

## **Semiotic and Cognitive Landscapes: Construction of Young Inmate Identity in a Correctional Facility in Eswatini**

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Correctional institutions have shifted their focus from punitive processes to those that prioritise rehabilitation of offenders to enhance inmates' successful reintegration into communities. In the last ten years, the Kingdom of Eswatini has been working to strengthen programmes in the young persons' prison aimed at rehabilitating the incarcerated youth through formal education. However, such a programme fails to address the role played by semiotic and cognitive landscapes in the construction of young offenders' identities who are rehabilitated in this highly regulated context. The purpose of this paper therefore is to present the semiotic and cognitive landscapes constructed in the youth's facility from a sociolinguistic perspective. The article is drawn from a broader doctoral thesis, premised on the ethnographic study which investigated 'The discursive construction of the young offenders' identity through narratives' (Dlamini-Akintola 2019). The paper is humanities' based art-based research, and was used to highlight aspects of the landscapes that contribute to the young offenders' discursive construction of identity, which is an important variable in the rehabilitation of incarcerated youth. The results show that semiotic and cognitive landscapes contribute to the success or failure of rehabilitation through their role in the discursive construction of identity by young offenders. The retributive features of this punitive environment create an ongoing tension between rehabilitation and retribution, which affects the construction of young inmates 'moral careers' (Goffman 1961).

Key words: multimodal narratives, identity construction, semiotic & cognitive landscapes, rehabilitation, young offenders.

## **Introduction**

The lives of young offenders have generally been investigated in disciplines such as criminology, sociology, social work, and psychology. Most of these studies concentrate on either investigating the reasons why the offenders became involved in criminal activity or offering some ways of stopping them from re-offending (Presser 2009, 177). Less work has been done in investigating how language, through narratives, is used to position young offenders in particular ways in relation to self and others, without necessarily focussing on the criminal activities that led them to be incarcerated. This paper is drawn from a broader study which investigated the discursive construction of identity of young offenders being rehabilitated in a youth correctional facility.

In this paper, I show how the semiotic and cognitive landscapes contribute to the discursive construction of conflicting identities of incarcerated young offenders in an environment fraught with tension between rehabilitation and retribution processes.

## **Discursive Construction of Identity**

In this paper, an argument is made that identity is primarily constructed through discursive means. Therefore, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics (more specifically linguistic landscapes studies) provide the analytical tools to investigate identity construction.

Relevant literature indicates that the notion of 'identity' can be perceived as 'as a 'relational' entity of individuals; that is, it "only has meaning within a chain of relationships ...; there is no fixed point of reference for 'an identity', [but it should be thought of as] an on-going process of identification" (Watson 2006, 509). In addition, identity can also refer to an individual's awareness of his/her internalized perception of the self which is constantly adjusted reflexively in relation to the expectation of society and culture (Boyd 2002).

Hinchman and Hinchman (2001, xviii) emphasize the importance of narrative in the construction of identity. They state that "identity is that which emerges in and through narrative". According to Watson (2006, 510) Hinchman and Hinchman's (2001) assertion "highlights the external, relational nature of identity construction. In this view, identities are constructed in the narratives we create and talk about our lives; how we externalize ourselves about ourselves and to others." In line with this view that this paper builds on, identity is viewed as an on-going and performative process in which individuals draw on diverse resources to construct selves, and this process emerges in and through narratives (Watson 2006; Benwell and Stokoe 2006).

## **Linguistic Landscapes Studies**

In Sociolinguistics, cognitive and semiotic landscapes studies have evolved from Linguistic Landscape Studies. This section traces this development to situate the current study, and map the connection between these types of landscapes in sociolinguistics.

Broadly, a landscape reflects features of a particular space, or an area, or anything one can see when viewing a stretch of land (the physical, natural or built environment of an area). It is a recognizable physical space that encompasses the individuals who are actors within that space; the landscape is always associated with certain experiences by the people who live in it and those who visit it. The imaginative and creative aspects of human experience (that is, the social and economic practices) manifest in the linguistic, artistic, and literary responses of human beings to such a visible scene (Cosgrove 1985). Hence, some sociolinguists devote their scholarship to linguistic landscape studies.

