FACE-WORK AND IDENTITIES IN
A DISCUSSION ABOUT XENOPHOBIA

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KEY WORDS

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ABSTRACT

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International students arriving at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) from other African countries find themselves in a position of having to negotiate their identities and positions with their South African counterparts. The local students too are faced with the prospect of doing the same since they have to coexist with the former. This study aims to investigate how, in a discussion about xenophobia, a selection of UWC students perform face-work and negotiate or construct their identities as well as those of their co-participants and position themselves in relation to each other. I was interested in exploring how the participants, who were representative of the two groups that clashed in the xenophobic attacks of 2008, would engage with each other while discussing this sensitive topic.

The data was gathered during an open-ended discussion among four UWC postgraduate students in a casual, relaxed setting (my room on campus). The transcribed data was then analyzed using a combination of theoretical frameworks from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Discourse Analysis. In particular, the SFL theory of modality (Halliday 1994) and Engagement (Martin and White 2005) and Goffman's (1999[1967]) notion of face were used as tools of analysis.

The analysis reveals that participants use a variety of linguistic choices and discourse strategies to maintain face during the discussion of this sensitive topic of xenophobia. The participants make an effort to take care of each other's face (desires to be appreciated and left free of any imposition) and keep conflicts to a minimum even when they at times disagree and give incriminatory information about each other. It also reveals that the participants, in addition to maintaining face, also construct and negotiate identities which in turn help build in-group solidarity and provide a sense of belonging to them.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Face-work and Identities in a discussion about Xenophobia* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Ondigi Evans Anyona   June 2011

Signed …………………………

Supervisor: Dr. Zannie Bock

Signed …………………………

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

iv

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study reports on how a group of students at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) discuss the sensitive topic of xenophobia with each other. It explores the various discourse strategies used by the participants to do face-work and forestall and handle moments of conflicts. It also looks at the identities the participants construct for themselves and for each other.

It is against the backdrop of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, which peaked in May 2008, that this study's aims were conceived. Xenophobia is largely defined as the fear or hatred – or both – of people from foreign countries. According to the official reports, 62 people, of whom foreign nationals were in the majority, were killed by mobs in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and elsewhere in 2008. Some 35,000 were driven from their homes. An untold number of shacks were burnt to the ground. The troubles were dubbed South Africa's 'xenophobic riots'. They constituted the first sustained, nationwide eruption of social unrest since the beginning of South Africa's democratic era in 1994 (Steinberg 2008).

While acknowledging that this fear or dislike of foreigners is not peculiar to South Africa, I was motivated to carry out this study for the sporadic xenophobic attacks in some parts of the country seem to precipitate or even exacerbate disquiet and grudges between the groups pitted against each other – the locals and the foreigners. In addition to that, what piqued my interest and curiosity is how selected students at UWC managed to juggle the expression of or allusion to this animosity (whether real, lurking or imagined) with sensitivity to others' feelings.

The fact that casual conversations are more than just an opportunity to share time together or exchange ideas also intrigues me. Much 'more than meets the eye' actually happens during conversations. Hence, Eggins and Slade (1997) observe that casual conversations

are paradoxical. In explaining the paradox of casual conversations, Eggins and Slade (1997) point out that since we are wont to feel most relaxed, most spontaneous and most ourselves when engaging in a casual conversation, we may be oblivious to the fact that "casual conversation is a critical site for the social construction of reality". Berger and Luckmann (1966, in Eggins and Slade 1997:17) note:

> The most important vehicle of reality-maintenance is conversation. One may view the individual's everyday life in terms of the working away of a conversational apparatus that ongoingly maintains, modifies and reconstructs his [sic] subjective reality ... It's important to stress, however, that the greater part of reality maintenance in conversation is implicit, not explicit. Most conversation doesn't in so many words define the nature of world. Rather, it takes place against the background of a world that is silently taken for granted.

It follows then that a conversation allows for the interlocutors to negotiate their identities and positions with regard to how they relate to each other and to the rest of the world. However, I also argue that for a conversation to keep going, it requires a great deal of deftness, adroitness, and sensitivity, with regard to what is said and how it is said, on the part of the interlocutors. It is interesting therefore to examine how these concomitants or ingredients of face-work are used by the interlocutors to oil the wheels of the conversation.

1.1 Main Research Aim and Objectives

The main research aim of this study is to explore the various linguistic and discourse strategies the interlocutors use to perform face-work and negotiate their and others' identities as they discuss the topic of xenophobia. The following are the specific research questions that the study explores:

(1) How do the participants' choices of elements of Engagement, especially modality, mark solidarity amongst each other?

(2) To what extent do they use or maintain positive and negative face during the conversation?

(3) How are the moments of conflict forestalled or handled?

2

(4) What identities or positions do the participants construct for themselves and each other?

As I have indicated above, the object of my analysis is a discussion or conversation about xenophobia. There are four participants in the discussion, and I, as a researcher, also took part in the talk. The study is a cross sectional one since I have focused on a single time interval. I recorded the discussion, which was held in my room, and I later transcribed it in readiness for the analysis. At the time, the participants (coming from three different countries, including South Africa) were postgraduate (Masters) students. Quincy, the South African, was a first year Law student. Both Felix and Roy are Kenyan. The former was a first year Linguistics student while the latter was a second year Chemistry student. Claude, the Zambian was a second year Economics student. I felt that by foregrounding diversity: getting participants of varying nationalities and in different disciplines, my data would be 'saturated' or rich enough to answer the research question. Besides, in the abstract, the participants, belonging to different African countries, including South Africa, are representative of the sides that (have) locked horns in the xenophobic attacks.

In the analysis of data, I have used a combination of theoretical frameworks from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Discourse Analysis and Politeness theory, which are relevant to the issues of face, identity and positioning. Within the SFL theory, the study has foregrounded the Interpersonal metafunction, and in particular, the system of Engagement, which concerns the use of language to interact with people, to establish and maintain social relationships and to express our viewpoints and attitudes about the world and to possibly change the viewpoints and attitudes of others. I have also explored how the participants perform face-work for the sake of maintaining a cordial relationship throughout the discussion.

To conclude, I would contend that without the analysis of grammar (for instance, exploring how linguistic choices have been used by participants in the conversation), it is not possible to carry out a thorough discourse analysis of the text. I regard SFL in particular, because of its focus on the text, as a useful basis for discourse analysis.

1.2 Overview of Chapters

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: in chapter 2, a review of the literature informing the theoretical frameworks that have been used in the analysis of the data is given. Research methodology follows in chapter 3. The detailed analysis of the data is presented in chapters 4 and 5. The way the participants perform face-work and forestall or handle conflicts is explored in chapter 4. The identities and positions that the students negotiate as well as the discourses they draw on are examined in chapter 5. Finally, in chapter 6, I give a conclusion as well as recommendations on possible areas for further study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This research project is informed by a combination of theories of Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics to enable a close reading of the linguistic and discursive choices that participants make when negotiating their identities and positions as they discuss the topic of xenophobia. During the discussion, the participants also perform face-work. Therefore, the theory of politeness and face-work is also integral to this research project.

In this chapter, the concepts underlying this study are reviewed. The works of Cameron (2001), Blommaert (2005), Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) and Johnstone (2008) with regard to discourse and Discourse Analysis are examined. Concerning SFL, I consider the works of the following scholars: Halliday (1994), Gerot and Wignell (1995), Bloor and Bloor (2004), and Martin *et al.* (1997). Within the SFL theory, the study foregrounds the Interpersonal metafunction, and in particular, the system of Engagement, which concerns itself with the use of language to interact with people, to establish and maintain social relationships and to express our viewpoints and attitudes about the world and to possibly change the viewpoints and attitudes of others. The notion of modality is considered from two main viewpoints: firstly, Engagement, pioneered by Martin and White (2005), and secondly, the traditional one, by Palmer (1986) and such SFL theorists mentioned above as Halliday (1994) and Gerot and Wignell (1995). Lastly, the notion of face and politeness as explained by Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson (1987), Migge and Muhleisen (2005), Youssef (2005) and Johnstone (2008) are also surveyed.

2.1 Discourse

Discourse, as Cameron (2001) states, is a technical term, which, like other technical terms, is contested. Cameron points out that the term has generated a lot of debate among scholars about what it means and how it should be used. Cameron (2001:10) adds:

> In fact, the term discourse is notorious for the arguments surrounding it and the confusion it can cause. A major source of potential confusion is that the meaning of the term tends to vary quite significantly depending on the academic discipline and the theoretical preferences of the person who uses it.

According to Cameron (2001), the most straightforward definition of discourse in the field of linguistics is 'language above the sentence'. In other words, languages are made up of systems, which in turn have other systems; for instance, phonology entails sounds (which also entail syllables and words). Thus, discourse, looked at in this way, is a level of organization above the sentence. The linguist Zellig Harris (1952, in Cameron 2001) refers to 'language above the sentence' as discourse only when the sentences therein relate to one another and collectively form some larger whole – as opposed to just a random collection of unrelated bits. In this sense, Harris refers to this 'organized' larger whole as a text.

However, as Cameron points out, the linguistic properties alone do not suffice, as real world knowledge is relevant to the interpretation of a text. In the same line of thought, Widdowson (1995, in Cameron 2001) argues that a single word or even a letter may not have 'structure above the sentence', but can still be a text – as long as it can convey a complete message in a specific context; its interpretation relies on real world knowledge not contained in the text itself. In light of this, Cameron (2001:13) offers what she considers a better definition, that of 'discourse is language in use': "language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context".

Blommaert (2005:2) defines the term *discourse* more broadly as "meaningful symbolic behaviour". Thus, according to Blommaert, discourse should be treated as a general mode

of semiosis; it should not be confined to language only: "Discourse is language-in-action, and investigating it requires attention both to language and to action" (Hanks 1996, in Blommaert 2005). From this perspective, discourse is seen to entail all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use. As such, things like gestures, clothing, dance, and facial expressions also constitute the conception of discourse.

Discourse in the sense of the above definitions – 'language above the sentence', 'language in use', and 'meaningful symbolic behaviour' – is usually a mass noun. However, there is another dimension to the term 'discourse'. Johnstone (2008:3) explains: "Scholars influenced by Foucault (1972, 1980) sometimes use 'discourse' in a related but somewhat different sense, as a count noun. Discourses in this sense can be enumerated and referred to in the plural".

Cameron (2001) observes that many social scientists (including some linguists) are less interested in discourse as the way language works; rather, they are more interested in discourse as a source of evidence or insight about social life and social relations. In connection with this, therefore, our world is made up of countless discourses. Different discourses are in operation among different people and in different settings.

Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006:328) define discourses as "broad patterns of talk – systems of statements – that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves". In this definition, discourses are distinguished from texts. The foregoing social researchers point out that speeches or conversations are most often termed *texts* which, when written up or transcribed, are the materials we read closely when doing the analysis. In conclusion, certain discourses operate in a particular text, or the text draws on, or is informed by, these discourses.

2.2 Discourse Analysis

According to Cameron (2001), discourse analysis is several things at once. It is a method of doing social research; it is a body of empirical knowledge about how talk and text are organized; it is the home of various theories about the nature and workings of human

communication, and also of theories about the construction and reproduction of social reality. It is both about language and about life.

Terre Blanche *et al*. (2006) define Discourse Analysis as the act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts. However, as they argue, different analyses emphasize different aspects of this definition. They further state:

> Some may be most concerned with identifying the discourses that operate in the text, others may focus more on how particular effects are achieved in the text, while yet others may be most concerned with explicating the broader context within which the text operates (2006:328).

This research aims to identify the discourses available to the participants whose discussion data I have collected. Attention is also paid to how the participants negotiate their identities and positions, as well as the face saving practices deployed to do so. As I have indicated above, this research project applies the theory of Discourse Analysis along with that of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Therefore, a preview of Systemic Functional Linguistics is given below.
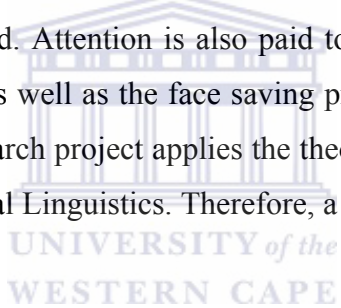
2.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics: Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) or Functional Grammar (FG) is an approach to language pioneered by Halliday (1994). Other scholars (Bloor and Bloor 1994, Butt *et al.* 2000, Collerson 1994, Droga *et al.* 2002, Eggins and Slade 1997, Gerot and Wignell 1995, Lock 1996, Martin *et al.* 1997, Morley 2000 and Unsworth 2000) have adopted and elaborated his theories of grammar. This grammar views language as a resource for making meaning. As Gerot and Wignell (1995:6) add, it endeavours to give an account of language in use and so pays attention to texts and their contexts.

Through the systemic functional model, language is viewed as a resource for making the following layers of meanings at the same time: experiential (ideational) meanings, interpersonal meanings, and textual meanings. Eggins and Slade (1997:48) note: "These simultaneous layers of meaning can be identified in linguistic units of all sizes: in the

8

word, phrase, clause, sentence and text". Therefore, all the three meanings operate in any text, of which the conversation about xenophobia is an example.

Halliday (1994) and others (given above) treat the clause as the basic unit for analysis in Functional Grammar. As Halliday (1994:35) states, the clause is a composite entity since it is constituted by three motifs. Firstly, a clause has a meaning as a message: looked at in this way, we say it has a textual meaning. Secondly, it has a meaning as a representation of activities – hence having an experiential meaning. Lastly, it has a meaning as an exchange between or among people – an interpersonal meaning. However, it is worth mentioning here that the whole text (which subsumes the clause) can be used as a unit for analysis. This thesis focuses on the interpersonal meanings in the text, as they are most relevant to issues of face and politeness.

2.4 Interpersonal Meaning of a clause

The interpersonal meaning refers to the use of language to interact with people, to establish and maintain social relationships and to express our viewpoints and attitudes about the world and to possibly change the viewpoints and attitudes of others.

As Halliday (1994:68) states, with the clause's organization as a message and a representation, it is also organized – at the same time – as an interactive event. The clause is seen as an 'interaction' or even an 'exchange'. The entities that are engaged in the interaction are: the speaker, or writer, and audience. Halliday (1994) proposes that the terminology 'speaker' be used as a cover term for both speaker – in spoken language, and writer – in written language. The 'audience', in the same manner, covers both the listener and the reader. As a corollary of Halliday's (1994) proposition, I will use the term 'speaker' in the abstract to refer to people who produce language in any particular instance.

In explaining the clause as an interactive event, Halliday (1994) makes two basic distinctions: the core types of speech roles underlying more specific ones – giving and demanding, and the nature of the commodities being exchanged – goods, or services, and information. Basically, each clause either gives or demands one of the commodities. An interactant, by giving either of the commodities, endeavours to trigger the other into

9

receiving it, and by demanding either of the commodities, he or she endeavours to trigger the other into giving it. Thus, as Martin *et al.* (1997:58) argue, though the clause is the basic grammatical unit for analysis, interpersonal grammar needs us to transcend a single clause by a speaker if we are to see the interactivity in its full element. This is because a dialogue "is essentially an interactive, collaborative process" (Martin *et al.* 1997:58).

The four primary speech functions: Offer, Command, Statement and Question are, as Halliday (1994:69) states, defined by the two variables (giving/demanding and types of commodities) stated above. The clause, according to Halliday (1994:70) takes on the form of a proposition when it is used to exchange information (statement and question), and when used to exchange goods and services (offer and command), it takes on the form of a proposal. For example, *Who is that man over there?* asks for information while *Give me that knife* asks for action.

However, as Martin *et al.* (1997:58) note, not every speech function is clear-cut or congruent. By means of interpersonal metaphors, a speech function can be realized by a grammatical form that does not prototypically correspond to it. Over and above that, the speech functional options can be expanded to exceed four. For instance, a command: *Give me two loaves of bread!* can be expressed as an interrogative: *Would you give me two loaves of bread please?* This adds an aspect of politeness and turns an order into a request. Halliday (1994:342) states that due to a natural linguistic change, the use of the metaphor prevails to the extent that it has now become the norm.

As Halliday (1994:70) points out, propositions (statements and questions) have a much more clearly defined grammar than proposals (offers and commands). In addition, statements and questions constitute ends in themselves, and further serve as an entry to many other rhetorical functions. Thus, languages are very resourceful with regard to propositions. For instance, the statements and questions, as exchange commodities, "can be affirmed or denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered, regretted and so on" (Halliday 1994:70). The data for my study, being a discussion among peers, is exclusively made up of propositions.

According to Martin and White (2005:33), the following three systems co-articulate interpersonal meaning: Negotiation, Involvement and Appraisal. Negotiation focuses on the interactive aspects of discourse, speech function and exchange structure. Involvement focuses on non-gradable resources for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity. The terms of address, expletives (and related euphemisms and interjections as well as other lexical resources) functioning as signals of group affiliation fall under Involvement. Appraisal focuses on resources that are used for evaluation.

This research investigates how the participants employ the interpersonal system of Appraisal, and it recognizes that the notion of politeness is linked to Appraisal, most especially to Engagement (which is an aspect of the appraisal framework). As Martin and White (2005:35) show, Appraisal is regionalized as three interacting domains: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behaviour and evaluation of things. Graduation is concerned with grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified or toned down and categories are focused or blurred. Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. In the words of Martin and White (2005:36):

> Engagement is concerned with the ways in which resources such as projection, modality, polarity, concession and various comment adverbials position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position – by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so on.

Since the discussion about xenophobia is a very sensitive issue in the context, it is interesting to investigate how the speakers employ Engagement in the course of their talk. In the next section therefore, I shall give a preview of Engagement. I shall begin by foregrounding it as a dialogic perspective whereby a speaker engages (by agreeing or disagreeing) not only with prior speakers and current interlocutors, but also with anticipatory responses. Further, following Martin and White (2005), I show that solidarity means more than agreeing with another party; it can also mean to acknowledge diverse viewpoints as valid. I shall review the core types of Engagement, and lastly, consider

modality both as a dialogistic notion and as a grammatical category. As a grammatical category, I will describe the different types of modality, their various expressions, orientations, and values. This study argues that speakers can use modal expressions with different values interchangeably and indiscriminately, and that depending on the context, high modality values do not always indicate indeterminacy, but that they can emphasize absoluteness.

2.5 Engagement: A Dialogic Perspective

According to Martin and White (2005:92), the dialogic perspective concerns itself with "the linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address". Martin and White's (2005) approach is informed by Bakhtin and Voloshinov's now widely influential notions of *dialogism* and *heteroglossia,* under which all verbal communication is *dialogic.* In other words, as Martin and White (2005:92) argue, "to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners". As will be discussed later in chapters 4 and 5, participants, as they speak, draw on the repertoire of discourses available in their societies: the participants discussing xenophobia take up what has been said before concerning experiences of foreigners in this country as well as that of locals. Therefore, what the participants have said, according to Martin and White (2005:92), could also be a reflection of or a reaction to what was said by speakers outside of this text.

In foregrounding the aspect of interactivity in verbal communication, Voloshinov (1995, in Martin and White 2005:92) argues:

> The actual reality of language-speech is not the abstract system of linguistic
> forms, not the isolated monologic utterance, and not the psychological act of
> its implementation, but the social event of verbal interaction implemented in
> an utterance or utterances. Thus, verbal interaction is the basic reality of
> language.

As Voloshinov (1995, in Martin and White 2005:92) further argues, verbal performance (be it spoken or written) "engages in ideological colloquy of a large scale: it responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on". Martin and White (2005:92) point out that all utterances are seen as in some way stanced or attitudinal. They explain:

> This dialogic perspective leads us to attend to the nature of the relationship which the speaker/writer is presented as entering into with 'prior utterances in the same sphere' – with those other speakers who have previously taken a stand with respect to the issue under consideration, especially when, in so speaking, they have established some socially significant community of shared belief and value (Martin and White 2005:93).

However, this colloquy does not start and end with the current and prior speakers; it extends to the next or prospective speaker. As Martin and White (2005:93) note: "The dialogistic perspective leads us to attend to the anticipatory aspect of the text – to the signals speakers/writers provide as to how they expect those they address to respond to the current proposition it advances".

In explaining the notion of Engagement by using the framework of dialogic perspective, Martin and White (2005:94) state that it (Engagement) subsumes "all those locutions which provide the means for the authorial voice to position itself with respect to, and hence to 'engage' with, the other voices and alternative positions construed as being in play in the current communicative context".

In offering another perspective to the concept of solidarity with regard to 'alignment/disalignment' or agreement/disagreement, Martin and White (2005:95) contend that solidarity is more than a matter of degree of ideational and/or attitudinal agreement. The foregoing scholars have added another dimension to its meaning: a reference to the fact that interlocutors can be accommodating to each other's contrasting views. Thus, speakers may always maintain solidarity with those with whom they disagree by indicating that they recognize this diversity of viewpoints as valid and that they are prepared to engage with those who hold to a different position.

This notion of solidarity, as advanced by Martin and White (2005) relates to the concept of face-work in that, though interlocutors will disagree, tolerance for alternative viewpoints is upheld and the diversity of viewpoints is recognized as natural and legitimate. I recognize, in this thesis, that solidarity is related to face-work. The participants guard against Face Threatening Acts or Incidents to both the positive face and the negative face of their interlocutors. On the one hand, the participants boost each other's positive face (the desire to be appreciated) by agreeing with each other or by tolerating alternative viewpoints. On the other hand, the participants' negative face is guarded or maintained when others' viewpoints are not imposed on them.

Core Types of Engagement Meanings

As Martin and White (2005:97) show, Engagement meanings or dialogic positionings, can, in many different ways, construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses. There are two broad types of choices: Expansive and Contractive. While Expansive choices give or allow space for alternative viewpoints, Contractive choices close down the alternative viewpoints. Expansive choices include both the dialogic positionings of Entertain and Attribute, while Contractive choices entail Disclaim and Proclaim. Below, I will give an overview of each of the types, but, as I have already indicated, I will dwell more on Entertain, under which modality – one of the notions I am using in the analysis of the thesis – is regionalized.

In the first contractive option, Disclaim, the textual voice rejects a contrary position. A speaker may, on the one hand, deny or refuse to buy a proposed idea. In this case, he/she may use the adverb 'not'. On the other hand, a speaker may speak in opposition to a proposed idea. In this case, he/she is said to counter a proposed idea. Such contrastive conjunctions as 'although' and 'however' can be used to signal countering. In the second contractive option: Proclaim, a speaker presents a proposition as highly warrantable (compelling, valid, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable, etc). Proclaim entails the following three strands: Concur, Pronounce and Endorse. In Concur, a speaker, in ruling out alternative positions, agrees with a particular proposed idea. Such a phrase as 'of course' and a word as 'obviously' can be used in Concur. In Pronounce, a speaker comes across as 'passing judgment' on a proposed idea. In other words, he/she speaks in a

way akin to 'making a decision' regarding the validity of a proposed idea. Such a phrase as 'the truth of the matter' can be used in Pronounce. Lastly, in Endorse, a speaker supports or recommends a previous speaker's proposition and can use such expressions as 'he/she has shown that ...'

In the Expansive options: Attribute and Entertain, a proposition is presented as only a range of possible positions. Thus, tacitly or not, the dialogic space for alternative viewpoints is opened up. In Attribute, a speaker simply uses distancing formulations (unlike in Endorse whereby a speaker aligns himself/herself with or supports a particular viewpoint). He/she can use 'the speaker claims that ...' In Entertain, a speaker indicates that his/her position is only one among other possible positions; he/she, generally, makes dialogic space for those possibilities or dialogistic alternatives. As Martin and White (2005:104-105) show, Entertain is regionalized around three smaller sub-categories: modals (epistemic and deontic), evidentials (appearance-based postulations) and certain types of pseudo, rhetorical or expository questions. I shall confine my discussion to Modality – the angle I focus on in this thesis – which I will look at from two points of view: first, as a means of dialogistic work, to 'entertain' others' views, as explained by Martin and White (2005) in their discussion of 'Engagement'; and then secondly, from the 'traditional' or 'grammatical' perspective, as a means of indicating a 'lack of commitment to the truth value' of a proposition as explained by such semanticists as Palmer (1986), Lyons (1977) and Coates (1983, in Martin and White 2005).

Modality as a Dialogistic Notion

Modality has, for a long time, been treated as a means of indicating a 'lack of commitment to the truth value' of propositions (Epistemic Modality) and 'directives/permission/obligation' (Deontic Modality) as in Coates (1983, in Martin and White 2005:106), Palmer (1986) and Fintel (2006). However, Martin and White (2005:106) give another perspective to the understanding of the use of modality: dialogistic purposes, which develops the above-mentioned more traditional accounts. Thus, as Martin and White (2005) contend, depending on the communicative aim, a speaker can use locutions of modality for purely dialogistic purposes. In other words, a speaker can use a modal expression to acknowledge the fact that as he or she holds a

particular view, their listeners or interlocutors may be holding different views, which are also anticipated. Martin and White (2005:105) argue:

> When viewed dialogistically (rather than from the perspective of a truth-functional semantics, as is often the case), such locutions are seen actively to construe a heteroglossic backdrop for the text by overtly grounding the proposition in the contingent, individual subjectivity of the speaker/writer and thereby recognizing that the proposition is but one among a number of propositions available in the current communicative context.

Similarly, in grounding the concept of modality in interpersonal relations, Hyland (2000, in Martin and White 2005:108) argues that hedges – Epistemic Modality markers that may be used to signal the lack of commitment by the speaker to the truth positions – sometimes act to convey 'deference, modesty or respect' rather than to convey uncertainty. As Kranich (2009:5) observes in his article *Epistemic Modality in English Popular Scientific Texts and their German Translations*, it appears to be more typical of English (popular) scientific texts (than those of German) to express the authorial stance at the expense of presenting information objectively. This strategy is subsumed under face-work and politeness. Kranich (2009:5) further states:

> The use of an epistemic modal expression as a hedging device can be said to be motivated by a wish to be more polite, state matters less directly and leave more room for non-face-threatening intervention (such as disagreement) on the part of the addressee.

According to Vazquez and Giner (2008:3), Myers (1989, in Varttala 2001:69), who paid particular attention to the use of politeness markers including hedges and their functions in academic discourse, considers the idea that hedges "may be employed to protect negative face [...] founded on the rationale that, [...] the authors of such texts may feel a need to assure the readers that the ideas put forth are not intended to exclude alternative views". Hubler (1983, in Vazquez and Giner 2008:7) affirms:

> The function of hedges is to reduce the risk of negation. Thus, it can be claimed that, in all communication, while showing deference to the addressee,

the speaker or writer also tries to protect him/herself from potential anger, contempt or other humiliation on the part of the addressee.

Thus, as Martin and White (2005:108-109) contend, the modalising locutions, in addition to expressing the truth value position of propositions, have a pragmatic communicative function of dialogistically validating alternative viewpoints and providing for the "possibility of solidarity with those who hold alternative positions, at least to the extent that those who hold to contrastive positions are recognized as potential participants in the ongoing colloquy".

