said that they lacked confidence when trying to advise their children in a world that was changing at an alarming pace. These extracts from the interview with Mr G, a 50-year-old labourer, summarise the response of several parents:

> *My mind comes to a standstill when I think about the young ones. I am always confused ... the way they respond to us adults looks to us as if they are possessed and I have a fear that there is nothing to be done to stop them ... I end up shouting randomly at all of them, hoping that one of them will understand my shouting and change his image ... I always get angry, but being angry does not help and I eventually get depressed and hopeless.*
>
> *I grew up understanding the word "father" as meaning he is the only head of the house with the final word and decision-making power. This is no longer the case. They are all disobedience and contempt towards the elders. Sometimes I wish I could ask the government to send officials to come to my house and pick up all these children and beat them heavily, and having got that lesson, bring them back.*
>
> *The youth want us to leave our traditions, but without them*

we lose our dignity. As a respectful and powerful nation we are eroded. We are like a bird that does not feed among the birds, and does not feed with mice either.

While both the parents and the youth referred to intergenerational tensions in terms of a "breakdown in respect", the matter appeared to be more complex than this. In a more stable society there would be sufficient continuity between the experiences of succeeding generations for the accumulated wisdom and experience of the older generation to have some bearing on the lives of the younger generation. In township families of the late 1980s and early 1990s many members of the older generation felt that social change was progressing at such a rate that their offspring were being faced with situations of which they as parents had no experience. Having little understanding of such situations, parents felt ill-equipped to advise their children.

Many young people tended to reinforce their parents' lack of confidence in advising them. While most still believed it was important to respect adults, this was a far more conditional form of respect than many parents believed was their due. Many young people characterised the older generation as ignorant and uneducated, with little of value to teach them. They despised their parents for what they regarded as their hopelessly old-fashioned views, and on this basis were dismissive of parental advice.

Parents appear as fools to their children, people who just say useless things, whose minds have simply ceased to think wisely. This results in growing disobedience, because children do not see any reason to respect them. (Siza B, 19 years)

The older generation have been prepared to accept everything the hardest way, struggle for everything they have got. The younger generation do not wait for hard times. They are always active. (Sifiso Z, 22 years)

In the light of the pilot study's evidence of intergenerational tensions in township families, the current research project was established in the interests of investigating the following three questions:

(a) How have conditions of rapid social change affected the family's role in the socialisation of township youth?

(b) What other social groupings (e.g. peer group, comrades, church) play a role in the socialisation of the youth, and to what extent does the influence of these groupings compete with or complement the influence of the family?

(c) Does the family have more influence on the world-view and behaviour of young women than young men?

For the purposes of this study, "the youth" will be defined as men and women between the age of 17 and 23 years.

In relation to question (c), the study aimed to focus not only on young men, but also on young women. Because they tend to take a back seat in high profile township activities, young women are often invisible in discussions about "township youth", which tend often to focus mainly on young men. Campbell (1989) suggests that young women play a key role in holding families together and in helping to cushion the effects of unemployment and political turmoil in the townships. Furthermore, with high numbers of teenage pregnancies, many of these young women are already mothers in their own right, and thus more actively involved in the task of family-building than their male counterparts, who often play a less integral role in the maintenance and upbringing of their children.

This focus on gender was prompted by another of the key issues highlighted by the pilot study, namely the apparent contradiction in the role of women in the family. In certain respects it appeared that women played a pivotal role in ensuring the cohesion of both family and community life. On the other hand, while the family provided an important arena for the exercise of power by women, patriarchal family attitudes to women appeared to undermine them in their fight to hold the family and the community together. Against this background the project had a particular interest in the role played by the family and other group memberships in the socialisation of young women, with a particular focus on the extent to which the family supports or undermines women in their struggles to keep a disrupted township community together.

This study is located within the subdiscipline of social psychology, and takes social identity theory in the Bristol tradition as its starting point. Social identity theory was developed within the somewhat artificial experimental context of traditional social psychology, and needed to be extended for the purposes of research of this nature. In Section 2 an outline is provided of the way in which the theory was operationalised in the interests of providing a framework for understanding the experience of actual people in a real-life social context (in this case the youth in a Durban township in the late 1980s and early 1990s). Section 3 contains the details of the empirical study, which took the form of detailed open-ended interviews with 40 township youths aged between 17 and 23 years (20 women and 20 men), interviews which were subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analysis. In Section 4 an account of the results of the interview analysis is provided. Sections 5, 6 and 7 are devoted to a discussion of the study's findings in relation to each of the three research questions outlined above respectively. In Section 5 the focus is on the youths' perceptions of the family's adequacy as social guide under current social conditions. In Section 6 the discussion turns to focus on the relative perceived adaptative success of "recipes for living"[1] provided by the family and a range of other social group memberships. Section 7 turns to a summary of the evidence for gendered differences in the influence of the family on the youth. The report's concluding comments are contained in Section 8.

2. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

This study locates itself within the subdiscipline of social psychology. Social identity theory in the Bristol tradition provides a useful starting point for research into the socialisation of the youth (Tajfel 1978, 1981, 1982; Tajfel & Turner 1979; Turner *et al.* 1987; Hogg & Abrams 1988; Abrams & Hogg 1990). This theory provides a useful theoretical tool for the task of investigating the influence of social group memberships (such as the FAMILY[2]) on individual experience and behaviour.

Much existing work in the social identity tradition has

been characterised by a methodological overreliance on artificially constituted groups or experimental conditions, against the background of a static social order. In the interests of developing the theory into a useful theoretical tool for investigating the experience of real-life people in the actual world within a rapidly changing society, Campbell (1992) extends social identity theory, operationalising it in terms of a model of the **structuring**[3] of identity, and an account of the **process** of social identity formation. Each of these extensions of the theory is discussed in turn.

2.1 Trialogue model of identity structuring

The trialogue model of identity structuring characterises the process of social identity formation in terms of a "trialogue" between GROUP MEMBERSHIPS, the set of BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS associated with each group membership, and those LIFE CHALLENGES facing the individual[4] in her/his day-to-day existence. Each dimension of this trialogue is now discussed in turn.

Group memberships

Tajfel (1972:31) defines social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he (*sic*) belongs to certain social groups, together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership". The self consists of a loose association of group memberships (e.g. the FAMILY, the CHURCH, EDUCATED PEOPLE). A group is defined as "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves, or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner 1982:15). Group memberships are located against the background of a set of conflictual power relations of gender, race and class (Hogg & Abrams 1988). One of the primary goals of this study is to identify the most important group memberships influencing township youth in the process of social identity formation.

Behavioural options

The most important aspect of social identity theory for the present research is its potential for linking group membership to action

(Reicher 1987; Turner, Wetherell & Hogg 1989). Each group membership (such as the family, the peer group or the church) is associated with a particular range of constraints on, and possibilities for, behaviour, referred to as "recipes for living" or "behavioural options". (The terms "recipes for living" and "behavioural options" are used interchangeably throughout this report.) Thus, for example, a key recipe for living or behavioural option associated with family membership would be: "Treat adults with respect".

Social identity is situation-specific. The self consists of a loose association of group memberships, each one associated with a range of behavioural options, with each group membership becoming salient in a different range of situations. Thus, for example, FAMILY membership might be salient for the youth in the situation of a family celebration at home. In that situation one may act according to the family's recipes for living (e.g. "Obey adults and respect their customs, they are older and wiser than you are"). On the other hand, COMRADES group membership might be salient in a situation of political conflict, and offers recipes for living that compete with those of the family (e.g. "Disobey those adults who would seek to deter you from political activism").

Life challenges

Behaviour cannot be understood independently of its social context. For the purposes of this study, this point is operationalised as an analytic tool by regarding recipes for living as responses to life challenges faced by individuals by virtue of their embeddedness in a social and material life world. "Life challenges" refer to the demands of the social and the material world that face the youth in their day-to-day existence.

Section 4.2 will outline the 20 most important life challenges facing the youth, clustering them under the headings of CONSTRUCTING A CODE OF CONDUCT (e.g. for SEXUAL CONDUCT, for POLITICAL CONFLICT), PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE (e.g. EDUCATION, OCCUPATION) and NETWORKING (e.g. MATERIAL SUPPORT, CHOOSING

LOVERS). Thus, for example, the behavioural options "Treat adults with respect" (associated with FAMILY membership) and "Disobey adults who seek to deter one from political activism" (associated with COMRADES membership), are associated with the life challenge of CONSTRUCTING A CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT. The detailed list of those behavioural options associated with each life challenge is included in Appendix C.

According to the trialogue model of identity structuring, social identity is regarded as an adaptative resource. Social identity construction is an on-going process whereby the individual responds to the challenges or day-to-day problems of his or her life circumstances. The individual engages with these problems according to the behavioural options associated with the group membership that happens to be salient at that particular time.

2.2 Debating process of identity construction

According to the model of social identity outlined above, different group memberships provide individuals with varying ranges of behavioural options in meeting the life challenges of their day-to-day existence. How is it that township youth select between competing recipes for living provided by the different groups to which they belong? Campbell (1992) outlines the process of social identity formation in terms of a debating process. Individuals are continually involved in the selection of group memberships and behavioural options which they consider the most relevant and the most appropriate for particular life demands.[5] She suggests that in this process of debate, individuals select those recipes for living and group memberships that have the highest **perceived adaptative success.** "Perceived adaptative success" is the motivational process underlying the choice of behavioural options and group memberships. In the light of their perceived adaptative success, the recipes for living associated with existing group memberships are adopted, refashioned or rejected.

Criteria for what individuals regard as perceived adaptative success will vary from one social grouping to another. In weighing up what they regard as perceived adaptative success,

Campbell (1992) suggests that working class black township youth are guided by their degree of commitment to, and their interpretation of, the following three socially negotiated criteria for adaptative success:

(i) respectability
(ii) self-improvement
(iii) personal/community empowerment.

In a society in unusually rapid transition the recipes for living associated with existing group memberships (such as the FAMILY) may not always be appropriate for dealing with the life challenges of the emerging social order. Under such conditions individuals may reject the behavioural options associated with an existing group (e.g. the FAMILY) in favour of those associated with a competing group (e.g. the PEER GROUP), or else refashion particular behavioural options in more adaptative ways. Thus, for example, they may refashion the FAMILY's recipe for living "Respect adults without question" in favour of the adapted recipe "Respect adults under certain circumstances".

Concluding comments

In social identity terms we can now operationalise question (b) posed in the introduction to the current research (see Section 1): In which respects do the youth simply adopt FAMILY recipes for living as appropriate behavioural options for dealing with their day-to-day life challenges? In which respects do they reject or refashion behavioural options associated with FAMILY membership? What is the range of other social groupings available to the youth in their task of social identity formation (e.g. FRIENDS, COMRADES)? In which respects do these groupings serve to challenge or complement the influence of the FAMILY on the social identity of the youth?

In the following section an account is given of the way in which the extended version of social identity theory outlined above was translated into a concrete research programme.

3. EMPIRICAL STUDY

3.1 Informants

The study drew its informants from youths aged between 17 and 23 years, resident in the Durban township of Umlazi. Throughout this report, the term "youth" is used to refer to this age group. The years 17 to 23 straddle late adolescence and early adulthood, and represent the age at which many young people are reaching the end of their school careers and are faced with decisions regarding their future as adults. They would still be living in the homes of their families of origin. However, by this stage they would have had some opportunity for independent exploration of the world, which would have enabled them to "test out" what their families had taught them. They would also have been exposed to a range of alternative social groupings offering competing recipes for living.

The final sample of interviewees consisted of 40 people (20 men and 20 women). The "recruiting" of informants took place through two channels. The first of these was through the follow-up of contacts from the project's pilot study. Families who had taken part in the earlier research project were approached with a view to the interviewing of sons and daughters in the required age group. The second channel was through a contact with a prominent township woman, who was well known in two respects: firstly through her leadership role in a political organisation, and secondly through her proprietorship of a well-known home business in her area. She agreed to introduce the researcher to the youth in her area. She was asked to find young people between the ages of 17 and 23 years, who came from families of workers (such as domestic and factory workers) rather than professional people (such as teachers and nurses). Table 3.1 gives a profile of male and female subjects, focusing on their ages, their occupations at the time of the interviews, educational levels, whether or not they had children, and the occupational and educational levels of their mothers and fathers.

TABLE 3.1 DETAILS OF INFORMANTS*

Females

Subject	Age	Occupation	Education level	Yrs of school	Child	Mother: work (level of education)	Father: work (level of education)
1	18	Unemployed	Std 10 (rewriting)	12	1	Cleaner (Std 6)	Dead - sales ass't (Std 6)
2	18	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	1	Unemployed (Std 9)	Dead - nd (nd)
3	17	Unemployed	Std 10 (rewriting)	12	0	Housewife (Std 6)	Labourer (Std 5)
4	17	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Cleaner (Std 5)	Dead - labourer
5	17	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Invalid - domestic (Std 5)	Taxi-driver (Std 2)
6	18	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Unempl - labourer (Std 5)	Dead - home shebeen (nd)
7	19	Unemployed	Std 7 (drop-out)	9	1	Nurse (diploma)	Dead - nd (nd)
8	22	Home business	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	2	Pensioner - domestic (Std 2)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 3)
9	21	Unemployed	Std 8 (drop-out)	10	2	Home dressmaker (Std 6)	Dead - labourer (Std 3)
10	19	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Domestic worker (Std 6)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 4)
11	20	Pupil	Std 10 (current)	12	0	Pensioner - domestic (Std 1)	Dead - labourer (Std 3)
12	19	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Bank clerk (Std 10)	Bank clerk (Std 8)
13	23	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	1	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner - labourer (nd)
14	23	Unemployed	Std 10 (rewriting)	12	0	Domestic (Std 2)	Dead - nd (nd)
15	17	Pupil	Std 10 (current)	12	0	Domestic (no school)	Little contact - nd (nd)
16	23	Unemployed	Std 10 (rewriting)	12	0	Nurse (Std 7)	Home mechanic (Std 5)
17	19	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Domestic (Std 4)	No contact - nd (nd)
18	17	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Unemp - factory work (Std 6)	Clerk (nd)
19	18	Awaiting university	Std 10 (completed)	12	0	Domestic (Std 8)	Labourer (Std 8)
20	20	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Dead - housewife (nd)	Pensioner - driver (Std 6)
Mean	19.3		Std 9	11.05			

Males

Subject	Age	Occupation	Education level	Yrs of school	Child	Mother: work (level of education)	Father: work (level of education)
1	18	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Housewife (Std 4)	Labourer (Std 5)
2	19	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Housewife (nd)	Taxi-driver (nd)
3	22	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Cleaner (Std 5)	Dead - labourer (nd)
4	18	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Home dressmaker (Std 6)	Dead - labourer (Std 3)
5	17	Pupil	Std 5 (current)	7	0	Housewife (Std 10)	Tea-maker (Std 2)
6	22	Unemployed	Std 10 (rewriting)	12	1	Dead (hawker)	Unknown - nd (nd)
7	23	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	2	Machinist (Std 6)	Little contact - nd (nd)
8	19	Home business	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Home shebeen (Std 9)	Little contact - nd (Std 6)
9	18	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	0	Domestic (no schooling)	Dead - nd (nd)
10	20	Unemployed	No schooling	0	0	Pensioner - domestic (Std 7)	Pensioner - labourer (Std 1)
11	18	Pupil	Std 8 (current)	10	0	Domestic (Std 5)	Little contact - nd (nd)
12	23	Teach. training coll.	Diploma (current)	14	0	Housewife (Std 2)	Bus-driver (Std 4)
13	21	Pupil	Std 9 (current)	11	1	Housewife (nd)	Labourer (nd)
14	17	Pupil	Std 7 (current)	9	0	Dead - nd (nd)	Unknown - nd (nd)
15	21	Unemployed	Std 3 (drop-out)	5	0	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner - labourer (nd)
16	18	Unemployed	Std 6 (drop-out)	8	0	Dead - nd (nd)	Dead - nd (nd)
17	23	Unemployed	Std 8 (drop-out)	10	0	Housewife (Std 4)	Labourer (Std 5)
18	18	Unemployed	Std 9 (drop-out)	11	0	Invalid - hawker (nd)	Dead - labourer (nd)
19	23	Electrician	Diploma (current)	13	0	Domestic (Std 5)	Little contact - nd (nd)
20	19	Unemployed	Std 7 (drop-out)	9	0	Hawker (nd)	Pensioner - labourer (nd)
Mean	19.8		Std 8	9.7			

*nd: No data available

3.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in the researcher's office at the University of Natal. Of the 40 informants, nine chose to be interviewed in English. The remaining 31 preferred to be interviewed in Zulu, by a Zulu-speaking co-interviewer. The interviews ranged from four to eight hours in length. The interview questionnaire and a detailed account of the interview procedure are included in Appendix A. The interview consisted of four stages.

1. **Stage 1** was devoted to a detailed discussion of the research project with the informant, and negotiations around the interview procedure. The subjects were informed that in the interests of confidentiality, they would be referred to only by gender and by number in the final research report. Their number was determined by the order in which they were interviewed. Throughout this report, the females are referred to as F1, F2 ... F20. The males are referred to as M1, M2 ... M20.

2. **Stage 2** consisted of a set of "General Questions" aimed at eliciting general contextual information about the subjects' family lives and social relationships, as well as the most significant group memberships informing their day-to-day activities. At the end of Stage 2 the researcher presented the informant with a list of group memberships that the informant had mentioned during Stage 2. The informant was asked to rank these group memberships in descending order of importance, in response to the question: "Please place these group memberships in order, ranging from the one that you value the most to the one that you value the least." (Here the emphasis was on ranking the most **valued** group memberships, rather than the most influential group memberships.)

3. **Stage 3:** The resulting order of significant group memberships guided Stage 3 of the interview guide. An example of such a list follows:

> Female 1: Ranked list of the informant's most influential group memberships
> 1. FAMILY
> 2. EDUCATED PERSON
> 3. CHURCH

4. FRIENDS
5. LOVERS[6]

These dominant group memberships and the order in which they were ranked by each informant are included in Table 3.2. The lists of seven of the 40 informants yielded only four group memberships. Nineteen informants' lists consisted of five group memberships. In the case of 14 subjects, the list yielded six or more group memberships. All group memberships in excess of the first five were discarded. Starting with the group at the top of the list, the Stage 3 questions were asked for each of the five group memberships respectively. This means that the questions in Stage 3 were repeated, in full, five times in the case of 33 informants, and four times in the case of seven informants. The questions in Stage 3 were aimed at eliciting (i) criteria for inclusion in or exclusion from each group; (ii) group-consistent constraints on and possibilities for the behaviour of group members; and (iii) factors influencing individuals' choices of particular group memberships.

4. **Stage 4** concluded with a feedback session. Informants were asked to comment on their experience of the interview procedure. Three informants complained that the interview had been too long and boring. Three informants were neutral, with comments such as "being interviewed was OK I suppose". The remaining 34 informants said that the experience of being interviewed had been a positive one.

> *I liked all the questions, and I answered them straight from my heart. It has been nice meeting you and coming here ... and I wish you all the best for your study.* (M4)

> *When I came here I was expecting that I would be afraid to answer things ... for me this interview has been a very happy event ... it makes me feel very proud that people can use my information to further their research.* (F20)

TABLE 3.2 DOMINANT GROUP MEMBERSHIPS AND THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY WERE RANKED

Females

Subject	Family	School	Church	Friends	Lovers	Comrades	Work	Other groups mentioned
1	1	2	3	4	5			
2	4	1		3	2			(only mentioned 4 groups)
3	1	2		3	4			(only mentioned 4 groups)
4	5	1		3				Acting group 2; Guides 4
5	1	2	5	6			Selling 3	Choir 4
6	1	2	3	5	4			
7	1		2	4	3			(only mentioned 4 groups)
8	2			4	3		Hairdresser 1	(only mentioned 4 groups)
9	1		4	5	3		Dressmaking 2	
10	2	1	3	4	5	6		
11	2	1	3	5	4			
12	2	1		5	4	3		Discos 2
13	3	1	5	6	4			Ballroom dance group 2
14	2	1	4	6	3			Modelling 5
15	3	1	5	4	2			
16	2	1		4	3			Discos 5
17	3	1	2	4		5		
18	1	2		3	5	4		
19	2	1		3	6	5		Yuppies 4
20	2	1		5	3	4		

Males

Subject	Family	School	Church	Friends	Lovers	Comrades	Work	Other groups mentioned
1	1	2	4	7	5	3		Sports gp 6; Gambling 8; Phants 9
2	1	2	3	6	4			Sports group 5; Gambling 7
3	2	1		6	5		Selling 4	Acting group 3
4	5	3	1		2	4		
5	1	2	3	4	5			
6	1	4		2	5	3		
7	1			4	3		Labourer 2	(only mentioned 4 groups)
8	2	1		4	7	3	Shebeen work 5	Sports group 6
9	1	2		4		3		(only mentioned 4 groups)
10	1			5	4	2	Street hawker 3	Shebeens 6; Dudes 7
11	2	1	4	5	3			
12	1	2		4	5			Sports group 3
13	2	1			4	3		Comrades cultural group 5
14	2	1						Sports gp 3; Phantsulas 4 (only 4)
15	2			3			Work-seeker 1	Phants 3; Sports 4; Shebeen 5
16	1			2	3	4		Phantsulas 5
17	1			3	2	4		Phants 5; Gambling 6; Shebeen 7
18	1			3	5	2		Work-seeker 4; Shebeen 6
19	5	1		4	2			Sports group 3
20	1			3	7	5		Sports 2; Phants 4; Gamb 6; Sheb 8

3.3 Analysis of interview data

3.4.1 Qualitative analysis: Life challenges and group memberships

The interviews were analysed by means of a thematic analysis, using a coding frame that was developed against the background of the theoretical framework outlined in Section 2.[7] The analysis of the interview data yielded 7 504 responses (with an average of 166 responses for each woman's interview, and an average of 209 responses for each man's interview). Each one of these 7 504 responses was classified according to the following seven categories:

(i) the behavioural option facing the individual in his or her day-to-day life (e.g. Should I drink or not?);

(ii) the situations that presented the individual with this option (e.g. I get very bored on Sundays, and friends go to the shebeen);

(iii) the direction of the choice made by the individual (e.g. No, I will not drink);

(iv) the factors that influenced this choice (e.g. 1. My mother would be very upset if I came home drunk; 1a. It would signify disrespect to her; 1b. She is proud that I am not like the neighbour's drunken son; 2. I want to become a lawyer, those who drink have no future);

(v) life challenges (e.g. 1. Constructing a code of conduct; 2. Planning for the future);

(vi) in-group memberships (e.g. 1. Family (dutiful son); 2. Upwardly mobile pupil);

(vii) out-groups[8] (e.g. 1. Disrespectful neighbour's son; 2. Drinker (with no prospects)).

A spreadsheet was created for each informant, classifying each of the informant's responses according to the seven categories listed above. An extract from a coded spreadsheet is provided in Appendix B. Although each response was coded according to these seven categories, only four categories were explicitly retained for the final analysis. These were the categories of (i) BEHAVIOURAL

OPTION, (iii) DIRECTION OF CHOICE, (v) LIFE CHALLENGE and (vi) GROUP MEMBERSHIP. The information falling under the other headings served as contextual material for the four central categories. After an extremely lengthy process of classification and reclassification of responses, a list of the 11 GROUP MEMBERSHIPS and 20 LIFE CHALLENGES was arrived at.

The final qualitative research analysis resulted in a subject-by-subject list of each of the 20 life challenges, the behavioural options associated with them, the direction of choice on these options, and the group memberships associated with the particular behavioural option. In Section 4 an account is provided of these group memberships (Section 4.1) and life challenges (Section 4.2). The 20 life challenges are arranged within three challenge clusters: CONSTRUCTING A CODE OF CONDUCT, PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE and NETWORKING. A detailed list of the behavioural options associated with each life challenge is provided in Appendix C.

3.4.2 Quantitative analysis

A statistical analysis was performed on the data in the interests of answering the following questions: Are there any gendered differences between males and females with regard to: (a) the mean proportion of responses given to each **life challenge**; and (b) the mean proportion of responses associated with each **group membership**?

In order to answer question (a) the proportion of responses each informant gave to each life challenge was calculated by dividing the number of scores allocated to each challenge by the total number of scores the informant had allocated to the challenge cluster in which it fell (CODE OF CONDUCT, or PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, or NETWORKING).

> E.g.: M1 gave 34 out of 120 CODE OF CONDUCT responses to the challenge CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME, so that the proportion of his code of conduct responses given to this challenge was 0.28.

In order to answer question (b), the proportion of each informant's responses associated with each group membership was calculated, by dividing the number of responses associated with each group by the total number of responses on that particular challenge cluster.

> E.g.: Of M1's 120 CODE OF CONDUCT responses, 24 were associated with the group membership FAMILY so that the proportion of his CODE OF CONDUCT responses associated with this group membership was 0.2.

On any statistical analysis that is done on proportions, it is necessary to stabilise the variance, and in order to do this the data were subjected to an arcsin transform.[9] Analyses of variance were performed on the transformed data. The first analysis examined the interaction between GENDER and LIFE CHALLENGE on each of the three life challenge clusters; the second examined the interaction between GENDER and GROUP MEMBERSHIP on each of the three challenge clusters.

The results of the GENDER x LIFE CHALLENGE analyses are shown in Figures 4.1 (CODE OF CONDUCT CLUSTER), 4.3 (FUTURE CLUSTER) and 4.5 (NETWORKING CLUSTER) in Section 4. These figures point to a number of significant differences in the proportion of responses given by males and females to particular individual challenges. The results of the GENDER x GROUP MEMBERSHIP analyses are shown in figures 4.2 (CODE OF CONDUCT CLUSTER), 4.4 (FUTURE CLUSTER), 4.6 (NETWORKING CLUSTER) and 4.7 (IRRESPECTIVE OF CLUSTER). These figures indicate a range of significant gender differences in the proportion of responses associated with particular group memberships.[10] On these graphs the following symbols were used to denote significance levels: *** significant at the 0.1% level, ** significant at the 1% level, * significant at the 5% level, + significant at the 10% level, ns not significant.

In Section 3 the methods of data collection and analysis used in this study are outlined. In Section 4 an account is given of the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses of interviews detailed above.

4. RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

In Section 3.3 the processes of qualitative and quantitative data analysis are outlined and the results of these analyses presented. In Section 4.1 a brief account of the 11 most influential GROUP MEMBERSHIPS involved in the process of youth identity formation is provided. In Section 4.2 an outline of each of the 20 LIFE CHALLENGES facing township youth is given. The reader is referred to Appendix C for a detailed breakdown of the BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS and DIRECTION OF CHOICES associated with each life challenge by the young women and the young men.

4.1 Group memberships influencing youth identity

The qualitative analysis of the data yielded a list of the 11 most frequently cited GROUP MEMBERSHIPS influencing the youth in the process of social identity construction. A number of less frequently cited groupings were included within the category of MISCELLANEOUS. These 11 group memberships are listed below in alphabetical order, with the MISCELLANEOUS category placed at the end.

1. **BLACK.** This refers to the racial category of black African person in apartheid South Africa where African people are distinguished from so-called "Indian" or "coloured" people. This group membership was most frequently cited in relation to the out-group of WHITE PERSON. References to Indian and coloured people in the interviews were minimal.

2. **CHURCH.** The informants were associated with a wide range of church memberships. In the process of data analysis, membership of this category was defined solely by whether or not a person attended church, irrespective of the particular denomination.

3. **COMRADES.** This group membership was used by informants to refer to politically conscious young township people supportive of the Mass Democratic Movement and the African National

Congress. The period of the late 1980s and early 1990s is often referred to as "The Time of the Comrades", where comrades are defined as "generally young activists seen to be at the forefront of the struggle against the South African regime" (Manganyi & Du Toit 1990:234). In relation to the ANC-Inkatha conflict, comrades identify themselves as pro-ANC and anti-Inkatha, although this identification is often of an extremely loose, self-styled and informal nature. Identification with the COMRADES grouping does not necessarily imply that one is part of an organised political structure. Commitment may also be of a less formal nature, consisting of involvement in a range of grassroots political activities (see LIFE CHALLENGE 18 below for details of COMRADES activities). COMRADES distinguished themselves from the out-groups of INKATHA members and of people who were POLITICALLY NEUTRAL. They also distinguished themselves from the COMTSOTSIS, that is, bands of youthful criminals who jumped on the political bandwagon, using incidents of political conflict and unrest as a cover for crimes ranging from the mindless stoning and looting of property, to robberies and harassment of politically neutral or Inkatha-supporting community members. The COMRADES grouping was cited more frequently by men than by women as an influence on identity (see Figure 4.7).

4. **DECENT CITIZEN.** Informants did not specifically refer to this group membership by name. It was coined by the author during the process of analysis after it appeared that while a large number of responses were not associated with any explicitly named group membership (such as COMRADES or FAMILY), they did appear to be associated with connotations of a reliable and respectable community member. Such people would be non-violent, well-behaved, hard-working and eager to uplift themselves and their families, and would also regard themselves as "one of the people" (humble and accepting of the most disadvantaged members of the community, as opposed to proud or snobbish people who thought they were better than their less advantaged fellows). Out-groups here included TSOTSIS (common criminals),

DRINKERS, FIGHTERS, SNOBS and PROMISCUOUS WOMEN.

5. **EDUCATED.** This grouping referred to (a) people who were currently pupils, (b) those who had been lucky enough to successfully finish school, or even receive some kind of tertiary training, and (c) those who still aspired to the goal of finishing school and getting tertiary training. Some informants who had been forced to leave school due to a range of problems still identified with this group, expressing an intention to try and continue their studies (e.g. through correspondence) and gain access to the opportunities for self, family and community upliftment that educated people had access to. The out-groups cited in this regard were: SCHOOL DROP-OUTS, THE UN-EMPLOYED, WORKERS (people doing unskilled work, for which no education was necessary) and TEENAGE MOTHERS (young women who had left school due to pregnancy, and now stayed at home with their babies). In the early stages of interview analysis a distinction was made between the categories of SCHOLAR and EDUCATED PERSON, with the former referring simply to those people currently attending school (whether or not they were succeeding there) and the latter referring to those people who had already finished school and post-school training and were already well on the way towards achieving a "bright future". Because neither of these categories was big enough to constitute a separate category on its own a decision was made to merge these two categories.

6. **FAMILY.** All but one informant lived with a wide range of family members, generally under very overcrowded conditions. Apart from the four informants whose mothers had died, the common denominator in all the families of co-residence was a mother and siblings (with fathers often absent or dead). References by informants to family membership were almost always to those relatives who lived in the same house as the informants. When questioned specifically about the influence of "the family" however, informants almost always referred to the influence of

parents, unless they specifically stated that they were referring to other family members (e.g. siblings, or mother's brother).

7. **FRIENDS.** This referred to those peers with whom informants chose to spend leisure time. Given a strict system of age and gender relations, with very few exceptions FRIENDS were of the same age group, and of the same gender.

8. **GENDER.** This category was used to classify responses where an informant specifically cited being a woman or a man in association with a particular behavioural choice. It was used more frequently by girls than by boys. The group membership of GENDER as one of the 11 main group memberships cited by informants is always referred to in capital letters, as opposed to the researcher's analytical category of gender, which is always referred to in lower case.

9. **LOVERS.** This category referred to girlfriends and boyfriends, friends of the opposite gender with whom one had some sort of sexual relationship. The term "lover" was chosen because of its gender-free connotations. Throughout this report, the terms "lover", "girlfriend" and "boyfriend" will be used in the context of sexual liaisons.

10. **URBAN.** This category referred to people who lived in the urban areas, generally townships. The out-group in this regard was that of RURAL people.

11. **YOUNGER GENERATION.** Informants distinguished between their own generation and the out-group of their parents' generation (OLDER GENERATION).