Linguistic Landscape Studies (LLS) is a rapidly growing area of investigation, which, for many language scholars, is not quite seen as a discipline in itself, but as providing a way of analysing language use in specific linguistic communities using different types of inscriptions in the public space (Blommaert 2005). Rather than fitting into established subdisciplines within sociolinguistics, research in LLS provides scholars with the option of either mapping a multilingual/multi-variety use of language in certain landscapes through the analysis of the six linguistic objects, (public road signs, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, public signs on governments' buildings, advertising billboards), , or to analyse the social structure of such landscapes, as well as the social behaviour of the population that inhabits these spaces (Blommaert and Rampton 2015). In addition, LLS also enables us “to describe aspects of LL, and to interpret and understand the public space, contextualizing it with issues of identity...” (Shohamy and Gorter 2009, 4).

## **Semiotic Landscapes**

Linguistic landscape studies as a scientific field of the analysis of language use has undergone a number of transformations, sometimes called waves (see Gorter (2018) for overviews), with an important extension that focuses on how the linguistic resources of discourse “interact with other discursive modalities [such as] visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and the built environment” (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, 2). The interpretation of semiotic forms within a

landscape is a dynamic process in that these forms “can be comprehensively and unpredictably reinterpreted and re-customized to serve a very particular local purpose” (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, 17).

The discursive production of space shows how language, visual discourse and social practices in a landscape combine to generate meaning surrounding a particular phenomenon. Therefore the production of meaning and identities are positioned within a specific landscape by representational and non-representational systems which are closely interconnected in the discursive construction of local places (Stroud and Jegels 2014; Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). The discursive production of space is therefore a textual function of language that provides individuals with the means to express their lived, imagined, and observed experiences in a landscape.

From a sociological perspective, Greider and Garkovich (1994, 1) view landscapes as “the symbolic environments created by human acts of conferring meaning on nature”. Abrahamsson (1999, 52) therefore argues in line with this thought that “[e]very landscape is a symbolic environment [because a landscape is] a reflection of cultural identities, which are human rather than natural”. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010, 2) also view every landscape as “semiotic; that is, its meaning is always construed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation”.

Semiotics is described as the “study of signs and sign systems” (Abrahamsson 1999, 52), and these signs and sign systems are used in the signification processes for the interpretation of semiotic resources in a cultural landscape. Signification is described as a social process where a particular resource or sign symbolises something in a particular social context; therefore, objects are taken as signs or resources that are assigned meaning (Hopkins cited in Abrahamsson 1999, 52). Van Leeuwen (2005, 3) explains that the term “resource” rather than the word “sign” is preferred as a central concept of semiotics because the term “sign” seems to refer to a representation of something that is “pre-given, and not affected by its use [whereas] ‘resources’ are signifiers, observable actions and objects”. These resources are referred to as semiotic resources, which describe all aspects of a landscape or society that combine to make meaning.

### **Cognitive Landscapes**

Human beings can have a mental representation of real or imagined experiences or the activities of a particular landscape. Abrahamsson (1999, 52) explains that the “mental representation or cognition of the layout of a familiar landscape is termed a cognitive map, and the way of thinking about and organising the layout is called environmental cognition”. A cognitive map of a particular

landscape indicates that an individual is familiar with that landscape; that is, s/he knows it well. Brunn (cited in Abrahamsson 1999, 53) refers to the cognitive map as a cognitive landscape, which he describes as a “coherent, geographically grounded frame, [that is, a fixed or exact stereotypical image or content stored in individuals’ minds as prior knowledge (Nunan 1993), which contribute when we], interpret objects and events that can be connected to a specific area”. The concept “cognitive landscape” therefore implies that individuals do have memories of varied physical and semiotic landscapes, and such memories are instrumental in the construction of varied objective and subjective interpretations of the relationships and identities individuals construct in a particular place even though the individual may not be physically located in a particular place.

Krogh (cited in Abrahamsson 1999, 53) states that cognitive landscapes are formed through a process technically referred to as landscaping. Landscaping is described as “man’s process of creating meaning in interaction with his environment” (Brunn cited in Abrahamsson 1999, 53). Landscaping therefore is a process that enables individuals to relate their feelings with the environment, extract knowledge from their environment (even if one is not physically present in that space) and are able to make meaning about what the landscape may implicitly provide. Brunn (cited in Abrahamsson 1999) describes this process as inner landscaping. Related to cognitive landscapes and landscaping, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010, 7) use the terms “symbolic and mental landscapes” to explain that physical features of the landscape, natural or those that result from human intervention, “are described, reproduced and recreated in literary texts, art, models and maquettes in museums and so on”. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) note that the notion of symbolic and mental landscapes’ seem to intersect with Lefebvre’s (1991) dimensions of space: (1) the conceived space – the mental or represented images of space; (2) the perceived space – the material and physical space which are responsible for economic production and social production, and (3) the lived space – produced through the interaction of both conceived and perceived spaces. So, the cognitive/mental/symbolic landscapes of a space seem to also contribute to the construction of multiple meanings of a place and consequently the construction of identity of individuals who interact in that space. Since the literature on cognitive landscapes reveals that individuals or groups attach multiple meanings to one and the same landscape, different values and different attitudes tend to be ascribed to a landscape by individuals with different cultural, cognitive landscapes. Different groups therefore would not define themselves, their values, and attitudes in the same way even though they may be operating within the same landscape. The multiple interpretations drawn from a semiotic landscape by individuals or social groups indicate that there are “different processes by

