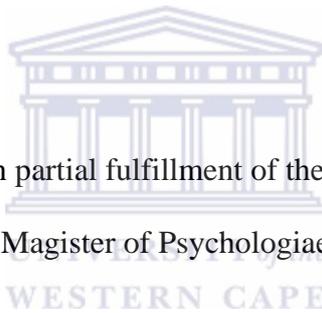


The Inevitability of Us

Exploring the risk and protective factors relating to the use and/or rejection of
methamphetamine amongst youth in Manenberg.

Brigitte Stephanie Swarts / 2930919



A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of Magister of Psychologiae (MPsych)

Faculty of Community and Health Sciences

University of the Western Cape

2009

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____



*Ek was stupid gewees daai dag om dit te gedoen het [referring to the first time she utilised tik], maar daai saying van: **one hit in die hoek**, dit is die waarheid.*



Dit is regtig die waarheid.

UNIVI (Informant 6; 3rd of August 2009, Manenberg)
WESTERN CAPE

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vi
Abstract	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Background and Rationale	1
1.2. Aims of the Study	4
1.3. Structure of the Study	6
Chapter 2: Literature Review	8
2.1. Methamphetamine Use and its Effects	8
2.2. Risk Factors for Substance Abuse	11
2.2.1. Individual domain risk factors	11
2.2.2. Peer domain risk factors	12
2.2.5. Community domain risk factors	14
2.3. Protective Factors for Substance Abuse	15
2.3.1. Individual domain protective factors	15
2.3.2. Peer domain protective factors	16
2.3.3. School domain protective factors	16
2.3.4. Family domain protective factors	17
2.3.5. Community domain protective factors	18
Chapter 3: Methodology	20
3.1. Research Design	20
3.2. Participants	22
3.3. Data Collection	26
3.4. Procedure	29
3.5. Data Analysis	29
3.6. Reflexivity	35
3.7. Ethical Considerations	36
Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework	38
4.1. Locating the Theoretical Framework	38
4.2. Manenberg meets Bronfenbrenner	41
Chapter 5: Findings	44
5.1. History as an Identity	44
5.2. A Society Desensitised	46
5.3. The Family - ‘Unravelling’ Safety Net	51
5.4. A Marriage of Convenience - Drug Dealers and Gangsterism	56
5.5. A Village under Siege- Risks of an Imploded Typology	64
5.6. A Mousetrap of Peers	66

5.7. Gendering Tik-Use	74
5.8. The ‘Inagency’ and Agency of the Individual.....	78
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	104
6.1. Summary of Protective Factors	104
6.2. Summary of Risk Factors	106
6.3. Limitations of the Study	109
6.4. Recommendations	109
REFERENCES.....	112
APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET.....	117
APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM	120
APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET	121
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.....	122
APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPT (INFORMANT 2).....	124



Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the youth, whose life experiences this work is based on, and who so freely shared their experiences with me. I also extend my gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. Shazly Savahl, for his contribution to this work.

Finally, to my parents, Patti and Hennie; and my partner, Rudy; thank you for instilling in me the belief that I can achieve great things.



Abstract

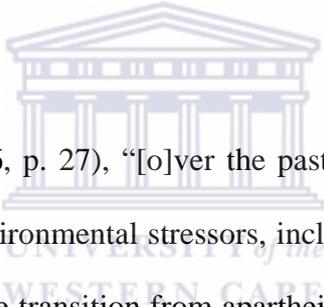
This study presents a discursive journey with regard to the risk and protective factors confronting individuals who engage in methamphetamine use within the Manenberg area. Given that this journey requires a cautious and sensitive approach to the meaning making of the lived experiences of the six (6) individual users (the informant base); the study adopted an analysis process that would allow for a guided “tour” of these experiences. In doing so, the study made use of the grounded theory method that allowed for this guided “tour” to be fully anchored in the collected data. External to this data, and once the data emerged as engageable themes, the study introduced, relevantly so, Bronfenbrenner’s social-ecological model of human development, so to multiply and deepen the meanings embedded within the data. The merging of this external frame, provided by Bronfenbrenner’s model, and the rich data provided by the six (6) informants, uncovered critical themes in understanding the risk and protective factors at play within Manenberg. These themes relate to the historical identity of Manenberg, given the history of Apartheid, the role of the local community and its perceived tolerance of the practice of drug use, which is further echoed in the identity of the family and its limited ability to support drug users in the face of ever-growing poverty. The themes also uncovered the bipolarity in the practice of drug trade and gangsterism as serving a subsistence function, at one level, and an exploitative function at another. Furthermore, the study solidified traditional views that the peer collective is, indeed, a critical actor on the stage of drug use and that the individual (as an actor) continues to be confronted by a script of poverty and disillusionment. This script, as will be illustrated, is also active in preconceived notions of gender stratification.

Keywords: Apartheid; Bronfenbrenner’s social-ecological model; drug merchants; family support; gangsterism; gender; Manenberg; methamphetamine; tik; youth.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background and Rationale

It is well documented that substance use among youth¹ continues to pose a health and social threat worldwide (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006; Randolph, 2004; Wechsberg, *et al.*, 2008). Yet, within the South African context, there is a dearth in the number of methodologically sound studies that have aimed to document prevalence rates for substance abuse among this specific age group (Flisher, *et al.*, 2003). This is of particular importance in the current South African context, as high levels of environmental stress are thought to be associated with youth substance use (Brook, *et al.*, 2006).



According to Brook, *et al.* (2006, p. 27), “[o]ver the past decade, South Africans have been exposed to a number of environmental stressors, including the following: (a) major social changes associated with the transition from apartheid to equality; (b) violence and crime; (c) high rates of unemployment; (d) technological changes; and (e) an ever-worsening AIDS epidemic.” In addition to these environmental stressors, the expanding domestic drug market, which has seen a decrease in drug prices and an increase in availability (Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2008), has served to compound the problem of illicit drug use among youth. Here, it is important to note that South Africa is currently regarded as a primary marketing venue for a broad range of illicit drugs, specifically methamphetamine and cocaine (Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2008; Wechsberg, *et al.*, 2008).

¹ As reported by the South African Regional Poverty Network, the National Youth Policy defines youth as any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years (www.sarpn.org.za).

In particular, recent studies have illuminated the fact that high levels of substance abuse (alcohol and other drug use) frequently occur within Black African and Coloured communities², which are often associated with poverty (Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2008). This reality, in addition to the environmental stressors highlighted earlier, starkly appears to play itself out in Manenberg, which is the research site for this study.

Manenberg, located approximately 20 kilometres on the periphery of Cape Town, is predominantly a 'Coloured' township³, which, in 2001, had a total population of 54 499 inhabitants. The township was constructed as a result of forced removals carried out during the 1960s and 1970s by the then Apartheid regime. Perhaps as a consequence of its genesis, it is confronted by numerous challenges, which include: a) low levels of educational attainment, with the majority of residents (45.75%), in 2001, having acquired some secondary education equivalent to that between grades 8 to 11; b) high levels of unemployment, estimated at 65.72% in 2001; and c) low income levels, with 58.82% of residents having access to less than R1 600 on a monthly basis in 2001⁴.

Between April 2006 and March 2007, the South African Police Service (SAPS) reported 502 incidents of drug-related crime in the Manenberg area⁵. Furthermore, of the 868 new clients attended to by the Cape Town Drug Counselling Centre in 2006, 57% reported that they had started utilising drugs in their teens, with crystal methamphetamine ("tik")

² These racial classifications were utilised by the Apartheid state and promulgated under the Population Registration Act of 1950. It must be noted that South African society continues to be divided spatially and culturally along racial lines and, therefore, the use of these classifications in this study aims to speak to the current realities rather than to a future society liberated from such racial classifications.

³ According to the 2001 Census data, 94.36% of the individuals residing in Manenberg were categorised as so-called 'coloureds.'

⁴ Information based on 2001 Census data drawn from the City of Cape Town's official website (www.capetown.gov.za).

⁵ Information Management – South African Police Service (www.saps.gov.za).

being the drug of choice (58%)⁶. According to the latest statistics from the Medical Research Council (MRC), for the period between June and December 2006, “[...] the areas where there were 20 or more patients reporting to treatment centres with tik as their primary drug were listed as Atlantis, Athlone, Belhar, Bishop Lavis, Bonteheuwel, Delft, Eerste River, Elsies River, Kuils River, Manenberg” (Kassiem, “Youth tik crisis spirals out of control,” 2007, p.1). These statistics confirm the need for prevention and clinical services targeted specifically at the youth, and particularly within the Manenberg area.

As alluded to earlier, a number of risk factors have been identified, which have been associated with an increase in the likelihood of substance abuse among the youth. These risk factors appear to straddle the demographic, environmental stressor, peer, family, and personal domains (Brook, *et al.*, 2006; Randolph, 2004; Sutherland & Shepherd, 2001). According to Brook, *et al.* (2006), intervention programmes for youth should be specifically designed with the intent of targeting risk factors within these identified domains. Practically speaking, then, for any intervention to be successful, within any given (social) context, it needs to be tailored to the specific and localised needs of the target group it aims to serve. This, in turn, needs to be premised on a keen understanding of the specific risk factors at play (across all the domains) regarding the particular target group.

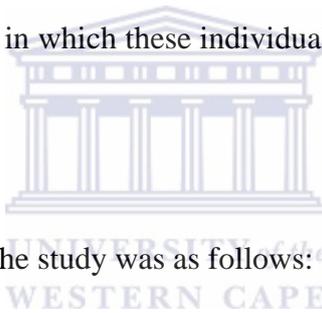
It was, then, imperative that this study, given the social context described in relation to the proposed site of research (i.e. Manenberg), identified the risk and protective factors at play so as to ensure that this understanding is woven into intervention programmes, which in the long-term would be effective in curbing the prevalence of illicit drug use,

⁶ Cape Town Drug Counselling Centre (www.drugcentre.org.za).

particularly methamphetamine, among the youth. This study, forms part of a larger research endeavour conducted under the auspices of the Department of Psychology (UWC), and as such will contribute to gaining an understanding of the factors that influence adolescents' use of methamphetamine. This is further crystallised through the examination of the aims and objectives of the present study.

1.2. Aims of the Study

The aim of the proposed study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of youth who currently engage, or who have in the past engaged, in methamphetamine use on the factors that may influence their use thereof. Furthermore, the proposed study aimed to (preliminary) explore the manner in which these individuals construct their “realities” via their language usage.



Therefore, the main objective of the study was as follows:

- To identify the risk and protective factors in relation to the use of methamphetamine amongst youth.

The nature of the grounded theory method and its focus on the exactness of the narratives of the informant base, allowed the study to accommodate a significant, but peripheral objective, which related to the discourse of language. Here, the objective was as follows:

- To explore the manner in which youth, who engage in methamphetamine use, attach meaning to these risk and protective factors, via the construction and manifestation thereof in their discourse(s).

With regard to the second (albeit peripheral) objective, it needs to be noted that perceptions and experiences are subjective constructs. As will be expanded upon later, this study utilised the grounded theory method to explore the local language (or lingua franca as it were) in relation to risk and protective factors identified by the informant base, so as to better understand the meaning making of these perceptions and experiences by the study participants.

Given the objectives outlined above, perhaps it is important to state upfront (and as will be expanded upon throughout the study) that this study has departed from a seemingly accepted practice within the research field of devaluing the identity of communities by avoiding the actual naming and identifying of those communities under study. In this way, the grounded theory method, as is later expanded upon, requires a far more honest reflection and engagement with not only the data collected, but also the informant base and the communities within which they live. This is an important departure, as it has undoubtedly, in the researcher's view, allowed for organic meaning to emerge and for organic interpretations to be made.

As will be introduced later, the research site will be mined through a social ecological discourse, which collaborates uneasily with the theoretical approach used to analyse the data. The grounded theory method demands a level of distance between the views and lenses of the researcher and the research site. This is not entirely possible, but an acknowledgement of this tension is half the battle won. This tension is academically palatable, as it allows the researcher to understand the research site within its contextual frame.

Despite all of this, and given that research of this nature aims to ultimately assist individuals who are confronted with exceptionally difficult social circumstances, this study cannot be a set of broad headings devoid of the specificities of the research site, as the consequent analysis and potential recommendations must be firmly located within that site. This study is of course not interested in a ‘naming and shaming’ process, but is interested, fundamentally, in detailing the definable pluralities and the distinguishable singularities of the research site.

In summary, then, the statistics presented here provide a significant impetus to deepen our understanding of methamphetamine use in the Cape Flats area, generally, and in Manenberg, specifically. As alluded to in the introduction, this analysis must find a comfortable parameter within which to make meaning of the reported statistics, inclusive of the narratives offered by the informants of this study. In doing so, the structure of the study, provides a map as to how these variable content areas are elaborated upon, as presented below.

1.3. Structure of the Study

Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature with regard to the risk and protective factors related to the use and/or rejection of methamphetamine.

Chapter 3 sets out the qualitative methodological framework employed for the purposes of this study, with specific reference to the research design, the informant base, the data collection and analysis processes, and the ethical considerations adhered to in undertaking the study.

Chapter 4 expands on the theoretical framework applied in this study. This chapter synergises the relationship between the site of research and the theoretical framework employed.

Chapter 5 provides for an in-depth discussion of the findings in the study with specific regard to a historical analysis of the research site, a review of the Manenberg community's response to methamphetamine use, an exploration of the role of the family, and a focus on the relationship between drug dealers and gangs. The findings further extend to an interrogation of risk factors in relation to the spatial typology of Manenberg, the specific role of the peer community, and a reflection on gender in relation to methamphetamine use. Lastly, this chapter undertakes an extensive discussion on the impact of methamphetamine use on the individual user.

Chapter 6 reflectively summarises both the risk and protective factors with regard to the use and/or rejection of methamphetamine and, in its finality, presents a brief discussion on the limitations of the study, incisive of a set of recommendations for further study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

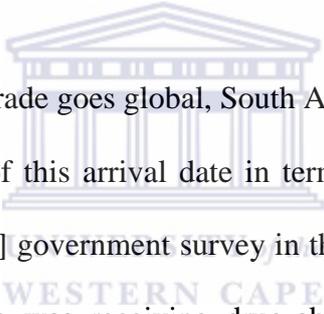
As alluded to in the previous section, a number of risk factors have been identified, which have been associated with an increase in the likelihood of substance abuse among youth. Similarly, a number of protective factors have been identified, which may prove to be the central elements in keeping youth drug-free. As one of the objectives of the proposed study centred on the identification of risk and protective factors in relation to the use of methamphetamine amongst youth, it was essential that relevant literature with regard to these factors be briefly reviewed. However, prior to reviewing these factors, it is critical that one gains a general understanding of methamphetamine use and the effects thereof.

At this stage, it is important to note that an examination of the available literature in relation to the use of methamphetamine revealed a paucity of South African-based literature. Therefore, at times, this literature review may appear to be overly reliant on a few sources as a result of this scarcity of localised literature.

2.1. Methamphetamine Use and its Effects

Amphetamines are stimulants that affect both the central and sympathetic nervous system (Grant, 2007; Greydanus & Patel, 2005). According to Grant (2007), amphetamine was first made commercially available in the United States of America in 1931 under the banner of Benzadrine (a nasal spray) – a racemic form of amphetamine. Due to, “[...] its euphoric and stimulating as well as its appetite-suppressing effects, amphetamine use became widespread during the 1930s and 1940s and was used by foreign armies in World War II” (Grant, 2007, p. 32).

In the late 1970s, drugs similar to amphetamines began to appear in the United States of America (Grant, 2007). Of particular interest, here, is methamphetamine, which is the n-methyl homologue of amphetamine (Grant, 2007; Greydanus & Patel, 2005). While methamphetamine has been available, specifically in the United States of America, since the late 1970s, it appears to have taken a while for it to gain ‘popularity’ in South Africa, particularly in the Western Cape. According to Leggett (2003), research conducted with gang members in Manenberg and Elsie’s River, pinpoint 2002 as the arrival date of methamphetamine on the Cape Flats. This arrival date is more-or-less confirmed by one of the informants in this study, who places the arrival of methamphetamine in Manenberg, specifically, at December 2003.



The Citizen (Schoofs, “As meth trade goes global, South Africa becomes a hub,” 2007, p. 24) also provides confirmation of this arrival date in terms of drug abuse treatment in Cape Town by reporting that, “[a] government survey in the first half of 2002 found that no one under 20 years old who was receiving drug-abuse treatment in Cape Town identified methamphetamine as their drug of choice. By the second half of 2006, 72% said it was their primary or secondary drug [of] abuse.”

The reason as to the approximately 30-year gap in the arrival of methamphetamine on South African shores can be located within the rise and fall of the Apartheid regime. During Apartheid, strict monitoring of external borders and stringent internal controls, in addition to the country’s physical and economic isolation, restricted drug trade and, hence, the access to drugs (Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2008). However, the demise of Apartheid, which brought with it, amongst others, socio-political changes, advanced banking, transport and communication systems, as well as poorly resourced law

enforcement agencies, appears to have allowed South Africa to be positioned as a willing market for international drug trade (Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2008).

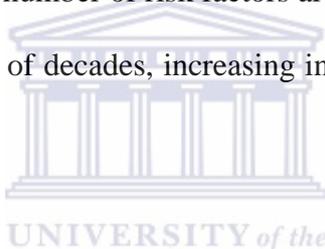
Methamphetamine can be found in a variety of forms, from a powder resembling granulated crystals or as a rock form (larger crystals), which is colloquially referred to as 'ice' or 'crystal' (Grant, 2007; Greydanus & Patel, 2005; Leggett, 2003). In South Africa, specifically, methamphetamine is referred to as 'tik' or 'tuk-tuk' – name derived from the noise the substance makes when smoked (usually in a light bulb from which the metal threading has been removed) (Kapp, 2008; Leggett, 2003). Methamphetamine can be smoked, snorted, orally ingested, or injected (Grant, 2007). According to Grant (2007, p. 32), "[t]he drug's 'rush' results from the release of high levels of dopamine into the brain, which is almost instantaneous if smoked or injected and occurs within 5 minutes if snorted and 20 minutes if orally ingested." Perhaps the drug's instantaneous 'rush' when smoked is what makes it a favoured method of use amongst individual users. This is particularly true of the informant base in this study, who reported that their primary method of methamphetamine use entailed the smoking thereof.

The excess amount of neurotransmitters (e.g. dopamine) in the synapses, "[...] leads to increased energy, self-confidence, and sexuality, but also restlessness and irritability" (Kapp, 2008, p. 193). According to Russell, *et al.* (2008), the long-term use of methamphetamine often culminates in neurotoxicity, neurodegeneration, and clinical depression, which may lead to homicidal and suicidal ideation and behaviour.

Given the severity of the effects of methamphetamine use, it is critical that an analysis of the risk and protective factors, in relation to the use of methamphetamine amongst youth, is undertaken, as presented below.

2.2. Risk Factors for Substance Abuse

According to Mrazek and Haggerty (1994) (as cited in Arthur, *et al.*, 2002, p. 576), “[r]isk factors are ‘those characteristics, variables, or hazards that, if present for a given individual, make it more likely that this individual, rather than someone selected at random from the general population, will develop a disorder.’” Longitudinal and epidemiological studies of substance use appear to suggest that the number of risk factors (cumulative risk) present is of greater importance than the type (or specificity) of risk factors (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Spoth, *et al.*, 2001). In other words, youth exposed to a greater number of risk factors would be more likely to engage in substance abuse regardless of the type of risk factor(s) present. This is of particular significance to the informant base of this study, as a number of risk factors are present in Manenberg, which have accumulated over a number of decades, increasing in potency, as will be illustrated throughout the study.



The identification of risk factors for youth drug use is also thought to be the most useful route for the development of effective prevention (and intervention) strategies for youth, in general, and at risk youth, in particular (Russel, *et al.*, 2008; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). The risk factors thought to be predictive of youth substance abuse will now be discussed in relation to the individual domain, the peer domain, the school domain, the family domain, and the community domain⁷.

2.2.1. Individual domain risk factors

Early initiation of antisocial behaviour, with the onset of drug use prior to the age of fifteen, is thought to be a consistent predictor of later (lifetime) drug use (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Greydanus & Patel, 2005). At an attitudinal level, youth who express favourable

⁷ This categorisation of risk factors is drawn from: Arthur, Hawkins, Pollard, Catalano & Baglioni (2002).

attitudes toward drug use are also more likely to engage in illicit drug use as this sentiment has the effect of lowering the perceived risks associated with the use of these substances (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). In addition, youth who are thought to be ‘sensation seekers,’ evidenced by their enjoyment in partaking in risky and thrilling behaviours, are more likely to engage in drug use, as are youth who show a tendency to act impulsively (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).

Moreover, of the individual domain risk factors, psychiatric comorbidity has been considered of utmost importance and, according to Yen, Yang and Chong (2006), conduct disorder, attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and mood disorder are the three psychiatric disorders most commonly investigated in this regard. In the study conducted by Yen, Yang and Chong (2006), which was aimed at assessing the associations between methamphetamine use in Taiwanese adolescents, the authors found that conduct disorder, ADHD, and adjustment disorder were significantly associated with methamphetamine use.

2.2.2. Peer domain risk factors

Youth who associate with peers who engage in substance abuse are more likely to engage in the same behaviour, particularly if the belief exists that their peers would approve of and admire them for engaging in such behaviour (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Russell, *et al.*, 2008; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). The reverse is, however, also true, in that youth who feel rejected by their peers are similarly at a greater risk of engaging in illicit drug use (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006).

Jones and Heaven (1998, p. 128), in a study that assessed the extent to which personality, environmental factors, and conventional behaviours predict drug-taking among

Australian adolescents, assert that peer models have a significant impact in eliciting problem behaviour, such as illicit drug use, as, “[t]hey provide the opportunity to learn a behaviour, to gain access to materials, and provide evidence that the behaviour can be executed without negative consequences.” This is perhaps the reason as to why, according to Yen, Yang and Chong (2006), substance use among peers has consistently been found to be the strongest predictor of this problem behaviour in adolescents, and as will be shown later, this is indeed the case with the informant base of this study.

2.2.3 School domain risk factors

Academic failure, particularly beginning in grade 4 onwards, has been associated with increased risk for engaging in illicit drug use and delinquency (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). In addition, illicit drug use is more prevalent amongst youth who do not foresee themselves attaining tertiary education (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). According to Greydanus and Patel (2005), youth, who perceive their life choices and options as being limited, are at increased risk of engaging in substance abuse and unprotected sexual activity.

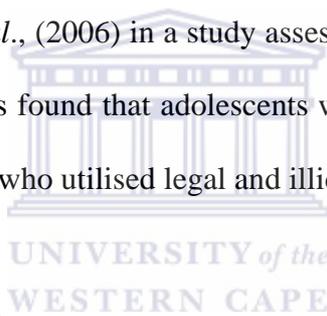
2.2.4 Family domain risk factors

At a familial level, parental divorce, low parental education level, and impoverished intrafamilial bonding are important factors associated with an increased risk of illicit drug use amongst youth (Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). High familial conflict within the home also places youth at greater risk for substance abuse (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).

In a study by Kilpatrick, *et al.* (2000) in which the risk factors for adolescent substance abuse and dependence were examined, the authors found that observing interpersonal acts of aggression, such as domestic violence, might be particularly distressing to children who, in an attempt to reduce the negative affect arising from this distress,

engage in illicit drug use – an effective, but maladaptive coping strategy. Similarly, Greydanus and Patel (2005) found that youth, and adults alike, are increasingly engaging in illicit drug use as an escape mechanism from environmental chaos and tension. These environmental stressors, as will be discussed later, exist both within Manenberg's historical and current identity, an identity that, in part, has come to engage in drug use as a means of escaping these stressors.

Parental attitudes favourable to drug use, evidenced by parental drug use as well as parental tolerance of children's drug use, have been found to increase the likelihood of substance abuse amongst youth who are born or raised within such familial contexts (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Brook, *et al.*, (2006) in a study assessing the predictors of drug use among South African adolescents found that adolescents who engaged in illicit drug use were more likely to have parents who utilised legal and illicit drugs.



2.2.5 Community domain risk factors

Residential mobility is thought to place youth at increased risk of engaging in illicit drug use as, “[...] children who experience frequent residential moves and stressful life transitions have been shown to have higher risk for school failure, delinquency, and drug use” (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002, p. 579). Furthermore, the perceived availability of substances, such as alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs, are conceived of important predictors of the utilisation of these substances within a respective community/neighbourhood (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).

Extreme economic deprivation, at a familial and communal level, is also associated with greater risk of delinquency, school failure, teenage pregnancy, and illicit drug use amongst adolescents (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Dew, Elifson and Dozier (2007) have also

identified unemployment and poverty as crucial factors in the prevalence of substance abuse in any community. In the South African context, Brook, *et al.* (2006) assert that violence and racial discrimination, prevalent in our communities, are environmental stressors, which are both associated with an increased prevalence in illicit drug use.

As briefly alluded to in the introduction of this study, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Manenberg, today, continues to suffer, unabatedly, the hardships and implications of the forced removals, as executed under the Apartheid regime, and as will be expanded upon throughout the study. It is as if, this study will show, the youth of Manenberg seem to experience a type of ‘secondary trauma’ and that their families and the community, at large, collectively share in, and deny, this trauma.

2.3. Protective Factors for Substance Abuse

According to Arthur, *et al.* (2002, p. 576), “[p]rotective factors are factors that reduce the likelihood of problem behavior either directly or by mediating or moderating the effect of exposure to risk factors.” Here, too, the protective factors thought to reduce the likelihood of youth substance abuse will be discussed in relation to the individual domain, the peer domain, the school domain, the family domain, and the community domain.

2.3.1 Individual domain protective factors

Religiosity is conceived of as a protective factor, as youth who are involved in organised religious activities are less likely to engage in illicit drug use (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Sutherland and Shepherd (2001), in a study aimed at exploring the relationship between various social aspects of young people’s lives and substance use⁸, found that only 34.3%

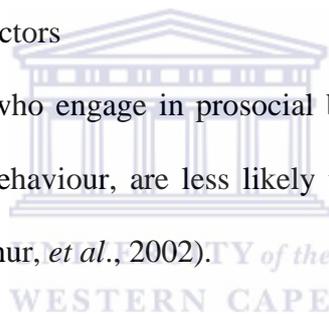
⁸ Substance use in the study by Sutherland and Shepherd (2001) encompasses cigarette, alcohol and illicit drug use.

of adolescents who regularly attended a place of worship engaged in substance use, compared to 69.4% of adolescents who did not attend a place of worship.

Youth who are more adept at social problem solving and communication, and who possess respect for, and awareness of, others have been shown to be less likely to engage in illicit drug use and delinquent behaviour (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). In the same vein, children who have an easygoing and resilient temperament, evidenced by the fact that they recover relatively quickly and easily from upsetting incidents, are also less likely to cultivate habits of drug use and delinquency in their adolescence (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).

2.3.2 Peer domain protective factors

Youth who interact with peers who engage in prosocial behaviour, that is they abstain from drug use and delinquent behaviour, are less likely to engage in these behaviours and/or activities themselves (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).



2.3.3 School domain protective factors

Youth who perceive more opportunities, and greater rewards, for partaking in school-related prosocial activities are more likely to engage in such activities and less likely to engage in drug-taking related activities (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). According to Jones and Heaven (1998), adolescents who possess positive attitudes to school are less likely to be alienated and more likely to be motivated to succeed academically, which would render them less likely to engage in illicit drug use. Dew, Elifson and Dozier (2007) have also found that greater school involvement, particularly in rural communities, has consistently been associated with lower substance abuse rates amongst youth.

Sutherland and Shepherd (2001) found significant differences between users and nonusers in relation to academic achievement and academic expectations. With regard to academic achievement, 59.8% of those adolescents who believed that they had done well at school engaged in substance abuse, compared to 79.6% of adolescents who believed that they had not done well (Sutherland & Shepherd, 2001). Similarly, with regard to academic achievement, 55.6% of those adolescents who expected to attend university engaged in substance abuse, compared to 73.5% of adolescents who were not intent on gaining access to university (Sutherland & Shepherd, 2001). These statistics are a stark reflection of the informant base of this study, as most of them exited the formal schooling system prior to completing their secondary education.

2.3.4 Family domain protective factors

Similar to the school domain protective factors listed above, youth who perceive more opportunities, and greater rewards and recognition, for partaking in family-related prosocial activities are more likely to engage in such activities and less likely to utilise illicit drugs (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Moreover, youth who enjoy stronger emotional attachments to their parents or primary caregivers, marked by affection and identification with these parental figures, are less likely to engage in illicit drug use, unless their parents or primary caregivers themselves exhibit this behaviour (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Brook, *et al.*, 2006).

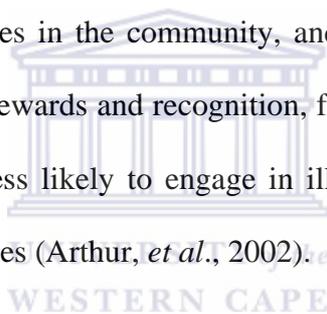
According to Brook, *et al.* (2006, p. 31), “[p]arents of nonusers, in comparison to parents of users, tend to report greater warmth (more child centeredness, affection, and communication) and less conflict in the relationship with their children.” In addition, Russell, *et al.* (2008) also found that strict parental monitoring of adolescent behaviour

acted as a significant protective factor against methamphetamine use amongst high-risk⁹ adolescents.

As will be shown in this study, the family structure within Manenberg seems, on the face of it, eroded as far as effective parental supervision is concerned. This is largely due to the family's socio-economic position, whereby the family is not just 'money' poor, but also 'effort' poor to take on yet another challenge, such as methamphetamine use.

2.3.5 Community domain protective factors

Here, too, the protective factors centre on youths' perceived opportunities for involvement in prosocial activities in the community, and as such youth who perceive more opportunities, and greater rewards and recognition, for involvement in community-related prosocial activities are less likely to engage in illicit drug use and more likely instead to partake in these activities (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).