12. **MISCELLANEOUS.** This category included those group memberships mentioned too infrequently to be represented separately. These included SPORTS GROUPS, COMMUNITY CONSCIOUS CITIZEN (someone who was actively involved in promoting the welfare of other community members, for example through

helping old people to clean their houses), DRINKERS, GAMBLERS, UNEMPLOYED, PROFESSIONAL PERSON (a person with a job requiring some form of post-school training), RESIDENT OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY (membership of a disadvantaged and troubled community), TEENAGE PARENT, PHANTSULAS or DUDES. The latter two self-categorisations refer to non-political rival male youth style groups associated with particular clothing, behaviour (e.g. dancing) and attitudes to women. The PHANTSULAS tended to have a tough, macho and aggressive image, associated for example with drinking and treating women in a rough and assertive way. The DUDES were more sophisticated and well-mannered, dressed more smartly and behaved in what the PHANTSULAS considered to be an effete and effeminate way.

4.2 Life challenges facing township youth

In Section 4.1 a brief outline has been provided of the 11 GROUP MEMBERSHIPS that emerged from the interview analysis outlined in Section 3. In Section 4.2 a brief qualitative and quantitative account is given of the 20 LIFE CHALLENGES that township youth must face in the process of identity formation.

4.2.1 Constructing a code of conduct

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 indicate the proportion of responses associated with each individual challenge and each group membership by males and females on the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster. Each of the seven individual challenges falling within this cluster is discussed in turn below.

1. Constructing a code of conduct: CRIME

Township residents stand a high risk of being victims of crime and violence. Furthermore, with high levels of poverty and unemployment, participation in crime is often seen as a tempting option for unemployed people with hopeless future prospects. Informants' accounts of behavioural options relating to crime clustered around two themes: i) involvement in community crime prevention and

punishment activities, chiefly through the medium of the People's Courts; and (ii) participation in criminal activities, often in conjunction with criminal gangs or tsotsis. According to informants, the purpose of the People's Courts was to serve as "organisations of People's Power". The youth aimed to strengthen the community by cutting down on high levels of township crime, in the light of the police force's inability to alleviate this problem. Boys referred to this challenge significantly more often than girls (Figure 4.1). See Section 6.1.5 for further reference to this challenge.

2. Constructing a code of conduct: POLITICAL CONFLICT[11]

Since the mid-1970s the youth have played a key role in grassroots political activities in a country characterised by high levels of political conflict. Again, boys gave significantly more responses to the challenge than girls (see Figure 4.1), and there were marked gender differences in informants' interpretations of it. Boys often spoke in favour of violence as an option for dealing with political conflict. Girls were unanimous in their preference for non-violent negotiation of differences. Boys referred to personal involvement in direct physical conflict with opponents; girls did not. Boys referred directly to a range of political foes: the police, Inkatha, community members who chose not to participate in work stay-aways, police spies and the white government. In contrast, women were unspecific in speaking of political conflict, referring more vaguely to "conflict with whites" or "black-on-black violence". On the few occasions when girls did express support for involvement in political conflict, it was in relation to protests around concrete bread-and-butter issues (such as low wages at work or inferior schooling for black people). Boys tended to conceptualise political resistance in relation to enmity between in-groups and out-groups, couching their accounts of political conflict in terms of intergroup conflict *per se* (e.g. comrades vs "Boer puppets"/spies; comrades vs Inkatha). This challenge is discussed further in Section 6.1.5.

Figure 4.1: Code of conduct: Proportion of responses given to each life challenge by females and by males

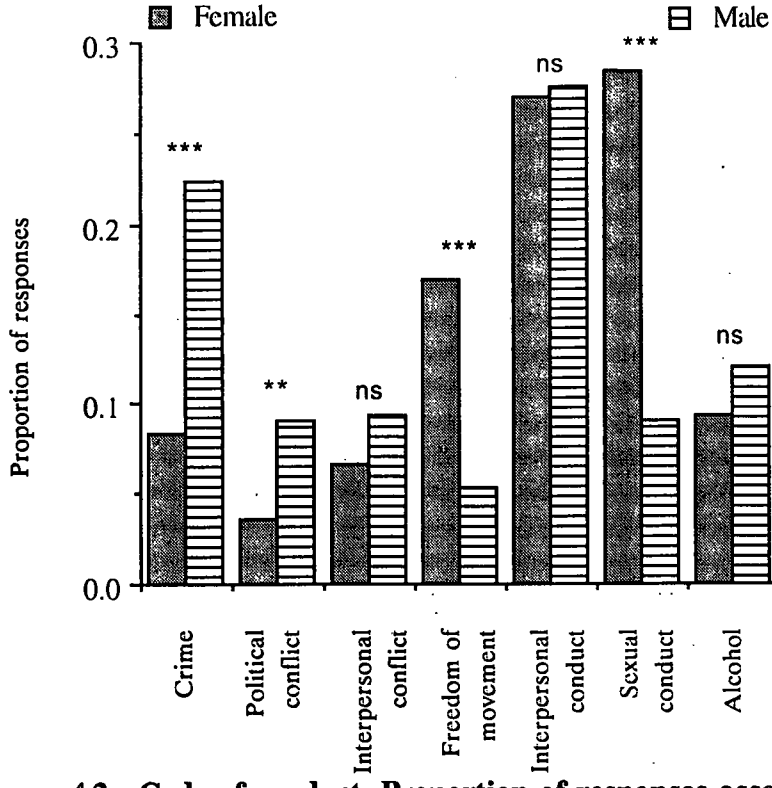
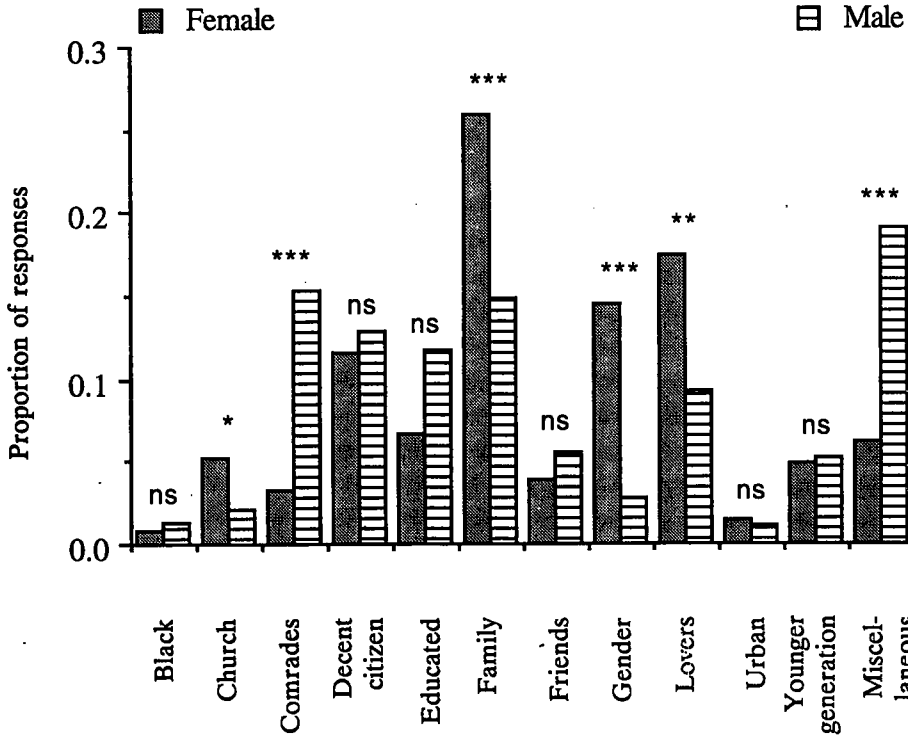


Figure 4.2: Code of conduct: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males



3. Constructing a code of conduct: INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT

This challenge related to dealing with conflict in everyday interpersonal interactions. Men referred to a wider range of conflicts than their female counterparts. While both men and women referred to conflicts with lovers, peers and family members, men also referred to conflicts with sexual rivals and involvement in shebeen and gambling brawls. For women, talking calmly was the most commonly mentioned behavioural option for dealing with all forms of conflict. For young men, calm talking was the preferred option for dealing with conflict with parents. However, the use of violence as a conflict-solving mechanism was mentioned by men in relation to conflict with siblings, peers, shebeen and gambling acquaintances, girlfriends and sexual rivals. As opposed to males, whose responses were associated with a variety of group memberships, female references to this challenge were most frequently associated with the LOVERS grouping. This was in line with the general pattern throughout the interviews, which suggested that women were significantly more preoccupied with sexual relationships than their male counterparts. See Section 6.1.5 for further reference to this challenge.

4. Constructing a code of conduct: FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

This challenge referred to restrictions on the movement of young people. As opposed to men who were relatively free to move around the township at will and to go out at night if they wished to do so, the movements of women were severely restricted. Girls gave significantly more responses to this challenge than boys (see Figure 4.1). There were pressures on women to stay at home as much as possible, and to go out at night as little as possible. For pupils, a good girl was one who went directly to school in the morning and returned home directly afterwards, without loitering on the streets on the way. For an unemployed young woman, a good girl was one who spent all her time at home unless she was visiting her girl friends at their homes, or going out on errands with older family members. In short, a decent young woman was

one who stayed at home, or only moved about under the watchful eye of her family or boyfriend. Such a woman stood a better chance of having a "bright future", progressing with her schooling or career plans and making a good marriage. Further reference to this challenge will be made in Section 6.1.4.

5. Constructing a code of conduct: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT

Informants mentioned the importance of treating others in a polite and well-mannered way, of avoiding swearing and gossiping, and of being friendly and sociable in one's interpersonal interactions. Frequent reference was made to the great disparities in wealth, educational success and future prospects amongst township residents, leading to high levels of jealousy. Behaviour motivated by jealousy was without exception condemned as a destructive and corrosive force in community relations. Girls spoke of the importance of meeting their obligations to family members (in the form of household duties and child-care commitments) efficiently and uncomplainingly. Both boys and girls referred to the changing face of intergenerational relationships in the township. One of the cornerstones of the notion of a well-behaved young person involved the notion of respect for adults. Section 6.1.1 deals at length with this issue.

6. Constructing a code of conduct: SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Young people appeared to be caught between a number of conflicting pressures with regard to sexual relationships. On the one hand they faced strong peer pressure to have sexual relationships. On the other hand their parents encouraged them to postpone sexual activities until they were older. In general their parents' advice was disregarded (see Section 6.1.3). Most informants in the study were sexually active. Norms around sexual behaviour were strongly gendered in nature. Options regarding sexual behaviour gave men a greater degree of freedom and power than women. In relationships men were expected to be dominant, and women submissive. Most women accepted the inevitability of male

dominance, whether or not they liked this situation. Women were expected to be faithful to one sexual partner, men were not. Women carried the burden of worries about pregnancy, men did not. Girls gave a significantly greater proportion of their responses to this challenge (see Figure 4.1).

7. Constructing a code of conduct: ALCOHOL

The lack of township recreational facilities means that a shebeen is one of the few places where young people can meet away from home for social interaction. This is particularly true of the large number of unemployed men (drinking is generally defined as a masculine activity, with women drinkers being frowned on by the community). Informants were divided with respect to their views on drinking. Some characterised drinking as an acceptable way of passing time and of alleviating stress. Others characterised drinkers as promiscuous, users of bad language, having a tendency to fight with one another, and lacking the personal ambition to achieve a "bright future". These informants praised non-drinkers for their dignity and self-control. This challenge is discussed further in Section 6.1.2, in connection with the motivational criterion of respectability.

Group memberships associated with the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster

With regard to female responses to the CODE OF CONDUCT challenge cluster, the FAMILY was the most influential group membership (Figure 4.2). It was particularly influential with regard to challenges relating to conduct in interpersonal relationships: INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT and SEXUAL CONDUCT (Appendix C). The latter three challenges drew the bulk of female responses on this challenge cluster, and were associated with significantly more female than male responses (Figure 4.1). Speaking very generally, FAMILY recipes for living in this challenge cluster promoted the image of a young woman as obedient; home-centred; submissive in relation to parents, older brothers and boyfriends; and non-confrontational in situations of

conflict. On the whole such family recipes for living were reinforced by the other three group memberships that were associated with significantly more female than male responses: GENDER, LOVERS and the CHURCH.

Males' three most frequently cited group memberships with regard to this challenge cluster were COMRADES, the FAMILY and MISCELLANEOUS. As was the case with young women, references to the FAMILY tended to be made in connection with the four challenges relating to the interpersonal sphere of life (listed above) as well as the ALCOHOL challenge, with the FAMILY seeking to influence young men not to drink. In interpersonal relationships, the FAMILY often tended to promote quite different recipes for living for young men and young women. Boys were accorded a greater degree of freedom and independence than young women, and far greater access to the world beyond the confines of home, school and family. Consistent with this, young men gave significantly more responses to the two challenges related to the community and political spheres: CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT. These challenges were less important for women, whose involvement in community affairs tended to be more restricted than that of men. The COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS groupings were associated with significantly more female than male responses, with the MISCELLANEOUS group being weighted by a number of group memberships that reflected the range of interests young men developed away from home and family, compared to their female counterparts: DRINKERS, GAMBLERS, PHANTSULAS and FOOTBALL CLUB MEMBERS.

The groups of DECENT CITIZEN, EDUCATED and YOUNGER GENERATION were cited by both boys and girls in relation to this challenge. DECENT CITIZEN was associated with the challenges of ALCOHOL and CRIME. EDUCATED was most frequently associated with the challenge of POLITICAL CONFLICT, given that participation in school boycotts was the most frequently cited form of political conflict. YOUNGER GENERATION was most frequently cited in relation to the

discussion of changing intergenerational relations on the INTER-PERSONAL CONDUCT challenge.

4.2.2 Planning for the future

Given the difficult life circumstances of most working class township youth, the challenge cluster of PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE featured prominently in the interviews. Informants were unanimous in their desire for a "bright future" for themselves, for their families and for the community. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 indicate the proportion of responses associated with each individual challenge and each type of group membership by males and by females on the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenge cluster.

8. Planning for the future: COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT

The interviews contained numerous references to problems facing the township community, ranging from meagre opportunities for self-advancement, to poor facilities such as roads and housing, to high levels of crime, violence and community conflict. Men devoted significantly more attention to this challenge than women, who appeared to be less interested in and less informed about community issues than boys. Although informants were vague about precise strategies for community improvement, there was a general sense of optimism that with the growing political power of black South Africans they would see significant community upliftment in the next few years.

9. Planning for the future: EDUCATION

For many informants and their families, education was a key to the "bright future" they strove for. Informants pointed to examples of township individuals who had managed to complete their education, and as a result had gained access to good jobs, money, vastly improved quality of life and opportunities for enhanced self-esteem. A vast range of obstacles stood in the way of educational success for a township person from a poor family, and great emphasis was laid on the importance of determination and

persistence if one wished to succeed. The group membership of EDUCATED was often contrasted to the poorly valued groups of UNEMPLOYED, UNSKILLED WORKER and PREGNANT TEENAGE DROP-OUT.

10. Planning for the future: FAMILY LIFE

In the frequently disrupted township environment, the family was often the prime source of stability and security for informants. With regard to families of origin, the youth expressed a deep sense of appreciation for their parents, who had often made many personal sacrifices for their children. This sense of commitment led many young people to hope that one day they would be able to repay their parents for these sacrifices. Plans for such repayment included financial aid to parents, as well as assisting them to upgrade their housing. Even where such a sense of sacrifice and obligation did not exist however, informants appeared to feel strong ties of loyalty and responsibility to parents and siblings, taking for granted that it was the duty of family members to help each other to survive and progress as much as possible. Plans for one's own future family were also an important issue for informants, many of whom expressed the hope that they would be able to provide their own future children with a higher standard of living and better educational opportunities than they themselves had had. Girls gave a significantly greater proportion of responses to this challenge than boys. Girls laid greater emphasis on their responsibilities to their parents. They also showed a greater tendency to debate the pros and cons of the institution of marriage, which was not the case with boys, who appeared to accept the institution fairly uncritically (see Section 7).

11. Planning for the future: OCCUPATION

Hopes for educational success were closely linked to the possibility of following a "professional career". This term was used to refer to any career that required post-school training, and included a range of technical occupations (e.g. electrician, clerk) as well as a range of university-trained professions (e.g. medicine, law). Alternatives to a professional career included dropping out of

Figure 4.3: Planning for the future: Proportion of responses given to each life challenge by females and by males

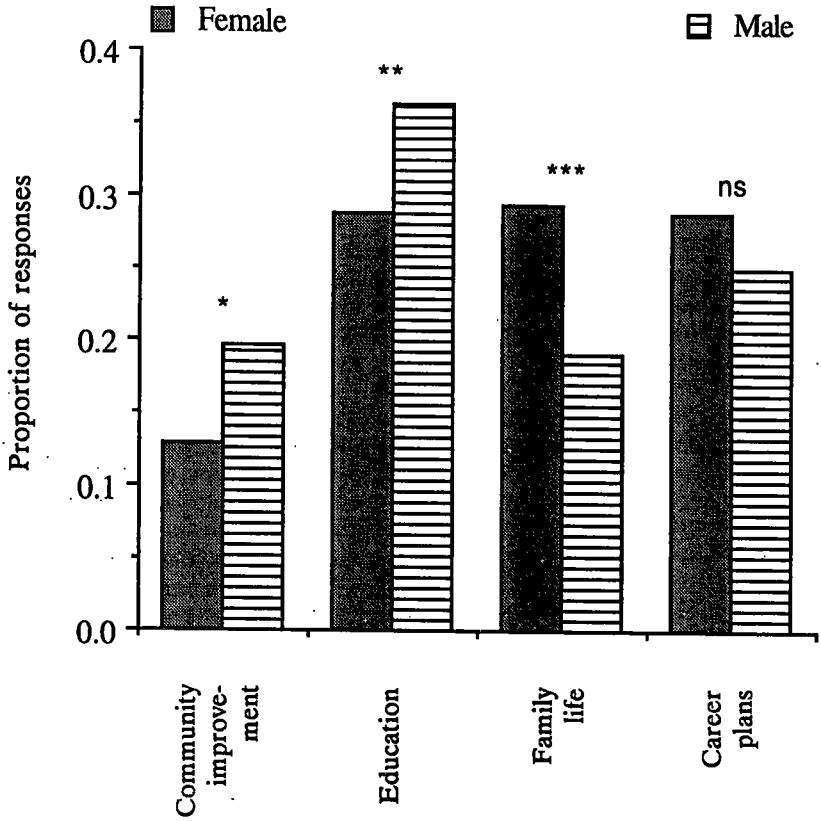
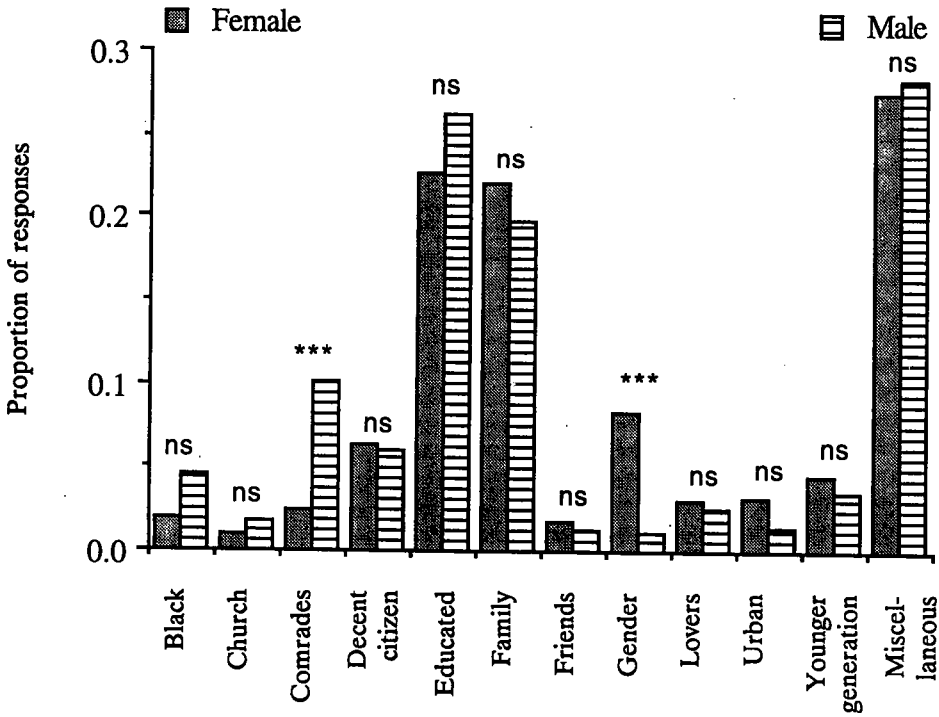


Figure 4.4: Planning for the future: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males



school and (a) becoming a mother and housewife (an option only available to women); (b) an unskilled worker; or (c) a member of the large number of township unemployed. All three of these options were seen as undesirable. While the option of becoming a childminder and housekeeper was not highly regarded by women, it did give them something to "fall back on" if their career and educational plans did not bear fruit. None of the (unemployed) young mothers in the sample referred to themselves in terms of the UNEMPLOYED category, or spoke at any length about job-hunting. In contrast, all of the unemployed young men, who did not have access to housewife or childminder "occupational identities", referred to themselves as UNEMPLOYED, and spoke at length of their unsuccessful struggles to find work.

Group memberships associated with the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenge cluster

The group memberships associated most frequently with this challenge cluster (by the girls and the boys) were the FAMILY, the EDUCATED and MISCELLANEOUS (Figure 4.4). The FAMILY and the EDUCATED groupings were generally associated with informants' hopes for a bright future where they would become educated and be able to afford a comfortable standard of living for themselves and their families (both their families of origin, and the families that they would set up with their own children). The FAMILY grouping was also associated with responses relating to parents' hopes for their children. Many struggling township parents pinned their hopes on the possibility that their offspring would become educated, and there was frequent reference to advice and encouragement given by the parents to the youth in formulating their future plans.

The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted heavily by the category of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY in responses relating to the social problems facing the township community. In relation to the other three PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE life challenges, the MISCELLANEOUS category was

heavily weighted by the category of PROFESSIONAL PERSON, a grouping that many informants aspired to in their dreams for the future.

The group membership of COMRADES was associated with a greater proportion of male than female responses, with involvement in the COMRADES grouping offering young men the opportunity to participate in a range of community-orientated and political activities in relation to the COMMUNITY UPLIFTMENT challenge. The GENDER grouping was associated with a greater proportion of female than male responses with regard to this cluster, particularly in relation to the challenge of OCCUPATION. The category of GENDER was cited in a somewhat ambiguous way by women. In relation to the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges, the category was almost invariably associated with restrictions on women (e.g. in terms of their sexual conduct, their freedom of movement and their participation in political conflict). In relation to these occupational plans, the GENDER category was often cited in relation to the possibility of economic independence for women, and what several women regarded as the empowering possibility of single parenthood rather than marriage with its attendant restrictions and disadvantages for wives. (This point will be followed up in Section 7 which will point to evidence that women are in the process of refashioning certain gendered FAMILY recipes for living.)

4.2.3 Networking

The third challenge cluster, that of NETWORKING, referred to the challenge of establishing social networks in the interests of nine particular life demands. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 indicate the proportion of responses associated with each individual challenge and each group membership in the NETWORKING challenge cluster.

12. Networking: EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

While there are tremendous pressures on pupils to pass their exams, the cards are stacked against township youth in a variety of ways: poor school facilities; English as the medium of instruction in high schools (which many youths struggled to speak);

overcrowded and poorly lit homes providing scant homework opportunities; young women burdened by household responsibilities, particularly if they have working mothers; and schooling sometimes disrupted for months or even years by boycotts. Failure rates are extremely high. Nearly every informant said s/he had failed at least one year, and often two years, of schooling. Against this background the challenge of mobilising educational assistance was a crucial one. Informants referred to two kinds of educational assistance. The first was moral support and encouragement, most frequently provided by the FAMILY. The second was concrete help in the form of "tutoring" and advice on particular study problems, usually provided by the FRIENDS and EDUCATED (fellow pupils) groupings. Girls gave a significantly greater proportion of responses to this challenge. This is consistent with the fact that 16 of the young women in the sample were currently pursuing their studies, as opposed to 12 of the young men (see Table 3.1).[12]

13. Networking: MOBILISING EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL SUPPORT

This challenge referred to mobilising love and support from significant others in times of happiness (such as birthdays and traditional celebrations) and in times of distress (such as bereavement, parents' unemployment or the detention of a family member). This challenge was also associated with the mobilisation of spiritual support from church membership, and religious activities such as prayer. Women gave a greater proportion of responses to this challenge than men. This imbalance related to the fact that a greater number of women (19) attended church than men (seven). Both young women and men cited the group memberships of the FAMILY and the CHURCH most frequently in relation to this challenge.

14. Networking: HAVING FUN

This challenge included leisure activities engaged in for pleasure and relaxation. Young people were faced with an increasing range

Figure 4.5: Networking: Proportion of responses given to each life challenge by females and by males

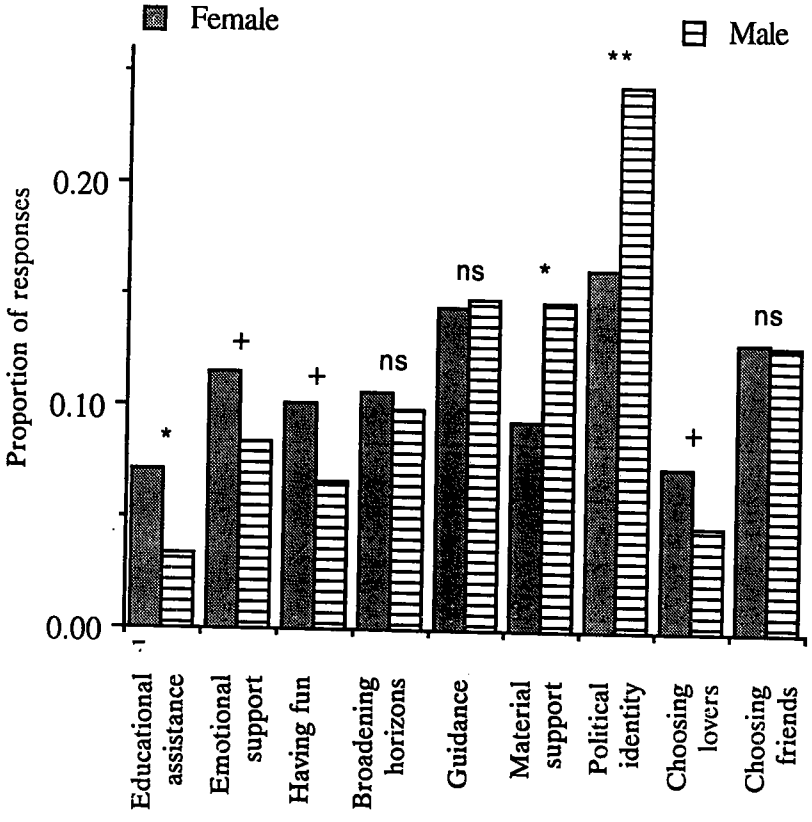
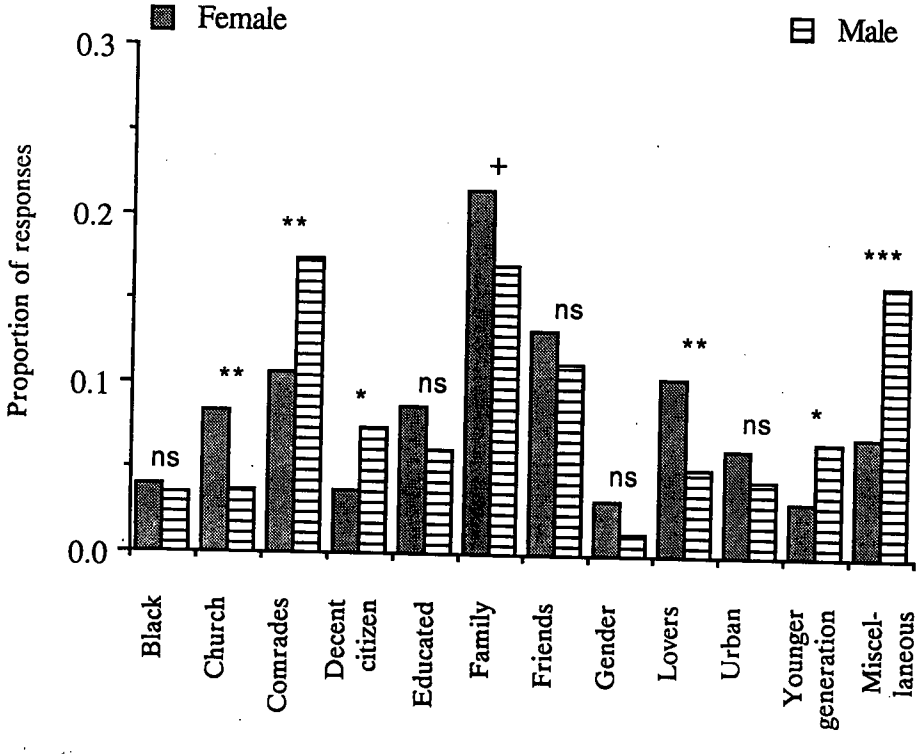


Figure 4.6: Networking: Proportion of responses associated with each group membership by females and by males



of commercialised and consumerist forms of entertainment (e.g. window shopping in city malls), many of which were being provided outside of the township where recreational facilities were minimal. The cost of seeking entertainment outside of Umlazi was often beyond the reach of the average young person however, so few informants were in the position to take advantage of these possibilities. Female leisure activities were most frequently conducted at their own homes, or in the homes of friends, under the watchful eye of their own or friends' family members. Otherwise they were conducted in the company of their boyfriends. In comparison, boys' leisure activities often took them away from their homes, and involved them in activities quite unrelated to families or lovers, such as sports activities, gambling and drinking in shebeens. Predictably both the men and the women most frequently associated the group membership of FRIENDS with this challenge. The URBAN group was frequently associated with young women's responses. Here this category represented the opportunities for "fun" offered by the urban context, including window shopping, popular music on television and radio and following the lives of pop stars.

15. Networking: BROADENING ONE'S HORIZONS

This challenge referred to finding opportunities for seeing new places and meeting new people outside of the township. With the lack of recreational facilities in the township, and its distance from the city centre which in turn incurs high transport costs, opportunities to see new places and meet people from other areas are limited. Nevertheless the youth commented that their horizons were broader than those of their rural-born and old-fashioned parents. This challenge also included references to the life skills and knowledge that serve to broaden the youths' horizons. The ability to speak English was cited as the key means of expanding horizons. Many informants regarded their inability to speak fluent English as a major disadvantage, in terms of school success, job interviews, meeting people outside of the township, and attending political meetings which were generally conducted in English.[13] The group membership of URBAN was most frequently associated

with this challenge by both boys and girls. This group was associated with responses regarding preference for an urban or rural lifestyle, the issue that dominated responses to this challenge.

16. Networking: GUIDANCE ON LIFE ISSUES

In many areas of the informants' lives, recipes for living (ranging from sexual norms to political views) are in the process of transformation. The social hierarchy of power relations between black and white, male and female and old and young is in the process of renegotiation. Against this background, seeking and accepting guidance (where guidance is defined in terms of advice, influence and discipline) and deciding who is best qualified to give such guidance, is an important life challenge. Interviews bore witness to a growing range of behavioural options in relation to the older generation. Informants often considered their world-views to be superior to those of their parents (see Section 5). This led many youths to question what they described as the "traditional" practice of regarding one's family and more particularly one's parents as primary sources of guidance. It should be noted that the questioning of the value of parents as social guides was conducted by young men rather than young women. Where young women did challenge their parents they did so in a far more covert and indirect way than their male counterparts (see Section 6.1).

