EVALUATION OF A YOUTH EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMME FOR YOUTH-AT-RISK

- A case study of the Chrysalis Academy in Cape Town, South Africa -

MASTERTHESIS

by

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ABSTRACT
Evaluation of a Youth Empowerment Programme for Youth-at-Risk: A case study of the Chrysalis Academy in Cape Town, South Africa

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This thesis seeks to answer the research question, if and how youth-oriented empowerment trainings like the one of the Chrysalis Academy are able to contribute positively to the social integration of ‘youth-at-risk’. The theoretical framework as the basis for the empirical field research includes the key concepts ‘youth-at-risk’, ‘socialization/social integration’, empowerment and resiliency. Using socialization theories, Gidden’s sociological structuration theory and Amartya Sen’s approach of development as freedom, the researcher assesses the Chrysalis Academy’s empowerment training as an alternative socialization process that aims at developing ‘youth-at-risk’ into self-aware, resilient and integrated role models with expanded choices. The research methodology utilized is the case study, combining different quantitative and qualitative research methods as participant observation, questionnaires, face-to-face interviews as well as focus group interviews to evaluate the long-term impact of the empowerment training from the graduates’ perspective. The outcomes of the data collection and analysis confirm the hypothesis that the Chrysalis Academy’s empowerment training has a positive effect on integrating young people ‘at-risk’, also through the higher level of resiliency that enables them to cope better with their challenging environments. To sum up, the Chrysalis Academy presents a good practice example for empowering ‘youth-at-risk’, however, it still needs to improve its aftercare program for the graduates to achieve sustainable success.

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis:
EVALUATION OF A YOUTH EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMME FOR YOUTH-AT-RISK:
A case study of the Chrysalis Academy in Cape Town, South Africa
is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other
university, and that all sources I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete
references.


Signed: ........................................

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List of Abbreviations

CA    Chrysalis Academy
CV    Curriculum Vitae
CEO   Chief Executive Officer
DAAD  Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
Ed(s) Editor(s)
GA    Graduate Affairs
HOD   Head of Department
IPDET International Program for Development Evaluation Training
IRIN  Integrated Regional Information Network
ISS   Institute for Security Studies
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“The task that we face is indeed a challenging one. But the cost of failure – for this generation's children and the next – is simply too high to bear.” (Graca Machel, wife of Nelson Mandela)

1.1. Background of the Research

Children and young people (0 to 24 years), who make up 60 to 70 percent of the population in many developing countries, represent as the future generation an enormous potential to achieve sustainable development. Especially youngsters (15 to 24 years) are able to contribute materially, through special skills as well as intellectually, particularly with alternative viewpoints and innovative ideas. Even the World Bank acknowledges in its new World Development Report 2007 the youth’s positive potential not only in initiating but also implementing positive social changes if they only get involved through participation.

However, first of all, societies have to provide a supportive environment, sufficient assistance and opportunities by investing in the human capital of their young people through adequate education, health, employment and recreation possibilities. Only then, youngsters are able to become responsible adults and achieve their full potential to contribute to their societies’ development i.e. socio-economic growth. Yet, the reality is, that youth are often perceived more negatively as social problems, and societies being reluctant or incapable to invest in youth and/or to involve them in processes that directly concern them. This results in “depriving society of their energy, dynamism and innovative spirit” and through disregard turning youngsters into an uncontrollable conflict potential. Especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where poverty is the main obstacle, the neglect of youth, being an essential part of the population, can have considerable socio-economic, political and cultural consequences. Therefore, the United Nations (UN) state in the World Youth Report 2007 that: “Engaging youth fully in the region’s development is thus not a matter of choice, but rather an imperative”.