Modality as a Grammatical Category

As Palmer (1986) notes, modality – like other entities such as aspect, tense, number and gender – is a grammatical category that can be easily recognized in a language. Thus, adds Palmer, "the category of modality can be identified, described and compared across a number of different and unrelated languages". However, the meaning of modality is not as straightforward as that of each of its other grammatical counterparts. It is for this reason, therefore, that modality does not have a clear-cut definition. Palmer argues:

> What is less obvious is the characterization of the semantic function of modality. Tense can be defined as the grammatical category related to time, number as the category related to enumeration ... and gender is often extended to include more than sex; but in practice, there is no difficulty in deciding what should be treated as examples of such categories. The notion of modality, however, is much more vague and leaves open a number of possible definitions (Palmer, 1986:1).

Definitions of Modality

In spite of its 'vagueness' and the many definitions offered for it, a few definitions that are more widely accepted can be foregrounded. Eggins and Slade (1997:98) define modality as a range of different ways in which speakers can temper or qualify their messages. Palmer (1986:16) says that modality could be defined as the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions. However, as

17

Palmer (1986) adds, modality should not be tied only to speakers; sometimes, the speakers report others' expressions of opinions and attitudes (by using 'quotatives'). This echoes Martin and White's (2005:111) notion of Attribution (under the concept of Engagement) whereby a speaker uses formulations that disassociate the proposition from him/herself by way of attributing it to some external voice.

Polarity, the term used to refer to the choice between positive and negative, or assertion and denial (as when a person gives an answer to a question) can be used as a point of reference when explaining modality. Halliday (1997) explains:

> (T)he possibilities aren't limited to a choice between yes and no. There are intermediate degrees: various kinds of indeterminacy that fall in between, like 'sometimes' or 'maybe'. These intermediate degrees, between the positive and negative poles, are known as MODALITY (Halliday, 1997:88).

It can be said that the intermediate degrees that fall in between yes and no echo the uncertainties. Polarity shows truth or what is absolute, while modality shows how uncertain our world is. Thus, in a nutshell, our world is not only real, it is also ideal, imagined, speculated, and contested, and modality concerns that.

Types of Modalities

Modality, like other grammatical systems, comes in different types or categories. However, as will be seen in the different types glossed by different linguists, there is a lot of contestation around the kinds of modalities. This study, while it does not argue with the distinct types offered by various authors, suggests that the authors are often saying the same thing. The difference mainly lies in the different words used for the same types.

Cases in point are typologies given by Fintel (2006), Palmer (2001) and Halliday (1994). According to Fintel (2006), an SFL theorist, there are five types of modalities: epistemic, deontic, bouletic, circumstantial and teleological. Epistemic modality (from Greek *episteme*, meaning 'knowledge') concerns what is possible or necessary given what is known and what the available evidence is. An example is *It has to be raining* after observing people coming inside with wet umbrellas. Deontic modality (from Greek *deon*,

meaning 'duty') concerns what is possible, necessary, permissible, or obligatory, given a body of law or a set of moral principles or the like. An example is *Visitors have to leave by six p.m.* Bouletic modality concerns what is possible or necessary, given a person's desires. For instance, *You have to go to bed in six hours.* Circumstantial modality, sometimes known as Dynamic modality, concerns what is possible or necessary, given a particular set of circumstances. For instance, *I have to sneeze* given the current state of one's nose. The last type of modality, Teleological modality (from Greek telos, meaning 'goal') concerns what means are possible or necessary for achieving a particular goal, for instance, *To get home in time, you have to take a taxi.*

Hacquard (2009:3) agrees with Fintel in terms of the types of modalities and their descriptions, except that he does not recognize Circumstantial modality. Hacquard (2009) instead brings into the equation a different type of modality, that of Abilitive modality, which, he says, concerns possibilities given the subject's physical abilities. For instance, *In view of his physical abilities, John can lift 200lbs.*

Palmer (2001, in Kranich 2009) says that there are two broad types of modalities: propositional modality and event modality. Propositional modality is basically epistemic modality in that markers of this kind of modality can function as comments on the status of information in a proposition. "They can mark certainty (or doubt), actuality, precision or limitation" (Biber *et al.* 1999: 972 in Kranich 2009). For instance, *They may be in town.* Event modality subsumes both deontic modality and dynamic modality. Kranich (2009) further states that deontic modality refers to expressions of obligation (for example, *You should do your homework.*) while dynamic modality refers to expressions of volition and ability (for example, *I can jump over my height*).

Kinds of Expressions that have Modal meanings

Modality can be expressed in a number of different ways, by using different grammatical resources. Fairclough (2003:121), in giving a detailed account of markers of modality, distinguishes the following types of realizations of modality:

(i)   Modal verbs: e.g. *could, may, should, can, might and ought to.*

(ii)   Different types of adverbs such as those of probability and usuality: e.g. *probably, usually*.

(iii)   Participial adjectives: e.g. *required, obliged, expected.*

(iv)   Modal adjectives: e.g. *possible*, *certain*.

(v)   Mental verbs: e.g. *I think, I suppose*.

(vi)   Noun groups or prepositional phrases: e.g. *in all probability*.

(vii)   Verbs of appearance or stative verbs: e.g. *seem*, *appear*.

(viii) Hedges: e.g. *sort of.*

As Fairclough (2003) notes, intonation and other aspects of oral delivery are also relevant to a speaker's degree of commitment – whether things are said in a hesitant, tentative, confident or assertive tone. However, aspects of oral delivery are not automatically or easily interpretable. For example, something unexpected may distract a speaker and lead him or her to say something somewhat hesitantly, but this will not signify a lack of commitment.

Orientation of Modalities

From the kinds of expressions of modal meanings given above, it is clear that there are several ways in which modality is realized in the English language. Halliday (1994:357) refers to the basic distinction that determines how each type of modality will be realized as 'orientation'. According to Halliday (1994), there are two basic orientations: the distinction between subjective and objective modality, and between the explicit and implicit variants.

Modality is subjective if it is explicitly or implicitly the speaker's assessment. For instance, *I think they went to school,* is a statement couched in subjective modality. On the other hand, modality is objective if, as Martin and White 2005:130) explain, the speaker's role is in some way obscured, backgrounded or impersonalized. For instance, *It is likely that we will trek*. However, following Eggins and Slade (1997), this study proposes that the distinction between subjective and objective modality is hard to make. This is due to the fact that, in all cases of modality, the aspect of subjectivity plays a fundamental role.

Whether the speaker displays his/her subjectivity in an utterance or not, his or her feelings remain an important feature in the utterance.

Values of Modalities

According to Halliday (1994:358), the speakers' modal judgment can be graded into three different values: high, median and low. Thus, when the value of a modal expression is high (for example, *She always cooks*) the speaker commits himself or herself more to a proposition than when the value of a modal expression is median (for example, *She usually cooks*). A modal expression of a low value (for example, *She sometimes cooks*), correspondingly, shows that the speaker's affinity with the proposition is weak.

In Table 1.1 below, the three values of modality, according to Halliday (1994:358) are as follows:

	Probability	Usuality	Obligation	Inclination
High	certain	always	required	determined
Median	probable	usually	supposed	keen
Low	possible	sometimes	allowed	willing

However, this study suggests that not all expressions of modality can be classified or graded into three values. Not all modal expressions will fit perfectly into the three values. For example, the expression *In my opinion* does not clearly fit under any of the three values.

Secondly, many users of English may appropriate the expressions of modality differently. For instance, what Halliday (1994) may refer to as a low value of modality may, for some people, not be a low value. How particular groups are socialized to use certain words may be different. For instance, people for whom English is not the first language may use both *probable* (median) and *possible* (low) interchangeably and indiscriminately. Nevertheless, even the native speakers of English may, due to casual and common usage of certain expressions, deviate from the 'standard' or 'prescribed' use of the expressions. For instance, in the discussion about xenophobia, there is only one participant (of the four) for

whom English is the mother tongue. For two, English is the third language, and for the other one, it is the second language. In addition to that, all the participants speak three or more other languages in addition to English. Other than using the adjectives *probable* and *possible* interchangeably, as stated above, I note that the word *possible* is a case in point of words that speakers largely use as a marker for both low and median modality.

Categorical Assertion and High Modality Values

There is contestation around the ambit of meaning of some high modality values. While Lyons (1977:809, in Palmer 1986:28, and Halliday 1994:89) states that high modal values cannot be used by speakers to express the absoluteness that unmodalized clauses express, this study argues that high modality values can be used when one intends to emphasize the absoluteness of what one is saying. In saying that there is no epistemically stronger statement than a categorical assertion, for instance, Lyons (1977:809, in Palmer 1986) opines that when such modal expressions as 'must' and 'certainly' are laced into utterances, it is clear that the speakers' commitment to the factuality of the propositions is dependent upon their perhaps limited knowledge. Halliday (1994:89) states:

> Note also that even a high value modal ('certainly', 'always') is less determinate than a polar form: *that's certainly John* is less certain than *that's John*; *it always rains in summer* is less invariable than *it rains in summer*. In other words, you only say you are certain when you are not.

I would argue that speakers commonly use such high value modals with an intention of putting to rest doubt that could be lurking in their listeners. For instance, in the English discourses familiar to the researcher, a speaker might start with a categorical assertion without a high modal value, but subsequently resort to a high modal value on being prodded further by skepticism on the part of the listener. For example:

Speaker 1: The Glazers have begun to sink Manchester United.

Speaker 2: No, they have not. The club is not under administration.

Speaker 1: Believe me. It is on record that the club is in a 720 million pound debt. Renowned newspapers have reported many a time that on the altar of paying themselves handsomely from the profits the club makes, they have not signed any significant player.

They are siphoning off the club. Furthermore, Chelsea has already pitted Manchester United to the Premier League Championship. They certainly are sinking the club!

In almost all kinds of interactions we are engaged in, we are bound to use modalities since our world and experiences in it are not only in terms of facts and absoluteness. This research project investigates how participants engaged in the discussion about xenophobia use these resources of modality to temper as well as to give judgment or relativity to their messages.

In the section below, I give a preview of Graduation or Scaling. To some extent, the domain of Graduation is also relevant and it needs mention here. In fact, as Martin and White (2005:135) show, it can be looked at as a system that intersects with Engagement. Further, it can be considered a feature of Engagement.

2.6 Graduation/Scaling as a feature of Engagement

The three systems of appraisal: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement are so intertwined that they intersect with and affect each other. For instance, Graduation can be looked at as a feature of both Attitude and Engagement. All attitudinal meanings can be graded to show greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity. For instance, feelings can be graded in the following way, with varying intensity: *contentedly* (low), *happily* (medium) and *ecstatically* (high). As well, values of Engagement can be graded or scaled. For instance, as shown in Table 1.1 (page 21) above, the modal auxiliaries *possible* (low), *probable* (medium) and *certain* (high) which come under the subsystem of Entertain can be used to show different scales or degrees of a speaker's investment in an utterance. Therefore, Graduation plays a big role in Engagement: by up-scaling or down-scaling, a speaker achieves particular dialogistic effects.

As Martin and White (2005) show, there are two types of Graduation: Force and Focus. The Graduation type of Force concerns inherently scalable categories, and it subsumes 'intensification' and 'quantification'. 'Intensification' refers to the scaling of qualities (for instance, *slightly foolish* and *extremely foolish*), processes (for instance, *This slightly hindered us*, *This greatly hindered us*) and modalities of likelihood (for instance, *it's just possible that*, *it's very possible that*). 'Quantification' refers to the scaling of entities. This

concerns the imprecise measuring of both number (for instance, *a few miles*, *many miles*) and presence or mass of entities with regard to such features as size, and weight, (for instance, *small amount*, *large amount*). The examples given above have been extracted from Martin and White (2005:140-141).

The Graduation type of Focus has prototypicality as its essence. Focus, most typically, concerns categories which are inherently 'unscalable'. In this case, as Martin and White (2005:137) explain, phenomena are scaled according to the degree to which they match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category. Therefore, Focus allows a speaker to reconstrue phenomena as appearing in scalable clines of prototypicality: from prototypical to marginal. Speakers can either 'sharpen' their focus to strongly flag a positive attitudinal assessment or to indicate maximal investment in the value position they are advancing. In this case, they may use such 'prototypical' terms as 'true', 'real' and 'genuine'. On the other hand, speakers can 'soften' their focus to flag negative assessment or to indicate low investment in the value position they are advancing. By 'softening' their focus, they evaluate phenomena as not really prototypical, but as lying on the outer margins of prototypicality. Hence, a speaker may use hedges such as 'kind of' to soften his focus.

In the section below, I discuss the notion of identity. One of the research questions relates to how the interlocutors negotiate their identities as they engage with each other in the discussion of xenophobia.

2.7 Identity

Usually, people think of identity as merely a quality that makes one person different from the other. People also tend to assume that our identities can only be defined in terms of categories such as race, gender, ethnicity, nationality and religion. This assumption might lead us into regarding identity as a rather stable phenomenon. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) note, earlier researchers on identity, notably variationists, seem to support this view. However, as postmodern theorists postulate, identities should be understood as much more complex than an analysis based on these categories. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argue, identities are constructed in interactions. In

addition, Cameron (2001) posits that identity should not be treated as something fixed, stable and unitary that people acquire early in life and possess forever afterwards. This study looks at identity in terms of five different dimensions. First, it draws on Blommaert's (2005) argument that people construct their identities out of specific configurations of the semiotic resources available to them. From this perspective, each of the four participants who took part in this discussion about xenophobia has particular resources or semiotic options that function as his potential identity markers.

Secondly, this study foregrounds the performance aspect of identity. Blommaert (2005) argues that identity categories have to be enacted and performed in order to be socially salient. Following Blommaert's argument that all identities can be constructed in flexible ways, I point out that in this study, the context, purpose and occasion have an impact on the options selected by the participants to perform particular identities.

Thirdly, as Cameron (2001) and Blommaert (2005) argue, identity is also a co-constructed phenomenon. In other words, one does not 'do' identity by oneself; the others in the interaction also play a role. Blommaert (2005:205) explains:

> (M)eaning – including the attribution of identity categories – is a dialogical practice in which the uptake of one's semiotic acts may be as consequential as the structure of the semiotic acts themselves. In other words, in order for an identity to be established, it has to be recognized by others. That means that a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself.

Fourthly, poststructuralists (see Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) have added another important dimension to the understanding of identity: they emphasize the role of power relations and political arrangements in communities and societies in shaping identities or even imposing categories of identity on others.

Lastly, identity can also be looked at as shifting and multiple, as something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other and the world. In a day, for instance, we show many different sides of ourselves by the different things we do and the different ways we do them. This study also looks at identity – since it is multiple and shifting – as correlated with the concept of positioning and footing.

Blommaert (2005:209) defines 'speaker position' as a shifting perspective adopted by speakers in narratives and involving shifts in stylistic, epistemic, and affective stances. He also argues that speaker position is the clearest empirical clue for identity. Other theorists have used the term 'footing' to refer to speaker position. As Johnstone (2008:142) proposes, "One useful way of thinking about how people orient to their own and others' roles is in terms of footing". According to Goffman (1981, in Johnstone 2008:142), "(a) change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance".

Thus, in the discussion on xenophobia, the speakers speak from different positions and so enact different roles and identities. Their interlocutors also play a part as co-constructors of identities. Goffman (1981, in Johnstone 2008:142) points out that there are other nuances of footings through which different roles can be identified. These roles, vis-à-vis the speakers' utterances, are: the 'principal' or the person or group who has decided what to say and is responsible for its having been said; the author, the person who planned the actual words; and the animator or the person who wrote down or spoke the words. The participants are equipped with a lot of adroitness and they fine-tune their utterances as they negotiate their identities in many different ways through the various positions and the nuances of footings they take up.

This research project explores how the recorded discussion – as a co-constructed event – shapes particular positions and identities for the participants. Cameron (2001) points out that performance is ongoingly affected by others' reception of it, and that our identities emerge not only from what we do ourselves, but also from the way others position us in what they say to or about us.

As SFL theorists Eggins and Slade (1997) observe, the apparent triviality of a casual conversation belies the fact that it is, in fact, a highly structured, functionally motivated, semantic activity. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that the discussion about xenophobia – even though it is a constructed event in the sense that it was constituted for a research activity – is akin to a casual conversation. This is thanks to such factors as the egalitarian nature of the relationships between the interlocutors and the aura of ease and familiarity that prevailed. By engaging in a conversation, we enter a process of making

26

meanings. It is in this process that we negotiate meanings about what is going on in the world, how we feel about it, and how we feel about the people we interact with. In doing this, we therefore continually establish who we are vis-à-vis other people with whom we share this world. In a nutshell, conversation, be it casual or semiformal, is an important area in which language is used to negotiate dimensions of our social identity.

In the section below, I discuss the notion of face, drawing on works by Goffman (1967) and Muhleisen and Migge (2005).

2.8 Face

The notion of 'face' is also important to this research project since the participants engage in a discussion on such a delicate topic as xenophobia. Goffman (1999 [1967]) defines face as an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes. Brown and Levinson (1987:61, in Migge and Muhleisen 2005:7) highlight the dynamic and delicate nature of face. According to them, face is:

> (T)he public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself and it is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in an interaction (Brown and Levinson 1987:61).

Naturally, each of us, in whatever we do, wants to have a good image of ourselves. In other words, when we (or others) do or say things that present us in a negative light, then, inevitably, we feel rather bad. However, when positive things come from us, or are directed at us, we feel good. Usually, our feelings are attached to the images we give about ourselves to others or the images that others give to us in our everyday interactions. Goffman (1967:307) writes:

> A person may be said to have, or be in, or maintain face when the line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgments and evidence conveyed by other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation.

The 'line' that a participant takes is – in Goffman's (1967) words – "a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through his evaluation of the participants, especially himself or herself". He or she is said to be in wrong face or out of it when something which questions or compromises his or her social worth happens.

Face-work refers to the various practices that concern face: those that lead to the saving, maintenance or enhancement of face. Face-work either tends to prevail when two or more people interact. This is because we have the propensity to evaluate ourselves more thoroughly when in others' company than when we are alone. Besides, face work is mutual. We tend to sense if our fellow participants are in face or out of it at a given time in our interactions. If we are friendly – or, if we just want to appear so – to each other, then we are forced to try and ensure that each other is in face, unlike when we are not friendly.

Each person, subculture, and society – as Goffman (1967:309) points out – seems to have repertoires to draw from with regard to practices that save face. Even though the participants in this research project come from different social and national backgrounds, they are expected to come into the conversation already equipped with some adroitness of face-work. It is therefore interesting to explore how each participant deals with such a sensitive topic as xenophobia. Since, as indicated above, the participants will want to guard the warm relationship enjoyed amongst them before the conversation, I will explore the linguistic means they use, bearing in mind that at times, each is supposed to express his true feelings which will have to border on giving depreciating information about the others. In the next section, I discuss the notion of politeness, which is closely linked to face.

2.9 Politeness, negative face and positive face

As Muhleisen and Migge (2005:8) state, the theory of politeness is most commonly associated with Brown and Levinson (1987), in whose work the notion of 'face' is central. In giving an insight into the origins of politeness, Muhleisen and Migge (2005) invoke the

work of earlier scholars such as Austin (1962), Searle (1970, 1972), Lakoff (1973b) and Leech 1983). In Muhleisen and Migge's (2005:8) words:

> Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1970, 1972) speech act theory as well as Grice's work on conversational implicatures provided the first theoretical ground for the exploration of linguistic politeness in the 1960s and '70s. Some of the early models of politeness were thus expansions of Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) (Lakoff 1973b), or took CP as a starting point for a model of general pragmatics (Leech 1983) which would then include a Politeness Principle (PP) with six or more maxims (Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy).

Youssef (2005:228) describes Grice's (1975) four maxims (quantity, quality, clarity and relevance) as being concerned with 'conversational efficiency': saying what is required in any given situation. However, as Youssef (2005:228) points out, Grice (1975) acknowledged possible additional maxims of an aesthetic, social or moral nature such as that of politeness.

Envisaging underlying rules of pragmatic competence distinctively as 'be clear' and 'be polite', Lakoff (1973:297-298, in Youssef, 2005) puts a higher premium on 'politeness', for which her postulates are: do not impose, give options, and be friendly. Thus, as Muhleisen and Migge (2005:230) and Johnstone (2008:146) show, Brown and Levinson (1987) have built on Goffman's (1955) notion of 'face' and Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness.

According to Johnstone (2008:146), Brown and Levinson (1987:13) describe the notion of 'face' as consisting of two specific kinds of desires or 'face wants' attributed by interactants to one another: negative face and positive face. Brown and Levinson (1987:13) "viewed negative face as the desire for autonomy, "to be unimpeded in one's actions" and positive face as the desire for connection with others, "to be liked and approved of" (Youssef 2005:230).

Face Threatening Acts and Politeness Strategies

Given the dynamic and delicate nature of face and face-work, Brown and Levinson, (1987:61, in Muhleisen and Migge 2005:7) describe face as "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in an interaction". Participants in a talk may be required or expected to make an effort to ensure that the social equilibrium is regulated. At this point, it is worth mentioning two more easily discernable elements to face-work: 'Face Threatening Acts' (FTAs) and their corresponding 'Redressive Actions' (RAs) or 'Politeness Strategies' (PS). Johnstone (2008:146) refers to an FTA as a speech action that poses a threat to the addressee's positive and negative face, and the counter to the FTAs as politeness strategies. However, an action need not only be verbal. Goffman (1967:306) uses the term 'line' to refer to an action, either verbal or nonverbal by which a participant expresses his view of the situation as well as the evaluation of himself or his interlocutors. Thus, a line is what a participant does (verbal or nonverbal) and can either be an FTA or a redressive action.

As Youssef (2005:230) points out, the most common speech acts all carry face-threatening aspects. For instance, as Muhleisen and Migge (2005:8) argue, directives or requests restrict an individual's claim to freedom of action and freedom of imposition, thus being negative FTAs; insults or criticisms, on the other hand, violate an individual's desire to be liked and approved of and are thus positive FTAs. However, as Youssef (2005:230) reminds us, FTAs are not merely one-dimensional; they can be 'double-edged'. In his words:

> Requests threaten the negative face of the hearer, but if the hearer refuses, the positive face of the requester is affected; apologies demand a loss of positive face of the speaker but also threaten the hearer's negative face by demanding that he/she become involved in an exonerating response; compliments support the hearer's positive face but also have potential for negative face constraints; disagreements threaten the positive face of both hearer and speaker (Youssef 2005:230).

As a corollary of Youssef's (2005:230) argument, I contend that in the discussion about xenophobia (as in any other interaction), many utterances are potentially FTAs, and what would distinguish one FTA from the other is the degree of each and the participants' contextualization clues. In other words, a listener may not read between the lines or he or she may attach a different meaning (to an utterance) from that intended by a speaker.

As Muhleisen and Migge (2005:8) write, PS (RAs) are the actions used by participants to minimize particular FTAs. They are either positive politeness strategies or negative politeness strategies. Muhleisen and Migge (2005:8) propose three main strategies for redressing each of the FTAs (positive FTAs and negative FTAs): claiming common ground, noticing and attending to the hearer's interests, and using in-group identity markers to enhance positive face; the use of indirectness, apologies and impersonalizations to minimize negative FTAs or lessen the imposition.

It is worth mentioning, however, that politeness as a concept is much more dynamic and delicate than I have explained and discussed above. It is a diverse concept and the FTAs and the Politeness Strategies are not characterized by rigidity. For instance, there cannot be an ideal or unproblematic model for the exhaustive or comprehensive formula for or description of FTAs and their corresponding Politeness Strategies. Context also plays a big role in what is to become an FTA or a politeness strategy. In addition to that, a 'line' depends on the contextualization clues of both the speaker and the listener (uptake).

Criticism on Brown and Levinson's Model of Politeness

The model of politeness, as put forth by Brown and Levinson (1987), is very useful for the explanation of face-work and its dynamics. However, like many other theories, the model has been criticized. For instance, Johnstone (2008:6) states that research on interactions in an Asian context indicates that Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of "negative face," or the desire to be unimpeded, was better adapted to Euro-American social reality.

From the critique of Brown and Levinson's (1987) work above, it follows, then, that negative face may be relevant only in societies where a high premium is placed on the individual and in which people are regarded as relatively autonomous. In more collective

societies, what spurs social interaction is the concern for the group's interests, rather than the individual's. However, I would like to argue that the notion of collectivist vis-à-vis individualistic societies is neither clear-cut nor unproblematic. Invoking Huntington (1996) and Robertson's (2003, in Kumaravadivelu 2009) explanation of the relationship between civilization and culture, as well as Levi-Strauss's (cited in Borofsky 1994, in Kumaravadivelu 2009) description of culture, I contend that culture, in general, is characterized by hybridity and flexibility.

Further, and as a result of globalization (enhanced by movies, music, phones, face-book, youtube, and so on) people who belong to different cultures are increasingly brought into contact in the same 'global village'. This has led to a dialogue of cultural symbols and practices from all over the world. Thus, following Muhleisen and Migge (2005:7), I opine that though controversial, Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness remains a useful analytical tool even in contexts which are not typically 'western' in nature.

2.10 Summary

The framework I have used for the analysis of the data draws on the range of theories presented above. The framework includes an exploration of modality choices as well as other Engagement choices such as hedging, scaling, countering, concurring and proclaiming to explore how participants perform face-work. In addition, theories of identity, face and politeness have been used to analyze how participants position themselves and others during this discussion while maintaining their own and others' face.

In the next chapter, I review the research methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and methodology for this study. It describes the sampling process undertaken, the collection of data, its transcription and the analysis of the data. As seen throughout the sections in this chapter, I have drawn extensively on Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter's (2006) research handbook, *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences as a resource*.

3.1 Positivist, Interpretive and Constructionist Approaches

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) argue that as researchers in social sciences, our accounts of the world are fed by paradigms of research, also referred to as forms of background knowledge. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) describe paradigms as telling us what exists, how to understand it and how to study it. They expound:

> Paradigms are all-encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their enquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Ontology specifies the nature of reality that is to be studied, and what can be known about it. Epistemology specifies the nature of relationship between the researcher (knower) and what can be known. Methodology specifies how researchers may go about practically studying whatever they believe can be known (Terre *et al.* 2006:6).

Consequently, Terre Blanche *et al.* posit three major approaches to research, namely, the positivist, interpretive and constructionist approach. Of the three approaches, the former two have been in existence for a much longer time than the latter. Basically, the positivist approach, often referred to as quantitative research, is whereby, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) state, the researcher studies an external reality that is considered stable and unchanging. The researcher, Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:7) add, therefore, takes up an

objective and detached stance towards that reality "and can employ a methodology that relies on control and manipulation of reality". By so doing, the researcher endeavours to provide an accurate description of the laws and mechanisms that operate in social life.

The interpretive approach looks at reality as consisting of people's subjective experiences of the external world. Here, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) state, the researcher adopts an intersubjective or interactional epistemological stance toward that reality and uses methodologies that rely on a subjective relationship between the researcher and the subject. Thus, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:7) conclude, the interpretive approach "aims to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action".

The constructionist approach views reality as shaped by social constructions which are characterized by variability and fluidity. Here, the researcher, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:7) argue, "may adopt a suspicious and politicized epistemological stance, and employ methodologies that allow the researcher to deconstruct versions of reality". As Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) note, the constructionist approach aims to show how versions of the social world are produced in discourse and to demonstrate how these constructions of reality make certain actions possible and others unthinkable.