The changing role of traditional African practices (e.g. slaughtering animals to mark special occasions) also presented informants with a changing set of options. Many informants expressed a firm commitment to the "old-fashioned traditional African customs" (particularly the slaughtering of animals to mark special occasions and anniversaries), regarding these as an important source of strength and identity for black people. Some informants commented regretfully that urban conditions (such as the high cost of living, restricted space and scant opportunities for growing food or keeping livestock) made it increasingly difficult for such customs to be respected. Only a minority of the informants believed that such practices had no relevance to township life. The FAMILY was the category of group membership most frequently cited by both men and women with regard to

this challenge. The majority of informants regarded the family as extremely influential in their lives. Even those who explicitly sought to deny the appropriateness of FAMILY recipes for living in their own lives still devoted a lot of attention to this issue, so that the FAMILY remained a key reference point in their articulation of their social identities.

17. Networking: MOBILISING MATERIAL SUPPORT

Against the background of poverty and unemployment facing their families, the issue of mobilising material support was a key life challenge for the youth. Some informants referred to food shortages in their homes. Others said that having at least one employed family member in their household meant that they did not go short of food, but that they often had problems raising money for school books, fees, clothes, shoes and entertainment. There appeared to be two broad strategies for meeting this challenge. The first was to ask others for material assistance. This was the option referred to most frequently by women. The second was to make one's own money through a range of strategies, ranging from formal and informal sector employment, to the less reputable strategies of gambling and occasionally crime. FAMILY members were cited as the most common sources of material aid.

18. Networking: RESPONDING TO THE POLITICALLY DIVIDED ENVIRONMENT

High degrees of political division and violence in South Africa impact severely on the lives of township residents. It is impossible for any person to remain unaffected by these conflicts. At the time of the interviews there was a strong police and army presence in Umlazi, hit squad attacks on MDM/ANC supporters were at their height, police detention without trial had affected the lives of thousands of young people, and the bloody ANC-Inkatha war was already under way. In terms of political alignment, four options were open to informants: to align themselves with the COMRADES grouping, to align themselves with INKATHA, to become POLICE COLLABORATORS or to remain POLITICALLY NEUTRAL. As has been mentioned in Section 4.1, COMRADES

membership did not necessarily entail involvement in formal political structures, but more commonly involvement in informal grassroots activities aimed at uplifting the township community, such as involvement in COMRADES crime prevention and punishment activities (especially the People's Courts), as well as involvement in violent confrontation with political foes (of the 13 young men in the sample who identified themselves as COMRADES, four were involved in organised community structures; of the five young women, only one was involved in a formal organisation). Given the masculinised nature of the grassroots political arena, significantly more male than female responses were associated with this challenge (see Section 6.3).

19. Networking: CHOOSING A LOVER

There appeared to be tremendous pressure on young township people to find themselves a lover, and the majority of the informants (15 girls and 16 boys) said they were sexually active. For young men this was a way of demonstrating their masculine status, and ideally a man should have as many lovers as possible. A young man without a lover was looked down on by his peers. For a young woman, having a lover gave her access to a world of intrigue and secrecy that had to be carefully hidden from her family, and discussed to the finest detail and with pleasure with her peers. Girls devoted a greater proportion of their responses to this challenge than boys (see Figure 4.3). Girls and boys looked for different qualities in a lover. Girls referred to reliability, education and employment as desirable characteristics, as opposed to boys who looked for girls who were well behaved, respectful and clean. Both boys and girls referred to drinkers as undesirable partners. In addition, girls said they would tend to avoid men who carried knives or committed crimes. The most common group membership in relation to this challenge was that of LOVERS, a group associated with a range of desirable and undesirable character traits and behaviours to look out for in a sexual partner.

20. Networking: CHOOSING FRIENDS

Underlying the informants' accounts of their identities was a strong motivation to improve themselves, and to forge opportunities for adult lives that would be less burdened by poverty and struggle than their childhoods had been. Implicit in their frame of reference in this regard was a division of these young people into two groups. The first group consisted of those who were respectable, honest, ambitious and on the way to a "bright future". These were the young people who had the greatest chances of success. The second and less promising group consisted of those who engaged in the consumption of liquor, promiscuity (in the case of women) or dishonest or illegal activities. This grouping included unemployed school drop-outs, women who had fallen pregnant at a young age, and young men who had turned to crime. Most informants went to great lengths to associate themselves with the respectable and upwardly mobile category of the youth and to distance themselves from the other grouping. Even in those cases where they cited instances of friendships with those who did not conform to the respectable category, they still paid elaborate lip service to the desirability of this choice of companions (see Section 6.1 for a discussion of the "rhetoric of respectability and respect"). Gender-specific criteria for respectability varied. For women, a desirable friend was one who was home-bound and sexually faithful. For men, a desirable friend was one who avoided the use of violence as a means of solving differences, and who refrained from criminal activities. Men showed a greater tendency to refer to compromises on the "respectability criterion" for choosing friends, with several saying they did in fact have friends amongst the UNEMPLOYED and the TSOTSIS. Consistent with their greater involvement in political issues, some young men were more concerned to avoid friendships with those on the "wrong political side" (police informers, comtsotsis, politically neutral people), an option that was not referred to by women. For both genders, the self-categorisation of FRIEND, generally with connotations of respectability and mutual support, was the most influential group membership informing their choice of friends.

Group memberships associated with the NETWORKING challenge cluster

With regard to this challenge cluster, the FAMILY was the most frequently cited group membership among the girls, and was associated with a significantly greater proportion of female than male responses. However, the FAMILY was also cited fairly frequently by males, being one of the three most influential groupings (along with COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS) (Figure 4.6). For both boys and girls the influence of the FAMILY was related to the three "support" challenges (EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT and MATERIAL SUPPORT) and the GUIDANCE challenge. The FAMILY appeared to be a key source of moral support and encouragement to pupils, and to provide emotional support in times of happiness and distress, as well as material support. With regard to GUIDANCE, the majority of informants regarded the FAMILY as extremely influential in their lives. The interviews yielded a great deal of material relating to debates regarding the relevance of the FAMILY's recipes for living however, particularly in relation to intergenerational relationships (see Section 6.1.1 for further discussion of this point). Nevertheless, even those who explicitly sought to deny the appropriateness of FAMILY recipes for living in their own lives still devoted a lot of attention to this issue, so that the FAMILY remained a key reference point in their articulation of their identity.

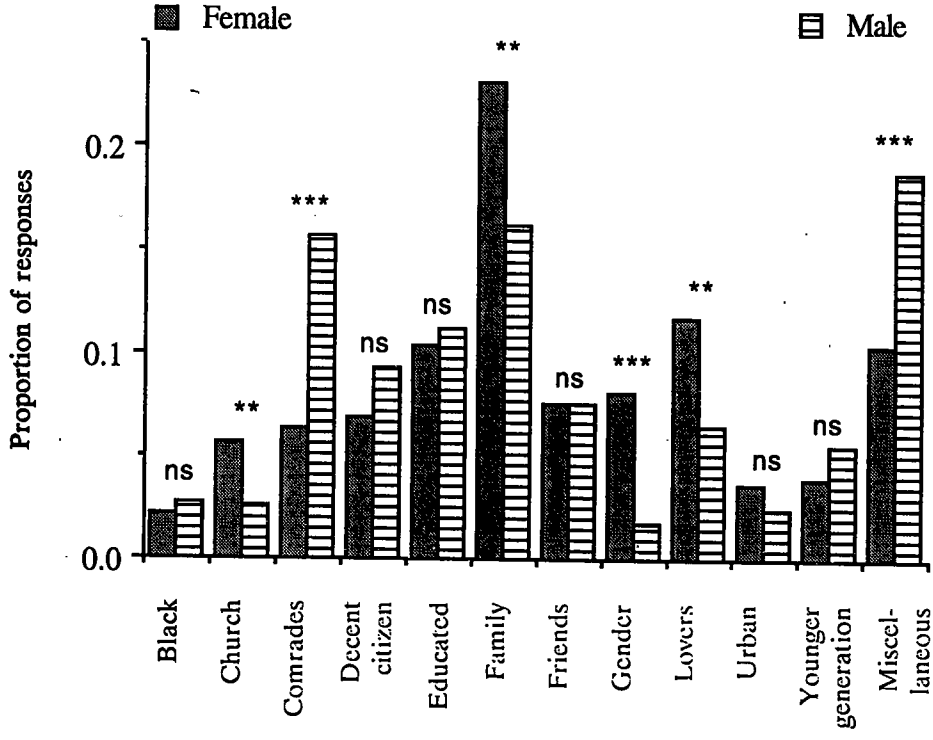
In the NETWORKING challenge cluster, a significantly greater proportion of female responses was associated with the group memberships of CHURCH and LOVERS. CHURCH membership was most frequently associated with the EMOTIONAL SUPPORT challenge. Membership of the LOVERS grouping was frequently associated with girls' responses to the challenges of HAVING FUN, MATERIAL SUPPORT, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT and CHOOSING LOVERS. A significantly greater proportion of male responses was associated with the COMRADES and MISCELLANEOUS. The COMRADES grouping was associated with male responses to the POLITICAL IDENTITY challenge. The MISCELLANEOUS category was

mentioned in connection with the whole range of challenges, but in particular with HAVING FUN and MATERIAL SUPPORT, where a broad range of groupings provided young people with options relating to leisure, and to possibilities for and constraints on mobilising material support. Boys mentioned the DECENT CITIZEN category most often in relation to the challenge of CHOOSING FRIENDS who were respectable and ambitious. The YOUNGER GENERATION category featured in association with three particular challenges: (i) BROADENING HORIZONS, where boys expressed a sense of having broader horizons than their parents; (ii) GUIDANCE, where several men engaged in debate about the relative adaptative success of the life skills of the older and the younger generations; and (iii) POLITICAL IDENTITY, where politicised youth defined themselves in sharp contrast to the politically timid older generation. The group membership of FRIENDS was mentioned frequently by informants of both genders. While this group was mentioned very seldom in connection with the other two challenge clusters, it was a frequently cited category in relation to a range of NETWORKING challenges. These included EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE, HAVING FUN, GUIDANCE, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT and CHOOSING FRIENDS. Both boys and girls referred to their friends as key resources, providing not only pleasant company but also various forms of advice and support.

4.2.4 Group memberships across all challenge clusters: Summary

Section 4.2 has outlined the 20 major life challenges facing township youth, and provided a brief account of the group memberships associated with each of the challenge clusters by males and by females. Figure 4.7 (a simplified summary of the information on Figures 4.2, 4.4 and 4.6) indicates the proportion of responses, irrespective of challenge cluster, that both the boys and the girls associated with each group membership. Of the total number of responses for all challenge clusters, the FAMILY is the group who has the most influence on female youth identity. The

Figure 4.7: Proportion of responses, irrespective of challenge, associated with each group membership by females and by males



FAMILY is significantly more influential on young women than young men. Also significantly more influential on young women than young men are the group memberships of GENDER, CHURCH and LOVERS. Speaking very generally, each of these group memberships served on the whole to reinforce FAMILY recipes for young women (see Section 6.1 for a further discussion of this point). Of the total number of male responses for all challenge clusters, the FAMILY and the COMRADES were the most influential, with the COMRADES being associated with significantly more male than female responses. As will be discussed further in Section 6, certain COMRADES recipes for living conflicted strongly with those of the FAMILY (although there was also evidence of some consistencies amongst the recipes for living associated with the two groups).

4.3 Concluding comments

Section 4 has provided a preliminary sketch of the categories of GROUP MEMBERSHIP and LIFE CHALLENGE emerging from the interview analysis. Sections 5 and 6 will expand on those aspects of the GROUPS and CHALLENGES that are relevant to the task of highlighting the role played by the FAMILY in youth identity formation within the context of a rapidly changing social order.

5. THE FAMILY'S ADEQUACY AS SOCIAL GUIDE

How do the youth construct their social identity under social conditions of rapid social change, political uncertainty and economic deprivation, and what is the role played by the FAMILY in this process? This report conceptualises the process of social identity formation in terms of the Debating Process of Identity Construction (see Section 2.2). In the process of meeting the life challenges they face in their day-to-day lives, township youth weigh up the recipes for living associated with existing group memberships (such as the FAMILY, the CHURCH and the COMRADES), and select those recipes for living that have the highest perceived adaptative success. It is in the light of their perceived adaptative success that

the recipes for living associated with the different group memberships are either adopted, rejected or refashioned. Section 4.1 provides a brief account of the groups most frequently cited by the youth in giving an account of their identity. Section 4.2 outlines the life challenges facing township youth in the early 1990s, classifying these into the categories of CONSTRUCTING A CODE OF CONDUCT, PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE and NETWORKING.

In the light of the interest of the current research in the role played by the FAMILY in the socialisation of the youth, Sections 5 and 6 of this report focus on the process whereby the youth debate the relative adaptative success of the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY on the one hand and of competing group memberships on the other hand. In weighing up what they count as perceived adaptative success, the youth are guided by their degree of commitment to and their interpretation of the following three socially negotiated criteria:

(a) respectability;
(b) self-improvement;
(c) personal/community empowerment (see Section 2.2).

In giving an account of their social identity, the FAMILY featured frequently in both male and female accounts (see Figure 4.7). Besides being a frequently mentioned group, it was also the most controversial group membership in the sense that it was with the recipes for living associated with the family that subjects appeared to conduct the most heated debate.

At one level, the issue of becoming independent of the family is consistent with the developmental stage of any group of young people at late adolescence and early adulthood, in the period immediately prior to the developmental challenges of finding their own jobs, and setting up their own families. It will be suggested however that there is an additional reason for the centrality of debates with the family in the accounts of the informants. More than any other group, the family bears the brunt of rapid social change. It is this grouping that binds together members of the older and younger generation in intimate on-going

contact and close proximity. The family becomes a microcosm of the conflict between what people perceive to be the "old order" or "tradition", often represented by the older generation's recipes for living, and the "new social order" which may place a different set of demands on members of the younger generation.

Here it must be emphasised that the term "tradition" is used with qualifications. Social analysts in South Africa are vociferous in pointing to the problematic nature of this concept. For example, Spiegel and Boonzaier (1988) warn that the notion of tradition is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the past. So-called "traditional social relations" may for example be a reinterpretation of the past by powerful social groupings in the interest of justifying their hold on social power. This point is particularly relevant to changing township social relations, where the notion of tradition is often drawn on by members of the older generation to justify their claims to authority over the younger generation.[14]

South African social scientists are also critical of those who would assume a static "before and after" notion of history in discussions of social change. Such a notion would imply that there was ever such a thing as a coherent and identifiable "traditional social structure" or "old order" in the past, that had been replaced by a "modern social structure" or "new order" in such a way that the two could be regarded as analytically separate entities (Murray 1981). While terms such as "tradition", or distinctions such as the "old order" and the "new order", might be unsatisfactory for historians and anthropologists, they are necessary tools for the social psychologist whose concern is the subjective reality of ordinary people. An important concern of the social psychologist is the way in which ordinary people interpret, understand and deal with the demands of the everyday world. Against this background one cannot ignore the fact that while these terms may be analytically unsatisfactory for certain academics and political analysts, they are part and parcel of the discourse of ordinary people, who DO tend to operate with static and ahistorical notions of the past compared to the present, the old order compared to the new, and traditional ways of life compared to modern lifestyles. Since such notions are part and parcel of the conceptual armoury of the

informants in this study they cannot be dispensed with. In analysing these accounts however, the researcher will be careful to focus both on the continuities and discontinuities between the experience of the youth and their parents.

In Section 5 factors weighed up by informants in debating the FAMILY's adequacy as a social guide are outlined. This section focuses on the young people's accounts of the adaptative strengths and weaknesses of this group membership in the face of the challenges presented to them by the changing social world. In Section 6 the youths' perceptions of the relative adaptative success of those behavioural options offered by the FAMILY and competing social guides are examined. In making choices between the recipes for living offered by various group memberships, the youths are guided by varying degrees of commitment to the motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. Each of these three criteria is discussed in turn, in the light of concrete illustrations of competing behavioural options available for pursuing these motivational goals.

It will be suggested that social change has presented the youths with day-to-day situations in which certain of the recipes for living developed by their parents in a different social and historical context are no longer appropriate coping mechanisms. As a result, the youths are having (at short historical notice) to develop new norms and attitudes, which might sometimes conflict with those that their parents would have used. As has already been stated, attempts will be made to emphasise not only the **discontinuities** between the life circumstances faced by the youths, and those their parents grew up in, but also the **continuities** between the new coping skills that the youths have developed, and the coping skills that were appropriate for their parents.

Unless specifically stated otherwise, references to behavioural options associated with the FAMILY will refer to parents' recipes for living. As has already been stated, this follows the lead of the youths in the study who generally referred to the influence of parents when talking about the FAMILY. As will be discussed further below, it was in the area of self-improvement that the

family's recipes for living tended to be the least controversial. In many cases these were simply **adopted** by the youths. However, the family's recipes often proved to be insufficiently developed in the areas of education and career choice, and sometimes required **expanding** from a range of other sources. In relation to the adaptative criterion of respectability, the family's recipes for living were often subject to heated **debate**, and **challenged** in a range of covert and overt ways, resulting in a **refashioning** or **revision** of many of the family's recipes in the light of changing social demands. It was in relation to the adaptative criterion of personal/community empowerment that the family's recipes were considered the least adequate by the youths for dealing with their day-to-day life challenges, and often **rejected**. In this regard interviews depicted the youths in the process of **constructing new group memberships** (the COMRADES) and **reinterpreting old group memberships** (e.g. the YOUNGER GENERATION, URBAN, BLACK) in their goal of achieving personal/community empowerment.

The youths' assessment of the adequacy of FAMILY recipes for living centred around their judgements of their parents' qualifications as social guides. In Section 5.1 the focus is on factors in favour of parents, including the youths' respect for their age, wisdom, experience; a commitment to family unity in a chaotic social world; and their sense of obligation to their parents for the sacrifices they had made for them. In Section 5.2 the focus is on factors against parents, including their lack of education, their rural roots, and their lack of political consciousness.

5.1 Factors in favour of parents' adequacy as social guides

While they did not always regard their parents as "street-wise" in the ways of modern life, the youths often spoke with admiration and even awe of their parents' demonstrations of strength and resilience in the face of obstacles in the day-to-day survival of working class black people. In response to the question: "Can you name an adult whom you know personally who serves as a **model** for how you would like to be when you grow up?", several of the

respondents, particularly the young men, said they could not name one adult. However, in response to the question: "Who is your **hero**? Someone that you admire very strongly?", several informants named their mothers, expressing deep admiration for the way in which they had succeeded in holding their families together under conditions of poverty and instability.

> *My mother is my hero ... all that she has struggled for has been only for us* (her children) *... she has had a difficult time and even now she is not free because there are so many difficulties.* (M8)

The great majority of interviews touched on the on-going sacrifices that parents had been making for their children, and strong ties of loyalty amongst family members.

> *I can simply sum up my relationship with my mother by saying that all that I am is through her.* (M13)

Many of the young people expressed deep appreciation to their parents for the suffering they had undergone for the sake of their families. A sense of obligation to obey family norms was often a token of the youths' appreciation of this support.

> *I would not like to do anything that would upset my family, they have sacrificed a lot for me. I have to be careful of everything I do.* (F19)

It was the key role played by families in this respect that made family membership a highly valued group membership among the respondents (see Table 4.2) if not necessarily always the most influential group membership. This sense of appreciation was linked to a deep sense of obligation to parents expressed by virtually every subject, and a commitment to support them in their old age.

> *The first duty I have is that I was born from my parents, and they brought me up, and now they are old I must make a point of supporting them, and fulfilling their needs.* (M10)

Many of the informants also expressed respect for the age, wisdom and experience of their parents.

> *There are many ways in which the older generation can help us because they are old, and they can show us what is right and what is wrong ... You have to ask the road from those who are older, because they have walked that road.* (M5)

In a disrupted social world, family ties were regarded as an important source of stability and support for informants, and therefore highly valued.

5.2 Factors against parents' adequacy as social guides

Many of the young people in the study, not unlike their age counterparts in any country, or in any race or class context, simply felt their parents were "old-fashioned", boring, and out-of-touch. The general issue of the "generation gap" is not unique to this particular group of young people. This section nevertheless looks at certain factors that appeared to be more strongly related to specific features of working class township life than the probably almost universal rejection by the youth of their parents' boring and old-fashioned ways.

Despite evidence of ties of love and loyalty to their parents, several township youths in the study, particularly men, questioned their parents' competence to guide the youth. Whether or not informants consciously expressed doubts about their parents, parents inevitably fell into a range of socially devalued group memberships, e.g. the UNEDUCATED, UNSKILLED WORKERS, or PEOPLE WITH RURAL ROOTS. Thus even though certain informants of both genders may not have devalued their parents directly, they often devalued the group memberships that their parents unwittingly fell into, group memberships which many youths hoped that they themselves would avoid when they were adults.

This section looks at five factors which weighed against the youths' perceptions of their parents' qualifications to guide them: their educational status, their employment status, their rural origins and their lack of political consciousness. The fifth factor,

applicable only to the young men, concerned their perception of the status of their mothers in particular as social guides.

(i) Parents' educational status

The majority of working class township youth have more education than their parents (Nzimande & Thusi 1991; see Table 4.1 for the educational levels of the young people and their parents in the current sample). Parents fell into the poorly valued out-group of the UNEDUCATED. Interview data repeatedly bore witness to the fact that educated people had more social status in the township community than uneducated people.

> *If you are not educated the community regards you as uncivilised.* (M2)
>
> *There is nothing worthwhile that you can do in life if you are not educated.* (F20)
>
> *If you are not educated you are nothing.* (M3)
>
> *If an educated person has some kind of social function and invites uneducated people amongst the guests, they tend to make the non-educated people feel separate and apart. The one crowd* (the uneducated) *will spend their evening in the tent outside, whereas the others* (the educated) *will spend their evening under a comfortable roof. The educated people will be served first, and will get everything in good time, whereas those who are outside will be attended to later.* (M6)

F13's comments on the advantages of education pointed to the youths' sense of the vulnerability of their parents in the face of their relative lack of education.

> *It is good to be educated. It makes it easy to get work. Also education helps you with other things. You are able to read the road signs, and if you see a bus you can read where the bus is going to. Maybe if you are receiving a letter from a loved one, you can read it, and you don't have to ask someone to read it to you - and take the risk that that person will just say whatever they want to say as they read it.* (F13)

M6 linked the older generation's vulnerability to white domination to their lack of education. His generation, with their improved

educational levels, would be less vulnerable to white oppression.

> *Old people were prepared to work hard and be oppressed because they were thinking about their children all the time ... if they did not accept their situation they would be fired from the job, and their children would suffer without getting food ... when the present generation of young people are older they will not depend on the whites because most of the jobs that old people did in the past were labourers' jobs. They* (the youth) *will organise themselves to be educated ... education is the only key to our liberation.* (M6)

(ii) Parents' employment status

The majority of the respondents' living parents who were employed were labourers or domestic workers (see Table 4.1). Such work is not highly regarded in the community, or by the youths in particular. F10 for example commented on the lack of control domestic workers had over their working conditions, as well as their poor wages:

> *My mother is a domestic worker.* (Would you like to be a domestic worker?) *No. (?) I would like to do something for myself. (?) Have a job where I can go off at the stipulated time, and earn enough money to support my family.* (F10)

The work available to uneducated people was depicted as strenuous and exhausting, working long hours for little pay, and spending endless hours travelling to and from the workplace.

> *If you look at factory workers you will find that they are tired. They are also slight and thin.* (F15)

Thus parents, who were often labourers and domestic workers, belonged to what the youths regarded as the poorly valued out-group of UNSKILLED WORKERS.

(iii) Parents' rural roots

Most of the parents of the youths that were in the 17 to 23-year age group at the time of the interviews (late 1989 and early 1990) had been born in rural areas, and had come to the towns in their

late teens to find work (Edwards 1989). In contrast, nearly all the children - the respondents - were township born.

Many respondents made a sharp distinction between rural and urban people, classing themselves in the latter camp. They distinguished between the skills required to cope with rural life on the one hand and township life on the other. The older generation was often lumped together with rural black people who were described as "in the dark" or "blind" or "ignorant".

> *On the farms they think they have got nothing to fight for. They have their own cow, their own space, their own chief. And they think that they have got everything they could dream of. Such a person knows nothing about their rights, about the needs of the black people. Such a person is content to be an oppressed labourer.* (M6)

There were a number of references to the lack of sophistication of rural people's thinking. M10's comment about his rural girlfriend reflected the respondents' attitudes to rural people.

> *It is not easy to discuss politics or serious issues with T, because she is a "farm Julia" - this is the name we give to a woman from the rural area ... people who come from the farm are blind.* (M10)

(iv) Parents' lack of political consciousness

Certain young people drew a sharp contrast between what they regarded as their parents' passive acceptance of racial discrimination and economic disadvantage on the one hand, and their own active resistance to these phenomena on the other.

> *Our parents say that the youth of today have changed. When they were young there were no strikes, these days there are many. At work black people are not given enough money, yet they work hard. In the old days blacks did not complain about this. In these days they do ... there is nothing the old people can teach the youth now ... the youth must learn from the other kids who know better ... Parents feel bad about this. I know this because I have seen my mother crying.* (F13)

Some young people direct some of the anger and frustration arising from their social conditions at their parents. They blame them for tolerating economic and racial discrimination, rather than fighting for a better world for their children. They contrast their own assertive and radical critique of society with the fearful and timid acceptance of the status quo by many older working-class parents. As M6 has been quoted as saying:

> *The older generation have been prepared to accept everything the hard way, struggle for everything they have got. The younger generation do not wait for hard times, they are always active.*

Interviews showed evidence of a strong sense on the part of the youths, particularly the young men, that they wanted to take control of their future in a way their parents had not. The split in some families between traditionalist Inkatha parents and more radical MDM/ANC anti-Inkatha youths was the source of much conflict (see Section 6.3).

(v) Young men and their mothers

A central feature of changing township family life is the growing number of female-headed families (Preston-Whyte & Zondi 1989). Only 19 of the 40 people interviewed in this study lived in the same household as their fathers. Certain young men in the sample commented that it was difficult for mothers to guide or discipline teenage sons in families where no fathers were present. Some informants suggested that the influence of the family over teenage sons is considerably diminished in female-headed families. Despite the reality that mothers are having to play an increasingly central role in family leadership, they are still regarded as second-class citizens in a community where patriarchal ideals dominate (Campbell 1989). As a result, mothers are often not accorded the respect and authority that would be accorded to fathers. For example, mothers are often not accorded the authority necessary to discipline teenage sons, who, without the stern hand of a traditionally feared father figure to keep them in check, often "run wild" as a result.

Mother failed to discipline us teenage boys on her own. Boys need a father to guide them. If father had lived with us there would have been a difference. There were many times when we took no notice of mother, unlike the notice we would have taken of a father. (M7)

The situation is somewhat different for teenage girls. In fatherless families teenage girls may often be disciplined by elder brothers.

5.3 Concluding comments

This chapter has focused on factors in favour of parents (Section 5.1) and against parents (Section 5.2) in the youths' debates about the FAMILY's adequacy as a social guide.

Informants felt strong ties of love, loyalty and appreciation for their parents, and a deep sense of obligation to support them in their old age. In some cases the strength of these ties of appreciation influenced the youths into thinking that they ought to obey their parents who had made so many sacrifices on their behalf. There was evidence however that many young people perceived group memberships such as EDUCATED, URBAN, PROFESSIONAL PERSON and the politically assertive and active COMRADES group membership as offering them the greatest chances of life success. Parents often fell into the less valued out-groups of UNEDUCATED, RURAL, UNSKILLED WORKERS and POLITICALLY TIMID, groupings which were considered to offer little in the way of useful life skills for a young upwardly mobile person in pursuit of a bright future.

In many cases the youths appeared to construct their social identity in direct opposition to the way in which they perceived their parents. They intended to achieve the success in their lives that their parents had not.

Mother just wanted to marry. I want an education. (F3)

(Why would you say that young people go to school?) *We go to school because most of our parents have not been to school. From their experience they think it is better if their children go to school, to enable their children to face the future.* (M4)

Having rejected many of the adaptative skills their parents have to offer, what alternative raw materials exist for social identity construction? The focus of Section 6 is the extent to which the youths are guided by the FAMILY as opposed to other social groupings in their day-to-day lives, focusing the youths' debates regarding the relative merits and demerits of various groupings as valuable social guides. It will be suggested that in certain respects the youths did indeed consider other group memberships as more useful than the FAMILY in relation to many of the demands of modern life. In other respects, however, they still often valued their parents' insights into certain matters.

> *There are lots of laws our family can teach us ... things like the importance of respecting parents, knowing how to greet old people in the street, how women should behave, how one ought to behave in the street ... But when it comes to politics, this is an area where the young should teach the older generation ... the old people don't see the world of today, but the younger people, they have got ideas, and these ideas will enable them to change things in the world of today.* (M11)

Thus, while parents were not always regarded as competent social guides, there was still much evidence for the youths' commitment to maintaining some degree of continuity with their parents' values and lifestyles in formulating their social identities.

> *If we can just combine the two together - the respect* (of the older generation) *and the civilisation* (of the modern days) *then I am sure that we will have a better generation in our future.* (M17)

6. THE FAMILY VS COMPETING SOCIAL GROUPS

Section 4 provided a brief description of the 20 LIFE CHALLENGES and the 11 GROUP MEMBERSHIPS involved in the process of identity construction by the youths. This section provides more detailed information about aspects of these groups and challenges that throw light on the role of the FAMILY as agent of socialisation of the youth, and on the processes whereby the youth debate the relative adaptative success of the recipes for

living provided by the FAMILY and competing social groups in the light of changing life demands.

As is outlined in Section 2.2, the youth is guided by the following three reference points in the process of social identity construction: respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. These three factors serve as motivational criteria in the process of weighing up the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY and other groups. The commitment of an individual to these criteria was by no means consistent, often varying markedly from one situation to the next. For example, a young woman's commitment to the criterion of self-improvement might vary from one situation (behaving very diligently at school in line with her FAMILY or EDUCATED group membership) to another (risking pregnancy through the love of her boyfriend, despite the fact that pregnancy might hinder or terminate her school progress in line with her LOVER group membership). The individual may draw on quite contradictory messages for living as s/he moves from one situation to another, and as different group memberships become salient in terms of their perceived adaptative success for meeting the challenges of particular situations.[15]

In this section, an account of each of the three motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment is provided, with particular emphasis on the youths' assessment of the relevance of FAMILY recipes for living in the light of each criterion.

6.1 Criterion 1: Respectability

The motivational construct of respectability was implicit in all 20 of the life challenges outlined in Chapter 4, but it featured more centrally in (all) the challenges within the CODE OF CONDUCT cluster, and in the four NETWORKING responses of GUIDANCE, CHOOSING FRIENDS, HAVING FUN and CHOOSING LOVERS.

In the interviews, the FAMILY's recipes for living were almost always associated with respectability, where the concept of

respectability incorporated the following five factors, which are discussed in turn below:

1. respect in interpersonal relations (an issue relevant to both men and women);
2. avoidance of alcohol (men and women);
3. non-promiscuous sexual behaviour (relevant to women only);
4. restricted freedom of movement and home-centredness (women);
5. non-criminal and non-violent behaviour (men).

6.1.1 Respect

Respect is the cornerstone of traditional African social relationships, both in the family and in the wider community (Vilakazi 1976). In the interviews, the phenomenon of respect was frequently cited to refer to a range of rights and obligations, usually with reference to social relations based on age and gender hierarchies. The notion of respect was cited as a guideline for behaviour between adults and youths, between men and women, between siblings of different ages within a family and so on. This section will focus on relationships of respect between different generations (the youths and their parents as well as members of their parents' generation), suggesting that changing intergenerational relations present the youth with the possibility of challenging the traditional notion of respect.