1 www.chrysalisacademy.org.za
2 GTZ 2006, p. 2; World Youth Report 2007, p. 32.
3 World Youth Report 2007, p. 34.
5 World Youth Report 2007, p. 18, 32, 35.
6 Ibid, p. 34f.
7 Ibid, p. 35.
8 Ibid, p. 22.
9 Ibid.
1.2. Statement of the Problem and Research Question

Youngsters in South Africa, who played already a significant role in the anti-Apartheid struggle,\textsuperscript{10} are designated by their government as the “Age of Hope”\textsuperscript{11} and as the country’s future: they have “a special role to play in pursuit of the national effort to push back the frontiers of poverty and underdevelopment […] They must continue to become the anchor of our society”\textsuperscript{12}. Conversely, young South Africans are often marginalized through the same socio-economic circumstances, resulting from the Apartheid system, which they should overcome. Most of them live under poor living conditions, which hinder them in their development and leave them socially excluded and marginalized.\textsuperscript{13} Enormous frustration is the consequence, also because of growing up without positive (male) role models\textsuperscript{14} in a “culture of violence as an Apartheid – hangover”\textsuperscript{15}. These circumstances result in “the social reproduction of youth as dysfunctional members of the South African society”\textsuperscript{16} so that more and more youngsters are at high risk to become vulnerable to drug abuse, early unwanted pregnancies, HIV/Aids as well as to violence and crime, presenting not only the victims, but often also the perpetrators themselves.\textsuperscript{17} Positive interventions for these young people are therefore required, otherwise the ‘culture of poverty and violence’ will be further transmitted intergenerationally and violence will remain next to HIV/Aids the main cause for the death of young people with negative effects for South Africa’s whole socioeconomic development.\textsuperscript{18}

The example of South Africa shows well that societies need to integrate young people as functional and contributing members for their own stability and reproduction. This is normally achieved through the process of socialization. In case of failed socialization certain institutions, in this case youth empowerment programs like the Chrysalis Academy, should intervene as an additional or alternative socialization agent that takes over the important role of parents and school.

\textsuperscript{10} Umsobomvu Youth Fund [UYF] 2005, p. 29; Mkandawire 2001, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Statistics South Africa 2001, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{14} Mkandawire 2001, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{15} Kaußen 2005, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} UYF 2005, p. 23, 30; IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks) 2007, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{18} The World Bank 2006, p. 3.
This thesis seeks to answer theoretically and by providing an evaluation of the Chrysalis Academy’s program based on empirical findings the research questions, if and how youth oriented empowerment programs are able to contribute positively to the social integration of ‘youth-at-risk’.

1.3. Research Objectives and Aims of the Study
The specific objectives of this study are:
1. To provide a critical assessment of current theoretical understandings and approaches of socialization, youth-at-risk, empowerment and resiliency.
2. To provide a documentation of the three months empowerment training of the Chrysalis Academy to present their strategies of empowering youth-at-risk.
3. To assess the perceived level of youth empowerment as a result of the empowerment training at the Chrysalis Academy from the subjective perspective of the participants.
4. To provide recommendations to improve the Chrysalis Academy’s youth development program in future.

1.4. Significance of the Study:
1. To promote a deeper understanding of youth development and strategies for youth empowerment in the Western Cape of South Africa.
2. To provide groundwork that benefit researchers or future research projects with regard to youth empowerment.
3. To sensitize different stakeholders about the challenges and benefits of working with young people through the documentation of the lessons learnt.

1.5. Research Design and Methodology
In order to address the research topic adequately and for evaluating Chrysalis’ empowerment program to be able to answer the research questions based on valid research results, a combination of different research tools and methods, which are more advantageous then a single-method approach, were used for the data collection. For that reason, the methodology of a comprehensive and longitudinal case study was chosen to investigate the concept, strategies and methods of the Chrysalis Academy and to assess especially the students’ opinions about the impact of the three months empowerment training on their personal development. This case study included research tools like the following, which will be described and discussed in detail in the third chapter:
- the literature review, to be able to provide the context of the case study, to clarify key concepts and to develop the theoretical framework for the research,
- the researcher being a participant observer during a three months empowerment training for documentation and in-depth insights of the Chrysalis Academy’s program,
- a questionnaire for impact assessment filled out by 100 graduates from the various training courses from 2000 until 2007,
- face-to-face interviews with eleven graduates from different training courses for a deeper understanding of their different personal experiences and their assessments of the program
- and finally a focus group interview with five unemployed graduates, chosen after a telephonic follow-up one year after the researcher participated as an observer in the graduates’ three-month training to discuss the program’s impact and their current situation of unemployment.