My research has taken a two-pronged approach: I have used both the interpretive and constructionist approaches. The main goal of the research is to investigate how a selection of UWC students perform face-work and negotiate their identities in the discussion about xenophobia. Thus, in explaining the subjective reasons, meanings and reactions that lie behind xenophobia, I, as the researcher, have employed, as Terry Blanche *et al.* put it, "an intersubjective or interactional epistemological" stance toward that reality (xenophobia). This, inevitably, necessitates the qualitative methodology as the subjective relationship between the researcher and the subject is a given. I have collaborated with the other participants in this conversation. Each participant has freely talked about his experiences, either as a foreigner or as a local, with regard to xenophobia and the influx of foreigners into South Africa. As Trochim (2005) states, qualitative research enables the social researcher to get at the rich complexity of the phenomenon. It also helps the researcher achieve a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. He further argues:

In their [proponents of qualitative research] view, each of us sees a different reality because we see it from a different perspective and through different experiences. ... Research is less about getting at the truth than it is about reaching meaningful conclusions, deeper understanding, and useful results (Trochim 2005:125).

Qualitative research is also more comprehensive than quantitative research with regard to the participants' diversity. Dornyei (2007) observes that in preparing a generalized description of a larger group of people, as is wont of quantitative research, we lose the individual stories. Dornyei (2007:27) thus concludes: "in QUALI terms, the real meaning lies with individual cases who make up our world".

As Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:328) argue, "there are many forms of constructionist analysis, but all share the aim of revealing the cultural materials from which particular utterances, texts, or events have been constructed". I have thus used discourse analysis, which, as Terre Blanche *et al.* say, is one of the most popular approaches in constructionist analysis. As I will show later, the participants' ways of speaking and looking at life are informed by their social backgrounds or worlds, and it is those worlds that the participants feed off, draw from, build on, echo, or speak or act according to in the data.

3.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is done in two ways: it can involve literally taking apart or doing so less literally (Johnstone 2008). In analyzing or taking apart literally, discourse analysts can divide longer stretches of discourse into parts according to various criteria and then look at the particular characteristics of each part. For instance, a piece of talk can be divided into the separate utterances made by specific participants, the individual words or phrases spoken by each participant, the total number of turns each participant has, when a new topic is started, particular sorts of expressions and the number of times different participants use them, and so on.

Secondly, discourse analysts may look at a piece of discourse or a text in a variety of ways. As Johnstone (2008:4) explains: "An analysis in this sense might involve

35

systematically taking several theoretical perspectives, or systematically performing a variety of tests". In the same light, Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) say that when analyzing discourse, analysts show how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts. In explaining how discourse may be analysed in three different ways, Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 328) say:

> Some discourse analysts may be most concerned with identifying the discourses that operate in a text, others may focus more on how particular effects are achieved in the text, while yet others may be most concerned with explicating the broader context within which the text operates.

In identifying discourses operating in particular texts, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) point out, discourse analysts should bear in mind that it is no straightforward task. In Terre Blanche *et al.*'s (2006:329) words, "discourses are not discrete entities like bird species, but are intertwined with one another and constantly changing". In addition to that, the producers of a text – participants, authors and listeners – may draw on a variety of discourses. Making the exercise more intricate is the fact that discourses vary a great deal with regard to scope. In other words, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) note, discourses can range from "insignificant" local patterns of talk (or small-grained discourses) to large-scale phenomena, such as 'xenophobic discourse' or 'jingoistic discourse'.

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) advise that for researchers to identify discourses effectively, they ought to keep in mind two things: firstly, being equipped with the cultural background and secondly, having the critical distance to reflect on the culture. They explain:

> To a large extent, discourse analysis involves a way of reading that is made possible by our immersion in a particular culture, which provides us with a tapestry of 'ways of speaking' that we can recognize, 'read', and dialogue with (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006:330).

Looking at a text through the lens of a reflective researcher is of the essence with respect to analyzing discourse effectively. In fact, 'striking a critical distance from the text' as Parker (1992, in Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006:331) describes it, allows the researcher to look

at a text from a much broader perspective. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) offer three techniques researchers can employ to identify discourses: looking for binary oppositions, identifying recurrent terms, phrases, and metaphors, and finally, considering the human subjects spoken about in a text.

Often, binary oppositions are formulated as or take the form of adjectives. Usually, attributes referring to certain people, objects, institutions and places are juxtaposed in a text. However, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) observe, the common trend is that binary oppositions are implicit in texts. Only one side of the opposition is explicitly mentioned in texts. It is thus the onus of the researcher to delve into such discourses that are set against each other. For instance, a participant will be inclined to relate to only one side of the coin at a time, and be oblivious or blind to the other side.

Certain terms, phrases, and metaphors are bound to appear again and again in a text. These terms, phrases, and metaphors are manifestations of particular people's ways of speaking. In other words, they are typical of those particular people's discourses. As Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:331) point out, "Each discourse has a particular way of speaking that includes the content of what is said as well as how it is said".

However, as I show in the data analysis chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), even if the participants come from different countries and the topic of discussion has the potential for polarization, it does not mean that they (participants) always speak at cross purposes. Belonging to the same learning institution and being educated characterizes them as sharing the same social community with each other. As a result, they share a number of identities and discourses.

The human subjects spoken about in the text are also very instrumental in the exercise of identifying discourses. The discussion about xenophobia ineluctably revolves around human characters. We cannot only talk about our experiences in the world or our perceptions of things without touching on other people. Drawing on biological terms, I would say that as the people of this world, we are in a relationship, either that of 'antibiosis' or that of 'symbiosis'. Thus, in the discussion about xenophobia, the

participants not only talk about their relationships with each other, but they also discuss relationships between or among other people in the societies from which they come.

The second stage of doing a discourse analysis – seeing or checking the effects of the discourses – is a concomitant of the first one: identifying the discourses. Along with identifying the discourses in a text, the researcher simultaneously concerns himself or herself with what those discourses do. The refreshingly peculiar thing to constructionism – under which discourse analysis falls – as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:333) argue is "its lack of interest in identifying some truth behind the text; it does not ask questions about which version of events is more accurate or more meaningful". I regard this approach as quite realistic and pragmatic. It would not be sustainable to begin checking and ascertaining whether or not what is said is accurate or true. In any case, most of what people say is purely subjective and intersubjective.

As mentioned, people always tend to push for, privilege, and sustain their discourses or agendas in texts, hence the need for deconstruction – a skeptical and suspicious way of analyzing with the aim of questioning their statements and trying to come up with the implications of those statements. As critical researchers, we ought not to be naive and take things at face value. Thus, it is important for discourse analysts to recognize that, as each of us looks at life differently and has different goals to achieve, we are bound to come with different, conflicting and even contestable constructions of truths. To quote Fairclough (2003:88):

> Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people. Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and are tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions. The relationships between different discourses are one element of the relationships between different people – they may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth.

Discourse analysis, therefore, as an approach, befits a research whereby the researcher seeks to investigate how social realities are shaped by and reflected in discursive and linguistic choices.

3.3. Discourse Context

Drawing on Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), I use *text* here to refer to the data, i.e. the discussion about xenophobia that I have analyzed. However, text cannot be an entity that comes by itself. Text is nothing without context. Halliday and Hasan (1989) describe the context as the 'other text' that accompanies the text. Halliday and Hasan (1989) further explain that this context (what is 'with the text') transcends what is said and written: "it includes other non-verbal goings on – the total environment in which a text unfolds" (Halliday and Hasan 1989:5).

Context is a broad concept with different dimensions, and can be looked at in different ways. Following Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), there are four general ways I would like to look at context. First, there is the micro-context of conversation and debate. Secondly, there is the macro-context of institutions and ideologies. Thirdly, there is the context necessitated by the discourses in the text which 'dialogues' with other prior discourses. Fourthly, there is the context as the role played by the analyst or researcher in the production of the text.

At the smallest level of interaction or micro-context, "the researcher attends to the way in which each participant in a conversation talks into spaces opened up by the flow of conversation" (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006:337). In this case, as Halliday and Hasan (1989) state, the researcher pays attention to the words and the sentences before and after the utterance under analysis. Here, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) argue, the conversation not only opens up new opportunities and allows a participant to say some things, but it also closes down other opportunities and therefore constrains the participant. In other words, the way a conversation unfolds makes it possible for a participant to produce an utterance that is relevant at that moment, and which draws on particular discourses relevant to that utterance.

However, the micro-context transcends the words and sentences before and after the utterance under analysis. As Halliday and Hasan (1989) show, in order for the message being communicated in a text to sink deeper, the readers have also to rely on the context of situation. The context of situation refers to the immediate social environment in which meanings are being exchanged. Halliday and Hasan (1989:12) give a conceptual framework of the context of situation under which the following features are regionalized: Field, Tenor and Mode.

Field concerns the nature of the social action taking place. The Field is the discussion about xenophobia among four participants in which each participant gives his views on xenophobia. Tenor concerns the relationship between or among the participants. In the discussion, the participants relate in two main ways: as egalitarian participants (being university postgraduate students) and as acquaintances (not very close to each other yet) but wishing to establish and affirm bonds of solidarity. Mode concerns the symbolic organization of the text and what the participants expect the language to do for them. The participants interact verbally and are face-to-face. They adopt a persuasive stance as they share their views and wish to convince the others into looking at issues the way they do, while at the same time using a range of strategies to maintain each other's face.

The macro-context of institutions and ideologies goes beyond immediate or interactional contexts. I consider Malinowski's (1923, in Halliday and Hasan 1989) term 'context of culture' or 'cultural background' equivalent to the 'macro-context of institutions and ideologies'. Halliday and Hasan (1989:6) say of Malinowski (1923):

> But he also saw that it was necessary to give more than the immediate environment. He saw that in any adequate description, it was necessary to provide information not only about what was happening at the time but also about the total cultural background, because involved in any kind of linguistic interaction, in any kind of conversational exchange, were not only the immediate sights and sounds surrounding the event but also the whole cultural history behind the participants, and behind the kind of practices that they were engaging in, determining their significance for the culture, whether practical or ritual.

Institutional contexts divide, organize, or separate people into different categories such as gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, race, class, and levels of education. In one way or another, an institution under which one is categorized offers or makes possible certain practices that assert an individual's membership, or even loyalty to that institution. The researcher can look at how participants become ideological automatons of their institutions. The institutional context of this data is a discussion (among black African males) in an informal setting (a residence room) at the University of the Western Cape, a year after the xenophobic attacks of 2008 in South Africa.

However, it is also worth noting that as human beings, we are so diverse that we have membership of more than one culture. Therefore, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) argue, discourses transcend particular institutional contexts.

Thirdly, texts derive their context from prior texts. Texts 'dialogue with' discourses which are inscribed in prior texts. However, subsequent texts are not always in agreement with prior ones. In addition to that, the dialogue is not always explicit. As Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:340) argue, in different texts, "discourses would be 'arguing' with one another, much like two people who dislike each other but know each other well and in some are dependent on each other". In my data, for instance, participants draw from texts or statements they have read or heard in other contexts, particularly in relation to xenophobia.

Finally, as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:340) argue, "the analyst is also part of the text's context, and has to account for her or his role relative to the text". From the very beginning (when we start to collect data) to when we do the last bits of analysis, our influence plays a role in shaping the final product of analysis. As we start collecting data using our voice recorders, the participants, with the awareness that what they say will be recorded and later on studied, may adopt a predisposition to act rather theatrically or 'to the gallery'. This is because the presence of the participating researcher or that of his or her tools will constantly be at the back of the participants' minds. Wray *et al.* (1998:11) describe this state of affairs as the observer's paradox: "the presence of the tape recorder, experimental equipment or even simply you yourself may have an effect on the linguistic

behaviour of the subject(s)". So, the data may not be representative of what would happen if no observation were taking place. However, Wray *et al.* (1998:153) also contend:

> In actual fact, the inhibitions associated with informants knowing that they are being recorded are usually short-lived. Therefore, although you may want to consider concealing your microphone or camera, do not assume that this is the only way of getting the data you need. Most people will soon forget about the recording as they become involved in the activities.

Our subjectivity as researchers also plays an important role. As Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:340) observe:

> Analysts choose certain texts, how to delimit the texts, and how to analyze them because they want to achieve certain effects. In the same way that your analysis should refer to the effects of the texts and discourse being analyzed, so too should it refer to the effects of the new text brought into being by your analysis. Some of these effects are intentional, but invariably others seem to infiltrate themselves despite your best efforts to make your analysis look different.

As constructions of realities are contestable, so too are the meanings of utterances by participants. The researcher, especially as one of the participants in the conversation, interprets these utterances in terms of his or her own subjective frames. However, I have tried to be as faithful as possible to the frameworks of systemic functional linguistics, face-work, and discourse analysis and to use these to substantiate my interpretations of the data.

3.4 Sampling

Trochim (2005:16) defines sampling as:

> The process of selecting units (such as people and organizations) from a population of interest so that, by studying the sample, you can fairly generalize your results to the population from which the units were chosen.

The population of interest in my research is both the local and foreign postgraduate students at the University of the Western Cape. I sought to investigate how they negotiate their identities, and how they do face-work in the discussion about xenophobia. However, as Trochim (2005) notes, a researcher would almost certainly not be able to mount a whole sample of the population of interest. Trochim (2005) thus draws attention to the distinction between 'theoretical population' and 'accessible population' in a research.

My accessible population was the part of the population of interest that I could easily access. This group comprised those postgraduate students within my reach. They also represented a sample of the theoretical population – the people I wanted to conduct research on. I made a list of the prospective participants, after which I contacted them, first by word of mouth and then later, by calling and sending them messages for confirmation of their participation. This is after I had clearly explained to them the nature of my research and what was expected of them as my prospective informants.

It is also worth noting, as Trochim (2005:29) states, that, in effect, "the sample is not (necessarily) the group of people who are actually in your study; the group that actually completes your study is a subsample of the sample". Indeed, a good number of the people that had promised to participate in the discussion about xenophobia eventually dropped out. Others kept procrastinating over the date and time of their involvement until I realized they were diplomatically implying that they did not wish to participate. Interestingly, though again unfortunately, some would not take part owing to the sensitivity of the topic. In my endeavour to enlist informants, a disinclined student responded thus: "That topic is so touchy that I would not want to take part. Imagine me talking about foreign students… whatever I talk. I would not want to jeopardize my relationship with some foreign students".

3.5. Data Collection

Cross-sectional Study

Trochim (2005) explains one of the most fundamental distinctions in research design nomenclature, that between cross-sectional versus longitudinal studies. He distinguishes the two as such:

A cross-sectional study is one that takes place at a single point in time. In effect, you are taking a slice or cross-section of whatever it is you are observing or measuring. A longitudinal study is one that takes place over time. In a longitudinal study, you measure your research participants on at least two separate occasions or at least two points in time (Trochim (2005:5).

Given that the focus of my research was a qualitative analysis of the linguistic and discursive choices of participants, and given the limited scope of a mini-thesis, I restricted myself to a cross-sectional research. With regard to the sufficiency of the data collection, the other interlocutors and I felt that the discussion about xenophobia was exhaustively carried out. Dornyei (2007:79) defines saturation as the point when the researcher becomes 'empirically confident' that he/she has all the data needed to answer the research question. As Dornyei (2007:127) further states, "A well designed qualitative study usually requires a relatively small number of respondents to yield the saturated and rich data that is needed to understand even subtle meanings in the phenomenon under focus".

Recording of data

The discussion was held in my room, which, as far as I am concerned, furnished naturalistic discussion. The place was totally free of background noise except for mellow music played at a low volume that would not interfere with the recording of the utterances. I felt that the soft music helped ease the participants and spurred them on to talk freely.

The participants

As I have already stated, four individuals took part in the study, including myself as the researcher. There were two Kenyan citizens (Felix and Roy), one Zambian citizen (Claude) and one South African citizen (Quincy). In some sense, Claude, having come to South Africa much earlier (four years before the others), and being from the same wider geographical region (SADC) as Quincy, shared some identity with Quincy. All the participants were postgraduate (Masters) students at the time of the discussion. Quincy was a first year Law student, Claude was a second year Economics student, and Felix was a first year Linguistics student and Roy was a second year Chemistry student.

All the students were aware of the fact that xenophobic attacks were meted out on foreign black nationals in the year 2008. At that time, two of the students (Quincy and Claude), were in the country. Each participant had something to say or had an experience that he thought was important to share. The data was collected in 2009, in the month of June, only a year after the xenophobic attacks erupted in May 2008. Hence, at the time, the subject *xenophobia* was, without a doubt, a sensitive one.

3.6 Ethics Statement

As a responsible researcher, I am fully aware of the fact that there are ethical considerations by which I must abide. In connection with that, it is my responsibility to conduct the fieldwork in accordance with ethical procedures. I obtained consent from the informants after explaining to them what my research was about and the role they were required to play. Cameron (2001) describes informed consent as the permission the researcher gets from the participants after explaining to them the motivation behind the collection of the data. I let them know that my research is purely for academic purposes, and nothing else.

The protection of my informants' rights, privacy and welfare is of paramount importance. With respect to this, I have assigned the interlocutors pseudonyms. Over and above this, I duly informed them that should any of them wish that some parts of their information be deleted from the transcript, I was obliged to do that. I also told them that I would readily give them a copy of the transcribed data if they so wished.

I also brought to their attention the fact that they are not, in any way, prisoners of their own initial willingness to participate, and that each of them was free to withdraw from the discussion at any time they might wish.

3.7 Transcription of the Data

Before transcribing the data, I listened to it over and over again just to make sure I put down in writing what I heard, and in the order that I heard it. Put simply, I transcribed word for word, sound for sound, and hesitation/pause for hesitation/pause. Wray *et al.* (1998) insist that one should listen to one's data over and over again, in order to

thoroughly familiarize oneself with them. The duration of the discussion is 51 minutes and 24 seconds. To avoid boredom with the data, I listened to it in different ways. First, I alternated between listening to the whole of it at one go and listening to it in bits. Secondly, I alternated between using headphones and then the laptop's speakers. While transcribing, I tried to be as meticulous and painstaking as possible, and I gave myself breaks as I always wanted to be fresh every time I engaged in the exercise. Thus, it took me approximately 60 hours to transcribe the whole text.

In keeping with Ochs' (1999) guidelines, my transcription is more selective than detailed. Ochs (1999) argues that a selective transcript is more useful and more manageable to the researcher as it reflects the researcher's interests and goals. That is why, for instance, I have adopted the orthographic transcription for my data. The use of standard orthography, as Ochs (1999: 168) points out, "is based on the assumption that utterances are pieces of information, and this, in turn, assumes that language is used to express ideas". Phonemic or phonetic transcription, as Wray *et al.* (1998) note, concerns itself with such things as pronunciations, accents, and even speech errors, none of which are my focus of interest in this thesis.

The transcription conventions I have used are drawn from Ochs (1999:177-179) and Eggins and Slade (1997:2-3). I have used the basic punctuation marks in my transcription. Commas (,) have been used for 'breathing time'. I have used three dots (...) to show short hesitations. In cases where a participant pauses for more than three seconds, I have shown the number of seconds in brackets, for instance, (6.0) for six seconds. I have indicated false starts or self-interruptions by the use of hyphens (-) placed at the point of interruption. I have given explanations of situations and my guess in round brackets. I have used 'empty' round brackets ( ) for utterances that are not clear. I have indicated questions by the use of question marks (?), and exclamatory utterances by exclamatory marks (!). I have also transcribed in CAPITAL letters those words that were stressed and thus given prominence by participants. To show overlapping utterances, I have used double equal signs (= =). I have also included nonverbal actions which I considered relevant to the discussion in square brackets [ ]. I have also translated words from a different language from English in square brackets.

3.8 Data Analysis

After transcribing my data, I worked my way through it using different theoretical frameworks (modality, face and politeness). I selected these frameworks as I was struck, whilst transcribing my data, by the careful way in which the participants negotiated the topic. I highlighted in my transcript instances of modality and face-work and the other related aspects, and then tried to identify patterns across the text. Lastly, I selected extracts for close analysis which I thought would enable me to make the arguments I wished to make when analyzing the data.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has presented the research design and outlined the methodology used for this study. The study uses a qualitative discourse-based approach in which the shaping role of context is acknowledged as significant. It has also described the sampling process undertaken, the collection of data, its transcription and the analysis of the data.

In the next two chapters, the data analysis is presented. The data analysis is reported in terms of the main research questions: how the participants perform face-work and negotiate their identities during the discussion of xenophobia. Chapter 4 focuses on face-work and other discourse strategies for negotiating a difficult topic and handling moments of potential conflict. Chapter 5 explores how the participants use this interaction to negotiate particular identities in this context.

CHAPTER 4

FACE-WORK

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I have analyzed the data from an interpersonal perspective. I look at the combination of different strategies that the interlocutors have employed for the performance of face-work during a conversation on the delicate topic of xenophobia. The central argument is that participants utilize a variety of linguistic choices and discourse strategies to maintain face. Some of the strategies I identified are drawn from the literature on modality as a choice of Engagement. I have also included other Engagement choices, for instance, hedging, scaling and countering. Others are discourse strategies I have identified as important for the avoidance of conflict in this context, such as mediation, softening accusations, avoidance and vagueness.

The chapter is divided into two sections: the first section discusses modality and other Engagement choices such as countering and scaling. The second section concerns moments of potential conflict and discourse strategies for forestalling or handling these moments.

4.1 Modality and other Engagement Resources

In this first section, I examine the way the interlocutors have used modality as well as other Engagement choices, such as concession/countering, concurring and scaling to exchange views with each other and take stands regarding particular value positions as they keep with face-work, which is central to the discussion about xenophobia. The theories this section draws on range from face-work to politeness to Engagement. Thus, the main theorists informing this section are Brown and Levinson (1987) and Martin and White (2005).

I chose the first excerpt below because it struck me as being rich in the strategies mentioned above. It is a long extract from the beginning of the conversation. In this excerpt, Felix introduces the topic, and Quincy, the South African, gives his views on

48

xenophobia. The lexical choices that will be commented on in the analysis have been highlighted in bold.

Excerpt (1)

8	Felix	*Yeah! Guys ... you know, we are simply talking about xenophobia. I just wanted us to say anything we know or think about xenophobia. Things like whether we have experienced it. As well, we can talk about how we feel about the presence of many foreigners in South Africa. This thing of being a threat here and what have you. We don't have to begin with any particular person. It is just a free discussion.*
9	Quincy	***Now ... my opinion*** *is that it depends from which environment one is ... speaking.*
10	Others	*Mhm.*
11	Quincy	*To say **for instance** ... eeh foreign people are coming to South Africa eh to take over their jobs for example = =*
12	Others	*Mhm.*
13	Quincy	***eeh to me*** *... that particular reasoning doesn't hold any water = = because it's not a matter of whether where you are coming from.*
14	Others	*= = yeah = =*
15	Quincy	*= = **Bu**t it is a matter of the skills and the expertise that one has = =*
16	Others	*= = Mhm = =*
17	Quincy	*= = That is going to assist to the development of a particular kind **may be** ... development of a country or development of a certain institution ...depending on ... which side one is coming from as an example. **So to me** it doesn't really matter who is coming to take over a particular job. **But however**, in the case of football as an example ... coz I will be giving examples now in the context. In the case of eh where **for instance** you will see people coming from abroad ... They come to **let's say** South Africa to ply their trade = =*
18	Others	*= = Yeah = =*
19	Quincy	*And you see that **perhaps** (6.0) the manner in which they were imported ... they were imported. There was **no kind of criteria** here = =*
20	Others	*= = Okay = =*
21	Quincy	*= = as to which individuals do qualify for the purposes of football in our country. So that in terms of our objectives to develop our South African football for example will achieve our results = =*
22	Others	*Eh.*
23	Quincy	*So ... **to me** there is **a kind of** a particular problem there coz you will find that there are a lot of people coming yet ( ) **not sure** in the first place then that is where the problem will come which means that the coaches as an example they are coaches **most of them** ...*
24	Others	*Mhm = =*
25	Quincy	*Because they seem to be qualified and they'll have preference over ... those players and then they can ... they get to choose those particular*

players. ***And as a result, they kill South African football*** *... and then the country on its own will not develop to such a level vice versa is that like South Africans ... if they go overseas as an example or to a particular country where they ply their trade and if they are not fit enough and they don't meet requirements of certain degree ... then I* ***I don't think*** *they should be allowed to to to deprive those nationalities of the opportunity to develop so* ***to me*** *... that on its own becomes a problem there ...* ***but*** *coming to a matter of schools now ... where for instance eh you see ... UWC (University of the Western Cape) as an example ==*

26	Others	== Yeah ==

27 Quincy *Let's say is in terms of ...* ***even though my example*** *is not go ... is going* ***is not going to be accurate*** *... if there are internationals who are coming over to UWC and then they learn and they learn and they learn ... and you find that they are being taxed high exorbitant fee ==*

28 Others *Eh ==*

29 Quincy *Because they are from that particular side ==*

30 Others *Yeah ==*

31 Quincy *And* ***to me*** *that one on its own is not a (   ) is not a problem because I would have believed that operating in a system of democracy where everyone is equal regardless of nationalities ... and the same privileges that are enjoyed by South Africans must be accorded to internationals also ==*

32 Claude *==* ***But*** *you see what ==*

33 Quincy *==* ***But*** *at the same time, it becomes a problem I am as I am finishing now ... It becomes a problem ... when for instance there is a lot of influx ...* ***that's where the term influx now becomes a problem*** *... but as long as there is a standard approach that is used ... for the sake of developing Zim (Zimbabwe) because of its economic and political crisis and you accommodate them educationally you assist (   ) because ...* ***I think*** *we should interchange or exchange ... expertise ... yeah ==*

34 Felix *Sure (in a low – near whispering – tone).*

35 Claude *Well look ... I eh ... I've I've I've heard everything you've said and ... yeah ...* ***of course*** *I agree with ...* ***almost*** *everything that you've said right ... eh ... because my own experience here in this country* ***hasn't been THAT BAD*** *... eh ... I've got a lot of friends who are South Africans ... and ... they've never ... well ...* ***most of them*** *have never given me reason to to think that I am not welcome here ... eh ... you see ... so ... from that perspective I would say that my experience here has been* ***quite good*** *...* ***but obviously*** *there's there's been encounters off campus where ... you ... eh ... walk into the store and ... eh ... it's an all coloured store for instance*

4.1.1 Modality

As can be seen from the above excerpt, for instance, in turn 9, where Quincy talks, hedging may be used to mark modality. By hedging, a speaker tends to reveal his hesitation to talk about something. Quincy, in turn 9, begins with *'Now'* and then pauses before giving his opinion. This act of pausing could be a sign of weighing his words. This kind of hedging is a skill that a speaker uses as he looks for the best way to say something. In saying, *my opinion is that*, Quincy uses subjective explicit modality to express the fact that what he says is only how he is looking at the state of affairs. This also indicates to us, as it does to his co-participants, that he may not be right, and thus his statement is not final as it is only his way of looking at things. The statement is expansive, from the viewpoint of Engagement. In other words, Quincy opens up the dialogic space. He allows or invites the other participants to contribute by either agreeing or disagreeing with him on the issue, or to even come up with totally different perspectives. He thus, by using expressions of subjective explicit modality, anticipates and entertains others' views on the issue.