which space comes to be represented, organised and experienced” (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, 7), and this process is known as spatialisation. “Spatialisation” as a notion explains how place is socially constructed, and how people make sense of place.

The discussion on landscape above has shown that the landscape is viewed from various perspectives, ranging from an analysis of the interrelation between the physical environment, the social construction of space, and how individuals use affordances of semiotic landscapes to construct their sense of the landscape; thus Massey (cited in Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, 7) explain that the social construction of space is guided by the notion of multiplicity.

### **Youth Offending and Incarceration**

As a way of responding to calls for human rights in prisons, the contemporary African prison has not only adjusted its systems of reformation, retribution and incapacitation, but has also made rehabilitation and reintegration part of its aims for reformation (Bernault 2003). However, the tension brought about by these conflicting aims seems to make the achievement of rehabilitation and reintegration elusive. Thus “the consensus of opinion is that prison is a locus for detention, punishment and deterrence as opposed to rehabilitation and reintegration” (Sarkin 2008, 22).

The tension between the negative (retribution and incapacitation) and positive (rehabilitation and reintegration) aims of imprisonment is further illustrated by the way the techniques of power, employed in the operation of the correctional facility, construct offenders’ identities in a more complex way. The offender’s soul is targeted through punishment and discipline in a systematic effort to rehabilitate the offenders (Foucault 1976). He further argues that various forms of knowledge such as education, psychiatry, underpin this technology of power employed by the carceral system and other interventions (such as chaplain services) aimed at rehabilitating the delinquent.

### **Objective**

This paper describes how the semiotic and cognitive landscapes in a correctional youth facility in Eswatini contribute to young offenders’ discursive construction of their identity.

### **Methodology**

This paper is drawn from a broader ethnographic doctoral study that was undertaken to investigate the discursive construction of the young offenders’ identity through multimodal narratives in Eswatini (2014 – 2019). The design employed a qualitative heuristic methodology developed by

Clark Moustakas in 1961 (Djuraskovic and Arthur 2010; Kleining and Witt 2000). This approach enables the researcher “to discover the nature and meaning of [a] phenomenon through internal self-search, exploration, and discovery” (Djuraskovic and Arthur 2010, 1569). It also views the research process as a dialogue that enables the “interaction of the research person and research topic” through guided introspection (Kleining and Witt 2000).

### **Research Design**

The study was an inter-disciplinary, ethnographic multiple-nested case study undertaken between 2014 and 2019 which investigated the selected case from multiple perspectives to explore the complexity and uniqueness of the subject under investigation (Thomas 2011). A multi-method design was deemed appropriate because it entails the application of two or more sources of data and various research methods to investigate the research question(s). Bryman (2001) further argues that the rationale for employing multi-method research is that using one research method is likely to result in inadequate data. So, the multi-method research employed in this study helped to mitigate incorrect inferences that could be deduced from limited data from a single source. The fruitfulness of multimodal inquiry is highlighted by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010). They note that there are other elements of interaction that describe a landscape in addition to language. They explain that discourse is in dialogue with other semiotic resources such as “visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and built environment ..., [which intersect in] the construction and the interpretation of place” (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, 2).

### **Data Collection Methods**

As this was a multiple-nested case study, the collection of data was based on the assumption that a case study design can incorporate a number of methods of data collection (Thomas 2011, 512). Stake (2005, 443) argues that, in itself, a case study is not a methodological instrument, but a choice of what is to be studied. Therefore, in collecting the data, I took photographs of semiotic resources in the landscape, made some observations and took field notes. Furthermore, I used semi-structured interviews, extracted media reports on juvenile inmates from local newspapers. Thereafter, I designed activities that enabled participants to produce arts-based narratives. The art products produced by participants also revealed their mental perceptions of the landscape, the cognitive landscapes. Thus, data was collected from two sections of the youth correctional facility: where the young offenders live (cells) and the place where they receive their formal education (the school).