In summary, the literature reviewed here appears to be categorised within five distinct contextual homes, which relate to the individual, the peer group, the school, the family, and the community. It is important, then, to understand that the risk factors and the protective factors share these contextual homes, each, however, pulling in opposite directions. This is an important point to make, as it determined, quite fundamentally, the methodological construction of the study, as expanded upon in the next section. Here, the literature reviewed and the research design straddled factors that, at the surface, appeared to be replicated, but with further examination the study became illustrative of how these factors affect individuals quite differently. It was, indeed, in this examination that the

⁹ Russell, *et al.* (2008) in their review of the risk factors for methamphetamine use in youth differentiate between low-risk youth (no previous drug abuse) and high-risk youth (reported previous drug abuse or were recruited from a juvenile detention center).

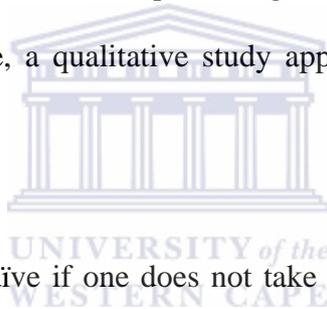
perceptions and experiences of youth manifested differently, as will be further discussed in later sections of this study.



Chapter 3: Methodology

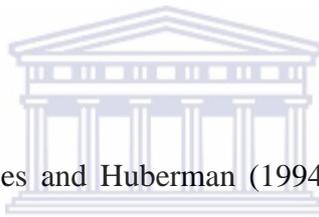
3.1. *Research Design*

The proposed study was conducted within a qualitative methodological framework. According to Durrheim (1999), qualitative research methods lend depth, openness, and detail to the phenomena under study as the researcher attempts to identify and understand the categories of information that emerge from the collected data. Furthermore, qualitative research is naturalistic, holistic and inductive (Durrheim, 1999), which has served to enhance the exploratory nature of the proposed study, particularly given the sensitive nature of the subject matter under study. Moreover, a contextualised analysis, such as the proposed study, demanded a deeper dialogue with the influencing factors of methamphetamine and, therefore, a qualitative study approach was thought to be best suited.



However, this view would be naïve if one does not take into consideration the implicit (and explicit) power relationships that exist between the researcher and the research site, the unintended meanings that emerge when an ‘outgroup’ interprets what an ‘ingroup’ may be saying, and, lastly, the skewed relationship (as caused by a perception in our communities) that those who possess a formal qualification are indeed authorities. This is highlighted by Punch (1998, p. 140), when he states that, “[o]ne effect of [the paradigm] developments within qualitative methodology has been to highlight the political nature of social research – the recognition that social research, like other things people do, is a human construction, framed and presented within a particular set of discourses (and sometimes ideologies), and conducted in a social context with certain sorts of social arrangements, involving especially funding, cognitive authority an power.”

This said, quantitative analysis would naturally allow a different set of conclusions to emerge than would a qualitative analysis. Here, the researcher does not discount either of the approaches, but acknowledges that both have their limitations. However, given the political nature and context of social research (and perhaps as a result of it), the researcher remains adamant that locating this study within the qualitative methodological framework was the most viable approach as it allowed for multi-dimensional and expanded perspectives on methamphetamine use and its related protective and risk factors to emerge and to be analysed. It presupposes then that if the informant narrative is multi-dimensional that the research and analysis narrative would, too, be multi-dimensional providing for both detailed and broader analysis of the subject under discussion.



This view is augmented by Miles and Huberman (1994) (as cited in Punch, 1998, p. 149), who state that within a qualitative paradigm, “[t]he researcher attempts to capture data on the perceptions of local actors ‘from the inside,’ through a process of deep attentiveness, of empathic understanding, and of suspending or ‘bracketing’ preconceptions about the topics under discussion.” Here, Miles and Huberman (1994) (as cited in Punch, 1998) speak directly to the crux of the grounded theory method, the method via which the collected data was analysed for the purposes of this study.

The researcher is aware of the fact that contextual analysis remains a contested terrain, as it is fraught with conflicting discourses, ideological perceptions, differing values, and personal beliefs. This is indeed a minefield as researchers explore the implicit tensions and value conflicts within society. Drug use represents a clear, and present, danger to society and is a primary impetus in compromising societal beliefs and values. Grounded theory mediates these tensions in that via the viewing (and re-viewing) of the data,

themes are allowed to ascend from the text without ‘unreasonable’ contamination by the researcher, which minimises any presuppositions in understanding and interpreting the data.

3.2. *Participants*

The participants of this study are six youth between the ages of 18 and 29, who reside within the Manenberg area and who are currently engaging in the practice of methamphetamine use, or who have done so in the past. The participants were evenly split by gender - three males and three females. The selection of this particular sample broadly falls within the category of a convenience sample and purposive sample, as they were accessible after negotiations with the relevant stakeholders to be interviewed for the study, and they suited the particular sample profile required for this study. However, a number of points are relevant here in understanding why this particular sample was in fact selected. The original research design aimed to sample only an adolescent group (15-18 year olds), which in, and of, itself would have presented a number of technical problems with the research process, as outlined below¹⁰:

1. Confidentiality - given the fact that they are legal minors, it will be impossible to protect their confidentiality in the research process, even if this process is an interview or focus group. The information gleaned from these processes may also place a legal obligation on the researcher, and perhaps the Department of Psychology as a whole, to reveal information to the legal guardian/parents where such information is clearly in the best interest of the child; or where this

¹⁰ It was expected that some change to the research design would manifest as the study more fully immersed itself in the contextual factors of the research site. This is not necessarily a conceptual flaw in the research design, but rather an allowable flexibility given that this study is located within a qualitative methodological framework where meanings and perceptions are not fixed.

information is withheld, it may place the child at further harm. In this case, for the legal minors, confidentiality is absolutely unsecured.

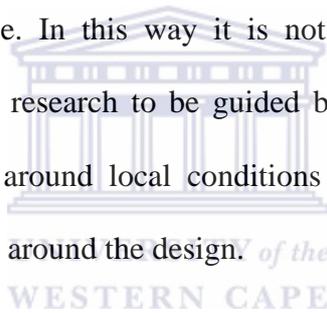
This would make it difficult to negotiate access to quality information that is privileged and that may need to be used for the research question, but cannot, because it places a legal obligation on the research team to release the information to third parties. The researcher does not think the informant sample and the legal guardians/parents of this sample may necessarily feel comfortable with the integrity of the information collected, analysed, and disseminated.

2. Anonymity- as with confidentiality, this will also prove to be a difficult process. Anonymity cannot be guaranteed. For example, where the information that becomes available to the research team places a legal obligation on them to release the information and the names and contact details of the informant so as to act in the best interest of the minor informant.
3. Access – given the two factors above and the legal impediments placed on the research process, activating access to the minor sample base would be extremely difficult and would place the research team, including the informant base, at ethical and legal risk. A final consideration in this regard, is the project research process that will require extended periods of negotiation with the legal guardians/parents to gain access to the minor sample base.

Based on these potential difficulties, the research design was amended to mitigate the inherent challenges within the proposed sample suggested and, therefore, the following (current) informant profile was developed. The sample, utilised for the purposes of this

study, comprised of 18 – 29 year old users within the Manenberg area, as this would allow for greater control over the issues relating to confidentiality, anonymity and access. Furthermore, the nature of the study required an exploration of the reasons why the informant base may or may not use drugs. It is the researcher's view that it would hardly be empirical to ask non-users why they think other individuals use drugs, as these views would invariably place an element of prejudice and judgment on the data.

Though the sample selection process may appear somewhat fluid, it is a comfortable feature of the grounded theory approach as it allowed the researcher, via the research process, to begin to amend her approach based on what is found locally in relation to the (proposed) profile of the sample. In this way it is not unusual (or contrary) to the theoretical approach used in the research to be guided by the local context and, here, shape-shift the research design around local conditions and not force the 'meaning-making' of those local conditions around the design.



Below, a summary profile of the informant base is provided:

Summary of Informant Profile

Table 1: Summary Profile of Sample

	Personal Information					Household Information					
	Age	Gender		Highest Level of Education	Dependents (Children)	Marital Status	Currently living with	Number of siblings		Employment Status	
		Male	Female					Brothers	Sisters	Employed	Unemployed
Informant 1	29		√	Grade 9	1	Single	Mother	0	2		√
Informant 2	29	√		Grade 9	5	Married	Wife and Children	5	1		√
Informant 3	18	√		Grade 8	0	Single	Both Parents	4	3		√
Informant 4	22		√	Grade 10	2	Single	Extended family	1	0		√
Informant 5	18	√		Grade 7	0	Single	Both Parents	3	1		√
Informant 6	28		√	Grade 12	0	Single	Both Parents	1	1		√

Access to the selected informant base was gained via the Manenberg Local Drug Action Committee (MALDAC), which had pledged its support for this study, as it forms part of a larger research endeavour conducted under the auspices of the Department of Psychology (UWC). More specifically, Selfhelp Manenberg¹¹ assisted in the logistics of accessing and securing the selected informant base.

Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of participants. According to Silverman (2001, p. 250), “[p]urposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested.” This sampling technique demands that one is aware of the parameters (i.e. inclusion and exclusion criteria) of the population one is interested in and that the selection of participants is made with these parameters in mind (Silverman, 2001). As such, the study selected participants in which the factors under study were most likely to coalesce. That is, participants who will be able to offer their views on methamphetamine use in the Manenberg area from the perspective of their ‘lived’ experiences.

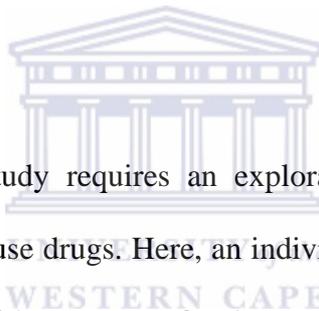
3.3. Data Collection

The original research design proposed that the study should employ focus groups to collect the relevant data. However, the reasons to constitute a focus group had to be well considered. If the purpose of the focus group, and in the way that it was facilitated, was to only lend additional meaning and expanded views on the data that may be located within the group, then this approach was unsuitable. Given the nature of focus groups, and given the particularly difficult subject matter at hand, where users will (at one point or the other) through the focus group process have to reveal themselves as users, in the

¹¹ Selfhelp Manenberg is an independent Non-Profit Organization, which has been working in Manenberg since 1992 (www.selfhelpmanenberg.co.za).

presence of non-users, may create social stigma that will ultimately limit the voluntary provision of information.

Furthermore, conducting two focus groups separately with users and non-users, respectively, is also not the answer. Here, a user that may have just been initiated into the 'world of drug-use' may still feel ashamed and guilty and would (perhaps), therefore, not provide sufficient information in the presence of other users. Secondly, there must be an acknowledgment that the contextual circumstances for each individual user may be different. This acknowledgement that there is no social parity between these users may require a far more individually orientated research methodology so as to minimise compromising the data.



Moreover, the nature of the study requires an exploration of the reasons why the informant base may or may not use drugs. Here, an individually orientated methodology would be best able to engage with users at a far deeper level in exploring the research question.

Given these complexities, and due to the exploratory nature of this study, individual qualitative interviews were utilised to collect the relevant data. According to May (1997, p. 109), “[i]nterviews yield rich insights into people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes, and feelings.” More specifically, these ‘rich insights’ were tapped via the utilisation of the semi-structured interview, which, irrespective of the questions normally being specified, allows for a dialogue to develop between the researcher and the informant and as such enables the researcher to seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers provided (May, 1997). It is this clarification and elaboration, which serves to minimise any presuppositions in understanding and interpreting the data and

that allows for the (unencumbered) voices of the informants to emerge from the text – an approach that finds synergy with the grounded theory method of analysis.

Despite the obvious benefits that this approach may have, the researcher had to acknowledge that there might also be difficulties with the individual interview process.

These difficulties related to:

1. Safety of the researcher – in this regard the researcher ensured that all the interviews were conducted at the Manenberg People’s Centre (MPC) and a safety protocol was agreed upon with a staff member of the MPC.
2. Sobriety of the informant base (as they were defined as users) – the researcher acknowledged that it would be difficult to establish, both at the point of scheduling the interview and at the actual interview, the degree of sobriety of the informant. Here, the researcher was aware that a user might come to the interview having just used illicit drugs. In this case, the researcher would conduct the interview with a set of opening/orientating questions such as, for example:
What is your name? How old are you? What time is it? What date is it today?

These questions were used to help the researcher to assess whether the informant was able to undertake the full interview. In the event that the researcher observed that there may be some narcotic influence in the informant’s responses, the researcher moved to close the interview with the following comments: “Thank you for the information you’ve provided, that’s sufficient for this interview” or “That information is good, but do you think we can have a follow up interview at some other point?”

Based on the mechanisms provided above, the researcher was able to discern between usable and non-usable data provided by the informants. This allowed the researcher to evaluate the validity of the data and in two instances the researcher had to terminate the interviews and could not use the data collected, as it appeared (to the researcher) that the informants may not have been sober at the time at which the interviews were conducted.

3.4. Procedure

Contact was made with MALDAC, via Selfhelp Manenberg, as a first point of contact with the informant base. In agreement with Selfhelp Manenberg, the researcher provided the organisation with the criteria for the selected sample and the organisation proceeded to invite suitable candidates to pre-scheduled, one-hour interviews at the MPC between the 28th of July and the 7th of August 2009. Consent forms stipulating the nature and scope of the study were given to the individual participants at the start of each interview. With the permission of the participants, the interviews were digitally audiotaped and transcribed verbatim by Veritas International Transcribers, located on the 6th floor of 80 Strand Street, Cape Town. These transcripts¹² were completed within two weeks of completing the interviews. The resulting texts and field notes (inclusive of the chronological drug use charts¹³) formed the bases for the analysis.

3.5. Data Analysis

The data was analysed by the grounded theory method, with a particular reference to themes. According to Punch (1998, p.163), “[t]he essential idea in grounded theory is that theory will be developed inductively from the data.” Since a grounded theory is one that is inductively derived, one does not begin with a theory and then simply prove or

¹² As the transcripts totalled in excess of 250 pages, for functionality only one of these transcripts is attached as an appendix. The remaining transcripts are available on request.

¹³ These chronological drug use charts are available on request.

disprove it. Instead, one begins with an area of study and in the process of data collection and analysis what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Due to its inductive nature, it is proposed that this method of analysing data has served to complement the exploratory nature of this study.

According to Punch (1998), coding is thought to be at the heart of grounded theory. Here, coding refers to the overlapping, yet conceptually distinct, operations of open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Punch, 1998). The first level of conceptual analysis with the data is referred to as open coding. The purpose of open coding is the generation of abstract conceptual categories (accompanied by a sense of what is central in the data), which serve to inform the process of theory building (Punch, 1998). Axial coding comprises the second stage of grounded theory analysis. Here, the main categories that have emerged, via the process of open coding, are synergised with each other (Punch, 1998). The third stage in grounded theory analysis is referred to as selective coding. In this stage, the researcher deliberately selects one aspect as a core category, which becomes his/her main focus of concentration and, as such, the 'centrepiece of the grounded theory' (Punch, 1998).

While grounded theory, according to Glaser and Strauss (1971) (as cited in Layder, 1993), can be expressed in a propositional, codified and axiomatic form, they (referring to Glaser and Strauss) favour its use as an ever-evolving theoretical dialogue and, in so doing, emphasise 'theory as a process.' Here, "[t]his discussional form of theory stresses the idea of theory as an ever-developing entity which can be extended and modified, as against the ideas that theories are perfected products whose purpose is served merely by being confirmed or negated. Rather, theory should be viewed as a constant and flexible accompaniment to the incremental collection of data and the unfolding nature of the

research” (Layder, 1993, p. 45). Glaser and Strauss’ (preferred) view finds expression in this study when looking at the research design presented here, as well as the analysis, where both of these aspects, at one point or the other, were in a state of theoretical metamorphosis.

The grounded theory method manifested within this study as follows:

“Combing¹⁴”

‘Combing’ describes the often laborious, but necessary, process of reading (and re-reading) the recorded narrative so to extrapolate meaning. This meaning evolved and took on various forms as the researcher reviewed (and re-reviewed) the available transcripts. This extensive application in the study of the text is important in that it provided the researcher with a fresh perspective every time she ‘combed’ the narratives.

This combing focussed on two distinct components within the research approach:

1. Firstly, the researcher brushed through the individual’s perspective as to his or her use, or rejection, of tik. This ‘combing,’ or brushing through, at an individual level allowed the researcher, as is required under the grounded theory method, to become deeply intimate with both the surface text and the hidden text. In other words, what exists between the empty spaces of typed text on a page? Often, and especially with regard to the individual, this hidden meaning cannot immediately be unearthed in an interview and, therefore, the grounded theory method of ‘combing’ through the text allows for the emergence of a multiplicity of perspectives.

¹⁴ A term coined by Professor Don Foster in a lecture series at the University of Cape Town, Department of Psychology.

2. Secondly, this reading (and re-reading) process provided the researcher with an opportunity to begin to look outside of the individual and indeed to look to his/her relationship with what other informants may be saying in their transcripts. Simply, an intimacy with the text in this way allowed for a deepening of comprehension and analysis when comparing different transcripts in relation to different aspects of tik use.

Coding

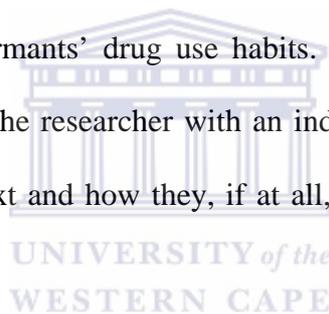
As illustrated with the 'combing' process, the researcher was able to, at the level of the individual and at the level of the informant group, provide meaning on their perspectives. However, this meaning needed to be categorised or placed within a theoretical framework. In this regard, coding assisted the researcher to identify common and dissimilar areas of discussion in the texts. Where common areas did emerge these immediately became an area of concentration for the study. Likewise, where minority positions were coded, that is where only one view was offered on a particular matter, this was not lost to the study, but also included in the discussion presented.

This is of particular significance considering that the study undertook an individual chronological evaluation and assessment of each individual's pattern of drug use. Via the composition of these assessments, and in coding the information offered by informants, a significant number of similar categories emerged, as follows:

- Chronological order of drug use;
- Drug type(s);
- Where were you living? (i.e. place of residence and persons with whom this residence is shared);

- Were you in school or were you employed?
- Frequency of drug use;
- Whether the practice of drug use is engaged in with peers or at an individual level?
- How did the drug make you feel?
- Rehabilitation (if accessed);
- Were you ever in prison?
- Are you, or were you, a member of a gang?

In 'combing' through the data, it was possible to populate these categories so to establish a snapshot of each of the informants' drug use habits. These chronological drug use charts were utilised to provide the researcher with an indication as to the different risk factors from one year to the next and how they, if at all, replicate and/or re-create one another.



Lingua franca

If the study purports to be grounded or immersed in the localised context of the study area, it almost goes without saying, that sayings of the lingua franca (i.e. Cape Vernacular Afrikaans, colloquially referred to as 'kombuis Afrikaans') must be acknowledged. In this instance, three levels of language are grounded in understanding the meanings mined from the data. Firstly, the broader Cape Flats community has a vibrant culture of language. The historical partnering of Malay, Dutch, English and Afrikaans evolved into a local and rich lingua franca. This broader language framework had to be understood if the study was going to dialogue, so to speak, with the sub-cultures embedded within the broader community of the Cape Flats.

Secondly, and because this study set out to understand the risk and protective factors with regard to drug use, it needed to begin to understand the language of drug use specific to the Cape Flats. Here, drug users have evolved into a sub-culture within the broader community and have indeed developed their own linguistic descriptors that provide meaning to the act of drug use. For example, a “lollie” means one thing to a child in a candy shop and a completely different thing to a child at the door of a drug merchant.

A third lingua franca emerges here, that is embedded within the sub-culture of gangs - an often expletive and vivid lingo that if you are unfamiliar with aims to confuse and disorientate outsiders. For a practiced gang member this lingo has become a mother tongue and, therefore, an understanding of this particular language is paramount, as there appears to be a direct correlation between gangsterism and drug trade.

This language continuum from a broad practice at the community level, to nuanced dialogue between drug users and survival discussions between gang members, places a responsibility on the study to, in effect, use the transcripts and quote from them verbatim. It is the view of this researcher that a translation of the text (no matter how crude) may in fact ruin and contaminate the actual meaning of the narratives provided by the informant base that are indeed intimately located within that broader community, including the two sub-cultures cited. Critical, then, is that the grounded theory method advocates for an exactness of the text and would, therefore, aim to protect the narrative in its original state. For example, this study has made use of the word ‘tik’ as opposed to ‘methamphetamine’ and the word ‘drug’ as opposed to ‘narcotic’ or ‘illicit substances,’ as these words resonate more strongly with the community under study. While the academic lingua franca, contained in terms such as ‘methamphetamine,’ has been

utilised in the writing of the introduction to this study, as well as in the literature reviewed, from this point forward, the study will make use of the local lingua franca, as illustrated above.

Gender

If grounded theory forces one to understand the language of a particular group under study, then it certainly also extends this courtesy to the gender of a particular group under study. Gender, like language, remains a social identity that ascribes preconceived characteristics to a particular group. When grounded theory dialogues with a male tik user its analysis (on the face of it) would certainly be different to when it dialogues with a female tik user. In this case, this study includes a specific section dealing with the particularities of gender and its meaning making in relation to tik use.

Grounding my thoughts

Collectively, the approaches cited above allowed the study to ground its own perspectives within a context sensitive theoretical framework. Here, this frame acts as a funnel and connecting point in beginning to include external text and theory with what was mined from the informants' narratives. In this regard, the grounded theory method was useful in that it allowed for a functional synergy to exist between organic meanings, as derived from informants, interpreted meanings as developed by the researcher, and lastly, authoritative meanings, as is broadly accepted within the academic community.

3.6. Reflexivity

According to Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2000, p. 6), “[r]eflection can, in the context of empirical research, be defined as the interpretation of interpretation and the launching of critical self-exploration of one’s own interpretations of empirical material (including its

construction).” Reflective empirical research demands that researchers deliberate a great deal more upon why they make particular interpretations from the empirical material collected, prior to forming any opinions referring to ‘reality’ as such (Alveson & Sköldbberg, 2000). Given the subject matter explored in this study, it was particularly important that the researcher be wary of her own biases in relation to drug use and those individuals who engage in this behaviour, so as not to impute skewed interpretations on the data and in this manner misrepresent the realities of the participants.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

As the study required an in-depth engagement between the researcher and the participants, as well as an in-depth examination of the participants’ experiences and perceptions, the present study adhered to the following ethical considerations:

1. Informed consent, which for the purposes of this study included no deception of participants, the right of participants to withdraw from participation in the study, and confidentiality. Here, informants were provided with an information sheet detailing the purpose of the study and their specific role in relation to it. Furthermore, informants were provided with an explanation of their rights to voluntarily participate and withdraw from the study, and, lastly, the informants were ensured of their confidentiality should they participate in the study. Participants were further requested to sign the informed consent sheet.
2. Debriefing: The possibility of participants needing psychological support was discussed with my supervisor, and participants were informed/invited to indicate if they required professional counselling services subsequent to the interview process.

In summary, this chapter explored the qualitative methodological framework within which this study is located. Emerging from this framework, the chapter spoke to the grounded theory method as a lens through which to interrogate the data. The informants, characterised as individuals between the age of 18 and 29 years, are the owners of the data mined here through individual, semi-structured interviews. The qualitative methodological framework, inclusive of the grounded theory method, with its accompanying approaches of analysis, as depicted in this chapter (e.g. “combing”), was utilised to deconstruct (and re-construct) the data offered by the informants, as further explicated in the proceeding chapter.



Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1. Locating the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework presented here, is critical in understanding (and perhaps) capturing the overt, and often covert, interplay between the various social constructs that emerged through the ‘combing’ of the narratives provided by the informants on their experiences as tik users. In this regard, the frame was not used as a parameter fence in understanding their experiences, but emerged post-analysis in comprehending these experiences.

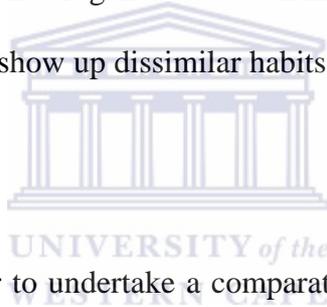
The frame, though neat in its representation, aims to assist in extricating the ‘untidy’ psychosocial complexities of tik use. In foregrounding this frame, a few opening remarks are necessary so to mitigate some of the broader debates concerning this type of research process and the eventual intent of observation and analysis.

First, the researcher departs firmly from the view that research should avoid an explicit identity making process by using indistinct brushstrokes that would render the area under study indistinguishable from other areas so to avoid the risks of ‘labelling’ and ‘stereotyping’ the research site. Here, the broader brushstrokes approach prefers words such as ‘the Cape Flats’ or ‘previously disadvantaged areas’, instead of explicating descriptors such as ‘Manenberg’.

This ambiguity of the research narrative, as a broad stroke of meaning and interpretation of identity, renders the historical and current identity of Manenberg obsolete and erodes the embedded ‘meaning’, interpretations, nuances and sociological specificities of the area. Here, the theoretical framework points to the notion that the historic and littered past of Manenberg has everything to do with its hitherto torment of unemployment, poverty, anti-social formations and drug use, to name but a few. Within this frame,

emerges a further identity, away from hopelessness, to hope, from besiegement to individual agency and from 'inevitable failure' to a need to quit tik use.

Second, and only if there is an acceptance that research should not shy away from 'naming' an area under study, but proceed cautiously in 'labelling' a research area, it becomes a necessary and an almost functional shift to begin to set out the detailed sociological architecture that characterises the area in question. In this way, the grounded theory method allows the theoretical framework to be absolutely cognisant of localised and distinct narratives, as presented by the informant base. This localised perspective in the 'meaning making' process argues, then, that the social plurality of the Cape Flats becomes increasingly heterogeneous as both lingo, drug use, drug trade, gang culture and other social features show up dissimilar habits and practices from one area to the next.



Even if the study did not bother to undertake a comparative analysis on protective and risk factors in relation to drug use in different areas on the Cape Flats, it could simply not internalise, wholesale, the sociology of the Cape Flats as being the identity of Manenberg. This is not to say that Manenberg does not share similar characteristics to other areas on the Cape Flats, but what is important, here, is that these similarities and differences are in fact documented and interpreted. Here, the theoretical framework becomes pertinent in providing a distinct, but replicable pathway in understanding the risk and protective factors in relation to drug use in Manenberg, specifically, and on the Cape Flats, more broadly, as presented below.

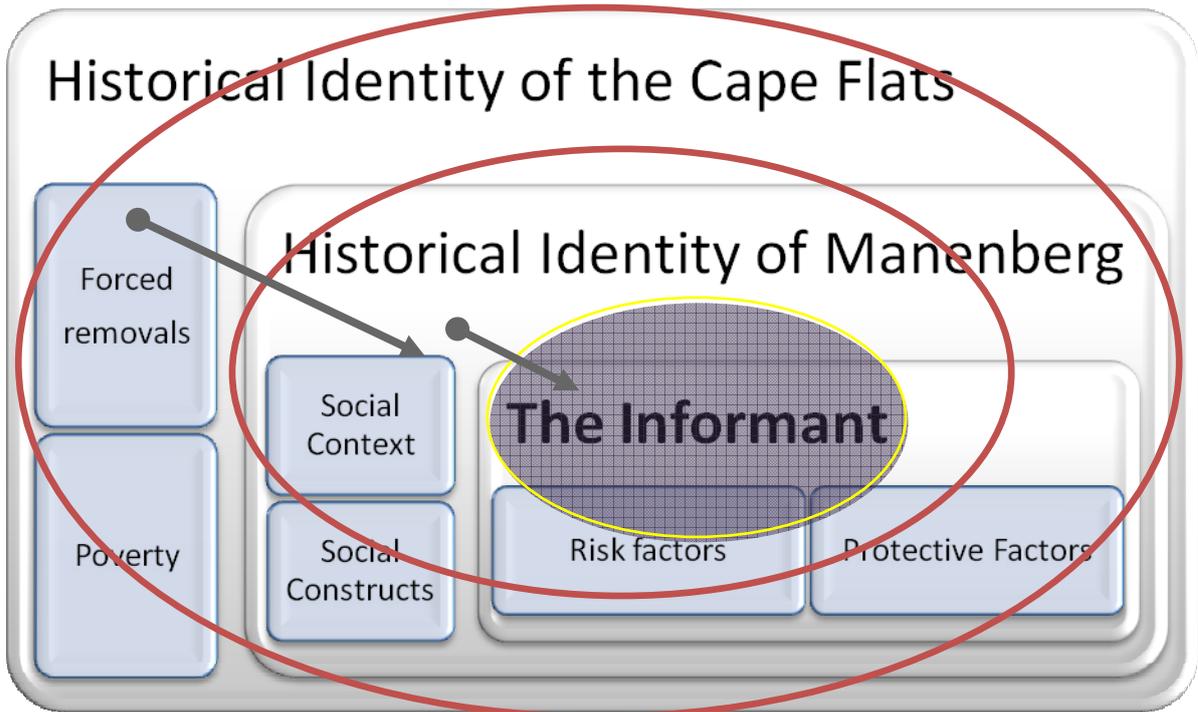
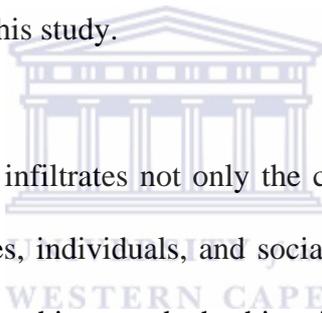


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework recognises, first and foremost, that the historical identity of people living on the Cape Flats has been shaped by severe disempowerment and trauma through a state sponsored exercise of uprooting these communities from their homes in areas such as District six in the early 1950s and 60s. This ‘un-anchoring,’ based on a racist doctrine of segregation, expounded through policies and legislation that favoured the advancement of white Afrikaner and European citizens over other race groups in South Africa, also led to the development of widespread and ever-evolving pockets of poverty. These poverty pockets were transplanted in their entirety when thousands of non-white South Africans were forcibly moved to what is now known as the Cape Flats. In essence, the people and their poverty were moved ‘lock, stock and barrel’ to an unfamiliar sandy wasteland that was (and remains) undeveloped, under resourced and remotely located from a developed city centre.