There is also an element of face-work in the utterance; the participant guards against threatening others' negative face, which Brown and Levinson (1987) describe as the desire not to be imposed on by another person. Quincy continues to express his statement in a modal expression in turn 13: when he says, *Eeh to me ... that particular reasoning doesn't hold any water,* he explicitly frames his statement as his subjective viewpoint and therefore negotiable and not an undisputed truth. While he expands the dialogic space and guards against threatening the others' negative face, Quincy also presents himself as a rational and an accommodating person and distances himself from the discourse or perception that could be rife among the locals which views foreigners as a threat because they take up the locals' jobs. He refers to these jobs in turn 11. This instance of vouching for oneself is a way of preserving one's face.

Quincy also denies a certain value position (discussed below) when he uses the phrase *doesn't hold any water*. According to Martin and White (2005), this meaning, coming under Disclaim, is called Negation. Interlocutors can employ Disclaim meanings to close down any potentially opposing viewpoint. Quincy chooses the adverb 'not' to reject any

51

contrary position, thereby asserting his support for foreigners. The other participants may observe that he does not take issue with the fact that there are foreigners taking up jobs in his country. His use of the *because*-clause, expressing a reason (in turns 13 and 15) for his denial (that foreigners are 'exploiting' South Africans) is also a heteroglossic option in the sense that giving arguments presupposes the need to persuade others who may have a different viewpoint.

Modal expressions, as I argue in this study, can also be used to introduce statements that are rather unpleasant or which reprimand others. For example, in turn 19, Quincy says, *And you see that perhaps (6.0) the manner in which they were imported… they were imported. There was no kind of criteria here.* The speaker, in reprimanding, wants to be as subtle or polite as possible. That explains why Quincy uses the word *perhaps,* which expresses epistemic modality. He does not want to speak with authority or sound assertive when criticizing the others, as would have been the case had he not modalized his statement. One would even be under the impression that Quincy would not have liked to reprimand, but has been forced to. Secondly, as he rebukes, he indicates that what he says is not absolute, and that he can still be corrected. This manner of speaking expands the dialogic space as well. The speaker, by saying *perhaps,* leaves room for others to disagree with him on what he has just said. *Perhaps* confirms to his interlocutors that, after all, his investment in the value position (in his statement) is low and it offers a conciliatory gesture of upholding the solidarity between him and his interlocutors. Thus, since Quincy's audience is only made up of foreign students, he may, as a mindful speaker, be alert to the fact that his audience identifies with the same foreign players he is referring to here.

As can be seen in turn 23, Quincy still uses the phrase *to me,* which is a viewpoint adjunct and functions as a marker of subjective explicit modality. He opens up the dialogic space by using the phrase *to me,* inviting his co-participants to air their views which could be different from his. He goes on to say that *there is a kind of a problem there.* The hedge '*kind of'* serves to soften the assertion of *'there being a problem'.* As Martin and White (2005:94) state, hedges "also play a dialogistic role in that they enable speakers/writers to present themselves as more strongly aligned or less strongly aligned with the value

position being advanced". Quincy plays down the impact of the problem. He is sensitive towards his audience who identify indirectly with the international footballers who are 'partly to blame for the problem' in question. My guess is that he could have asserted the statement more easily if he were talking to South Africans only. In this sense, therefore, the speaker guards against a threat to the positive face of his co-participants.

However, the study also notes that Quincy's utterances in turns 25 and 33 carry traces of anti-foreigner discourses. First, in turn 25, Quincy says: *And as a result, they kill South African football* in reference to foreign players and refers to the arrival of foreigners in South Africa as an *'influx'* (in turn 33). These phrases are reminiscent of anti-foreigner discourses found in everyday conversations and media reports.

Self-evaluative statements

This study argues that self-evaluative statements are also a way of expressing modality. Speakers sometimes use these statements to signal that they are expressing opinions which may diverge from those of their audience. Uttering self-evaluative statements can also be associated with the performance of face-work, especially when a speaker gives information that could be seen as either directly or indirectly critical of his audience. Quincy, like other participants in the discussion, comes across as a very rational speaker, always sensitive to his audience and careful not to humiliate any person. Cases in point are in turns 27 and 33. In turn 27, Quincy begins with: '*even though my example is not go ... is going is not going to be accurate ...'* before he lays down his argument, in turn 33: *It becomes a problem ... when for instance there is a lot of influx ... that's where the term influx now becomes a problem ...* By using the self evaluative expression '*even though my example is not going to be accurate'* before he gives his criticism, Quincy sort of criticizes himself first. This, in turn, allows him to downplay his sharp criticism with regard to the presence of foreigners. Negative self-evaluative statements serve the purpose of lessening a speaker's investment in his or her value position. Consequently, the acknowledgement of the inaccuracy in his proposition lessens the potential threat to his interlocutors' positive face. They are likely wallow in the 'pleasurable' concession he

makes in his statement: after all, he may not be correct to regard their 'influx' as a problem.

4.1.2 Countering

It is striking that the participants make frequent use of the conjunction '*but*' throughout the discussion (see, for instance, in turns 33 and 35). This conjunction serves to counter a given proposition, and along with expressions of negation, indicates that the speaker is at odds with or rejecting an opposing viewpoint. This study suggests that as much as both Negation and Concession/Countering reject a contrary position, Concession or Countering appears to be more accommodating and thus more polite. For instance, in turn 33, though Quincy closes down the space for dialogue, he first opens up the space by recognizing the opposing viewpoint before closing it down again by giving a counter argument. In other words, he juxtaposes different aspects, thus carefully balancing viewpoints. In using the countering option, he weighs his words in a fashion which comes across as inoffensive as possible.

In turn 35, Claude uses the words '*but*' and '*obviously*' in a very interesting way. This part of the utterance in the turn has been highlighted: *... I would say that my experience here has been quite good ... but obviously there's there's been encounters off campus ...* Both '*but*' and '*obviously*' belong to the wider choice of Contractive meaning. However, while *but* counters, *obviously* concurs. Though he agrees that his experience has been quite good, he diplomatically reminds us with 'but obviously' that the friendliness he experiences on campus is not necessarily found off-campus. His qualification that the unfriendly encounters are 'off-campus' is also a face-saving measure as it implies that the local students on campus (including Quincy) are excluded from the category of xenophobes.

4.1.3 Scaling

Speakers also use scaling to qualify their statements. By using quantifiers, they indicate the intensity of assertion they attach to their utterances. Scaling can also be looked at as a form of modality. As Eggins and Slade (1997) state, modality is a way in which speakers temper or qualify their messages. Therefore, when speakers employ high values of scaling

54

for a value position, they are being more assertive or strongly aligned than when they use low values of scaling for the same position. For instance, when a speaker says that he has experienced something many times (as will be shown below), he is more assertive about a particular value position than when he says he has only experienced it a few times.

In the discussion, the speakers employed the concept of scaling to tune their utterances with regard to the arguments they wish to put across (see turns 35, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 131, 133, 135 and 140). To some extent, they use scaling to disagree and put forth different arguments. As Martin and White (2005:137) show, by scaling, speakers indicate either maximal or marginal investment in their value positions. They also use scaling for the sake of face-work, in their endeavour to uphold good and warm relationships between each other. In turn 35, Claude, in response to Quincy's utterance, says:

> *Well look ... I eh ... I've I've I've heard everything you've said and ... yeah ... of course I agree with ... **almost** everything that you've said right ... eh ... because my own experience here in this country hasn't been THAT BAD ... eh ... I've got **a lot of** friends who are South Africans ... and ... they've **never** ... well ... **most** of them have **never** given me reason to to think that I am not welcome here ... eh ... you see ... so ... from that perspective I would say that my experience here has been **quite** good ... but obviously there's there's been encounters off campus where ... you ... eh ... walk into the store and ... eh ... it's an all coloured store for instance.*

In the second line, Claude says that he agrees with *almost everything* Quincy has said. This presents Claude as a quintessentially polite and face conscious speaker. The term *'almost',* a high value of scaling (quantification), gives force to Claude's statement. He uses *almost* to signal how both he and Quincy are reading from a similar script regarding the matters that Quincy has just spoken about. However, at the same time, he hints at some disagreement. In other words, as much as *almost* is positive, it is not absolute. It serves to leave some shadow of doubt. He adds that he has *got a lot of friends who are South Africans ...* and that *they have never given him any reason to think'* that he is not welcome in South Africa. By saying that he has *'a lot of friends'*, Claude intends to dispel doubts that he is happy as a foreign student in the country. He goes on to state that '*most of them'* have never given him any reason to think he is not welcome here. He thus

vouches for *a lot of* and *most of* his friends. It is also worth noting that the phrase '*most of them*' implies that there are a minority who have actually behaved in a less welcoming way. The way Claude foregrounds the positive side of things while subtly indicating that, nevertheless, not all is rosy, is skilful. Interestingly, he gives an instance of the coloured people who did not treat him well at a store and implies that it may not have been a case of xenophobia but rather crass racism as black locals could also be treated in a similar manner.

In the excerpt that follows, there are utterances which contain more instances of scaling. The discussion and analysis of the choices of scaling resume afterwards.

Excerpt (2)

110	Roy	*Because I have interacted the the **few days** I 've been here ... I've learnt that South Africans are good and not bad as I thought ... but a **good number** of them because I made **a lot** of friends ... but there are **some** from deep within their hearts ... they know these people are coming to **exploit** their resources ==*
NV6	Claude	*[laughs]*
111	Roy	*So because they are coming to pick our resources ... that is why they have to look at them and see these people are coming to grab our resources and carry them back home so but that is a **minority** of them.*
112	Claude	*Okay so ==*
113	Roy	*But a **good number are good** and ( ) ==*
114	Claude	*You you have been here for **a few days only**?*
115	Roy	*Eh yeah ... **a few months**. ==*
123	Claude	*Okay that's **a few months** ==*
124	Roy	*Yeah ==*
125	Claude	*So stay here for ... **a couple of a few years** ==*
126	Roy	*Yes ==*
127	Claude	*And then ... see what you have to say if it'll be the same.*

In turn 110, Roy acknowledges that, contrary to his expectations when he just arrived, he has learnt that South Africans can be 'good'. He also says he has already made *a lot of friends* here. Nevertheless, the fact that he uses '*a few days*' confines his argument in time. Thus, he does not guarantee that they will always be good or friendly to him. There is a window of possibility that within a longer duration, his assessment of them will be

different. In other words, he does not completely vouch for the South Africans he has interacted with as not being xenophobic.

In addition to that, towards the end of turn 110, Roy uses '*some*', a downscale lexical for quantification, to offer his criticism (and to show that all is not good). He says: *but there are some from deep within their hearts ... they know these people are coming to exploit their resources...* However, in using '*some*', Roy criticizes so cleverly that he may not upset Quincy or any other South African. As Martin and White (2005:153) state, downscaling quantification construes the speaker as "having only a partial or an attenuated affiliation with the value position being referenced". Roy thus implies that the xenophobic cases are just 'minimal or isolated', and are not worthy of being foregrounded. He, in doing this, shows that the isolated cases should not detract from the goodness of South Africans in general.

There is also a special kind of scaling – that of infusion – in the last line (in turn 110). Martin and White (2005:143) point out that scaling/intensification may also be infused. It does not have to be shown by separate lexical or grammatical items like 'some'. In this case, scaling is construed as one aspect of the meaning of a single term. Roy, in reference to locals, says: *... they know these people are coming to exploit their resources.* The word 'exploit' has a high negative value. Illustratively, 'exploit' and 'use' refer to the same action, but 'exploit' has negative associations while 'use' is just neutral. By choosing 'exploit', Roy insinuates that the locals in question are suspicious of and hostile to foreigners on their land. However, the use of some (for the suspicious locals), as mentioned above, softens his accusation.

Roy talks at length about local students and xenophobic tendencies. In turn 111, he uses *'a minority'*, another low value of scaling, to describe those who could consider foreign students a threat or a bother. He says: *... they have to look at them and see these people are coming to **grab** our resources and carry them back home so but that is a **minority** of them*. From this statement, it is clear that in Roy's opinion, local students with xenophobic predispositions are isolated cases.

57

Further, in turn 113, he says, *But a good number are good…* Roy is so cautious that he avoids a FTA. However, the fact that he does not entirely defend all the local students he has interacted with is of note. As much as he praises them, he brings to our attention the fact that there are those who are xenophobic. However, he does this diplomatically. There are 'rotten eggs', but for the purpose of fostering a good relationship with his interlocutors – during and after the discussion – Roy amplifies his compliments and only offers subtle criticisms.

In turn 114, Claude poses the question, *You you have been here for a few days only?* to which Roy (in turn 115) replies, *Eh yeah ... a few months.* Claude later on (in turn 123) – on learning Roy has not been here for long – says, *Okay, that is a few months.* Further, in turns 125 and 127, Claude concludes, *So stay here for ... a couple of years. And then ... see what you have to say if it will be the same.* Claude seems to disagree with Roy – perhaps he feels that Roy's comments about South Africans are rather flattering or that Roy has been quick to judge them too favourably. Nevertheless, Claude does this in a very indirect and tactful way. The indirectness with which he couches his utterance ensures that 'he kills two birds with one stone'. Firstly, he tacitly disagrees with Roy. However, the way he does so is not face threatening. Thus, he takes care of Roy's negative face by subtly disagreeing with him. It is in recommending that Roy stays here *for a couple of years* that Claude disagrees with Roy over the fact that 'it is only a minority' of local students who have taken issue – or are bound to do so – with the presence of foreign students in their country or universities.

Secondly, Claude does not threaten Quincy's positive face – the desire to be appreciated. Claude has hitherto maintained a stance of being vocal in defending local students as not being xenophobic. Illustratively, in turn 60, Claude says: *They give you a better service ... and you know ... that experience I had so ... anyway ... it was just ... one of the few of the experiences but . . to be honest I haven't had ... anything that gives me a reason to think I'm not welcome ... so I'm pretty happy.* However, in turns 114, 125 and 127 (as shown above), it becomes clear that Claude is more ambiguous in his defence of them, or that at least, his defense has metamorphosed from staunch to tentative.

Below, the last excerpt with instances of scaling follows. Though the types of scaling in it are not very different from the ones discussed above, they have been used in different contexts and therefore serve different purposes. The excerpt is centred around the financial advantages or disadvantages for local and foreign students.

Excerpt (3)

131	Claude	*I ... ( ) mhm my my case is different in fact **most** Zambians are not sponsored students ( ) most Zambians come here ... eh with ... may be ... a parent who is gonna pay ... **very few** that I know were sent here by their companies for instance to come and study or ( ) by a particular person. ==*
132	Roy	*Okay.*
133	Claude	*As a matter of fact, I feel that South African students ... they have an opportunity ... they have **more** opportunities of funding than anybody else.*
134	Felix	*It's true ==*
135	Claude	*Because **most** of the ... funding eh bursaries that I have ... even attempted to apply to they always have a clause ... South Africans only ... But then the problem that I have == discovered ==*
140	Claude	*I mean even NSFAS for instance, NSFAS is doing a good job ... Those are loans right ... But ... at least they are availing money for studying ... We don't have such things back home in Zambia. The government can sponsor you ... but ... you are ... It's **almost** as if they they throw you into a certain country and leave you there ... you know so ... I don't know I don't know I mean ... when it comes to this issue of ==*

Claude again uses scaling in turns 131, 133, 135 and 140 to tune his argument in response to Quincy's allusion in turns 102 and 106 (below) to the fact that foreign students are funded from their home countries, a reason why some local students cannot 'compete favourably for resources' with their foreign counterparts. According to Quincy's observation, such an 'undue advantage' has the potential of arousing resentment in the locals for the visitors. Below are snippets of Quincy's utterances:

(in turn 102) Perhaps the feeling may be ... internationals [sic] are funded ... they get ... support systems in place from their respective countries.

(in turn 106) "... maybe South Africans will feel and believe ... we are poor that is why we can't progress so these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us at the same time."

59

Thus, in turn 131, Claude says that most Zambians are not sponsored and that he knows very few who were sent by their companies to study here. Basically, Claude 'exonerates' most Zambians from the accusation that they gain an undue advantage over their local counterparts as they struggle to pay fees for themselves. By extension, therefore, he saves Zambian students' face by dint of portraying them not as financially advantaged but as students who have to 'pay their way'. In turn 135, Claude admits that he himself has attempted to apply for most bursaries, but has failed due to the inhibitory clauses therein, of which the obvious one is the exclusive eligibility of South African students. His utterances, thus, have a pacifying effect on the indignation felt by local students. What he says in turn 133 seems to put the state of affairs into perspective. He says: *I feel that South African students ... they have an opportunity ... they have **more** opportunities of funding than anybody else'*. Note that *'more'*, a comparative adjective, is a high value of scaling that Claude uses to give prominence to the fact that local students are much better placed in terms of benefiting from financial support which their foreign counterparts would be glad to be given. In addition, in turn 140 above, Claude uses *'almost'* to emphasize an element of helplessness in most Zambian students' cases. He states thus: *It's **almost** as if they they throw you into a certain country and leave you there.*

So far, I have discussed different modes of scaling used by the interlocutors in the data: isolated modifiers for quantification and intensification, and infused intensification. In addition to these, repetition (as a mode of intensification) has also been employed in turn 140. As Martin and White (2005:144) show, repetition of the same lexical item can be used to realize intensification. In the sixth line, Claude repeats the statement *I don't know* as he tries to argue that contrary to Quincy's statement, Zambian students do not find financing their studies easy. He, either subconsciously or not, indicates that he or they (Zambians) are almost driven into a state of desperation or dispirited by their governments because they receive no or insufficient financial support. This, like the other strategies mentioned above, has the effect of removing the label of 'the unduly advantaged' from the Zambian students and appeasing the threatened locals.

4.2 Moments of Conflict

The discussion on xenophobia is potentially contentious because it is bound to set the interlocutors against each other with regard to the different views they will air. This is especially so for, as I have already indicated, the interlocutors are a metaphorical representation of the sides pitted against each other in the xenophobic attacks. However, the moments of conflict may not be very patent because, as this study suggests, the interlocutors are very sensitive and careful in their utterances. This is so to the extent that whenever the potential for conflict arises, the participants are quick to diffuse it. This study recognizes that, to a great extent, it falls to the interlocutors themselves to minimize conflicts for the sake of upholding the good acquaintanceship they enjoy as well as to end the discussion on good terms.

In this section therefore, I not only discuss how the interlocutors handle the conflictual moments, but I also examine how they forestall potential moments of conflict. I examine the different nuances of conflicts as well as the different strategies the interlocutors use to forestall or deal with the conflicts. These strategies include mediation, softening accusations, responsive laughter, avoidance (not responding to or partaking in conflictual sections of discussions), vagueness, deflected remarks and apportioning of blame.

In the first excerpt in this section (Excerpt 4), I present utterances in which Claude, the Zambian interlocutor – who generally plays the role of a mediator throughout the discussion – willingly compromises on behalf of Felix and Quincy.

Excerpt (4)

77	Felix	*But I **think** again it's because of the general feeling that ... if black people are going to come here from other African countries ... then they've come here to ... to ... to take away ... resources . . . From...*
78	Claude	*Yes they **will** ==*
79	Felix	*== From South Africans ... or to to ... I mean to ==*
80	Claude	*== The scarce resources that are here ... will now have to shared.*
81	Felix	*== Yeah to fight for the resources. ==*
82	Claude	*== You know yeah so ==*
83	Felix	*== with the local people.*
84	Claude	*Well well look ... **speaking from an economic perspective** ==*
85	Others	*== Yeah*

86	Claude	**I am an economist.** ==
87	Others	Mhm.
88	Claude	So **it's true** that that is ... the case ... I mean if if we are gonna use the same roads we are gonna use ... we are gonna go to the same stores ... we are gonna ... so ... **obviously** resources will be **compromised**. ==
89	Felix	So but do you **think** then that these people then are justified to ... to mistreat others because of that fear of ==
90	Claude	They are not justified. ==
91	Roy	Yeah!
92	Claude	Because first of all ... we it's we don't come here to **cause harm**. ==
NV3	Felix	[laughing]

4.2.1 Mediation

Turn 77 is the first recognizable instance of potential conflict in the discussion. Felix accuses locals of xenophobic tendencies based on the fear that foreigners will exploit their resources. He is very direct in his criticism here. He says that locals feel that foreigners have come here to take away their resources from them. Felix unleashes another FTA when he says: *Yeah to fight for the resources*. As I have already argued, by virtue of being a local, Quincy is likely to feel uncomfortable because Felix's remarks seem to attack South Africans. Quincy, for his part, does not respond to Felix's statement. Instead, he employs silence or avoidance, which, this study argues, can be a good weapon at times because it leaves his position ambiguous. It is Claude, instead, who responds to Felix's statement. Claude begins by agreeing in turn 78: *Yes they will ...* But, in turn 80, he skillfully corrects Felix by using more polite words: '*sharing the resources'*. In turn 88, Claude explains how facilities will have to be shared and ultimately compromised at the end of the day. He even strengthens his argument by declaring, in turn 86, that he is an economist, thereby lending his viewpoints a certain authority.

Felix, in turn 89, then questions whether, on account of that, locals are justified in mistreating foreigners. This is another instance of potential disagreement. Consequently, Claude suppresses the conflict by saying *they are not justified* in turn 90 and further, in turn 92, identifies himself as a foreign student by stating ... *we don't come here to cause harm.* Claude's intervention helps save Quincy's positive face (the fact that resources are compromised is already an impingement on the South Africans by the foreigners; being

wary on their part is just natural) and at the same time pacifies Felix's agitation. It is also worth noting that in using the inclusive pronoun 'we', Claude aligns himself with the other foreign interlocutors. This, whether intentionally or not, sets Quincy against all the other interlocutors, but very diplomatically. Felix also lightens the tone by laughing in NV3. This study recognizes laughing as another strategy for saving and maintaining face (see section 4.2.3 below). Thus Claude employs his adroitness as a sensitive and rational mediator to save his interlocutors' face, to combat agitation and to end the conflicts.

4.2.2 Softening Accusations

In the following two excerpts (Excerpts 5 and 6), I discuss the way Quincy softens his accusations against (or unpleasantries about) some foreign students. He softens his accusations by not asserting himself as the accuser. He does this in two ways: speaking diffidently or tentatively, and attributing the accusations to other people.

Excerpt (5)

106	Quincy	*Put in South African eh academic institution context so as a result they will be advancing than others so **they think maybe** South A ... may be South Africans **will feel** and **believe** that no man 'thina' ['we' in isiXhosa] we don't have such resources ( ) we are poor that is why we can't progress so these ones are funded that side to come and **exploit** us at the same time = =*
NV4	Others	*[Laughing]*
107	Quincy	*So **maybe** that **might be** ==*
NV5	Others	*[Laughing]*
108	Roy	*Let me give my experience. ==*

Quincy, in turn 106 above, utters a statement that has the potential to trigger conflict and even threaten the foreign participants' positive face. He says that local students may feel that foreign students have an undue advantage for they are funded from where they have come. However, being a sensitive speaker, he seems to realize this immediately and tunes his statement in a very tactical way so that he does not offend the others. By saying '*maybe South Africans will feel and believe*', he softens the intensity of the statement. The use of '*maybe*' indicates that he is not asserting his statement. So, he opens up the possibility that, after all, the sentiments are hypothetical. Though he uses the personal

pronoun *'we'*, the statement strikes a tentative note. He says, *maybe South Africans will feel and believe that no man 'thina'[we] we don't have such resources ... these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us at the same time'.* He employs indirect speech to imply that he is reporting and only referring to the South Africans who might not be happy with the state of events. By attributing the sentiments to 'those other South Africans', he distances himself from these negative attitudes. The effect would have been very different, for instance, had he said, 'We feel and believe that ... these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us here'.

Quincy treads carefully and ensures that he does not unleash an FTA, which may make his interlocutors uncomfortable. Of note also is the tactical way in which Quincy's alluded accusation is reacted to. First, all the others laugh off his statement as though his accusation is not serious. In addition to this, Roy, the next speaker, in turn 108, skips the topic at hand and expresses a wish to give his experience. He explains in his next turn (turn 110, given in Excerpt 2 above) why he thinks most South African students have no problem with foreign students.

Interestingly, no speaker challenges Quincy's attributed allegation that foreign students exploit their local counterparts. Later, Claude instead takes the trouble to explain that a good number of foreign students struggle to pay their tuition fees and upkeep. He even argues that the South African government is very supportive of its citizens unlike its other African counterparts (see turns 131-140 in Excerpt 3 above).

Excerpt (6) includes additional utterances in which the interlocutors soften the unpleasantries or accusations.

Excerpt (6)

217	Quincy	*(T)hey [foreigners] are classified as rich not necessarily rich let's say people who have who are well = = equipped ==*
218	Others	*== Mhm! ==*
219	*Quincy*	*== Than South Africans* **as an example** *and then they can have whatever they want even they* **can** *have* **resources** *like* **'igirls'** *(girls)*
NV11	*Others*	*[laughing]*

220	Quincy	*Where ( ) ... they have funds they have a lot of they buy them clothes they buy them stuff and stuff and stuff so this ( ) they go for that particular kind of environment ==*
221	Roy	*== Mhm!*
222	Quincy	*And **may be** they will feel threatened **the guys** of South Africa as an example ... **they try to say okay** ... instead of me looking at this issue **let me kill ... the problem itself now** ==*
223	Felix	*== Okay ==*
224	Quincy	*== So that this thing is not going to continue ==*
NV12	Others	*== [laughing] ==*
225	Felix	*== Hey! That's CRAZY ( ) ==*
NV13	Others	*[still laughing]*
226	Quincy	*That's those are t ... theories man ( ) == that's ==*
227	Claude	*Look we are we are **we are all speaking as lay** ... **men here** ... we ... we **don't have** all the **facts** we ... we are not **experts** in this field right ... **but surely** we **can** ... we **can all see** that ... killing or chasing out you know foreigners from the country will **actually** not be helping the country ==*

Quincy keeps on talking about foreign students having the wherewithal to pay and maintain expensive lifestyles which draw the envy of their local counterparts. A case in point is when he says: *(T)hey can have whatever they want even they can have resources like 'igirls'(girls)* in turn 219. Although this is an accusation, he expresses it in a rather diffident manner. The tentative constructions: *let's say* and *for example* that Quincy uses in turn 219, are indicative of the low commitment he has invested in his accusation against foreign students. This tentativeness is a form of modality, and it is helpful as it coats what would otherwise have been a direct, crass allegation and ultimately an FTA. No wonder his statements are greeted with laughter and not retort by his interlocutors.

Further, in turn 222, Quincy employs '*as an example*' and '*they try to say*' to introduce a more unpleasant scenario: ... *they will feel threatened the guys of South Africa as an example ... they try to say okay ... instead of me looking at this issue let me kill ... the problem itself now.* This study argues that phrases that express tentativeness, for instance '*as an example*' and '*they try to say*' (in turn 222) can also be used to soft-pedal unpleasantries – be it criticism, disagreement or a narration of an unfortunate event. In addition to that, Quincy uses the third person pronoun '*they*' and not the first person '*we*' to distance himself from his fellow 'xenophobic' South Africans. Thus, by attributing the negativity to 'them', he disaligns himself from 'them' and saves or enhances his own face

before his foreign interlocutors. Lastly, xenophobic murder (which Quincy alludes to in turn 222) should be a grave issue. However, his use of modality enables him to talk about the issue without offending or upsetting his audience. This explains why in NV12 and NV13, all the participants laugh. Felix, the most truculent of Quincy's interlocutors, just manages a resigned: *'Hey! That's CRAZY* in turn 225.