The various data were collected through these different methods over a long-term research period of 12 months (see attached timetable as Appendix A), but mainly during the three-month field research mid of September until mid of December 2007, while the focus group interview was conducted as a follow-up one year later in September 2008. The data collection process as well as the data analysis procedure with its limitations will be presented in chapter three.

1.6. Case Study: Chrysalis Academy, Tokai – Cape Town

The Chrysalis Academy\(^{19}\) was established in the year 2000 with the aim of social crime prevention. Its foundation was a reaction of the provincial government to the high crime rate in the Western Cape, which is one of the highest among the provinces in South Africa - especially due to an active gang culture in some of Cape Town’s disadvantaged communities. Mainly funded as a non-profit organization by the Department of Community Safety, the Academy targets ‘youth-at-risk’ with the ambition to transform them into strong, positive community leaders. Based on an intensive three months residential training and a period of five years of assisting and following-up, the Chrysalis Academy aims at developing the graduates’ social values and attitudes for their personal growth through the provision of knowledge and skills.

\(^{19}\)The following section is fully based on the sources: www.chrysalisacademy.org.za and information material offered by the Chrysalis Academy. See listing in the Bibliography: Material Collection about Chrysalis Academy.
Since the project started, close to 4000 young people from the different communities, reflecting the demographics of the province, were trained to be empowered for the challenges of life. First, the project only focused on young males aged 16 to 22 years, who were most at risk to get absorbed by gangs, but in 2002 also young females were admitted, and only recently, the age group was even expanded to 25 years considering the deteriorating conditions of unemployed youth. Only young people from the Western Cape Province including the Southern Cape region who are unemployed, with no criminal record and who achieved Grade 9 (Standard 7) are admitted in the program. Their three months training includes extensive physical activity, training for intellectual and social development combined with the provision of job skills and voluntary work in their community. The sustainability of the program is intended with a five-year follow-up system via retrainings and youth clubs in their areas to support the graduates to develop into active agents of social change within their own communities. According to the Academy, around 60 to 70 percent of them find employment, whereas other graduates get involved in community projects or various organizations run by the different government departments.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis
This research study is structured into the following five chapters:

Chapter One provides the context and need for this research and the case study. It presents the statement of the problem and the research question, and includes also the formulation of the research objectives and significance of the study. Finally, the chosen research design and methodology are outlined with a short introduction to the Chrysalis Academy as the chosen case study.

In Chapter Two, the theoretical framework will be presented by introducing as a first step the key concepts of 'youth-at-risk', socialization and social integration as well as empowerment and resiliency. The ideal socialization will be compared with failed socialization and related to the case of South Africa. In a second step, the connection between socialization/social integration and youth empowerment will be established, which finally leads to the research hypothesis as the last part of chapter two.

Chapter Three serves to illustrate in detail the relevant research design and methodology of this research study, presenting first the case study methodology, followed by the description of the different methods for the collection of quantitative

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20 Youngsters from other provinces or countries have to pay for participation in the course, according to Academy.
and qualitative data. Furthermore, the data collection process will be explained as well as the data processing and analysis, while in the last part of this chapter the limitations of this study will be outlined.

Chapter Four is focused on the presentation and analysis of the main empirical findings of the case study, whereby in the first sub-chapter the detailed documentation of Chrysalis Academy’s program for youth-at-risk is displayed. This forms the basis for the second sub-chapter, where the outcomes of the questionnaires with the testing of the hypothesis, the face-to-face interviews and the focus group interview are presented.