Understandably so, many commentators still report a romanticism about the sense of community in areas such as District Six, but it must be acknowledged that even then, times were hard and were about to become harder on the desolate Cape Flats. It is with this ‘hardship’ that communities on the Cape Flats started edging out an existence for themselves. Under the theoretical framework presented above, the study internalises this historical identity in understanding the ‘hardship’ of the Manenberg of today. Here, the study cannot discern a ‘purist’ snapshot of Manenberg, as its past creeps into its current frame of identity and begins to tell a story of a suburb formed before the first family moved into the area. So, too, does the frame allow us to impute the historical identity of the Cape Flats, and the specific character of Manenberg, on that of the individual, including the informant base of this study.



Here, the ‘creeping’ of the past infiltrates not only the character of the area known as Manenberg, but the very families, individuals, and social formations that comprise the social network of Manenberg. In this regard, the historical identity itself becomes an overwhelming and pervasive social construct in analysing social behaviour in Manenberg.

4.2. Manenberg meets Bronfenbrenner

Each of the social constructs presented in the frame, provides contextualised layers that shapes the identity of each individual who participated in this study. Each of these layers is embedded with its own particularities, distinct from each other and divergent in its impact on the social nature of individuals within Manenberg. Here, Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) (as cited in Van Hoorn & LeVeck, 1992) social-ecological model of human development informs the theoretical framework through which the study is interrogated. Bronfenbrenner’s social-ecological model of human development highlights the

relationship between the individual and his/her social context, which is comprised of a set of nested structures - the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Van Hoorn & LeVeck, 1992).

The microsystem entails the activities, social roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the individual in a face-to-face setting and include such settings as the family, school, peer group and place of work (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The mesosystem can be described as a system of microsystems, as it comprises the processes occurring between two or more settings in which a respective individual is contained (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The exosystem comprises processes taking place between two or more settings, one of which does not necessarily involve the respective individual directly, but nevertheless has an impact on his/her development. For example, for a child, the relationship between the home and the parent's place of work would encompass an exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The macrosystem, "[...] may be thought of as a societal blueprint for a particular culture or subculture" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40), as it essentially organises the preceding ecological systems in terms of the culture's overarching pattern. The final level, the chronosystem, extends the environment into a third dimension, as it, "[...] encompasses change or consistency over time not only in the characteristics of the person but also of the environment in which that person lives (e.g., changes over the life course in family structure, socioeconomic status, employment, place of residence, or the degree of hecticness and ability in everyday life)" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40).

The risk and protective factors, which have been identified in the literature review, and which will further be expanded upon in engagement with the sample, will be elucidated

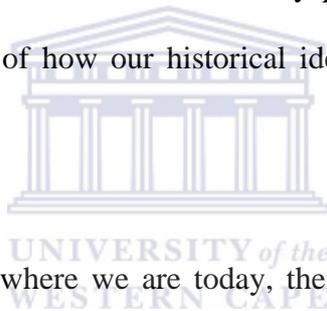
within the context of, among others, the family (microsystem), the external environment directly attached to that family (exosystem) and the broader societal environment, which may impact on the individual and/or the family (macrosystem). This approach is consistent with current research in the realm of substance use among youth (Randolph, 2004) and is thought to be the most beneficial approach from which to interrogate the complexities of the South African social milieu and its impact on youth risk taking behaviour (Brook, *et al.*, 2006).

This study is squarely located within this approach with one key distinction and that is that the ‘child’ or the individual drug user, in this case, is not the starting point in understanding his or her behaviour in relation to the risk and protective factors as far as drug use is concerned, but that the chronosystem, or historical identity of the Manenberg area, is a far more viable genesis in understanding current behaviour patterns and social formations. This study illustrates, via the theoretical framework, that these systems are interlocking and modular and that the particularities of the one system, or layer, influences and ‘creeps’ into the identity of the other. Here, the other can be the family, the community, the individual, the gang, the peer group, and the drug merchant, as further expanded in the analysis below.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1. *History as an Identity*

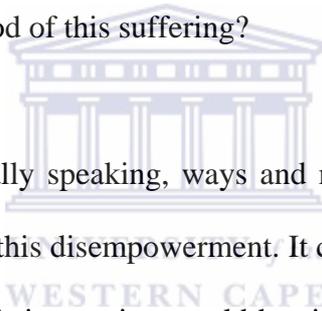
History can be defined as the making of the identity of societies and individuals alike. It is a narrative that shapes the current circumstances of cultures, religious beliefs, and as such, by definition, the identities of individuals. It provides a storyline as to how things came to be and possibly how things will end. The case for the South African story provides a comprehensible understanding in sifting through current cultural, societal, and individual identities. In other words, the history of South Africa reveals to us the sociological positions of today. It further provides a palette in exploring the psychosocial manifestations of individuals in relation to modern day pressures, anxieties, and fears. Manenberg is a stark reminder of how our historical identity has shaped our hitherto social context.



If history is used here to trace where we are today, then within the larger theoretical framework, history, in and of itself, becomes an identity. The question here is: Is there something particular about our historical identity that shapes and informs the manner in which we engage with one another, with ourselves, and with our context? How much of our history sensitises, or desensitises, us to our current social milieu?

The disenfranchisement of individuals living in Manenberg, via legislated action on the part of the Apartheid regime, through racial classification, forced removals, and cultural genocide must have impacted both historically and currently on the social identity of marginalised South Africans, or in this case, the residents of Manenberg. Here, the spatial politics of Apartheid with its, “[...] logic of boundaries, separations and distance was an effective instrument in the control, subjugation and exploitation of people on the arbitrary basis of skin colour” (Coetzer, 2008, p. 145).

The impact of this spatial politics, specifically in relation to the Cape Flats, is vividly articulated by Grunebaum-Ralph (2001, p. 208) when she recalls the tour of the Cape Flats she undertook with the Western Cape Action Tour Project (WECAT)¹⁵, when she states that, “[a]s the morning passed and we visited more sites on the Cape Flats, it became increasingly clear that these places bear the scars of war and its aftermath. To the outsider, to the one who does not know and therefore does not see, these scars are initially invisible. Yet to those who inhabit these spaces and pass by each day, not only are these scars of war and violence visible, they remain disavowed, disowned, and outside the teleology of the official narratives of memory.” This raises the pertinent question as to: How has this society learnt to cope in the face of absolute disempowerment, given the period of this suffering?



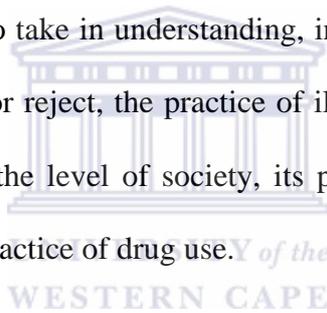
There must have been, historically speaking, ways and means, methods and practices, that evolved as a direct result of this disempowerment. It could not be that these methods and practices of coping in a suffering society could be similar to methods and practices of coping in a society that was not suffering. In this regard, the question extends itself to the shaping of sociological systems such as the church, the family, the individual, and as will later be seen, to gangs and drug merchants.

The story of Manenberg did not start when the last brick was laid on the municipal flats or when the first family moved into Katrina Court. The story of Manenberg, as an identity today, started (and continues to remain) fundamentally influenced by the historic socio-economic position of that community. The forced removals of the 1960s, the

¹⁵ The WECAT Project, formed by a group of eight former Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants, takes people through and across the townships of the Cape Flats, where participants recount the stories of their lives and their communities.

activism of the 1970s, the student struggles of the 1980s, and the negotiations period of the 1990s continue to shape the socio-economic context of this community.

To understand the Manenberg of today, one needs to look further than its imploded landscape. Here, a fuller exploration of the history of its people is required to understand the position of its individuals, that is, the informant base of this study, today. Where did Manenberg come from? How did it come to be that the people who live in Manenberg are there today? What sort of socio-cultural practices preceded their move to Manenberg and how has this move helped, or hindered, the fostering of societal relationships? What did this community lose, or gain, through the establishment of Manenberg? These questions are a necessary path to take in understanding, in part, why the informant base of this study would engage in, or reject, the practice of illicit drug use. Here, a starting point would be to examine, at the level of society, its propensity to either tolerate or reject, tacitly or explicitly, the practice of drug use.



5.2. A Society Desensitised

It becomes important to locate the notion of a desensitised society - as is the case with Manenberg - within a cautious theoretical framework. Here, desensitisation does not imply that the Manenberg society does not care about its children. However, the expression of that care, in relation to other societies, may be less obvious. This brings us to the first point of discussion where it appears that, in the main, the Manenberg society has, through reasons explored below, taken a position to 'look the other way' with regard to drug trade and drug use in the area.

5.2.1. “Eyes wide shut”

From the discussions with the informant base, an argument is advanced that drug trade and therefore, by association drug use, has become an accepted practice, given both the historical and current struggles of this community. Here, drug trade is seen as a “legitimate” attempt at gainful employment, support of the family and, by extension, the support of the community at large. As will be discussed later, this may also be a contributing reason as to why Manenberg has one of the highest numbers of drug houses (“merchants”) and tik factories, more specifically, within its geographical boundaries. One informant commented on the legitimisation of the drug trade in relation to the increased availability and ease of access to tik, specifically, within Manenberg:



En die fact van meeste unemployment. So om gou geld, eerste om geld te maak en dan is dit weer om gou geld te maak. Ek dink daarom is dit so meeste baie maak en so. Ek meen even soos meeste ma's, hulle kinders werk nie. Hulle kinders is miskien in die tronk en so. Hulle kan nou nie 'n job kry en so aan. Om kos op die tafel te sit. Hulle mind nie om vir hulle, as hulle kind nou môre decide, mammie ek gaan nou begin drugs verkoop hier en so aan, because dit bring vir hulle kos op die tafel. You see? Dit is om maar net te help in die huis in, dink ekke. (Informant 6)

From the explanation offered by the informant above, it is clear, that certainly within Manenberg, “[...] the criminal economy [manifested here in the trade of drugs] represents a rational, rather than deviant, response to economic hardship – what we may refer to as an adaptive mechanism” (Standing, 2003, p. 7). This legitimisation of the drug trade must have in a manner of its own legitimised the use of drugs. For example, as two of the informants indicated that cannabis (“dagga”), as is discussed later, is not conceived of, strictly speaking, as a drug. Here, all of the elements lend itself to a society

that may have selected to see, or perceive, drug use and drug trade as an occurrence of everyday life. It is the view of the researcher that this normalisation ultimately continues to create an ever-growing population of drug users and drug merchants within Manenberg.

Considering the historical identity of this community, the question emerges: Have the residents of Manenberg always turned a blind eye to antisocial behaviour? Or has their collective suffering under Apartheid fostered the acceptance of antisocial behaviour? This research tends to lean to the latter. This question begins to provide a platform to explore why this community tolerates drug merchants.

5.2.2. “You don’t bite the hand that feeds you”

Historically, people classified as “Coloured” have occupied a position of perceived privilege under the Apartheid regime through a policy of job preservation. This practice led to an unequal relationship between “Coloured” communities and white society in that “Coloured” individuals were given a higher economic and social status relative to Black Africans and were more closely located to white South Africa in terms of language (Afrikaans) and job security (income).

This is best described by Salo (2005, para. 7) when she states that, “[y]et whilst coloureds were discriminated against vis-à-vis the white population, they were also relatively privileged vis-à-vis those classified as African. Further legislation such as the Coloured Labour Preference policy simultaneously created a hierarchy of deprivation in the Western Cape, in which coloureds were given job preference over Africans as well as ensured a ready cheap labour force for the clothing, textile, canning and farming industries of the Western Cape.” However, and as indicated, the relationship remained

unequal, as “Coloured” people saw white South Africa as a necessary evil in their own survival.

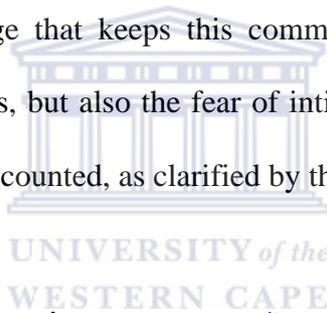
Today, this practice is fully emulated in the relationship between communities and drug merchants. Though these communities and drug merchants share the same space, the same language, and in many cases, the same religious structures, these communities remain unenviably indebted to these drug merchants as a result of purchased patronage. One of the informants drives this point home when she says that:

Ek sal sê, besides hulle call mos ons area die ghetto en dis almal staan saam met almal in die ghetto [...]In 'n sense die community protect vir hulle [referring to the drug merchants], hulle protect die community. Hulle hou die community miskien. You understand? Hoe kan ek nou sê? Hier is te veel hier. Daar is unemployment, daar is basically, van unemployment niks te doen of mens kry ook nie income nie. Nou gaan jy mos nou income hê en dinges en so sal elkeen try om hulle besigheid oop te maak en mos nou easy en gou geld maak is daai. (Informant 6)

This measure of ‘protection,’ which the community offers these drug merchants, is succinctly described by Standing (2003, p. 6), when he states that, “[...] not all residents of the Cape Flats feel moral outrage at those prominent in the criminal economy. Indeed, in pockets of the Cape Flats it is not unusual for communities to show considerable support for criminals who are elsewhere despised and feared.” Given this support, the drug merchants (and gang members) know that they are able to operate legitimately if they continue to provide the community with basic needs such as bread, money, and recreation.

According to Standing (2003), community members often turn to ‘gang bosses’ for assistance regarding their daily costs of living. Standing (2003) describes this as the most mundane level of philanthropy exhibited by drug merchants and gang members. On a more flamboyant level, Kinnes (2000) (as cited in MacMaster, 2007, p. 284) recounts how Staggie (leader of the Hard Livings) enabled community members to meet their basic needs: “He was able to provide bread and other basic necessities to people in need. As a blatant tactic, he would also drive through the streets and throw money that was illegally obtained from his moving car to ensure that people would continue to support him.”

Perhaps it is not only patronage that keeps this community in a blind and unequal relationship with drug merchants, but also the fear of intimidation and victimisation by the drug merchants cannot be discounted, as clarified by the informant below:



Nie in 'n sense - oukei, ja ek het gesê protect, maar dit gaan ook nie - hoe kan ek sê, nie protect in 'n sence protect nie, because dit is meestal bangheid ook. Meeste van die mense hulle is nie net merchants of miskien net 'n vision op hulle eie nie, hulle is 'n gangsterskap. Dit is amper soos as daar nou 'n leakage of iets uit is, sit jouself in gevaar ook. So hulle dinges nou, hulle sal nou, dis basically net 'n acting smile, nice en so aan. In reality, dit is as jy vir my nou gaan, as jy nou miskien gaan piemp op my, obviously jou dogter, jou seun of whatever is in gevaar. (Informant 6)

Even if the possibility exists, that a community member may seek protection from the relevant authority, this protection is not always guaranteed, as the collusion of officials in illicit trade is a common exercise. This is highlighted by Kinnes (2002) (as cited in Standing, 2003, p. 5) when he states that, “[t]here have been consistent allegations of

police complicity with gang members [...] This was once more revealed in January 2000 when police officers assisted the Hard Livings gang to break into a police base in Faure to steal firearms.”

Based on this view, a clearer and more direct relationship between gang activity and drug trade is illuminated. As will be discussed later, the social construction of gang identities and drug merchants, within the microsystem, occupies the same sociological space, ironically, as the family.

5.3. The Family - ‘Unravelling’ Safety Net

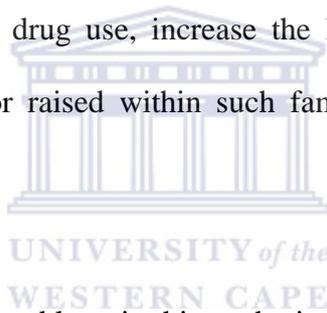
The perception is that, in all the difficulties one may find oneself in, the family remains an ongoing structure of support. Universally, families regardless of their structural permutations (i.e. nuclear families, single-parent families, extended families) act as a safety net for family members in difficulty and/or trouble. This, too, is the case with families in Manenberg. However, and as previously argued, families within Manenberg were, and continue to remain, particularly disenfranchised, both at a social and economic level, and are therefore, unable at times to respond, as what would be ‘traditionally’ required, to family members in need. In other words, the historical and current socio-economic context within Manenberg limits the role of the family to provide effective support and as stated by Kumpfer and Alvarado (2003, p. 457), “[s]trong families and effective parents are critical to the prevention of youth problems.”

This position can be particularly devastating to both families and drug users given that support requires in some cases boundless resources and frequent absenteeism from places of work for those family members who need to assist drug users. It is the view of

this study that the family begins to mirror societal practices within Manenberg to, as it were, distance itself directly, and indirectly, from supporting victims of drug use.

5.3.1 Tolerance as a Scapegoat

Perhaps this distancing, referred to above, by the family is a replication of the society's ability to turn a blind eye to drug use and drug trade. Here, it can be construed as a classic case of "the blind leading the blind." In other words, it is not unreasonable for family structures to take on broader societal practices, such as tolerating drug dealing and drug use. This view is echoed in the literature review, as it has been found that parental attitudes favourable to drug use, evidenced by parental drug use as well as parental tolerance of children's drug use, increase the likelihood of substance abuse amongst youth who are born or raised within such familial contexts (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002).

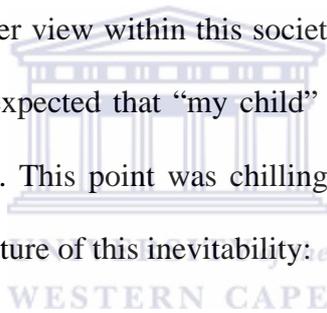


This level of tolerance, as illustrated later in this study, is perhaps far more destructive at the level of the family as the "sweat and blood" of drug use is felt and experienced more brutally. A second dimension to this tolerance is that it invariably creates a tacit endorsement of drug use and drug trade.

The pervasive perception, fuelled largely through the recorded high crime rates, teenage pregnancies, and the number of drug merchants and drug users in the area, sets in place a context of expected failure. These failures are exacerbated by the high rate of unemployment and limited access to economic opportunities, which again echoes the historical identity of this community. Here, it is expected that families will have "a black sheep" and that it lowers the level of shock when a child is either pregnant, unemployed, has HIV, or is on tik. This lowered threshold for shock unravels the family's ability to

perhaps respond effectively to societal crises. Perhaps a second, and more debilitating, factor is that the acceptance of drug use and other social ills are seen as “normal” and therefore no response is forthcoming. It then appears that, certainly within Manenberg, that, “[...] many parents have given up on parenting. They have heard [or perhaps through lived experience learnt that] they have little influence compared with peer and media influences” (Kumpfer & Alvarado, 2003, p. 457).

It must, then, be difficult for families to respond effectively to assist drug users to quit, as there is a sense of inevitability that the drug user (family member) will re-initiate his/her drug use as his/her socio-economic context may not have changed. This inevitability ties in with a broader view within this society and that is that “things” will remain the same and that it is expected that “my child” will fail school, fall pregnant, remain unemployed and use tik. This point was chillingly expressed when one of the informants commented on the nature of this inevitability:



Soos ek, ek behoort nie hier in die Manenberg nie, juffrou. Hoekom, ek kan sien ek gaan my lewe verloor hier, juffrou. Ek gaan my lewe verloor hier, juffrou. Regtig. Ek kan nie help om vir juffrou so te sê nie. Ek behoort nie hier in Manenberg nie. [...]Ek behoort by 'n plek wat ek weet ek is veilig en wat, wat, juffrou. Sien juffrou? As ek nou once hier aangaan, juffrou, dan is dit nie lank nie dan gaan ek onder die sand lê, juffrou, dan gaan die Here my seker kom haal. (Informant 3)

Given this view, it is understandable (if not expected) that hopelessness will prevail. It appears that the trajectory between a child's birth and his or her eventual death is shaped by the prevailing socio-economic difficulties.

5.3.2 A Hopeless Catch

In light of these difficulties, the response mechanism by the family is to find a way to cope with this pervasive hopelessness by either co-opting itself at the level of society to turn a blind eye and provide unravelling support to drug users. Notably, it must be acknowledged that continued drug use would mean continued unravelling of the family's social network as the support structure erodes again and again after a number of attempts to support and assist in however a limited manner. Poignantly, the informant, below, expands on this notion of the erosion of the family's ability to continue its support of the drug user:

[...] en ek het ge-decide ook net ek gaan wegbly [from the family home], want hoekom, dit is verkeerd wat ek doen. Hoekom, sy [referring to his mother] het aan die anderkant het, regret sy dit om my uit te gesit het op die pad, want sy weet hoe gaan dit op die pad, maar ek het myself gesê ek wil eerste met die habit afkom en so, maar dit was nie maklik gewees nie sommer om dit laat te gelos het nie.[...] Dit is dan in [referring to the family home], dan was ek uit, dan was ek in. Ek sê nou vir my ma-hulle ek is reg dan doen ek weer die verkeerde ding. Ek het baie moeilikheid na haar [referring to his mother] huis toe ook gebring, due to the effect dat ek mense se plekke ingebreek, gesteel, dan kom soek die boere vir my daarso en dan is ek nie daar nie en so aan. Sy wil toe nie vir my later van tyd weer daar hê nie. (Informant 2)

The dislocation from the family home seems to emulate a 'forced removal' of the self, so as to minimise the negative impact of tik on the family home, as further expanded by the informant below:

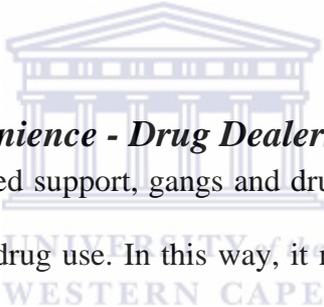
Ek voel want die, dit baat nie ek gaan weer terug huis toe nie, want die, ek moet nou my eie way nou at least find, my eie bene, because ek het nou te veel grief vir hulle ook gegee. (Informant 6)

Interestingly, it appears that where the family is incapable, for whatever reason, to provide support, the drug user (affected family member) him- or herself, recognises this limitation and takes corrective action, by removing him- or herself, and in that way providing support to the family rather than receiving it. This illustrates that support interventions must be developed in close consultation with the drug user as he/she often knows best how to respond to the problem.

Perhaps, an additional consideration here is the notion of an ‘apology’ from the drug user to the family, a type of reconciliation for the practice of tik use and the user’s dislocation (or self removal) from the family home. Notably, it again appears that the social manifestation of Apartheid, with its historical identity firmly imputed on Manenberg, recreates itself through the ‘struggles’ of the family and the discourse of apology on the part of the drug user. This view is illustrated quite clearly when one informant reported that:

In dieselfde tyd wat ek nou nie by die huis gebly het nie, toe het ek like na my ma toe gegaan om vir haar net sorrie te sê en daai, maar nie om terug te kom of so nie, want ek weet dit was nog my birthday gewees daai tyd. Ons het Sondag kerk toe gegaan mos nou vir blessing en agterna toe sê ek vir haar, het ek met haar gepraat toe sê ek vir haar ek is sorrie en so aan, toe is daai nou .(Informant 6)

The apology offered by the informant to her mother provided an important space for her to begin to recognise the difficulty she is in and the difficulties her family have experienced. However, this informant did not move back home after offering the apology. As it is suggested, her social conditions and the pervasive risk factors for drug use remained, not only through, and as a result of the hardships experienced by her family, but by the widespread organisation of drug dealing in the area. It is concluded then that the family plays a critical role in the lifecycle of the individual, but becomes limited once this individual engages in the practice of drug use. This engagement is made all the more accessible as a result of the high levels of organisation of drug trading in Manenberg, as introduced below.



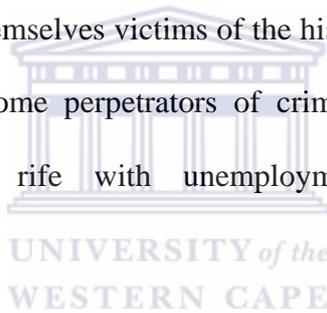
5.4. A Marriage of Convenience - Drug Dealers and Gangsterism

Where the family provides limited support, gangs and drug merchants provide limitless support to initiate and continue drug use. In this way, it must be understood that gangs and drug merchants are not separate entities dislocated from the Manenberg society, but are indeed families within this society. This creates a myriad of social complexities on the issue of drug use within the user community of Manenberg. These complexities are particularly pertinent given the fact that, “[o]n the Cape Flats, tik is responsible for the fastest addiction rates yet seen in communities associated with gangsterism, notably Mitchells Plain, Manenberg, Elsies River, Hanover Park and Retreat” (Radebe, “Tik calls the shots in Cape ganglands,” 2009, p. 5) . In this regard, a clearer reflection is required to better understand both the separateness and inclusion of drug merchants and gangs within this community’s historic and current identity.

From discussions with the informant base, and a review of the literature, drug trade can be placed in two distinct categories. In the one case, drug merchants assume a

subsistence character in that the proceeds from drug trading are used for the immediate benefit of their family's basic needs. In the second instance, it appears that drug trade takes on a more monopolistic form through the establishment of organised and connected drug franchises with carefully developed manufacturing and supply procedures (Kinnes, 2008).

The key question here, in both instances, is whether or not the subsistence drug merchant and the monopolistic drug merchant are victims of the socialised system within Manenberg or exploiters of that same system within the area? A cautious observation must be made that the latter part of the question points to a departure from a view that suggests that drug traders are themselves victims of the historical identity of Manenberg, but indeed that they have become perpetrators of crime by actively protecting and preserving a social system rife with unemployment, social indignity, and disenfranchisement.



This position is emphasised by Standing (2003, p. 12) when he states that, “[t]he overarching contradiction is that the criminal economy perpetuates the conditions it seeks to ameliorate – poverty, social fragmentation and a lack of efficient, just governance.” Surely, intervention and support development must take cognisance of these push and pull factors with regard to drug use within Manenberg. It can almost be suggested that traditional rehabilitation may be fruitless as drug-users return to the area where drug franchise is anchored. The mammoth task of setting out a drug intervention programme is made even more difficult considering the organised nature of drug trade, as expanded upon below.

5.4.1 The organised system of drug trade

The social complexities surrounding the use of, and trade in, drugs is compounded by a defined system of supply and demand. In this case, it is not only the social contextual conditions that make the use of drugs effortless, but indeed the organised way in which drug trade takes place within Manenberg greatly increases accessibility. The proliferation of drug merchants within such a small geographical area is astounding and perhaps points towards the lucritiveness of the trade. One informant spoke more directly about this ‘lucritiveness’ in pointing out that the community is not as perceived, ‘money poor’:

Hierso in die rural, hier gebeur mos baie dinge. Hier is baie geld hierso. Dit lyk ons kry swaar, maar hier is geld hierso. Hulle [referring to drug users] maak, hulle kry, hulle doen als in hulle vermoë om dit te kry, om geld in die hande te kry, so dit is, vir hulle [referring to drug merchants] is dit baie makliker om besigheid te maak hierso in rural areas as in plekke soos (onduidelik) Observatory, Wetton en so. Hulle maak besigheid, hulle maak hulle besigheid weekends en so, waar hier by ons is dit ‘n daily, dit is ‘n daaglikse ding. As jy nou saam met my uitgaan, dan ken ek jou sommer sê dan gaan sy of daar gaan hy, hulle gaan nou merchant toe whatever, die routes wat hulle kies en so.

(Informant 2)

According to this informant the ‘routes’ of money or the desire lines towards drug merchants’ houses are entrenched, clear and visible, as drug dealing and drug taking occurs on a daily basis within Manenberg. This view is further expressed when another informant points out that:

Hier is nie 'n tekort van tik nie. Almal weet. Hier is te veel merchants hier om.[...]
Omdat die klomp, hier is geld in Manenberg en die merchants weet wat party mense
opgee om aan daai drug te kom, wat sal maak hulle hou net aan smokkel en daai.
(Informant 4)

The seemingly unstoppable proliferation of drug merchants and drug use, as described by the informants above, is given meaning when one considers the view expressed by the following informant:

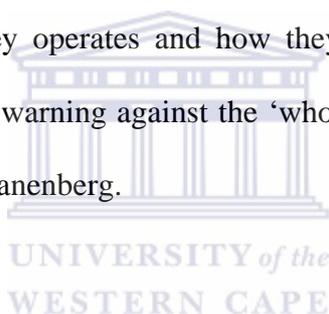
*Want hier is baie wat dit verkoop. Hier is te veel plekke rond. [...]**Hulle sê mos elkeen,*
elkeen wil maar sy stukkie geldjie verdien op hulle manier. (Informant 1).

This informant offers a simple, but yet fundamental explanation, that drug use and drug trade is centrally located within an 'adaptive' system of social and economic survival. Furthermore, the perceived availability of substances, such as alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs, are conceived of important predictors of the utilisation of these substances within a respective community/neighbourhood (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Here, it is clear that the availability of tik, as expressed by the informant base, favours their utilisation thereof.

An additional reflection, here, is that the high supply, as described by the informants, leads to the lowering of drug prices within the area making it cheap and accessible as cited by an informant when he responded to the question as to why tik is easily accessible in Manenberg:

*Want dit is min geld*¹⁶. (Informant 5)

It is clear that drugs remain relatively cheap, as is mentioned by the informants in this study and Kapp (2008, p. 193) when she asserts that, “[i]n South Africa it [referring to tik] is often sold in drinking straws and costs as little as 30 rands.” However, an added feature of this organised system in drug trade is its protected network of merchants. Here, drug users within Manenberg as previously reported above have an intimate knowledge and understanding of where to locate drug merchants in the area. Here, the issue of a nuanced social identity of Manenberg begins to emerge that is quite separate from other areas, as a drug user external to the Manenberg may not be familiar with the network of merchants, how they operates and how they transact. In this regard, the research has already provided a warning against the ‘wholesale’ adaptation of the Cape Flats as a singular identity for Manenberg.