Implicit in the interview data was a notion of respect for older people which prescribed the acceptance of the following three guidelines by the youth:

(i) reverence for older people: young people should treat older people with a certain degree of awe;

(ii) obedience to older people: young people should obey older people at all times; parents should be accorded this authority by virtue of their age;

(iii) acceptance of older people as valuable social guides: parents have knowledge, expertise and wisdom about the world that form a useful resource for guiding their children.

This was the definition of respect implicit in FAMILY recipes for living. The most direct references to intergenerational respect were made in connection with the adaptative challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT (involving the notions of (i) reverence and (ii) obedience referred to above) and NETWORKING: GUIDANCE (involving the notion of (iii) acceptance of parents as valuable social guides). Many more veiled and indirect references to these issues were scattered about in all the challenges however.

Section 5 has already dwelt on aspect (iii) of the notion of respect at some length in its account of the youths' assessment of their parents' wisdom and life experience. That section pointed out that parental life experience was not necessarily considered a valuable resource by young people. According to the "traditional" notion of respect, however, the older generation's right to respect was unconditional, simply by virtue of their superior age, and not something that parents need to earn or prove themselves worthy of. It was their automatic due, and something that all young people should simply recognise without questioning (Campbell 1991).

At a superficial level, the traditional FAMILY value of respect did indeed appear to be the central guide of the youths' behaviour. Every informant repeatedly cited the importance of respect in interpersonal relations (especially intergenerational relationships). It was the cliché that dominated all the interviews. The notion of respect appeared to be such a fundamental aspect of informants' attitudes to adults that they often appeared surprised and at a loss when asked to give examples of respectful behaviour. Examples given in response to such questions often related to the importance of standing up for adults on buses, running errands for them, and helping them carry parcels. Such requests should be obeyed unconditionally and "without hesitation" (M8).

> *I must behave well towards my mother at all times and be respectful.* (How do you show this respect to her?) *If I am sent to the shop ten times a day I must not complain or refuse to go.* (M11)

If sent on an errand by an older person I must go instantly, and return promptly. (F18)

Respect also involved being in awe of one's elders. For young men, for example, an important way of showing respect for older men was to treat them with awe, which included staying out of their way and not initiating contact uninvited.

> *I have great respect for Mr Zuma* (a neighbour). (Do you know him well?) *I do not know him well because most people are afraid to approach him directly. But he might greet you. If he talks to me I will just answer in reply to his question. I would not initiate a conversation with him myself.* (M3)

M14's respect for his grandfather was so great that he was prepared to accept all his opinions unquestioningly.

> *It would be difficult for me to disagree with my grandfather because the things he says are always very true ... it would not be clever for me to try and disagree with something I know is true.* (M14)

At a superficial level, the issue of showing respect to older people by treating them with a certain degree of awe, reverence and good manners, was fairly uncontroversial and routine. At this level the FAMILY's recipes for treating adults appeared to have been adopted by the subjects. However, closer examination of the interview material revealed evidence of a range of subtle challenges to the FAMILY's notion of respect, with alternative possibilities being provided by a range of competing group memberships, especially COMRADES, URBAN, YOUNGER GENERATION, FRIENDS and LOVERS.

Under the influence of these memberships, there were signs of numerous challenges to what were regarded as the FAMILY's traditional behavioural guidelines for respectful behaviour. These challenges were of two kinds, covert and overt, both of which are discussed below. Rather than unquestioningly adopting the "traditional" FAMILY notion of respect that their parents had taught them, the youths appeared to draw selectively on this notion. They sometimes redefined guidelines for "respectful behaviour" in a

more conditional way than the influence of the FAMILY would have suggested.

Covert challenges to the traditional notion of respect

Challenges to the FAMILY's notion of respect were often evidenced in a range of subtle contradictions or inconsistencies in informants' accounts of their social identities, rather than in an overt manner. Illustrative examples of each of these inconsistencies are provided below. The first kind of inconsistency involved the selective use of the concept of respect, with individuals choosing to be guided by "respect" in some situations, but not in others. The second kind of inconsistency involved what will be called the "rhetorical use" of the concept of respect, where people paid lip service to the notion in their interviews, but did not necessarily put the concept into practice in their concrete behaviour. The third kind of inconsistency involved the use of the concept of respect as a face management strategy, where informants made a great show of keeping up the appearance of respectful behaviour in front of their parents and adults, but in fact proceeded to behave exactly as they wished when their backs were turned.

With regard to the first kind of inconsistency, the strategy of the selective use of the concept of respect, there was evidence that young people often chose to apply the notion of respect for adults under certain select conditions, but not under others. M10, for example, spoke elaborately and frequently of the importance that youths show adults respect and obey them at all times.

> *My family taught me to respect and obey old people. If they send me somewhere I will go with no hesitation. I have done this since I was a child. I respect all people in this way.* (M10)

On the other hand he referred to an occasion when he had kicked an older woman, breaking her leg, because she had shouted at him for taking a short cut across her garden in a mildly inebriated state on his way home from a shebeen. In relation to his parents (who were elderly people who had retired to the rural area, and who did not pose any challenge to his independence), he was

extremely committed to the notion of respect. However, in a situation where an older woman had attempted to restrict his behaviour in what he thought was an unjustified way, he was quite content to abandon this behavioural guideline.

M18's account of his relationship with his girlfriend provides a second case study of the selective use of the notion of respect. M18 stressed the importance that he and all young people should respect older people, offering the example that he would never consider approaching his girlfriend directly in front of her parents, because this would constitute a sign of great disrespect for them. He cited COMRADES membership as an influence in this regard:

> *We in the comrades are trying to educate young men that it is important to send a young child to call your girlfriend from her home, rather than going there for yourself, because this is a sign of disrespect ... for her parents.* (M18)

However, at another stage of the interview he referred to encouraging his girlfriend to behave in a manner that could hardly have been described as respectful of her parents:

> (Do you ever force your girlfriend to do things against her will?) *Only forcing her to attend political meetings which she does not like, as well as forcing her to come to relatives' homes with me without informing her parents. I also sometimes force her to steal money from her home, because her father is a teacher, and has lots of money.* (M18)

Turning to the second kind of inconsistency, the rhetorical use of the notion of respect, there was evidence of dysjunctions between the informants' lip service to this notion in conversation, and in their day-to-day behaviour. While many respondents spoke of the importance that young people respect and obey their parents at all times, interviews were replete with examples of incidents where they had not done so. Many young men referred to disobeying their parents' wishes that they should not drink alcohol, or gamble, or involve themselves in political violence. Many young women referred to disregarding family restrictions on sexual activity (see Section 6.1.3).

The third kind of inconsistency, the use of the notion of

respect as a face management strategy, will be illustrated in the sections on the use of alcohol and sexual behaviour below. Reference will be made to the way in which informants often behaved exactly as they pleased, in blatant disregard of their FAMILY's behavioural guidelines, but went to elaborate efforts to "keep up appearances" and conceal the disapproved behaviour from their parents. In this way the notion of respect was redefined from "obey your parents" to "never let your parents know that you are disobeying them".

Overt challenges to the notion of respect

While many youths appeared to subvert the "traditional" notion of respect in a range of subtle ways, more overtly articulated challenges to the notion seemed to be less common. These tended to be voiced by boys rather than girls. Overt challenges to the notion of respect refer to those cases where informants openly contested the assumption that one ought to be obedient and helpful to adults simply because of their age. These youths usually remained committed to the notion of respect in the broad sense, but argued for a more conditional notion of obedience and reverence for adults. Some examples of ways in which certain young men refashioned the traditional FAMILY recipe for living: "Respect all adults" are cited below.

Only obey adults' requests that seem reasonable: Challenges to the notion of respect were often justified in relation to matters of principle. Some young men suggested that they would only obey those adult requests that they felt were reasonable.

> *If an adult tries to send me twice to one place on the same day I usually refuse.* (M9)

Only obey requests by adults for whom you have political respect: This refashioning of the FAMILY's recipes for living was referred to by COMRADES members in the sample. For example, M13 said that the current political conflict in the township made it necessary to be selective regarding those adults whom one would obey. He said it would go against his political principles to show obedience towards an Inkatha member.

(With regard to the relationship between youth and adults in the township) *I think the present condition is causing confusion to everybody in South Africa. I would not regard it as wise to be sent to the shop by a member of the township councils who is a member of Inkatha or the Special Branch, even though he is an adult in relation to me. No matter if he is an adult, I will disobey him to prove to him that his political position is wrong.* (M13)

Do not obey requests that you feel are wrong in principle: One informant commented that while in principle it was important that young people run errands for adults, he was opposed to particular types of errands. Thus, for example, he would choose not to obey an adult's request to go on the errand of buying alcohol, because this went against his belief that the consumption of alcohol was a serious social problem that served to undermine his community. As a member of the COMRADES grouping he believed that the youths' highest motivation should be the strengthening of the community. However, he emphasised that as a respectful member of the YOUNGER GENERATION one was obliged to explain one's reasons for refusing in a polite and courteous manner.

An old man called me once and told me to go and buy him some home-made spirits. I said I would not go to that place. Later my friends told me that rather than simply refusing, I should have explained my reasons for not wanting to go to that place - unless I did that he would just treat me as a child that was not cooperative. (M6)

Obey adults in respect of errands, but not in other ways: Certain informants made a distinction between (i) obeying and revering adults in a limited range of interpersonal interactions and (ii) taking their views seriously in the public sphere of life. According to this distinction, respect involved being polite and helpful to adults whom one knew personally in relation to errands and household duties. It did not necessarily involve respecting the older generation's opinions on political or community matters.

We the youth respect adults, but do not listen to them. (?) I respect old people - if someone sends me somewhere on an errand, then I do it. (In what area would you not listen to

them?) *As far as politics are concerned, I would not listen to them.* (M18)

Do not respect adults who are immoral or who treat you with disrespect: A number of the youths referred to declining moral standards amongst the older generation. They said that adults who behaved in an immoral manner thereby forfeited their right to respect from the youth. Others referred to a failure by certain members of the older generation to show respect towards the youth. Since intergenerational respect ought to be a two-way process, they suggested that frequent displays of the older generation's failure to honour old codes of behaviour often made the youth equally reluctant to honour such codes.

M16 commented that the older generation had failed to set the youth a good example through the disrespectful way in which elders treated the youth. The elders had therefore forfeited their right to respect from the youth.

> *The older generation does not know how to treat the younger generation. You find that sometimes an older person talks anyhow to the younger generation, and I don't think that is the respect that the younger generation deserves.* (M16)

M15 said he found it difficult to treat his father with respect because of what he regarded as his father's abusive treatment of him. His (also unemployed) father frequently taunted him and shouted abuse at him because he had failed to finish school or find a job. M15's older friend and role model urged him not to answer him back in such situations (a sign of great disrespect to a parent), but often the temptation to answer back rudely was too great, despite the fact that M15 was terrified of his father.

> *I have never fought* (physically) *with my father but I do exchange harsh words with him. For example, since he himself has lost his job, if he sees me walking on the road he shouts: "Hey, you skoteni* (hobo), *why are you not working? You should be working now and feeding your family." And I answer back: "It's not my choice not to work like this. It is the situation that forces me, because there is no work." He doesn't understand at all. Instead he shouts more, and tells me not to*

answer him back, and threatens to beat me, and I just run away. (M15)

The older generation does not deserve the respect of the youth: Only one informant appeared to have dispensed with the notion of respect for parents altogether in his behavioural repertoire. M13 argued that the older generation had forfeited their right to respect from the youth through their dismal failure to improve their life circumstances.

> *Kids have looked to their parents setting an example, and seeing that the parents have done nothing good for them they lose respect for them and start doing things on their own, leaving their parents behind.* (M13)

He sorrowfully recounted a story about his childhood friend Thulani whose fear of his father had caused him to "overrespect" him. M13 associated Thulani's blind adherence to these old-fashioned rules of respect with a lack of commitment to a new society and severe limitations on his life opportunities.

> *Thulani tried to stop me from entering his father's house with a June 16 T-shirt.*[16] *I was very surprised to see that despite Thulani's fears, his father accepted me without bitterness - and I realised that Thulani has been brought up in a family where you never question anything - he was told to go to school, and finish your schooling and go to work and support your family. That was the beginning and the end of his life - he is just sticking to that kind of life, and I am trying to change it.* (M13)

This subsection has pointed to evidence that some young men are asserting their right to exercise their own judgement in deciding how to relate to adults, rather than simply obeying a set of what they regarded as old-fashioned "traditional" family-related guidelines.

Referring now specifically to the "parents as useful social guides" aspect of respect (aspect (iii) of respect as defined above), some young people appeared to have resolved their dilemma regarding their sense of deep love, commitment and loyalty to their parents

on the one hand, and their assessment of them as inadequate social guides on the other, by a compromise option. This compromise involved regarding parents as useful social guides with regard to a limited range of issues. Parents' advice was considered useful in the area of good manners and the importance of education. However, in certain areas of life, such as politics and community empowerment, their opinions and advice were not considered useful.

> *The parents teach the child about how to conduct himself in the community and how to respect others and to obey instructions from old people, but the comrades are teaching others about the struggle and about how to get freedom.* (M17)

> *There are lots of laws our family can teach us - things like the respect of parents, knowing how to greet old people in the street. They also teach their children things like how to watch the cars ... to cross the roads and so forth ... What I would say is that when it comes to politics, this is an area where the young should teach the older generation.* (M11)

One of the ways in which the youths appeared to have redefined the guidance aspect of respect was to demarcate areas where parents were qualified to guide them, and areas where they were not.

In summary, the issue of respect for the older generation was hotly debated by several of the young men in the sample. While the general old-fashioned norm of respect for adults still served as an important reference point for young men, it was by no means obeyed in an unquestioning way by all the young men in the sample. Furthermore, while some young men were prepared to obey certain of the norms of respect relating to less significant issues such as running errands to the shops, they were sometimes not prepared to respect the older generation's political views, nor their attitudes to whites, to working conditions or to the future.

Implicit in the accounts of the youths were three different notions of respect:

Respect for X (hypothetical persons) may mean one of the following:

1. to respect X means to listen to them and obey them, without their having to give any reasons for their behaviour/ demands (**authoritarian** notion of respect);
2. to respect X means to listen to them and obey them, provided that they present good reasons for behaviour/ demands (**authoritative** notion of respect);
3. to respect X means to listen to them, and to take their opinions seriously, while still reserving the right to disagree (**democratic** notion of respect).

According to the youths' accounts of their social identity, "traditional" FAMILY recipes for living demanded that the youths respect their parents in the **authoritarian** sense. Apart from one informant (M13 cited above, who sought to dispense with the notion of respect altogether), the more critical young men in the sample were still committed to the notion of respect. They were however inclined to refashion this behavioural guideline in a more conditional way, arguing for a more **authoritative** or **democratic** notion of respect for elders.

Group memberships influencing informants' attitudes to respect

A number of group memberships provided alternative recipes for living to those of the FAMILY, involving the possibility of more conditional respect for adults, and a more democratic approach to intergenerational relations. The self-categorisation of URBAN, offered the youths the possibility of relating to adults in a more egalitarian way, in contrast to the, what some informants characterised as the rural youth's "overrespect" for and excessive fear of adults, in the rural context in which their parents had grown up. The self-categorisation of YOUNGER GENERATION also provided behavioural options competing with those provided by the FAMILY, where members of the younger generation were sometimes characterised as outspoken and independent. The informants' interpretation of the YOUNGER GENERATION category varied however. In some contexts this group membership was defined in terms of rebellious and independent youth, forging a new set of behavioural guidelines, which were often in direct

opposition to their elders' tried and tested recipes for living. In other contexts, the youths still endowed this category with more traditional connotations of unconditional obedience, referring to respectful and obedient young people who looked up to their elders and took account of the older generation's advice and life skills.

Peer groupings, in the form of the group memberships of FRIENDS and LOVERS, sometimes served to give the informants moral support and encouragement in forging more conditional behavioural guidelines regarding respect (although this was not always the case). It was the COMRADES grouping that provided the youths with the most compelling possibility of openly articulated challenges to the notion of respect. This group offered the youths the possibility of acting in terms of their sense of personal integrity and commitment to democracy, rather than blindly following what they regarded as outdated and undemocratic family conventions.

Concluding comments on informants' commitment to respect

The picture that emerges from the interviews is one of the youth debating the FAMILY's guidelines regarding intergenerational respect. Sometimes this debate resulted in a more qualified commitment to the notion of respect for adults than the FAMILY's recipes for living would recommend. This section has looked at a number of covert and overt ways in which the youths challenge the FAMILY's guidelines for respect. There were some indications of contradictions between the lip service paid to the notion of respect by the informants and their concrete behavioural practices. Despite evidence of challenges to the "traditional" notion, however, even in the interviews with the most challenging youths, the old-fashioned FAMILY concept of respect still appeared to serve as the backbone of the informants' accounts of their recipes for living. It is suggested that while the traditional FAMILY notion of respect no longer invariably functions as an accepted blueprint for action, it still serves as a key conceptual reference point for the youth. As such it serves as a rhetorical

baseline that sustains the youth in the on-going process of formulating adaptative recipes for living. As the process of revising and refashioning existing recipes for living continues, the parents' notion of respect serves to provide for the youths

(i) a reference point in relation to which emerging norms can be formulated and articulated (in this sense it provides the youths with important continuity with their own history); and

(ii) moral support.

In some ways the notion of respect appears to be an empty cliché, which informants "trotted out" rather mechanically. Perhaps in a time of rapid social change, where old values (e.g. those associated with FAMILY membership) are not always considered adaptative, with no new clearly defined behaviours to put in their place, the youth may articulate traditional ritualised responses as an interim measure as they struggle to transform old values into user-friendly resources for the demands of their modern lives.

On the whole the challenge to the FAMILY's notion of respect tended to come from male rather than female respondents. This point will be taken up in Section 6.1.6. It will be suggested that this finding is consistent with a number of general trends in the different ways in which girls and boys construct their identities. Attention is now given in turn to the four other factors involved in the notion of respectability: alcohol, sexual conduct, home-centredness and non-violent and non-criminal behaviour.

6.1.2 Alcohol

The second aspect of respectability was the avoidance of alcohol. This issue featured strongly in the adaptative challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: ALCOHOL; NETWORKING: CHOOSING FRIENDS and CHOOSING LOVERS; and each of the PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE challenges. Apart from general comments regarding the evils of alcohol, the informants also commented that they would avoid choosing friends or lovers who were drinkers, and that drinking inhibited school success and blighted the chances of promoting a bright future for oneself, one's family or one's community.

FAMILY recipes for living were invariably opposed to the practice of drinking by the youth. In fact a number of informants referred to fathers or siblings who drank, but nearly always immediately commented on other family members' disapproval of this practice. FAMILY opposition to drinking was reinforced by the group memberships of DECENT CITIZEN, CHURCH and EDUCATED.

The responses of the young men and young women to this aspect of respectability are now discussed in turn. When speaking in general terms, the young men tended to roundly condemn the practice of drinking, often citing the FAMILY as an influence in this regard. When speaking in particular terms however, 12 young men said that they did in fact drink. Group memberships presenting them with this option included the three MISCELLANEOUS group memberships of UNEMPLOYED, DRINKERS and PHANTSULAS. Members of the UNEMPLOYED grouping said they drank in response to the challenge of filling time, or drowning their sorrows.

> *Once I begin to drink then I am happy. And sometimes when I am worried, once I've had a few drinks I feel OK.* (M10)

In the face of the material circumstances of unemployed young men (little chance of finding jobs, often shunned by young women, often labelled both by their families and the community as "good for nothing" and "lazy" and mistrusted by the community), the recipes for living offered by the FAMILY (don't drink, don't go to shebeens) were considered inappropriate given the social and material conditions facing the UNEMPLOYED, which provided them with few possibilities for either leisure or consolation, making drinking a particularly adaptative option.

Also competing with the family, members of the DRINKERS group explained their drinking on the grounds of their enjoyment of shebeen culture.

> *When I get a bit drunk, and listening to soft music in the shebeen, I like that dizziness that I get.* (M17)

Shebeens were particularly popular given the lack of other

entertainment facilities in the township. PHANTSULAS drank on the grounds that this was part of the grouping's macho image. This rugged and macho image was considered a far more "user-friendly" one for many young men than the more sedate, prissy and respectable recipes for living that the FAMILY offered them.

There was evidence of a degree of tension between the influence of the FAMILY and certain other groupings when the informants had to make decisions about options with regard to the CODE OF CONDUCT: ALCOHOL challenge. The youths tried to reach "compromise" options that would reconcile the conflicting pressures of the pro-drinking and anti-drinking group memberships. The main compromise option involved concealing one's drinking behaviour from one's family at all times.

> *When I am drunk I don't go home ... I am so scared of my father ... I usually go to places where I am going to stay the whole night, for example I might stay up all night at the shebeen.* (M17)

The young men generally referred to their practice of drinking rather shamefacedly, and stressed the importance of drinking moderately rather than excessively, conducting their drinking in the privacy of shebeens, never drinking in public (e.g. in the street), never drinking in front of adults that they respected.

Drinking appeared to be a less accessible option for the young women than for the young men. Only two young women referred to themselves as DRINKERS, with the other young women taking great pains to dissociate themselves from this grouping, emphasising the desirability of choosing both friends and boyfriends who did not drink.

> *I don't like women who smoke, drink or hang around in shebeens.* (F2)

Several informants explicitly stated that it was considered more socially acceptable for a man to drink than for a woman.

> *It's true that it is less acceptable for a woman to drink* (than a man), *because she is a precious person to us.* (M18)

Young women would have far fewer opportunities for drinking than their male counterparts, in terms of their relatively restricted freedom of movement away from the family home and the watchful eye of family members, and their significantly higher association with the group memberships of FAMILY, CHURCH, GENDER and LOVERS than their male counterparts. Each of these group memberships tended to promote an image of women as virtuous, home-centred, well-behaved, and definitely non-drinkers.

In conclusion, it appears that the FAMILY's options regarding drinking were considered more adaptative for boys than for girls. There was little space for girls to engage in debates about whether or not to drink, since the FAMILY 's behavioural options for a virtuous and well-behaved young woman were reinforced by a wide range of other group memberships. In the case of boys a range of competing group memberships offered alternative behavioural options to FAMILY recipes for living. These included the UNEMPLOYED, PHANTSULAS and DRINKERS. Options available to boys permitted them to behave in ways that were not necessarily virtuous or well-behaved, allowing them liberties denied to their female counterparts. An overall trend in the interviews was a greater tendency among boys to speak of cases where they had transgressed criteria for respectability (see Section 6.1.6). The elaborate lengths the young men went to to hide their drinking from their parents suggested however that they were not entirely comfortable with the decision to disregard the FAMILY's influence, hence their attempts to achieve some sort of compromise between the influence of the FAMILY and other groups.

6.1.3 Sexual conduct

According to FAMILY recipes for living, a respectable young woman should abstain from sexual relationships for as long as possible. This emphasis on abstinence was justified on one or both of two grounds. The first justification for sexual abstinence related to matters of reputation. The reputation of a young woman and to a certain extent the reputation of her family were linked to her

sexual virtue. Sexual virtue involved either abstaining from sexual relationships altogether, or in the case of sexually active women, remaining faithful to one boyfriend at a time. The second justification for sexual abstinence was a pragmatic one, and related to the support of children. While grandmothers generally regarded grandchildren as a source of great joy and fulfilment (Campbell, 1989) babies born to unemployed teenagers placed a great financial burden on already strained families, given the poverty facing working-class township families. For this reason the FAMILY would generally urge a young woman to abstain from sex either (i) until she had completed her education and got a job, which would enable her to support any children she might have, or else (ii) at least until she had a regular and reliable boyfriend who would share responsibility for any children who might be born from the relationship.

Pressure to be sexually virtuous was not placed on young men. With regard to moral considerations, contrary to pressure on young women to be virtuous and faithful, young men with many girlfriends were tolerated, often admired.

> *If I were to have many lovers people would not say to me that I was "bitch"* (promiscuous woman). *They would think that I was a playboy, which is a very nice thing to be. But for a woman to be called a "bitch" - this is a very bad thing.* (M10)

With regard to pragmatic considerations, babies born to teenage parents were generally taken in by the young mother's family. In many cases the young father's family would make some contribution towards the child's support. However, this was not always the case. Sometimes young men denied paternity of their children. In other cases young fathers and their families might not be able to afford child support. In short, the final responsibility for such infants would be borne by their young mother's family. For this reason families appeared to be less concerned about the prospects of their teenage sons becoming parents than their teenage daughters. Therefore, the remainder of this section will focus on the sexual conduct of women rather than men.

FAMILY recipes for living were associated with what

respondents referred to as "traditional" practices around sexuality and sexual socialisation which were no longer influential in the lives of young people. The informants' accounts contained frequent comparisons between a sexually "moral past" where young women were virtuous, and an "immoral present" where this was no longer the case.

> *In the past, in the African nation, the girls never slept with a man before marriage arrangements had been made. These days a young unmarried woman can even have sex with a man, and all her siblings will be doing it, and eventually it might even happen that her mother might know that she is doing it. Eventually she will have children at home, before marriage - and she has never consulted anyone about it.* (M6)

The informants commented that in "traditional" society there was a range of practices to ensure that a young woman remained a virgin until marriage. According to the accounts of the respondents, in the "old days" a young woman's FRIENDS played an important role in complementing the FAMILY's restrictions on sexual activity by policing each other's "virtue". Nowadays, in contrast to this, these very FRIENDS serve as one of the influences on young women to have early sexual relationships, a point that will be taken up below.

Several female informants referred to being beaten by their parents for having boyfriends. Regarding the FAMILY's influence on sexual conduct, it was not just parents who sought to restrict their daughters' behaviour, but also brothers who sometimes appeared to be extremely protective of their sisters' honour. Several young women referred to having been beaten by brothers who had suspected them of sexual misbehaviour. Most of the young women who referred to being disciplined by brothers were accepting of this practice, believing that it served their interests in the long term.

> *My brother wants to control me in order to see me building a bright future. Brothers do these things for their sisters' sakes. They want them to have their own homes one day, and to be married and so on.* (F7)

Only one woman resented her brothers' interference in her life. She pointed to the double standards inherent in brothers' policing.

> *My brothers guard me incessantly. They do not want me to have an affair with any boys in the church choir. If I did so they would be cross, because they want me to respect them.* (Why does having an affair show disrespect for a brother?) *It is so because he is older than me so I have to show respect - if he were to see me with a boyfriend this would show lack of respect for him as my older brother.* (Is it a good thing that your brothers guard you?) *No, it is not a good thing - there they are sleeping with other people's sisters and then guarding their own ... I think that brothers should leave sisters alone. They can look after themselves.* (F5)

Several young men referred to the role that they played in what they referred to as "guarding" or policing their sisters. They commented that it was a brother's duty to ensure that not too many boyfriends came to the house.

> *Sisters need some guidance and protection from their brothers. In one way they are human beings capable of making their own decisions between right and wrong, but they do need some guidance sometimes ... in such cases boys sometimes end up beating their sisters.* (M1)

Despite pressure from FAMILY members not to have boyfriends, 15 of the young women in the sample had defied their families and were sexually active. The group memberships of LOVERS and FRIENDS appeared to feature most strongly in young women's decisions to defy their families. Looking first at LOVERS membership, boyfriends provided a young woman with the possibility of meeting the adaptative challenges of HAVING FUN, gaining EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, BROADENING HER HORIZONS and, if she was lucky, MATERIAL SUPPORT in the form of money and presents. Not only was there a fair amount of peer pressure to have a boyfriend, but young men also put strong pressure on young women to be sexually active. While boyfriends sought to contradict the influence of the FAMILY in this one respect (encouraging girls to become involved in sexual relationships against the directives of their parents), they echoed a

number of FAMILY recipes for living in other respects. For example, LOVERS membership reinforced the FAMILY's guideline that women should have no more than one sexual partner at a time. A woman with more than one sexual partner was regarded not only as a disgrace to the honour of her family, but also as an undesirable girlfriend. Furthermore, both the LOVERS grouping and the FAMILY tended to promote the dominance of men and the submissiveness of women in sexual relationships.

Thus it was only with regard to having sex that young men encouraged their girlfriends to defy their families. In other ways boyfriends enlisted the families as allies in controlling their girlfriends. This point will be taken up again in relation to the next criterion for female respectability, that of home-centredness.

FRIENDS put a range of pressures on young women to be sexually active. For a young woman, having a lover gave her access to a world of intrigue and secrecy that had to be carefully hidden from her family, and discussed and enjoyed in detail by her peers. There was also a range of more complex and indirect pressures from friends, which are discussed below.

Although most of the young women in the sample had chosen to disregard their FAMILY's advice and to have sexual relationships, there were signs that many of the sexually active women felt slightly uncomfortable about this decision.

> *When a young woman does wrong* (deceives her parents in order to sleep with her boyfriend), *she does so for the sake of her boyfriend. Such behaviour would not be reflecting the things she has been taught at home.* (F7)

Young women took great pains to conceal their sexual relationships from their parents, claiming it would be disrespectful to do otherwise. Many settled on the compromise option of making every effort to conceal their affairs not only from their parents, but also from other adults in the community.

> *My family know that I respect them because when I go off with my boyfriend, I make my arrangements very secretly, and I hide where I am going from my family. Usually I lie and tell them I am going to visit a relative ... my mother knows that I am*

going to my boyfriend, but she knows that I am respecting her by denying it, and she appreciates this. (F7)

Thus in many cases, this type of concealment was simply a charade. It seems that many parents were aware of their children's sexual activities, but chose to turn a blind eye for the sake of appearances.

Another influential group in the debate about sexual activity was that of the EDUCATED. The EDUCATED grouping served to reinforce the FAMILY's view that young women should delay sexual relationships. A few young women said they had chosen not to have boyfriends yet, because they wished to give their studies top priority. The fear of pregnancy was an important deterrent here. There was general agreement that having a baby seriously inhibited one's chances of having a bright future. Pregnancies resulted at best in the interruption of one's schooling, or at worst in its termination. Several of the seven women who already had babies commented that the birth of the baby had "ruined their lives".

Against this background, a young woman who chose to postpone having a boyfriend was sometimes regarded with envy and a trace of malice by her FRIENDS, who might whisper behind her back that "she thinks she's superior to us". Young women without boyfriends were regarded as standing a better chance of succeeding at school without the distraction of demanding and unreliable young men who take up their time, and without living under the continual threat or reality of teenage pregnancy. Furthermore, in a community which admired and encouraged sexually active young men but which looked down on promiscuous young women, a young woman who had chosen to delay having boyfriends until the completion of her studies would be regarded with admiration in the community at large. Given very high levels of jealousy in the township community (Campbell 1992), young women who appeared to be succeeding where their peers had failed in their goals of attaining a bright future, were regarded with a degree of hostility by the latter. Against this background FRIENDS could be regarded as placing a range of

more subtle and indirect pressures on each other to engage in sexual liaisons and to take the same risks as the peers.

While there was strong FAMILY pressure on young women not to have boyfriends, it appeared that there were seldom explicit discussions on sex or "the facts of life" between parents and daughters. It appeared that beyond the firm directive to daughters that they should not have boyfriends, more detailed discussion of sex between parents and the young people was taboo.

> *Mother never told me about sex. She thought that I would be shocked to hear an older person talking like that.* (F9)

Several young women said that not being aware of the "facts of life" at a young age had made them vulnerable to pregnancy. F7, for example, regretted her unplanned pregnancy, and felt her mother ought to have given her some sex education.

> *If I have a daughter I will give her sex education early - as young as eight years old.* (Why didn't your mother do this?) *I think most mothers think that because we are still young we might be shocked to hear them talking about sex, and ask them many questions about the matter, which would make them embarrassed.* (F7)

Furthermore, it appeared that given the pressure to keep sexual liaisons secret from the FAMILY - who might have protected their interests in abusive relationships - some young women appeared to be vulnerable to abuse by men. Female respondents often spoke of "forced sex" or physical violence at the hands of their boyfriends. Some female informants referred to boyfriends who expected them to miss school to have sex. Others referred to their fear of becoming pregnant by men who might deny paternity of their babies.