Though Quincy's interlocutors just laugh off his statements, he points out, in turn 226, that, after all, *those are theories*. This statement is an afterthought aimed at mollifying his interlocutors for what he has just said is disturbing and even tantamount to an FTA. The other participants, in laughing off Quincy's FTA, could be playing along. Diplomatic speakers would naturally want to avoid disagreements as much as possible. They can play along by laughing at what has been said or simply keeping silent. Claude, in turn 227, assures Quincy that they (foreign participants) have, after all, not been offended. He points out that all of them are speaking as laymen and none of them has all the facts. According to Claude, they are merely giving their own or others' opinions as opposed to factually grounded statements. Thus he indicates that none should read too much into these opinions.

4.2.3 Responsive Laughter

Another strategy that the interlocutors use to forestall conflicts in the discussion is responsive laughter. As Bowe and Martin (2005:72) argue, laughter plays an important role in conversations. Responsive laughter is that which comes after something has been said. Bowe and Martin (2007:72) argue that besides acknowledging humour, showing politeness and signaling solidarity, responsive laughter minimizes disagreement and ridicules conflict. In the discussion, there are many instances where interlocutors laugh to serve the above-mentioned purposes. However, in this section, I only highlight NV12 (in Excerpt 6 above) in which all the other interlocutors laugh at Quincy's statement in turn 222. Quincy says (from turns 219 and 220) that South Africans may decide to kill the 'problem'. (By saying 'problem', Quincy is referring to the male foreigners that snatch South African girls from South African men). The other interlocutors instead laugh off his statement. None of them challenges him or condemns the heinous act or threat of killing.

The interlocutors therefore choose not to take offence. They, after all, play along by laughing. This kind of laughter is also healthy for the discussion as it helps lighten the atmosphere. The laughter is paused only by Felix's *Hey! That's CRAZY* in turn 225. Thus, Felix's remark – like the laughter – serves to acknowledge and foreground the humorous aspect of Quincy's statement and wish away the 'morbid' threat carried in the statement.

4.2.4 Avoidance

Steering away from heated exchanges or arguments or even sensitive topics is another way of dealing with conflicts in the discussion on xenophobia. Many a time, participants refrain from commenting, especially when the topic seems to be incriminating – either directly or indirectly. The instances of avoidance in Excerpt 7 are discussed below, immediately after the excerpt.

Excerpt (7)

99	Claude	And I mean who is to **argue** that South African institutions for instance mhm eh universities are not good? I mean where I come from they are not that ( ) our universities are not that good so I I come down here I'm just trying to exploit the resources that they have. ==
100	Felix	== Which are which are the best in the in the continent.
101	Claude	Well ... that's **arguable** but ... **certainly** in the Southern African region they are the best ... so I don't **know** about up there ... but I **can say** that for the South African African region.

Claude, the participant who seems to take much more floor than anyone else, seems to close the dialogic space in turn 99 as he asserts that South African institutions are of repute. *'Who is to argue ...?'* is a rhetorical question that Claude uses to present his value position as highly warrantable. As Martin and White (2005:98) contend, speakers can use a rhetorical question to suppress or rule out alternative positions. He vouches for the high quality of education one can obtain from South African universities. Hence, he justifies his own and his fellow foreign students' decision to come to South Africa to study. Felix, in the next turn (100), agrees with Claude and adds another dimension to the argument, stating that the South African institutions (especially universities) are the best in Africa. However, despite his attempt to voice his solidarity with Claude on the matter, Felix elicits the latter's retort in turn 101. Felix – though he has not indicated it in the discussion at hand – has extensive knowledge with regard to the rankings of universities

67

in Africa. So, when he says: *which are the best in the continent*, he is sure about that. However, Claude dismisses that and says: *it is arguable.* Felix refrains from the argument over the rating of South African universities for the sake of forestalling an argument in their discussion.

In turn 228 (already given in Excerpt 6), Claude criticizes South Africans for carrying out xenophobic attacks. He says *...* ***but surely*** *we* ***can*** *... we* ***can all see*** *that ... killing or chasing out you know foreigners from the country will actually not be helping the country.* Claude uses '*surely*' to talk about how the killing or chasing of foreigners is not helpful. *Surely* falls into the category of 'Pronounce' (Pronounce is subsumed by Proclaim), which as Martin and White (2005) state, serves to close down the dialogic space for those that might have opposing opinions. Claude thus insists upon the warrantability of his proposition – and, it would be shameful for someone to argue that such treatment of people just because they are foreigners is justifiable. Of note also is the fact that, on hearing Claude disapprove of South Africans' actions, Quincy stops contributing for a while. Hitherto, he had been contributing actively. The other participants do not demand or insist that he participates at this juncture, thereby avoiding threatening his negative face. They shy away from putting Quincy on the spot. This type of modesty or tact helps the discussion progress because, without it, participants would lose face and be discouraged from participating freely.

4.2.5 Vagueness and Incomplete Utterances

During the discussion, participants produce utterances that are vague. They achieve this vagueness mainly by producing incomplete utterances or even by hesitating deliberately. Sometimes, they seem to dangle parts of utterances, and by so doing, necessitate a situation whereby their interlocutors make their own conclusions or guesses about what they are saying. This is especially so when they allude to things that are not very flattering about the others.

In the next five excerpts (Excerpts 8-12), I present instances in the data in which the participants have couched their statements in vagueness. I suggest that in so doing, they succeed in forestalling conflicts between each other and save each other's face.

Excerpt (8)

66   *Quincy   Coz you find that as internationals you are too diverse also ... that in terms of colour... in terms of race in terms of religion culture and stuff like that coz there are internationals who are white citizens 'abon' [gap-filler meaning 'you see' in isiXhosa] ==*
67   *Claude   Yeah ==*
68   *Quincy   Who get to a country or South Africa or to any country for that matter ... so the treatment they receive in those countries ... in **most cases** is not the same as ==*
69   *Claude   It tends to be better. ==*

Firstly, in turn 68, Quincy talks about how white foreigners are treated better than their black counterparts. However, his statement is not complete or explicit; he just hints at that. Probably, it is hard for him to say plainly that white people get better treatment because it may cast black people in bad light. Had he said it bluntly, it could have been a threat to black foreigners' positive faces as it would imply they are not wanted or appreciated by their local counterparts. It similarly could have been a threat to black South Africans' positive face as they would be portrayed as harsh to their fellow blacks. Thus Quincy omits some rather obvious words, or deliberately produces a vague utterance so that the interlocutors can conclude for themselves. Claude, in turn 69, chips in and completes Quincy's statement. He says what is rather difficult for the latter: *It tends to be better*, namely, the treatment that white foreigners get at the expense of their black counterparts.

In Excerpt (9) below, I have included two non-consecutive turns from the discussion. The first turn in the excerpt (turn 106) provides a context for the utterance in the next (turn 129), in which Claude employs vagueness to make reference to what Quincy says in turn 106.

69

Excerpt (9)

106	Quincy	*... may be South Africans will feel and believe that no man 'thina' we don't have such resources ( ) we are poor that is why we can't progress so these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us at the same time.*
129	Claude	*You know ... I mean ... look ... [referring to Quincy] he he talked about us being sponsored and **stuff**.*

Secondly, in turn 129, when Claude responds to Quincy's accusation that foreign students are funded to exploit South African students, he just uses: *'and stuff'* to refer to what Quincy has already said. This omission of the accusatory words spoken by Quincy allows for vagueness, which in turn helps save Quincy's and the others' positive face. Claude perhaps does not want to come across as accusing Quincy or constantly reminding him of his incriminatory statements. He steers clear of the talk of '*being funded to exploit South Africans'*. Perhaps, it also pains him to repeat the statement after Quincy. Consequently, he plays down the impact of the accusation on him and his fellow foreign participants.

In Excerpt (10) below, Felix produces a vague and an incomplete statement.

Excerpt (10)

470	Felix	*In fact **some** students have even asked me "When will you go back to Kenya ...?" Eh then I have told them "immediately I finish my my my degree I I I'd I graduate" and then they are like ... "When are you going to graduate, will you go back immediately ..." you know and such ( ) like questions = =*
471	Claude	*[laughing] Well ...*
472	Felix	*Meaning maybe they are not ...*
473	Quincy	*You look ... even in in in working places ...*
474	Felix	*Mhm!*
475	Quincy	*Where you apply for a – or when you go to an interview ... you will be asked a question as to why do you come why do you choose this particular ... restaurant as an example ( ) that question is ... when you look at objectively is trying to ... they want to check if that particular ... kind of restaurant is the one that is suitable or is successful is ... having or is interesting a lot of people from outside the scope of that particular town ... so I don't think there was == ( )*
476	Claude	*You know what ... after after all is said and done ... foreigners will always be a threat ... to any environment.*

70

In turn 470, Felix, in his narration, implies that some local students nurture a feeling of resentment against foreign students and that they cannot wait for them to go back to their countries of origin. He admits that he himself has been asked when he will leave. However, in turn 472, he leaves his utterance hanging and keeps us, or his interlocutors, guessing what he should have said. The modal expression *'maybe'* that he starts with is a pointer to an unpleasant thing he was in the frame of saying about the local students in question: something akin to '... maybe they are not happy to see us here'. The omission of the weighty issue prevents the potential arousal of indignation in Quincy and forestalls a moment of conflict.

In turns 473 and 475, Quincy tries to allay the accusation implicit in Felix's utterances by justifying the inquisitiveness of the students that Felix is complaining about. He even goes further to give an example of the questions panelists ask prospective employees (in turn 475). This is testament to the fact that though Felix's utterance in turn 472 is seemingly vague, Quincy is able to accurately interpret what Felix meant, given the context of the discussion.

In Excerpt (11) below, Quincy couches his statement in vagueness as he responds to Felix's utterance. Throughout the discussion, Felix insists that Kenyans do not have a phobia for foreigners. In turns 564 and 566 (not in the excerpt), Felix claims that Kenyans do not begrudge the Indians, who are thriving in the country. This prompts Quincy's utterances below.

Excerpt (11)

580	Quincy	*You see chief ... 'wena' ['you' in isiXhosa] you might be coming from your own ... kind of ... or you are expressing your own kind of scenario it might be different from another citizen of Kenya ...*
581	Felix	*Mhm!*
582	Quincy	*Who is residing there at the moment as you are here and **may** be he will have different assertions to what you have so... to say generally that as Kenyans "we are not threatened by…" Aih! It's not…*

In turns 580 and 582 above, Quincy vehemently disagrees with Felix, who proclaims that Kenyans do not bear foreigners grudges. According to Quincy, xenophobia is natural. For this reason, he is quick to disagree with Felix. In his last line in turn 582, Quincy

sarcastically repeats what Felix has said '... *we are not threatened by ... Aih! It's not ...'.*
He does not reveal the identity of the people that make local citizens threatened, but it is
clear that he meant (or omitted) 'foreigners'. In turn 582, Quincy was probably going to
give a dysphemism, or at least a neutral term for foreigners, but he opts to swallow that
instead. This is considering that in this context, terms like 'foreigners' or 'outsiders' are
tacitly regarded as derogatory. Therefore, by omitting the word, Quincy saves his own
positive face as well that of his foreign counterparts. There is also omission in his last
statement. He says: '*Aish! It's not ...'* What he leaves out here is something along the lines
of 'It's not making sense*'*, 'It's not realistic' or 'It's ridiculous!' but he omits it for the
sake of Felix's positive face.

In excerpt (12), it is Claude who does not complete his statement. He starts with the
exclamation *NO!*, then uses the filler *I mean*, but stops short of condemning. This allows
Felix to conclude for him.

Excerpt (12)

608	*Claude*	*But ... to now chase me out and say okay we don't need you here. OUT!*
		With with sticks and stones ...
NV18	*Felix*	*[laughing]*
609	*Claude*	*NO! I mean ...*
610	*Felix*	*It's barbaric. ==*
611	*Claude*	*== That's barbaric.*

Lastly, in turns 608, 609 and 611, Claude expresses his outrage and indignation over the
savageness of xenophobic attacks. He revisits the event in turn 608, but in turn 609, he
(deliberately) hesitates. Claude, as I have said before, is the most diplomatic of all the
participants so far in the discussion. Thus, his hesitation could be informed by his
unwillingness to sound rude. However, Felix, who cuts the figure of the least diplomatic
participant, helps Claude complete his utterance. He chips in with: *'It's barbaric'.*
Interestingly, Claude repeats the same term: *'barbaric',* indicating that he was thinking
along the same lines, though inhibited by his modesty.

4.2.6 Intentionally Deflected Remarks

I suggest that in the discussion, interlocutors may use what I have termed 'intentionally deflected remarks' for 'safe' accusations. Speakers can thus deflect their remarks so as to save face. In this case, while the speaker targets his listener, he chooses to refer to someone else, preferably a third party. The third party becomes a scapegoat for the speaker. This may be looked at as akin to what Fisher (1976, in Muhleisen and Migge 2005) calls 'remark dropping'. As Muhleisen and Migge (2005:6) explain, a speaker addresses an utterance to a hearer with the intention of dropping a remark to an overhearer; the hearer then becomes a sham receiver of the utterance while the overhearer is the target.

However, the difference between 'dropping remarks' and 'deflected remarks' is that while in 'dropping remarks' the addressee is merely a sham receiver (and not the target) of the remarks, in 'deflected remarks' both the addressee and the third party are the targets. The speaker only scapegoats the third party, but the remarks still touch or concern the addressee. Thus, here, the fact that a remark 'falls' on and is relevant to two different targets, changing orientation from listener X to third party Y metaphorically explains the deflectedness. In addition to that, what sets 'deflected remarks' from vagueness is that when a speaker deflects his remarks, he makes his accusation explicit and the accusation is clearly directed at someone else, the scapegoat. Utterances with vagueness, on the other hand, are just hung and usually allow the listeners to conclude for themselves.

In the discussion, Quincy sometimes appears to talk about specific foreign nationals in his country while at the same time implying that his interlocutors, also foreign nationals, are no exception. This is a safe strategy whereby one talks about someone else while, in effect, what he or she is talking about pertains to his or her listener.

In Excerpt (13) appearing below, I have presented turns in which Quincy deflected his remarks. The target turns are 33 and 102. Turns 103, 104 and 105 have been included for coherence, leading up to turn 106.

73

Excerpt (13)

33   Quincy   *= = But at the same time, it becomes a problem I am as I am finishing now... It becomes a problem ... when for instance there is a lot of influx ... that's where the term influx now becomes a problem ... but as long as there is a standard approach that is used ...* **for the sake of developing Zim (Zimbabwe) because of its economic and political crisis and you accommodate them educationally you assist ( )** *because ... I think we should interchange or exchange ... expertise ... yeah = =*

102   Quincy   *Perhaps the feeling may be isn't that from ( ) ... internationals [sic] are funded ... eh! Even though I 'm not sure of that more and more or less they get kind of a ... may be bursaries but support systems in place from their respective countries* **like I spoke speak of Botswana as an example where most of their students whom are studying here** *... are operating under a certain system.*

103   Claude   *Who?*

104   Quincy   *Where* **they are funded and then on that on its own is beefing up their well being.** *==*

105   Claude   *Yes*

106   Quincy   *Put in South African eh academic institution context so as a   result they will be advancing than others so they think maybe South A ... may be South Africans will feel and believe that no man 'thina' ['we' in isiXhosa] we don't have such resources ( )* **we are poor   that is why we can't progress so these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us at the same time.**

Reading between the lines, we can construe Quincy's statement (in turn 33) as meaning that the influx of foreigners into his country should be checked regardless of their nationalities. This is because an additional person in the country, be it a Zimbabwean or a different national, means 'more sharing' of the facilities or 'simply loading the system'. In addition to that, he could be hinting that Zimbabweans may be forgiven, as their case – economic and political crises – is stronger than that of other nationals. Therefore, by deflecting or changing the course of his remarks, he spares his interlocutors' faces; he does not directly say that their influx too should be checked. Although he refers to Zimbabweans, he may be tacitly pointing to people from all corners of Africa, including his interlocutors.

From turn 102 to turn 106, Quincy seems to lay blame on such people as the funded students from Botswana whom the local students resent. He associates these funded

students with 'exploitation'. Diplomatically, he scapegoats the students from Botswana and does not mention either Kenya or Zambia of which his interlocutors are citizens.

We may thus conclude that by deflecting his remarks, Quincy staves off controversy and maintains not only his face, but also that of his interlocutors. In other words, by avoiding the use of direct remarks, he does not put himself in a position where he invites resentment from his interlocutors. Thus, he maintains his positive face and his interlocutors' positive face is also maintained: he does not make them feel unwanted.

4.2.7 Apportioning of Blame

The other observation made in this study is that face-work is also done by means of apportioning blame. This study notes that when blame is shared or distributed between two or more people, the participant at whom the blame was initially directed is relieved a little and the accusation is not as great as it would have been without the apportioning. Since, as I have already noted, participants seem to be careful to avoid putting each other down, they try to pay attention to and even save each other's face. Claude does much of the apportioning of blame in the discussion. In a way, this distribution of blame helps mend the face of participants who have been criticized; it shows that, after all, the negative attributes associated with the participants are not exclusively theirs, but rather characteristics possessed by or latent in other people as well.

In excerpt (14) below, I present utterances in which Claude apportions blame to himself and the other interlocutors for the purposes of saving Quincy's face. Some turns do not follow chronologically. This is because I have only selected those that carry instances of apportioning of blame from the discussion.

Excerpt (14)

| 283 | Felix | *Let me ... ask another question ... I mean why does it always have to I - mean why does it always become you know a big deal when ... when you are talking about people from outside here in South Africa ... you know the the I believe the the world is becoming a global village.* |
| 285 | *Felix* | *And ... I don't think there is any country in Africa that doesn't have people from other parts of you know Africa as well ...* |

286	Felix	But in Kenya, I don't think ... there have been any xenophobic attacks or anything like that ...
290	Felix	... yeah so I don't know why in in South Africa then it's different ...
293	Claude	== Have you ever considered the fact that maybe South Africa have OVERTLY expressed their DISLIKE for foreigners ...
300	Claude	And so ... my point is may be Kenyans had just haven't openly ... you know expressed their dislike if if it does exist for foreigners ==
301	Claude	You are speaking you are speaking as one two individuals == from Kenya = =
307	Felix	== Okay ... Why then haven't we ... ever heard of xenophobic attacks in Kenya?
311	Claude	May be it's it's it's still not openly expressed ==
312	Felix	NOOO!!
313	Quincy	Claude might be correct because what's - okay let's look at this this term 'xenophobic' ...
359	Claude	Probably based on ... whatever reasons resources whatever ... right ... may be in our countries we haven't openly expressed our dislike for foreigners even though we do dislike them ... right == so I'm just trying ==
370	Claude	Right ... but if if if ... look ... in 1964 when we attained independence ... Kaunda (Zambia's first black president) chased all the whites out.
384	Claude	If you if you look if you look at it from that ... angle one would say that was a xenophobic ... eh ... eh ...
385	Quincy	System of ...
386	Claude	It was a xenophobic ( ) you know ... attack. ==
387	Quincy	== Or approach. ==
388	Claude	== Or approach yes. ==

In the above excerpt, Felix asserts his incredulity at South Africans' xenophobic tendencies and claims that such is unheard of in his country, Kenya. However, Claude attempts to counter Felix's argument by stating that xenophobia is a universal phenomenon, and not a preserve of South Africans.

Felix, in turn 283, wonders: ... *why does it always become ... a big deal when you are talking about people from outside ... South Africa ... I believe the world has become a global village.* Felix continues to explain, in turns 285, 286, 288 and 290, how Kenya, like other countries in Africa, is home to foreigners from other African countries, and that there have not been cases of xenophobic attacks reported there yet. Quincy predictably does not respond to the accusations laid on South Africans. Claude then jumps to Quincy's defense. In turns 293 and 300, Claude suggests that the citizens of the other countries could be harbouring xenophobic sentiments as well, though the sentiments have

not been translated into attacks yet. Quincy seems to reap the benefits of Claude's intervention as, in turn 313, he bounces back into the discussion with: *'Claude might be correct because what's - okay let's look at this this term 'xenophobic'.*

Claude's statements seem to universalize xenophobia and Quincy capitalizes on that. Henceforth, from turn 315 until turn 339 in Excerpt 15 below, Quincy takes his interlocutors through the semantics and implications of xenophobia, in a bid to universalize it and make it appear as though it is just a natural instinct. By doing this, Quincy implies that virtually everyone stands accused of xenophobia as well as general phobia for people from other races. Thus, in effect, he apportions blame to all and sundry. On the same note, Claude backs up his (own) argument by admitting, in turn 370, that even in his own country, Zambia, xenophobic attacks were carried out in the fashion of South Africa, though only targeting white people. In turn 359, Claude says: *... maybe in our countries we haven't openly expressed our dislike for foreigners even though we do dislike them ... .* In turn 384, he adds: *If you look at it from that ... angle one would say that was a xenophobic.*

4.3 Summary

The topic under discussion, xenophobia, is a sensitive topic and it would not have been easy to come through it without the skilful use of the linguistic and discourse strategies that the participants have employed. Though they frequently give opposing views or make incriminatory statements, they take care to express these in diplomatic ways, thus ensuring that throughout, their solidarity is upheld. They do this by selecting from choices of Engagement, especially modality. However, they also choose from other elements of Engagement such as Counter, Concur and Scaling. In this chapter, I further identified the use of discourse strategies such as mediation, softening accusations, responsive laughter and apportioning of blame, which the participants use to forestall and handle conflicts, and thus, allow for a convivial discussion about xenophobia.

Chapter 5 follows with a discussion of the identities that the participants construct and negotiate in this conversation about xenophobia.

CHAPTER 5

IDENTITY

5.0 Introduction

As discussed in the literature review, a person has multiple and hybrid identities which are indexed by particular semiotic resources. The identities people perform depend on the context, purpose and occasion, and these identities are co-constructed because they are negotiated in interactions. Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) framework differentiates between three types of identities with regard to negotiability and acceptability: *imposed identities*, *assumed identities* and *negotiable identities*. Imposed identities are not negotiable in a particular time and place. Assumed identities are accepted and not negotiable. Negotiable identities are contested. However, in this study, I recognize *assumed identities* and *negotiated identities* as those co-constructed and performed by the participants.

As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:21) state, assumed identities are "those that many – albeit all – individuals are comfortable with and not interested in contesting". The identities recognized as assumed in the discussion are: *educated university students*, *black Africans*, *nationals of African countries*, and *male identities*. All the participants in the conversation, as discussed in the sections below, acknowledge that they share these identities. They also embrace these identities. However, negotiated identities are not taken for granted. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:21), "negotiated identities refer to all identity options which can be – and are – contested and resisted by particular individuals and groups". In other words, by negotiating these identities, people have to resist some other identities (probably those imposed on them) in a bid to be identified differently. The identities recognized as negotiated in this discussion are: *people with agency and choice* as well as *people that are rational and reasonable*.

It thus follows that there are six identities that have been identified in the study. It is also worth mentioning that the participants perform the six identities unanimously. This study also argues that these identities are important to the participants in the following ways:

building in-group solidarity and a sense of belonging for the participants, and being central to the performance of face-work in the interaction. The six identities are discussed in the section below.

5.1 Educated University Students

The most notable identity the participants find it easy to converge around is that of educated university students. As Johnstone (2008:151) states, identities can also be associated with temporary situational roles. These could be people's occupation, social statuses or profession. First and foremost, the participants gather, as university students, to discuss xenophobia, which is a sensitive topic. Many a person would wish to give the topic a wide berth. However, the participants are not deterred by the delicateness of the topic. Equipped with zeal, eloquence and caution, they delve into the discussion, share their experiences and try to unlock or gain an understanding of xenophobia, a phenomenon in their contemporary society.

In exchanging their views, communicating their ideas effectively and sustaining such a lengthy but yet edifying discussion about xenophobia, the participants draw on their scholarliness. They also assert their scholarliness in a bid to convince each other or express their sentiments with regard to xenophobia. For instance, Claude, in turn 84, says: *... look ... speaking from an economic perspective* and, in turn 86, says: *I am an economist*. He asserts this as he, in turn 88, explains how resources in South Africa will ineluctably have to be shared or compromised with the influx of foreigners into South Africa. He is prompted to say this by Felix, who seems to accuse South Africans of gratuitous fear of foreigners (in turns 77 and 79, in Excerpt 4). Claude's intervention also seems to save Quincy's face.

In Excerpt (15) below, Quincy takes his interlocutors through the meaning of the word 'xenophobic'. Each of them contributes in what is a typical scholarly interaction. The contributions they make are purely objective and add to the understanding of the term.

Excerpt (15)

313   *Quincy   Claude might be correct because what's - okay let's look at this this term 'xenophobic' ...*

79

314	Felix	Mmh!
315	Quincy	*According to my own understanding of the term it means ... 'xeno' and 'phobic' I mean 'xeno' and then 'phobia' ... xenophobia*
316	Felix	*Mmh!*
317	Quincy	*Xeno in this case might be ...*
318	Felix	*Outside*
319	Claude	*Yes ==*
320	Quincy	*Yeah ==*
321	Felix	*Foreign ==*
322	Quincy	*Something foreign ==*
323	Claude	*Mhm!*
324	Quincy	*Then ... phobic it's a fear or dislike ...*
325	Claude	*Yeah!*
326	Quincy	*In fact in this case it's a dislike ==*
327	Felix	*== Yeah!*
328	Quincy	*Dislike of something foreign ==*
329	Felix	*Mmh!*
330	Quincy	*Then when we have that particular ... dislike of something foreign ...*
331	Felix	*Eeh!*
332	Quincy	*Is it's a natural ... dislike that is created regardless of any resources or regardless of any situation ... but ...*
333	Roy	*It's in one ==*
333	Quincy	*== It's in it's created ...*
334	Felix	*Mhm! ==*
335	Quincy	*== That dislike for instance when you have a dislike towards a particular ... person or race like eh the Boers would do.*
336	Claude	*Yeah yeah*
337	Quincy	*( ) That's a dislike even now whites they can't stand a black even now ==*
338	Felix	*Mhm. Yeah! ==*
339	Quincy	*They don't want to see a black that's a dislike it's natural ==*

In addition to that, the participants regularly make reference to the fact that they are all university students in the discussion. Claude, in turn 154 (not shown here), refers to Quincy as *an educated man* and in turn 166 (also not shown here), he says *You see ... but this man is ( ) being her ... eh ... at the university obviously has a different perspective because ...* Lastly, in turn 470 (in Excerpt 10 above), Felix suggests that local students resent their foreign counterparts by saying *In fact some students have asked me "When will you go back to Kenya ... "? Eh then I have told them "immediately I finish my my my degree I I I 'd graduate" and then they are like ... "When will you going to graduate, will you go back immediately ..."? you know and such ( ) like questions.*

5.2 Black Africans

All the participants in the discussion also share the identity of 'black Africans'. The topic of xenophobia they are discussing concerns how black South Africans are pitted against blacks from other parts of Africa. As shown in turn 77, in Excerpt (4) above, Felix hypothesizes that xenophobic tendencies are informed by the assumption that black people come to South Africa to exploit the country's resources. The foreign black participants not only take issue with the xenophobic attacks in the year 2008, but they also protest over the way some of their local counterparts treat them. In protesting over particular actions, the participants refer to themselves as black people. However, they do not only fault black people, they also accuse people of other races, though on a small scale. For instance, in turn 52 (not shown here), Claude, on narrating an encounter with 'coloured' barbers who did not want to cut his hair, concludes that the same people could treat black South Africans the same way. He says *So yeah ... I think ... I don't know ... but I guess that can happen even to just a fellow black South African.*

In turns 335, 337 and 339 in the excerpt above (Excerpt 15), Quincy takes his interlocutors through the meaning of xenophobia and explains that, after all, it is a natural phenomenon as people will have the predisposition to fear or dislike strangers or different people. In addition to that, he claims that black people are anathema to white people. By 'othering' white South Africans, Quincy strikes a chord with his interlocutors and effectively affirms this shared identity (of black Africans).