In the final Chapter Five, the main results of the empirical research are summarized and linked with the theoretical framework. In the last subsection, shortcomings of the Chrysalis Academy’s program will be outlined and respective recommendations will be presented for further improvements.
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Approaching the Concepts of 'Youth' and 'Youth-at-Risk'

Since the International Year of Youth in 1985, the United Nations have defined ‘youth’ as all young people aged 15 to 24, taking into consideration the various youth concepts in the different cultural and institutional contexts.\(^{21}\) However, in South Africa, according to the National Youth Act of 1996, the term ‘youth’ comprises even a larger age group including all persons from the age 14 to 35 years.\(^{22}\) These different age definitions alone give an idea of the difficulties when trying to grasp analytically what ‘youth’ in all its complexity means. In most of the literature, youth is simply connected with the concept of ‘adolescence’, which was invented in the early 20\(^{th}\) century as a universal linear transition period from childhood to adulthood with focus on the physical and psychological development.\(^{23}\) In this phase, young people are facing various changes on different levels, especially due to hormonal changes during puberty, and trying to construct an own identity, so that adolescence is generally presented “as a time of storm and stress, conflict and confusion”\(^{24}\), which makes them vulnerable to risky behaviour.\(^{25}\)

This limited perspective results from the fact, that in the academic field of sociology young people were rather neglected for a long time.\(^{26}\) However, a scientific awareness for youth among psychologists and sociologists increased mainly in the context of moral panics about troublesome working-class adolescents in Western urban areas since the 1950s and 1960s.\(^{27}\) Perceiving youth as a ‘problem’ that threatens society dominates the public discourses till today, various states seeing them even as a “matter of internal security”\(^{28}\) according to the Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) of the UN.\(^{29}\) The other common perspective on youth is the one of victims that need adult interventions.\(^{30}\) These perceptions influenced particularly international policy making, though both stereotypes ignore young people’s positive potential.\(^{31}\) In the

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\(^{21}\) Du Toit 2003, p. 4.  
\(^{22}\) Ibid; Stats SA 2001, p. 1.  
\(^{24}\) McNamara 2000, p. 31.  
\(^{25}\) Ansell 2005, p. 18.  
\(^{26}\) Ibid, p. 14f; Honwana & De Boeck 2005, p. 1; Fraser et al 2004, p. 175f. The focus was more on children.  
\(^{27}\) Ibid.  
\(^{28}\) Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) 2007, p. 34.  
\(^{29}\) Ibid.  
\(^{31}\) Ansell 2005, p. 14, 35.
current literature, different authors (Ansell 2005, McNamara 2000, Foster & Naidoo 2001, Honwana & De Boeck 2005) therefore point out, that this concept of youth is actually a Western construct with its roots in the early 18th century, which was exported worldwide although the understanding of youth varies in each culture and changes as well over time. Furthermore, even though youth are confronted with comparable life challenges and opportunities, they should not be understood as a homogenous group but instead one should be aware that each youngster has his/her own respective background.

Honwana & De Boeck (2005) illustrate ‘youth’ for that reason as a dynamic concept that is constructed within different historical and cultural contexts, and as a multi-faceted social category that comprises not only a biological development stage but as well identity formation with its own expressions depending on factors like gender, class, culture, religion as well as responsibilities and societies’ expectations. In their book “Makers & Breakers”, which focuses on the social role of youth in different African contexts, they point out that “Young people constantly shake and shape society but are also shaped and shaken by it”, referring not only to the destructive but also innovative potential of youth. Considering these conceptions and in line with Ansell (2005) and UYF (2005), this study promotes an understanding of youth as actors of their own lives within their specific social contexts. It also regards them as human beings rather then ‘human becomings’ with potentials as well as problems without perceiving them only “as being a problem” but instead as “part of the solution”.