Several young men in the sample said they would be reluctant to admit paternity if their girlfriends were to become pregnant. They offered a variety of reasons for this. M3, a Standard 8 pupil who had regular sex with his two teenage girlfriends without using any form of contraception, had the following to say when asked what he would do if one of them fell pregnant:

I would take time before I took any interest in the child. We Zulu people have got to see when the child is about one year old. At this age I could see whether it was mine or not - according to whether the child looked like my father or my uncle. Once I could see such a resemblance I would admit it was my child. (M3)

In relation to this criterion of respectability there was evidence of women weighing up, on the one hand, the FAMILY's directive against sex and on the other, pressure from other groupings, especially LOVERS and FRIENDS, to be sexually active. Generally they took the option of secretly defying their parents. They did however make a token gesture to their parents' guidelines for respectability by making every effort to keep their boyfriends a secret from older FAMILY members.

6.1.4 Home-centredness

In the outline of the challenge of CODE OF CONDUCT: FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, reference was made to the different behavioural possibilities for men and women with regard to freedom of movement (Section 4.2). Women were restricted compared to men who were relatively free to come and go as they pleased. According to FAMILY recipes for living, home-centredness was cited as an important characteristic of a respectable young woman.

I am not a hang-around girl. I am always behind my home gates. (F2)

I am allowed to play only in the yard of my own home. (F6)

According to the FAMILY (both parents and brothers), a respectable girl was one who went directly to school in the morning, and returned home directly afterwards. For an unemployed young woman it was respectable if she spent most of her time at home, visiting her girl friends at their homes or going out on errands for older family members. Such a young woman did not loiter in the streets.

A range of reasons were offered for these restrictions on

women. Some of these were of a general nature: the community would lose respect for a girl who moved around too freely; girls were physically too weak to protect themselves in the dangerous township streets, especially at night; a girl's first priority should be towards household duties which required her to be at home most of the time; girls were "naturally" more committed to their families than boys were. Some reasons related to controlling a young woman's sexuality: a young woman on the streets would be vulnerable to the approaches of propositioning males; the community might label her as loose, available and a man-chaser, reflecting badly not only on her womanhood but also on her family's dignity. In short, such a young woman would be "an embarrassment to her family" (M13). A home-centred young woman stood a better chance of having a bright future and of progressing with her schooling and career plans. Such a woman also had the greatest chance of attracting a man, and a better chance of making a good marriage. Men on the other hand were expected to be out in the world, earning money, having a good time, leading the struggle and so on.

The LOVERS grouping also tended to reinforce the FAMILY norms that a good woman should spend as much time as possible at home with her family.

> *I like my girlfriend to be always at home, cleaning the house, reading her school books, keeping herself clean and neat, and only loving me.* (M19)

For example, M3 said one of his most important considerations in relation to his girlfriend was to see that their relationship did not interfere with the performance of her family obligations. M4 said he encouraged his girlfriend to pay attention to her family duties, saying that "she should respect her parents so that I can respect her".

Many young women stated that apart from going to school and running errands for their parents, they did not leave their family homes without asking their boyfriends' permission. To break this rule would sometimes result in physical violence (see Section 6.1.5). The importance of asking a boyfriend's permission

in this regard seemed to be an "article of faith" in many young women's accounts of their identities. F9 reported that her boyfriend took little interest in her. She said that he appeared not to care whether she had other lovers or stayed at home. Yet she still emphasised the importance of a young woman consulting her boyfriend if she wanted to go out.

The boyfriends echoed these proscriptions, saying they would not tolerate their girlfriends moving around without their permission. The young men also said they did not like their girlfriends to have too many friends, since "friends tend to confuse a girl, and serve as a bad influence" (M7). According to the young men, their girlfriends' friends might tempt an impressionable young woman to drink, or to take up with more than one man. They might also persuade a young woman to leave her unemployed boyfriend and take up with an employed one.

It has already been noted that boyfriends' support of traditional family values was somewhat selective. They supported FAMILY recipes for living insofar as they could enlist the family as an ally in controlling their girlfriends' movements. Young men liked to picture their girlfriends against the background of "home and hearth" when they were not there to watch them. In the case of freedom of movement, as in the case of sexual behaviour, young women weighed up the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY ("Don't sleep out at night") and LOVERS ("Why not? It's fun"). They often reached a compromise that involved sleeping out with their boyfriends every now and then, but not too often, and keeping up appearances for the family's sake, usually by making the excuse that they were visiting friends or relatives on those evenings.

6.1.5 Criminal behaviour and violence

An important dimension of a young man's respectability related to behavioural choices regarding:

(a) criminal behaviour;

(b) violent behaviour in the private sphere of life;

(c) violent behaviour in the public sphere.

While FAMILY membership was cited in relation to violence in the private sphere, it was seldom cited in relation to violence in the public sphere (e.g. political violence), or in relation to criminal behaviour. As will be suggested below, this is consistent with the general trend in the interviews where FAMILY membership was cited more frequently in relation to options for individual conduct and ambitions and interpersonal relationships than in the public dimension of community and political affairs. Because of the relative infrequency of the association of FAMILY membership with criminal behaviour and public violence, they are discussed in less detail than the other options for respectability outlined above.

Criminal behaviour

The option of participating in criminal behaviour was referred to frequently by young men in relation to the two life challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME, and NETWORKING: CHOOSING FRIENDS. Seventeen of the 20 young men in the sample disapproved strongly of the option of criminal behaviour.

> (Do you ever consider becoming a criminal yourself?) *No!* (Why not?) *Well I used to tell myself that I will succeed in my ambitions without having to do something bad to other people.* (M7)

The FAMILY was always associated with an anti-crime stance in those infrequent cases when it was mentioned in connection with crime. In a general sense, the decision not to commit crimes was consistent with FAMILY pressure on the youth to behave in a responsible and respectable way. It was the group memberships of COMRADES and DECENT CITIZEN that were most frequently cited in relation to behavioural options relating to crime. Young men cited the COMRADES grouping as one of the most important anti-crime forces in the community.

> *A comrade is supposed to be someone who is clean, a gentleman, someone protective* (of the community good) *and someone who helps others at all times.* (M10)

While the majority of young men disapproved of the option of

criminal behaviour, they all referred to the ever-present **temptation** of becoming involved in crime. This temptation was presented by the groupings of TSOTSIS (common criminals) and the COMTSOTSIS (criminals posing as political activists) which presented the option of crime as an easy way to make money in a poverty-stricken environment.

> *It is possible* (for a young man) *to get into serious problems if you are one who likes to impress his peer group - and the moment that these youngsters are involved in drinking, they drink heavily, exceed the limit and start misbehaving, pick-pocketing, harassing other people and so on. And when they are caught even the innocent ones get taken away and punished.* (M14)

> *The gangsters put lots of youngsters in a trap by offering gifts of the money they have robbed from other people. They always pretend to be nice to someone they want to lure into their team. Once you have taken something from them in the form of a gift, there is no way you can stop them from forcing you to join them - this is the way in which lots of youngsters become tsotsis.* (M14)

In speaking of the differing behavioural possibilities offered by the TSOTSIS and COMTSOTSIS on the one hand, and the COMRADES, DECENT CITIZEN and to a lesser extent the FAMILY on the other hand, informants referred to a number of strategies they used for "keeping out of trouble".

The most commonly cited recipe for keeping out of trouble was that of choosing one's friends carefully. FRIENDS membership offered dual possibilities. One could either make friends amongst upwardly mobile and respectable youth who would encourage one's progress towards a bright future, or else amongst less respectable criminal types who would lead one astray with promises of vast remuneration for relatively little effort, coupled with the taste of adventure. One young man (an anxious person who spoke of his future in terms of two possible scenarios, namely those of conspicuous success or cataclysmic failure), said that his way of keeping "out of trouble" was to have as few friends as possible, and to stay at home most of the time. Another boy cited

LOVERS membership as a way of "keeping out of trouble", referring to his girlfriend as a good influence. A third saw the school as the most positive influence in this respect, both in terms of keeping young men off the streets, and in terms of the options for advancement associated with EDUCATED membership.

Violence in the private sphere

The second specifically male criterion for respectability was the option of violent as opposed to non-violent conflict resolution. This option featured centrally in relation to conflict in both interpersonal and community contexts. In the interpersonal context, violence was often referred to as a means of solving conflicts in the CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT challenge, as well as a means of discipline in the NETWORKING: GUIDANCE challenge.

FAMILY membership was associated with the option of physical violence, which was considered a respectable form of discipline in certain interpersonal situations.

> *I know about disciplining women from watching husbands beat their wives for gossiping ... I like my girlfriend to bow down under my power all the time. I like her to obey me. I will never be ruled by a woman.* (M11)

The FAMILY recipe of violence (by parents against children, by fathers against mothers and by brothers against sisters) as a conflict resolution mechanism was echoed by a range of other groupings. These included the grouping of EDUCATED (where violence was commonly used by teachers against pupils), FRIENDS (where violence was often practised amongst male peers) and LOVERS (where boyfriends had the option of beating their girlfriends if they displeased them).

> *If Sifiso* (boyfriend) *comes to my home and finds me absent, he just gives me a five-finger in my face.* (Would you ever consider hitting him back?) *No, I would not do this. He would give me far worse than I ever could.* (F15)

Some slight opposition to the use of violence in the family or in

the school came from certain members of the COMRADES grouping, who disapproved of the undemocratic social order that gave so much power to teachers and parents. However, as Section 6.3 will point out, violent punishment was an option frequently associated with the COMRADES grouping in the interpersonal as well as the community context. COMRADES justified this practice by asserting that their disciplinary codes were based on a set of democratic practices sanctioned by the "will of the People", rather than systems of authority based on undemocratic social relationships.

Violence in the public sphere

Moving from the interpersonal to the community sphere of life, the option of violent behaviour was associated with the challenges of CODE OF CONDUCT: CRIME (referring to the use of violence in crime prevention and punishment, as well as the use of violence in criminal activities) and CODE OF CONDUCT: POLITICAL CONFLICT (referring to the use of violence in school boycotts as well as against political opponents). FAMILY membership was not cited as an important influence in relation to conflict in the public sphere of life. On those few occasions when FAMILY membership was cited, it tended to be in favour of a non-violent resolution of conflict in the public sphere. In this regard, FAMILY recipes for living (that the youth should not get involved in violent political conflict) were opposed by the COMRADES' belief that violence was an important weapon against political opponents, if it was used responsibly and strategically. Clashes between FAMILY and COMRADES recipes for living will be taken up in Section 6.3.

The relative infrequency of the association of the FAMILY with the CRIME and POLITICAL CONFLICT challenges leads us to the more general point that the family appears to exert a greater influence over young men in the private and interpersonal spheres of life than in the community or public spheres. The confinement of family influence to the interpersonal spheres of interaction and its relative lack of influence in the community sphere are consistent with the fact that FAMILY membership is

significantly more influential with regard to girls than boys in a community where young women's identity is far more centrally tied to home and hearth than that of young men.

6.1.6 Concluding comments on Criterion 1: Respectability

Section 6.1 has pointed to some of the issues weighed up by the youths as they debate the relative merits of behavioural options associated with the FAMILY and other group memberships in the light of the motivational criterion of respectability. These debates have been illustrated in the light of six criteria for respectability: respect, drinking, sexual conduct, home-centredness, criminal behaviour and violent behaviour. This section has pointed to evidence of boys and girls refashioning what they regarded as "traditional" FAMILY recipes for respectable behaviour, often under the influence of behavioural possibilities presented by competing group memberships.

Challenges to FAMILY guidelines for respectability were often conducted in covert rather than overt ways, with the youths making every attempt to keep up appearances of respectability in their parents' eyes. The relatively unusual evidence of overt challenges to the FAMILY notion of respectability tended to come from young men rather than young women, especially in the areas of respect. Girls tended either to be more accepting of FAMILY guidelines or else to challenge them in a more covert manner, often using, for example, compromise and subterfuge as strategies for resisting the FAMILY's influence. This gendered difference was consistent with a number of general differences in the identity styles of girls and boys that cut across individual challenges and group memberships:

(i) **Focus of identity:** Speaking generally, girls often tended to be far more invested in their families than their male counterparts (whose lives extended beyond the confines of home and hearth). Girls tended to devote a greater amount of energy to family relationships and household labour than boys. They also tended to spend a greater proportion of their time within the FAMILY circle and to be more influenced by the FAMILY than their male counterparts. In

addition, girls appeared to have a greater commitment to the peaceful co-existence of family members. Against this background, girls seemed less inclined to "rock the family boat" through open defiance of their parents than their male counterparts.

(ii) **Behavioural restrictions:** Previous sections have made numerous references to the double standards governing the behavioural possibilities for young women and young men. Women's freedom to control their lives was limited by a range of behavioural restrictions compared to men, who were presented with more opportunities for personal control over their day-to-day lives. It is suggested that the relative space given to young men to develop into independent and autonomous agents, as well as their exposure to a greater variety of group memberships than girls (e.g. grassroots liberation movements with their critical analysis of existing social relationships and their commitment to democracy), may have inclined them towards a greater tendency to evaluate their life circumstances in a critical way, and to challenge what they perceived as problematic social relationships.

(iii) **Social tolerance for rebelliousness:** Both young men and young women referred to the importance of behaving in a virtuous and respectable way. While strict conformism to virtue and respectability appeared to be an essential pre-requisite for a positive social identity for women however, young men appeared to be allowed more space to transgress these criteria. In fact, a certain degree of rebelliousness and "bad behaviour" appeared to be quite acceptable amongst young men. In this regard there appeared to be more social tolerance for a rebellious young man than for a rebellious young woman.

(iv) **Attitude to social hierarchies:** A theme which preoccupied many young men in the sample was that of their critique of

a range of social hierarchies, including those of race, class and age. Boys showed a greater awareness of and resistance to social hierarchies and were far more likely to challenge them than girls who tended to be more accepting than their male counterparts of their subordinate social status, both in the wider community and in the family. Boys tended to refer to the possibility of challenging existing power relations more frequently than girls.

These four general trends in the way in which girls and boys construct their identities were consistent with a situation where young men appeared to have a broader sense of alternative life opportunities than their female counterparts, and a greater sense of freedom to question the FAMILY's commitment to conventional social arrangements (such as "traditional" intergenerational relationships), and in some cases to challenge them.

6.2 Criterion 2: Self-improvement

The motivational criterion of self-improvement was the second key factor determining informants' selections of recipes for living. It was in relation to this criterion that FAMILY recipes for living tended to be the least controversial. Generally these were simply adopted by the youths. As will be seen however, FAMILY recipes were often insufficiently developed in the areas of education and career choice. Parents had little insight into the practical details of how to pursue the goal of becoming an educated professional person. Thus broad FAMILY guidelines regarding self-improvement often needed to be supplemented by information and advice from other social guides (where informants were lucky enough to have access to these).

The theme of self-improvement was echoed again and again by informants. The youths almost invariably took a dim view of their present circumstances, and often defined themselves in terms of their plans for uplifting themselves and their families. In response to the physical and material deprivation of their present lives, one of the ways young people coped with their difficult life circumstances was through talking, planning and dreaming of a

better life when they were older. Every informant but one[17] expressed a commitment to self-improvement and upward mobility. There were two approaches to self-improvement. The first, a relatively apolitical and individualistic approach, involved self-improvement through education. This approach was geared towards the attainment of an improved standard of living through access to material wealth and comforts. This approach will be discussed in the current section. The second, more political approach, that of self-improvement by means of community empowerment, will be discussed in Section 6.3 below.

Informants who emphasised the motivational criterion of self-improvement through education, often tended to attribute the plight of working class families to problems faced by particular families and individual family members, as opposed to problems facing the community as a whole. Informants almost invariably attributed these problems to individuals' lack of education.

> *I don't want to involve myself in politics ... I am satisfied with my lot. I have my mother who is working, and we are eating and we have a house ... All that we haven't got is education. If we had education we would be satisfied. Educated people have everything. Earning money, owning houses, driving big cars.* (Do you think that you will have these things one day?) *I will. I see the dim lights coming* (at the end of the tunnel). *In fact, they are not even dim, they are getting brighter.* (F14)

According to this view community improvement would come through the efforts of hard-working educated people, whose education would put them in the position to "uplift" the community. These individuals would also help the community by encouraging and helping other people to become educated and to succeed.

Highly politicised youth tended to outline their hopes for the future in terms of social goals. In contrast, those emphasising an individualistic approach to self-advancement expressed their future hopes in terms of being able to provide their own children and families with those opportunities and comforts they had lacked in their own childhoods. A phrase that cropped up particularly frequently in interviews was that their own children would have

"everything they want". This phrase generally referred to material comforts and opportunities for a good education.

> *My children must have a better life than I have. I have had to sweat for everything. All I have achieved I have struggled to get. I hope they will have an easier life.* (F14)

> *I want to be able to give my son money to go to the university. And perhaps he will have more education than I have managed to get.* (M17)

Evidence for the motivational criterion of self-improvement was apparent across the range of life challenges, but most particularly in the challenges relating to PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE (EDUCATION, FAMILY LIFE, CAREER PLANS), and to NETWORKING (BROADENING HORIZONS, EDUCATIONAL, ASSISTANCE, MATERIAL SUPPORT, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, CHOOSING FRIENDS).

The notion of self-improvement through education was closely associated with the FAMILY. The FAMILY was influential in encouraging its members to strive to become educated, and to get good jobs. Parents were often sustained by the hope that their children would achieve all they themselves had failed to achieve in their own lives.

> *Mother and father want someone from the family to be educated, so that our family can be respected by the community.* (F10)

Informants were not only inspired to aspire towards education by their families of origin. They were also inspired by their visions of the families they themselves would set up in the future when they were adults, defined in sharp contradistinction to their own deprived childhoods.

FAMILY guidelines for self-improvement were generally regarded as uncontroversial, and reinforced particularly strongly by the CHURCH, DECENT CITIZEN, LOVERS, FRIENDS and EDUCATED memberships (although Section 6.3 will point to some ambiguities in the behavioural possibilities offered by the EDUCATED group in this regard). As will be seen in the next

section, it was the more politicised guidelines for self-improvement (particularly those associated with the COMRADES, and with certain interpretations of the YOUNGER GENERATION and the EDUCATED groupings) that came into the greatest conflict with FAMILY recipes for living.

FRIENDS were considered important allies in the fight for self-improvement, with friends and fellow pupils being cited as key sources of educational help and moral support, invaluable resources in the struggle for self-improvement.

> *My friends encourage me not to lose perseverance in doing things and not to be a loser. (?) They are encouraging me to try my very best to study by correspondence, and not to end up being a labourer.* (M6)

Informants often chose those friends "who wish to be able to leave their circumstances" (F3).

> *I do not have unemployed friends ... I choose my friends from amongst the scholars ... we have something in common.* (F10)

The CHURCH and DECENT CITIZEN groupings made a strong link between education and respectability. A respectable young person was one who was able to withstand distractions such as promiscuity and alcohol, and sustain the motivation and determination necessary to pursue education in the interests of personal, family and community upliftment.

Extreme perseverance and persistence were seen as the necessary preconditions for educational success amongst the youth from poor families. The youths spoke at length of the obstacles that stood in the way of achieving this goal. The greatest obstacle was money, with education requiring high levels of financial sacrifice by one's family. A large number of informants said that their efforts to become educated were being hindered by their family's inability to finance school fees, uniforms, transport costs and school books. In addition to financial backing, school success also required high levels of diligence, effort, and persistence in the face of failure.

A scholar is someone who does not give in when he realises that the going is tough, and someone who shows a lot of courage and will regarding his school work. (M1)

I worry a lot about succeeding with my education. I have written my matric three times and never passed it. (F16)

Education was not only the key to a bright future, but also the route to community respect and status. Section 5.1 points to the low social status of the poorly valued out-group of the UNEDUCATED. Membership of the EDUCATED grouping was seen as a source of pride and dignity in a community where poverty severely limited the opportunities for poor families to attain respect or status.

It is a major contribution for someone coming from a poor family to serve his community, especially the community that used to despise him because of the conditions of his family ... this is the way I will prove myself in the community (when I become a doctor) ... *I will not despise them, but serve them and they will feel ashamed to see themselves served by somebody whom they never thought would be able to step higher than them.* (M14)

The UNEDUCATED were characterised in derogatory terms such as "hoboes" (M11), people who were destined to live in "houses made of planks and tin" (M19) and who were characterised as "stupid" (M3). Education gave individuals access to material benefits such as money and the promise of "a future where you can eat" (M5). Informants commented that educated people had access to "easier jobs", comparing them to the physical demands of the manual work undertaken by uneducated people. The lives of educated people were stereotyped in glowing terms.

Educated people have everything they want. (F14)

If you are educated you have no problems. (F15)

Educated people were also portrayed as having control over their lives and their destinies.

If you have an education you are able to sit down and plan your life, plan how you would like to go about it. (F20)

Educated people are those who know what they want in life. (F13)

Education gave one the opportunity to rise above the drudgery of the day-to-day struggles of survival that preoccupied many working class families, enabling one to focus one's energies on higher issues such as the quest for excellence.

The quest for education is the quest for civilisation, and the quest to excel. In fact this is a way of life. It is a prerequisite that one should be educated if one wants to live a good life. (M1)

No informant felt that the effort to become educated would be unrewarded. Education would enable one "to move away from the slum areas" (M19). An educated person would not be forced to take a menial job "where white people can fire you very quickly" (M3), and would be able to look forward to a better life than the older generation "who were just looking after cows" (M6) when they were the informants' ages. The youths were acutely aware that they, as members of the YOUNGER GENERATION, had opportunities for self-improvement that their parents had lacked, and often referred to the importance of making the most of these opportunities.

Father lacked the opportunity that I have for getting educated. As an uneducated person he has always struggled to get jobs. (F3)

All you needed in those days was to learn how to write your name. After mother had learned that, her father took her out of school to work at home. (F5)

The phrase "without education you are nothing" was cited by a number of informants. Even people whose life circumstances appeared to preclude their chance of finishing school were often reluctant to dissociate themselves from the EDUCATED grouping. M18, for example, was 22 years old at the time of the

interviews. He had been forced to leave school when the last of his crippled mother's life savings ran out, and it seemed extremely unlikely that he would return to school. Despite this he insisted on describing himself as a "pupil".

> *I still regard myself as a pupil in the true sense. I just feel that my education has been interrupted.* (M18)

M10 had not had any schooling whatsoever, and eked out a difficult existence as a street hawker (selling apples and towels outside a railway station). He spoke of his dream that he would one day attend night school and become educated.

The EDUCATED group was frequently contrasted with the UNEDUCATED out-groups of DROP-OUTS, UNEMPLOYED, TEENAGE MOTHERS and WORKERS. Each of these group memberships was considered inferior to the EDUCATED grouping. DROP-OUTS and the UNEMPLOYED were stereotyped as "always being in trouble", bowed down by poverty, and dissolute, "wasting time drinking and doing other bad things".

> *I am better off than the drop-outs in the community. I am progressing. They are not.* (F18)

TEENAGE MOTHERS were referred to as those who had "ruined their chances of a bright future" through early pregnancy that had forced them to leave school. F10, who had been fortunate enough to be able to return to school after the birth of her baby, said she had gone to elaborate lengths to hide the reason for her period of absence from school from her classmates and teachers, saying that many of them might have looked down on her if they had known about her predicament.

> *Friends or teachers may laugh at you becoming pregnant and later coming back to school, and you might feel embarrassed or ashamed ...* (Why do they laugh?) *Perhaps they think it is foolish to get pregnant while you are still at school. They look down on girls who fall pregnant.* (F10)

WORKERS (unskilled labourers or domestic workers) were also regarded as inferior to educated people. In the case of members

of the older generation, informants were usually understanding of their plight, pointing to the poverty and lack of opportunity that had characterised their early days, as well as the disapproval that had been shown when girls attended school for too long a time. There was general agreement however that unskilled people had little social status in the community.

Despite the frequency of references to education as the key to a bright future, as well as numerous references to professional career possibilities, informants were generally vague about the way in which education would help them, and few had clear ideas about job prospects. To some extent the notion of education, like that of respect, appeared to be a rhetorical coping mechanism for living in a deprived environment. While education and the possibility of a professional career offered what many youths regard as their sole possibility for self-improvement, the reality for many young people is that their chances of achieving these goals are extremely limited. A formidable range of obstacles face the youth in their quest for education, and only a small percentage of black young people actually finish school or achieve the kind of bright futures they hoped for in their youth. (Hyslop (1988/9) comments that out of 100 black South African pupils who started school in the mid-1970s, about 50 would complete primary school, ten would reach Std 10, and one would pass the matriculation examination at the end of Std 10.)

Thus it appeared that while FAMILY membership plays a major role in relation to this criterion, with parents urging their children to be upwardly mobile, successful and so on, these parents had little knowledge of the concrete ways in which one would go about achieving these goals. The youths themselves also often had only vague and amorphous views of how to achieve success, with several informants having little idea how they should go about pursuing their ambitions. Thus for example F3, a bright, energetic and positive person who was awaiting her matric results, spoke of her parents' excitement that one of their children had at last reached the final year of schooling. She spoke of how proud her parents were when she was able to read aloud letters that were sent to the family, and of how her mother and father wanted

her to become a social worker. However, on questioning her it became evident that neither she nor her parents had any knowledge of what training was necessary to become one. Thus while many parents urged their children to finish school and take up careers, often neither the young people nor their parents had the necessary knowledge to follow up these ambitions.

Such young people leave school to be thrown into a world where competition for tertiary education and bursaries is particularly keen. They have not been equipped with adequate knowledge of how to pursue their desired career goals. Many respondents expressed the desire to take up careers such as law, medicine, radiography and dentistry and had structured their social identity around these goals. For many of them these goals would be unattainable given the expenses involved in tertiary education, as well as the wide range of social obstacles that stand in the way of a school-leaver from a poor family.

This section has examined the motivational criterion of self-improvement through education in the interests of outlining the influence of the FAMILY and other social groupings in pursuance of this motivational goal. It was in relation to the criterion of self-improvement that FAMILY recipes for living were subject to the least critical debate by the youths. Both the youths and their parents were unanimous in their yearning for the possibility of a better future, and educational success was seen as the surest route to achieving this. A wide range of other group memberships reinforced this goal. While FAMILY recipes were regarded as appropriate, they were in many ways inadequate. Neither the FAMILY nor in fact any other group memberships that appeared to be available to the youths in the current research, provided them with more than a broad and general commitment to the pursuit of education and the dream of a professional future. It seemed that the youths were severely hampered in their drive for self-improvement through both lack of opportunities and also lack of access to knowledge about the concrete means of achieving these goals.

The next section turns to the final criterion that motivates

the more politicised youths in the sample, that of personal and community improvement through political empowerment. It was in relation to this motivational criterion that FAMILY recipes for living were the most fiercely contested, in particular by COMRADES membership.

6.3 Criterion 3: Personal/community empowerment

In contrast to the self-improvement criterion which focused on education and career success as a means of self and community advancement, the motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment emphasised access to political power as the most viable channel for improving the life circumstances of oneself and one's family. It was in relation to this criterion that FAMILY recipes for living were the most fiercely contested by the youths, particularly under the influence of the COMRADES grouping.

For some informants the notions of personal upliftment and community empowerment were inseparable. Personal upliftment could not be attained by individual self-advancement alone. It would also require a shift in the balance of apartheid power relations between black and white, and between rich and poor. Commitment to this motivational criterion was based on one of two kinds of assumption. Firstly, social change was seen as an essential precondition for one's personal and family upliftment. Some youths attributed their own and their family's problems to the social disadvantages facing black South Africans. Secondly, some suggested that concern with one's own personal and family upliftment should be secondary to one's concern with bringing about community empowerment. This anti-individualistic emphasis, associated with COMRADES membership, presented an interest in the community as a higher and more worthy concern than an interest in oneself and one's own family at the individual level.

The motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment was a central issue for the COMRADES in the sample. The notion of community empowerment included strategies such as the following:

(a) to fight the high crime rate in order to strengthen community morale, which was perceived to be undermined by dangerous living conditions;

(b) to set up community structures (e.g. People's Courts) that were democratically accountable to the communities they served, in contrast to the undemocratic practices of the apartheid government;

(c) to challenge those political opponents who sought to undermine the black working-class struggle; and

(d) to encourage more democratic social relations between different age, race and class groups, in opposition to the inequalities characterising apartheid society.

In certain respects, Criterion 2 (self-improvement) and Criterion 3 (personal/community empowerment) are not mutually exclusive. Some young people explicitly linked them, with several COMRADES commenting that education was crucial to the goal of community empowerment in the sense that an uneducated person would be less able to make a significant contribution to the political struggle than an EDUCATED person. For example, it was generally accepted that a successful political activist would need English, given that English was the language that was common to a range of key players in the political spectrum.

> *No freedom will be achieved by uneducated people with no English.* (F12)

Individuals did however tend to emphasise one criterion or the other as their highest motivation, prioritising either the struggle for social change or personal advancement in their accounts of their social identity.

The COMRADES devoted their energies to political organisation, and were prepared to make great sacrifices to meet this end.

> *They can kill me, but they cannot kill the ideals that I am fighting for.* (M13, who had spent almost a year in political detention without trial and who had been subjected to torture.)

COMRADES membership provided a sense of empowerment and direction for many informants. It provided the young men, whose life situations appeared hopeless, with the possibility of a positive social identity. The role of COMRADES membership in promoting a sense of personal empowerment was particularly clearly exemplified in relation to the unemployed young men who had dropped out of the school system. Membership of this grouping gave them a frame of reference for interpreting their negative experiences in the workplace, either as unsuccessful work-seekers, or as part-time workers under poor conditions. A comparison between the social identity of M6 and M7 illustrates this point. Both had spent two or three years prior to the interviews looking for work, occasionally finding poorly paid temporary positions. M6, a highly politicised person, interpreted his negative experiences in the workplace as evidence of class and racial injustices. His response to these negative experiences was to throw himself into the local COMRADES' attempts to bring about social change. M6 spoke energetically and confidently about the future. M7, who had no interest in politics at all, accepted his negative experiences with resignation. When asked to give reasons for high levels of unemployment he shrugged and commented simply that there were "too many people and too few factories". His attitude to life was characterised by dogged resignation. He spoke in flat tones about his daily wait in queues outside factory gates. His spare time was spent drinking, gambling and ensuring that his girlfriend remained faithful to him, and did not go off with a man with better prospects than himself. He came across as lonely and alienated, with few friends and little hope for the future.

COMRADES membership was a significant factor in providing respondents with a sense of mastery and control:

> *When you are a comrade you know where you are going, compared to others in the community who are billowed around by strong winds.* (F20)
>
> *I am nothing without the struggle for my rights ...* (M6)

The COMRADES image provided the young men with a role

model of a strong and powerful being, forging ahead under impossibly difficult circumstances, and taking control of life under conditions of uncertainty and deprivation. It also gave them a chance to define themselves in opposition to the bumbling OLDER GENERATION who in their view had bequeathed to the youth an unbearably oppressive social reality.

> *The older generation know only about ancient times and ancient things. The youth must correct all the mistakes they have made.* (M17)

COMRADES membership opened the possibility of taking control of their lives in a way their parents had failed to do.

> *The old people are scared of the white man. They see him as somebody like God they had never seen before. They never saw that what the white person said might have been wrong or right, bad or good. It didn't even occur to them to question anything. The older generation have been prepared to accept everything the hardest way, they have had to struggle for everything they have got. But the young people don't wait for hard times. They are always active.* (M6)

This group membership provided the youths with the opportunity to take some control in chaotic social conditions, and to make some contribution to community upliftment.