## **Research Participants**

The researcher was given permission by the Commissioner of Correctional Services to conduct this research. Ethical clearance requirements of the university were satisfied when the study was proposed. Selected participants further gave their consent to be part of this study. Participants were identified as a group to protect their identity. They were classified into two groups: twenty five adult participants comprising of administrative staff, teachers and warders and thirty seven young offenders ranging from age twelve to eighteen. A few multimodal narratives generated by a few participants have been selected for this article. The production of arts-based narratives took several months, so the researcher worked with the same participants for some time; hence there was established trust between the researcher and participants.

## **Data Analysis**

Riessman (2003) argues that narrative analysis is a method that requires interpretation when used in social research, but there is no single method for such analysis, rather, there are various forms such as thematic analysis, structural analysis, interactional analysis, or performative analysis. In this study, I employed Sorsoli's (2007) layered method of analysis, which enabled me to present the data collected using different methods and analysed it incorporating the various forms of narrative analysis. The layered method of analysis allows a systematic use of more than one method or layer of interpretive reading, which forces the existence of multiple perspectives during the process of analysis. These layers draw attention to the existence and content of these often silenced stories; through these layers the stories are also put into words, or portrayed in other modes of communication (Sorsoli 2007, 307).

## **Findings and Analysis**

This section discusses the semiotic and cognitive landscapes that shape the discursive construction of incarcerated young offenders' identity in Eswatini. It shows how space, recognized semiotically and cognitively, contributes to shaping the identity of the young offenders (Tucker-Raymond et al. 2005, 560). Space in this study includes the physical, social and the cognitive. The landscape of the school located within the youth correctional facility and the cells where they live were seen as simultaneously a physical entity (semiotic resources) and as a social space (cognitively constructed) where material and non-material objects contributed to the process of making meaning and discursive construction of identity (Palang et al. 2006; Tucker-Raymond et al. 2005).



To capture the various facets of the youth correctional landscape as explained above, the study examined the following: (1) media reports to identify narratives that constructed the young offenders' identity and reported activities/events that contributed to such identities, (2) physical representations of the landscape, such as signage and the architecture of the buildings, and (3) multimodal participants' narratives. The data and its analysis are therefore presented in various layers, which resulted from the nature of the multi-nested methods employed in the collection of data. These layers are arranged in the following sequence: Layer 1: an example of narratives in media reports, Layer 2: signage, notices, participants' narrative and observations made within the correctional facility, Layer 3: physical layout of the facility (the school and cells), Layer 4: participants' drawings on different aspects of the landscape. Some sections have a combination of these layers where such depict similar or related themes.

### Layer 1: Media Reports: Construction of Young Inmates' Group Identity

Three media reports are presented in this article; two are in this section and one is in another thematic layer. These reports show participants' interaction in the correctional facility which construct young offenders' identity as a group.



Figure 1: Newspaper article: Times of Swaziland, August 2, 2016

The title and content of the article (Figure 1) constructs the young people's correctional facility as a prison – a term, which, at that time, was no longer in use in official judicial spaces after it had been changed to “correctional facility”. This article shows that this place invokes fear in a convict and makes him ready for the likelihood that the facility will strip him of his self-worth because he is likely to be exposed to sodomy and other traumatic experiences. Participants' written narratives sourced through semi-structured interviews suggest that young offenders' experiences during their

arrest, conviction and admission into the facility are discursively constructed as a disobedient group of juvenile criminals which needs to be subdued through harsh treatment. Figure 2 highlights such treatment of young offenders.

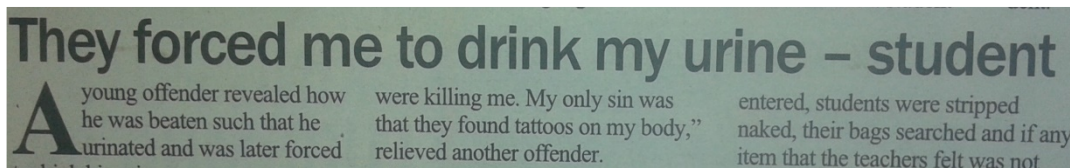


Figure 2: The Headline and subheadings of the Newspaper Article, Swazi Observer, Saturday, March 29, 2014

Extracts of the article (Figure 2) shows evidence of young inmates’ brutal treatment. The inmates interviewed by the journalist claimed that they were often beaten all night, and made to drink their urine; female warders inserted their fingers in girls’ private parts, probably for the purpose of further humiliating them. Such a narrative show the discursive construction of young inmates hardened by the social interaction in this landscape. This brutal treatment is an example of the ‘technology of power’ (Foucault 1976) used for ‘stripping and inmates’ mortification processes’ in total institutions such as prisons (Goffman 1961).