This study is unsure as to whether this protected network of trading is operative within other areas and therefore caution has to be applied in conceptualising possible interventions external to Manenberg. Again, it appears that any intervention development must be context-sensitive and area specific. This becomes even more important considering the third dimension to organised drug trade in Manenberg, which relates to the notion of trust between drug merchants and drug users. Here, trust is defined by one informant when he says that:

As jy nou in die Mitchells Plain gaan of in die Heideveld, sien juffrou, en jy wil tik daar gaan koop, dan gaan mense miskien vir jou sê, ek verkoop tik, sien juffrou. Dan is dit nie tik nie, dan is dit sout. Sien juffrou? Ja, dit is hoekom sê ek dit is makliker om in jou

¹⁶ A ‘pakkie’ tik, at the time of conducting the interviews (July/August 2009), cost approximately R30.

die plek in drugs te gaan koop, juffrou, dan kan jy, waarvan jy bly mos hier in die plek, so jy ken mos nou die mense wat drugs verkoop en daai. (Informant 3)

Perhaps the development of this trust between drug merchants and users has organically evolved to ensure a smooth running system of supply and demand. Here, the supplier trusts the “customer” in that he/she will not betray to the authorities the illicit trade of drugs. The customer, on the other hand, is provided with trade concessions, in this case the customer is secured in purchasing quality goods (drugs) and secondly, where the customer has limited resources he/she may be provided with a credit line to access the goods. Here, one of the informants illustrates this point quite clearly, when she indicated that:

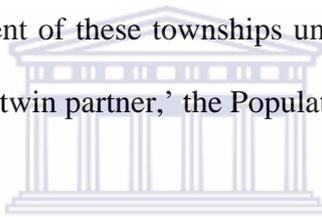


Toe was dit weinig gewees [referring to frequency of tik use], because ek het mos nie geld gehad of so nie, maar ek het contacts gehad wat ek nou miskien, like die merchants self omdat ek like ‘n goeie client gewees het en so. Dan sal hulle altyd vir my like gegee het en dan kom dit op ‘n tyd waar hulle uitgevind het miskien ek werk nie en mos nou geld nou at all nie gekry het nie, sal dit nou nie miskien wees waar ek ‘n vriend of as ek nou gekry het by hulle sal ek like dit gekoppel het miskien. (Informant 6)

It cannot be assumed that this relationship has merely evolved out of a sense of good faith, as will be discussed below. The relationship between drug merchants and organised gang activity plays a significant role in ensuring and perhaps enforcing good client relationship management.

5.4.2. The relationship between drug users and gangs

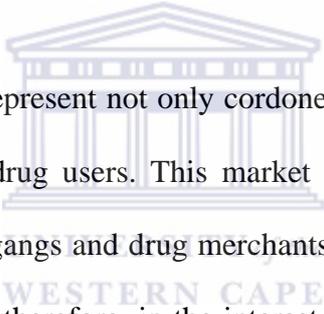
It would be unfair to assume that gangs and drug merchants exist merely because of the historical identity of Manenberg. A more reasonable analysis is to recognise that drug dealing and gangsterism has a universal footprint regardless of a particular community's social historical identity (MacMaster, 2007). However, the rife and resilience of drug merchanting and gangsterism in Manenberg does have a particular historical significance. The significance in this relationship has evolved over many decades through the forced removals from District Six right up to the reestablishment of communities on the Cape Flats and here Manenberg is no exception. As pointed out by MacMaster (2007, p.278), “[g]angsterism has been a part of the communities of the Cape Flats since the establishment of these townships under apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act (1950) and its ‘twin partner,’ the Population Registration Act (1950).”



Similarly, van Wyk and Theron (2005) describe how the forced removals of approximately 700 000 coloured and Black African families to the Cape Flats (between 1950 and 1982) favoured the spread of gangsterism as result of the poor living conditions created in these areas via their spatial typology/configuration (i.e. small houses with little recreational facilities available within these areas). However, in protecting and preserving the drug trade, as is defined in the Manenberg area, a necessary relationship had to emerge between social constructs such as gangs and anti-social constructs such as drug dealers.

Increased poverty was the straw that broke the camel's back. Here, gang culture merged organically with drug trade to ensure perhaps an earlier form of subsistence trading and a far more monopolistic form today. This entrepreneurial form of drug trade is candidly expressed by a member of the Americans gang when he states that, “ [w]e're business

men, always rolling. These days he said about the best business going is tik [...]” (Schoofs, “As meth trade goes global, South Africa becomes a hub,” 2007, p. 24). Drug turfs and its protection has become the sole purpose of gangs and one of the main reasons for gang warfare today. This is illustrated by the upsurge of gang-related violence on the Cape Flats since 2005, which, “[m]ost community workers and police experts attribute [to] either a battle over turf involving the illicit drug market, or revenge killings associated with gang leaders released from prison” (MacMaster, 2007, p. 280-281). Similarly, Kapp (2008, p. 194) quotes an antidrugs activist residing in Mitchell’s Plain who states that, “[...] tik has heightened the reign of terror exercised by notorious local gangs as they battle for turf and for their slice in the lucrative drug pie.”



Here, it is clear that drug turfs represent not only cordoned off geographical spaces, but indeed ring-fenced markets of drug users. This market captivity fuels and drives the symbiotic relationship between gangs and drug merchants, as the stakes are too big and the rewards even bigger. It was, therefore, in the interest of drug merchants to begin to colonise and hijack social structures such as gangs, and perhaps even communities.

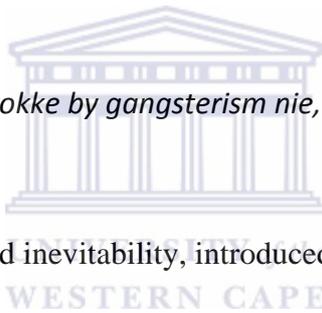
The fused relationship between drug merchants and gangs does not automatically imply that all gang members are in fact drug users, as is clearly illustrated by the informant below:

Daar was gewees drugs, maar ons was die ouens wat die drugs verkoop het aan mense. So ons wat verkoop het was nie toelaatbaar gewees om dit te gebruik het nie. Hoekom, die jongeres het dit gebruik en as ons short is aan ons geld, dan fly onse arms of ons bene word gebreek. So was dit gewees. Daar was nie nog tyd gewees om drugs te doen nie. (Informant 2)

The practice of non-use as a gang member ties in with the notion of organised crime as a good business practice. In other words, here, drug merchants do not want to see their profits ‘go up in smoke’ by the same people who are supposed to ensure an ever-increasing profit margin.

In the same breath, it also does not mean that drug users have automatic membership to a gang. This becomes clearer as most informants identified themselves as drug users, but not as gang members. However, drug users appear to move through a graduating process from just a drug user to a gang member and perhaps even a drug merchant, at one time as indicated by the informant below:

Op die oomblik is ek nog nie betrokke by gangsterism nie, juffrou. (Informant 3)



In this case, the discussion around inevitability, introduced earlier, is seen as a risk factor that draws a non-user towards drug use and eventual gang membership. This notion of inevitability is further echoed by Standing (2003, p. 4) when he asserts that, “[...] young men who resist joining gangs are noted as having exceptional traits.” Given this view, and in summary, then, it is not an absolute inevitability that, as a result of the flourishing relationship between drug merchants and gangs (as earlier discussed in this section), individuals will turn to either drug use or gang membership, respectively. However, if gangsterism and drug merchanting is part of the social architecture of Manenberg, it is useful to look at the actual typological character of Manenberg, as extended below.

5.5. A Village under Siege- Risks of an Imploded Typology

An additional risk factor that can be considered specifically for the Manenberg area is the physical typology of the area. Its typological distinction is that Manenberg is

physically constructed as a fortress closed off from the outside communities and embedded with a maze of 'gangetjies' (lanes). It appears that the physical character of Manenberg lends itself towards a village style layout that hides the trade and use of drugs from the outside world. This village is also resource scarce with very little or no physical recreational areas for children and young adults, as indicated by the informant below:

Hoekom, hier is klomp potential in ons area hierso. Hier is klomp ouens wat kwaai, soos ouens wat sokker, ek kan remember ouens sokker, base ball, krieket, wat kwaai is daarin, maar due to the effect dat daar is nie plekke wat hulle na toe kan gaan nie. Ons wil net begin in ons neighbourhood en so, maar daar is nie like 'n klub of 'n plek of 'n sentrum wat ons na toe kan gaan en vra vir help nie, want hier is maar min ondersteuning van die, van die organisations in Manenberg. Hier is maar net 'n paar van hulle, maar hulle kan nie alles gelyk doen vir ons hierso nie. Daar is van hulle wat paar programmes aanbied, maar vir hoe lank? (Informant 2)

The informant points out an additional consideration in that the area does not just lack physical resources, but also sociological programmes aimed at assisting this community through difficult periods. This resource scarcity and imploded typological geography, including the lack of social service provision, seems to lead to a manifestation of an imploded mentality that keeps drug users, and perhaps the entire community, in a state of acceptance with regard to their circumstances. This is evident when one informant indicated that if she remains in Manenberg, she will never become drug free:

Once you are in the game [referring to tik use] ... Jy kan nou miskien try of dinges om daai step te vat [referring to the cessation of tik use] en nou miskien rigting kry in jou

lewe, maar Tik sal altyd net, want dit is nou in die community in en dit trek jou in waar jy nie wil wees nie. Oukei daai maak, jy voel regtig jy wil nie daar wees nie, maar ag what the heck. (Informant 6)

The informant refers to the “here” (or physicality of Manenberg) that provides a platform to continual access and use of drugs. However, this study has already acknowledged that the “here” (or the physicality) continues to be peppered with a sociological “here,” as further defined in the peer group of drug users.

5.6. A Mousetrap of Peers

5.6.1 Tasting the Cheese

If the geography of Manenberg is seen as a cage, then the peer group can be seen as the proverbial mousetrap. Without exception each of the informants interviewed, cited the peer group as the piece of cheese positioned on the mousetrap. In other words, they indicated that they started engaging in drug use and tik more specifically, because their peer group influenced their decisioning in this regard. One informant describes this process when he says:

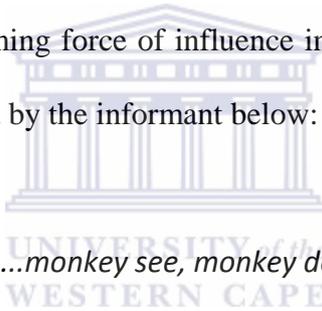
Ek het gesien wat my vriende doen, juffrou, toe vra ek vir hulle hoe is dit om te Tik. Hulle sê toe, gebruik dit net eenkeer dan gaan jy voel hoe voel dit. Dit maak vir jou high en almal die goete. Ek gebruik dit toe, toe proe ek dit vir een, net vir eenkeer en toe na dit toe wil ek dit sommer aanmekaar doen. (Informant 3)

The initial attraction to tik was, at one level, based on the informant’s curiosity, but at another level, he was drawn to tik use because his peer group did not warn him explicitly

of its dangers, but instead told him to ‘try it’ himself to see what it would be like. Another informant reflects on the role of the peer group when she points out the following:

Die influence was te groot gewees vir my, want ek het dit nie gedoen nie en almal om my het dit gedoen en toe het ek nou maar net gesê ek wil ook graag voel hoe is dit om dit doen. (Informant 4)

Based on this informant’s reflection it appears that the ‘almal’, or the peer group provides a level of collective justification as to why she started using tik. Here, the peer group seems to be an overwhelming force of influence in her decision to start using tik or, as more colourfully described by the informant below:



Dis mos as jou vriende daai doen...monkey see, monkey do. (Informant 5)

This finding is consistent with research in this area in which, “[i]t has consistently been found that substance use among peers is the strongest predictor of this use in the young” (Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006, p. 165).

5.6.2 I “moved the cheese”

However, even though the individual cites the peer as the cheese that attracts him/her to the trap of drug use, there seems to be a continued distancing from the peer group in understanding the actual decision made to utilise drugs. Here, the individual consistently insisted that he/she had agency in his/her decision to use drugs, as illustrated by the quotes below:

Ek het nou wel saam met die vriende gerook, maar hulle was nie die mense wat die goed in my mond gesit het nie. Ek was die een wat dit self na my mond toe gedra het.
(Informant 2)

This informant points out that he was responsible for the ‘actual’ taking of the drug and that the peer group did not ‘force’ him to smoke tik. Another informant concurs when he states the following:

[...] hulle [referring to peer collective] het my nie ge-force nie. Ek het uit myself uit gedoen. (Informant 3)

Again, the notion of the ‘self’ finds expression in the individual’s agency in taking the responsibility for his or her actions, as further expanded below:



Dit was my eie keuse om dit te doen, want ek was die een wat gesê het ek sal graag wil weet hoe is dit om dit te doen. (Informant 3)

Here, the informant points to the notion of ‘choice,’ which is a critical aspect in the exercise of individual agency. This agency becomes distinct in relation to the identity of the peer group, as another informant points out:

Dis ook maar net omdat ek is, omdat ek saam met verkeerde - sal nie sê dit was hulle wat my beïnvloed het nie, dit hang van myself af (Informant 1)

Here, she raises the issue of ‘verkeerde vriende’ (or the wrong crowd) and that this ‘wrongness’ affected her ability to choose. The notion of ‘verkeerde vriende,’ as

practically manifested in one's involvement in a substance-using peer group, is thought to be a common factor leading to all forms of substance use (Dishion & Owen, 2002). Therefore, "[p]eer-clustering theory [...] is probably the most broadly supported model of early-onset substance use" (Dishion & Owen, 2002, p. 480). However, given this fact, the informants were adamant that they were singularly responsible for their use of tik, as summarised by another informant when she points out the following:

Ek, soos ek weer gaan sê, jy kan nie 'n next persoon blame vir jou dingese doen nie. Dit hang net van jouself af. (Informant 1)

This agency requires some reflection. As suggested earlier, it appears that both the society and family have evolved into an intended or unintended practice of protecting the trade in drugs and, therefore, by extension the use of drugs. In this regard, gangs have a more explicit role to play in that their specific role is the protection of the drug trade. It does appear that placing the blame for drug use on the individuals and not on the peer collective is a continuation of the practice of protecting the drug supply and demand system.

However, in reading the intent of the informant base it does appear that there is some sincerity in this notion of agency. This sincerity points to an individual ownership of the problem and by implication renders the peer collective innocent as an inductor into drug use. These two conflicting positions create a difficulty in beginning to construct intervention programmes, as at the one level, the peer acts as an initial platform to drug use, while the individual simultaneously takes on the responsibility for that drug use. Therefore, it would be incumbent on the design process of intervention and support programmes to be sensitive to the specific roles and functions that both the peer and

individual plays at any time throughout the drug use continuum. Interestingly, though if at the one end of this continuum there seems to be a pervasive character of hopelessness it certainly appears that at the other end of the continuum, with specific regard to the individual, there is an overwhelming sense of ownership and hope.

5.6.3 Sharing the Cheese

Again, as with the historical identity of gangs, peer groups must be seen as positive social constructs in that they provide individuals with a sense of cultural locality and group identity. But as with gangs, it appears that the peer group has also taken on an anti-social, and destructive character in acting as an initial funnel whereby individuals are inducted into the use of drugs. The peer group construction provides both an initiation to, and a protection of, the practice of drug use, in that individuals report a sense of sanity when engaging in drug use within a group as opposed to engaging in drug use (tik) on their own. Here, two of the informants alluded to this collective use of drugs when they pointed out that:

.

Nou hulle sê altyd mense wat alleen rook raak mal. (Informant 4)

The 'mal' or insanity, as reported by the informant above, does not necessarily manifest itself if the informant smokes, or uses tik, within the peer collective. Another informant points out that:

Nog nooit. Nog nooit. Ek sê altyd hulle sê mos alleen rook is alleen mal raak.
(Informant 1)

The expression of “mal,” or the loss of one’s sanity, as described by the informants above, alludes to the danger of chronic methamphetamine use, as described by Baskin-Sommers and Sommers (2006, p. 662), who state that, “[u]sers can also exhibit psychotic behaviour including auditory hallucinations, mood disturbances, delusions, and paranoia, possibly resulting in homicidal or suicidal thoughts.” This is of particular significance as the scourge of tik has been crippling Cape Town’s (mental) health care system. Specifically, the Cape Argus (Makinana, “Tik abusers overwhelmed city hospitals. Appeal for extra mental health beds,” 2007, p. 8) reported that, “[o]n one morning [in the week of the 24 – 30 September 2007) the GF Jooste Hospital in Manenberg, which has a capacity to observe three psychiatric patients at a time, had 24 people in for observation.”



It, then, appears that the blindness permeating through society, replicated within the family culture, and extended within the gang culture, is echoed within the peer group. Here, individuals believe that their sanity will be protected if they continue to use drugs within the collective of the peer group, as opposed to own their own. The notion of an unravelling safety net, evident within the family, seems to replicate itself within the peer group and creates a false sense of security that the effects of drug use will be minimised when it is used within the peer collective.

In exploring this safety one needs to understand the manner in which drug use is engaged in within a collective of peers. Firstly, peer group members often “koppel” resources in order to obtain drugs and would therefore use it as a collective. Here, a number of informants spoke of the individual’s financial contribution to the peer collective’s ability to purchase drugs:

So nou en dan met 'n vriend, because ek het nou nie geld gehet nie, so jy moet darem saam met iemand gekoppel het en so.

Another informant expands on this when he points out the following:

[...] sê maar ek het miskien 'n R1 vir 'n boat en ek kry nog 'n vriend van my en hy het 'n R1 vir 'n boat en dan koop ons 'n boat van R2. Dan rook ons. (Informant 3)

This “koppeling” (pooling) of resources inadvertently perhaps creates a sense of group patronage and identity in the face of insurmountable socio-economic challenges. It provides for the collective bargaining and navigation around the group’s social (and financial) constraints and to collectively pick-up the challenges that confront them. It is unfortunate that the challenge in this case is not the collective consciousness to steer away from drug use, but in fact the pooling of resources towards the use of drugs. In understanding these collective factors of the peer character, intervention development must then be focussed on the collective peer in as much as it is aimed at the individual drug user.

Second, the practice of drug use within the peer group presupposes that more than two people will be using the same “tik lollie.” This may be the reason why some informants indicated that they will remain sane if they practice drug use within the collective as they would on aggregate alone be utilising less drugs as opposed to an individual practice of drug use, as indicated below:

Dan rook ek meer 'n dag, want dan kry ek nie my satisfaction daaruit wat ek wil kry as ek met meer mense rook nie. (Informant 4)

However, here the peer 'entraps the mouse' as the collective pooling of resources would mean that the peer has the capacity to purchase tik more frequently. Evident in the chronological drug use charts used in the interview, while the individual may only have money to purchase one lollie for the day, the collective muscle of the peer has higher purchasing power and may smoke up to six lollies per day. However, the collective peer is not without its difficulties, as one informant indicated she prefers to engage in drug use on her own, as she is often confronted by an exploitative peer group:

Soos, jy is goed vir mense en dan misbruik mense jou goedgeid en dan glo mense hulle gebruik vir jou, maar dan gebruik hulle nie vir jou nie, dit is maar net jou goedgeid wat jy net vir hulle gee. Dan skree hulle vir jou, hulle gebruik vir jou en sulke dinge en dit is maar net daai wat vir my gesê het, nee man, ek kan mos alleen rook. Hoekom moet ek met mense rook? (Informant 4)



This individualisation creates its own opportunities for intervention as it renders the peer collective impotent and deconstructs the risk factor that is the peer. Another dimension to this is that the peer group seems to cultivate ongoing drug use within the individual as many informants indicated that if they return to the area after rehabilitation, for example, they would be confronted with the same peer group and, therefore, with the same risk factors, as indicated by the informant below:

Dis amper soos, as jy nou 'n vriend sien van jou, sien juffrou, en jy sê vir jou, kom ons gaan Tik, ek gaan jou Tik maak, sien juffrou, dan dit voel vir my so swaar om nee te sê. Sien juffrou, maar dan voel dit amper vir my soos, sjoe ek kan nou vir jou nee sê ek wil nie dwelms gebruik nie, sien juffrou, but dan dink ek weer hoe gaan hy nou voel. Sien

juffrou? Dan sê, dan is al iets wat vir my sê, gaan man. Sien juffrou? Dan sê iets ook vir my, nee moenie gaan nie. Sê dan nee jy is besig of iets soos daai. Dit was maar net weer back to normal wat ek uit die rehab uitkom. Sien juffrou? (Informant 3)

On evidence, even though it appears that the peer group remains a constant risk factor for drug use, the notion of individual agency in making the decision to use drugs, remains paramount. This factor must be considered in the context of the overwhelming theme that this society, this community, this family, and this individual will protect the supply and demand of drugs in Manenberg, even if it only does so tacitly. However, a poignant question emerges here: What role does gender (as a social construct) play in the decision of the individual to use tik? This question is further explored below.

5.7. Gendering Tik-Use

Where the peer collective remains a looming risk factor, gender stratification appears to have a reverse impact. Gendered roles and responsibilities, as accepted within the Manenberg society, play a significant role in when and how users use and when and how users stop using. At the one end of the gender spectrum, a male user cited his responsibilities as a father in his decision to stop drug use, as illustrated by the following quote:

Dit is die effek dat, ek het net die rede vir my kinders, want ek is net 'n bietjie bang hulle gaan dit doen in die toekoms en ek wil nie hê graag hulle moet dit doen nie. (Informant 2)

On the other end of the gender spectrum, two female users cited their role as mothers in determining their decision to stop using drugs. Importantly, this gendered dimension is

extended when these mothers are the mothers of a girl-child. Here, one user indicated that:

Daarom, ek het net, daar het ek net vir myself gesê, nee man ek het 'n meisiekind van vier jaar oud en haar pa is nie met ons nie. Ek sien alleen oor na haar en my ma is al een wat ek in die huis in het. So dit is tyd dat ek vir myself moet reg ruk en vir my gaan werk moet gaan soek. (Informant 1)

In this case, the idea of utilising tik does not appear to be consistent in terms of their value system in nurturing a girl-child. This places a nuanced dimension on the gender spectrum, in that female users, on the face of it, would act far more responsibly as a mother if the child were female. There may be a number of reasons for this. First, there is a predetermined societal view that girl-children are far more vulnerable than boy-children and would therefore require focussed sobriety and care in the nurturing process. Considering the number of reported girl child-rape cases within areas such as Manenberg, this perception may hold some water. Secondly, girl children are expected to follow a specific gendered trajectory as carers and nurturers of the home and any projection that places this perception at risk, such as when their own mothers use tik, would compromise this trajectory. Third, the view of 'the mother' within this society seems to be sacrosanct in that mothers are not expected to be drunk, rude, vulgar and/or addicted to tik. Here, simply put, the notion of a good mother is one that exercises reasonable care, sobriety, and nurturing of the young.

These gendered notions of what femininity should comprise, are perhaps a contributing factor as to why substance abuse, historically, has been perceived primarily as a male problem (Wallace Jr., *et al.*, 2003). However, despite this perception, and as highlighted

in this study, “[...] numerous recent studies demonstrate that substance abuse severely impacts the wellbeing of women as well” (Wallace Jr., *et al.*, 2003, p. 225).

A darker side to the female cycle of drug addiction, is the danger that female users, if they continue to use tik, specifically, at some point or the other, have to “buk vir tik,” as is so vividly described by one informant when she said that:

Dit [referring to tik] dryf jou na vat toe en - weet mevrou wat ..? Like steel en so aan. Dit is lieg en sulke goeters en om seks te hê miskien, so aan. Hulle sê baie is buk vir tik en dit is a honey for a bunny, so sulke goeters nou like en daai. (Informant 1)

This darker side, for many female users, appears to be a fast-approaching reality in that, “[p]rostitution is commonly associated with addiction, drug counsellors say” (Smetherham, “Children selling sex to buy tik,” 2005, p. 3). Furthermore, a representative of the Cape Town Drug Counselling Centre stated that, “[t]hey [referring to tik users] will do anything to get money to buy the drugs even if it means engaging in prostitution. Some will even sleep with drug merchants just to get drugs” (Kalipa, “Tik boosts sex drive, reduces responsibility,” 2007, p. 4). From this study, it appears that female users seem to be conscious of this danger, especially when they are the mothers of girl-children. Here, female users reported that they would stop using drugs before they are forced to have sex to sustain their drug habit, as this may have an impact on the perception of the girl-child, as described below:

Soos wat ek nou ge-experience het dat vroumense verkoop hulle liggame, hulle steel om hulle habits te support en daai. Ek het net vir myself gesê ek wil nie so ver gaan nie,

want ek maak 'n meisiekind groot. Daai is hoekom ek eintlik besluit het ek wil ophou.

(Informant 4)

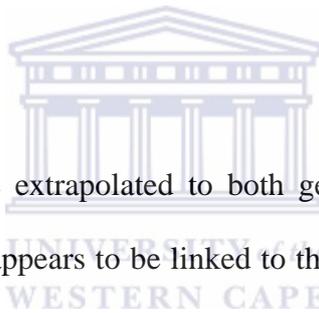
Where a father appears to be blind to the gender of the child in making the decision to stop using drugs, a mother as a user is far more sensitive to the particularities of the needs of the girl-child. These relational differences framed by different hues within the gender spectrum are critical in beginning to construct intervention programmes aimed at specific profiles of the user community. Particularly given the fact that, according to Weiss, Kung and Pearson (2003, p. 250), “[m]ost substance abuse treatment programs do not have gender-sensitive or gender-specific services.”

Perhaps an additional consideration is the role of the using mother as a wife. Here, one informant indicated that he decided to stop using drugs because his wife, who started using drugs, could no longer fulfil her traditional gender role as both a mother and his wife:

My vrou, my vrou wat ek nou mee getroud is, sy was ook op die drugs gewees, maar sy was about, sy was seker net so 'n jaar of so, want dinge het vir ons begin uitmekaar val by die huis. Dit was nie erg soos dit altyd gewees het nie. Daai is ook een van die redes wat ek 'n stop aangesit het, want ons het nou van bad na worse toe gegaan, toe decide ek net dan gaan die drugs miskien nou my familie uitmekaar uit gaan. Sy het dit nie gedoen nie. Ek was die ene wat vir haar expose het na die drugs toe, want ek het die drugs later van tyd by my huis doen, in die huis wat eintlik verkeerd gewees het. Sy het toe gesien die dinge wat ek mee besig is en later van tyd toe het sy nou begin met die

drugs. Toe dink ek daai gaan my familie uitmekaar uitskeur, dat ek nou maar net 'n stop daaraan sit. (Informant 2)

The erosion of this specific role seems to have a profound impact on the male user, as he perceives the use of drugs by his wife and the mother of his children as the ultimate destruction of the family. This destruction cannot be tolerated given the gendered dimension that reflects a strong patriarchy whereby the male user must act as the ultimate custodian of the family structure. Though the gendered argument appears overwhelming here, it does not discount the sincere intent of the informant that, regardless of his own gender, he is genuinely concerned about the well-being of his family.



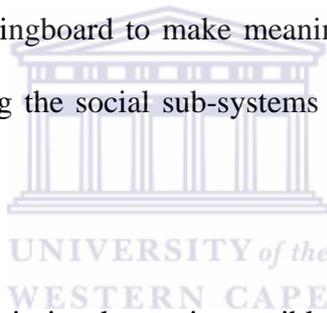
This view, in summary, can be extrapolated to both genders. In other words, taking responsibility for one's actions appears to be linked to the gender of the user and/or the gender of his/her children. However, the notion of responsibility continues to remain a fundamental consideration internalised centrally to the role of the individual, as platformed below.

5.8. The 'Inagency' and Agency of the Individual

If the Manenberg community provides a broad profile of its historical identity, then the individual must be the face of that identity. Here, an acknowledgement must be made that the history of Manenberg cannot just be categorised into statistical descriptions of suffering and indeed continued poverty, but must be located in the singular experiences etched out in the faces of the countless individuals within Manenberg. The informant base accessed for this study have become those singular individual voices that give meaning to the historical identity of Manenberg and provide a vivid glimpse into how

this community came to be. Here, the individual is central to the exploration of the social constructs presented earlier with regard to the society, family, gang culture, the peer collective, and gender.

If these social structures are peppered with a myriad of social issues, the individual is certainly not exempted from these. As introduced earlier, under the theoretical framework, this study decided to creep through the various sub-systems surrounding the individual before making meaning of what the individual had to say about his/her circumstances. This approach is significant in that it departs from traditional approaches within Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological model of human development to use the individual as the originating springboard to make meaning of social constructs. In this case, doing the reverse, by using the social sub-systems as a starting point to begin to understand the individual.



This approach is important as it is almost impossible to begin to deconstruct the meanings of the many varied issues offered by the individual as to why he/she may or may not use drugs without understanding first how these meanings are constructed external to that individual. Up to this point, the study has exhaustively reflected on this 'external,' and will now proceed to create a closer relationship between the individual user and the use of tik, as an internal dimension.

5.8.1 The Maturity of Use

Contrary to popular views and those reflected in relevant literature, is the notion that most drug users start at a very early age (early adolescence). As is the case with this informant base, many of them started using either a 'soft' and/or 'hard' drug between the ages of 18 and 24. It is then a flawed assumption that intervention programmes should,

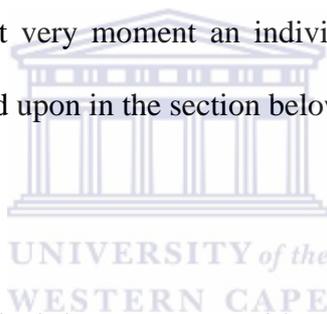
strictly speaking, be targeted at adolescents. Perhaps careful consideration should be made of the kind of intervention programmes and projection of positive messages to young adult communities.

What is also worth considering in this regard is that it appears that users remain fairly drug free for a very long period of time within the Manenberg community regardless of the fact that the social circumstances remain the same from birth. Here, the later onset of drug use can be viewed as a ‘protective’ factor of sorts in that early initiation of antisocial behaviour, with the onset of drug use prior to the age of fifteen, is thought to be a consistent predictor of later (lifetime) drug use (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002; Greydanus & Patel, 2005). As such, it is hoped that this later onset of drug use may be reflective of a shorter shelf life in relation to the use of tik, specifically.