> *I always had an ambition to help the community and the comrades have given me a chance to do so. We fight with criminals in my area and now we have less crime. Before being a comrade I did not care so deeply about my friends, but now through what I have gained by being a comrade I can now work hand in hand with another person.* (M4)

> *Comrades are people who are sympathetic to others and stand for the truth, even if they might end up dying for it. They don't want to change their goals, no matter what ... they help the community to avoid crime, and help at school where children want to rape the teachers or the other students ... they usually speak for the whole community, and not only for themselves, they help people who have problems, and they want people to be more clear about the new South Africa when the time comes.* (F20)

The political arena provided many youths with a framework for criticising the apartheid social order that had caused them and their families so much suffering. It provided them with a vision for the future, and with the sense that they had the power to take control of their destinies.

> *The ambition of young men is to be well educated in a free society where they will speak for themselves - up until now most things have been done by whites only without consulting blacks, no matter whether blacks wanted to accept it or not, or whether it was good or bad ... Apartheid is a disease - young men feel pain because of this disease. The cure of this disease is for us to destroy it. There is no alternative.* (M6)

COMRADES activities served to give group members a sense of being active participants in the struggle for change. The concept of People's Courts, for example, developed against the backdrop of working class township residents' lack of faith in the criminal justice system of the apartheid state, and the failure of the police to curb high levels of township crime. The practical agenda of the People's Courts was the elimination of criminal elements in the township. The political agenda was to establish "organisations of People's Power" within the townships which would run along democratic lines and be directly accountable to the people they served. The concepts and procedures of these courts were designed to empower community residents and point towards a new community structure where residents would be in direct control of significant aspects of their lives such as the maintenance of community law and order.

The COMRADES grouping was associated with a series of new and (according to the criterion of personal/community empowerment) highly adaptative recipes for living. These included, for example, the necessity that one might have to risk one's life for the political struggle, and that the end goal of political freedom was the highest possible motive, to which one would have to sacrifice one's individual interests.

> *... as I have devoted myself to the struggle I know that one day I will be killed by the bullet of the Boer ...* (M10)

The COMRADES morality was a pragmatic one, and one where otherwise unacceptable behaviour might be necessary as the means to the end of freedom. For example M4, an extremely moralistic young man, who cited church membership as his most valued group membership, said that he disapproved of those who "killed other people **without good reason**", and argued that political killers should be disciplined with "strokes" as opposed to common killers who should be hanged.

With regard to the criterion of personal/community empowerment the most heated debates took place between the behavioural options of the COMRADES and the FAMILY. In general, parents who were relatively unpoliticised ascribed their own life problems to lack of education rather than to broader political factors. They urged their children to focus energy on individual upliftment through education, rather than what they regarded as dangerous political activities with an uncertain outcome. The comrades' assertive and radical critique of society was in sharp contrast to the fearful and timid acceptance of the status quo by many older family members, who sometimes found the comrades' critique alarming. Furthermore, in their antipathy to their children's politicised outlook parents were guided by a well-founded fear for the safety of their offspring. The decade of the 1980s saw thousands of township youth either killed or imprisoned for their political convictions.

Family members of the older generation sometimes went to great lengths to prevent their offspring from becoming politically involved. Comrade M13's father, for example, an Inkatha supporter, had actually left home and cut off support for his family after his wife and children refused to obey his command that M13 be banned from the household, and excluded from the family circle. M4's mother was threatening to stop paying his school fees, because he refused to obey his (recently deceased) Inkatha father's command that none of his children become involved in resistance politics.

In identifying with the COMRADES and the possibilities this grouping offered for personal and community empowerment, many young men had to weigh up the costs of their continued

involvement both in terms of personal safety and family opposition. This was not always an easy option. M13, who had spent almost a year under police detention and periodic torture, was a dedicated pupil, believing that education was an important qualification for a good political activist. On his release he could not find a school in his township that would take him. Several schools in the area were controlled by principals who were sympathetic to Inkatha, and even those which were not, were unwilling to admit a former detainee who would be regarded as a "potential troublemaker" during a period of explosive political unrest in which school boycotts were regarded as a key tool of the struggle. Eventually M13 managed to gain access to a school some distance away from his township. This involved hours of expensive travel to and from school each day, an expense which his poor family could ill afford.

COMRADES membership served to offer the youths competing recipes to those of the FAMILY with regard to expectations of work and school. The comrades were concerned to prepare fellow members for a more assertive attitude to the workplace than their parents had had. They insisted that black people should not tolerate poor working conditions. This view conflicted with the tendency of parents to suggest that young people should find one job, and stick to it, no matter how difficult the working conditions might be.

> *Father has told us that we must persevere in our work, stay in one job for as long as we can, even if it's not nice, as he did. He stayed for 20 or 30 years in one job.* (F3)

M13 said his father had once tried to arrange for him to obtain employment in the factory where he had worked for many years. However, M13 was adamant that he would never do this.

> *I would rather be unemployed than go into my father's factory ... there is no union protecting workers - and their working conditions are very bad as far as I know ... Seeing a lot of workers unprotected like that is a pain to me, and to be party to the acts of that factory will be very painful for me ... my father is wasting his time if he thinks I will end up in that factory.* (M13)

Continuities between COMRADES and FAMILY recipes for living

Despite evidence of radical discontinuities between FAMILY and COMRADES recipes for living, there are however a number of continuities between them. COMRADES articulated their recipes for living in sharp contrast to the family's commitment to a hierarchical view of the world and an individualistic notion of self-advancement. In opposition to these, they espoused ideals of democracy and anti-individualism. In practice, however, despite their fiercely articulated opposition to hierarchical social relationships and practices such as corporal punishment, associated with the family and the school, the COMRADES sometimes drew, albeit in a refashioned way, on some of the very hierarchical practices that they attempted to avoid. This section now turns to cite evidence of such FAMILY-COMRADES continuities in the areas of age and gender relations, the rigid disciplinary practices of the comrades and their practice of corporal punishment.

Gender relations

Despite the COMRADES dedication to ending unequal social relations of all forms, there was evidence that group members were often guilty of undemocratic attitudes to women. The COMRADES adopted a range of restrictions on women that had originated in the FAMILY and were being perpetuated by the LOVERS grouping. Such restrictions served to exclude women from many political activities.

Three of the main activities associated with COMRADES membership have been outlined as violent confrontation with political enemies, the operation of the People's Courts and attendance at political meetings, with all three being defined by both the men and the women as a male preserve. Turning first to the issue of violent confrontation with political enemies, violence and masculinity were found to be closely intertwined in the macho culture of resistance. Male comrades defined the political terrain in terms of danger, conflict and violence, all of which were demarcated as a male preserve.

Women are ashamed to hit someone or to kill them. When someone has been murdered women feel ashamed to see the body. Whereas men have no shame in these matters - and will just go to that place to look straight down at the corpse ... Girls don't feel ashamed of being attacked by Inkatha. And there are no girls who do the attacking, only men. And we go out as men to meet these men. We are men. How can we tolerate being attacked by men? Boys have got the desire not to be shamed in this way. (M19)

The People's Courts were cited as an important channel available to the youth for playing an active role in community upliftment and empowerment through the fight against high levels of crime. The disciplinary hearings of these courts were seen chiefly as the province of men however.

Such things in the township are done by boys. Girls just usually follow them. (What do you mean by this?) *For example, if the boys are following after someone who has been stealing, the girls will follow the boys and throw stones, but the boys will lead the procession.* (Why is this?) *This is because girls are afraid, and boys are bold.* (What causes this difference?) *This difference is just in the nature of boys and girls.* (Is this because boys are given greater freedom by their families to be out and about?) *No, boys are not given greater freedom - they are not allowed to do such things by their families - but they just do them.* (Why don't girls do them too?) *Because girls have that feeling that certain things are not nice things to do - compared to boys who just don't care.* (F11)

Attendance at political meetings was clearly defined by the respondents as the province of men.

In fact, it's mostly boys who go to meetings, and not girls. I do not go to meetings ... because it would take me away from home. (F15)

It is suggested that in their avowed goal of building a more democratic society, the COMRADES have harnessed some of the most restrictive aspects of gender ideology embodied in the social grouping of the FAMILY, LOVERS and GENDER. A number of reasons were offered for the exclusion of women from political

activities. The first of these was the belief that women should take sole responsibility for domestic work and that this demand should take precedence over all others.

> *There are far more boys at the meetings than girls. Boys are not afraid to make things happen, also they don't have the job of cooking and cleaning.* (M19)

> *In fact it's mostly boys who go to meetings, and not girls. I do not go to meetings ... because it would take me away from home.* (F15)

The second reason related to restrictions on the freedom of movement of young women.

> *According to the African way of life, there is a common belief that if a lady attends a meeting it is not a good thing for her or her family. She gets the reputation of being a woman who goes after men. Also it is very embarrassing for any family to have a woman out and about from dawn to dusk trying to solve the problems of the community.* (M13)

As was outlined in Section 6.1, home-centredness and restricted freedom of movement were important criteria for the respectability of young women. Apart from the demands of home life and the restrictions on women's freedom of movement, it was suggested that women were temperamentally unsuited to the demands of political leadership and participation. Young men spoke of women as silly, overemotional, shallow and unreliable in times of crisis, all cited as personality characteristics that rendered them unsuitable for political activities.

> *It is difficult for women to lead serious issues like the struggle. In times of crisis, the boys who are leaders deal easily with the police. If a woman was in charge in such a situation she might panic and get us all into trouble.* (M18)

M10, another deeply committed comrade, who was prepared to lose his life if necessary in the fight for democratic social relationships, stated explicitly that women and men should not have equal rights.

> *Men and women are not equal. There would be lots of problems if women and men were to have 50-50 rights. Just think for example it might happen that she has my baby, and then has a second baby with my friend. Then the children would have different surnames. This would not be a good thing at all ...* (M10)

In short, in the development of those behavioural options appropriate to comradeship, the COMRADES have drawn heavily on those gendered recipes for living first taught in the FAMILY, and reinforced by LOVERS, which serve to restrict young women to the arena of home and family, and exclude them from participation in public affairs.

Age relations

Despite their vociferous rejection of the "old-fashioned" notion of age hierarchies, these age hierarchies permeated young people's expectations of the world in a range of subtle ways. In particular, informants expected younger siblings or neighbours to treat them with respect. For example M20, a staunch comrade, commented thus on the indignity of being unemployed:

> *Where I live, unemployed boys command no status in the community. Even youngsters as young as four or five years old - if you try and send them to the shop or ask them for help they say no - because there is nothing they can hope to expect from an unemployed person. It erodes you not even demanding respect from a young child.* (M20)

Although the COMRADES argued for a more democratic relationship between themselves and their parents, certain comments suggested authoritarian attitudes to persons younger than themselves. While discussing an incident where he had been elected to discipline a peer who had misbehaved, one comrade made the following comment:

> *If you don't give someone a proper lash, you are not showing him how to beat someone. And if you have never had experience in beating someone, how will you ever know how to punish your own children in the future?* (M6)

Discipline

As opposed to their fierce opposition to authoritarian attitudes by parents towards the youth in their families, there was evidence that COMRADES often treated each other in extremely authoritarian ways. M6, one of the most radical and politically active comrades, was excessively obedient to senior comrades. He asked the research interviewers to write a letter, verifying that he had been at the university and confirming the time the interview had finished, so he could present the letter to a senior comrade as proof that he had not been remiss in arriving late at an activists' meeting.

Formulations of the COMRADES code of conduct were also consistent with FAMILY guidelines for rigid and hierarchical discipline. Corporal punishment (widely denounced by the COMRADES for its use by parents within the FAMILY and by school teachers) was a central pillar of the People's Courts. However, in this case the youths justified the use of this practice, saying that rather than being undemocratically administered by a tyrannical school teacher or parent, in the People's Courts corporal punishment was administered after consultation with the People, to whom these courts were accountable. In a disrupted community characterised by high levels of crime, an ineffective police force, high levels of social alienation and poverty, crime is a serious problem. In their attempt to prevent crime and punish criminals the COMRADES have few options available from which to fashion COMRADES recipes for punishment. Corporal punishment is an option that is easily accessible, and one that works. But in refashioning it in a way that is more acceptable and more in line with their general commitment to democracy, the COMRADES reformulated a previously unacceptable behavioural guideline into what they regarded as a more acceptable one in a different context.

Thus there was evidence that in the process of fashioning new recipes for living to deal with the (historically fairly new) demands of the highly political nature of their social environment, the youths often drew on pre-existing recipes for living as their raw materials in the task of identity construction. This meant that

in certain respects they relied on aspects of the old traditional hierarchical society that they rejected at another level.

In a community steeped in hierarchical social practices, the scarcity of raw materials for giving content to the youth's political ideals was often in evidence. There were not always clear guidelines on how to implement new political ideas in a concrete form. Thus, for example, one of M13's applications of the notion of democracy seemed somewhat idiosyncratic. Quoting the Children's Charter that all children have the right to choose, he insisted that his impoverished mother spend a large sum of money on an expensive pair of trousers chosen by his eight-year-old nephew, insisting that any attempt to restrict his nephew's choice constituted "oppression" of the child.

In summary, the COMRADES did draw on those very FAMILY-based notions of hierarchical social relationships, respect, discipline and corporal punishment (that they regarded as problematic in many ways) as a way of structuring their lives, where they often had to develop new recipes for living at relatively short historical notice. They drew on these notions selectively however, reinterpreting them in the light of the new demands of the politicised social environment. Thus while in many ways the behavioural possibilities associated with COMRADES membership were new and revolutionary (e.g. their strict rules regarding the accountability of all their actions to the community as a whole, the notion of People's Power, and their refusal to compromise in their opposition to apartheid and capitalism), in other respects many COMRADES practices showed evidence of continuity with the very practices and relations which they sought to overturn.

Relationships between FAMILY and EDUCATED recipes for living

Having looked at the interaction between the COMRADES grouping and the FAMILY with regard to the motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment, we now turn to look at the role of the EDUCATED group, which often tended to reinforce the FAMILY's less politicised recipes for living. As was outlined in the previous section, the EDUCATED grouping

tended to influence the youths in the direction of respect for authority and individualistic upwardly mobile strategies for self-improvement. Despite this general tendency however, the EDUCATED group had in fact also served as a profoundly politicising influence on certain youths. In this respect the influence of the group was ambiguous in the support it gave to those prioritising individual self-improvement through education and to those prioritising community empowerment.

Section 6.2 referred to the way in which membership of the EDUCATED grouping had pointed towards success in terms of individualistic self-advancement. Furthermore, in many ways the institution of the school solidly reinforced the FAMILY's hierarchical, individualistic and conformist ethic, in opposition to the comrades' emphasis on community-mindedness, democratisation of social relations and a refusal to conform to behavioural guidelines that might perpetuate the "old" social order. Pupils spoke of rigid school rules and strict discipline, including routine corporal punishment of boys and girls of all age groups, as well as unquestioning respect for teachers. Several informants used the analogy of "school as family" in their accounts of how pupils should behave.

> *Pupils should regard themselves as brothers and sisters, and take the teachers as their parents.* (F3)

More radical respondents however pointed to education as the source of those critical intellectual tools and the widened horizons that had informed their rejection of their parents' recipes for living as old-fashioned and inappropriate for modern-day life. Furthermore, involvement in school boycotts had served as an important politicising factor for many young people. As Section 6.2 suggests, school boycotts were the area of political action in which women were most likely to become involved. Hyslop (1988/9) comments that, ironically, while some regarded the school as an important institution for containing dissatisfied youth, bringing large numbers of them into the highly problematic apartheid school system served to unite pupils around a set of common grievances.

There was evidence of tension between individuals' responses to the politicising options offered by the EDUCATED group in relation to activities such as school boycotts. Some of the youths regarded the political conscientisation they had received through schooling as a positive and empowering factor. Others felt that they had been coerced into participation in school-based protest activities, which served not only to hinder them in their personal progress, but also to hinder the progress of black people in general.

> *Children get involved in boycotts which cost them months, or even years of schooling. This will eventually result in us* (black people) *being an uneducated group, while other races go forward.* (M14)

Relationship between FAMILY and YOUNGER GENERATION recipes for living

As has already been mentioned, the group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was another ambiguous one, interpreted in two possible ways, and presenting the youths with two possible behavioural styles. On the one hand, particularly in relation to political identity, membership of the YOUNGER GENERATION group was associated with behaviour of a politically active and militant nature. According to this interpretation of the category, young people were responsible for changing the oppressive world their parents had bequeathed to them. They were bold, educated and street-wise, and not afraid to stand up for their rights.

> *At the present point in time the old people can only think about ancient times and ancient things that they were doing in those times. At that time they were in the dark. The younger generation think of what is going on now, and are correcting those mistakes of the older generation. But the older generation don't want these mistakes to be corrected by the younger generation. They think these people are still young and that they don't have the right to tell older people what to do.* (M7)

This interpretation of the group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was clearly in conflict with the family's emphasis on respect for one's elders. However, the group membership of YOUNGER GENERATION was not always in conflict with the family. On other occasions this group membership was associated with those behaviours that showed "respect" for the older generation. As M5 has been quoted as saying:

> *There are many ways in which the older generation can help us because they are old, and they can show us what is right and what is wrong ... you have to ask the road from those who are older, because they have walked that road.*

Closer attention to this apparent contradiction indicated that the two possible interpretations of this group membership were associated with different life challenges. The more respectful interpretation of YOUNGER GENERATION was associated with the youth's rather vague and sometimes rhetorical comments about how one ought to behave towards one's elders (e.g. in response to the life challenge of CODE OF CONDUCT: INTERPERSONAL CONDUCT). The more independent and assertive interpretation was given in relation to political challenges (especially in response to NETWORKING: POLITICAL IDENTITY), to opportunities offered by the modern world to the new generation of youth (especially in response to NETWORKING: BROADENING HORIZONS) and to the assessment of the suitability of the older generation to advise the youth on the demands of modern life (especially NETWORKING: GUIDANCE).

Section 6.3 has focused on debates between behavioural options associated with the FAMILY and competing social groupings in relation to the third motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment through involvement in grassroots political activities. It was in relation to this motivational criterion that FAMILY recipes were most fiercely contested by the youths. However, there was also some evidence that even the most radical grouping, the COMRADES, did tend to draw selectively on certain aspects of FAMILY recipes for living, despite their rejection of other FAMILY-associated recipes. The COMRADES

used these as raw materials in the task of fashioning what they considered as adaptative behavioural options in the interests of pursuing the motivational goal of personal/community empowerment. This process illustrates what Murray (1981) refers to as the simultaneous processes of "conservation" and "dissolution" of old social forms as individuals engage in the process of fashioning new recipes for living under conditions of social change.

6.4 The family and competing social groups: Concluding comments

The aim of this section has been to elaborate on those aspects of the 20 life challenges, outlined in Section 4.2 and Appendix C, that highlight the role played by the FAMILY and competing group memberships in the process of social identity construction by township youth. This process takes place in a changing environment, where recipes for living in a number of areas of the youth's lives (ranging from sexual mores to political views) are in the process of transformation, as the changing social environment confronts the youth with transforming demands and challenges. Furthermore, the social hierarchies of power relations between black and white, old and young and (to a more limited extent) men and women are in the process of renegotiation, presenting the youth with new possibilities, new dilemmas, new fuel for debate. Most informants were the first generation in their families to have grown up in an urbanised environment. They had also generally reached higher levels of schooling than their parents. The youths also held more radical political views than their parents, and were far more conscious of the political power of black people than their parents. This consciousness was reinforced daily by unfolding political events, as the grand apartheid regime was brought to its knees in the late 1980s. For this reason the youths often engaged in debate with their parents' recipes for living.

How did the youths respond to the possibilities offered by the FAMILY? They engaged in a process of debate, weighing up the behavioural options provided by the FAMILY and competing social groupings in the light of particular social demands. They

assessed the usefulness of these recipes for living in the light of their perceived adaptative success, where adaptative success was judged in the light of the motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment.

With regard to the FAMILY these debates had one of three outcomes. Sometimes the youths simply rejected the FAMILY's behavioural guidelines in favour of those offered by other social groupings. This was often the case in relation to the motivational criterion of personal/community empowerment (Section 6.3). Sometimes they accepted the FAMILY's behavioural guidelines. This acceptance was the most evident in relation to the motivational criterion of self-improvement (Section 6.2). Sometimes they **refashioned** FAMILY guidelines, tailoring them to meet the demands of particular social situations. This was often the case in relation to the motivational criterion of respectability (Section 6.1), where there was evidence of the youths achieving "compromise options" between the demands of the FAMILY and competing groups.

As has already been emphasised, the three criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment are socially and historically specific to township social relations at a particular historical moment. They are relevant to the identity of South African township youth in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Broadly speaking, the notion of respectability includes two components: a commitment to showing "respect" to others and a commitment to having a good name in the community. It is suggested that this commitment to respect is inextricably bound up with the fact that both in terms of age and gender relations African family relationships are in transition from a strict, hierarchical and authoritarian mode to a more fluid and democratic mode. The commitment to having a good name in the community, the second dimension of respectability, is very likely to be strong in a social context where people lack the material or educational raw materials to achieve social status, and must therefore achieve social status through their reputations (along the lines of "He was uneducated, but he was honest", or "She was poor and uneducated, but she was virtuous").

The second criterion for perceived adaptative success, namely the commitment to self-improvement through education, is also understandable in the context of a depressed community, where for many people education appears to offer the only route to an improved quality of life and social status.

The third criterion, namely commitment to community empowerment, is also socially and historically specific. It can be understood as a response to the demands of the harsh discrimination and extreme deprivation experienced by black people under the apartheid regime at a time when there were ever-increasing signs that the power of the regime was about to crack, pointing to the possibility of a new social, political and economic era for black South Africans. These signs must have encouraged the youth in their commitment to this criterion, giving them a sense of the political power of black South Africans and of the growing inability of the white regime to stem the tide of black resistance.

7. GENDERED DIFFERENCES IN THE INFLUENCE OF THE FAMILY ON THE YOUTH

In this section attention is given to the final question posed in Section 1: Does the FAMILY have more influence on the social identity of young women than young men? Evidence is drawn from the preceding sections of this report in order to answer this question in the affirmative. Reference will be made not only to differences in the extent of the influence of the FAMILY, but also to differences in the types of recipes for living that the FAMILY makes available to women and men.

A quantitative data analysis indicates that in the accounts that the youths gave of their social identities, the FAMILY was associated with significantly more female than male responses (see Figure 4.7). In other words, there is a significant difference in the extent of the FAMILY's influence on girls and boys, with the FAMILY exerting a greater influence on girls. The qualitative data analysis points to the fact that the FAMILY provides girls and boys with a systematically differing set of behavioural options (see Section 6 and Appendix C). In other words, also the direction of the FAMILY's influence differs in relation to young women and

young men. The remainder of this section is devoted to a discussion on women's acceptance or challenging of FAMILY recipes for living, and their involvement in the process of reshaping certain of the behavioural options presented to them by FAMILY membership. In Section 7.1 brief reference will be made to the restrictive nature of FAMILY recipes for living for young women. In Section 7.2 the focus will turn to the issue of women's challenges to "traditional" FAMILY guidelines and, in particular, young women's assessment of the institution of marriage. It will be suggested that, on the whole, group membership of the FAMILY tends to support patriarchal social relations[18] in general, and the image of a submissive wife and mother in particular. On the other hand, reference will be made to some scattered evidence of young women's challenges to the patriarchal FAMILY status quo. In Section 7.3 reference is made to those group memberships that shape women's attitudes to FAMILY roles and restrictions. In Section 7.4 it will be emphasised that challenges to women's roles within the FAMILY are undermined by a range of social and material obstacles.

7.1 Restrictive nature of FAMILY recipes for living for young women

In the preceding sections, numerous references have been made to the tendency of the FAMILY (generally complemented by LOVERS and GENDER, the second and third most influential group memberships in young women's social identity) to promote different ranges of possibilities for and constraints on the behaviour of young men and young women. Compared to their male counterparts, the women's freedom was restricted in their social relationships as well as in their pursuance of a life beyond the confines of home and family. These groupings also tended to promote the submission of the women to the men in the sphere of interpersonal interactions, and to exclude the women from the community and political decision making in the public sphere. In comparison, the FAMILY offered the men greater possibilities for controlling their own lives than it did the women. It also offered

the men the possibility of dominating the women. M7 commented on the place of women within the FAMILY.

> *Women are more committed to their families. A woman is always at home.* (And a man?) *A man is sometimes at work.* (But women work sometimes too.) *Even in the afternoon when such a woman comes home there will be a change.* (?) *When a mother is home there is a change. Firstly, she will see if the house is clean, then she will check that the food is cooking. She will check on everything in the house rather than father, who comes home, takes the paper, sits on the sofa and reads it.* (Why do mothers have this commitment rather than fathers?) *Because father is going to shout at mother. Mother must make sure that everything in the house is OK before father comes and complains about everything.* (What gives father the right to do this? Why is he not cooking and cleaning?) (M7 burst out laughing in response to this question.) *It's because father pays for mother, lobola*[19] *is the reason.* (M7)

The other two group memberships most commonly cited by the boys were MISCELLANEOUS and COMRADES. The MISCELLANEOUS group was composed of a range of peer groups including DRINKERS, PHANTSULAS, SPORTS CLUBS and GAMBLERS. As has been said, these groups gave the young men the opportunity for a wide range of extra-familial social contacts, independent interests and leisure activities, taking them out of the home and family circle frequented by the young women. COMRADES also gave the men the opportunity to become involved in a wide range of activities out of the sphere of home and family. On the other hand, COMRADES membership tended to restrict the women, discouraging their involvement in political activities.

7.2 Challenges to the patriarchal status quo

This section will refer to evidence that has been cited for challenges to the FAMILY and the patriarchal status quo by young women.

Subverting FAMILY restrictions on personal conduct

In Section 6.1 reference was made to some of the covert ways in which the young women organise their lives in such a way as to "keep up an appearance" of obeying their parents and brothers, while in fact they do as they please. There was evidence of some degree of contradiction between certain girls' overt and rhetorical assertions of commitment to the traditional female virtues of unconditional obedience to parents and lovers or abstinence from sex and alcohol, and their covert subversion of these restrictions. Examples of some of the contradictions of this nature in the interviews have already been cited. To cite another typical example: F14, the most confident and extrovert woman in the sample, a vivacious person, strikingly dressed and made up, with an irrepressibly bubbling and infectious sense of humour, answered one of the early questions in the interview ("What kind of person are you?") by describing herself as a "shy, quiet person" (F14). She described herself in terms of the old-fashioned image of demure womanhood, but resisted this image in every aspect of her behaviour and demeanour. Evidence of this nature suggested that some women paid lip service to the old-fashioned and clichéd recipes for living as they quietly carved out more empowering life possibilities.

Women questioning the advantages of marriage

Buried within their accounts of their identities were indications that some of the young women were in the process of constructing a set of more empowering guidelines for women in the FAMILY. Several of them referred to the lack of power women had in the FAMILY.

> *I know that husbands beat their wives, sleep out and refuse to give them grocery money. But my parents have advised me that a wife should be tolerant of her husband, and bear all these problems patiently.* (F20)

> *Husbands tend to beat their wives and scold them ... I have seen this myself.* (?) *I see them, men, beat their wives in public, especially if they have not covered their heads.* (F17)

Such comments were echoed by the young men's references to the socially sanctioned power the FAMILY gave men over women.

> *I know how to discipline women from watching husbands beat their wives for gossiping.* (M11)

Of the women who mentioned the option of marriage in the interviews (PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE: FAMILY LIFE), about half were firm in their commitment to the institution.

> (What are your ambitions for the future?) *I would like to get married. I must get married.* (F13)

The other half referred to the disadvantages that marriage presented to women. Some of them said unequivocally that they would not marry; others were undecided. Overtly, the FAMILY recipes for living appeared to prescribe the fairly stereotyped picture of marriage to a dominant husband, keeping house and rearing children. On the other hand, many informants' concrete experience of family life contradicted this picture. Twenty-one of the informants lived in female-headed families.[20] Campbell (1990:5-6) comments on the crucial role played by older women in sustaining township family life.

> *It is mothers who are the pivot of family life. As a result of the absence or withdrawal of fathers in families, mothers carry most of the family burdens ... It is mothers who take the major responsibility for managing the scarce resources available to most working class families ... who form the emotional nexus of the family ... who coordinate family decision making ...*

In some ways their concrete experience of their own family lives and the powerful role played by their mothers in the FAMILY would serve to contradict the stereotypical "subservient wife and mother" recipes for living that these very mothers in the FAMILY might seek to teach them. Even in those families who did have fathers, mothers often shouldered the main burden of family responsibilities.

> *To me mother is the head of this family though father is against her ideas of taking the initiative, but she is forced to take it because father sometimes does not come home. That*

has caused us to report everything to her, the person with whom we always stay. (M15)

Detailed attention to the interviews suggested that the influence of the FAMILY on the young women was more ambiguous and complex than would appear at first glance. Not only did the role models of their mothers point to the possibility of refashioning traditional patriarchal family relations in a more empowering way for women, but the FAMILY's emphasis on economic independence for both women and men was also a potentially empowering influence on the young women. The FAMILY encourages and supports girls and boys equally in their quest for education, with the EDUCATED grouping also presenting young women with the possibility of education, employment and hence an enhanced degree of independence from men. Growing numbers of young black women are grasping the possibilities of empowerment that education offers. More black South African women reach high school than their male counterparts (Hyslop 1988/9).

Like the FAMILY, the influence of GENDER was also more ambiguous than would appear from superficial attention to the interview data. On the CODE OF CONDUCT challenges, the recipes for living associated with the category of GENDER were generally consistent with FAMILY and LOVERS, geared towards virtue, obedience and home-centredness, limited freedom of movement, and prescribed subservience to men. However, in relation to the FUTURE: CAREER PLANS challenge, the GENDER category was associated with a more empowering set of behavioural options. Here the GENDER options were more consistent with the EDUCATED grouping's recipes for living.

My role model is my aunt's daughter N. (?) *She is working ... as a clerk.* (What do you admire about N?) *She is working and can manage herself. She has her own place to live. She supports her daughter herself. She does not worry people - but lives her own life.* (F1)

My hero is Leigh Downing (founder of a well-known Durban modelling school). (?) *She is a woman.* (?) *She is not married, about 28 years old, and has got everything which a*

woman could need - an expensive car, money. Altogether she is a clever person ... Most people say you can't do these things without a man, but she can manage to do all these things ... (F14)

The YOUNGER GENERATION category also supported the possibility of a young woman becoming educated and economically independent. The young women were keenly aware that this possibility was a more substantial one than it had been when their mothers had been teenagers.

> *All you* (as a woman) *needed in those days was to learn how to write your name. After mother had learned that, her father took her out of school to work at home.* (F5)

Not only did the possibility of "professional" careers offer young women the chance of raising themselves and their families of origin to a higher standard of living, but it also offered the possibility of reshaping relationships with men.

> *Many say that husbands are a problem because they want things to be done their way, and they are abusive, and a wife is forced to consider a man's moods. So these days many women prefer to be just with themselves, not being somebody who is just part of the house. This has changed with education. In the old days women did not go to school - now they do this. In the old days a man was household head. Everything you had to ask from him, you had to go down on your knees if you wanted something. These days you are working and independent, with your own salary, and you can just buy what you want yourself ... I myself would prefer to have a husband, but if he is troublesome he can just go.* (F3)

In expressing their intention to marry, some of the women then immediately distanced themselves from the stereotype of the dependent wife.

> *Some girls say that you must get married so that you can have someone to help you in your life. I don't agree with that. It's only if you are half-minded that you need another mind to make your mind full.* (F14)

Others were firmly opposed to marriage. A range of reasons were offered for this opposition.

> *I have seen young women in my neighbourhood who were once fat and happy. After marriage they are no longer like this. They become thin and troubled.* (F18)

They regarded men as constraints on a woman's independence.

> *I want to enjoy my life.* (F17)
>
> *A woman has a better life alone with her children.* (F1)
>
> *Husbands try and stop you from looking for work.* (F6)

These young women commented that marriage brought few benefits. Husbands beat their wives and scolded them, often refused to give them adequate grocery money, often neglected their families and slept away on weekends. These women believed they would be better off remaining at home with their mothers, or setting up homes on their own with their children.