### Layer 2: Construction of Positive Identities through Formal Education

Despite the harsh treatment, an effort to rehabilitate these young inmates is made through formal education. The school was established to provide education as part of rehabilitation for young offenders. This section describes the impact of the built infrastructure and semiotic resources within the school.



Figure 3: Wall sign at the school's gate carrying the name of the school, 'Vulamasango' interpreted as "open gates"



Figure 4: An overview of the school and hostel facility for young male inmates

Figure 3 is a picture of an inscription of the school's name, 'Vulamasango School' at the gate of the school. 'Vulamasango' literally means "open gates", but in this context it refers to open opportunities. Ironically, the name, 'open gates' was used to name a facility whose gates are always locked and under heavy security. The idea of 'open opportunities' is also debatable since the success of their rehabilitation is not yet guaranteed since recidivism is still prevalent.

Figure 4 shows a pictorial view of the school, the storey building on the left and the hostel for young male inmates on the right with two layers of fence and high mast lighting. The colours used on all architectural features are pink, bright blue, brown and gold instead of the correctional facilities' dark green and grey theme colours used for warders' uniforms and walls respectively. Interviews with management revealed that the choice of colours was a deliberate attempt to create a welcoming environment for the young inmates. The name of the school and colours were used as resemiotization devices to remake the correctional facility to accommodate the rehabilitation of young inmates through formal education. Iedema (2003) defines resemiotisation as the manner in which meaning making shifts across time and space from context to context. Discussions with young inmates revealed that they were aware of the school's mission, and they liked the colours of the buildings and their uniforms, which did not make them see themselves as prisoners since they

never wore prison clothes even after school. Therefore, the name of the school and colour of the built infrastructure and uniforms construct hopeful, responsible young people.

However, the double layers of fencing and elaborate lighting of this landscape indicate the control measures that are in place to control the inmates and prevent attempts to escape. This implies that incarceration is not easy for young inmates. This was proven by their narratives in which they explained the daily hardships from corporal punishment, harsh language, hard work and extreme and timed controls as part of their lived experiences in this place (Figure 2). Hence, one of them wrote:

When I was sentenced, I was taken to Juvenile Industrial School because I was young. I was so shocked that I will spend so many years in prison and life in prison is not good because I no longer have freedom but it is better now because there is a school and we are learning.

The interviews revealed that the excessive control of the inmates constructed individuals who seem obedient but very hardened. The officials defended the use of regimentation and control as the only means to deal with children who have been hardened by their criminal careers, and have the ability to overpower the warders and either escape or cause violence.

### **Layer 3: Retributive Semiotic and Cognitive Resources**

Layer 3 presents semiotic and cognitive resources that contribute to the retribution of young offenders. A wall sign, a newspaper article and young inmates' drawings on their perspectives form part of this layer.

Despite the positive message on rehabilitation at the school entrance (Figure 3), the adjacent notice in Figure 5 and a newspaper article in Figure 6 bring a sense of anxiety to smoking young inmates.



Figure 5: Notice at the gate adjacent to the sign shown in Figure 3



Figure 6: Department of Correctional Service page on a local newspaper

The notice (Figure 5) and content in the newspaper article (Figure 6) show that this landscape is strictly regulated as a means to construct obedient young people (Foucault 1976; Goffman 1961). Discussions with some young inmates revealed that though they know the benefits of the regulations, the practicality of embracing them is stressful. Thus, they find means to deviate from the rules and smuggle in contraband, thus becoming more skillful in behaviors that conflict with the law. Young offenders who used alcohol and smoked further expressed their experiences in the next drawing co-constructed by a group.



Figure 7: A drawing on the effects of substance abuse

In Figure 7 bottles of alcohol, cigarettes and some books were neatly placed on the shelves in this drawing (see Figure 8 below). In Figure 7, the students are all pushing and stretching their hands towards one book on the table, avoiding the bottles, cigarettes and books on the shelves.



Figure 8: A closer view of alcohol bottles and packets of cigarettes

A discussion with members of the group revealed that they were depicting that despite their cravings for alcohol and withdrawal symptoms of not smoking, they perceived the value of education by shying away from the shelves stacked with alcohol. The bottles and cigarettes symbolically reflected their cravings for alcohol and smoking.