After approaching the general concept of 'youth' it is necessary to define what is understood under the specific term 'youth-at-risk', being the target group of this research. According to Capuzzi & Gross (1996) and McWhirter et al. (1998) it is difficult to discover the exact origin of the term that has appeared in the different scientific literature on medicine, psychology, education, social work, etc. since the late 1970s. In sociology, it refers to young people that are exposed to risk factors, often

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38 UYF 2005, p. 3.
39 Ibid.
40 Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) 2007, p. 34.
41 Capuzzi & Gross 1996, p. 6; McWhirter et al. 1998, p. 6f.
resulting in being more prone to not behaving appropriately to the society's expectations and therefore being considered as a hazard not only to themselves but to the society. Different authors (Capuzzi & Gross 1996, Coleman 1999, Crocket & Crouter 1995) give the same examples for such possible anti-social and destructive activities like dropping out of school, abuse of alcohol and drugs, being involved in gangs, youth crime, but also teen pregnancy, having i.e. eating disorders or being suicidal.

Nevertheless, Capuzzi & Gross (1996) and McWhirter et al. (1998) point out the lack of a clear and generally agreed definition of 'youth-at-risk' due to its usage in diverse research areas and the problem of mixing up causes and effects. Both propose defining 'at risk' as “a set of cause and effect dynamics that have potential to place the individual in danger of negative future events”\(^{44}\). While for Capuzzi & Gross (1996) every youngster has the potential to become prone to risky behaviour, Coleman (1999) believes that it is especially related to young people that are socially marginalized through growing up in poverty and abusive relationships.\(^{45}\) McWhirter et al. (1998) are agreeing with both and therefore recommend, “at-riskness must be viewed not as a discrete, unitary diagnostic category but as a series of steps along a continuum […] from minimal and remote risk to personal behaviour that anticipates imminent risk and finally to the activities associated with an at-risk category”\(^{46}\). Often it is not only one single causal factor like the socio-economic conditions that put youth-at-risk, but the combination of different risk factors. The more youngsters are exposed to different risks, the higher is the possibility that they show destructive behaviour.\(^{47}\) McWhirter et al. (1998) who distinguish between causes and effects (behaviour) of ‘youth-at-risk’ presents in accordance with YouthARTS Handbook (1998) four different but interconnected areas and their potential risk-contributing factors: first of all, the *community/society* with its socio-economic conditions i.e. poverty, availability of drugs and firearms, crime and violence as well as the lack of constructive leisure activities; secondly, the *family* i.e. looking at dysfunctional families (single parent), family conflicts (different forms of abuse), harmful child-rearing practices and the lack of positive role models; thirdly, the *school* i.e. considering quality of education, school


\(^{43}\) Capuzzi & Gross 1996, p. 4, 8; Coleman 1999, p. 120; Crocket & Crouter 1995, p. 87.

\(^{44}\) Capuzzi & Gross 1996, p. 5f; McWhirter et al. 1998, p.7.

\(^{45}\) Capuzzi & Gross 1996, p. 9, 17; Coleman 1999, p. 120, 188.

\(^{46}\) McWhirter et al. 1998, p.7.

climate, peer group pressure; and finally, the individual characteristics of the youngster’s personality which refers especially to the vulnerability towards risk or, in reverse, to resiliency, a concept which will be presented in the chapter 2.3. Another noteworthy risk-contributing factor is gender, because whereas girls are often more vulnerable to sexual abuse and teenage pregnancy, boys are more at risk to become involved in gangs, violence and crime. The five at-risk categories, to be found on the highest end of McWhirter et al.’s risk continuum, comprise school dropouts, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, juvenile delinquency/violence (family violence, crime, gangs) and youth suicide. Considering the vulnerability of all youth to become at risk, but particularly focusing on youth from disadvantaged communities in this research, the provision of well-designed prevention programs like the Chrysalis Academy is imperative.