> *I am unlikely to find a good man to marry.* (F1)
>
> *I don't want to be a doormat like my mother was.* (F17)

In short, the evidence suggested overwhelmingly that the FAMILY (complemented by a range of other groupings such as the CHURCH, LOVERS, DECENT CITIZEN, FRIENDS and COMRADES) presented the women with recipes for living that restricted their freedom of movement, their involvement in political and community activities and their power in relation to men in sexual and family relationships. There was also evidence however that some of the young women were challenging the inevitability of old-fashioned role prescriptions within the FAMILY, and that they were crafting new and more empowering female identities, based on the notion of an economically independent, assertive and emotionally self-sufficient woman. This possibility was associated with the transforming possibilities offered by the ambiguous FAMILY and GENDER groupings, as well as the groupings of YOUNGER GENERATION and EDUCATED.

7.3 Limitations on the refashioning of women's FAMILY identities

Section 7.2 has pointed to evidence of women refashioning their roles within the FAMILY in a more empowering way. It must be borne in mind however that a number of obstacles stand in the way of women in this regard.

Limitations on the youth's access to education

Despite the idealised representation of an educated, upwardly mobile and independent young woman, as has already been discussed in this report, young people faced massive obstacles in their quest for education. In many cases the informants lack the necessary life skills, the money and the educational opportunities for fulfilment of their career plans. In any case, the number of young people who manage to overcome the obstacles facing black pupils is small. Out of 100 African pupils who started school in the mid-1980s (this would include the age group under focus in the present study), about 50 would have completed primary school, ten would reach Std 10 (the final year of high school), and one would pass the school-leaving matriculation examination at the end of Std 10.[21] Many structural obstacles stand in the way of women achieving the possibilities offered by membership of the EDUCATED group. Furthermore, it must be remembered that even those fortunate women who do succeed in finishing school, and perhaps even some sort of tertiary training, enter a job market where women of all races and classes are paid on average 60% of the salaries of men to do similar work, so that even the most privileged group of women enter a job market where they are structurally disadvantaged.

Disadvantages facing female-headed families

Section 7.2 referred to some female informants' expressed intentions to set up their own families independently of men, and this was cited as evidence of women refashioning their FAMILY roles in a more empowering way. A range of South African studies have cited the growing number of female-headed families as a

potentially empowering trend for women (e.g. Preston-Whyte & Zondi 1989). This suggestion is not an unproblematic one however. Female family heads are doubly disadvantaged. Apart from economic discrimination in the workplace, there is also gender discrimination in the family. Despite the reality that mothers are having to play an increasingly central role in family leadership, they are still regarded as second-class citizens in a community where patriarchal ideals dominate (Campbell 1989). One example of this is the fact that mothers are often not accorded the respect and authority necessary to discipline their teenage sons. Section 5.1 has suggested that in some female-headed families sons "run wild" without the stern hand of a traditionally feared father figure to keep them in check.

> *Mother failed to discipline us teenage boys on her own. Boys need a father to discipline them. If father had lived with us there would have been a difference. There were many times that we took no notice of mother, unlike the notice we would have taken of a father.* (M7)

This situation was somewhat different for girls, who in fatherless families were disciplined by their older brothers.

Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1989:23) also point to the growing number of unmarried teenage mothers as evidence of young women "taking control of their own reproduction", untrammelled by the constraints of traditional patriarchal family structures. They suggest that this strategy enables female-headed families to reproduce themselves despite changing social relations that no longer ensure that men are an intrinsic part of family constellations.

Campbell (1989) disputes this view, arguing that rather than strengthen the female-headed family unit, this situation serves to undermine the future prospects of the young mothers, often putting an end to their education and permanently impairing their employment prospects. The chances of their being able to independently set up a comfortable home for themselves and their families are undermined.

> ... *the high rate of teenage pregnancies* (amongst working class unmarried township women) *serves to disempower these young women at a time when male dominance is more threatened than ever before in the history of African social relations. This phenomenon represents the structural forces of patriarchy reasserting themselves at a time when the economic and social status of adult men is diminishing.* (Campbell 1989:69)

Women's tendency to avoid men rather than challenge them in conflictual situations

The questioning of the traditional notion of marriage by several of the young women was cited above as an example of women challenging male domination. Husbands were often described as violent, unfaithful, tyrannical and unreliable with regard to material support. However, while a few young women did refer to the possibility of refashioning marital relations (e.g. "... if he is troublesome he can just go" (F3)), the majority of respondents referred to the foibles of husbands as undesirable but unchangeable aspects of marriage, responding in one of two ways. The first response was to decide to avoid marriage altogether.

> *Many of my friends are choosing not to marry. They want to enjoy their lives. In marriage there are too many rules. Husbands tend to beat their wives and scold them.* (F17)

The second response was to say they would choose to get married, and that the way to deal with men and their foibles was to be "patient" and "tolerant" (F20).

> *Of course I don't like it when my boyfriend beats me. However, there is no point in leaving him. I might just find somebody worse.* (F2)

Notions of the power of men to behave as they pleased in relationships were so entrenched that avoidance or tolerance was often regarded as the only means for dealing with husbands. The possibility of redefining gender relations within marriage was not mentioned very frequently.

Thus, while there was some evidence for challenges to patriarchal gender roles by the young women and the possibility

of alternative and possibly more empowering gendered recipes for living developing, alternatives did not always constitute a direct challenge to men's power but rather a "side-stepping" of the issue by avoiding uncongenial relationships with men. The new option often involved managing without men rather than changing them.

7.4 Conclusion

The starting point of this section was the question of differences in the extent and direction of FAMILY influence on young men and young women. The quantitative and qualitative evidence outlined in earlier chapters was utilized in arguing that the family had a greater influence on young women than young men, and that FAMILY recipes for living tended to be more restrictive of the behaviour of young women. These recipes for living often serve to allow men far greater independence as well as greater freedom of movement and association than women; promote male involvement in community and political issues, but exclude women; and promote control of women by men in family and sexual relationships. In this sense, social identity plays an important role in the promotion and maintenance of patriarchal social relationships.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that certain group memberships offer women the possibility of challenging restrictive and dominating practices, and that in the space provided by changing social circumstances women are beginning to refashion FAMILY recipes for living in a more empowering way. However, at present these attempts are merely scattered buds of resistance to male domination, with as yet no evidence of a direct or concerted challenge to male authority. Ramphele (1989) refers to the deep-rootedness of discrimination against women in this country, and warns against drawing overly optimistic conclusions about improvements in women's position on the basis of scanty evidence. Walker (1992:31) echoes Ramphele's views on the durability of women's oppression.

> *The remarkable durability of male power over women in the face of far-reaching social, political and economic change is a sobering reminder of how deeply rooted it is, not simply in*

South African society in the abstract, but in the way in which men and women have been and are constituted as social actors.

8. CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this project three research questions were posed.

(a) How have conditions of rapid social change affected the family's role in the socialisation of township youth?

(b) What other social groupings (e.g. peer group, comrades, church) play a role in the socialisation of the youth, and to what extent does the influence of these groupings compete with or complement the influence of the family?

(c) Does the family have more influence on the world-view and behaviour of young women than young men?

This concluding section summarises the findings of the study in relation to each of these questions.

These research questions were operationalised within the subdiscipline of social psychology, within the theoretical framework of social identity theory (Section 2). According to the theory, the self consists of a loose association of group memberships (e.g. FAMILY, YOUNGER GENERATION, COMRADES). Identity is constructed in response to life challenges posed by the social and material world (CONSTRUCTING A CODE OF CONDUCT, PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE and NETWORKING). In meeting these life challenges, subjects select from recipes for living associated with the particular repertoire of group memberships available to them. In Section 4 an account was given of the life challenges facing township youth and the group memberships available for meeting them.

In reply to question (a), the youth queried their parents' competence to act as social guides in the context of modern township life (Section 5). On the one hand, the youth appeared to feel strong ties of love and loyalty to their parents, as well as a keen sense of appreciation for the sacrifices their parents were making for them on an on-going basis. On the other hand, the

young people (particularly the men), cited a number of reasons why their parents' recipes for living were not necessarily adaptative to the demands of township life. Factors such as parents' rural roots, their lack of education and their lack of political consciousness were seen as limiting their understanding of the demands of modern urban life.

On the basis of a dissatisfaction with their parents' world-views, there was a range of evidence of the youth debating FAMILY recipes for living in the light of the influence of competing social groupings. In reply to question (b), the youth were depicted as shaping their social identities in response to the three motivational criteria of respectability, self-improvement and personal/community empowerment. Section 6 provided evidence of the youth debating the recipes for living associated with the FAMILY and complementary or competing social groupings in relation to each of these criteria. It was in relation to the criterion of self-improvement that the youth were most likely to accept FAMILY recipes without much debate. There was evidence of the youth refashioning FAMILY recipes for living in relation to the respectability criterion. According to the youths' accounts, FAMILY guidelines were the least useful in relation to the personal/community empowerment criterion, and were often rejected altogether in favour of recipes for living associated with other group memberships.

In relation to question (c), Section 7 indicated that the FAMILY has more influence on the world-view and behaviour of young women than young men.

There is a growing tendency in current discourses of political analysts and social scientists to refer to the "breakdown" or "disintegration" of the township family, particularly in relation to the youth. In concluding this report it is suggested that this might not be the most useful or accurate characterisation of the state of the township family. In this study there was certainly evidence that the township family is in the process of rapid and often extremely stressful transformation (as indeed are many social institutions and relations in this country, given the scope and rapidity of current social change). The structure and composition of township families

are undoubtedly changing. The youth are battling to redefine FAMILY recipes for living in the light of the rapidly changing face of South African society, which offers possibilities for the renegotiation of power relations within the FAMILY (power relations of age in particular, and of gender to a lesser extent). There was also evidence that this process of redefinition is often accompanied by a high degree of strain and frustration for both the parents and the youth. However, despite their determination to reshape many of its recipes for living and despite some resistance from their parents in this process, the FAMILY remains an extremely influential and highly valued group membership for the youth as well as a central reference point in their accounts of their social identities.

NOTES

1. This term is borrowed from Craig (1985).

2. Throughout this text particular group memberships (implying subjective identification by the youth) are referred to in the upper case.

3. The notion of the "structuring" of identity is preferred to the notion of the "structure" of identity (as used by mainstream social identity theorists such as Hogg and Abrams (1988)). This preference is justified on the grounds that the former term is better able to capture the fluid and variable nature of the process of identity construction than does the latter term.

4. While the author sometimes finds it convenient to use terminology such as the "individual" and "the social", she by no means seeks to imply that it is possible to conceive of an individual who exists independently of society in the "dualistic" manner criticised by Henriques *et al.* (1984). She would agree with Duveen and Lloyd's (1986:219) claim that "... individuals are so inextricably interwoven in a fabric of social relations within which their lives are lived that a representation of the 'individual' divorced from the 'social' is theoretically inadequate. There is no pure 'individuality' which can be apprehended independently of social relations. The complex interrelations of the individual and the social mean that, in effect, an individual is inconceivable as a viable entity without a sustaining network of social relations ...". Against this background, social identity theory provides a powerful theoretical tool for explicating the intermeshing of the cognitive ("individual") dimension and the social/ material dimensions of human social existence. By the same token the author would seek to distance herself from the tendency in mainstream social psychology to conceive of the individual as a unified and coherently bounded "island". One of the main strengths of social identity theory is its recognition of the fluid and fragmented nature of the human self engaged in the on-going process of self-construction and reconstruction within the ever-changing social context.

5. Here it must be emphasised that this notion of "selection" does not imply a self-conscious "choice" at the level of the subject's conscious awareness, and should be dissociated from any voluntaristic connotations.

6. See Section 4.1 for a definition of these group memberships.

7. For a detailed account of the development of the coding frame that informed the interview analysis, the reader is referred to Campbell (1992).

8. According to social identity theory, individuals categorise themselves not only in terms of their membership of particular social groupings (in-groups), but also according to their non-membership of other social groupings (out-groups).

9. In order to stabilise the variance of proportions, the data were transformed by taking the inverse sin of the square root of each proportion (arcsin transform). To improve the stability further, all zero responses were replaced by 1/4, when the total number of responses made by one individual on one challenge cluster was less than 50 (Snedecor & Cochran 1989).

10. These figures provide a statistical overview of the more detailed challenge-group relationships included under heading B of each section of Appendix C.

11. Given the political situation at the time of the interviews, the likelihood of subjects volunteering information regarding personal involvement in violent political 'action' was small, and interview material probably underrepresented the involvement of young persons in these activities.

12. Writing in 1988/9, Hyslop states that there are more girls than boys in black South African high schools.

13. Most of the informants were not fluent in English. Of the 40 informants, three men and six women chose to be interviewed in English, with the remainder saying that they would find it difficult to proceed without the aid of a Zulu-speaking co-interviewer.

14. The notion of tradition is also often drawn on by men to justify their claims to power over women.

15. One of the strengths of social identity theory is the fact that it takes account of the context-dependent nature of identity construction. It is able to deal with the variability of human experience and behaviour, rather than trying to impose some sort of consistency on it.

16. June 16 or "Soweto Day" marks the anniversary of the day on which police killed large numbers of Soweto school children in 1976.

17. This was M15, unemployed, with five years of schooling, whose family continually threatened to evict him, describing him as a "useless hobo". He said he saw no possibility of self-improvement, and felt that one day he would end up a tsotsi.

18. The term "patriarchy" refers to a system of social relationships where men tend to dominate women in interpersonal relationships, and where men tend to have privileged access to social and political power and economic wealth.

19. "Lobola" refers to the bride-price paid by a man to his wife's family on marriage.

20. These were generally families in which fathers had either left the family or died. While life expectancy statistics are not available for black South African men, the life expectancy of a "coloured" man born between 1935 and 1947 is between 40.18 and 41.7 years (Central Statistical Service (SA) 1987). Given the fact that "coloured" South Africans are more privileged than blacks, one would expect the figures for black men to be even lower than this.

21. Our sample was considerably more successful than the 1 in 100 matriculation success rate cited by Hyslop (1988/9). F19, M12 and M19 had already passed their matriculation examinations, and some of the informants who were still at school appeared to be promising students (particularly M13, M14, F12, F13 and F15). Hyslop's figures would include rural as well as urban South Africans and as Campbell (1992) points out, the standard of schooling in Umlazi township is higher than in rural KwaZulu. In other words, educationally, the current sample of township youth is relatively privileged if one compares them to a sample including rural youth.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

STAGE 1

Introduction and discussion of interview conditions and procedure

STAGE 2

General questions aimed to elicit significant group memberships

1. Demographic questions: name; age; gender; size of house; number of inhabitants; each inhabitant's name, relationship to informant, age, educational level, employment; informant's educational history; details of informant's own children; informant's birthplace; mother's birthplace; father's birthplace; is informant 1st, 2nd ... generation in township; does informant have contact with rural relatives.

2. General questions to begin breaking the ice and to begin eliciting significant group memberships: Tell us something about yourself. Tell us about someone your own age that you like, and why you like them. Tell us about someone your own age that you do not like, and why you don't like them. How do you spend your time? Which of your activities do you enjoy the most/least? Do you have a particular group of people that you hang around with?

3. Further general questions for eliciting significant group memberships: When you think of the future, what do you think about? What do you think of your personal future? Why do you have these future plans? What factors will promote/hinder the realisations of these personal plans? What do you think about the future of the community? What factors will promote/hinder the realisation of these community plans? Who is someone you admire very strongly? Who are your role models amongst the adults that you know? Amongst those adults that you know, who will you strive **not** to be like when you are an adult? Who has the most influence on your behaviour? What groupings or organisations do you belong to?

4. General questions about township social relations: How is the relationship between the youth and adults in the

township? Are the youth more influenced by their peers or by their parents? Is there any difference in the influence of the family on boys as opposed to girls? What kind of life do you want compared to what your parents wanted at your age? Who is the head of the family? Who is in charge of discipline? Can you give a recent example of conflict in your family? Are traditional customs important in township life?

STAGE 3

Questions regarding specific group memberships - series of questions repeated for each of the 5 most influential groups

Questions marked with an asterisk were not asked in connection with involuntary group memberships such as the family.

Firstly establish the nature of the in-group and its associated out-group(s).

Questions about the in-group:

1. What kind of people tend to belong to this group?*
2. What kind of people tend not to belong to this group?*
3. What sort of things/activities do group members do together?
4. What is considered good behaviour for a group member?
5. Who encourages you to be a group member?*
6. When are you most proud of this group membership?
7. When are you the most ashamed of this group membership?
8. What mechanisms of censure exist for group members who behave badly?
9. Is there anyone who disapproves of your membership of this group?*
10. How did you first become a member of this group?* How did others become members of this group?*
11. What alternatives are there to membership of this group?*
12. What are the goals of group members? or What kind of future would you like to see for fellow group members? What factors will promote/hinder group members in achieving these goals?
13. What are the three nicest things about belonging to this group?

14. What are the three worst things about belonging to this group?
15. What duties do group members have towards each other? What duties do group members have to the community?
15a. What is the image of members of this group in the community?
16. Does being a member of this group ever mean you are forced to do anything you don't like doing?
17. Is there anything about yourself that you would choose not to tell other group members?

Questions about the out-groups related to this in-group

18. Could you have been a member of this out-group?*
19. Do you have much contact with out-group members?*
20. Would you say you are better than out-group members, or just different?*
21. Is there ever any bad feeling between the in-group and the out-group?*

STAGE 4

Feedback

How was it to come here today and do this interview? Which questions did you like the most? Which questions did you like the least? Were there any questions you found difficult to answer? How do you feel about being interviewed at the university as opposed to in your home?

APPENDIX B: CODING SHEET

This appendix consists of a page-long selection of coded responses from the interview with M1.

Su	Pg	Adaptative challenge	Situation presenting choice	Response choice	Y N	Reason for choice	Type of response	In-group	Out-group	General comments
M1	16	C1 crime partic	poor, pickpocket for money	pickpocket	0	because churchgoer		church	pickpockets	
M1	26	C1 crime partic	comtsotsis loot	loot furniture trucks	0	comtsos abuse coms label		comrade	comtsos	"fake" coms loot furniture trucks, look for money
M1	24	C1 crime prevent	crime in railway stations	comrades guard stations	1	committed to law and order		comrade	tsotsis	comrades organise to uplift community
M1	13	C1 crime prevent	many muggings	youth organise to prevent them	1	parents too timid	bold	younger gen	og-scared	youth bold and foreward looking cf timid old gen
M1	13	C1 crime punish	police beat with no warning	need own law and order org'ns	1	police unjust, inadequate	coms=law and order	comrade	police-useless	police force corrupt and ineffectual
M1	24	C1 crime punish	People's Court	give criminals strokes	1	coms role to stamp out crime		comrade	criminals	
M1	5	C1 knife	some pupils have knives	carry a knife	0	other scholars disapprove		pupil		knives, guns contrary to image of good pupil
M1	1	C1 safety	plan to avoid danger	avoid stabbers' shebeens	1	friends advise	out of tro	friends		shebeens seen as dangerous places
M1	3	C2 conflict pol	armed struggle for freedom	doubtful *re* armed struggle	1	coms have inadequate weapons	talk (pragmatic)	comrade	whites-armed	comrades lack resources for armed struggle
M1	7	C2 conflict pol sch	if problem with teacher	organise to talk, cf. boycott	1	innocents injured in boycotts	non-violent	pupil	sch-viol	elect a responsible individual to talk to auth's
M1	9	C3 conflict gen	sometimes boys can't help it	fight	1	get provoked, carried away	instinct-aggro	male		spontaneous, carried away by instinct
M1	2	C3 conflict sheb	tsotsis in shebeens	mug others in shebeens	0		non-violent	decen cit'n	drinker-viol	
M1	7	C3 general		fight in public	0	only uned behave like this	well-beh educ	educated	uned-beh rough	uneducated people seen as rough and uncivilised
M1	8	C4 fremo	attend political meetings	stay late c fr's at meetings	1	family very angry		comrade		defies family restrictions for comrades meetings
M1	10	C4 fremo fem	gender roles	approve girls out at night	0	can't protect selves	macho strong	male	fem-weak	girls can't physically protect themselves
M1	7	C5 general	behave in streets	shout in public	0	only uned behave like this	well-beh educ	educated	uned-beh rough	uneducated people rough and uncivilised
M1	10	C5 household	gender roles	cook	0	women's job to cook		male	fem-homebody	does sweep the yard tho - boy's job
M1	7	C5 jealousy	some pupils are haughty	despise uneducated dropouts	0	perhaps uned due to fam probs	one of the people	decent cit'n		must sympathise with plight of less fortunate
M1	9	C5 personality	some youths are proud	be humble	1	humble are respected by co'y	community respect	decent cit'n		community respects humble people
M1	7	C5 respect		respect parents	1	as good family member should		family		good son respects parents
M1	9	C5 swear		use bad language	0	lose community respect	community respect	decent cit'n		commy respects well-behaved people
M1	8	C7	some drunk in streets	be a heavy drinker	0	lowers your dignity	non-drinker	decent cit'n	drinker	in fact he does drink - but hides from parents and co
M1	10	C7	fa refused to pay drinking	bro let father know I drink	0	he'd refuse pay school costs		family		father refused to pay for drunken brother
M1	3	C8 comm'y probs	commy badly run down	need schools, halls, rds, serv's	1	comm'y needs uplifting		problem co'y		Gp = miscellaneous: member of problem community
M1	4	C9 educ effort	school is tough	determined, not give up easily	1	educ people have good lives	qual of life	educated		educated have access to better quality of life
M1	6	C9 educ problems	school riots	have missed many lessons	1	riots disrupt study	constrained-riots	pupil		school riots disrupt already poor schooling
M1	18	C9 encourage	school is tough	strive to pass exams	1	encouraged by church		church		
M1	6	C12 encourage		mother encourages *re* school	1	sees educ nec for good life		family		
M1	9	C13 friends	times sometimes hard	friends advise and enceo	1	fr's = NB source of emosup	emosup	friends		
M1	17	C13 spirit support		pray every night with family	1	family custom		family		prayers = source of support
M1	13	C14 hotels		go to hotels	0	only show-offs do	one of the people	decent cit'n	show-offs	
M1	6	C15 English	need English to comm abroad	pursue education	1	learn to speak English	horizons	educated	uned-no langs	education opens doors for communication
M1	4	C15 urban	have rural relatives	prefer urban life	1	more development, prosperity	progress	urban	rural	urban life - more scope for dev and prosperity
M1	4	C15 young gen	old gen - different lifestyle	prefer modern lifestyle	1	more civilised	civilised	younger gen	og-old fash	older generation is old-fashioned
M1	14	C16 discipline	young pe need discipline	father guides, disc's us	1	he's most NB person in fam		family		fam gender roles - fa = discipline
M1	7	C16 discipline	if misbehave at school	get beaten by teacher	1	if behave badly	corporal punish	pupils		bad pupils beaten by teachers
M1	11	C16 guidance	sisters need a firm hand	guide sisters sometimes	1	sometimes need firm hand		family		but they're usually OK on their own
M1	4	C16 tradition	some infl by rural lifestyle	influenced myself	0	has no relevance to our lives	modern urban	urban	rural	rural life has no relevance for self, parents, co'y
M1	5	C17 ask	need money	approach father for money	1			family		
M1	32	C17 crime	money is short in family	become tsotsi for money	0	disapprove crime	anti-crime	decent cit'n	comtsotsi	
M1	16	C18 black	black people oppressed	sympathise with pickpocket	1	oppressed black like me	racial identity	black		sympathetic to poverty of oppressed black pickpocket
M1	25	C18 coms	families in danger	recruit others into comrades	1	offer protection to family		comrade		comrades recruit youth by offering protection
M1	28	C18 coms	community crime is problem	become a com	1	see their anti-crime success		comrade		comrades = source of law and order
M1	26	C18 discourage	parents disapprove politics	tell parents he's a comrade	0	wd try force him to leave		comrade		parents disapprove of youth in politics
M1	28	C18 educ	want to make polit contrib'n	become educated	1	freedom thro education	political freedom	educated		political leaders encourage youth to be educated
M1	27	C18 gender	gender roles	approve girls as comrades	0	they're too scared	macho resistance	male-bold	fem-weak, slow	girls too weak and scared, lack strength to run
M1	2	C18 personality	freedom in sight	have no fear, take risks	1	can see freedom ahead	fearless	younger gen	og-timid	youth fearless in fight for freedom
M1	13	C18 young gen	parents very timid	youth try change, pas don't	1	yg have more education	educated	younger gen	og-uneduc	educ gives youth access to critical empowerment
M1	37	C20 phants	phants wear flamboyant clothes	like phantsulas	1	like their clothes	appro from others	phantsulas		others admire them when you wear them
M1	9	C20 respect	choice of friends	choose fr's that resp parents	1	family approve of them		family		some youth are disrespectful
M1	11	C20 pupils	choice of friends	choose pupils for friends	1	can share ideas, study	upward mobile	pupil		
M1	39	C20 style	don't like dudes	insult dudes	1	they are sissies, feminine	macho masc role	phantsulas	dudes	phants tease effeminate dudes

APPENDIX C: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

Section 4.2 provides a broad outline of the 20 life challenges facing township youth. This appendix contains a detailed challenge by challenge list of the behavioural options associated with each life challenge by females and by males.

Part A of each section of this appendix consists of separate lists of options mentioned by female and by male informants. Those responses common to both genders are presented in italic script. Each option is followed by an account of the direction of choice taken by those males and females that mentioned the particular option in their interviews (Y stands for Yes, N for No). For each gender, options are listed in the order ranging from most typical to least typical. Only options mentioned by at least four subjects of the gender under focus are included.

In Part B of each section the number of informants' responses to each challenge (n) is listed for males and for females. These numbers are based on the sum of responses made by all 20 females and by all 20 males. (As was mentioned in Section 3, analyses of informants' interviews yielded a total of 7 504 responses for all 20 challenges, of which 3 319 were female responses, and 4 185 were male responses.) These numbers are followed by an account of the group memberships associated with these responses. Groups are included only if they influenced 12 or more of the sum total of responses of all 20 women or all 20 men. The number of responses associated with each of the three most common group memberships is expressed as a percentage of the total number of responses by males or by females to the challenge in question.

1 Constructing a code of conduct: Crime

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To live in fear of threats to one's personal safety*[1] (Y = 13)

[1] The reader is reminded that options common to both genders are presented in italic script.

(a) To live in fear of harm to family members (Y=7)
(b) To feel vulnerable to attacks by drunks (Y=4)
(c) To go into hiding after death threats (Y=2)

2. *Attitudes to People's Courts*
(a) *To approve of People's Courts* (Y=6,N=3)
(b) *To participate in People's Court hearings* (Y=3)
(c) *To participate in People's Court punishments* (Y=1, N=2)

3. *To participate in crime* (N=6)[2]
(a) *To steal from houses or shops* (N=5)
(b) *To kill* (N=4)

MALES

1. *To participate in crime* (Y=3, N=17)
(a) To pickpocket (N=12)
(b) *To steal from houses or shops* (Y=2, N=8)
(c) To join a comtsotsi gang (N=9)
(d) *To kill* (N=6)
(e) To rob (Y=1, N=4)
(f) To steal cars (Y=1, N=3)
(g) To rape (N=4)

2. *Attitudes to People's Courts*
(a) *To approve of People's Courts* (Y=11, N=3)
(b) *To participate in People's Court hearings* (Y=11, N=3)
(c) *To participate in People's Court punishments* (Y=12, N=2)
(d) To participate in comrades crime prevention activities (Y=11, N=3)

3. To live in fear of threats to one's personal safety (Y=12)
(a) To fear attacks by criminals (Y=6)
(b) To fear attacks by political rivals (Y=5)
(c) To fear attacks by fellow gamblers (Y=5)
(d) To fear shebeen violence (Y=4)
(e) To fear physical harm by the police (Y=4)

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2 The numbers in sub-option 3a) and 3b) do not add up to 6. This is because an informant may sometimes have mentioned more than one sub-option. This comment must be borne in mind throughout Chapter 6.

4. To carry a knife (Y=3, N=9)

5. To try to reform criminals by persuading them to join the comrades (Y=4).

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=101); Decent citizen 29 (29%); Comrades 26 (26%)

Males: (n=422); Comrades 126 (30%); Miscellaneous* 120 (28%); Decent citizen 83 (20%); Family 32; Friends 17; Younger generation 12

* The self-categorisation which featured most frequently in the MISCELLANEOUS category was MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY (classifying a range of vague responses relating to community crime and violence not associated with any other group membership). Others were GAMBLER and DRINKER.

2 Code of conduct: Political conflict[3]

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To regard negotiating as a better solution to "political" conflict than fighting* (Y=4)

(a) To participate in public violence due to political dissatisfaction (N=4)

(b) Black-and-white conflict: to regard negotiation as the best means of conflict resolution (Y=3)[4]

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[3] Given the political situation at the time of the interviews, the likelihood of subjects volunteering information about personal involvement in violent political "action" was small, and the interview material probably underrepresented the involvement of young persons in these activities.

[4] Because of the small number of female responses devoted to this challenge, specific challenges that were mentioned by two or more (rather than four or more) respondents were included in this category. This was done in order to examine the different preoccupations of women and men in relation to political conflict. The same was done for male responses to ensure comparability.

(c) Black-on-black conflict: to disapprove of black-on-black violence in the community (Y=3)
(d) To approve of non-violent strikes as a means of protesting against low wages (Y=3)

2. *To take part in school boycotts* (Y=2, N=1, Unclear - spoke in general about this option but did not make their personal position clear=4)

MALES

1. *To regard negotiating as a better solution to "political" conflict than fighting* (Y=2, N=2)

2. To participate in physical conflict ("action") against comrades' opponents
(a) To participate in action against Inkatha (Y=8, N=2)
(b) To participate in action against non-participants in work stayaways (Y=3, N=1)
(c) To burn enemies' property (Y=3, N=1)
(d) To participate in action against spies (Y=1, N=2)
(e) To join the armed (guerilla) struggle against the white government (N=3)
(f) To participate in action against the police (Y=2)

3. Political action by pupils
(a) *To take part in school boycotts* (Y=5, N=1, No but forced=5)
(b) To burn and stone school property (Y=1, N=2)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=39); Educated/scholar 17 (44%)

Males: (n=175); Comrades 89 (51%); Educated/Pupil 32 (18%); Miscellaneous* 20 (11%); Decent citizen 13

* The most important self-categorisation in the MISCELLANEOUS category was MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY.