Figure 9: A closer view of the book titled: 'I am Different than I was yesterday'

They also noted that formal education was not ideal for many of them since they believed it was unattainable. Hence, in this drawing they were all trying to grab one book, 'I am Different than I was yesterday' (Figure 9). The book was written by a former convict depicted by a scarred faced on the book cover. The focus of the book, they explained, was on how to sever oneself from a criminal

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career and survive after serving their sentences. Their argument was that they could only appreciate life skills education from former convicts who had similar experiences than teachers and warders.

#### Layer 4: Cognitive Landscapes: Visual Arts-based Products



Figure 10: Perception on the mission of the school within the correctional facility

Figure 10 is a co-constructed art product created by some teachers together with a few students and one inmate drew Figure 11. The two drawings depict the mission of the school. The journey of young inmates begins with disobedience (the woman giving advice in Figure 11), peer pressure (joining gangs signaled by a gun and canvass shoes – Figure 11) and arrest and conviction (see police chains in Figure 11). On admission, many are not interested in schooling; hence force is used to compel them to attend (Figure 10). But once they are motivated, they begin to envisage the future from the benefits of education; that is, having tertiary education, gainful employment, and becoming respectful and responsible (See graduation dress, expensive car and a boy showing courtesy to his elders). But conditions in the prison cells (figures 12 and 13) had semiotic resources that contributed to their retribution in this landscape.

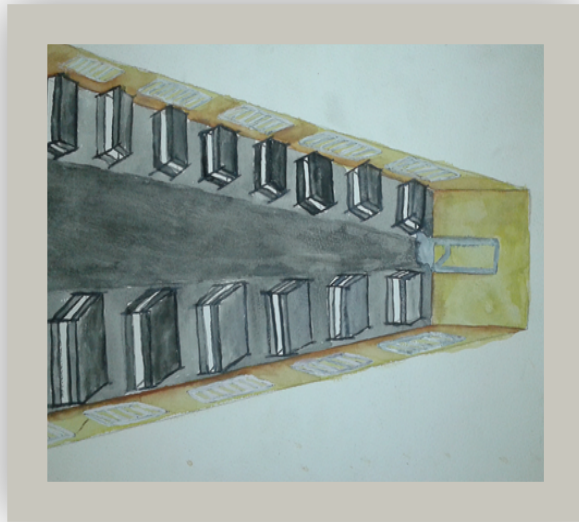


Figure 12: Bunk beds in Cells depicting overcrowding

Though the hostels are generally overcrowded, the element of cleanness is still emphasized. Young inmates complained about the quality of the beds, blankets and poor ventilation which made it difficult to have any restful sleep. Their drawings showed the poor quality of beds, inadequate space and open abluion facilities which deprived inmates of their privacy as shown by Figure 13 and 14 below.



Figure 13: Deprivation of Privacy in Bathrooms



Figure 13 above, the bathrooms and toilets have no doors. Despite attempts to keep them clean, the limited ventilation retained the heavy stench. The open bathrooms led to excessive provocation among inmates who ridiculed some about the nature of their body parts. This compelled new inmates to join groups in order to protect themselves from being violated by other inmates.

Tattooed inmates belonged to numbered groups: 26s (Figure 14), 27s and 28s that ranked the severity of crime committed or likely to be committed in future. Interviews with some warders and tattooed young inmates revealed that those with number 26 committed minor crimes such as assault, theft, but those with 27 and 28 committed crimes that led or could lead to injury or loss of life such as rape and murder. Tattooing also promoted the connection of young inmates to criminal syndicates outside prison. Discussions with those with the tattoos revealed that some of them benefit from the syndicates who visit and bring both permitted benefits and smuggled items since many are not visited by family. Therefore, one can conclude that the hardships in this landscape construct hardened individuals who are likely to continue with their criminal career despite efforts to rehabilitate them.

## **Conclusion**

The layers of the semiotic and cognitive landscapes show the intense interaction between retribution and rehabilitation in this landscape. The multi-method design enabled the collection of hidden layers of information that would have been missed in a single method one. The semiotic resources and cognitive landscapes revealed various layers of factors that contribute to the discursive construction of identity within correctional facilities. The underlying conflict between retribution and rehabilitation constructs both positive identities derived from benefits of the school and negative identities constructed by the retributive penal processes. Though attempts are made to change the 'moral career' (Goffman 1961) of the subjects through formal education, the punitive environment still retains its retributive features, and this continues to create an ongoing tension between rehabilitation and retribution in this spatiality.

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