2.2. Understanding Socialization and Social Integration

In this chapter, first of all ‘socialization’ as a term will be defined and its main goals and functions for the individual and the society will explained. In a second step, the classical theories of Durkheim and Parsons concerning the socialization process will be introduced before finally the modern interactionist socialization approaches will be presented.

Socialization as a concept was introduced into the scientific discourse in the beginning of the last century by Émile Durkheim, who is also known as one of the founder of modern Sociology. Yet, it was the sociologist E.A. Ross who first used the term in an sociological article from 1896 in a still very narrow sense as “the moulding of the individual's feelings and desires to suit the needs of the group.” Various definitions as well as theories of socialization developed since then considering the different social science disciplines especially anthropology, psychology and sociology with their respective focus. While anthropologists understand socialization as 'enculturation', being concerned with the transmission of culture and in this context the development of personality, psychologists concentrate particularly on childrearing practices and cognitive learning theories. Sociologists at last, having the widest

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51 Clausen 1968, p. 139.
approach of socialization, are concerned with issues like the maintenance of social order, the development of the social self and the importance of social roles.\textsuperscript{53} Today, common sociological definitions like Graaff's very general one describe socialization as a “process by which individuals internalize and learn the values, culture and practices of their society”\textsuperscript{54} and in Collins Dictionary of Sociology socialization is depicted more concrete as “the modification from infancy of an individual's behaviour to conform with the demands of social life”\textsuperscript{55}. The main goals of socialization according to Giddens and other authors (Jary 2000, Baumgart 2004) are therefore first of all the reproduction of the social system over generations through acquired common beliefs and norms to reach herewith the continuous stability of societies.\textsuperscript{56} Consequently, the other purpose of socialization is to prepare and support young people not only to develop their own personality\textsuperscript{57}, but especially to become functional members that appropriate to their social position meet the expectations of society.\textsuperscript{58} This double function of socialization is summed up by Bush & Simmons (1981) as being the “cornerstone both for the maintenance of society and for the well-being of the individual”.\textsuperscript{59}

While in the first decades, after the concept was introduced 1896, the focus was on child socialization, the concept was later extended, understanding socialization as a lifelong process considering the new need of continuous adjustment in the context of rapidly changing societies.\textsuperscript{60} Today, a distinction for analysis is therefore often made between the \textit{primary} socialization of the young child, the \textit{secondary} socialization of the adolescent and the \textit{tertiary} socialization of the adult.\textsuperscript{61} Therefore, socialization comprises according to Clausen such diverse processes like child-rearing, education, enculturation, learning of different social roles and preparation for work, family and social life.\textsuperscript{62} Hereby, one needs to be aware, that the socialization processes differ among the societies due to their respective cultural and historical context.\textsuperscript{63} Important influential factors during the socialization process are besides the socio-economic and

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{53} Ibid.
\bibitem{54} Graaff 2001, p. 64.
\bibitem{55} Jary 2000, p. 568.
\bibitem{56} Giddens 2006, p. 163; Jary 2000, p. 568; Baumgart 2004, p. 11.
\bibitem{57} Broone 2005, p. 5.
\bibitem{60} Clausen 1968, p.139f, 152f; Giddens 2006, p. 163.
\bibitem{62} Clausen 1968, p. 139.
\bibitem{63} Baumgart 2004, p. 13.
\end{thebibliography}
political context the different agents or agencies of socialization whereby through social interactions values, norms and beliefs are transmitted.\textsuperscript{64} Whereas during primary socialization understandably the family is the main and most important agent, this role is increasingly taken over during the secondary socialization by the school, preparing the adolescents for their social integration, and the peer group, often behaving in opposition to the adult society, but also the media, providing ideal models and value orientations.\textsuperscript{65}