However, given the informant base’s later initiation into tik use, there must be some realisation within the individual users’ perceptions that they are now at a point in their lives where they are no longer able to cope with the socio-economic challenges that face them, as one informant indicated, subsequent to the loss of employment:

Toe los ek daai werk. Deur daai episode toe begin ek dit nou net weer te doen, want daai tyd toe was ek nou by die huis gewees. Ek het toe nou net bored gevoel, niks het om te doen nie, pop hier in. Nie met die intention om dit te gaan doen nie. Kyk, as jy dit sien en dan lus jy sommer daarvoor. As die mense praat van dit dan kry jy sommer ‘n craving om dit te doen. So was dit like gewees. Oukei en dan het ek nou gesukkel vir werk kry. Ek het like weer gewerk vir commission en so aan. Alles wat verkeerd gegaan het, dit het vir my nou net laat weer dit doen. (Informant 6)

The way in which the individual drug user experiences his/her socio-economic challenges at different ages is of importance here. What we do know is that poverty remains poverty whether you are 5, 11, or 21 years of age. However, your responsibility in relation to your specific age category will over time of course change and, therefore, the burden associated with your conditions become far more emphasised at 21, for example, than at 5. Simply put, the age of an individual user is in, and of, itself a risk factor. This is especially true of youth and young adults in Manenberg in that, “[y]outh with life choices and options that are perceived as being limited are more likely to engage in high risk behaviours, such as substance abuse and unprotected sexual activity” (Greydanus & Patel, 2005, p. 79). There seems to be, however, a specific set of circumstances that precedes that very moment an individual decides to light up a tik lollie, as will be further expanded upon in the section below.



5.8.2 Graduating to Use

Typically, it appears that individual drug users are either through no fault of their own, or for some other reason, expelled from school or drop out of school:

Ek het 'n part time job gekry, toe het ek gaan werk by [name of company], toe het ek nou begin tekkies te dra by die skool. Ek het skoolskoene gehad, maar my skoolskoene was gebreek gewees. Nou hulle wil niks verstaan het, ek regret dit nou nog vandag toe nog dat ek weg is daar by die skool due toe daai, en ek het tekkies gedra op die skool. Daai ding, ons was, daai was verkeerd gewees van ons prinsipaal om ons te expel het due toe ons tekkies gedra het. (Informant 2)

Another informant recounts a similar experience when she said the following:

In 2006 was ek laas op die skool.[...] ek het sommer self weggebly van die skool af, want hulle het uitgevind ek was involve in crime.

This is followed by shorter periods (in some cases) and longer periods (in other cases) whereby the individual is either unemployed or employed. When the individual is employed it seems that the opportunity exists for him/her to make use of the resources gained while being employed (i.e. access to money) to purchase drugs. During periods of unemployment, the individual user is 'stuck' at home leading to frustration and boredom and eventual entrapment by the peer group, as earlier introduced, and as indicated by the informants below:

Want so meer geld jy op jou het, so meer wil jy rook. (Informant 4)

Again, as further expanded by another informant:

Soos nou is net as ek by die huis bored is of so, dan sal ek nou vriende [referring to the peer group with whom she engages in tik use with] gaan visit of so. (Informant 6)

This trajectory is not as neatly fixed as what is reflected above. In fact two separate sub-trajectories can be noted. In the one case, the individual user went as far as obtaining her matric and extended her commitment to her academic journey by taking up further study in a diploma course in management. This success was short-lived as the informant was unable to sustain herself during the period of study due to a lack of resources, as indicated by her below:

My hele plan is, ek het, wat ek klaar gewees het met skool toe was my plan om te gaan study. 2003 toe werk ek op Pick n Pay, maar toe het ek Pen Tech ge-study management, maar daai tyd het nog nie die drug gedoen nie. Ek het nou, ek het self betaal daarvoor, mos nou vir die vorige jaar wat ek gedinges het, maar toe het ek nou die ge-study in die Kaap en ook, maar my finance kan nou nie verder vir my gehelp het nie met Pen Tech nie. Ek het toe uitge-drop. (Informant 6)

The frustration with which this informant experienced her social conditions was not as a result of being opportunity poor as she had a number of jobs, but perhaps as a result of being resource poor because she could not complete her studies due to the lack of financial support. In this case, we have an individual user who seems to have had some or other life plan and who was at times able to hold one or other job, but alas still fell victim, either through agency or via peers, to drug use. Below, an informant indicates her realisation as to the impact that her tik use has had on her (material and intellectual) well-being:

Ek het besef wat het ek gehad en waar is ek nou en dit het vir my meer laat affeer voel. (Informant 6)

And as sadly recounted again by the same informant:

Dit [referring to tik] effek jou lewe en dit effek dit hard. Regtig, because jy is basically, jy sal dink dit is in 'n positive way, but op die einde van die dag is dit in die negative. Als wat jy voor gebou het, als wat jy gehad het, als, soos ek kan self sê dit is Tik, is dit ek wat Tik gebruik wat ek alles verloor het. (Informant 6).

The loss of material possessions, as reflected by the informant, points to the destructive implications of tik use, as further explained by another informant:

Ja, en toe het ek nou vandag besef maar jy moet nie dinge doen om die mense te please nie, want as jy mense please dan gaan jy agteruit met jou lewe. Daarom wil ek nie meer rook nie. (Informant 4)

Interestingly, one of the informants quoted above has indicated that she intends on stopping drug use because she has developed an internal renaissance with regard to her goals and aspirations of being unemployed and providing for herself:

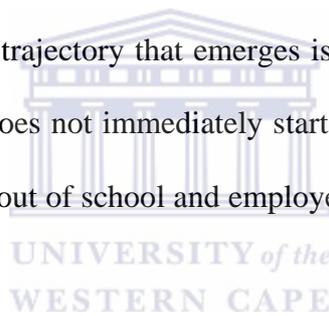
As ek moet terugkom [referring to her exodus to Johannesburg so as to become drug-free], at least wil ek, at least 'n dinges, soos my, ek het sommer ook, ek was besig met my drivers' licence gewees daai tyd ook in die helfte, ook nie verder gegaan nie om so aan te sê. Nou dinge soos daai wil ekke self, as ek terugkom, daai net klaarmaak. Ek wil at least iets agter my naam kry en ek wil dit wees, obviously daai sal ek seker daar onder doen, like my drivers' licence of whatever kry. Daai is my plan om op te gaan en net, net concentrate en nou net fokus en daai so. As ek terugkom, at least daai dinge wat ek hier onder gaan doen, dan sal die finance vir my weer sterk maak om daai te doen om vir my weg weer te hou en besig te hou. (Informant 6)

These goals and aspirations are echoed by another informant when she states that:

Dit is omdat ek beplan om op te wil hou en dat ek wil gaan werk. Ek wil my ma help in die huis in. My kind is nou op die oomblik, sy is in die crèche, maar dit is verniet. Van nege uur tot 12 uur is 4 ure, daai gee vir my kans, tyd om elke oggend om vir my op te kan lig om werk te gaan soek. (Informant 1)

There is no reason to suspect that this renewal cannot be seen as a protective factor in thinking about the design of possible support interventions for drug users, as is the case with Informant 6, the initial setting of goals and plotting of her life plan did ensure that she remained drug free for a prolonged period of time.

Lastly, a distinctive second sub-trajectory that emerges is when an individual user does in fact drop out of school, but does not immediately start practicing drug use. Here, the informant reported that she was out of school and employed (and unemployed) at certain periods of time:



Ek was lank uit die skool uit voor ek die tik begin gebruik het. (Informant 4)

Further, the informant did not use drugs even during periods of unemployment. What then drew this informant to drug use? Three reasons appear evident. At the one level, the informant reported that she had some relationship difficulties with the father of her children. This in, and of, itself may not be the reason as to why she started to engage in drug use, but must be a consideration:

Ek het al, mostly is dit net as ek, hoe kan ek sê, relationship problems het met my en haar [referring to her daughter] pa, dan sal ek dit [referring to tik] weer gebruik. (Informant 4)

And as further explained by this informant:

Ek het family problems gehad en haar pa en alles het net vir my gevoel op daai tyd dit is te veel vir my, so, en ek is nie ene wat sommer sal praat met mense oor my problems nie. Ek is ene wat alleen net wil deal daarmee. Toe het alles net vir my te veel geraak en daai is wat gemaak het ek het net aaneen gerook. (Informant 4)

Here, as stated in the literature review, it is evident that high familial conflict within the home often places youth at greater risk for substance abuse (Arthur, *et al.*, 2002). Even more compelling though is this informant's assertion, as with so many other cases, that she was curious about the effects of tik use:

Daai is hoekom ek dit ook wil gedoen het om te kyk wat is die after effects daarvan.
(Informant 4)



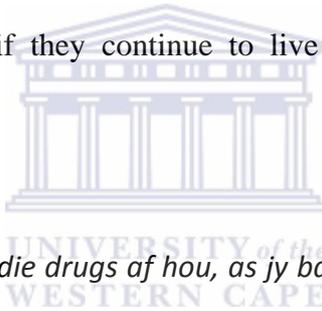
If curiosity led her to use drugs, her particular habitational relationship with Manenberg is of even more interest to this study in abstaining from drug use for prolonged periods of time, as further explored below.

5.8.3 The Location of Use

Here, the specific circumstances of Informant 4 (above), in the study's view, relates to the informant's living conditions in that she is not a permanent resident of Manenberg, but only infrequently visits the area over weekends. This informant summarises the effects of drug use, which are consistent with the views expressed by other individual informants earlier on, that if they remain in the area their chances of using drugs are greatly increased, as described below:

Want ek voel ek wil ver wees van almal af waar ek niemand ken nie, because ek wil ver weg bly en my lewe oor begin. So voel ek.[...] So-iets, ja, want die influence hier in Manenberg is baie groot. (Informant 4)

It would be a travesty that the support interventions designed to assist drug users to rehabilitate remains blind to this particular characteristic in terms of the risk factors. Therefore, interventions must include a process, sensitively so, where drug users are indeed “removed” from their physical environment for periods of time. This removal may need to be linked to a longer term strategy of ensuring as is the case with one of the informants, that they are employed, have a life plan and goals, and develop the necessary skills to resist drug use even if they continue to live in the area, as described by informants below:



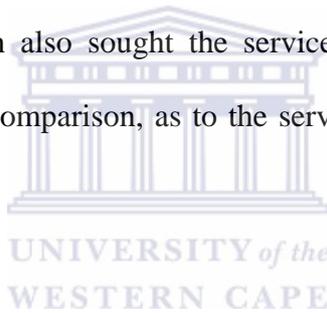
Daai is iets wat vir jou weg van die drugs af hou, as jy baie jou hande use en jy is besig met iets wat jou mind heeltemal wegvat van die drugs af. Veral jou hande. Jou hande, ek weet wat vir my baie gehelp, om net jou hande te gebruik om vir jou besig te hou. (Informant 2)

This idea of being gainfully employed provides greater impetus to ‘stay away’ from tik use, as even further explained by the informant below:

Want soos ek weer gesê het, ek het gewerk en daai was ‘n baie goeie werk wat ek gehad het en toe ek begin op die drugs gaan en toe begin daai ook nou vir my lui te maak. Dit is amper so, ag wat moet ek worrie, ek gaan nie vandag werk nie, so. Gaan vandag by die huis bly en dan het maar net weer vandag, dan môre dan doen jy net

weer dieselfde. Dan het ek maar weer dieselfde dag, so like, maar as ek nou weer in 'n werk moet kom dan sal ek dit totaal nie meer doen nie. Regtig waar, want daai is ding wat jou vir jou uit jou werk uit bring. (Informant 1)

Here, we must be careful of secondary victimisation given the historical identity that it all started with forced removals in the first place. As one informant indicated, external interventions that support drug users to quit must be carefully scrutinised. Here, the informant provides a comparison of the supportive services she accessed and how these differed in terms of the absence, or presence, of localised (contextualised) knowledge, respectively. This informant was privy to access the services of a psychologist (via her place of employment) and then also sought the services of what she refers to as a “community counsellor.” Her comparison, as to the services she accessed, is provided below:



Net om dit weer te try, om met iemand te praat of so, because by [place of employment] dan is dit so, jy het gevoel soos jy kan openlik praat, maar dan is daar ook sy is 'n stranger. Sy is, oukei, sy was, ek is 'n coloured en so. Dit is nie te sê ek is 'n racist nie, maar dit is amper soos, ag, firstly verstaan jy seker nie waarom dit gaan nie, because jy deal elke dag by werk met so iets en so. Dit is nie nog iets wat, hoe kan ek sê, sy vat dit ernstig, maar ook nie ernstig waar ek concern, my personally nie. Nou voel dit net sy het weer op 'n dinges gegaan en sy praat sommer ook, sy praat dieselfde ook. (Informant 6)

Support interventions for drug users must be developed with a heightened sensitivity of the contextual factors in which that drug user may find him- or herself. This study would

go so far as to suggest that a broader study would need to be undertaken to evaluate and/or assess the provision of therapeutic and psychological services to drug users where these services are devoid of localised knowledge and context.

Despite the locational context, it appears that users continue to find ways to justify their use of tik, as illustrated in the section below.

5.8.4 The Unreasonable Logic of Use

Another area in which the external community claims to have knowledge is located in the view that drug users undertake some or other graduating process from ‘soft’ to harder drugs. This is referred to as the Gateway Model in which, “[...] the use of one drug is thought to increase the likelihood of progression to other drugs” (Greydanus & Patel, 2005, p. 78). Evidenced from the reports by the informant base, two sources indicated that they did not undertake an unfolding drug use habit towards tik, but that tik was in effect the initiating substance into drug abuse, as indicated by the informant below:

Dit [referring to her use of tik] is my eerste keer wat ek drugs gebruik het in my hele lewe. (Informant 4)

Considering the highly addictive quality of methamphetamine (Baskin-Sommers & Sommers, 2006; Herman-Stahl, Krebs, Kroutil & Heller, 2007), this practice of drug use where tik is the primary narcotic is exceptionally dangerous in that it would render traditional methods of rehabilitation useless. This addictive nature of tik was sketched out by two informants when they said that:

Dis 'n drug wat wil gevoer wees. Daarom het ek aangegaan, want ek het nooit reg gevoel, soos ek nou kan voel soos myself nie, daarom het ek aangegaan daarmee en aangegaan tot ek nou maar eerste beseef het dat it is not worth it. (Informant 4)

And further explained by another informant:

[...] dit [referring to tik] was amper soos vir my soos 'n, net soos 'n multi-vitamin wat ek elke dag moet gevat het. (Informant 6)

Here, again the study must guard against the 'softening' process in the use of language with regard to tik use. As indicated later, 'dagga' is not seen as a drug and it certainly appears from this user's account that tik begins to take on a very different meaning, as a 'multi-vitamin' in this case. Though the danger exists that tik use can be seen through the language use as something other than a drug, the same informant, however, continues to point out its fatalistic qualities:

Ek was stupid gewees daai dag om dit te gedoen het [referring to the first time she utilised tik], maar daai saying van one hit in die hoek dit is die waarheid. Dit is regtig die waarheid. (Informant 6)

Another informant points to the 'powerful' character of tik as a drug when she points out that:

[...] ek weet ook nie regtig, because die drug is powerful. Dit laat vir jou ... Ek meen dit laat vir jou jou familie seermaak en dit laat vir jouself seermaak. You see? Jy doen alles

vir dit om dit te kry en sien as jy dit het. Jy voel kwaai. Jy voel jy makeer nie die ene, jy makeer net daai ene om so dan te sê. You see? (Informant 6)

In addition to the need to continuously feed the habit of tik use, as illustrated by the informant above, the informant base also reported that tik makes them extremely hyperactive. As indicated by Russell, *et al.* (2008, p. 49), “MA [methamphetamine] stimulates the release of dopamine, norepinephrine, and serotonin, and blocks their reuptake. This excess amount of neurotransmitters in the synapses produces sensations of euphoria, lowered inhibitions, feelings of invincibility, increased wakefulness, heightened sexual experiences, and hyperactivity resulting from increased energy for extended periods of time.” Here, informants reported that after using tik they would have the focus and energy to, for example engage, in household chores, as illustrated below:

Dit [referring to tik] het my high laat voel. My oë is groot en almal die goete. Kan nie eet nie, wil net werk in die huis in. (Informant 3)

Another informant expands on this need to undertake household chores when she says that:

Dit het vir my laat soos dinge doen wat ek nie gewoon is doen nie. Soos ekke hou nie van werk nie in die huis, huis skoonmaak nie, dit het vir my daai laat doen. Dit het vir my baie active gemaak. (Informant 4)

This heightened level of activity seems to be a major trend among users and is further summarised by the following remarks offered by one of the informants:

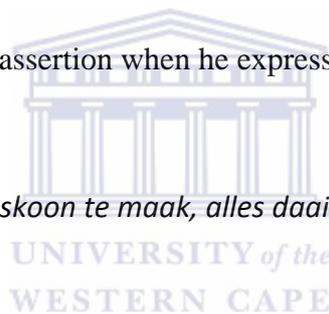
Die tik, dit maak vir jou hyperactive. Dit maak vir jou dat, hoe kan ek sê, voel jy moet, gee nie vir jou slaap nie.[...] Vir my is dit, soos hulle altyd sê, dit gee vir jou speed.
(Informant 1)

The informant goes on to provide an explanation for the term “dit gee vir jou speed:”

Dit maak jou hyperactive. Dit maak jou vinnig. So. Soos ek, as ek miskien nou daai [referring to tik] geuse het Vrydagaand en dan turn ek nou sommer van die voorkamer af tot reg deur die huis. (Informant 1) – listen to audio and fill in gaps).

Another informant supports this assertion when he expresses the following:

Ek het gevoel om my ma se huis skoon te maak, alles daai. (Informant 5)



Again, it appears this thread of hyperactivity is shared among users and that they would ‘apply’ themselves to undertaking ‘constructive’ activities. On review, it seems that informants are ‘astonished’ and amazed at their ability to work so hard, as so accurately described by one informant:

[...] but as ek miskien tik in my system in het, juffrou, dan is ek, sjoe, dan is ek eerste vinnig. (Informant 3)

The ‘sjoe’ in the above informant’s reflection shows his astonishment at the ‘power’ that tik has on his ability to quickly undertake work. It would appear that the cleaning of the house and this focused energy displayed after using tik certainly implies a sense of accomplishment by the individuals. This sense of accomplishment is echoed by

Sommers, Baskin and Baskin-Sommers (2006, p. 1473), who found that most of the respondents in their study, “[...] stated that methamphetamine effects offered not only increased energy, but a sense of well-being and a feeling of mastery and power that was so reinforcing it often led them to use more frequently than they expected.” Considering the earlier argument that the inevitability of failure always looms large, this study can almost appreciate why these individuals would use tik as the sense of achievement allows them to feel complete and instils in them a sense of euphoria, as indicated by the following informant:

Juffrou, dit voel amper soos jy loop op die wolke. Dit voel vir jou, jy voel, jy voel lekker.

(Informant 3)



This view is again reiterated when another informant points out that:

Voel soos amper jy op die wolke is. (Informant 5)

This sense of euphoria (“op die wolke”) appears to extend to the informants’ sense of confidence in themselves and in relating to others. This view is expanded upon by the informant below:

Nou met die drug was dit ook so gewees wat dit my baie confidence gegee het. As ek iets wil sê, dan sê ek dit. (Informant 6)

The use of tik, it appears seems to be preferred as opposed to the use of dagga. Where in the latter case, informants reported a high sense of consciousness or meditation, but a lower sense of activity, as illustrated by the following quotes:

Ek rook dagga vir high meditation, juffrou. (Informant 3)

The informant goes on to provide an explanation as to the term “high meditation”:

Om te dink wat wil jy word in die future in. 'n High meditation. (Informant 3)

Another informant described the use of dagga as a way of ‘leveling’:

Die dagga het vir my in 'n sense, dit is amper soos vir my ge-level het. (Informant 6)

The informant goes on to provide a definition of the term “ge-level”:

Is like stil, baie stil. Jy baie moet dink. Dit is like my mind sal baie dink. (Informant 6)

The informants below describe an additional manifestation of the use of dagga:

Dit [referring to dagga] maak jou off load en dit maak jou net lam. Ek wil net eet ook.

(Informant 1)

And as expressed by another informant below:

Dit voel so jy wil net gaan slaap. (Informant 5)

Here, sleepiness (as opposed to cleaning the house) can be seen, through the use of dagga particularly, as the perpetuation of inevitable failure. Tik use, on the other hand, drives the individual to undertake activities with a perceived, albeit dangerous sense of purpose. One informant illustrates this when she states that:

Ja, en baie was soos die baas of so by die werk en daai. Hulle was altyd impress met my werk. Ek het altyd my werk 110% gedoen. (Informant 6)

If this informant were only on dagga, it would be difficult to conceive that she may have been as efficient as reported and that her employers may have been as impressed as she states. Overwhelmingly, dagga is not seen as a drug. This was evident particularly when the researcher posed the question to the informant base as to what sort of drugs they used. Even though, most of the sample used dagga, they did not report it in relation to the question. In other words, the informant base does not see dagga as a drug and as two informants reported, dagga is regarded more as a herbal/medicinal substance when they pointed out that:



Ek sal nie sê hulle sien dit as 'n drug nie. Ek sal ook nie sê hulle doen dit seker omdat hulle dit wil doen nie. Dit is baie Rastas wat dit verkoop en so aan. Ek weet ook net van die merchant wat by ons, hulle sal ook net in die aand rook. Miskien nou so like deur die dag, so, maar verder sien ... Hulle sê mos dit is 'n herb. (Informant 1)

This view is expanded considering the input provided by another informant below:

Ek myself wat gesê daai [referring to dagga] is, dit is soos medisyne. (Informant 5)

The perspective offered by the informants of this study appears to 'normalise' the use of dagga. This view is cemented by Standing (2003, p. 7) when he suggests that, with specific regard to the Cape Flats, "[t]here has therefore been a shift towards the 'normalisation of drug use, where certain substances cease to have deviant or shocking connotations.'" Similarly, Greydanus and Patel (2005) have also commented on the

widespread acceptance that cannabis has come to enjoy amongst adult and adolescent populations of the early 21st century. To some degree, whatever the perception of dagga may be, it remains in the view of this study a risk factor towards the use of tik, but this is not absolute as two of the informants in this study did not use dagga as a gateway to tik.

The pharmacological effects of dagga on the user are that of lethargy (Greydanus & Patel, 2005), inactiveness, and increased appetite. Here, individual users would use tik as a means to lift them from this lethargy creating an almost endless cycle between ups and downs. It could not be discerned from this study whether the up or the down is in fact the first or last point of drug use within the cycle and it is speculatively suggested that this may vary from one individual to the next. This speculation would need to be evaluated in the development of intervention and support programmes aimed at drug users.

5.8.5 The Image of Use

The earlier argument around a society that is inevitably bound to fail is manifested in the physical failure of the individual's bodily characteristics. Here, the ups and downs of everyday life within Manenberg is echoed in the up and down of weight gain and weight loss in the use of dagga and tik, respectively. Physical manifestations of tik use are particularly obvious when individuals start losing a significant amount of weight. Individuals reported increased consciousness of the self and how the individual is portrayed and looks in relation to society. In the one instance, the informant only considered stopping the use of tik when his mother indicated that he looks thin. Here, he described his rationale as follows:

Want ek het gevoel, en my ma het my ook gevra een aand, toe was ek dik ge-Tik, toe kom ek in die huis in, toe vra my ma vir my hoekom is ek so maer. Hoekom val my klere

van my body af. Ek sê toe ek weet nie. Sê my ma, Jy is op drugs. Ek wil toe mos nie vir my ma sê ek is op drugs nie, toe het ek gelieg vir my ma. My ma sê ek raak nou maer. My klere val af van my liggaam af. Ek raak maer in die gesig in. Ek was nie so nie. Almal die goete. Wat ek hoor my ma sê vir my my klere val af van my liggaam af en daai, toe besef ek maar ek gaan maar die drugs los, die Mandrax en daai. Ek gaan nou net dagga rook en sigarette. (Informant 3)

This self-image is not limited to male individuals, but certainly (as can be expected) echoed within female users. Two factors are at play here. The one dimension talks to the physical erosion of the female body, which relates to the second dimension, that this erosion will have a simultaneous effect on the female identity, as described below:

Want as ek myself gekyk het in die spieël, dan sê ek vir myself dit is nie ek nie, want ek ken myself. Ek het nog nooit so, hoe kan ek sê, as ek my gesig alleenlik aankyk, want my oë describe baie. Soos my ouma, sy is 'n Christen, sy kan gou sien wanneer iets, wanneer ek iets verkeerd gedoen het en my gesig raak gou maer en dan gaan dit in en ek is net maer en ek is nie 'n maer persoon nie. Dan sê ek vir myself as ek in die spieël kyk ek wil nie so wees nie. Ek wil myself wees. [...]Daai is hoekom daai, een van die dinge wat ek so tussentye opgehou het. Net om weer myself terug te kry, so. (Informant 4)

Certainly it appears that the physical observation of the female outer form affects how individual female users view their personality and what sort of person they may or may not become. Psychological and physical deterioration, as well as changes in the individual's social behaviour, is thought to be associated with long-term

methamphetamine use (Baskin-Sommers & Sommers, 2006). This is a critical observation as individual female users in this case seem to place a high premium on what their outside may look like and how this will in effect affect their internal view of themselves, as indicated below:

Soos ek weer gaan sê, vir my regtig waar as u net met my ma moet praat sal u hoor. Vir my, ek is nie 'n persoon, die goed [referring to drugs in general] is nie bedoel vir my nie. Ek is nie 'n persoon vir sulke goeters nie. (Informant 1)

The public, who also hold an external view, may provide sufficient protective factors in that they observe the physical well-being of an individual and would pass comment on this. Here, tik users are often reported to look “very thin” or “unwell.” This thinness may become thick with judgment on the side of the public, where a drug user has lost a significant amount of weight because of tik use. This externalised judgement may act as a protective factor in that individual drug users may feel a sense of exposure due to their weight loss and would, therefore, show themselves as “tik monsters.”

Perhaps the use of tik, and its very explicit physical effects, creates a distinction between dagga and tik itself. Dagga, it appears has lesser physical side effects and, therefore, is seen as a lesser evil and would therefore perhaps not carry the same identity as tik. It must also be noted that the manufacturing of tik takes place within localised factories and the growing of dagga takes place within gardens in the backyard, as described by informants below:

[...] want dagga was amper soos, dit was orals. Dit groei mos sommer by mense se plekke ook. (Informant 2)

As opposed to dagga, which is naturally grown, the informant below speaks to the chemical manufacturing of tik:

[...] soos hulle sê factory waar hulle die goed [referring to tik] maak. Hier is nie net een of twee nie, hier is sommer 'n klomp. Mens sien dit net nie raak nie en dit is ... Dit is maar net om jou, dit is onder jou oog, maar jy sien dit nie raak nie, dit is om jou.

(Informant 2)

From the available discussion with the informant base, a skewed picture emerges as to their understanding of what constitutes a drug. It appears that the informant base has definable parameters in deciding that a particular substance is a drug or not. This perception is borne out of the view that substances such as cocaine, mandrax and tik, are made with chemicals and that dagga is organically grown. The implication here is that the informant base has an altered sense of what is good for them and what is not and could very well, whether in therapy or not, begin to argue for themselves that a certain thing is good for them when this is clearly not the case.

5.8.6 The Cycle of Use

This point of what is 'good' and what is 'bad' and how the individual user may explain this to him- or herself is carried through when they do seek out a programme of rehabilitation of sorts. All of the informants reported that they tried to stop at one point or the other, but that they would find themselves back at square one again:

En toe doen ek maar net weer dieselfde. Ek begin toe maar net weer wat ek gedoen het.[...] Toe is dit weer back to square one. (Informant 3)

Here, the skewed notion about dagga not being a drug is perhaps also projected onto the peer group not being a trap. The inability of the user to say no to his friends (i.e. the peer collective), illustrates quite clearly that the individual user will argue for themselves that saying yes is indeed correct. This skewed perception is pervasive in all aspects of the users' existence and continued use of drugs in that they are unable to construct reasonable arguments and provide reasonable deductions as to the cause, effect, and use of drugs.

Regardless of this pervasiveness, and in isolation of the view that the individual user has a warped sense of reason, there remains at times a brave individual agency that suggests the individual user wants to (and needs to) stop. It is these moments that remain sadly unobserved and uninternalised by traditional support structures such as the family and external social service provisions. It is the view of this study that the design of support and intervention programmes must contain a detection system that would clearly identify within the cycle of a user's existence when these moments are about to occur and, more succinctly, when these moments are actually occurring.

Despite what a possible intervention system may offer to drug users, it certainly does appear that self-intervention remains a viable option. Here, one informant reported that because he was responsible for starting his drug use, he was inevitably responsible for the cessation thereof, too:

[...] kom laat ek so sê, ek het dit begin, so om vir my om dit geëindig het, het dit weer vir myself gekos, want dit was vir myself gewees die dag wat ek dit gebruik het [...] Ek het nie nog mense gehad nie wat my gehelp het of so nie. Ek het myself ge-motivate en so.

(Informant 2)

This agency holds immense value for possible intervention and support programmes aimed at drug users, in that it recognises the individual as the original owner of the problem and consequently should, therefore, be the original solver of that problem. This realisation places a particular burden on the individual, perhaps a necessary burden that will create the conditions in which the drug user as an individual ultimately realises that external intervention programmes constitute only one half of the solution and that their own agency constitutes the other critical part.

If this realisation remains absent, the journey of the individual drug user in Manenberg will become increasingly difficult. Here, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the end point in an individual drug user's life cycle is potentially that of a criminal and of prison life. This suggestion is particularly reasonable given the fact that, "Dr Jonathan Lucas, a UNODC [United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime] representative for southern Africa, said the proliferation of the drug [referring to tik] was also affecting the correctional services department as it was spurring an increase of young prisoners facing long jail sentences" (Radebe, "Tik calls the shots in Cape ganglands," 2008, p. 5).