In Excerpt (16) below, I present two non-consecutive turns in which Claude wonders why black people would go to the extremes of setting their own kind ablaze.

Excerpt (16)

| 419 | Claude | *So I think that's why most of us ah ... have made ... such an ... you know big deal out of it because we are saying look ... **yes I might not be South African but ... I am BLACK!** ==* |
| 423 | *Claude* | *I mean ... ( ) what's ... warrants me burning another person **who looks just like me?*** |

In turns 419 and 423 above, Claude, while expressing his contempt for xenophobic attacks directed at black foreigners, emphasizes that all black people are the same or share a common identity. He is perplexed by the fact that the people with whom black foreigners should align courtesy of race (or celebrate the oneness of being black Africans) have chosen to isolate them and harm them based on their nationalities.

5.3 Nationals of African Countries

The participants – all from African countries as mentioned above – refer to themselves or to each other with regard to their nationalities. Quincy speaks as the host (South African), for instance, when he subtly expresses caution about the influx of foreigners into his country in turn 33. He says: *'It becomes a problem ... when for instance there is a lot of influx ... that is where the term influx becomes a problem ...'.* Claude, in turn 370, gives off his Zambian identity when he says: *'Right ... but if if if ... look ... in 1964 when **we** attained independence . . Kaunda chased all the whites out'.*

Felix and Roy distance themselves and their country from xenophobia and tend to accuse South Africans of it much more than Claude. This could be so largely because they come from the same country, and thus, by extension, share the same experiences. It could also be due to the fact that they intend to take part in the discussion as a team (from Kenya) by avoiding disagreements between each other. Claude challenges both of them and explicitly positions them as Kenyans in turn 306 when he says: *'**You** are speaking you are speaking as one **two individuals** == **from Kenya**.*

In turn 203 (not shown in the extract), Felix rebukes South Africans for meting harsh treatment to other Africans in lieu of reciprocating the gesture of kindness and generosity shown to their own by people from the neighbouring countries during the struggle against apartheid. In the previous turn (turn 202, also not shown here), Felix talks of how South Africans sought and enjoyed refuge in countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In turn 203, he says: *It's unfair you know when **South Africans** after having got their independence they begin to ... you know beat **their fellow Africans** you know ... kill **their fellow Africans** you know ( ) – I mean it beats logic according to me it's not fair at all because **we should be one people you know == as AFRICANS***

82

In addition to that, as Blommaert (2005) has pointed out, 'small' resources such as pronunciation or borrowings of single words, can be turned into consequential markers of identity. For instance, Quincy, the South African participant says **'iigirls'** in turn 219 (Excerpt 6 above). He has appropriated the English word 'girls' by adding the isiXhosa prefix **'ii'**. This is typical of the way black South Africans, especially speakers of isiXhosa, incorporate English words into the language and therefore identifies Quincy as a speaker of isiXhosa. Similarly, he gives off the same identity when he uses the isiXhosa pronouns, 'thina' [we], 'wena' [you] and 'ne' [right] in his discourse.

5.4 Male Identity

All the participants in the discussion are male. Throughout the discussion, they are at ease with being male, and on some occasions they make reference to their male identity. One way in which they do so is the names they use to refer to each other. For instance, in turn 227 (in Excerpt 6), Claude, in lightening a potential moment of conflict (thanks to Quincy's statement about the killing of foreigners by locals in turn 222) says *Look ... we are speaking as **lay … men** here ... we don't have all the facts ... we are not experts in this field ... but surely we can all see that ... killing or chasing ... will actually not be helping the country*. Thus, Claude's use of the term *laymen* gives them away as men.

In turn 695, Claude uses the term *'bro'* (short form of 'brother'), a marker for friendship and politeness, to refer to Felix when he (Claude) indicates that he is leaving as they have exhausted the discussion. He says: *Hey my **bro** ... I think I ... I'm gonna run from here*. In response to that, Felix says (in turn 696, not shown here): *Hey **guys** ... I'm very grateful for this **man***. As Felix thanks his interlocutors for the discussion they have just held, he uses the two masculine terms 'guys' and 'man' to signal the familiarity and closeness that the whole group has started to share.

The study also suggests that as the participants share their male identity, the manner in which some of them talk is evocative of male chauvinism. Whether this element of male chauvinism is brought out consciously or not, it informs us that the participants draw on their own or their societies' chauvinistic discourses. In turn 202 (not shown here), Felix, while protesting against South Africans' xenophobic tendencies, argues that during the

struggle against apartheid, some black South Africans *'sought refuge you know in other African countries ... others were even given homes there ... and ... **given women to marry** ...'* This could imply that women are objectified or treated as less than men for they are 'given' to men. In addition to that, in turn 219, Quincy says (with reference to foreigners): *they can have whatever they want even **they can have resources like 'igirls [girls]***. Of note is the fact that as these two participants appear to objectify women, the other participants do not disagree, implying that they too might share these discourses.

5.5 People with Agency and Choice

The participants also negotiate their identities as people with agency and voice. They feel free to assert their opinions and make themselves heard in the discussion about xenophobia. In the process of doing this, the participants also resist imposed identities. They come across as people who can negotiate their own identities, and not as passive recipients of others' impositions. Cases in point are when the foreign students insist that their presence in this country also benefits the country contrary to general discourses that regard black foreigners negatively. The foreign participants also portray themselves as able professional people with skills and not as desperate refugees as sometimes portrayed by anti-foreigner discourses.

In Excerpt 17, I present consecutive turns (142-150) and an isolated one (turn 230). In turns 142-150, the participants, led by Claude, react to Quincy's remark, in turn 106 (shown in Excerpt 13 above), that foreign students are funded to come and exploit the locals. The foreign students seize the opportunity to point to their importance to the country and to resist the way general anti-foreigner discourses portray them. In turn 230, Claude further asserts the usefulness of foreigners especially those equipped with skills in certain fields. The bolded words point to the way the foreign students view themselves.

Excerpt (17)

*142   Claude   == Us (   ) us ... taking resources away ... on one hand ... I say YES resources are compromised ... but on the other ... I say **We come with ... our OWN MONEY ... we are PAYING with MONEY from HOME** ... okay ... so ... at the end of the day we Are actually bringing money into the South African economy ==*

84

143	*Felix*	*== Yeah! We are ...* **we are doing business with the country** *==*
144	*Claude*	*== YEAH.*
145	*Felix*	**Foreign exchange** *==*
146	*Claude*	*== YEAH ==*
147	*Felix*	*Isn't it?*
148	*Claude*	*That's my that's my take.*
149	*Roy*	*And if in fact we should talk of we are bringing input to the country ... coz once you do research here you do you do your publications here it is for the university ==*
150	*Claude*	*That's it.*
230	*Claude*	*Because ... one one of the major problems in in in this country is skill shortage ... now if you look at look at if you look at it from ... that ... perspective alone from the skills perspective ( ) you find that* **most of us that come here ... have probably already studied** *some ... or have done something and we come for further studying down here right ...* **so we have the some of the skills that are needed in the country** *... now obviously that becomes a policy issue for the government how are they gonna deal with the skills shortage of the local South Africans and that also also obviously has its root in ... you know the apartheid times when you know certain blacks were ... were not allowed to do certain things right ... so it will obviously take a while for them to ... handle all the skills issues that they have or most of them rather ... so I mean ... if you chase out the very people that can actually help ... then that's a problem ... right ... now that's I'm just looking at the skills.*

In turn 142, Claude talks of how the foreigners pay for their studies and hence bring money into the South African economy. Felix (in turns 143 and 145) builds on Claude's argument by saying they are thus South Africa's business partners and a source of foreign exchange. Roy (in turn 149) adds another dimension to the argument: that of foreign students doing academic research and publishing, which benefit South African universities.

In turn 230, Claude highlights the skills shortage thanks to apartheid which suppressed and denied the masses – the black people – the right to education. He thus argues that the educated and skilled foreigners are of importance to the country and that if they are chased away, the country would suffer. Though he has not said it directly, he could be alluding to himself, Felix and Roy as some of those important foreigners.

In Excerpt (18) below, I have presented five turns with regard to the way the foreign participants negotiate their identity as able people who also have choices. In turn 511,

Felix says that the educated and skilled foreigners can go back to their homes and work there, and Claude and Roy (in turns 512 and 513) agree emphatically with him. In addition to that, Claude and Felix themselves declare that they can comfortably go back to their homes in turns 550 and 551.

Excerpt (18)

511	Felix	*And at the end of the day these people will have to go back to their countries == and work there. ==*
512	Claude	*== [nodding in agreement] Eeh!*
513	Roy	*== EEH!*
550	Claude	*You know ... I don't have a problem with going back. ==*
551	Felix	*== You you you are not a refugee after all. ==*

The fact that all the foreign participants say that educated and skilled foreigners can go back to their homes and work there serves to assert a different way this particular group of foreigners regards itself (and would want to be regarded) as: as people with choice. They, in turn, resist popular South African anti-foreigner discourses that depict them as opportunistic and desperate outsiders. They indicate that they can go elsewhere and still manage to make a living there.

5.6 Rational and Reasonable People

Throughout the discussion, the interlocutors speak and engage with each other as rational and reasonable people. Though they disagree on principle, they accommodate each other's views and even compromise with each other. They do not come across as bigoted interlocutors. Instead, they show the ability and willingness to see issues from other people's points of view.

In Excerpt (19) below, Claude puts himself in the shoes of nationals of any country whom he says would naturally be uncomfortable with the presence of foreigners in their midst. He even implies that prosperous foreigners would agitate the locals.

Excerpt (19)

476	Claude	*You know what . . . after after all is said and done . . . foreigners will always be a threat . . . to any environment.*
477	Felix	*== [laughing]*

478	Quincy	== [laughing]
479	Claude	No no! I'm I'm I'm now just saying that as my concluding remark really because . . .
480	Roy	Ehm!
481	Claude	If . . . you are used to a certain way of doing things . . . and you have been living a certain way of life . . . *for some time* . . . then somebody else that is not part of what you are used to comes in with something different and they do better than you . . .
482	Roy	Eeh!
483	Claude	You – that person **will always** be a threat. ==
484	Felix	== You **will** feel threatened.
485	Claude	YEES!
486	Roy	Eeh!
487	Claude	That person will always be a threat to you okay you **might** not attack them you **might** not kill them you **might** let them thrive . . .
488	Roy	Mmh!

Thus, Claude explains why he is sympathetic towards the locals, who, out of frustration, end up harbouring grudges towards foreigners. However, as much as he sympathizes with them, he makes it clear (for instance, in turn 491) that he would always rebuke violent acts meted out to the foreigners. Felix, who has hitherto not taken a sympathetic stance to South Africans, finally gives a nod (in turn 484) to Claude's argument (in turn 481) that under some circumstances, each of us is bound to feel threatened by the presence of foreigners. Roy (in turn 488) thoughtfully murmurs *Mmh!* in agreement with Claude.

In Excerpt (20) below, Quincy gives his objective view concerning the migration of people into South Africa. He begins by stating that he is looking at things from other South Africans' perspective. This is in response to Claude's argument (in turns 154, 155 and 157) that since he is educated, he will not regard foreigners as people who have come to take their (locals') resources away.

Excerpt (20)

241	Quincy	Then the question **might** arise may be . . . yeah me educated . . . who is educated **may be** I'll understand . . .
242	Roy	Mhm!
243	Quincy	But someone . . . coz ( ) I want to come from an **average point** of view ==
244	Roy	== Mhm!
245	Claude	Yeah.

246	**Quincy**	*Where for instance we consider . . . or we have now to to to compare or to weigh ourselves the input or the value - yeah the input in relation to . . . mhm . . . **may be perhaps** . . . the expectation as an example . . . how then do one does – how does then one balance those particular eh scales and to come with the conclusion to say okay the input is superceding . . . is superceding ==*
247	Felix	*Mmh!*
248	Quincy	*The kind of exportation **may be** why would people want to come from that side just to input here within this == ( ) ==*

Quincy (in turns 241, 243, 246 and 248 above) argues that even though educated South Africans are not expected to be wary about the presence and migration of foreigners into their country, it is of importance to the country if there is some kind of balance between those who migrate and those who come to help develop the country. In claiming to give the viewpoint of the less educated, Quincy raises what is a matter for the country with regard to migration in the wake of tough economic times. He thus comes across as a conscious and patriotic citizen of the country.

In turn 33 (in Excerpt 1), Quincy expresses his concern about the steady rise of foreigners in his country and even submits that a standard approach needs to be put in place to check the influx of foreigners. Regarding Zimbabwean nationals, he concedes that it is only fair that the students from the country are allowed to study, as this will contribute towards developing their country.

In Excerpt (21) below, Claude admits that it was a big economic blow for Zambia when Kaunda, the then president chased all the white people from the country. Felix and Roy agree with him.

Excerpt (21)

397	Claude	*== You know . . . yeah so let them go out one can justify it from that angle but if you if you look at it from just a developmental . . . angle . . . it was it was detrimental . . . it was not the right move because now . . . you chase away the people that have using . . .*
398	Felix	*Yeah that are controlling the economy ==*
399	Claude	*==Yeah that have been controlling the economy.*
400	Felix	*Yeah ==*
401	Claude	*== And then you kill the economy.*
392	Felix	*Yeah.*

| 403 | Claude | Like in Zimbabwe Mugabe who chased away whites the white farmer and then given giving his own justifications ( ) because but it was never raised – rated as xenophobic . . . |
| 404 | Roy | Yeah! == |

Claude, Felix and Roy agree with each other that it is not economically viable to chase away people who contribute to the well being of a country, by either doing business or working. Claude (in turns 397 and 403) gives his country and Zimbabwe as cases in point of countries which have been hit economically as a result of the chasing away of white people.

5.7 Summary

As can be seen from the above discussion, the participants have the potential to construct or perform different identities depending on the context, occasion and purpose. However, the participants in this discussion perform two main kinds of identities: the assumed identities and the negotiated identities. The first four identities discussed: *educated university students*, *black Africans*, *nationals of African countries*, and *male identities* are all assumed identities since the participants themselves acknowledge and appreciate that they share the identities. The last two: *people with agency and choice*, and *people who are rational and reasonable*, are negotiated. These are not taken for granted. Neither are they easily noticeable; it is the way they argue and engage with each other that identifies them as such. In conclusion, all the identities identified above, whether categorized as assumed or negotiated, provide options around which all the participants can converge, thereby building solidarity and maintaining face.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I give a summary of this study and suggest possible areas for further research with regard to face-work, politeness, engagement and modality. In giving a summary of this study, I will discuss my findings in relation to the overall research questions.

6.1 Recap of the Research Questions

The main aim of this research was to explore the ways in which a selection of UWC students negotiate their identities and positions, and how they do face-work as they discuss the sensitive topic of xenophobia. In particular, the research sought to look into the following:

(1) How do the participants' choices of elements of Engagement, especially modality, mark solidarity amongst each other?
(2) To what extent do they use or maintain positive and negative face during the conversation?
(3) How are the moments of conflict forestalled or handled?
(4) What identities or positions do the participants construct for themselves and each other?

The first objective of the study was to examine how the interlocutors employed linguistic and discourse resources, especially those of Engagement, to mark solidarity amongst each other. Though initially I set out to particularize my analysis to the use of modality, I ended up extending my investigation to other Engagement choices such as scaling, countering and even proclaiming due to their noticeable presence in the discussion. I also recognized that throughout the discussion about xenophobia, the interlocutors pay attention to face. The linguistic and discourse strategies that the interlocutors have employed in the discussion pertain to face. Thus, I considered all Engagement choices as

90

well as the ways of forestalling and handling conflicts as face-work resources in this discussion.

The interlocutors extensively use Engagement choices to consolidate and seek solidarity amongst themselves. As I have already indicated above, they discuss the sensitive topic as rational and reasonable interlocutors. They carefully use a variety of modal expressions to temper their arguments, acknowledging that they have different ways of looking at things. Following Martin and White's (2005:105) argument, the effect of the use of modality in the discussion is to expand the dialogic space or construe a heteroglossic backdrop for the discussion. Thus, by using modal expressions in their arguments, the interlocutors openly indicate their individual subjectivities thereby recognizing that there could be other contrasting views which also need to be appreciated. By so doing, the interlocutors generally uphold solidarity even in the face of disagreements because each speaker feels acknowledged as a worthy participant.

The study also recognizes that mental verbs such as *I think* and modal verbs such as *may* as the most commonly used expressions of modality. The study suggests that the participants in the discussion generally use these expressions of modality in two ways: to introduce statements in which they disagree with their interlocutors and to introduce unpleasantries and incriminating information about the others. Throughout the discussion, the participants present themselves as sensitive and cooperative individuals who, despite their conflicting points of view, would not relish threatening each others' face. This explains why, for instance, when interlocutors disagree with each other or give incriminatory statements about each other, they do not do so without diffidence, politeness, thoughtfulness and hedging. Rather, they use modal expressions and other choices of Engagement to maintain both the positive face of their interlocutors (by not completely discounting their sense of worth or viewpoint) and their negative face (by not imposing their views on them).

Though not covered or referred to in the literature that I have presented in Chapter 3, self-evaluative remarks are a phenomenon that I recognized as concomitants of modality. Thus, this choice is an addition that I would put up for consideration with regard to modality and face-work. I suggest that such self-evaluative remarks as '*even though my*

example is not going to be accurate' in turn 27 (Excerpt 1) and '*I know I'm being critical but . . . that's my take*' in turn 693 (not shown here) also mark modality. The speakers, in using these remarks, which point to their subjectivities, seem to criticize themselves and acknowledge that their viewpoints are not absolute and that they anticipate contrasting ones.

Lastly, on modalities, I would also point out that not all expressions of modality will fit perfectly into the three values as given by Halliday (1994:358). Halliday (1994) has mainly categorized modal adjectives, adverbs and verbs into *high*, *median* and *low*. However, other modal expressions, for instance, the phrase *in my opinion* are hard to classify or give a value to.

Secondly, many users of English may not use the modal expressions (especially those that have been given specific values) by the book. A good number of English users are bound to appropriate the expressions differently. For instance, as discussed in chapter 2, what Halliday (1994) may refer to as a low value of modality could, for some people, not be a low value. How particular groups are socialized to use certain words may be different. By way of example, people for whom English is not the first language may use both *probable* (median) and *possible* (low) interchangeably and indiscriminately.

 Thirdly, I would also argue that *high* value modals are not necessarily less determinate than categorical assertions as Halliday (1994:89) states. Depending on the context and the need to emphasize on the part of the speaker, a *high* value of modality could signal certainty. Sometimes, speakers feel the need to bring out their authorial voice, but this should not always mean that the 'categoricality' has been compromised. In a nutshell, I suggest that some of the restrictions regarding modal expressions do not hold for my data, and that the dynamism and the variability of language be embraced.

The participants have many strategies at their disposal in respect to forestalling and handling conflicts: mediation, softening accusations, responsive laughter, avoidance, vagueness and incomplete utterances, intentionally deflected remarks and apportioning of blame. Perhaps, this could be due to the tacit agreement among them to make concerted efforts to maintain each other's face. However, of all the strategies, the last three:

vagueness and incomplete utterances, intentionally deflected remarks, and apportioning of blame struck me as unusual since I have not come across them in any literature. Thus, I foreground the above strategies, along with self-evaluative remarks as the findings I came up with in this study.

It would also be interesting to replicate this study with students who are only South African or only non-South African. I suggest that the results would be different given that the participants may be much less careful while discussing such a sensitive topic than the participants in this study, and that the data would reflect the social discourses on xenophobia more explicitly.

The study concludes that identity is characterized by multiplicity (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2004) and unpredictable mobility (Blommaert 2005). Each interlocutor has many identities, and the identity that one performs or gives off, as Blommaert (2005:208) points out "is dependent on context, occasion, and purpose". Following Blommaert (2005), who has stated that the range of identities performed depends on the range of available resources out of which recognizable identities can be constructed, this study suggests that identity is characterized by intricacies and dynamism, and therefore, neither the resources of identity or identity itself is/are exhaustible. For this reason, the identities the interlocutors have given off in the discussion are not comprehensive. Had the context been different, for instance, if there were only non-South African students present, different resources would have been 'activated' to perform or construct different identities. However, the study argues that in this context, the following identities were performed: *rational and reasonable university educated*, *black African males who are resourceful and agentive and capable of being an asset to society*.

6.2 Summary

In the main, the analysis has argued that the interlocutors have carefully handled the discussion about xenophobia. Although coming from different positions, they work hard to construct shared identities and alliances through negotiation and careful face-work. They come across as thoughtful, sensitive and supportive individuals who, despite having contrasting viewpoints, still build and uphold solidarity between each other. Their

adeptness with discourse strategies, mainly those of Engagement, allow them to put each other at ease, keep conflicts to a minimum, align themselves around shared identities and end an edifying discussion ceremoniously.

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APPENDIX: Discussion about xenophobia

1   Felix   Hi guys!

NV1   All the participants shake each other's hands as they murmur pleasantries

2   Felix   Okay. First of all I think it is prudent that we know each other. I myself know each of you. But some of you do not know each other. (Roy is new to both Quincy and Claude). Roy [pointing to Claude], this is Claude. Claude, meet Roy.

3   Claude   Pleasure, Roy!

4   Roy   Happy to meet you, Claude.

5   Felix   Now, Roy, this is Quincy.

6   Roy   Happy to meet you, Quincy.

7   Quincy   Me too, Roy.

8   Felix   Yeah! Guys. . . you know, we are simply talking about xenophobia. I just wanted us to say anything we know or think about xenophobia. Things like whether we have experienced it. As well, we can talk about how we feel about the presence of many foreigners in South Africa. This thing of being a threat here and what have you. We don't have to begin with any particular person. It is just a free discussion.

9   Quincy   Now . . . my opinion is that it depends from which environment one is . . . speaking.

10   Others   Mhm.

11   Quincy   To say for instance . . . eeh foreign people are coming to South Africa eh to take over their jobs for example = =

12   Others   Mhm.

13   Quincy   eeh to me . . . that particular reasoning doesn't hold any water = = because it's not a matter of whether where you are coming from.

14   Others   = = yeah = =

15   Quincy   = = But it is a matter of the skills and the expertise that one has = =

16   Others   = = Mhm = =

17   Quincy   = = That is going to assist to the development of a particular kind may
              be . . . development of a country or development of a certain
              institution ... depending on ... which side one is coming from as an
              example. So to me it doesn't really matter who is coming to take over
              a particular job. But however, in the case of football as an example ...
              coz I will be giving examples now in the context. In the case of eh
              where for instance you will see people coming from abroad ... They
              come to let's say South Africa to ply their trade ==

18   Others   = = Yeah = =

19   Quincy   And you see that perhaps (6.0) the manner in which they
              were imported . . . they were imported. There was no kind of criteria
              here = =

20   Others   = = Okay = =

21   Quincy   = = as to which individuals do qualify for the purposes of football in
              our country. So that in terms of our objectives to develop our South
              African football for example will achieve our results = =

22   Others   Eh.

23   Quincy   So . . . to me there is a kind of a particular problem there coz you
              will find that there are a lot of people coming yet (   ) not sure in the
              first place then that is where the problem will come which means that
              even the coaches as an example they are coaches most of them . . .

24   Others   Mhm = =

25   Quincy   Because they seem to be qualified and they'll have preference over . . .
              those players and then they can . . . they get to choose those particular
              players. And as a result, they kill South African football . . . and then
              the country on its own will not develop to such a level vice versa is
              that like South Africans . . . if they go overseas as an example or to a
              particular country where they ply their trade and if they are not fit
              enough and they don't meet requirements of certain degree . . . then I
              I don't think they should be allowed to to to deprive those
              nationalities of the opportunity to develop so to me . . . that on its own
              becomes a problem there . . . but coming to a matter of schools now
              . . . where for instance eh you see . . . UWC as an example ==

26   Others   = = Yeah = =
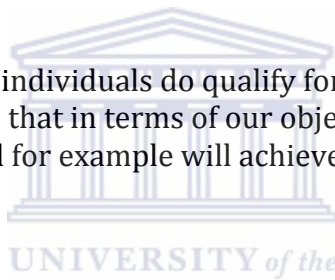
| 27 | Quincy | Let's say is in terms of . . . even though my example is not go . . . is going is not going to be accurate . . . if there are internationals who are coming over to UWC and then they learn and they learn and they learn . . . and you find that they are being taxed high exorbitant fees = = |

28 | Others | Eh = =

29 | Quincy | Because they are from that particular side = =

30 | Others | Yeah = =

31 | Quincy | And to me that one on its own is not a (   ) is not a problem. Because I would have believed that operating in a system of Democracy where everyone is equal regardless of nationalities . . . and the same privileges that are enjoyed by South Africans must be accorded to internationals also = =

32 | Claude | = = But you see what = =

33 | Quincy | = = But at the same time, it becomes a problem I am as I am finishing now . . . It becomes a problem . . . when for instance there is a lot of influx . . . that's where the term influx now becomes a problem . . . but as long as there is a standard approach that is used . . . for the sake of developing Zim (Zimbabwe) because of its economic and political crisis and you accommodate them educationally you assist (   ) because . . . I think we should interchange or exchange . . . expertise . . . yeah = =

34 | Felix | Sure (in a low – near whispering – tone).

35 | Claude | Well look . . . I eh . . . I've I've I've heard everything you've said and . . . yeah . . . of course I agree with . . . almost everything that you've said right . . . eh . . . because my own experience here in this country hasn't been THAT BAD . . . eh . . . I've got a lot of friends who are South Africans . . . and . . . they've never . . . well . . . most of them have never given me reason to to think that I am not welcome here . . . eh . . . you see . . . so . . . from that perspective I would say that my experience here has been quite good . . . but obviously there's there's been encounters off campus where . . . you . . . eh . . . walk into the store and . . . eh . . . it's an all coloured store for instance

36 | Felix | Mhm.