3 Code of conduct: Interpersonal conflict

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Conflict with peers*
(a) *To try and solve conflicts peacefully, avoiding shouting or physical fighting* (Y=9)

2. *Conflict with lovers*
(a) To tolerate being beaten (Y=6, N=1, Unclear=1)
(b) To scold and withdraw when angry (Y=7)

3. *Conflict in the family*
(a) *To talk rather than fight and shout* (Y=3, N=2)

MALES

1. *Conflict with peers*
(a) *To solve conflicts with peers through talking rather than through physical fighting* (Y=6, N=8)

2. Conflict in the family
(a) To beat siblings in need of discipline (Y=9)
(b) *To talk peacefully with parents rather than shouting* (Y=5)

3. *Conflict with lovers*
(a) To beat an erring girlfriend (Y=3, N=4)

4. Conflict with sexual rivals
(a) To stab sexual rivals (Y=5)

5. Conflict in shebeens
(a) To get involved in shebeen fighting (Y=4)

6. Gambling conflict
(a) To get involved in physical fights over gambling (Y=4)

7. General options for resolving interpersonal conflict (based on vague comments about solving interpersonal conflict in general)
(a) To stab (Y=1, N=5)
(b) To fight (N=5)
(c) To talk things through and apologise for making others angry (Y=4)
(d) To fight in public (N=3)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=81); Lovers 42 (52%); Family 16 (20%)

Males: (n=154); Family 33 (21%); Miscellaneous 23 (15%); Decent citizen 21 (14%); Friends 21 (14%); Lovers 20 (13%); Comrades 13

4 Code of conduct: Freedom of movement

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

MALES

1. *To stay out late at night* (Y=11)
2. To see freedom of movement as a male prerogative (Y=9)
3. To keep family members informed of one's whereabouts (Y=4)
4. To go away for days without saying (Y=4)

FEMALES

1. To go to discotheques, nightclubs or parties at night (Y=2, N=13)
2. *To stay out late at night* (Y=1, N=11)
3. To loiter in the streets (Y=1, N=10)
4. To go out without a boyfriend's permission (Y=1, N=8)
5. To spend most of one's time at home (Y=9)
6. To sleep out overnight with one's boyfriend (Y=5, N=2)
7. To go out without one's family's permission (N=6)
8. To resent restrictions on one's freedom of movement (Y=5)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=195); Family 77 (39%); Gender roles 52 (27%); Lovers 42 (22%)

Males: (n=85); Family 27 (32%); Lovers 26 (31%); Gender roles 12 (14%)

5 Code of conduct: Interpersonal conduct

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *General comments*
(a) *To strive for good behaviour at all times* (Y=17)
(b) *To respect other people in the community* (Y=13)
(c) *To avoid swearing and insulting others* (Y=9)
(d) *To avoid gossiping* (Y=8)
(e) To try to follow the church's guidelines for behaviour (Y=6)
(f) To behave in a poised and well-mannered way (Y=4)

2. *Intergenerational relations*
(a) *To respect and obey one's parents* (Y=10)
(b) *To respect adults in general* (Y=10)
(c) *To run errands for adults* (Y=6)
(d) To respect older siblings (Y=4)

3. Practical family responsibilities
(a) *To help with household duties* (Y=16)
(b) To enjoy housework (Y=8)
(c) To do home chores for men (Y=6)
(d) To perform household duties efficiently (Y=4)
(e) To do housework uncomplainingly (Y=4)
(f) To do house shopping and run errands (Y=4)

4. *General personality traits*
(a) *To be sociable, out-going and friendly* (Y=10)
(b) *To be determined and motivated* (Y=7)
(c) To behave in a quiet and shy manner (Y=4)

5. *Attitudes to jealousy*
(a) *To regard high levels of jealousy in the community as a serious social problem* (Y=16)
(b) *To look down on those less well-off than oneself* (N=16)

MALES

1. *General comments*
(a) *To strive for good behaviour at all times* (Y=14)
(b) *To respect other people in the community* (Y=10)
(c) *To avoid swearing and insulting others* (Y=9)
(d) *To avoid gossiping* (Y=5)

2. Inter-generational relations
(a) *To respect adults in general* (Y=13, Conditionally=5)
(b) *To respect and obey one's parents* (Y=6, N=1, Ambivalent=4)
(c) *To run errands for adults* (Y=6, Conditionally=4)

3. *Practical family responsibilities*
(a) *To help with household duties* (Y=6)

4. *General personality traits*
(a) *To be sociable, out-going and friendly* (Y=4)
(b) *To be determined and motivated* (Y=4)
(c) To be good-tempered (Y=4)

5. *Attitudes to jealousy*
(a) To regard high levels of jealousy in the community as a serious social problem (Y=16)
(b) *To look down on those less well-off than oneself* (N=16)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=312); Family 111 (36%); Decent citizen 36 (12%); Church 29 (9%); Younger generation 28 (9%); Gender roles 27 (9%); Friends 25; Educated/scholar 22; Lovers 16

Males: (n=434); Miscellaneous* 90 (21%); Family 86 (18%); Educated/scholar 54 (12%); Younger generation 52 (12%); Comrades 46 (11%); Decent citizen 36; Friends 31; Lovers 16; Church 14

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by the groups of UNEMPLOYED, EMPLOYED, MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY and MEMBER OF A FOOTBALL CLUB.

6 Code of conduct: Sexual conduct

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *General comments*
(a) *To have a boyfriend* (Y=15, N=5)
(b) *To tell one's family one has a boyfriend* (Y=3, N=12)
(c) To meet one's boyfriend secretly (Y=9)

(d) To decide not to have a boyfriend in order to give one's studies top priority (Y=5)
(e) To tolerate bad behaviour in a boyfriend (Y=4)
(f) *To make every effort to please one's boyfriend* (Y=4)

2. *Sexual fidelity*
(a) *To tolerate an unfaithful boyfriend* (Y=11, N=5)
Of the 11 who tolerated infidelity: To feel angry but powerless (Y=3); to accept male infidelity as a simple fact of life (Y=8)
(b) *To be faithful to one's boyfriend* (Y=15)

3. *Attitudes to male dominance*
(a) To accept male authority (Y=12, N=3)
Of the 12 who accept it: Willing acceptance of male authority (Y=8); unwilling acceptance of male authority (Y=4)

4. *Having children at a young age*
(a) *To worry about falling pregnant (regarding this as a bad option)* (Y=19)
(b) *To use contraception* (Y=9, N=9)
Of the 9 who did not approve of contraception: Abstain from sex (Y=3); take risks and hope not to get into trouble (Y=4); lessen risk of pregnancy by infrequent sex (Y=2)
(c) *To have a child* (Y=7)

MALES

1. *General comments*
(a) *To have a girlfriend* (Y=15, N=5)
(b) *To tell one's parents one has a girlfriend* (Y=1, N=11)
(c) *To make every effort to please one's girlfriend* (Y=5)
(d) To force one's girlfriend to have sexual intercourse against her will (Y=2, N=2)
(e) To treat women in a rough way (Y=4)

2. *Sexual fidelity*
(a) *To be faithful to one's girlfriend* (Y=3, N=7, Undecided=1)
(b) *To tolerate an unfaithful girlfriend* (Y=1, N=10)

3. *Attitudes to male dominance*
(a) To insist on obedience from one's girlfriend (Y=3, N=2)

4. *Having children at a young age*
(a) *To worry about one's girlfriend falling pregnant* (Y=2, N=3)
(b) To take steps to avoid pregnancy (N=5)
(c) *To have had a child* (Y=2)[5]

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=345); Lovers 107 (31%); Gender 82 (24%); Family 66 (19%); Miscellaneous 42; Educated 14

Males: (n=151); Lovers 79 (52%); Family 29 (19%)

7 Code of conduct: Alcohol

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To drink* (Y=2, N=17)
2. *To visit shebeens* (N=6)
3. *To smoke cigarettes* (N=4)

MALES

1. *To drink* (Y=12, N=8)
2. *To visit shebeens* (Y=7, N=4)
3. To drink moderately rather than heavily (Y=10)
4. To smoke *dagga* (marijuana) (Y=2, N=6)
5. *To smoke cigarettes* (Y=4, N=2)
6. To drink or smoke in front of parents and significant adults (N=5)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=116); Decent citizen 53 (46%); Church 12 (10%)

Males: (n=216); Miscellaneous* 68 (31%); Decent citizen 52 (24%); Family 34 (16%); Educated/Pupil 14; Younger generation 12

* The category of MISCELLANEOUS was weighted by the

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5 Contrary to the general practice of only including options referred to by four or more informants, this option is included here for comparability with female informants.

group memberships of DRINKER, UNEMPLOYED and PHANTSULAS.

8 Planning for the future: Community upliftment

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To consider the township community as a problematic area, and to feel it needs uplifting* (Y=15, N=3, Don't care=2)

2. *To consider an end to the violence and political disunity as a precondition for community upliftment* (Y=5)

MALES

1. *To consider the township community as a problematic area, and to feel it needs uplifting* (Y=19)
2. To regard the comrades as a vehicle for community upliftment (Y=14)
3. *To regard an end to violence and political disunity as a precondition for community upliftment* (Y=12)
4. To regard improved community facilities (e.g. roads, schools, parks) as a precondition for community upliftment (Y=9)
5. To regard higher levels of education amongst township people as a vehicle for community upliftment (Y=6)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=78); Miscellaneous* 37 (47%); Decent citizen 36 (46%)

Males: (n=110); Comrades 40 (36%); Miscellaneous* 38 (35%); Black 17 (15%)

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by the grouping of MEMBER OF A PROBLEM COMMUNITY

9 Planning for the future: Education

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To be actively involved in pursuing one's education* (Y=16, N=4)

Of the 16 who were active:

(a) *To still be a full-time pupil* (Y=11)

(b) To be in the process of rewriting the matriculation exam (Y=4)

(c) To be awaiting university entrance (Y=1)

Of the 4 who were not active:

(d) To have been forced to leave school after pregnancy (Y=3)

(e) *To be involved in informal sector activities*[6] (Y=1)

(f) To be hoping to return to school if one can find the money (Y=1)

2. *To feel constrained by problems hindering one's educational ambitions* (Y=14)

(a) *To feel constrained by lack of money* (Y=7)

(b) To feel constrained by lack of ability (Y=4)

3. Effort and persistence

(a) *To persist with attempts to become educated, even in the face of failure* (Y=12)

(b) To study extremely hard at school (Y=9)

4. *Image of pupils*

(a) *To regard education as an important source of social status* (Y=10)

5. *To take advantage of educational opportunities denied to the older generation* (Y=7)

6. To regard schooling as one's top priority in life (Y=6)

MALES

1. *To be actively involved in pursuing one's education* (Y=11, N=9)

Of the 11 who were active:

(a) *To be a full-time pupil* (Y=8)

(b) To be involved in tertiary education (Y=2)

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6 F8 has a home hairdressing business.

Of the 9 who were not active:

(c) To consider oneself as an unemployed job-seeker (Y=7)

(d) To be involved in informal sector activities[7] (Y=2)

(e) To hope to rewrite matric at some time in the future (Y=1)

2. *To feel constrained by problems hindering one's educational ambitions* (Y=16)

(a) *To feel constrained by lack of money* (Y=11)

(b) To feel constrained by frequent school boycotts (Y=4)

3. *Effort and persistence*

(a) *To persist with attempts to become educated, even in the face of failure* (Y=12)

(b) *To study extremely hard at school* (Y=12)

(c) To consider studying further at "night school" after failing to finish school as a full-time student (Y=5)

4. *Image of pupils*

(a) *To regard education as an important source of social status* (Y=11)

5. To regard an interest in education as an important way for young men to keep "out of trouble" (Y=8)

6. To regard education as an important prerequisite for political effectiveness (Y=6)

7. *To take advantage of educational opportunities denied to the older generation* (Y=4)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=188); Educated/Pupil 142 (76%); Miscellaneous* 45 (24%)

Males: (n=200); Educated/Pupil 134 (67%); Family 28 (14%), Miscellaneous* 14 (7%)

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by fre-

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7 M10 is an occasional street hawker. M8 works as a "bouncer" in his mother's home shebeen.

quent references to the category of PROFESSIONAL PERSON (a term used to denote persons with jobs requiring post-school training).

10 Planning for the future: Family life

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To plan to try to uplift one's own family of origin*[8] (Y=16)
2. *To intend to marry* (Y=8, N=4, Ambivalent=3)
3. *To plan to try to give one's children as many material comforts as possible* (Y=8)

MALES

1. *To intend to marry* (Y=15, N=1)
2. *To plan to try to uplift one's own family of origin* (Y=10)
3. *To plan to try to give one's children as many material comforts as possible* (Y=10)
4. To feel very pessimistic about the future (Y=4)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=177); Family 118 (67%); Miscellaneous* 29 (16%)

Males: (n=99); Family 58 (59%); Miscellaneous* 28 (28%); Educated/Pupil 14 (14%)

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was boosted by the group membership of PROFESSIONAL PERSON (i.e. someone with a job requiring post-school training).

11 Planning for the future: Occupation

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To dream of completing some form of post-school training and getting a good job, as opposed to dropping out and*

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8 "Family of origin" refers to parents and siblings (or grandparents and siblings for those subjects whose parents were dead).

becoming an unskilled worker or a housewife (Y=17, N=3). Career options mentioned: Teacher 5; Social worker 4; Nurse 3; Policewoman 3; Hairdresser; Medical doctor; Fashion designer; Public relations officer; Radiographer; Advocate; Actress; Clerk; Bank employee; Receiver of revenue employee; Musician

2. Reasons offered for career plans
(a) *To desire to uplift the community* (Y=11)
(b) To feel one's career choices constrained by factors outside one's control, especially money (Y=10)
(c) To be influenced by role models of successful women (Y=8)
(d) *To aim to make one's parents proud of one's achievements in the future* (Y=7)
(e) To be constrained by poor marks achieved so far (Y=4)
(f) To feel temperamentally suited for particular jobs (Y=4)
(g) To feel attracted to the uniform worn by a particular profession (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To dream of completing some form of post-school training and getting a good job, as opposed to dropping out and becoming an unskilled worker* (Y=13, N=7)
Career options mentioned: Labourer (Y=5, N=2); Teacher (Y=4, N=2); Lawyer 4; Electrician 3; Policeman 3; Doctor 2; Actor; Artist; Marketing manager; Clerk; Journalist; Nurse; Criminal

2. Reasons offered for career plans
(a) *To desire to uplift the community* (Y=10)
(b) To know someone in that particular job (Y=6)
(c) *To aim to make one's parents proud of one's achievements in the future* (Y=5)

3. To be unable to find a job, despite energetic job-seeking (Y=8)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=177); Miscellaneous* 53 (30%); Gender roles 49 (28%); Family 25 (14%); Lover 17; Younger generation 13; Comrades 12

Males: (n=127); Miscellaneous* 65 (51%); Family 12 (9%)

* The MISCELLANEOUS category for both men and women was weighted by the group membership of PROFESSIONAL PERSON. In the case of young men, this category also contained the group membership of the UNEMPLOYED.

12 Networking: Mobilising educational assistance

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. To mobilise encouragement in studies (Y=18)
2. To mobilise help with concrete study problems (Y=10)
   Sources of help/encouragement: Parents 13; Fellow pupils 9; Friends 8; Boyfriends 5; Libraries 3

MALES

1. *To mobilise help with concrete study problems* (Y=12)
2. *To mobilise encouragement in studies* (Y=10)
3. *To mobilise encouragement to try and return to school after dropping out* (Y=4)
   Sources of help/encouragement: Fellow pupils 8; Parents 8; Brothers 4

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=114); Family 52 (46%); Educated/pupil 23 (20%); Friends 21 (18%)

Males: (n=61); Family 21 (34%); Educated/Pupil 18 (30%); Friends 11 (18%)

13 Networking: Mobilising emotional and spiritual support

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To mobilise support from significant others* (Y=14)
   Sources of support: Boyfriend 6; Mother 4; Family in general 4

2. *Spiritual support from church*
(a) *To go to church* (Y=19)
   Motivated by: Faith 8; Habit 5; Go very seldom 6

(b) *To derive strength from church attendance* (Y=8)
(c) *To derive particular comfort from prayer* (Y=6)
(d) To feel uplifted by the singing in church (Y=5)
(e) To strive to recruit new church members and spread the church's teachings (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To mobilise support from significant others* (Y=14)
Sources of support: Friends 10; Family in general 10; Mother 6; Girlfriend 4; Fellow pupils 4[9]

2. *Spiritual support from church*
(a) *To go to church* (Y=5, Seldom=2, N=3)
(b) *To derive strength from church attendance* (Y=5)
(c) *To derive particular comfort from prayer* (Y=5)
(d) *To recruit church members and spread the church's teaching* (Y=4)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=178); Church 77 (43%); Family 40 (22%); Educated/Pupil 14 (8%); Comrades 14 (8%); Miscellaneous 12

Males: (n=154); Family 50 (32%); Church 50 (32%); Friends 21 (14%); Miscellaneous 14

14 Networking: Having fun

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To spend leisure time with friends* (Y=13)
2. *To spend leisure time with a boyfriend* (Y=11)
3. To derive pleasure from spending time in church (Y=8)
4. To enjoy listening to music (Y=6)
5. To enjoy shopping (Y=6)
6. To enjoy family parties (Y=4)

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9 The reader is again reminded that the number of subjects cited in a detailed breakdown of this nature may sometimes be larger than the number of subjects that referred to a particular option. This is the result of subjects sometimes referring to more than one source of support.

7. To enjoy watching TV (Y=4)
8. *To spend leisure time with family members* (Y=4)
9. To play sport (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To spend leisure time with friends* (Y=12)
2. To play sport (Y=9)
3. To enjoy general social activities with one's sporting peers (Y=7)
4. To gamble (Y=7)
5. To enjoy watching and participating in phantsula dancing (Y=6)
6. *To spend leisure time with family members* (Y=6)
7. *To spend leisure time with a girlfriend* (Y=5)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=147); Friends 44 (30%); Urban 38 (26%); Lovers 16 (11%); Church 15 (10%); Family 14 (10%)

Males: (n=130); Miscellaneous* 55 (42%); Friends 44 (34%)

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by MEMBERSHIP OF SPORTS CLUBS, GAMBLERS and PHANTSULAS.

15 Networking: Broadening one's horizons

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Developing one's personal resources*
(a) *To strive to learn to speak English as well as possible* (Y=7)
(b) *To regard sharing ideas through discussions with others as an important means of self-development* (Y=6)
(c) *To regard education as an important means of enlarging one's world-views* (Y=5)

2. *General comments on means of enlarging one's horizons beyond the limits of township life*
(a) To regard one's boyfriend as providing useful access to new places and new people (Y=4)
(b) To regard church as a means of broadening one's horizons (Y=4)

(c) *To regard participation in the youth identity research project as a means of broadening one's horizons* (Y=4)

(d) *To regard the younger generation as having greater opportunities for horizon-broadening than their parents had* (Y=4)

3. *Attitudes to urban and rural lifestyles*

(a) *To prefer the urban way of life to the rural one* (Y=11, N=9)

MALES

1. Developing one's personal resources

(a) *To strive to learn to speak English as well as possible* (Y=9)

(b) *To regard sharing ideas through discussions with others as an important means of self-development* (Y=7)

2. *General comments on means of enlarging one's horizons beyond the limits of township life*

(a) *To regard the younger generation as having greater opportunities for horizon-broadening than their parents had* (Y=10)

(b) *To regard participation in the youth identity research project as a means of broadening one's horizons* (Y=8)

(c) To regard comrades membership as an important way of expanding one's horizons (Y=7)

3. *Attitudes to urban and rural lifestyles*

(a) *To prefer the urban way of life to the rural one* (Y=15, N=3, Undecided=2)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=158); Urban 50 (32%); Educated/Pupil 29 (18%); Miscellaneous* 16 (10%); Younger generation 12; Family 12

Males: (n=205); Urban 72 (35%); Younger generation 24 (12%); Friends 23 (11%); Comrades 22 (11%); Educated/Pupil 21 (10%); Decent citizen 12

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was not weighted by any particular group membership in this case.

16 Networking: Guidance on life issues

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Sources of advice*
(a) *To regard one's parents as sources of advice* (Y=13, N=4)
(b) *To regard one's peers as sources of advice* (Y=7)
(c) *To regard one's siblings as sources of advice* (Y=6)
(d) To regard one's boyfriend as a source of advice (Y=6)
(e) To regard the church as a source of influence (Y=4)
(f) *To regard the older generation as a significant source of guidance for the youth* (N=3)

2. *Seeking advice in matters of love*
(a) To seek advice from one's mother in boyfriend matters (Y=3, N=5)
(b) To seek advice from one's friends in boyfriend matters (Y=4, N=1)

3. *Sources of discipline*
(a) *To regard family members as significant sources of discipline (scolding and beating)* (Y=13)
Particular family members: Parents in general 4; Mothers 7; Brothers 4
(b) To respect restrictions exercised by brothers (Y=7)
(c) To regard teachers as significant sources of discipline (Y=4)

4. *Traditional African practices*
(a) *To regard traditional African practices as influential and relevant aspects of township life* (Y=6, N=4, Partly=4)

MALES

1. *Sources of advice*
(a) *To regard one's parents as a source of advice* (Y=13, N=5)
(b) *To regard the older generation as a valuable source of guidance for the youth* (Y=4, In some issues, but not others=8, N=5)
(c) *To regard one's peers as a source of influence* (Y=14)
(d) To seek advice from older men (Y=12)
(e) *To regard one's siblings as a source of influence* (Y=9)

2. *Sources of discipline*

(a) *To regard teachers as significant sources of discipline* (Y=9)

(b) *To regard family members as significant sources of discipline (scolding and beating)* (Y=8)
Particular family members: Father 5; Mother 5

3. *Traditional African practices*

(a) *To regard traditional African practices as influential and relevant aspects of township life* (Y=13, N=5)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=218); Family 99 (45%); Friends 23 (11%); Younger generation 22 (10%); Lovers 16; Miscellaneous* 15; Educated 15

Males: (n=277); Family 87 (31%); Younger generation 55 (20%); Miscellaneous* 41 (15%); Friends 40 (14%); Educated/Pupil 20

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was composed of a broad range of groupings, none of which weighted the category particularly heavily.

17 Networking: mobilising material support

A. BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Seeking material assistance from other people*

(a) *To seek material assistance from family members* (Y=14)
Sources mentioned: Mother 9; Family in general 6; Brothers 4; Father 3.

(b) *To seek material assistance from non-family members* (Y=9)
Sources mentioned: Boyfriends 7; Friends 4.

2. To rely on one's mother for support of one's infant children (Y=7)

3. *Employment*

(a) *To make money out of an informal home business* (Y=4[10])

(b) *To occasionally do part-time work* (Y=3)
Of these three: Market research 2; Domestic work 1

4. To spend money frugally (Y=4)

MALES

1. *Seeking assistance from other people*

(a) *To seek material assistance from family members* (Y=18)
Sources mentioned: Mother 7; Siblings 5; Father 3.

(b) *To seek material assistance from non-family members* (Y=13)
Sources mentioned: Friends 7; Comrades 4; Neighbours 4.

2. *Employment*

(a) *To have some form of paid employment* (Y=4, N=11)
Employment cited: Full-time work (1); Part-time jobs as gardener (1); Supermarket packer (1); Cleaning father's taxi (1). Of those 11 not employed: Looking for full-time work 7; Pupils looking for part-time work 4.

(b) *To have one's own informal selling business* (Y=4[11])

3. Other strategies for making money

(a) To have contemplated the possibility of committing crimes as a means of making money (Y=2, N=7)

(b) To regard gambling as a potential source of income (Y=3, N=2)

(c) To be working to improve one's soccer skills in the hope of making money out of them one day (Y=4)

(d) To borrow clothes and money from others (Y=4)

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10 For one of these four women, F8, her informal home business (hairdressing) was her means of subsistence. For the other three this was a source of pocket money that they pursued in their spare time.

11 For two of these young men, M8 and M10, their involvement in a selling business was their means of subsistence. For the other two it was a source of pocket money that they pursued intermittently.

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=136); Family 73 (54%); Miscellaneous* 22 (16%); Lovers 12 (9%)

Males: (n=288); Miscellaneous* 132 (46%); Family 89 (31%); Friends 16 (6%); Decent citizen 15 (5%); Educated pupil 13

* MISCELLANEOUS was boosted by the groupings of INFORMAL BUSINESS-PERSON, PART-TIME WORKER and UNEMPLOYED.

18 Networking: Responding to the politically divided environment[12]

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *Range of political positions available*

(a) *To remain uninvolved in politics* (Y=15)
- *due to lack of interest in politics* (Y=6)
- satisfied with country's social system (Y=4)
- sympathetic to the political struggle but nevertheless uninvolved (Y=3)
- *due to active disapproval of politicised youth* (Y=2)

(b) *To support Inkatha* (Y=1,N=7)
- never (Y=7)
- sympathetic to Inkatha, but not active (Y=1)

(c) *To identify with the comrades* (Y=5)
- but have little knowledge of politics nevertheless (Y=3)
- to consider oneself well-informed about politics (Y=2)

(d) *To attend political meetings* (Y=4, N=4)

2. Influences affecting choice of political position

(a) *To fear harassment* (Y=5)

(b) To be influenced by significant individuals/events (Y=4)

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12 This challenge is abbreviated as POLITICAL IDENTITY in the report.

Forging a racial identity in the South African township context

To disapprove of particular forms of racial discrimination (Y=11)

(b) Not to see being a black South African as a pressing problem (Y=6)

(c) To see community conflict as one of the key problems facing black South Africans (Y=5)

MALES

1. *Range of political positions available*

(a) *To remain uninvolved in politics* (Y=4)
- *due to lack of interest in politics* (Y=3)
- *due to active disapproval of politicised youth* (Y=1)

(b) *To identify with the comrades* (Y=16)
- To identify unambiguously with the comrades (Y=13)
- To identify more tentatively with the comrades (Y=3)

(c) *To support Inkatha* (Y=0, N=13)

(d) To become a police spy (Y=0, N=4)

2. Reasons for rejection of Inkatha option

(a) To regard Inkatha as killers of the comrades (Y=5)

(b) To regard Inkatha as the older generation's movement (Y=5)

(c) To regard Inkatha as a collaborator with the white government, with no interest in black unity (Y=5)

(d) To disapprove of the Inkatha practice of "bribing" members into joining (making membership a condition for access to housing or jobs) (Y=4)

3. Influences affecting choice of comrades position

3.1 Discontent with apartheid and poverty

(a) To feel general discontent with the position of black people in South Africa (Y=12)

(b) To have joined the comrades after specific personal experiences of oppression as a black person (Y=8)

3.2 Attraction to aspects of the comrades image

(a) To identify with comrades' personality traits of masculinity, total commitment and fearlessness (Y=14)

(b) To be attracted to the comrades' commitment and dedication to community service (Y=11)

(c) To consider political involvement as the role of the more enlightened younger generation (Y=9)

(d) To disregard the bad image of the comrades community, blaming it on the comtsotsis (Y=6)

3.3 Influences advising against comrades involvement

(a) To experience conflict with parents regarding comrades political beliefs and/or involvement (Y=12, N=3)

(b) To experience conflict with girlfriend regarding comrades political involvement (Y=3)

3.4 Recruiting agents

(a) To have learned about politics from significant others (Y=14)
Friends=10; Family members 5

(b) *To have felt pressurised into joining the comrades through fear of harassment by comrades if one did not* (Y=4)

(c) To have learned about politics from books and newspapers (Y=3)

4. Particular behavioural choices associated with comrades membership

(a) To actively work towards winning over other community members to the comrades' cause (Y=10)

(b) *To attend political meetings* (Y=6, N=2)

(c) To give one's education priority over political activities, since education precedes liberation (Y=7)

(d) To strive for unifying the black community in the face of current violence and conflict (Y=6)

(e) To dance the toyi-toyi, sing freedom songs and chant slogans (Y=4)

(f) To aim to promote democratic decision making in the community (Y=3)

5. *Forging a racial identity in the South African township context*

(a) *To disapprove of particular forms of racial discrimination* (Y=11)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=256); Comrades 105 (41%); Black 61 (24%); Miscellaneous* 50 (20%); Educated/Pupil 14; Family 13

Males: (n=554); Comrades 330 (60%); Black 65 (12%); Younger generation 45 (8%); Family 25; Miscellaneous 24; Decent citizen 20; Friends 15; Gender roles 14; Educated/Pupil 14

* Females' use of the MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted with the categories of APOLITICAL and UN-POLITICAL.

19 Networking: Choosing a lover

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To have a special boyfriend* (Y=15, N=5)
2. To prefer reliable boys with steady characters (Y=9)
3. To avoid boys who are drinkers (Y=6)
4. To avoid boys who carry knives (Y=5)
5. To prefer boys who are educated (Y=4)
6. To avoid boys who are tsotsis (Y=4)
7. To avoid boys who are unemployed (Y=4)

MALES

1. *To have a special girlfriend* (Y=14, Two special girl-friends=2, N=4)
2. To prefer girls who are well behaved and respectful (Y=7)
3. To avoid girls who drink or smoke (Y=5)
4. To prefer girls who are clean (Y=4)
5. To find it difficult to find a girlfriend as an unemployed man from a poor family (Y=4)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=109); Lovers 84 (77%)

Males: (n=94); Lovers 78 (83%); Miscellaneous* 13 (14%)

* MISCELLANEOUS included a wide range of categories, including that of UNEMPLOYED.

20 Networking: Choosing friends

A: BEHAVIOURAL OPTIONS

FEMALES

1. *To choose friends with particular character traits*
(a) To choose friends who are trustworthy (Y=8)
(b) To choose friends who are capable of respecting con-fidences (Y=8)

(c) *To choose friends who are respectful and obedient to their parents* (Y=6)
(d) *To choose friends who are willing to give advice and support when necessary* (Y=5)
(e) *To choose friends who are upwardly mobile and ambitious* (Y=5)
(f) *To choose friends who are well behaved* (Y=5)
(g) *To choose friends who are humble* (Y=4)
(h) *To choose friends who are quiet* (Y=4)
(i) *To choose friends who are homebodies* (Y=4)

2. *To choose friends with similar tastes and interests* (Y=10)

3. *To choose friends on the basis of situational factors*
(a) *To choose friends from one's fellow pupils* (Y=11)
(b) *To choose friends from the same church* (Y=5)
(c) *To choose friends who are children of neighbours* (Y=5)

4. *To avoid friends with particular habits*
(a) *To avoid friendships with drinkers* (Y=12)
(b) To avoid friendships with women who have many boyfriends (Y=10)
(c) To avoid friendships with women who go to discotheques (Y=10)
(d) To avoid friendships with young women with unpleasant character traits, e.g. bad tempered, nasty, rude (Y=10)
(e) *To avoid friendships with school drop-outs and unemployed people* (Y=7)
(f) To avoid friendships with women who hang about in the street (Y=6)
(g) To avoid friendships with women who are liars (Y=4)
(h) To avoid friendships with women in a different age group or women who already have children (Y=4)
(i) To avoid friendships with women who are gossips (Y=4)

MALES

1. To choose friends with particular character traits
(a) *To choose friends who are respectful and obedient to their parents* (Y=7)
(b) *To choose friends who are well behaved* (Y=6)
(c) To choose friends who are honest (Y=4)
(d) To choose friends who are quiet (Y=4)
(e) To choose friends who are clean and neat (Y=4)
(f) To choose friends who are homebodies (Y=4)

(g) To choose friends who are concerned about improving the community (Y=4)
(h) *To choose friends who are upwardly mobile and ambitious* (Y=4)

2. *To choose friends with similar tastes and interests* (Y=11)
Of these 11: Friends with shared political goals (Y=4)

3. *To choose friends on the basis of situational factors*
(a) *To choose friends from one's fellow pupils* (Y=7)
(b) *To choose friends who are children of neighbours* (Y=4)

4. *To avoid friends with particular habits*
(a) To avoid friends who are tsotsis (e.g. thieves, pickpockets, bagsnatchers) (Y=13)
(b) *To avoid friendships with school drop-outs and unemployed people* (Y=4, N=5)
(c) *To avoid friendships with drinkers* (Y=9)
(d) To avoid friendships with comtsotsis (Y=4, N=5)
(e) To avoid friendships with violent men (Y=6)
(f) To avoid friendships with smokers (Y=5)
(g) To avoid friendships with police informers (Y=4)
(h) To avoid friendships with those using bad language (Y=4)
(i) To avoid friendships with politically neutral people (Y=4)

5. To consider oneself a member of a youth "style" group
(a) To identify with the Phantsula grouping (Y=11)
(b) To identify with the Dude grouping (Y=1, N=5)
Other groups: Mpathas 1, Amajithas 1

6. To feel pressurised by family into avoiding "bad friends" (Y=4)

B: GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

Females: (n=194); Friends 93 (48%); Educated/Pupil 26 (13%); Decent citizen 24 (12%); Family 15; Gender 15; Lovers 14

Males: (n=249); Friends 74 (30%); Decent citizen 65 (26%); Miscellaneous* 45 (18%); Educated/Pupil 20; Family 18; Comrades 16

* The MISCELLANEOUS category was weighted by PHANTSULAS.

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