It appears that many of the informants have fallen foul to the law only after using drugs. This is an important observation in that they certainly have diminished capacity to commit crime while they are not on drugs. In understanding this capacity it must be noted that crime, in itself, is not a risk factor towards tik (drug) use, but that crime constitutes a necessary tool in enabling the individual to use drugs. In the same vein, Baskin-Sommers and Sommers (2006, p. 663) posit that, "[s]everal studies found little evidence that drug use either precedes or follows crime, only that they tend to co-occur

and are associated in frequency and severity.” The informant base reported their involvement in criminal activities to sustain their drug habits as follows:

Oukei, die tyd wat ek op drugs gewees het, om drugs te gedoen het, ek het gevaarlike dinge gedoen. Ons het mense seergemaak. Ek het ge-rob, ek het gaan steel. Ek het enigiets gedoen net om aan drugs te kom en niks het in my pad gestaan nie. Ek was nie eens bang vir woorde of vir ander ouens of so nie, want hoekom, as jy die drugs wil doen dan gaan jy enigiets doen in jou vermoë om daai drug te kry. So was dit gewees.
(Informant 2)

This drive to ‘get to the drug’ often leads, as reported, to crime and, “[m]any believe that tik has exacerbated already rampant crime because it is regarded as the ideal stimulant to prepare a person to commit crime, by removing inhibitions and giving them a sense of invincibility, coupled with the need to pay for the drug” (Kapp, 2008, p. 194). This is further expanded upon in the reflections offered by the same informant cited above:

[...] ek gaan vir jou sê, ek het nog nooit, ek het vir my lewe wat ek gehad het, het ek nege, elf sake. Ek het nog nooit die tronk gesien nie. Ek was altyd so ver as die holding cells van Wynberg en die holding cells van Athlone en kan ek recall eenkeer in Ravensmead se holding cells.(Informant 2)

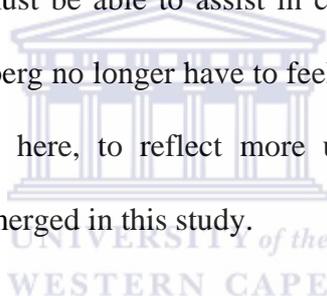
It certainly appears, from the available information provided by the informant base ,that there is a link between those who have committed a crime or who have been in prison, placed in a holding cell, or place of safety, or who have had some or other run in with the law and the need to stop using drugs. Whether this need is out of a sense of agency,

external intimidation by the authorities and/or threats of detention is not immediately obvious, but on the face of it the evidence does suggest that those who have gone through the formal cycle of contact with the police and other entities displayed a greater willingness to stop using drugs. This presents a number of opportunities for possible intervention and support programmes in that these programmes must be designed to work hand in glove with the criminal justice system to create favourable conditions whereby individual agency can manifest in exiting drug use.

This chapter has trawled an expansive area with regard to the individual and his/her propensity to use and/or reject tik. Key to this summary, then, is that the individual user acknowledges that he/she possesses agency in his/her decision to use and/or reject drugs. However, the matter of agency as reflected in this chapter, is not clear-cut and, as illustrated, required a far deeper engagement with the environmental stressors that present themselves within the social milieu of this individual. As discussed in this chapter, these stressors are simultaneously located within the various social constructs that make up this individual vis-à-vis the historical identity, the current community, the family, the peer collective, and, critically, the complex relationship evident in the franchise of drugs as exercised by drug merchants and gangs. It appears, then, that the individual faces insurmountable challenges, with regard to the rejection and/or use of tik, when confronted with an eroding social network and with the ever-present danger of capital ideology expressed through the practice of drug trade.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

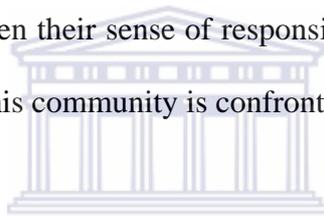
As can be expected, this study uncovered (and re-discovered) many variable factors in relation to the risk and protective factors of drug use. Through the application of the grounded theory method some of these factors emerged with definable parameters and others, as illustrated, emerged undefined, open, and organic. It is within the context of Manenberg, as an identifiable site of research, with its own evolving characteristics and its overarching sense of location, within the broader geography of the Cape Flats, where these factors takes on a form of hardship, struggle, and endurance for its local inhabitants. At the level of research, these risk and protective factors cannot merely act as subjects for reflection, but must be able to assist in contributing to an environment where the inhabitants of Manenberg no longer have to feel that failure is an inevitability. In summary then, it is useful, here, to reflect more unambiguously, perhaps even clinically, on the findings that emerged in this study.



6.1. Summary of Protective Factors

Firstly, given the information provided by the informants and the reflective nature with which they provided this information, it was clear that the informants were not without thought and sincere consideration of their practice of drug use. Here, some informants were very direct in stating that their use of tik is ‘wrong’ and that they are harming themselves and others and that, as such, they wish they had the ability to stop. This consciousness represents a fundamental opportunity in enabling the design of an intervention programme to deepen the informant base’s understanding of their predicament and to help them internalise, at a practical level, the implications of drug use.

Secondly, notwithstanding the fact that the family is presented in this study as a weakened safety net, informants continue to make the point that it is the erosion of the family identity and compromising of the family well-being that would lead them to seriously consider ending their use of drugs. Here, both male and female informants presented different aspects of the family, as protective factors, in assisting them in making the decision not to use drugs. This understanding is perhaps firmly located in the informants' sense of responsibility towards those who provide them with a sense of identity and provide them with a potential platform from which to achieve something in life. This is particularly important when the informants are responsible for children, as they argue that they would not want their children to walk a similar path to them. Lastly, it seems that the informants, given their sense of responsibility towards the family, seek to reverse the inevitability that this community is confronted with.



Thirdly, a number of informants also indicated that their physical appearance, while using tik, deteriorated over a period of time. This, in itself, presents as a protective factor as the informants feared being labelled because of their appearance as tik addicts. This contributes to the point made earlier that informants develop a sense of consideration, in this case, of the self.

Fourthly, a few of the informants did report that their contact with the police and/or correctional services, after having allegedly committed a crime, has spurred them to rethink their life path and possibly quitting drug use. Caution must be noted with this particular factor, as it is the view of this study that the introduction of punitive authority may not necessarily assist in the fight against drug use. This caution represents an opportunity at an institutional level to begin to synergise the work of the Department of

Social Development, the South African Police Services, and the criminal justice system more broadly.

Fifthly, informants reported that they are drug users, but not necessarily gang members. This presents an opportunity for intervention and support programmes to recognise that it may be easier to assist in the recovery process of a drug user that is not a member of a gang. In this case, this study concludes that gang membership brings with it its own set of complexities and difficulties, not necessarily studied here, which do allow for further entrapment of the drug user into an additional sub-culture of gangsterism.

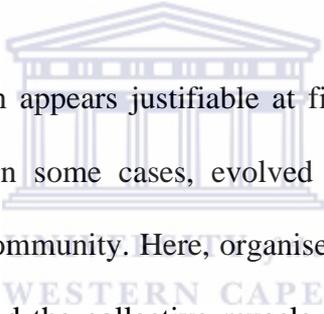
Lastly, one of the informants reported that some social programmes are provided for to help with the socio-economic challenges with which this community is confronted. The researcher can concur with this view as she herself has engaged with programmes presented under the Manenberg People's Centre (MPC). The social services bouquet is further augmented through the focused provision of development programmes offered specifically by Selfhelp Manenberg. However, it must be noted that this informant also pointed out that these programmes have limited reach and cannot undertake all the work and, therefore, more resources are necessary for such programmes.

6.2. Summary of Risk Factors

It is understandable, given the context of Manenberg that the list of risk factors below would far outweigh the protective factors, documented above, in as far as the substance and severity of these risk factors are concerned:

Firstly, it has both in this study, as well as in other studies, been clearly documented that Apartheid has affected the socio-economic conditions of Black African and "Coloured"

communities, post-Apartheid. It is the view of this study that this legacy of suffering under Apartheid has, in effect, manifested as an historical identity that shapes societal identities today. In Manenberg, the Apartheid of the past (and its consequential effects) remains a fundamental risk factor. Poverty, comprising of unemployment, resource deprivation, disempowerment, indignity, lack of opportunities, and a segregated self are all contributing factors that erodes an individual's ability to make sound choices with regard to his/her own life. Despite the fact that an individual is unable to make these choices, the legacy of poverty, as part and parcel of the structural identity of Manenberg, requires its people to find a way, adaptively so, to survive. Drug trade and drug use is squarely nestled within the legacy of Apartheid.



Secondly, though this adaptation appears justifiable at first, on closer inspection, it is clear that the adaptation has, in some cases, evolved into an organised system of exploitation of the Manenberg community. Here, organised crime through the structures of networked drug merchants and the collective muscle of the gang movements, have evolved into monopolistic entities that seek to perpetuate drug demand in order to continue drug supply and trade.

Thirdly, as indicated under the protective factors, the individual drug user is not without thought or reflection as he/she has considered the possibility of the cessation of his/her drug use. However, here the informant base is correct in their understanding that the viability for them to stop is almost zero, as they are trapped in a community where drug trade and drug use have almost become a necessity. This necessity of survival is in essence a risk factor.

Fourthly, perhaps one of the singular most important aspects cited by informants was the fact that the peer group provides a clear induction into the use of drugs, and tik more specifically. Here, the informants described in detail that the peer group represents an ongoing risk factor to them, as they do not want to feel alienated from the group. This sense of being located within a group, and indeed to have some or other group identity, is a fundamental part of human existence and, therefore, the individual will (in most instances) emulate the practices of the group.

Lastly, it can be argued, as was concluded in this study, that the family represents a critical part of an individual's existence. It can further be argued that the family can play a key role in assisting drug users to cease their drug use. However, and because of the historical identity of Manenberg, the Manenberg family is limited in responding effectively to the crisis of tik use. This limitation is borne out of the fact that under Apartheid the family suffered and that post-Apartheid the family still continues to suffer. This suffering is characterised by an acute lack of resources, know-how, and perhaps it must be ultimately noted, that the suffering of the individual is the suffering of the family.

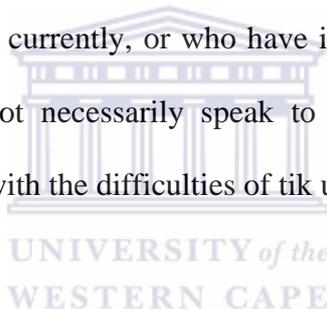
Ultimately, as elucidated from the risk factors above, tik use is a debilitating and disempowering scourge, the effects of which reverberates through the horrific experiences of the individual and the hopelessness embedded within families. An even greater scourge is the lack of a collective vision across keys stakeholders to respond effectively and decisively. The experiences of tik users specifically, as reflected upon in this study, clearly illustrates that the use of tik owns its own set of complexities, distinguishable from other drug use effects and behaviours. This study concludes, then, to suggest that a one-size-fits-all approach in addressing the challenges of tik use will be

fruitless and that responsive mechanisms, which are context-sensitive, must be developed and applied.

6.3. *Limitations of the Study*

Granted that this study has attempted to understand the risk and protective factors at play within Manenberg with regard to the use and/or rejection of tik amongst the youth, a number of limitations can be noted, as specified below:

Firstly, caution should be exercised in the generalisability of the findings of this study in that the findings yielded, here, are confined to the perceptions and experiences of youth in the Manenberg area, who are currently, or who have in the past, engaged in tik use. Therefore, these findings do not necessarily speak to the experiences of youth, in general, who may be grappling with the difficulties of tik use.



Secondly, considering the extent of tik use within the Manenberg area, the sample size represented, here, constitutes only a fraction of this user population and may, therefore, not be fully representative of the views of this user population.

Lastly, even though over 200 pages of narrative data was produced through the interviewing process, the time constraints in undertaking this study, in addition to the limited availability in terms of access to the informant base, may have impacted on the extensiveness of the data collected.

6.4. *Recommendations*

A number of 'pointers' on the user community's propensity to use and/or reject tik are embedded throughout the study. However, a clearer set of recommendations needs to be

drawn from this, taking into consideration the full scope of the discussions, as presented in this study, and as bulleted below:

- Each of the informants presented a varied narrative with its own set of socialised responses to the questions posed, which worked well for the purpose of this study, and as such it is recommended that future studies in this area invest more time on individual engagement with informants so to further delineate these differences.
- An additional recommendation with regard to the individual user relates to post-study processes where individuals, directly or indirectly, have expressed a set of needs and where future research in this regard must ensure a post-study support mechanism.
- With specific regard to female users, this study has found that limited literature exists that speaks to the nuanced experiences and specific risk and protective factors that may be at play for female users. Therefore, it is recommended that a focused study be conducted to explore the gender differences that may exist with regard to tik use. This is particularly important as these gender differences may imply differentiated approaches in intervention and support.
- It is further recommended that future studies should explore, not only the risk and protective factors of drug use, but should also focus on the provision of drug supply, as this may assist in a better understanding of the two-halves that make up the single problem, that is drug addiction.
- Lastly, in this study, the family has been identified as a key player with limited ability to assist family members who engage in tik use. Here, a study is required that would carefully examine these limitations and perhaps develop a

sort of 'tool kit' so to enable families to better respond to the challenges of tik
use.



REFERENCES

- Alvesson, M. & Sköldbberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Arthur, M.W., Hawkins, J.D., Pollard, J.A., Catalano, R.F. & Baglioni, A.J. (2002). Measuring risk and protective factors for substance use, delinquency, and other adolescent problem behaviors: The communities that care youth survey. *Evaluation Review*, 26, 575-601.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. (2001). Qualitative data analysis. In *Qualitative data analysis in the practice of social research: South African edition* (pp. 489-515). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Baskin-Sommers, A. & Sommers, I. (2006). Methamphetamine use and violence among young adults. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 34, 661-674.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In M. Gauvian & M. Cole (Eds.), *Readings on the development of children (2nd ed.)* (pp. 37-43). NY: Freeman.
- Brook, J.S., Morojele, N.K., Pahl, K. & Brook, D.W. (2006). Predictors of drug use among South African adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 38, 26-34.
- Coetzer, N. (2008). Exploring 'place-making,' city squares and other places: Cape Town's pre-apartheid spatial politics. *South African Journal of Art History*, 23, 139-157.
- Dew, B., Elifson, K. & Dozier, M. (2007). Social and environmental factors and their influence on drug use vulnerability and resiliency in rural populations. *The Journal of Rural Health*, 23, 16-21.

- Dishion, T.J. & Owen, L.D. (2002). A longitudinal analysis of friendships and substance use: Bidirectional influence from adolescence to adulthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 38, 480-491.
- Durrheim, K. (1999). Research design. In M. Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 29-53). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Flisher, A.J., Parry, C.D.H., Evans, J., Muller, M. & Lombard, C. (2003). Substance use by adolescents in Cape Town: Prevalence and correlates. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 32, 58-65.
- Grant, P. (2007). Evaluation of children removed from a clandestine methamphetamine laboratory. *Journal of Emergency Nursing*, 33, 31-41.
- Greydanus, D.E. & Patel, D.R. (2005). The adolescent and substance abuse: Current concepts. *Current Problems in Pediatric and Adolescent Health Care*, 35, 78-98.
- Grunebaum-Ralph, H. (2001). Re-placing pasts, forgetting presents: Narrative, Place, and Memory in the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Research in African Literatures*, 32, 198-212.
- Herman-Stahl, M.A., Krebs, C.P., Kroutil, L.A. & Heller, D.C. (2007). Risk and protective factors for methamphetamine use and nonmedical use of prescription stimulants among young adults aged 18 to 25. *Addictive Behaviors*, 32, 1003-1015.
- Jones, S.P. & Heaven, P.C.L. (1998). Psychosocial correlates of adolescent drug-taking behaviour. *Journal of Adolescence*, 21, 127-134.
- Kalipa, S. (2007, September 2). Tik boosts sex drive, reduces responsibility. *The Sunday Argus*, p. 4.
- Kapp, C. (2008). Crystal meth boom adds to South Africa's health challenges. *The Lancet*, 371, 193-194.

Kassiem, A. (2007, April 16). Youth tik crisis spirals out of control. *The Cape Times*, p. 1.

Kilpatrick, D.G., Acierno, R., Saunders, B., Resnick, H.S., Best, C.L. & Schnurr, P.P. (2000). Risk factors for adolescent substance abuse and dependence: Data from a national sample. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 68, 19-30.

Kinnes, I. (2008). Gang culture in South Africa and its impact. *Proceedings of the Human Security Roundtable: Criminal Gangs and the Threats to Human and State Security*, Nairobi, 26 May 2008.

Kumpfer, K. & Alvarado, R. (2003). Family-strengthening approaches for the prevention of youth problem behaviors. *American Psychologist*, 58, 457-465.

Layder, D. (1993). *New strategies in social research: An introduction and guide*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Leggett, T. (2003). On the tuk-tuk express: Has methamphetamine hit the Cape Flats? *South Africa Crime Quarterly*, 6, 33-35.

MacMaster, L.L.M. (2007). Social and economic emasculation as contributing factors to gangsterism on the Cape Flats. *Scriptura*, 95, 278-289.

Makinana, A. (2007, October 2). Tik abusers overwhelm city hospitals. Appeal for extra mental health beds. *The Cape Argus*, p. 8.

May, T. (1997). *Social research: Issues, methods and process (2nd ed.)*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Myers, B., Louw, J. & Fakier, N. (2008). Alcohol and drug abuse: Removing structural barriers to treatment for historically disadvantaged communities in Cape Town. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 17, 156-165.

- Punch, K.F. (1998). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative & qualitative approaches*. London: Sage
- Radebe, H. (2008). Tik calls the shots in Cape ganglands. *Business Day*, p. 5.
- Randolph, K.A. (2004). The dynamic nature of risk factors for substance use among adolescents. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Substance Abuse*, 13, 33-47.
- Russell, K., Dryden, D.M., Liang, Y., Friesen, C., O' Gorman, K., Durec, T., Wild, C. & Klassen, T.P. (2008). Risk factors for methamphetamine use in youth: A systematic review. *BMC Pediatrics*, 8, 48-57.
- Salo, E. (2005). Mans is ma soe: Ganging practices in Manenberg, South Africa and the ideologies of masculinity, gender and generational relations. *Proceedings of the Conference of a New Decade of Criminal Justice in South Africa: Consolidating Transformation*, Cape Town, 7-8 February 2005.
- Schoofs, M. (2007, May 22). As meth trade goes global, South Africa becomes a hub. *The Citizen*, p. 24.
- Silverman, D. (2001). *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Smetherham, J. (2005, April 4). Children selling sex to buy tik. *The Cape Times*, p. 3.
- Sommers, I., Baskin, D. & Baskin-Sommers, A. (2006). Methamphetamine use among young adults: Health and social consequences. *Addictive Behaviors*, 31, 1469-1476.
- Spoth, R., Goldberg, C., Neppl, T., Trudeau, L. & Ramisetty-Mikler, S. (2001). Rural-urban differences in the distribution of parent-reported risk factors for substance use among young adolescents. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 13, 609-623.
- Standing, A. (2003). *The social contradictions of organised crime on the Cape Flats*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

- Sutherland, I. & Shepherd, J.P. (2001). Social dimensions of adolescent substance use. *Addiction, 96*, 445-458.
- Van Hoorn, J. & LeVeck, P.J. (1992). Young adults' understanding of political issues: A social-ecological analysis. In H. Haste & J. Torney-Purta (Eds.), *The development of political understanding: A new perspective* (pp. 95-106). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- van Wyk, B.E & Theron, W.H. (2005). Fighting gangsterism in South Africa: A contextual review of gang and anti-gang movements in the Western Cape. *Acta Criminologica, 18*, 51-60.
- Wallace Jr., J.M., Bachman, J.G., O' Malley, P.M., Schulenberg, J.E., Cooper, S.M. & Johnston, L.D. (2003). Gender and ethnic differences in smoking, drinking and illicit drug use among American 8th, 10th and 12th grade students, 1976-2000. *Addiction, 98*, 225-234.
- Wechsberg, W.M., Luseno, W.K., Karg, R.S., Young, S., Rodman, N., Myers, B. & Parry, C.D.H. (2008). Alcohol, cannabis, and methamphetamine use and other risk behaviours among Black and Coloured South African women: A small randomized trial in the Western Cape. *International Journal of Drug Policy, 19*, 130-139.
- Weiss, S.R.B., Kung, H. & Pearson, J.L. (2003). Emerging issues in gender and ethnic differences in substance abuse and treatment. *Current Women's Health, 3*, 245-253.
- Yen, C., Yang, Y. & Chong, M. (2006). Correlates of methamphetamine use for Taiwanese adolescents. *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences, 60*, 160-167.

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET



UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa, Telephone: (021) 959-2283/2453
Fax: (021) 959-3515 Telex: 52 6661

INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Research Project: A multi-method study of methamphetamine use in a low socio-economic status community in the Cape Metropolitan area of South Africa.

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Prof. E. Koch, Mr. E. Fouten, Mr. C. Davids, Mr. S. Savahl and Ms. M. Florence, all lecturers of the Psychology Department at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are living in Manenberg. The purpose of this research project is to get a sense of whether tik use is a problem in the Manenberg community and to find out what factors in the community and beyond could lead to tik use in Manenberg. This research will contribute to a better understanding of the problem in this area of the Western Cape and South Africa, and could lead to better preventive and treatment programmes being implemented.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to answer questions contained in a discussion guide to which you must please respond to the best of your ability. All the questions will be related to the issue of whether tik use is a problem in the Manenberg community and to explore what factors in the community could potentially lead to tik use in Manenberg. The discussion will be facilitated by trained researchers. Participation in the research is voluntary and you are under NO obligation to participate. In addition, some demographic information such as age, gender, family composition, and so forth will also be necessary to facilitate a more comprehensive study.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

We will do our best to keep your personal information confidential. We will need to record information like your age, gender and socio-economic status, but your name will not appear on the record that will be kept of the information. A number that will be assigned to the information

will be recorded on a computer and will be the only way of linking your responses to a specific question, but it will be completely anonymous. The researchers will be the only people who will have access to the results. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project. We are not doing research on you as a person or to affect you in any way. You are only being questioned so that we can information about tik use, in general, in the Manenberg area.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the researchers learn more about the factors in your community that influence tik use. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of this problem.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study, or if you stop participating at any time, there will be no consequences.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Should you be negatively affected by this research, you can contact Prof. Elize Koch, or any of the following members of the research team; Mr. Elron Fouten, Mr. Charl Davids, Mr. Shazly Savahl, and Ms. Maria Florence who will do everything possible to refer you for support and assistance.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Prof. Elize Koch, Mr. Elron Fouten, Mr. Charl Davids, Mr. Shazly Savahl, and Ms. Maria Florence at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact any of us at: The University of the Western Cape, Prof. Elize Koch, 021-9592842, skoch@uwc.ac.za, Mr. Elron Fouten, 021-9593096, efouten@uwc.ac.za, Mr. Charl Davids, 021-9592841, cdavids@uwc.ac.za, Mr. Shazly Savahl, 021-9592283, ssavahl@uwc.ac.za, and Ms Maria Florence, 021-9592827, mflorence@uwc.ac.za.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Prof. K. Mwaba (021-959 2839)

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof R. Mpofu

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17

Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.



APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa, Telephone: (021) 959-2283/2453

Fax: (021) 959-3515 Telex: 52 6661

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: *Perceptions and experiences of youth who are currently, or who have in the past, engaged in the use of methamphetamine on the factors that may influence their use thereof.*

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and that this will not negatively affect me in any way.

Participant's name.....

Participant's signature.....

Date.....

Witness' name:.....

Witness' signature:.....

Date:.....

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact the study coordinator:

Mr. S. Savahl

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17, Belville 7535

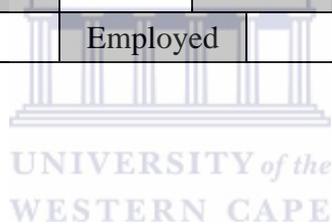
Telephone: (021) 959-2283 / Fax: (021) 959-3515

E-mail: ssavahl@uwc.ac.za

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET

Interviewee Information Sheet
(Complete blank spaces only)

Name																					
Surname																					
Age																					
Gender		Male				Female															
Highest Level of Education																					
Dependents (Children)		Yes				No															
Marital Status		Married				Single															
				Divorced				Cohabiting													
Household information																					
Living with		On your Own				Mother or Father				Both Parents				Extended Family				Foster-parents/Friends			
Number of siblings				Brothers								Sisters									
Employment Status				Employed								Unemployed									



APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Question	Afrikaans Translation of Interview Question
1. Do you currently engage in drug use? If so, what type and how often?	Gebruik jy huidiglik enige dwelms? Indien ja, watter tipe dwelms gebruik jy en hoe gereeld?
2. Describe the circumstances that existed in your life that led you to utilise drugs for the first time?	Beskryf die omstandighede, in jou lewe toe jy die eerste keer dwelms gebruik het?
3. What led you to continue utilising drugs?	Wat het jou laat aanhou dwelms gebruik?
4. a) Was there ever a time during this period that you stopped utilising drugs and what were the circumstances surrounding that? b) Was there ever a time at which you wanted to stop utilising drugs and what prevented you from doing so?	a) Was daar ooit 'n tyd toe jy opgehou het om dwelms te gebruik en wat was die omstandighede wat daar toe gelei het? b) Wou jy al vantevore opgehou het om dwelms te gebruik en wat het jou verhoed om wel op te hou?
5. For how long did you stop and what made you then re-initiate your drug use again?	Vir hoe lank het jy opgehou om dwelms te gebruik en wat het daar toe gelei dat jy dit weer begin gebruik het?
6. See snap shot table below	
7. At the time that you were using tik, how was it different from utilising other drugs?	Toe jy tik gebruik het, hoe is dit verskillend van ander tipe dwelms?
8. Is tik easier to access in Manenberg than other drugs? Why do you think tik is easier to access in Manenberg?	Is dit makliker om tik in die hande te kry in Manenberg as ander tipe dwelms? Hoekom dink jy is tik makliker om in die hande te kry in Manenberg?
9. What do you think could have prevented you from utilising drugs?	Wat dink jy so jou verhoed het om dwelms te gebruik?
10. Given that these factors did not exist, what sort of help would you have wanted prior to, and at the time at which you started utilising drugs?	As die omstandighede nie bestaan het nie (soos jy dit beskryf het in die vorige vraag), wat sou jy sê is die tipe hulp wat jy so wou gehad het voor, en gedurende die tyd wat jy dwelms gebruik het?

(6) Snapshot Analysis – Risk, Propensity, Rehabilitation

Chronological Order of Use

(Years)

Drug Type/Tipe Dwelm

Where were you living? Waar het jy gewoorn op daardie stadium?

Were you in school? Was jy op skool?/ Were you employed? Het jy gewerk?

Frequency of use? Hoeveel keer het jy dit gebruik?

(day/week)

Individually or with peers? Het jy dit op jou eie gebruik of saam met vriende?

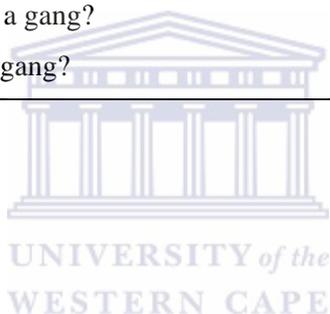
How did this drug(s) make you feel? Hoe het die dwelm(s) jou laat voel?

Rehabilitation - what was this experience like? Was it useful? Rehabilitasie – wat was jou ondervinding daarvan? Het jy baat gevind daaruit?

Were you ever in prison? Was jy al ooit in die tronk?

Are you (or were you) a member of a gang?

Is jy, of was jy al ooit, 'n lid van 'n gang?



APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPT (INFORMANT 2)

DATUM:

3 AUGUST 2009

INTERVIEWER: So I am going to ask the questions in Afrikaans and then we can see how it goes from there, but if you don't understand the question or whatever, you can just say to me and then I can ... My Afrikaans is not very good, so I might have to ask you to speak slower or to repeat something or to explain something. Is that fine? Okay. Gebruik jy op die oomblik enige soort drugs?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek het verlede jaar Desember het ek die drugs gelos.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Watter soort drugs het jy toe gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het gebruik Tik, ek het Mandrax gebruik, ek het dagga gerook, ek het Ecstasy gebruik, ek het heroïen gebruik en ek het rocks gebruik.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Okei.

INFORMANT 2: Ek het basically almal die drugs wat hulle kan kry in die coloured communities, het ek gebruik.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vir hoe lank het jy hulle gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Vir 'n period van 2004 till 2008. Ek het voorheen het ek dagga gerook, want ek was - nadat ek skool gelos het was ek ge-expose na dagga.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoe was jy ge-expose na dit, wat het gebeur?

INFORMANT 2: Due toe, ek was ge-expel gewees van skool, toe is ek by die huis. Ek het werk gesoek, ek het nie nog werk gekry nie. Late van tyd was ek ge-expose van vriende, dagga. Ons het begin dagga rook. Later van tyd het ek hoër as dagga gegaan, toe begin ek Mandrax te gebruik. Ek het vir 'n period van tyd het ek Madrax gebruik (onduidelik) elke drug op sy eie tyd ingekom het en soos die drug ingekom het, het ek net inge-jump met die drug en ek het die drug ook begin doen. Dit op 'n stage van 2008, laasjaar wat ek dit nou gelos het finally het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat het vir jou laat besluit om dit te los, wat het gebeur?

INFORMANT 2: Dit is die effek dat, ek het net die rede vir my kinders, want ek is net 'n bietjie bang hulle gaan dit doen in die toekoms en ek wil nie hê graag hulle moet dit doen nie. Ek decide net (onduidelik) dit was 'n bietjie baie swaar gewees om immediatly stop aan te sit, maar deur die Man van Bo, om so te sê, het ek (onduidelik) ek confidence gebou in myself en gesê, wag (onduidelik) ek het opgehou met die drugs.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy op jou eie opgehou of was jy na 'n rehab centre toe?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek het net ge-decide self, confidence, ek het - kom laat ek so sê, ek het dit begin, so om vir my om dit geëindig het, het dit weer vir myself gekos, want dit was vir myself gewees die dag wat ek dit gebruik het. Ek het nou wel saam met die vriende gerook, maar hulle was nie die mense wat die goed in my mond gesit het nie. Ek was die een wat dit self na my mond toe gedra het. Ek het toe ge-decide, wel as ek dit na my mond toe gedra het, might as well, ek het eenkeer dit aflos en ek het net bly ... Kan ek sê, ek het net confidence opgehou en vir myself gesê genoeg is genoeg en stop alles. Ek het nie nog mense gehad nie wat my gehelp het of so nie. Ek het myself ge-motivate en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was dit swaar om op te hou?