37 | Claude | And then . . . they look at me funny . . . and none nobody attends to me so . . . I just feel uncomfortable and I walk out I mean . . . those

have those have I've experienced such things . . . but sometimes I just go and I say hey I don't care I will just get whatever I'm getting and . . . you know . . . so . . . I eh . . . generally don't have a problem = =

38   Felix   = = So which places that you've said you . . . I mean . . . you've said . . . there is a place you walked into and then . . . you didn't feel welcome = =

39   Claude   Well it was a barber shop actually = =

40   Felix   A shop eh?

41   Claude   It was a barber shop = =

42   Felix   As in you wanted your hair to be cut = =

43   Claude   I . . . yeah I went there for a hair-cut . . . and then I . . . I walked in there . . . eh . . . I mean . . . usually you would expect that they would tell you Okay there is a free . . . and there were three seats = =

44   Felix   = = Yeah = =

45   Claude   So they would tell me come and sit over here and what not . . . but . . . nobody . . . said anything to me. They just looked at me . . . then they continued doing whatever they were doing = =

46   Felix   = = They looked at you crazy = =

47   Claude   = = Yeah I mean . . . you know

NV2   Felix   [Laughing]

48   Claude   You know when you are wanted and when you are not wanted = =

49   Felix   So you didn't even sit = =

50   Claude   I didn't even sit I just . . . turned and walked out ==

51   Others   Mhm!

52   Cluade   So yeah . . . I think . . . I don't know . . . but I guess that can happen even to just a fellow black South African ==

53   Felix   Okay could it could it be like they looked at you crazy because you didn't sit down may be you entered there not knowing what to do may be you behaved funnily . . . anyway I'm just joking [laughing]

==

| 54 | Claude | Mhm No I mean [laughing] == |

| 55 | Felix | They expected you to sit . . . you know . . . but you didn't do so == |

| 56 | Claude | No . . . but . . . I've I have gone to other barber shops where I wasn't given such treatment == |

| 57 | Felix | == Okay == |

| 58 | Claude | You know . . . I mean . . . even just these guys in Bellville that cut hair . . . they == |

| 59 | Others | Mhm == |

| 60 | Claude | == They give you a better service . . . and you know . . . that experience I had so . . . anyway . . . it was just . . . one of the few of the experiences but . . . to be to be honest I haven't had . . . anything that gives me a reason to think I'm not welcome . . . so I'm pretty happy == |

| 61 | Others | Okay. |

| 62 | Claude | Yeah. |

| 63 | Felix | Good for you. |

| 64 | Quincy | I think it boils down also to the question of a particular race for example == |

| 65 | Others | Mhm == |

| 66 | Quincy | Coz you find that as internationals you are too diverse also . . . that in terms of colour . . . in terms of race in terms of religion culture and stuff like that coz there are internationals who are white citizens 'abon' [gap-filler meaning 'you see' in isiXhosa] == |

| 67 | Claude | Yeah == |

| 68 | Quincy | Who get to a country or South Africa or to any country for that matter . . . so the treatment they receive in those countries . . . in most cases is not the same as == |

| 69 | Claude | It tends to be better. == |
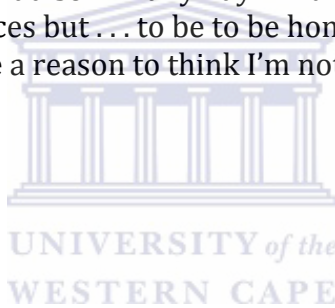
70	Felix	Yeah all the time ==
71	Quincy	== Yeah yeah . . . that is the problem. ==
72	Felix	Mhm.
73	Quincy	That is why I'm saying race on its own now becomes a problem. ==
74	Felix	== Yeah
75	Claude	== Yeah
76	Quincy	That's where the problem also begins ==
77	Felix	But I think again it's because of the general feeling that . . . if black people are going to come here from other African countries . . . then they've come here to . . . to . . . to take away . . . resources . . . from . . .
78	Claude	Yes they will ==
79	Felix	== From South Africans . . . or to to . . . I mean to ==
80	Claude	== The scarce resources that are here . . . will now have to shared. ==
81	Felix	== Yeah to fight for the resources. ==
82	Claude	== You know yeah so ==
83	Felix	== with the local people.
84	Claude	Well well look . . . speaking from an economic perspective ==
85	Others	== Yeah
86	Claude	I am an economist. ==
87	Others	Mhm.
88	Claude	So it's true that that is . . . the case . . . I mean if if we are gonna use the same roads we are gonna use . . . we are gonna go to the same stores . . . we are gonna . . . so . . . obviously resources will be compromised. ==

89	Felix	So but do you think then that these people then are justified to . . . to mistreat others because of that fear of ==
90	Claude	They are not justified. ==
91	Roy	Yeah!
92	Claude	Because first of all . . . we it's we don't come here to cause harm. ==
NV3	Felix	[laughing]
93	Claude	I DON'T come here to cause HARM PER SE.
94	Roy	Yeah!
95	Claude	I come here to exploit an opportunity . . . to either learn work . . . or something. I mean at the end of the day it's about surviving. ==
96	Roy	Yeah!
97	Claude	So if I can get my education here . . .
98	Roy	Mhm.
99	Claude	And I mean who is to argue that South African institutions for instance mhm eh universities are not good? I mean where I come from they are not that ( ) our universities are not that good so if I come down here I'm just trying to exploit the resources that they have. ==
100	Felix	== Which are which are the best in the in the continent.
101	Claude	Well . . . that's arguable but . . . certainly in the Southern African region they are the best . . . so I don't know about up there . . . but I can say that for the South African African region.
102	Quincy	Perhaps the feeling may be isn't that from ( ) . . . internationals are funded . . . eh! Even though I 'm not sure of that more and more or less they get kind of a . . . may be bursaries but support systems in place from their respective countries like I spoke speak of Botswana as an example where most of their students whom are studying here . . . are operating under a certain system. ==
103	Claude	Who?

104	Quincy	Where they are funded and then on that on its own is beefing up their well being. ==
105	Claude	Yes
106	Quincy	Put in South African eh academic institution context so as a result they will be advancing than others so they think may be South A . . . may be South Africans will feel and believe that no man 'thina' (an isiXhosa word for 'we') we don't have such resources ( ) we are poor that is why we can't progress so these ones are funded that side to come and exploit us at the same time. ==
NV4	Others	[Laughing]
107	Quincy	So may be that might be ==
NV5	Others	[Laughing]
108	Roy	Let me give my experience. ==
109	Claude	Yeah ==
110	Roy	Because I have interacted the the few days I 've been here . . . I've learnt that South Africans are good and not bad as I thought . . . but a good number of them because I made a lot of friends . . but there are some from deep within their hearts . . . they know these people are coming to exploit their resources ==
NV6	Claude	[laughing]
111	Roy	So because they are coming to pick our resources . . . that is why they have to look at them and see these people are coming to grab our resources and carry them back home so but that is a minority of them
112	Claude	Okay so ==
113	Roy	But a good number are good and ( ) ==
114	Claude	You you have been here for a few days only?
115	Roy	Eh yeah . . . a few months. ==
116	Claude	Months?

117	Roy	Yes! ==
118	Claude	Okay I eh ==
119	Felix	(talking to Roy) In fact you came here . . . was it April? You came here ==
120	Roy	I came ==
121	Felix	March?
122	Roy	Start of April ==
123	Claude	Okay that's a few months ==
124	Roy	Yeah ==
125	Claude	So stay here for . . . a couple of a few years ==
126	Roy	Yes ==
127	Claude	And then . . . see what you have to say if it'll be the same.
128	Roy	Yeah ==
129	Claude	You know . . . I mean . . . look . . . (referring to Quincy) he he talked about us being sponsored and stuff = =
130	Felix	Mhm!
131	Claude	I . . . ( ) mhm my my case is different in fact most Zambians are not sponsored students ( ) most Zambians come here . . . eh with . . . may be . . . a parent who is gonna pay . . . very few that I know were sent here by their companies for instance to come and study or ( ) by a particular person. ==
132	Roy	Okay.
133	Claude	As a matter of fact, I feel that South African students . . . they have an opportunity . . . they have more opportunities of funding than anybody else.
134	Felix	It's true ==
135	Claude	= = Because most of the . . . funding eh bursaries that I have . . .

even attempted to apply to they always have a clause . . . South Africans only . . . But then the problem that I have == discovered ==

136   Felix   == (   ) even me I have ==

137   Claude   Mhm the the problem that I have discovered is that most South African students themselves do not exploit these opportunities. ==

138   Felix   Yeah.

139   Claude   May be because they are not well informed I don't know but sometimes I don't think they just want to exploit these opportunities coz ==

NV7   Others   [laughing]

140   Claude   I mean even NSFAS for instance, NSFAS is doing a good job . . . Those are loans right . . . But . . . at least they are availing money for studying . . . We don't have such things back home in Zambia. The government can sponsor you . . . but . . . you are . . . It's almost as if they they throw you into a certain country and leave you there . . . you know so . . . I don't know I don't know I mean . . . when it comes to this issue of ==

141   Felix   == Being sponsored. ==

142   Claude   == Us (   ) us . . . taking resources away . . . on one hand . . . I say YES resources are compromised . . . but on the other . . . I say we come with . . . our OWN MONEY . . . we are PAYING with MONEY from HOME... Okay... so... at the end of the day we are Actually bringing money into the South African economy ==

143   Felix   == Yeah! We are . . . we are doing business with the country ==

144   Claude   == YEAH.

145   Felix   Foreign exchange ==

146   Claude   == YEAH ==

147   Felix   Isn't it?

148   Claude   That's my that's my take.

149	Roy	And if in fact we should talk of we are bringing input to the country . . . coz once you do research here you do you do your publications here it is for the university ==
150	Claude	That's it.
151	Roy	Yeah!
152	Claude	That's it ==
153	Roy	So you don't carry anything everything will come to the university and that is for the South Africans ==
154	Claude	== Yeah but well . . . look . . . an educated man like him (referring to Quincy) ==
NV8	Quincy	== [laughing] ==
155	Claude	Sees things . . . obviously from a different perspective but if you are if if if you go to a person who is in the location for instance ==
156	Others	== Mhm!
157	Claude	According to them . . . all you are doing is taking away their opportunities.
158	Roy	Mhm.
159	Felix	Yes!
160	Claude	Okay?
161	Felix	[nodding] mhm!
162	Roy	Yes!
163	Claude	So that is why they are ready to . . . grab a stone and . . . you know chase you out because ( ) that's all they see ==
164	Roy	== Yeah!
165	Felix	== Yeah!
166	Claude	You see . . . but this man (referring to Quincy) is ( ) being here . . . eh . . . at the university obviously has a different perspective

because . . . he is . . . he knows ==

167	Felix	== Mhm. ==
168	Roy	== Mhm. ==
169	Claude	== That that is not quite the case. ==
170	Felix	== Mhm.
171	Roy	== Mhm.
172	Claude	I talk too much let me stop. ==
173	Felix	== No! It's okay it's cool. ==
174	Quincy	== Which brings us to the question of eh . . . may be . . . I would like your perspective . . . with regards to xenophobic attacks or attacks that happened as an example . . . what might have have informed those particular attacks as an example . . . I understand the context of our discussion . . . but . . . the question may be that one may ask as to what . . . according to our knowledge might have informed the attacks and from which . . . eh . . . levels because in terms of levels ( ) are different there are academics there are people as he said that are not educated who just throw stones at internationals because they think they are here selling may be cheap items at a relatively cheap . . . eh prices and that on its own may be is eh . . . trying to exploit other companies who are selling may be clothes or not clothes but stuff which which is reasonable of high quality at a relatively high price so as a result people say that internationals are imitating their stuff and products and stuff like that . . . So what might have been the issue there ==
175	Claude	Eemhm! . . . (talking to Roy) you you probably heard of xenophobic attacks when you were still back home right?
176	Roy	Yes.
177	Claude	And . . . eemhm . . .
178	Roy	And I was even told to take care.
179	Others	[laughing]
180	Claude	Well well look those things were real eh they weren't obviously

181	Felix	== In other places ==
182	Quincy	Yeah in in Gauteng ==
183	Claude	I think Gauteng was the most hit because that's where it actually started . . . well . . . you see . . . what some some say look there's a lot of . . . theories that are attached to that to those attacks of course some some say it's the same you know eh thinking that foreigners are actually just here to you know take away things or they are perpetuating crime and . . . all those you know usual stories but actually some say it had a political eh root they were just trying to cause confusion ==
184	Others	Mhm!
185	Claude	You know eh . . . and this . . . ( ) you know eh bring the government of whoever into disrepute ==
186	Others	Mhm!
187	Claude	( ) there are all these theories but what I think is the real root is that ( ) guys were just threatened and they are still threatened they just . . . there is just this . . . ( ) perception of foreigners . . . that they are here to cause TROUBLE ==
NV9	Others	[laughing]
188	Claude	So now that can be in in whichever . . . field because some of the interviews that you know were . . . I I listened to on TV of some of these guys who were . . . you know part of the throwing of stones and burning of houses and chasing away of you know foreigners.
189	Felix	Aha!
190	Claude	They were like . . . these people . . . are the people they are raping our children . . . they are stealing from our homes ( ) it was a very generalized way you know . . . view that they ==had ==
191	Roy	( )
192	Felix	Which is fallacious!
193	Claude	Well obviously it's fallacious ==

194	Roy	(nods his head in agreement) Mhm!
195	Claude	I mean we all know we are not here you know we are not all here to do all those obviously there are the bad eggs I mean == come on! ==
196	Roy	== Yeah! ==
197	Felix	== Mhm.
198	Claude	We we I can't say for sure I can't say that foreigners some foreigners are not doing this . . . of course they are but to generalize and then want to chase everybody out I mean come on ==
199	Roy	== Yeah ==
200	Felix	But I think I think again it's unfair . . . considering . . . remember . . . eh during the . . . apa . . . apartheid era ==
201	Claude	== Mhm!
202	Felix	I heard some some people from South Africa ( ) sought refuge you know in other African countries others went to Tanzania you know others went to Zambia Mozambique Zimbabwe others were even given homes there and given wives to marry given women to marry so == you know ==
NV10	Quincy	== [laughing].
203	Felix	It's all unfair you know when now South Africans after having got their independence they begin to . . . you know beat their fellow Africans you know . . . kill their fellow Africans you know ( ) – I mean it beats logic according to me it's not fair at all because we should be one people you know == as AFRICANS ==
204	Roy	== Yeah ==
205	Felix	Ah!
206	Claude	Yeah but you know in in Africa it it's tough I think because . . . here I am ( ) - I am not justifying any of these actions right . . . but here I am suffering . . .
207	Felix	Mmh!

208	Claude	I don't have anything . . . and I see somebody from somewhere else come to my country and do much better . . . from you know if you if if if you think about it . . . I wouldn't you know be quite happy I would think "Why is he . . . getting it all getting it all right I mean I . . . obviously I 'm ignoring the fact that you are probably . . . you you don't wanna work or you don't have opportunities to work or I'm ignoring all that . . . I'm just thinking you have tried your best . . . things haven't worked out for you and then somebody else comes from somewhere else and things [snaps fingers] just you know work out I think I would be pissed right == but ==
209	Felix	== But would you would you go after that person's life?
210	Claude	No actually ==
211	Felix	( ) What they are doing now!
212	Claude	No actually not I wouldn't do that ==
213	Felix	Okay but (6.0) the problem is here in this case people now become enemies you know such people who are doing well now become enemies of the locals ah! The locals feel Aah! Theses guys have taken our our resources now you know they are enjoying now it's like . . . they are being bonafide South Africans. It's like we are refugees in our own country you know =
214	Claude	== Yeah something like that ==
215	Felix	Yeah so . . . that is where . . . okay what is your take? [laughing]
216	Claude	You are the one who had raised the issue now . . . eh . . . say something ==
217	Quincy	== Mmh! No man! . . . You see I agree with Claude . . . in . . . more of what he said concerning the roots that were said to justify those particular actions even though unjustifiable so coz for instance if one is following that ( ) that he raised that caused instability within this particular system as an example and others would come and say that perhaps you see these people are . . . they are classified as rich not necessarily rich let's say but people who have who are well == equipped ==
218	Others	== Mhm! ==
219	Quincy	== Than South Africans as an example and then they can have

whatever they want even they can have resources like 'igirls' (girls) =

NV11   Others [laughing]

220   Quincy Where ( ) . . . they have funds they have a lot of they buy them clothes they buy them stuff and stuff and stuff so this ( ) they go for that particular kind of environment ==

221   Roy   == Mhm!

222   Quincy And may be they will feel threatened the guys of South Africa as an example . . . they try to say okay . . . instead of me looking at this issue let me kill . . . the problem itself now ==

223   Felix   == Okay ==

224   Quincy == So that this thing is not going to continue ==

NV12   Others == [laughing] ==

225   Felix   == Hey! That's CRAZY (   ) ==

NV13   Others [still laughing]

226   Quincy That's those are t . . . theories man ( ) == that's ==

227   Claude Look we are we are we are all speaking as lay . . . men here . . . we . . . we don't have all the facts we . . . we are not experts in this field right . . . but surely we can . . . we can all see that . . . killing or chasing out you know foreigners from the country will actually not be helping the country ==

228   Felix   = = Yeah that's true = =

229   Roy   == Yeah ==

230   Claude Because . . . one one of the major problems in in in this country is skill shortage . . . now if you look at look at if you look at it from . . . that . . . perspective alone from the skills perspective ( ) you find that most of us that come here . . . have probably already studied some . . . or have done something and we come for further studying down here right . . . so we have the some of the skills that are needed in the country . . . now obviously that becomes a policy issue for the government how are they gonna deal with the skills shortage of the local South Africans and that also also obviously has

its root in . . . you know the apartheid times when you know certain blacks were . . . were not allowed to do certain things right . . . so it will obviously take a while for them to . . . handle all the skills issues that they have or most of them rather . . . so I mean . . . if you chase out the very people that can actually help . . . then that's a problem . . . right . . . now that's I'm just looking at the skills ==

231   Quincy   == Okay ==

232   Roy   And . . . ideally this should not be the case because . . . eh . . . if and this especially for the learned friends . . . because once you meet with different people from different places you learn a lot and you pick whatever is good . . . so I think this is for the betterment of the country . . . because skills you are getting skills from different countries bringing skills so that you uplift the country . . . this is – or just as my friend has said eh people come with different skills they come and input here so that is the betterment of the country so == this ==

233   Quincy   == Okay ==

234   Roy   == issue of ==

235   Quincy   == Yeah ==

236   Roy   == Being against ==

237   Quincy   == In . . .

238   Roy   Should not be for the learned people because they understand once they ( ) met new friends with new skills then they are uplifting themselves.

239   Claude   Mhm! ==

240   Roy   Mhm! ==

241   Quincy   Then the question might arise may be . . . yeah me educated . . . who is educated may be I'll understand . . .

242   Roy   Mhm!

243   Quincy   But someone . . . coz ( ) I want to come from an average point of view ==

244   Roy   == Mhm!

245	Claude	Yeah.

245   Claude   Yeah.

246   Quincy   Where for instance we consider . . . or we have now to to to compare or to weigh ourselves the input or the value - yeah the input in relation to . . . mhm . . . may be perhaps . . . the expectation as an example . . . how then do one does – how does then one balance those particular eh scales and to come with the conclusion to say okay the input is superceding . . . is superceding ==

247   Felix   Mmh!

248   Quincy   The kind of exportation may be why would people want to come from that side just to input here within this == (   ) ==

249   Others   == (   ) ==

250   Quincy   == particular country why can't they develop their own countries this may be eh shown to be lacking as an Zimbabwe this current (phase) as an example ==

251   Claude   Mmh!

252   Quincy   May be (   ) coz these attacks may be took place before elections (   )

253   Claude   Yeah it was it was ==

254   Quincy   == Elections of Zim (Zimbabwe) 'ne' [an isiXhosa exclamation used to confirm whether one's interlocutor is listening]

255   Claude   == (   ) it was started by then yeah ==

256   Quincy   Yeah coz there were theories that also Mugabe (Zimbabwe's president) sent an ult . . . ult . . . ultimatum to South Africa that his people must be chased [chuckling] to back to the country so that they can vote and something like that coz here they . . . just stay and they do not want to participate in the affairs of Zim =

257   Felix   Mmh!

258   Quincy   Coz they are the ones who can revive the economy (   ) ==

259   Roy   Mhm.

260   Claude   You see you see there are a lot of theories now you you you have raised an issue a very nice issue actually how do we . . . strike the

balance between a . . . a foreigner who comes into the the country ==

261 Others == Mhm! ==

262 Claude = = For the good of the country . . . or ==

263 Quincy ==Mmh! ==

264 Claude == To exploit the country so where where ==

265 Quincy == Where do we find ==

266 Claude == Where do we draw the line?

267 Roy Yeah ==

268 Claude Okay I I I think I think that's very difficult to be honest because . . . at the end of the day we can't run away from the truth that that South Africa is doing far much better than most of our countries right ==

269 Roy == It's true

270 Felix Ah sure!

271 Roy Mhm!

272 Claude I mean for for me to come down here I've . . . I obviously want to benefit something you know by coming down here . . . but . . . I obvious I woudn't want to do it in a way that . . . would be an illegal route.

273 Roy Mmh!

274 Claude I'd rather if I'm going to benefit myself let me do it properly ==

275 Roy == Mmh!

276 Claude Get my education . . . apply for a job. If I get the job well and good if I don't get the job . . . then 'tough' I've to find other ways and means ==

277 Roy == Mhm.

278 Claude May be going back home will be an option . . . or . . . start a business here or start a business at home . . . so . . . it's it's it's very difficult to draw the LINE between exploiting for the good of the country or for
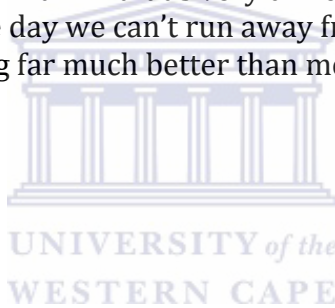
the . . .

279   Felix   Okay let me . . .

280   Claude   == You know

281   Felix   == Okay let me . . .

282   Claude   Or yours ==

283   Felix   Let me . . . ask another question . . . I mean why does it always have to – I mean why does it always become you know a big deal when . . . when you are talking about people from outside here in South Africa . . . you know the the I believe the the world is becoming a global village.

284   Claude   Mhm!

285   Felix   And . . . I don't think there is any country in Africa that doesn't have people from other parts of you know Africa as well . . . like if you come to Kenya, there are many people there from Congo there people from South Africa are there still . . . but in Kenya . . . okay sorry to say . . .

NV14   Claude   [coughs]

286   Felix   But in Kenya, I don't think . . . there have been any xenophobic attacks or anything like that and the way we've been may be the way we've been the way we've been eh . . . conditioned . . . in Kenya I started eh you know interacting with people from outside Kenya when I was in primary school ==

287   Claude   Mmh! ==

288   Felix   There were guys from Uganda then with whom I I schooled together ==

289   Claude   == Mmh.

290   Felix   Yeah. In primary school you know I . . . mean it was I mean it was ehm . . . I mean I looked at it as something that always added value to me staying with a person from a different place ( ) I always wanted to know how is it to I mean how is it in Uganda you know so we were looking at people from outside Kenya as friends as people who could really make us learn a lot about other people as well . . . yeah and in Kenya there are many eh . . . such people who . . . who are . . . much

richer than . . . eh the common people and . . . there has never been bad blood you know . . . yeah so I don't know why in in South Africa then it's different == because ==

291   Claude   == Have you ever ==

292   Felix   ==Seriously ==

293   Claude   == Have you ever considered the fact that may be South Africa have OVERTLY expressed their DISLIKE for foreigners . . . may be in Kenya . . . well look I've I I've I've known a few Kenyan you know people there and I I I can't say I've Kenyan friends yet may be one or two . . .

294   Roy   Mhm!

295   Claude   But I did work with . . . you know . . . via . . . telephone and internet I worked with some Kenyans when I was still back home ==

296   Roy   == Mmh!

297   Claude   Ah . . . one thing you . . . I discovered was that . . . you see Kenyans . . . LOVE their country ==

298   Claude   Yes . . . while Kenyans . . . will do business with everybody else . . . they will give jobs . . . mostly or only to Kenyans and . . . I've known people who've gone to Kenya and come back saying "Eish! Kenyans love themselves . . . you know Kenyans, these Kenyans here . . ."

299   Roy   Mmh!

300   Claude   And so . . . my point is may be Kenyans had just haven't openly . . . you know expressed their dislike if if it does exist for foreigners ==

301   Felix   Which we don't have

302   Roy   ( )

303   Felix   == Seriously

304   Claude   == Well look ==

305   Felix   == I'm telling you ==

306   Claude   You are speaking you are speaking as one two individuals == from Kenya = =

307	Felix	== Okay . . . Why then haven't we . . . ever heard of xenophobic attacks in Kenya?
308	Quincy	Yeah from ehm! ( ) ==
309	Claude	That is why I'm saying . . .
310	Quincy	We we ( ) have ( )
311	Claude	May be it's it's it's still not openly expressed ==
312	Felix	NOOO!!
313	Quincy	Claude might be correct because what's - okay let's look at this this term 'xenophobic' . . .
314	Felix	Mmh!
315	Quincy	According to my own understanding of the term it means . . . 'xeno' and 'phobic' I mean 'xeno' and then 'phobia' . . . xenophobia
316	Felix	Mmh!
317	Quincy	Xeno in this case might be . . .
318	Felix	Outside
319	Claude	Yes ==
320	Quincy	Yeah ==
321	Felix	Foreign ==
322	Quincy	Something foreign ==
323	Claude	Mhm!
324	Quincy	Then . . . phobic it's a fear or dislike . . .
325	Claude	Yeah!
326	Quincy	In fact in this case it's a dislike ==
327	Felix	== Yeah!
328	Quincy	Dislike of something foreign ==

329	Felix	Mmh!
330	Quincy	Then when we have that particular . . . dislike of something foreign . . .
331	Felix	Eeh!
332	Quincy	Is it's a natural . . . dislike that is created regardless of any resources or regardless of any situation . . . but . . .
333	Roy	It's in one ==
333	Quincy	== It's in it's created . . .
334	Felix	Mhm! ==
335	Quincy	== That dislike for instance when you have a dislike towards a particular . . . person or race like eh the Boers would do.
336	Claude	Yeah yeah
337	Quincy	( ) That's a dislike even now whites they can't stand a black even now ==
338	Felix	Mhm. Yeah! ==
339	Quincy	They don't want to see a black that's a dislike it's natural ==
340	Felix	Mmh!
341	Quincy	Then what becomes the problem what becomes then the solution is the system of government which combines people GRADUALLY but if you look at the context of South Africa . . . then even though I can I'm not justifying but if you look at the context of South Africa you look at 'idemocracy' 'idemocracy' of South Africa was attained not so long ago ==
342	Felix	== Yeah it's young eh! ==
343	Quincy	And then people are still trying to find each other there and there and then you look at 'iKenya' as an example who might have been independent from ==
344	Felix	== Eh 63 ==
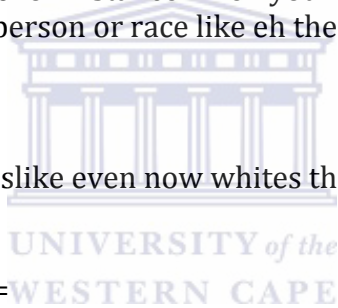
345   Quincy   == 63

346   Felix   Mmh!

347   Quincy And then have progressed with that kind of mentality of trying to be globally connected and democratically minded.

348   Quincy And you look at US (United States of America) as an example it might be shown to have got its own (skeletals) but if you look at it objectively it's grown democratically ==

349   Roy   == Yeah!

350   Quincy Even though it depends on the individual within the government who can use his own policies because of his own personalities . . . so to me it might be a fact ( ) of the system within a government of ( ) democratic system which is still . . .

351   Claude == Yeah you see

352   Quincy == That's what

353   Claude It still it still . . . brings back the question eh . . . that he raised . . . why is it why is it that it's . . . in South Africa where it's such a big deal ==

354   Roy   == Eemh!

355   Claude And . . . I brought in the issue of may be they've just openly expressed their you know ==

356   Roy   == Mmh!

357   Claude == Dislike for foreigners ==

358   Quincy == Mmh!

359   Claude Probably based on . . . whatever reasons resources whatever . . . right . . . may be in our countries we haven't openly expressed our dislike for foreigners even though we do dislike them . . . right == so I'm just trying ==

360   Felix   == So you ==

361   Claude == To make you think ==

362   Felix   == You do dislike fore . . . eh foreigners as well ==

363   Claude   == ( )

364   Quincy   == ( )

365   Claude   NO NO NO!

366   Quincy   ( ) You can ( ) by depriving someone . . . eh something tacitly . . .
              where he is not sure ( )

367   Claude   You see I'm not I'm not saying I dislike foreigners because . . . when
              . . . I I I grew up mostly in Zambia so obviously I've seen foreigners
              here and there but it wasn't a very . . . it wasn't so much that I would
              see you know . . . people from other countries back home but . . . I
              mean . . . nobody that's close to me has ever said "Eish these people
              they are doing this that and that and that", okay so I can't say that we
              dislike them generally I can speak for the people I interact with. ==

368   Quincy   == Contacts.

369   Felix   Mmh!

370   Claude   Right . . . but if if if . . . look . . . in 1964 when we attained
              independence . . . Kaunda (Zambia's first black president) chased all
              the whites out.

371   Roy   Mmh!

372   Claude   Do you guys know about that history of Zambia?

373   Felix   == No!

374   Roy   == Okay!

375   Claude   ( ) whites out!

376   Quincy   == Yeah . . .

377   Felix   == Mhm!

378   Quincy   And . . .

379   Roy   All foreigners? ==

380   Claude   == The whites in particular.
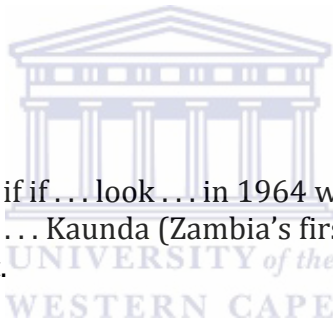
381   Roy   Okay!

382   Claude   OUT! . . . Okay . . . and so . . .

383   Quincy   (   )

384   Claude   If you if you look if you look at it from that . . . angle one would say
               that was a xenophobic . . . eh . . . eh . . .

385   Quincy   System of . . .

386   Claude   It was a xenophobic (   ) you know . . . attack. ==

387   Quincy   == Or approach. ==

388   Claude   == Or approach yes. ==

389   Felix   == Targeting whites.

390   Claude   Just targeting whites out

391   Roy   Mmh!

392   Quincy   (   )

393   Claude   So . . . so . . . look eh and well look anybody can justify . . . that . . .
               saying "Eish we have been exploited by whites for all this . . ."

394   Quincy   Mmh!

395   Claude   For so long so let them . . .

396   Quincy   We are the inhabitants of this 'ne' [right in isiXhosa] land . . . go
               away ==

397   Claude   == You know . . . yeah so let them go out one can justify it from that
               angle but if you if you look at it from just a developmental . . . angle
               . . . it was it was detrimental . . . it was not the right move because
               now . . . you chase away the people that have using . . .

398   Felix   Yeah that are controlling the economy ==

399   Claude   ==Yeah that have been controlling the economy.
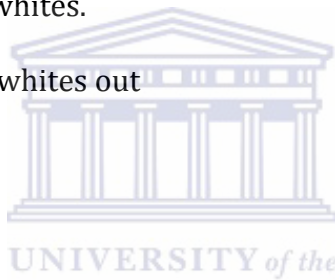
400   Felix   Yeah ==

401   Claude   == And then you kill the economy.

392   Felix   Yeah.

403   Claude   Like in Zimbabwe Mugabe who chased away whites the white farmers and then given giving his own justifications ( ) because but it was never raised – rated as xenophobic . . .

404   Roy   Yeah! ==

405   Quincy   == Approach or attack or whatsoever.

406   Roy   Mhm.

407   Quincy   It was said as as a system of trying to to get back or to give back to . . . eh ( ) to the inhabitants of that particular nation

408   Felix   Ehm.

409   Quincy   Coz they have been exploited by these whites as a result our own people here are suffering ==

410   Felix   == Okay.

411   Quincy   And these people are not developing to the benefit of the rural . . .

412   Claude   Okay I think I think the South African xenophobic attack was so much of an issue you know coming back to what you were saying because the attacks was was against fellow blacks.

413   Roy   Okay.

414   Claude   It wasn't against whites. ==

415   Felix   ==Which is a sad hey

416   Claude   Okay.

417   Felix   Which is sad.

418   Claude   So I think yeah well . . . it is sad obviously ==

NV15   Felix   [laughing] (sarcastically)

419   Claude   So I think that's why most of us ah . . . have made . . . such an . . . you know big deal out of it because we are saying look . . . yes I might

not be South African but . . . I am BLACK! ==

420   Felix   == Like them. ==

421   Claude   == So why does the . . .

422   Felix   We are the same ==

423   Claude   I mean . . . ( ) what's . . . warrants me burning another person who looks just like me?

424   Roy   Mhm!

425   Claude   You know so I mean it it . . . it just didn't really make sense and . . . WELL . . . we can't generalize obviously that South Africans . . .

426   Roy   And the funny thing is even the learned friends people who knew the importance of foreigners what they bring were still part of it.

427   Claude   == Yeah!

428   Felix   == Yeah! ( )

429   Claude   Well some yes from what I heard some actually . . . they agreed with the whole thing and . . . eh it's I can it's [breathing heavily] (sounds very emotional) I don't know . . . I can't I can't say for sure . . . (unable to continue talking)

430   Felix   You know ah . . .

431   Quincy   I think the element of greed also has a role to play because when you chase for instance if I chase you here in Dos (Eduardo Dos Santos Residence, on Campus) and then . . . I . . . now see that you you have run away I take all your property and that's an element of greed.

432   Claude   Yeah.

433   Quincy   ( ) in me. ==

434   Claude   == Yeah.

435   Quincy   The main purpose was to benefit what you have.

436   Claude   Mhm!

437   Quincy   Than being having 'idislike' (dislike) towards you.

438	Felix	Mmh!
439	Quincy	So I I used you as a scapegoat but ( ) actual fact I knew exactly what I wanted. ==
440	Felix	== But . . . but the problem is . . .
441	Quincy	So that was that's why this thing is very diverse.
442	Felix	Mmh!
443	Quincy	One can come from a different angle. ==
444	Claude	== Yeah.
445	Quincy	And this comes with this particular angle but at the same time they attend to a same goal.
446	Claude	== Yeah!
447	Roy	== Mmh!
448	Felix	Yeah! Okay I remember there are . . . eh . . . there are some . . . there are some encounters that I have . . . I have met and I feel that some of them might have been xenophobic like there's a secretary . . . I I I who – whose office I once walked into and then . . . I wanted her to do something for me and . . . she was asking me "Where are you are you from" I told her Kenya then she was asking me, "Why did you come all the way from Kenya to this place" . . . I mean "Why did you come all the way from Kenya to South Africa just to study?" Then I told her you know it's because . . . this university is among the best universities in Africa so that's why I came here it has the resources and everything else . . . so I felt that was a xenophobic question I don't know may be you can correct me but I felt . . . she shouldn't have asked me that I felt I felt bad eh I felt ah! Now I'm in . . . I'm intruding here . . . [laughing]
449	Quincy	NO! I don't think it was a xenophobic question ==
450	Felix	== ( )
451	Quincy	But my I might not have understood it to in my which that particular statement was said.
452	Felix	Mmh!

453	Quincy	But . . . if I ask someone why it may be it depends on the context of your conversation as an example.
454	Felix	Mmh!
455	Quincy	Ah . . . in which level were you engaging what was the tone may be what was the purpose exactly did he . . . try or was he wanting to achieve a particular goal to ascertain that may be in Kenya . . . universities are of . . . "D E F" or kind of a certain level so may be ( ) he wanted to establish so there was no way he could have asked that question in a different . . . perspective.
456	Claude	Yeah I think I I I should agree with eh . . . with him (referring to Quincy) because . . . yes it it would sound a bit offensive even to . . .
457	Roy	== Yeah!
458	Claude	== Me.
459	Roy	Mhm!
460	Claude	Right but if you if you if you look at it with without being subjective . . . probably the person just wanted to find out are there no better universities anywhere nearer to Kenya or in Kenya itself for you to come all the way down here.
461	Roy	Mmh!
462	Claude	Yeah coz I've heard that question before even you know posed to me.
463	Roy	Mmh!
464	Claude	And . . . of course my answer is like . . . like yours!
465	Felix	Mmh!
466	Claude	Eh . . . NO they are not . . . you know most of our universities are no as good ==
467	Roy	== Mhm!
468	Claude	And ( ) the universities here have more resources so YOU WANNA DO THINGS IN A BETTER ENVIRONMENT
469	Roy	Mmh!

470	Felix	In fact some students have even asked me "When will you go back to Kenya . . .?" Eh then I have told them "immediately I finish my my my degree I I I'd I graduate" and then they are like . . . "When are you going to graduate, will you go back immediately . . ." you know and such ( ) like questions = =
471	Claude	[laughing] Well . . .
472	Felix	Meaning may be they are not . . .
473	Quincy	You look . . . even in in in working places . . .
474	Felix	Mhm!
475	Quincy	Where you apply for a – or when you go to an interview . . . you will be asked a question as to why do you come why do you choose this particular . . . restaurant as an example ( ) that question is . . . when you look at objectively is trying to . . . they want to check if that particular . . . kind of restaurant is the one that is suitable or is successful is . . . having or is interesting a lot of people from outside the scope of that particular town . . . so I don't think there was == ( )
476	Claude	You know what . . . after after all is said and done . . . foreigners will always be a threat . . . to any environment.
477	Felix	== [laughing]
478	Quincy	== [laughing]
479	Claude	No no! I'm I'm I'm now just saying that as my concluding remark really because . . .
480	Roy	Ehm!
481	Claude	If . . . you are used to a certain way of doing things . . . and you have been living a certain way of life . . . for some time . . . then somebody else that is not part of what you are used to comes in with something different and they do better than you . . .
482	Roy	Eeh!
483	Claude	You – that person will always be a threat. ==
484	Felix	== You will feel threatened.
485	Claude	YEES!

486	Roy	Eeh!
487	Claude	That person will always be a threat to you okay you might not attack them you might not kill them you might let them thrive . . .
488	Roy	Mmh!
489	Claude	But they will always be a threat you will always harbour some . . . questions some bad feelings like WHY? What is it that they are doing that we haven't done . . . you know so ( ) it is ( ) for me personally . . .
490	Quincy	In fact that threat will find expression sooner or later . . . when one attacks . . . it might have started here may be in South Africa now . . . may be in hundred years . . . in U.S.A. it would happen when they chase people away because of A B C and D may be now ( ) this thing is . . . to general
491	Claude	You see the the the disliking and the threaten you know being threatened I've no problem with it's a natural thing . . . but to go to the extent of killing the person . . .
492	Felix	Mmh!
493	Claude	To drive them out . . . okay I have a problem with that right . . . because . . . friends I have got friends who have traveled to other parts of the world . . . and to be honest even there . . . they they are not liked.
494	Roy	Mmh!
495	Claude	They they are always looked at as . . . a threat or (5.0) some sort of . . .
496	Felix	Bother - a bother
497	Claude	Yeah you know it's always there . . . as long as you are not in your native land.
498	Roy	But . . . according to me that should not be the case especially for people who have gone to school == that should not be ==
499	Claude	== You see . . . ( ) eish!
500	Roy	That should not be the case ==

501 Claude == And – that is the thing ==

502 Roy == Yeah ==

503 Claude == Education you see . . . education doesn't change the deep seated feelings ==

504 Roy == Because I think knowledge is power so once you get the knowledge this should not be the case.

505 Claude So . . .

506 Roy Because if I may go down to a scenario . . . there is a - one time a friend of mine - we are doing masters together she told me "Hurry up you finish your Masters you go back to Kenya we don't want you here" just openly! And that's a friend who is learned . . . so I think this shouldn't be the case . . . as much as it's deep in us . . . as much as we get the knowledge it should transform us so that we see these people as people who are inputting . . .

507 Claude You know ==

508 Roy To to this country and to ourselves and should give us a a challenge to work hard and to grow up.

509 Claude Mmh!

510 Roy Because these people have come here they are challenging us so we work hard and outcompete them.

511 Felix And at the end of the day these people will have to go back to their countries == and work there. ==

512 Claude == [nodding in agreement] Eeh!

513 Roy == EEH!

514 Felix Yeah!

515 Quincy You see . . . knowledge . . . to others but not power . . . to others it's a potential but it's still vesting . . .

516 Felix Eh? ==

517 Quincy Is is a – sometimes it's still vesting it's waiting for . . . self facilitation.

518	Others	Mhm?
519	Quincy	When now we have to facilitate it not a for you to to have that power . . .
520	Felix	Mhm.
521	Quincy	Coz . . . the fact of studying alone . . .
522	Felix	Mhm.
523	Quincy	To me . . . is not at issue but once you study and then you get to . . . learn an environment and then you you are able to apply your your knowledge that you have acquired.
524	Felix	Mhm.
525	Quincy	Then it becomes easy . . . but when it comes to issues of xenophobia I don't think may be at school . . . it might have may be come . . .
526	Felix	Mhm!
527	Quincy	To a place where even students felt the atmosphere from outside . . . then now ( ) they started to get heated as an example but where it started I think it was coming from a point of people who are non-educated. ==
528	Claude	==That's it.
529	Roy	Okay.
530	Claude	That was the starting point
531	Felix	But it's said that they'd been they'd been incited by people who are educated ==
532	Roy	== Yeah!
533	Claude	Yeah! That's true look . . .
534	Felix	That is the funny thing now
535	Claude	People who are educated have said things as well. ==
536	Roy	And they control . . .

537	Claude	Yeah so so . . . I don't know may be you know the statistics eh how – what is the percentage of foreigners at UWC (University of The Western Cape)?
NV16	Others	[quietly shake heads and shrug to indicate they don't know]
538	Claude	You don't know the the exact number but we . . . to be honest we don't make such a big . . . number.
539	Felix	Could we be twenty?
540	Claude	Percent?
541	Felix	I don't think so. ==
542	Roy	== No we can't.
543	Claude	== I'm not sure about that . . . could be less.
544	Felix	Yeah much less
545	Roy	Probably ten percent.
546	Claude	Okay so it would it would come as a shock actually if . . . eh foreigners were threatening the locals at this institution but of course . . . I've also I've also been told what you were told by the way. ==
NV17	Felix	== [laughing]
547	Roy	Emh!
548	Claude	It's like you know finish finish and go back.
549	Roy	Mhm!
550	Claude	You know . . . I don't have a problem with going back. ==
551	Felix	== You you you are not a refugee after all. ==
552	Claude	You know . . . it's like I don't have a problem with that but . . . you know sometimes it it it's never - in fact most of the time it's never said in good faith. ==
553	Roy	== It's true. ==

| 554 | Claude | == It's always with with a bitter . . . |

| 555 | Roy | Emh! |

| 556 | Claude | Ill feeling when somebody says that of course there are a few friends who joke about it we laugh about it . . . |

| 557 | Felix | And they want you to understand it as a joke but but still you know it tells you that deep within . . . |

| 558 | Claude | Yeah it it it kind of shows you that eish . . . may be I'm not so welcome here |

| NV18 | Others | [laughing] |

| 559 | Claude | You know . . . may be I shall just finish and you know and go but . . . |

| 560 | Felix | You get the hell out of here! |

| 561 | Roy | Mhm! |

| 562 | Claude | Yeah but . . . I guess that's life. I'm standing on the ground that . . . it's a natural feeling to be threatened by an – a foreigner . . . I think I would – even even back at home we are threatened by Indians for instance. |

| 563 | Roy | Mhm! |

| 564 | Felix | In Kenya there are many Indians but we don't give a hoot about them. |

| 565 | Roy | Eeh! == |

| 566 | Felix | == We don't care about them. == |

| 567 | Claude | == No but we are . . . |

| 568 | Quincy | == In my view . . . |

| 569 | Felix | Many of them many of them are doing well. == |

| 570 | Roy | == Yeah they are doing well in fact in business they are doing very well. |

| 571 | Claude | No! no! They are doing well and . . . |

572	Felix	We feel they are important we feel if they go then we will lose.
573	Claude	Yeah but you see what? ==
574	Felix	Mmh!
575	Claude	Those people are abusing . . . Zambians who are employed by them. ==
576	Felix	== In Kenya they also do the same. ==
577	Claude	Yeah so so they they – you can't . . .
578	Felix	They call us monkeys blah blah you know . . .
579	Claude	And then you call those . . . important people!
NV19	Roy	[laughing]
580	Quincy	You see chief . . . 'wena' ['you' in isiXhosa] you might be coming from your own … kind of … or you are expressing your own kind of scenario it might be different from another citizen of Kenya…
581	Felix	Mhm!
582	Quincy	Who is residing there at the moment as you are here and may be he will have different assertions to what you have so . . . to say generally that as Kenyans "we are not threatened by . . ." Aih! It's not . . .
583	Felix	I remember there is a day I walked into an Indian shop in Kenya. There were many Africans working there as . . . just labourers and . . . the the the Indian the Indians are now the top . . .
584	Claude	The owners. ==
585	Felix	Managerial positions ( ) I remember that time I was buying a a . . . a shop – I mean a watch from that Indian I remember I asked him "Does this thing have a guarantee", and then . . . he said, "Ah go away if you don't want if you don't want to buy go away!" You know . . . like that . . . and I felt it wasn't fair so what I did is I had to lecture him. I told him, "Old man, you don't have to be stupid . . . okay? . . . you should know how to handle customers okay? . . . I mean it's my right to ask whether this thing has a guarantee or not. Then I told those – the fellow black people there, "Make sure you tell this man to know how to handle customers."

NV20   Roy   == [laughing]

586   Claude   == Ooh!

587   Felix   While he was there but I didn't . . . then I went but I I I never felt anything xenophobic you know . . . there was nothing like xenophobic I didn't feel, "Ah! This guy is from outside and now he is coming here he is – I mean he has intruded and now he is making me feel I mean eh . . .

588   Claude   I I think I think you are speaking more from an individual perspective point of view.

589   Quincy   That is what I was trying == to say ==

590   Claude   == Than from a general point of view because to be honest . . .

591   Roy   Mhm!

592   Claude   Eh . . . these people man they they are a threat.

593   Quincy   Generally

NV21   Roy   [laughing]

594   Claude   Right . . . and locals are threatened by them but my my point is . . . we don't . . .

595   Quincy   It's not expressed.

596   Claude   We don't express our feeling by beating them or killing them and chasing them out NO!

597   Roy   It's deep in you but you don't express.

598   Claude   It's deep it is there but we don't . . . kill the people so that's my point here look . . . I agree with certain ways of dealing with eh . . . you know foreigners and locals . . . for instance what I know about the labour laws here is that if there is a job opportunity . . . I I have got a degree in economics somebody else has a degree a South African has got a degree in economics . . .

599   Felix   Then it is him. ==

600   Claude   == The South African will be given preference.

601   Felix   Yeah!

602   Claude   To me it makes sense.

603   Felix   Which is fair. Right. == It's fair. =

604   Roy   == That's fair.

605   Claude   It is a fair way of dealing with that.

606   Roy   Yes.

607   Felix   Sure

608   Claude   But . . . to now chase me out and say okay we don't need you here. OUT! With with sticks and stones . . .

NV22   Felix   [laughing]

609   Claude   NO! I mean . . .

610   Felix   It's barbaric. ==

611   Claude   == That's barbaric.

612   Roy   == Yeah!

NV23   Felix   [laughing]

613   Claude   But to to to give preference to the local when there is a clear equality in . . . the the whatever requirements . . .

614   Felix   It's okay ==

615   Claude   It's fine with me.

616   Felix   But I . . .

617   Claude   It makes sense. ==

618   Felix   But I think also it's eh . . . I don't know because in Kenya . . . it's said that most Indians who come over to Kenya from India are poor you know . . . they come from == India . . .

619   Claude   == And then they come and make it in Kenya!

620	Felix	Yeah ! Yeah they come and make it in Kenya because there they have their relatives who had already been to - I mean who had already moved to Kenya earlier on.
621	Claude	Mhm!
622	Felix	Now they they give them orientation you know and they help them begin their businesses and . . . now . . . at the end of the day these Asians you know they become successful and they become rich.
623	Claude	Mmh! ==
624	Felix	== Richer and richer . . . but but we don't feel threatened in any in any way and we feel - we know that these Indians are even more arrogant than . . . than than whites but ( )
625	Claude	I I I don't think you should say WE. ==
626	Felix	But in this case but in this case in South Africa now it's the black people that are being attacked ( )
627	Claude	Okay . . . even that even that . . .
628	Felix	Why shouldn't . . .
629	Claude	It's an irony yes.
630	Roy	Yes!
631	Felix	Yeah! You know the Indians should also be attacked because . . . they are arrogant . . . seriously!
NV24	Claude	[laughing]
632	Roy	Mhm! ==
633	Felix	== Seriously!
634	Claude	Yeah they are . . .
635	Roy	Eeh!
636	Felix	They they are known to be arrogant.
637	Quincy	Okay!

638   Felix   And I think . . . Okay I . . .

639   Claude   But but you see Indians support each other . . . blacks just generally
                don't wherever you go in the world

640   Felix   Yeah that's the problem now. ==

641   Claude   == Okay so . . .

642   Felix   That's what I was saying. ==

643   Claude   Eish!

644   Quincy   I think we have exhausted the question as I posed it . . . but now we
                have to go to a particular conclusion . . . with regards to this
                particular issue . . . for instance if you look . . . now the damage has
                been done already.

645   Claude   == YEAH!

646   Roy   == Yeah.

647   Quincy   IT'S THERE it is existing.

648   Roy   Mhm!

649   Quincy   Whether it was coming from which angle it doesn't matter any more
                . . . or whether . . . it was motivated by A B C and D it does it does no
                longer matter any more because it has been done.

650   Claude   Yeah.

651   Quincy   It has passed ( ) what then becomes the question as to who bears
                now the responsibility towards compensating if any means to do so
                those particular victims . . . who becomes then the person relavant
                to go to to see as a result of what happened "now we hold you
                responsible because may be you have ( ) your responsibilities
                towards certain people of certain eh country . . . Is this the
                government of South Africa shall who shall or who must be
                responsible to compensate?

652   Roy   Eemh!

653   Quincy   Because this is informed by the strike that took place from a Somali
                point of view . . . last week 'ne' (right in isiXhosa) or if not two weeks

back coz I just heard it in TV where they were demanding that the police in this case who failed to discharge their responsibilities towards protecting them when eh the…

654   Felix   They were being attacked by . . .

655   Quincy   They were being attacked . . . instead they also added to the attacks . . . by trying . . . to . . . shoot at . . . the victims themselves instead of shooting at . . . the perpetrators because they are South Africans you see. ==

656   Claude   Emmh!

657   Quincy   So now . . . is the government . . . when you crown to say that the police must be responsible . . . and others are saying "NO the police can't be responsible for for that because it's unproven to say that they also added to . . . the cause."

658   Felix   And it's all in the name of being . . . patriotic you know . . . being . . . [laughing] (sarcastically)

659   Roy   Eeh! [giggling]

660   Claude   Well look at at the end of the day . . . the South African constitution does provide for you know foreigners by saying that they should be protected right . . . but then (8.0) you - it's it it's it's really difficult to say the the South African government should take responsibility for this. ==

661   Roy   Mhm!

662   Claude   Aaah! Eh . . . but at the end of the day one thing we forget . . . all of us when we ask for who is going to be responsible . . .

663   Roy   Yes!

664   Claude   Whoever is gonna be responsible whether it's in the government or it's the police . . .

NV25   Quincy   == [laughing]

665   Roy   == Emmh.

666   Claude   They are South Africans. ==

667   Roy   == Yeah!

668   Claude   So even they themselves might . . . actually . . .

NV26   Quincy   [laughs]

669   Claude   AGREE with what was done!

670   Roy   Eeh.

671   Claude   They may not agree with . . . how it was done . . .

672   Roy   Mhm! (nodding)

673   Claude   But they may agree with the fact that "Hey these foreigners are doing this thing" so how the hell do we expect them . . . == to be responsible?

674   Quincy   == To be responsible. ==

675   Roy   == Who are still South Africans!

676   Claude   (sighing) Who they are (   ) they probably favour what happened . . . but may not in the the violence part of it.

677   Roy   You are commenting to (   ) who have interest or who had interest in the (   )

678   Claude   Exactly. So you see . . .

679   Quincy   You are going to international kind of . . .

680   Claude   AT THE END OF THE DAY FOR ME, IT'S A LOST CAUSE!

681   Others   Mhm!

682   Claude   TO ASK FOR ANYBODY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTRY TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT.

683   Roy   Eh!

684   Claude   Let the UN (United Nations) be responsible may be.

NV27   Others   [laughing out loudly]

685   Claude   Not South African government

NV28   Others   [laughing more loudly, and, for a couple of seconds]

686   Claude   They have got interests.

NV29 Others   [continue laughing]

687   Felix   Sure.

688   Claude   They've got they've really got vested interests in this . . .

689   Felix   Mhm!

690   Claude   That's my that's my take.

691   Felix   == Mmh!

692   Roy   == Mmh!

693   Claude   But (   ) I know I'm being critical but . . . that's my take.

694   Felix   I also agree with you.

695   Claude   Hey my bro . . . I think I . . . I'm gonna run from here.

696   Felix   Hey guys . . . I'm very very grateful for this man. I think we've had a
                  very fruitful eh conversation and it will really add value to me . . . I'm
                  very grateful!

697   Claude   And (   ) this . . . this kind of conversation never ends.

698   Felix   Yeah! ==

699   Claude   Especially if you are even having a . . . a drink!

700   Quincy   Yeah . . . == it doesn't . . .

701   Felix   == But I'm sure we will have a drink == one of these days

702   Claude   == Eh?

703   Felix   We will . . . I'll buy you guys a drink. ==

704   Claude   == Eish!

705   Felix   One of these days.

706   Roy   To continue chatting and . . .

707   Claude   I hope I won't hit this man (referring, jokingly to Roy) with a bottle!

NV30   All   (Laughing more loudly and with a lot of mirth, until the end. There is
                some talking, but it is drowned by the laughter. The participants get
                up and break up)