INFORMANT 2: Yes, dit was baie, baie swaar. Vir my was dit baie swaar. Ek het vir 'n hele, ek is nou so oud soos die jaar is, is ek nou sonder die drugs, maar vir die duur van ses maande het ek, die eerste ses maande van die jaar was vir my die swaarste gewees, want die proses wat ek deurgegaan het van detox en craving was nog daar gewees. Daar is soms aande wat ek gelê en gehuil het van die drugs, want dan wil ek nog drugs doen, maar due to ek vir myself gesê het ek gaan dit nie doen nie, het ek net baklei daarteen. Dat ek finally verby daardie punt is nou wat ek nie meer daardie craving kry of, ek kan nou gaan sit tussen vriende wat rook, dan sal ek nie geheg oor is saam met drugs of so nie. Drugs sal my nie laat crave of so nie. Ek sal net daar sit en vir hulle dophou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En jy sê dit was baie swaar vir jou. Is daar dalk support of ondersteuning wat jy sou graag wou gehad het in die tyd?

INFORMANT 2: Nou sê u die waarheid. Ek is nou lank, ek is nou 29 jaar in Mannenberg. Ek dink baie hierso in ons gemeenskap hier, hier is nie nog support groups hierso nie en daar is nie nog programs wat verhoed, like om vir jou van die straat af te hou, daar is baie min programs soos daai vir ons hierso in Mannenberg. Ek dink as hulle meer vir ons hier, like programs wil

gee om van die strate af te hou, dan sal baie van ons van die drugs ook af kom.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dink jy daar is goed in die area self wat vir die jongmense lei dan om die drugs te gebruik? Soos byvoorbeeld daar is nie entertainment in die area, daar is nie goed wat hulle kan doen nie, daar is nie sportklubs of sport centres nie of ...

INFORMANT 2: Daai is die groot eintlik, hoekom, due to daai is (onduidelik) programs en so, nè, daar is nie ander options vir hulle nie. Hulle involve hulle maar nou net in die vriendskap en later van tyd dan hoor jy maar net daai een doen daai drugs, sy doen ook daai drugs, hy doen ook daai drugs. Agterna raak dit so erg, dan hoor jy klomp verkeerde dinge, hy steel. 'n Persoon wat jy nooit sal gedink het sal daai gedoen het nie is vandag die grootste drug addict en die drug merchant. As hulle meer vir ons programs in die, hierso in ons area aanbied, dan dink ek om, die youth sal uitkom om programs (onduidelik) dan sal daar minder drug abuses wees. Hulle sal nie meer drugs doen hierso by ons nie. Hulle sal drugs doen, maar nie so erg soos dit nou is nie. As ek nou mooi dink, sê 80%, 70% van ons (onduidelik) in drugs.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is hoog.

INFORMANT 2: Dis baie, ja. Ek weet van hulle, daar is kinders van 10 jaar oud af wat die drugs gebruik hierso. Ek kan dit (onduidelik) gesit en rook wat ek kom kry hier sit tieners ook saam met ons en rook.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Sjoe. So, (Name of informant), daar is niks wat jy self wou gehad het om vir jou te help ophou nie, in support nie?

INFORMANT 2: My vrou, my vrou wat ek nou mee getroud is, sy was ook op die drugs gewees, maar sy was about, sy was seker net so 'n jaar of so, want dinge het vir ons begin uitmekaar val by die huis. Dit was nie erg soos dit altyd gewees het nie. Daai is ook een van die redes wat ek 'n stop aangesit het, want ons het nou van bad na worse toe gegaan, toe decide ek net dan gaan die drugs miskien nou my familie uitmekaar uit gaan. Sy het dit nie gedoen nie. Ek was die ene wat vir haar expose het na die drugs toe, want ek het die drugs later van tyd by my huis doen, in die huis wat eintlik verkeerd gewees het. Sy het toe gesien die dinge wat ek mee besig is en later van tyd toe het sy nou begin met die drugs. Toe dink ek daai gaan my familie uitmekaar uitskeur, dat ek nou maar net 'n stop daaraan sit. Dit was baie, soos ek weer sê, dit was baie, baie swaar gewees. Ek het nog altyd deur die healing process nou soos ek hierso sit, is ek nog altyd besig met die

healing process, maar ek is net bly ek is verby die pad dat ek die craving, net daai part. Om die craving part nog in jou te hê is 'n bietjie baie gevaarlik. Hoekom, jy gaan weer na die drugs toe lei.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En watse hulp, soos jy nou hier sit, watse hulp wil jy graag hê om vir jou weg te hou daarvan?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het gevra vir, hoeka die ou wat ek ook (onduidelik) vir 'n scholarship, hoeka due toe, hier is nie geld hierso by ons nie en so nie, toe sê hy vir my, oukei hy gaan vir my kry. Ek het, ek was besig nou gewees met part time ook soos computer courses en so, maar ek weet nie of daar eintlik 'n benefit is en so nie, maar oukei, due to dit net vir my besig hou en weg van die drugs af hou, het ek nie ander option gehad nie, want ek dink as jy jou hande baie gebruik dan sal jy baie verander. Daai is iets wat vir jou weg van die drugs af hou, as jy baie jou hande use en jy is besig met iets wat jou mind heeltemal wegvat van die drugs af. Veral jou hande. Jou hande, ek weet wat vir my baie gehelp, om net jou hande te gebruik om vir jou besig te hou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy dink die youth het meer opportunities nodig?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Om vir hulle weg te hou?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Hoekom, hier is klomp potential in ons area hierso. Hier is klomp ouens wat kwaai, soos ouens wat sokker, ek kan remember ouens sokker, base ball, krieket, wat kwaai is daarin, maar due to the effect dat daar is nie plekke wat hulle na toe kan gaan nie. Ons wil net begin in ons neighbourhood en so, maar daar is nie like 'n klub of 'n plek of 'n sentrum wat ons na toe kan gaan en vra vir help nie, want hier is maar min ondersteuning van die, van die organizations in Mannenberg. Hier is maar net 'n paar van hulle, maar hulle kan nie alles gelyk doen vir ons hierso nie. Daar is van hulle wat paar programs aanbied, maar vir hoe lank? As hulle programs aanbied, dit is 'n bietjie streng ook op die, op die, daai is wat die youth nie wil hê nie in ons area nie dat jy nou streng op hulle is nie. Jy kan die saam (onduidelik), communicate en so, maar as jy vir hulle gaan - ons mense is geneig om die next persoon te judge en daai is wat vir ons, baie van ons youth afdruk.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het nou einde verlede jaar opgehou, nè, en jy is nou amper agt maande skoon, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is 'n lang tyd, nè? Het jy voorheen al ooit probeer ophou?

INFORMANT 2: Om vir jou die waarheid te sê, ek het opgehou, maar hoe het ek opgehou? Ek het miskien net vir myself 'n relievie gegee van een drug. Ek het 'n klomp soort drugs gedoen, toe het ek net vir my 'n relievie gegee van - miskien vir 'n period van tyd nie die drug nie en dan doen ek miskien nou net die soort drugs en so nie. Waar nou, van ek nou opgehou het, het ek nou elke drug het ek begin te los. Ek het eerste die heroin gelos, die rocks gelos, ek het die Extacies gelos, maar ek het dit nie sommer net gelos nie, dit het vir my gekos meer tyd gekos, amper soos drie, vier maande die een drug te los en dan weer die ander drug te los. So het ek verder gekom dat ek die laaste drie drugs wat ek gedoen het was gewees Mandrax, dit was gewees Tik en dit was gewees, hulle call dit (onduidelik). Ek sal nie nog dagga klas saam nie. Hoekom, dagga was die laaste ding wat ek gebruik het voor ek nou heeltemal ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Skoon was.

INFORMANT 2: Ja, voor ek nou ... Hoekom, dit sal nie easy wees vir een om sommer nou net alles te los. Jy kan doodgaan, jy kan ernstig siek raak en in die hospitaal beland. Ek weet daar is mense wat begin mal raak, want hoeka die drug maak vir jou, die drug maak jou heeltemal deurmekaar, hy maak jou mal. Daar is ouens wat ek gesien het wat saam met my skool geloop het en saam met my ge-drug het, wat vandag dood is, wat na my begin het, wat dood is en wat mal is. Ek is net bly ek het die drug gelos, want ek weet nie wat sal die drug effek gehad het op my het nie. Ek is nie spyt ek het die drug gelos nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ek is bly om te hoor, maar dit was moeilik en dit was swaar, nè? Sjoe.

INFORMANT 2: Dit was baie, baie swaar gewees. Ek het nog, die is nog die after effect van die detox, die goed wat ek uitgesluk het. Ek was by die dokter gewees om uit te vind, toe sê hulle vir my dit is part van die detox. Dit is hoekom ek sê ek is nog altyd in die healing process.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm, ja dit gaan 'n tydjie neem. Dit gaan nie sommer net so gebeur nie.

INFORMANT 2: Hulle sê (onduidelik) nege maande, dan is jy, die drug is al klaar uit my uit, maar weer om in te pas by die lewe. Hoekom, die moment as jy dit los dan sien jy weer almal die dinge, (onduidelik) voor jou kom, wat jy drugs gedoen het dan het jy klomp dinge net verbygekyk. So

(onduidelik) gekom en so dan het jy dit nooit in ag geneem nie, jy het eintlik verbygekyk en so verby. Later van tyd as jy skoon, dit is amper soos jy is in, net in een tunnel, jy sien lig aan die anderkant, maar jy kom ook nooit so ver as die lig nie. So was dit gewees, maar as jy die drugs los, dan alles begin nou net vir jou net kleure te raak, kleure, kleure, kleure en kleure. Jy sien nou weer dinge raak, maar nou soos jy dinge raaksien dan, soos ek kyk, vandag ek is baie spyt soos ek hierso sit. Ek het seker meer as ses, sewe jaar van my lewe het ek weggegooi aan drugs. Daai is 'n lang tyd wat ek, daar is klomp dinge wat ek in daai tyd wat ek uitgemis het en so. Dit is hoekom ek sê ek is nog altyd in die healing process, want ek sien elke keer sien ek net dinge meer clearder vir my. Ek het nog altyd so 'n bietjie, sal nie sê deurmekaar nie, maar ek pas my nog altyd, try nog altyd om in te pas nou met die lewe, om so te sê. Hoekom, die lewe van drugs en die lewe sonder drugs is twee different soort lewens. Oukei, die tyd wat ek op drugs gewees het, om drugs te gedoen het, ek het gevaarlike dinge gedoen. Ons het mense seergemaak. Ek het ge-rob, ek het gaan steel. Ek het enigiets gedoen net om aan drugs te kom en niks het in my pad gestaan nie. Ek was nie eens bang vir woorde of vir ander ouens of so nie, want hoekom, as jy die drugs wil doen dan gaan jy enigiets doen in jou vermoë om daai drug te kry. So was dit gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoe oud was jy toe jy die eerste keer begin saam met die drugs?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het, ek was 'n gangster gewees since '94 tot '98. Ek het die gangsterism gelos 1998, toe het ek my eerste, my first born, ja dit was toe ek my eerste baby, en toe dink ek, wag laat ek die gangsterism los en toe 2000 ... ek het niks gedoen, maar so net vir (onduidelik) later van tyd wat ek die meeste begin met my drugs was 2004. Since 2004 toe het ek baie, ek was, daai was in die diepte van die drugs om so te gesê het, toe was ek nou in die drugs in. Till up to 2008, nou laasjaar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy sê dat toe jy skool gelos het, was jy ge-expose aan die dagga, nè? Nou dink jy dat jy dit gebruik het omdat jou vriende vir jou geforseer het of omdat jy gevoel het jy soek hulle aanvaarding of hoekom dink jy het jy dit begin gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Die eerste keer wat ek dagga gerook het, die vrou wat vir my expose het aan die dagga, hy is vandag dood, sy naam is Monique Kalam. Ek en hy het, hy het my gevat na die leader van hulle gang. Hy het behoort aan 'n gang, call dit Dixie Boys, het gesit by daardie huis, eerste keer wat

ek gesit en Mandrax rook het in die toilet. Ek het gesit in die living room, toe het die een ou net vir, die (onduidelik) mos geswaai en die (onduidelik) net gesit hier langsaan my. Ek kan remember dat ek het die (onduidelik) self opgetel en ek het gegaan tot in die toilet en ek het gevra, hulle was besig met Mandrax, of ek nie die (onduidelik) aan kan steek nie. Ek het die (onduidelik) toe aangesteek en since daardie tyd, die eerste dag, ek sal nooit dag vergeet wat ek die eerste dag daar (onduidelik) ontmoet nie, want ek het daardie dag toe het ek (onduidelik) snaakse dinge raakgesien. Gelyk amper soos jy mal raak. Die een moment toe het ek gaan slaap op 'n veld, toe skrik ek wakker en later van tyd toe dink ek wag ek gaan weer rook. Ek het toe begin op my eie uit so te rook en ek saam met vroumense begin rook, het ek (onduidelik) begin rook saam met vroumense.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dink jy dat daar sou iets kon gebeur het wat vir jou daardie dag kon stop het om met die drugs te begin?

INFORMANT 2: Dit was 'n bietjie baie moeilik gewees due to, almal het ook, my vriende in my neighbourhood, hulle het gerook Mandrax en dagga. Daai was die twee wat die meeste, wat popular gewees het. Nou as ek na die een kampie van my vriende skuif dan sal ek, hulle rook groen pype en dan sal ek 'n skyf trek van die groen pype en later van tyd toe het die ouens begin die Mandrax ook die groen pyp gegooi het en toe het ek vir hulle later van tyd gevra kan ek nie 'n skyf trek van die pyp nie, toe sê hulle vir my dit gaan vir jou geld kos. Ek vra toe hoeveel gaan dit wees. Hulle het vir my gesê 'n helfte. Die helfte was altyd gewees, tyd wat begin Mandrax doen het, toe was die helfte R7 gewees, R8. Daai was R15. Die eerste pil wat ek gerook het was, die (onduidelik) soos hulle dit gesê het al die tyd. Dit was 'n groot pil gewees. Ek het my R7 gegee vir hulle en dan het hulle my die cream opgegooi en dan is dit die tyd wat jy nou, wat hulle sê jy earth nou aan die pil. Daai is nou so vier seconds wat jy nou so 'n black-out het en as jy uit daai uitkom uit daai black-out kom, dan lyk dit my jy wil nou nog meer hê. Daai was toe ek my mistake gemaak het, want toe begin ek nou, toe begin dit nou 'n habit te raak, wat ek elke keer geld kry en toe later begin dit dat ek begin steel, verkeerde dinge doen. So het dit gegaan later toe het ons, want ons was 'n groepie wat nou weg is saam, wat ek nou later van tyd (onduidelik) ander soort van drugs.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dink jy dat daar niks is wat vir jou kon stop het nie om dit te gebruik in die eerste plek nie?

INFORMANT 2: Om die waarheid te sê, dit was 'n bietjie baie moeilik gewees daai tyd. Hoekom, plek-plek moet jy nog skuil-skuil probeer weggesteek het vir gangsterism en net om vir jou besig te gehou het en vir jou weg te gehou het van die pad af, want as jy op die pad gaan dan gaan hulle vir jou doodskiet. Dan was daar nie ander option gewees vir my, om so te sê, om net by die drugs ... Daar was nie nog regtig vir ons activities regtig aangebied gewees nie. Daar was gewees table tennis, maar die boundary wat dit gewees het, ons gaan nie nog tot daar gegaan het nie, want dit is baie gevaarlik, want die gangsters sal vir ons gekry het nou daarso en ons was nou naby aan junction en daai is die gouste way om aan geld te kom as ons opgegaan het na junction toe, dan het ons verkeerde aangevang. Ons het die karre ingebreek, ons het mense loop en besteel en beroof, ons het by winkels gaan steel om aan geld te gekom het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: (Name of informant), ek het net 'n chart hierso wat ek net vinnig saam met jou wil invul, as jy nie omgee nie?

INFORMANT 2: Oukei.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ek wil net kyk na, vir elke jaar watse soort drug jy gebruik het en dan is daar vrae wat saam met elke jaar gaan, as jy nie omgee nie?

INFORMANT 2: Oukei, jy kan maar net vir my vra die ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei, ek sal vir jou vra, maar ek sal ook neerskryf terwyl ons dit doen. In watter jaar was die eerste keer wat jy drugs gebruik het?

INFORMANT 2: Ek sal sê dit is in '99/2000. Ek kan nie die place sê maar, '99/2000 daai is toe ek expose gewees het na drugs toe wat ek dit gebruik het, maar dit was 'n paar times gewees wat ek dit gebruik het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So 1999, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat se soort drugs was dit toe wat jy gebruik het?

INFORMANT 2: Dit was gewees Mandrax ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm, en wat nog?

INFORMANT 2: Ons het dagga ook gerook.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei?

INFORMANT 2: En soos hulle sê rocks. Rocks was (onduidelik) uitgekome het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is alles in 1999?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die rocks is cocaine, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Dit is, ja, dit is 'n mixture van cocaine en (onduidelik) al die goed wat hulle vandag in die drugs ingooi.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En op daardie tydstip waar het jy gebly? Het jy saam met jou ma-hulle gebly?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, ek het gebly nog saam met my ma.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy met jou ma en jou pa gebly?

INFORMANT 2: Ons het sonder pa grootgeraak. Ons was, my ma het agter ons gekyk, ons vyf, ses kinders.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het almal toe in die huis gebly? So dit was jou ma, jy en die ses kinders?

INFORMANT 2: My oudste broer was uit gewees, so ons was net vyf gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So die vyf van julle. Was jy nog op skool, (Name of informant), in daardie jaar, 1999?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek was klaar op skool.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wanneer is jy uit die skool uit?

INFORMANT 2: '96, 97. Ek kan net nie, '96. 1996.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: '96.

INFORMANT 2: Ja, '96.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het gesê jy was ge-expel, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Kan ek maar vra hoekom jy expel was?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het 'n part time job gekry, toe het ek gaan werk by (onduidelik), toe het ek nou begin tekkies te dra by die skool. Ek het skoolskoene gehad, maar my skoolskoene was gebreek gewees. Nou hulle wil niks verstaan het, ek regret dit nou nog vandag toe nog dat ek weg is daar by die skool due toe daai, en ek het tekkies gedra op die skool. Daai ding, ons was, daai was verkeerd gewees van ons prinsipaal om ons te expel het due toe ons tekkies gedra het. Ek bly blame, ek kan nie myself, ek kan net vir hom blame, want ek het huis toe gegaan om vir hom te wys hoe lyk my skoolskoene nadat hy wil niks verstaan het nie en hulle het vir my 'n brief gegee om te sê hulle soek my nie meer op daai skool nie en hoeka die rede wat hulle vir my daar van die skool af gesit het en toe gee hulle die brief ek kan by 'n ander skool aansoek gaan doen.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit is 'n transfer brief amper?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, maar dit is, hulle soek my net nie op hulle skool nie, so nie. Ek weet nie hoe kan hulle dit nou gedoen het nie of so nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Maar dit was onregverdig, nè, want jy kan mos nou nie help nie?

INFORMANT 2: Toe het ek nou net, toe het ek by die huis gewees, (onduidelik) by die huis en ek gaan werk toe by, (onduidelik) vir 'n part time period.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy was in standerd 7, nè, toe jy uit die skool uit is, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Grade 9. Het jy gewerk op daai, in daardie jaar, 1999, of was jy unemployed?

INFORMANT 2: Ek weet tussen '96 tot 2000 het ek baie gewerk ook (onduidelik) ons op die gebou saam met ouens wat painting gedoen het wat ek kan remember, want dit was in '96 en 2000 het ek baie gewerk op die gebou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Wat sal ek dit nou noem?

INFORMANT 2: Op die gebou?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm.

INFORMANT 2: Dit is painting.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Later van tyd het ek gewerk op die, 2005 en 2006 toe werk ek by (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dan hoeveel keer op 'n dag het jy die drugs gebruik, vir '99? Ek weet dit is nou lank terug. So dit is die Mandrax, hoeveel op 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Miskien twee keer. Twee keer. Miskien in die oggend, vroeg in die oggende as my ma nie kan sien, dan bly ek heeldag weg en dan laat in die aande as ek inkom dan slaap hulle al.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die rocks, hoeveel keer 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Rocks het ek gedoen baie saam met ouens wat ek nog bevriend mee gewees het wat gangsterism gewees het, wat gangsters gewees het. Hulle is die ouens wat die goed verkoop het. Nou hulle het altyd, as ek gesê het ouens miskien ek het hierso paar rand, dan sal hulle vir my sê, raait nou gee die, dan rook saam. Ek rook saam met hulle, miskien so, sometimes drie, vier keer.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Op 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Elke dag?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die dagga?

INFORMANT 2: Dagga?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm.

INFORMANT 2: Dagga was elke dag. Dagga was amper soos 'n hulle sê jou brood en water. Wat ek opstaan dan wil jy dagga rook. Waar jy kom kry hulle rook dagga, jy het later van tyd het jy nie eers geweet (onduidelik), want dagga was amper soos, dit was orals. Dit groei mos sommer by mense se plekke ook. Daar wat jy gekom het en hulle rook dagga, dan rook jy saam. Dagga, ek het begin geld uithaal, ons het begin parcels uitgerook op 'n dag en daai was sommer heel dag gerook. So ek kan nie vir jou sê hoeveel keer 'n dag nie. Ons het, as ek nou hierso opstaan dan het ek gaan rook. Dit is seker, ek gaan nie vir jou lieg nie, elke driekwartier, elke uur. Ons het baie gerook.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So ek gaan maar net sit elke uur, nè? Is dit orraait?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, jy kan maar opsit.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En het jy saam met vriende dit gedoen of het jy dit op jou eie gedoen?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, die drugs?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die drugs.

INFORMANT 2: Wat ek drugs gedoen het, ek het altyd drugs, ek het nooit drugs alleen gedoen nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So saam met vriende, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het nooit drugs alleen gedoen nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En hoe het dit jou laat voel, die drugs? Hoe het die Mandrax jou laat voel? Kom ons begin eers weer by die Mandrax, hoe het dit jou laat voel as jy dit gebruik het?

INFORMANT 2: Ek kan, (onduidelik) daai ou gesê het jy voel soos brave star. Jy voel net, besides the high, besides high, jy voel net enigiets wat in jou pad staan, jy sal daai ding uit jou pad uit - hoe kan ek dit nou vir jou stel, jy voel net enigiets kan kom nou, jy is nou net niks bang vir niemand nie. Jy voel amper soos, dit voel amper soos 'n seal oor jou, om so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die rocks?

INFORMANT 2: Die rocks het vir jou baie hyper gemaak. Dit het gemaak as jy, as jy nou, as ek nou dink, daai is die drugs vir jou gemaak het dat jy nou sommer gaan steel.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. En die dagga, hoe het dit vir jou laat voel?

INFORMANT 2: Die dagga maak vir jou, dagga maak jou high.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Kan jy vir my beskryf hoe jy voel as jy high is?

INFORMANT 2: Ek, dis bietjie complicated om te explain. As jy dit gebruik dan sal jy - soos ek gebruik dit nou nie meer nou nie. Om dit vir jou so te stel, ek weet dit maak jou honger. Hoe kan ek dit nou vir jou stel? Maak vir jou, dit laat vir jou net lekker voel.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En jy was nog nooit in 'n rehab centre nie, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Never, ever before.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In die tronk in daardie jaar?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 1999.

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek gaan vir jou sê, ek het nog nooit, ek het vir my lewe wat ek gehad het, het ek nege, elf sake. Ek het nog nooit die tronk gesien nie. Ek was (onduidelik), die holding cells van Wynberg en die holding cells van Athlone en kan ek recall eenkeer in Ravensmead se holding cells.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In watter jare was dit wat jy in die holding cells was? Dit was nie '99 nie, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Elke jaar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Elke jaar.

INFORMANT 2: Daai was nou gewees nou van sê 2000 af.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En in 1999 was jy in 'n gang?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek het 1998 het ek my gangsterism gelos.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei, so jy het '98 gelos, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, maar dit het vir my gevat nog, dit is ... Hoeka in die plek, ek het mense, laat ek vir jou so sê, ek was saam met die Staggie gang gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was dit die Hard Livings, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Ek was part van hulle gang gewees en ek het mense seergemaak in die verlede wat ek vandag regret en spyt is. Nou hierso in ons community werk dit so, hulle sal jou, hulle sal jou lag met jou en hulle

call dit, lag met jou en dan kou hulle vir jou op die agtertande, om so te sê. Wat ek try om vir jou te sê is, jy sal nou lag (onduidelik). So is dit.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En vir hoe lank was jy in die gang, (Name of informant)?

INFORMANT 2: Since 1994.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: 1994?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En jy was in dieselfde gang vir daardie tyd, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit was die Hard Livings, nê? Toe jy in die Hard Livings was, het jy drugs gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Daar was gewees drugs, maar ons was die ouens wat die drugs verkoop het aan mense. So wat verkoop het was nie toelaatbaar gewees om dit te gebruik het nie. Hoekom, die hongeres het dit gebruik en as ons short is aan ons geld, dan (onduidelik) ons bene word gebreek. So was dit gewees. Daar was nie nog tyd gewees om drugs te doen nie. Ons het dagga gerook, ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Daai was die ding gewees, dagga, en baie gedrink. Ek het baie enemies gehad. Jy kan ook nie vir jou te dronk of te van die drugs, te veel drugs doen nie of so nie, want die enemy en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. In 2000, watter soort drugs het jy gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Daai is die tyd wat ons expose gewees het na E's.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit was Ecstasy, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En wat nog? En dan die Mandrax, die rocks en die dagga, daai drie saam?

INFORMANT 2: Daai tyd, daai tyd dan doen ons saam, ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei, so ek gaan dit weer neerskryf. Enigiets anders nog by daardie jaar, (Name of informant)?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek kan nie recall nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Op daardie tyd het jy nog steeds saam met jou ma gebly?

INFORMANT 2: 2000, ja. Maar hoe? Dan is ek in, dan is ek uit. Ek het gebly by die huise wat drug huise. Ek het later van tyd, ek het nie ander

opsie gehad om net vir my, amper soos weer part time werk daar by (onduidelik) wat slaap, soos (onduidelik), sulke plekke. Boston, Sea Point, sulke plekke.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoekom was dit wat jy nie kan by die huis gebly het nie?

INFORMANT 2: Due to die drugs wat ons gedoen het, begin steel, toe gaan ek uit die huis uit.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So het jou ma vir jou uitgesit uit die huis uit?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, en ek het ge-decide ook net ek gaan wegbly, want hoekom, dit is verkeerd wat ek doen. Hoekom, sy het aan die anderkant het, regret sy dit om my uit te gesit het op die pad, want sy weet hoe gaan dit op die pad, maar ek het myself gesê ek wil eerste met die habit afkom en so, maar dit was nie maklik gewees nie (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2000 het jy nog steeds gewerk by die construction company en so?

INFORMANT 2: Wel, miskien ja. Ek kan net nie recall, maar ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dis orraait, dis orraait.

INFORMANT 2: Maar ek weet vir daardie (onduidelik) tyd het ek baie gewerk op die gebou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En in 2000 ook nog steeds?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, miskien nog. Ek kan nog recall so hier en daar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was dit soos in 'n permanent job of was dit net as hulle werk het dat hulle vir jou geroep het of wat?

INFORMANT 2: Hulle sê dit is oukei, hulle gaan nou 'n people centre bou, hulle bou nou 'n people centre, nou kry ons (onduidelik) om te paint Nou once ons almal daai plekke klaar ge-paint het, nou is ons weer by die huis. Nou gaan die gebou oop en nou is daar is nie meer werk nie. Nou wag ons nou net weer dat daar nou weer opportunity is en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Is dit mense in die gemeenskap wat dit gereël het dat julle kom verf of hoe het dit gewerk?

INFORMANT 2: In ons community, een van die ouens het gewerk op die gebou en daar was ouens wat voormanne gewees het (onduidelik) hulle het altyd vir ons saamgevat so as boys en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoeveel keer 'n dag het jy die Ecstasy gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Daai ...?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Daai jaar.

INFORMANT 2: Soos ek jou sê dinge het vir my als worse te raak. Soos ek vir jou reeds sê ook, as ek die kans gehad het en ons kry die drugs, dan doen ek dit. As een 'n drugs het, hy sal kom na my toe en sê hy het drugs. Dan doen ons dit of hy sal na my toe kom en sê hy is so en soveel, dan sal ek en hy 'n (onduidelik) maak binne-in 'n half aand, ag sê in 'n halfuur se tyd, dan kry ons nou daai ander geld, dan rook ons dit en as ons klaar is dan gaan ons net weer (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So op average op 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Almal die drugs?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die Ecstasy net.

INFORMANT 2: Sê drie keer. Drie keer 'n dag.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En dan die ander was nog steeds dieselfde, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die Mandrax ...

INFORMANT 2: Maar ek nie nog belang in die Ecstasy gehad, E's gebruik nie, want ...(tussenbei).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoe lank het jy die E's gebruik? Wanneer het jy opgehou daarmee?

INFORMANT 2: Daai was ook maar net 'n ... Hoekom, toe ek sien ek begin (onduidelik) en vomit sommer en se mond kom skuim uit (onduidelik) gesig trek hy so. Nou daai drug het sommer vir jou, die drug het nie op elke persoon 'n effek nie, maar toe sê ek vir myself hoekom vriende, jou vriende (onduidelik) en so van die drug en dit was ook maar seker net vir 'n jaar. Driekwart jaar, 'n jaar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy dit saam met vriende, nê, want jy het gesê jy het nog nooit drugs op jou eie gebruik nie?

INFORMANT 2: Saam met vriende.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoe het die Ecstasy vir jou laat voel?

INFORMANT 2: Die E feel, die effek wat dit vir jou gee? Jy is net vol steel. 'n Jolly mood om dit so te stel.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy voel happy en so?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Ek kan ook nie sê nie, want hoekom, dit het nie 'n effek op elkeen nie, want sommige van my vriende was baie aggressie gewees as hulle daai drug gedoen het. Hoekom, hy trek sy gesig nou so. Hy is die, hy is die, hoe kan ek nou sê, hy is die happyste person as hy nie die drug doen nie, maar once jy daai drug doen, dan het hy nou daai ander,

change sy hele look nou. Nou lyk hy weer soos ene wat vir jou iets verkeerd nou gaan sê, dan lyk dit vir my weer of iets doen of so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Maar vir jou het dit laat happy voel en so?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, vir my het dit laat nou op 'n ander mood gesit. Sê meer - hier by ons call hulle Rivas.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat is dit?

INFORMANT 2: Dit is, jy is nou hier, dan is jy daar. Jy is net happy like a chappy, om so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Rivas, nè?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En dit beteken happy like a chappy, h'm?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, hy is nou, jy is nou net mister McMan, om so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Die ander drugs het nog steeds vir jou dieselfde laat voel, soos ons vroeër gepraat het, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy was nie in rehab nie, nè?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek was nog nooit nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En in 2000 was jy in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Ek gaan nie vir jou lieg nie, van, elke jaar. Ek is nou op 'n drie jaar buitestraf nou van 2007 af.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoekom was jy in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Sometimes vir roof, sometimes vir aanranding. Ek was gewees vir diefstal en ek was gewees vir besit van ammunisie. Daai is nou (onduidelik) guns wat hulle my mee gevang het. Dit was roof, diefstal ... In die meeste gevalle was dit gewees vir roof, diefstal ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ammunisie.

INFORMANT 2: Ammunisie, aanranding, assault. Assault is mos aanranding?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm, h'm.

INFORMANT 2: Daai is poging tot moord.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En in 2000, kan jy onthou hoekom jy in die holding cells was en hoeveel keer in 2000 was jy in die holding cells? Was dit net eenkeer?

INFORMANT 2: Dit moet seker maar vir diefstal gewees het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Want ek het baie gesteel.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit was net die eenkeer wat jy in die holding cells was, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Vir daai jaar?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm.

INFORMANT 2: Ek gaan, ek sal nie vir jou kan sê ja of nee nie. Somtyds het ek, tel hulle my sommer nou op vannag vir - hoe call hulle dit, (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Dit was theft omdat jy geld nodig gehad het om die drugs te koop?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy was nie in 'n gang daardie jaar nie?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2001, wat het, was dit nog steeds die Ecstasy, die Madrax, die rocks?

INFORMANT 2: Ek sal nie glo die Ecstasy nie, want Ecstasy, soos ek jou sê, ek het dit nie vir baie lank gedoen nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy het opgehou met die Ecstasy, nè? So dit was net die Mandrax ...

INFORMANT 2: Ja, daai Mandrax is basically elke jaar gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So Mandrax...

INFORMANT 2: En die dagga.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dagga.

INFORMANT 2: Die rocks het ek opgehou tyd wat die Tik uitkom het ek die rocks gelos. Ek het dit gelos.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2001, het jy nog rocks gedoen?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, 2001 het ek nog rocks gedoen.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En wat nog?

INFORMANT 2: Dagga.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2001 die Mandrax, dagga, rocks. Is dit al in 2001?

INFORMANT 2: Ek kan nie replace, in daardie jaar het ek gedrink ook.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Op daardie tydstop het jy nog saam met jou ma gebly of was jy nog steeds in en uit die huis uit?

INFORMANT 2: Soos ek jou sê elke jaar was dit maar vir my, dit was baie swaar gewees vir my. Dit is dan in, dan was ek uit, dan was ek in. Ek sê nou vir my ma-hulle (onduidelik) doen ek weer die verkeerde ding. Ek het baie moeilikheid na haar huis toe ook gebring, due

to the effect dat ek mense se plekke ingebreek, gesteel, dan kom soek die boere vir my daarso en dan is ek nie daar nie en so aan. Sy wil toe nie vir my later van tyd weer daar hê nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2001, waar het jy gebly?

INFORMANT 2: Nou en dan daar by die huis. Nou en dan op die straat.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy het nie by vriende gebly nie of so nie?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, so 'n part time by vriende, my een vriend hierso in die pad het ek gebly, maar jy kan ook sien somtyds mense se houding as hulle jou nie daar wil hê of so nie. Dan gaan ek nie vir jou sê nie. Ek het net decide ek kan sien want die ou (onduidelik). Dan het ek net so elke keer net so 'n bietjie weggebly, weggebly (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dan het jy op die straat gaan bly ook?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, met ander woorde niggies gevang.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat is dit?

INFORMANT 2: Niggies is like skarrel heel nag. Nou next oggend dan het jy 'n klomp geld, nou kan jy gaan by sommer hier vandag by sy huis. Hy laat vir jou nooit om by sy huis te kom nie, maar due to the effect dat jy nou geld en drugs het, dan kan jy sommer daar, nou gaan ek daarso, dan gaan ek hom sê hy moet vir my iets maak om te eet en ek wil sy shower gebruik en wil gou was en so en dan wil jy so 'n slapie vat. Daai is als wat ek gedoen het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy gewerk in 2001?

INFORMANT 2: Ek sal ook nie recall, miskien part time op die gebou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy nog steeds twee keer 'n dag die Mandrax gebruik, drie tot vier keer 'n dag die rocks? dit het nie ge-change nie?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Soos ek gesê het die case het ge-worse. Dit begin - hoekom, vir my was dit amper soos nou begin leer die mense dit doen.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het saam met vriende, nê, dit gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die gevoel was nog steeds dieselfde, nê? Jy was nie in rehab nie. Was jy in 2001 in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Sal dit net wees vir aanranding of vir, dit sal tussen aanranding of diefstal ... Is daar miskien poging tot - ek weet nie, as ek nou net my file hier kan kry of so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Nee, dit is orraait.

INFORMANT 2: Dan sal ek vir jou kan gesê het nou die laaste (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En jy was nie in 'n gang nie, nè, daardie jaar?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2002, watter soort drugs? Was dit nog steeds net die Mandrax, die rocks en die dagga of het daar iets bygekom?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek dink dit was nog altyd dieselfde drugs gewees wat ek gebruik het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Op daardie tydstip in 2002 was jy nog steeds nou en dan by die huis en dan nou en dan saam met vriende op die straat of waar het jy ...?

INFORMANT 2: 2002?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm.

INFORMANT 2: Was ek nog steeds die pad en so. Basically was dieselfde, in en uit. Nou by die huis en uit by die huis.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Het jy gewerk in 2002?

INFORMANT 2: Kan onthou ek was ... Ja. H'n-'n. Ek lieg, ek was so 'n period van twee jaar was ek by die huis gewees. Ek dink daai was 2002 en 2003.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei, so jy was unemployed, nè?

INFORMANT 2: As ek nou so sit en dink, ek het 'n (onduidelik), maar later van tyd, 2004.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Nog steeds twee keer 'n dag, drie tot vier 'n dag gebruik, nè, en saam met vriende en die gevoel was nog steeds dieselfde, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was jy weer in die holding cells in 2002?

INFORMANT 2: Sal dit miskien net wees vir diefstal.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Kan jy onthou hoeveel keer in 'n jaar min of meer was jy in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Plus minus twee keer.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Twee keer 'n jaar.

INFORMANT 2: Daai is nou vir regte sake nou like sake wat ek voorkom. Soos ander sake (onduidelik) kry ek R100 fine As ek weet ek is opgetel vir (onduidelik), dan gaan ek nou verkeerde naam en adres en so opgee.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En jy was nie 'n gang nie, nè? In 2003, wat het jy gebruik? Nog steeds die Mandrax, die rocks en die dagga, daar het niks bygekom nie?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n. Ek was ge-expose na Tik. Dit was 2003 of 2004 wat die Tik uitkom?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ek weet nou nie.

INFORMANT 2: Ek dink dit was 2004.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Tussen daardie period van tyd, 2003, 2004 wat ek Tik ge-expose, wat ek ge-expose wees aan Tik. Hoekom, die Tik was nog nie in die Mannenberg gewees nie, toe kry ons Tik al van (onduidelik). Ek dink dit was tussen, dit was by die (onduidelik) 2003 Desember, omtrent naby, want hoekom, die ander ou wat vir my, (onduidelik) hy was like half white en half coloured. Sy pa was 'n whity. Hy het gebly hierso, maar hy bly nie meer hier nie. Hy het ook, ek weet hy was baie, hy het ook die soort drugs gebruik en ek is bly vir hom ook. Hoekom, hy is since last jaar, hy het dieselfde saam met my begin toe, so omtrent more or less begin saam met my die drugs, wat hy nou vandag sy eie internet kafee het (onduidelik). Hy was al in die rehab en weer terug rehab toe en weer terug rehab toe. (Onduidelik) drugs gebruik het (onduidelik). Ek is net bly vir (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is so, ja. In 2003, waar het jy gebly? Nog steeds nou en dan by die huis, dan vriende?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2003, was jy nog steeds unemployed?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het nog steeds dieselfde hoeveelheid van die drugs gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Drugs gebruik. Ek sal vir jou sê, soos ek vir jou sê die case het net ge-worsten en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was jy in 2003 in die holding cells ook?

INFORMANT 2: Ek was basically, as ek kan remember ...

Ek regret dit. Soos ek hierso sit regret ek almal die dinge wat ek deurgegaan het in die past, in die jare wat ek uitgemis het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Maar 'n mens leer mos nou van 'n mens se experience.

INFORMANT 2: Ek is nie spyt vandag soos ek hierso sit nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vir hoe lank en vir wat was jy in 2003 in die holding cells, kan jy onthou of maar ook diefstal?

INFORMANT 2: Die meeste, miskien sê assault.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Aanranding.

INFORMANT 2: H'm. Maar diefstal het altyd (onduidelik) elke jaar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2004 het die Tik bygekom, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit was Tik, maar dit was nog steeds Mandrax, die rocks en die dagga, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, maar die rocks, ek dink die rocks val weg.

ONDRHOUDVOERDER: In 2004?

INFORMANT 2: Nou het ek vergeet van die rocks, van die Tik in die begin, soos ek sê ek raak nou ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy het toe die rocks gelos in 2004?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Waar het jy gebly in 2004?

INFORMANT 2: 2004 het ek, ek het course eerste gaan doen.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Waar het jy jou course gedoen?

INFORMANT 2: By Selfhelp.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: By Selfhelp. Watter soort course het jy gedoen?

INFORMANT 2: Dit is (onduidelik) course.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei?

INFORMANT 2: Nadat ek die course gedoen het, het ek 'n part time job gehad by Mariemba convention centre (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Ek het net, sal sê part time om so te sê. Later van tyd hulle ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Watter soort werk het jy daar gedoen?

INFORMANT 2: Ek was 'n bar man gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: By Mariemba, nè?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is 'n mooi plek, nè?

INFORMANT 2: H'm. Ek het dit (onduidelik) myself daarso. Daar is 'n dame wat ek (onduidelik), sy het nie van my gehou nie. Ek sê dit sommer straight, dit is 'n whity, due to die feit dat ek Moslem gewees het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: H'm.

INFORMANT 2: En special meal, ek het like a special meal (onduidelik) vark en so. Toe het sy 'n stop daaraan gesit en ek het later van tyd kan ek nie meer dinges, daar sit nie, het ek haar sommer net eendag sommer gesê wat ek voel ek wil haar sê en toe loop ek net weg daar.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vir hoe lank het jy ...?

INFORMANT 2: Daar by hulle gewees?

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ja.

INFORMANT 2: Sê ses maande.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Waar het jy gewoon in daardie tyd, in 2004?

INFORMANT 2: In daardie jaar het ek getrou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Na daardie ses maande wat ek daar gewerk het, toe was ek sê maar so twee, drie weke by die huis gewees, toe kry ek weer (onduidelik) vir 'n werk en toe gaan werk ek by die (onduidelik) company.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat is die (onduidelik) company se naam?

INFORMANT 2: ITT.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vir hoe lank het jy daar gewerk?

INFORMANT 2: 2005 en 2006. Die tyd wat ek die werk kry toe is dit mooi Desember, toe switch dit net oor na die jaar toe.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Waar het jy gewoon in 2004?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het toe my eie plek gehad.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy en jou vrou, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, toe het ek lekker, soos hulle call die Wendy houses (onduidelik) ek het nou 'n huisie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy het in jou eie Wendy house gebly, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In jou ma se jaart of in iemand anders?

INFORMANT 2: In my ma se jaart.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die Tik het mos nou ingekom. Hoeveel keer 'n week het jy die Tik gebruik of 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het, ek het, om die waarheid te sê Tik, ek het meer uit my way gegaan vir enige, vir die drug as vir enige ander drugs. Ek het meer Tik gedoen as enigeen van almal daai drugs. So daai meen ek het basically seker maar so ses, sewe keer 'n dag. Daai is tussen R30 en R50 wat elk elke dag uitgerook het, maar nie ek alleen nie. Ons het altyd, as ons 'n R50 pakkie rook, sal ons drie wees, as dit R30 pakkie is, dan sal ons twee wees of drie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die ander was nog steeds dieselfde hoeveelheid, nè, die Mandrax twee keer 'n dag en so?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, maar ek (onduidelik) uitgeval by die Mandrax.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So hoeveel keer het jy dit gebruik op 'n dag? Minder?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, later van tyd het dit so gegaan dat (onduidelik) met die drugs dat jy die een drug na die ander drug doen. (Onduidelik) dan Tik jy en as jy klaar ge-Tik het dan rook jy 'n (onduidelik), dan rook jy 'n Mandrax.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Nou jy sal either miskien 'n R5 hê en by 'n ou se pyp gaan staan en sê, kyk hier, ek het 'n R5, dan (onduidelik) kry. Sal hy vir jou sê ja (onduidelik). Vir my was dit gewees so (onduidelik) gewees, as jy nou klaar ge-Tik het dan het die persoon ook miskien 'n R5 of R6. Jy weet hoe om ouens te kry wat ook (onduidelik). Sal ek sê, kyk hier ek het soveel en soveel. Het jy 'n (onduidelik) pyp, dan sal hy my sê oukei ja. Dit sal ook sê, soos dieselfde soos die ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Soos die Tik?

INFORMANT 2: H'm, maar nie so baie gewees nie, minder.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So hoeveel keer, vier keer?

INFORMANT 2: Dit sal dieselfde, more or less dieselfde wees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Soos die Tik?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, maar dit sal nie dieselfde hoeveelheid wees van die drugs wat ek gebruik nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. Die dagga, drie tot vier keer 'n dag nog steeds.

INFORMANT 2: Die dagga sal altyd involve wees. Hoekom, die dagga is in die Mandrax ook.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dan saam met vriende, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Later begin dit dat daar vroumense ook involve is, maar dit is net nou en dan wat ek gerook het saam met die vroumense, maar ek het, daai is (onduidelik) saam met 'n vroumens te gerook het. Ek het gesien wat maak die drugs aan die vroumense, wat gebeur met vroumense daar wat ons sit en rook en vir my was dit nie mooi gewees om te sien wat vroumense deurgaan nie. Hoekom, jy kry, jy kry respek, jy sal nooit glo jy sal daai ding gedoen het nie, die drug gedoen het nie. Nou nadat die effek, jy sit nou dan sien jy nog wat doen sy nog worster as die drug. Wat vir jou, aan die eenkant het dit - dit maak jou seer, hoor. So ek wil nie nog sulke dinge wil ek nie gewoonte sit nie. Ek het sometimes het ek net opgestaan en geloop. Hoekom, daar is 'n spreekwoord wat hulle altyd gebruik, What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas. So wat gebeur daar, gebeur daar. Nou ek was 'n bietjie baie bang gewees vir daai dinge. Ek het net ge-decide wel, ek gaan nie daai dinge saam met vroumense rook nie. Ek het gesien wat gebeur

met vroumense, om so te sê. Miskien, ons sit miskien almal op die stoele, dit is miskien net mans, een stoel daar sit, jy is 'n vroumens. Die dinge wat sy deurgaans. Dit was nie mooi gewees nie. Jy sal nooit so-iets gedink het van daai

vroumense nie, maar daai is dinge wat almal gebeur het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei. En die Tik, hoe het dit vir jou laat voel as jy dit gebruik het?

INFORMANT 2: Die Tik het ook vir jou so (onduidelik) gemaak. Sometimes maak dit vir jou paranoid.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dan hoe is jy as jy paranoid is?

INFORMANT 2: Paranoid is, dis nie 'n lekker gevoel nie. Jy voel net, om dit so te sê k-a-k.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Jy voel net lusteloos. Jy voel jy het nie nou lus vir niks. Hulle call dit, daai is die tyd as jy trip. Soos hulle sê trip. Daai is die tyd wat jy trip. Jy het nou net lus vir niks. Jy wil net vir jou - ek wil nie vir jou lieg nie, daar is tye wat jy nie eers vir jou, daai wat ek al gesien het ouens, hy het nie eens tyd om vir hom iets te maak om te eet of hy wil nie vir hom was nie of hy wil niks doen vir homself nie. Daai is wat daai drug gemaak het. Die drug maak nou, die ding wat ek nou van praat, hygene jy hardloop agteruit. Almal die ouens wat nou die Tik doen, baie van hulle hardloop uit met hulle hygene. 'n Ou wat werk, ja hy sal dit nog, maar die Tik, die Tik het daai weggevat van ons gemeenskap af die hygene. Ouens, hulle raak nou careless met hulle bodies en so en (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: As jy high was op die Tik, hoe het dit vir jou laat voel?

INFORMANT 2: (Onduidelik). Jy is net in 'n jolly good mood. Jy kan nie, as jy nou gaan Tik dan sê nou, soos hulle sê op die level. Nou as jy Tik dan kan, jy kan either a blind leap vat en as jy 'n blind leap vat, daai is die tyd wat jy paranoid is.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wat is 'n blind leap?

INFORMANT 2: Daai is nou as jy nie 'n lekker (onduidelik) het nie en (onduidelik) nou gaan hy trip, nou gaan hy so vir die hele dag wees nou. Dit is nou die hele dag wat hy so gaan wees. Of jy, aan die anderkant het jy, jy is nou, ek was in 'n jolly mood om dit nou so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was jy in 2004 in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Sal ook wees net vir diefstal.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2005, wat het (onduidelik)?

INFORMANT 2: (Onduidelik) baie begin te slow raak.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit was net die Tik ...?

INFORMANT 2: Dit was net die Tik en die drugs gewees, Mandrax.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Tik en die Mandrax.

INFORMANT 2: Oukei, dagga val nog altyd, want dagga is meestal saam met die wit pyp, om so te sê, die Mandras.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En toe bly, so daar het niks ekstra bygekom in 2005 nie?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, daar het ek nie ander drugs gedoen daarby nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Toe bly jy saam met jou ...?

INFORMANT 2: Vrou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vrou nog steeds in die Wendy house of het jy toe al julle eie huis gehad al?

INFORMANT 2: In 2006 het ons ons eie huis gehad.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So in 2005 nog steeds in die Wendy house?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy werk gehad? Jy het mos by RTT Courier, nê, 2005?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Vir hoe lank het jy by hulle gewerk?

INFORMANT 2: Van 2005, sê twee volle jare. (Onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Nog steeds ses tot sewe keer 'n dag saam met die Tik en so?

INFORMANT 2: Nou het ek die Tik (onduidelik).

UNKNOWN: (Indistinct).

INTERVIEWER: 10 more minutes.

UNKNOWN: 10 more minutes.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, thanks. Sorrie, (Name of informant). Sorrie, jy het gesê, saam met die Tik?

INFORMANT 2: Het ek begin (onduidelik) die werk. Daai sal wees, (onduidelik) in die aande, ek het altyd 'n bietjie minder begin om vir my nou met die Tik ook, wat ek gewerk het. Hoekom, nou het ek gerook net in die aande voor ek gaan werk, daai is in die bakkie, en dan het ek nog by die werk miskien in die middel van die nag weer 'n hit geslaan, om dit so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit was twee keer op 'n dag?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, (onduidelik). In die oggende as ek by die huis kom, in die oggende, because daai was, dit was so 'n bad habit gewees (onduidelik) bad habit, dit was in die oggende (onduidelik) dan het ons decide ons gaan, voor ons gaan slaap, gaan ons nou 'n pakkie rook. Dan het ons plan gemaak dat ons ook die geld kry. So basically drie keer gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die Mandrax dieselfde?

INFORMANT 2: Van Mandrax het ook 'n bietjie minder geraak. Mandrax het net gewerk in die oggende as jy gaan slaap. Jy kan nie Mandrax gedoen het dit tyd nog op ... Dis hoekom, deur die dag het ek nie nog geworrie met die Mandrax nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit was eenkeer 'n dag, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, sal maar sê eenkeer.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die dagga was nog steeds, hoeveel was die dagga?

INFORMANT 2: Dagga was, dagga was like 'n, soos ek gesê het, 'n daily ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Three to four times a day?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, dagga het ek gerook by die werk ook part time. Dan gaan loop ek miskien uit lunch time, dan staan ek op 'n kol en rook die dagga. Ek het kopseer nou.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ons is amper klaar, (Name of informant). Die gevoel was nog steeds dieselfde, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Op die drug. Was jy in die holding cells in 2005?

INFORMANT 2: H'm ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In die tronk, niks?

INFORMANT 2: Ek kan nie replace nie, maar ek weet vir my, dit sal seker miskien wees vir assault of iets.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die saak waarvoor jy nou, jy sê jy het in 2007 ...

INFORMANT 2: Ja, toe het ek 'n buitestraf gekry vir diefstal.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2006, watter soort drugs? Nog steeds dieselfde?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Waar het jy in 2006 gewoon, nog steeds in die Wendy house?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, toe het ons die huis gekry.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dit is jou eie huis?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En dit is net jy, jou vrou en jou vyf kinders, nê?

INFORMANT 2: H'n-'n, ek is om die waarheid te sê, ek het kinders buite-egtelik, om so te sê. Ek het net twee by my vrou en dan een, een, een by die different ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dan is dit net die twee van jou vrou wat saam met julle in die huis bly?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wanneer was hulle gebore?

INFORMANT 2: Hulle is, my een meisie is nou vier jaar oud en die ander een is nou, sy raak nou, sy is nege jaar oud.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Het jy, jy het nog steeds by RTT gewerk, nê, in 2006?

INFORMANT 2: In 2006, ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het nog steeds die Tik three times a day?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, daai habit was maar altyd dieselfde gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En saam met vriende, nê, gerook?

INFORMANT 2: Maar nou, dit raak nou werksvriende van my.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei.

INFORMANT 2: Ek was (onduidelik) om te kyk wie is die ou wat dit uitvind (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die gevoel is nog steeds dieselfde, nê

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Daai is almal verskillende, eers vir diefstal of ...

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Of assault?

INFORMANT 2: Ek sal nie, ek kan nie replace nie, maar ek weet in my lewe het ek nege tot 11 sake.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2007 is dit nog steeds Tik, Mandrax ...?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, nou werk ek nie meer nie, want ek is nou van daai jare af was ek by die huis gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit is Tik, Mandrax en die dagga, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Jip.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het nog steeds in jou eie huis gewoon, nê?

INFORMANT 2: Jip.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was jy unemployed in 2007?

INFORMANT 2: H'm, maar ek het my geselskap het ek ge-change, my vriende. Ek het gerook saam met coloureds, maar ek het van daai jaar af, 2007, het ek baie involved geraak saam met, ek was al vantevoreinvolved gewees met natives ouens, maar 2007 toe was dit net hulle wat my vriende was.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Is dit nou swartmense?

INFORMANT 2: In drugs. Ek het nie meer drugs gedoen saam met die coloureds, om dit so te sê nie, want dinge het 'n bietjie begin erg raak. Dit is dinge wat vir my ge-effect het en vir my seergemaak het. Hoekom, dinge wat ek ge-witness het en gesien het en so. Om saam met natives te rook is, vir my was dit orraait. Hoekom, als bly net, wat gebeur daar, dit bly net daar, om so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy was unemployed, nè, in 2007? Hoeveel keer het jy toe die drugs gebruik? Was dit nog steeds dieselfde of meer?

INFORMANT 2: Nou het dit baie begin erg raak.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Oukei, hoeveel keer op 'n dag het jy die Tik gebruik?

INFORMANT 2: Elke keer was dit op 'n different (onduidelik). Daai is so plus minus sewe, agt keer 'n dag wat (onduidelik) het en as hulle my (onduidelik) het, dan is dit nie net (onduidelik) pakkies en toe begin ons nou like quarters rook, halwe grams, grams. So het ons begin rook en dit begin te erg raak.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die Mandrax, hoeveel keer?

INFORMANT 2: Mandrax het ek heel begin (onduidelik) worse.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoeveel keer min of meer?

INFORMANT 2: Baie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Ses keer, sewe keer?

INFORMANT 2: Ek het my aan die slaap gerook. Ek kan nie recall nie, maar baie. Baie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So is dit meer as ...?

INFORMANT 2: Meer as enige ander kere.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: As ses of sewe. Oukei. 'n Dag, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die dagga? Nog steeds dieselfde?

INFORMANT 2: Die dagga, dagga het ons gerook. Ons het dagga gerook ook. Snaaks gerook daai tyd. Nou begin ons weer die dag, die cream op die

pil, op die (onduidelik) te gooi, die Mandrax te strooi op die, op die (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En die gevoel was dieselfde, nè, hoe dit jou laat voel het, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, dit kan nie vir jou niks anders laat voel nie, so nie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Was jy in 2007, het die saak mos nou voorgekom, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Diefstalsaak.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Diefstal. Was jy in die holding cells?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, ons het nog holding cells. Ek het 'n bail gekry anders sal ek Pollsmoor toe gegaan het. Ek het 'n R500/R600 bail gekry en toe het ek - dit was die laaste jaar wat ek 'n saak ... Nee wag, laat ek dink. Ja. Hoekom, enige saak nou vir my dan kan hulle vir my drie jaar gaan doen. Hoeveel jaar is nou oor, 2007, 2008. 'n Jaar. So as ek nou enige saak nou vang (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: In 2008, toe is dit nog steeds die Tik, die Mandrax en die dagga?

(VREESLIKE AGTERGROND LAWAAI - AMPER NIKS HOORBAAR NIE.)

INFORMANT 2: Toe is dit (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So dit was die Tik, nè, en die Mandrax en die dagga, nè?

INFORMANT 2: H'm.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Daar het niks nog ekstra gekom nie?

INFORMANT 2: Soos ek gesê het, vir twee het ek die meeste van die tyd saam met natives gerook. Ek het nie saam met coloureds. Coloureds gerook, ja, maar hoe? My broertjie. Hoekom, my broertjie het ook begin rook en ons was nou net like a click gewees. Ek het nie verder as daai click gegaan nou nie. As hulle gekom het en hulle was die ouens nou gewees wat ge-Tik en gedrink het.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy het nog steeds in jou huis gewoon, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy was nog steeds unemployed, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Part time jobbies soos (onduidelik) hang, so. (Onduidelik) net een keer 'n maand, om so te sê.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die hoeveelheid was nog steeds dieselfde, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja, in daai twee jaar (onduidelik).

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En ook saam met vriende, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En dit laat jou dieselfde voel. Was jy in die holding cells weer in daardie jaar, verlede jaar?

INFORMANT 2: Ek was gewees, maar vir loitering. Daai is vir laat op straat. Ek het eintlik my drie native vriende huis toe geneem, toe het die boere net sommer decide hulle wil vir my optel, maar ek het vir hulle, vir hom eintlik, ek was eintlik by Caltex toe kry ek vir hulle (onduidelik) toe vat hulle sommer vir my. Gooi hulle my sommer in die wên.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Wanneer het jy opgehou?

INFORMANT 2: 2008, November.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Jy is nou van daardie tyd af skoon, nè?

INFORMANT 2: Ja. Ek het die sigarette gelos in Januarie.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Die jaar?

INFORMANT 2: Ja.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: So jy is van November 2008 rook jy niks meer Tik, Mandrax, dagga, niks nie? Ek het nog net een vraag. Dink jy, (Name of informant), dat in die Mannenberg-area is die easy om access te kry aan Tik?

INFORMANT 2: (Onduidelik) veral in die rural areas. Jy sal verbaas wees as ek jou sê hulle het, die factories is hierso in, onder jou oë, maar jy sien dit net nie. (Onduidelik) distribute, daar wat jy rook. Jy sien dit nou net nie raak nie, maar soos ek nou hier sit, dit is maar net hierso.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Nou hoekom dink jy is dit so easy om dit hier in die hande te kry?

INFORMANT 2: Hoekom, ek het, die power wat ek gehad het, die power wat ek gehad het in die Mannenberg, almal ken vir my en dan as jy nou begin met jou smokkelary en ek weet jy begin smokkel, dan gaan ek vir jou (onduidelik). Dan gaan ek na jou toe (onduidelik) besigheid. (Onduidelik) na jou toe, maar ek het nie (onduidelik). Ek het altyd (onduidelik). So was dit gewees.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: En is dit easy om dit hier in die hande te kry as in 'n ander area?

INFORMANT 2: Baie maklik om dit hier te kry. Ek kan nou hierso uitstap dan kan ek jou wys dan gaan kry.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Nou hoekom dink jy is dit so easy hierso?

INFORMANT 2: Daai is 'n complicated (onduidelik). Hoekom is dit so easy hierso? Die probleem is, hier is like, soos hulle sê factory waar hulle die goed maak. Hier is nie net een of twee nie, hier is sommer 'n klomp. Mens sien dit net nie raak nie en dit is ... Dit is maar net om jou, dit is onder jou oog, maar jy sien dit nie raak nie, dit is om jou. (Onduidelik) miskien een of twee (onduidelik), maar dit sal so bly.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Hoekom dink jy is die factories in die area? Hoekom is dit nie in 'n ander area nie? Hoekom is dit in die ...?

INFORMANT 2: Hierso in die rural, hier gebeur mos baie dinge. Hier is baie geld hierso. Dit lyk ons kry swaar, maar hier is geld hierso. Hulle maak, hulle kry, hulle doen als in hulle vermoë om dit te kry, om geld in die hande te kry, so dit is, vir hulle is dit baie makliker om besigheid te maak hierso in rural areas as in plekke soos (onduidelik) Observatory (onduidelik). Hulle maak besigheid, hulle maak hulle besigheid weekends en so, waar hier by ons is dit 'n daily, dit is 'n daaglikse ding. As jy nou saam met my uitgaan, dan ken ek jou sommer sê dan gaan sy of daar gaan hy, hulle gaan nou merchant toe whatever, die routes wat hulle kies en so.

ONDERHOUDVOERDER: Dankie, (Name of informant).

EINDE VAN ONDERHOUD