The question how the individual finally develops into a functioning member of society resulted in a great variety of theories through the complex differentiation of the research field in the last decades.\textsuperscript{66} The only thing they all have in common is the causal relationship between the individual and its environment. An appropriate overview in this seminar paper is therefore difficult, so the focus will be only at socialization theories from the sociological perspective. Broadly, two main directions, the functionist system theories and the interactional theories, can be distinguished depending if their focus is more on the system as the external conditions or on the acting individual within the system.\textsuperscript{67} This is also connected to the general debate in sociology whether social structure ("structure of society directs human behaviour") or social agency ("humans create society through their own actions") is more significant.\textsuperscript{68}

In the following section, the classical socialization theories of Durkheim and Parsons will be presented briefly, which partly had an impact on present concepts of socialization, before the more recent interactionist approach will be introduced.

In the context of the erosion of traditional cultural value systems due to increasing division of labor as part of the societies’ modernization process, Durkheim examined how social order can be maintained through socialization as the link between the individual and the society.\textsuperscript{69} Each society, seen as an organizationally and symbolically integrated system, develops their own appropriate form of socialization in response to its 'inner economy' and its needs for reproduction and social stability.\textsuperscript{70} According to Durkheim, individuals will only be transformed into reasonable and morally acting persons through socialization that means adapting to the social system that is regulating

\textsuperscript{64} Clausen 1968, p. 141; Giddens 2006, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid; Broone 2005, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{67} Veith 1996, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{68} Haralambus & Holborn 1995, p. 969.
\textsuperscript{69} Baumgart 2004, p. 31f.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, p.32; Veith 1996, p. 3; Durkheim 1984, p. 49.
and controlling their development through moral disciplination, whereby he considers the school as the significant socialization institution. Only by internalizing the essential social rules, whereby Durkheims points out culture as the important source of common values and beliefs, the individual is able to cooperate socially and can be successfully integrated into society. Lack of a collective morality and regulating norms in modern societies can result in disorientation and disintegration of the individual within the system, which Durkheim labels as a state of anomie that can often lead to deviant behaviour with suicide as an extreme form. Graaff (2001) criticizes that Durkheim based his theory on the assumption that societies are homogenous, which for modern societies is not valid considering the different values within one system that complicates the socialization process especially when neglecting other socialization agents besides the school. Besides, if there is enough space for individual freedom in Durkheim's context of a desired unchallenged submission to social restraints and understanding individuality only as an adjunct of the social being is questioned by Baumgart (2004), even though Durkheim defends it with his 'informed consent'. It means that the individuals will follow rules not because they are forced to but understanding the reason and necessity of social norms for the society's stability.

Talcott Parsons, known as the most influential American sociologist of the last century, considerably introduced the so-called 'structural functionalist system theory', which was also partly influenced by Durkheim’s functionalist approaches; both focusing on society's influence on the individual. In contrast to other sociologists, Parson understood society as a complex system of interrelated subsystems comparing it with biological organisms that develop particular functional structures for its own survival. Furthermore, he intended to develop a general theory with focus on the internal conditions for a society's stability like an undisturbed cooperation of the various subsystems with their specific institutions and their respective rules for social action, so that he combines his system theory with a theory of action. The basic unit of the system is the individual as an acting subject that is embedded in institutional structures.

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71 Baumgart 2004, p. 33f; Veith 1996, p. 3f.
74 Graaff 2001, p. 41.
75 Baumgart 2004, p. 34f.
77 Baumgart 2004, p. 81.
78 Ibid, p. 82.
and that has to fulfill society's role expectations, which are defined by the culture that is, as for Durkheim, uniting all social values and norms. Therefore, socialization is according to Parsons the process of learning predefined social roles - as his main concept - that need to be internalized like the social rules as the basis for social integration into society and its maintenance. Role competences are acquired and gradually expanded by identifying with and be conditioned by the main socialization agents family, school and peer groups as role models especially concerning sex-and age roles. Socialization also includes the social forming of needs, which will be satisfied through conforming role acting in response to normative expectations that leads to social acknowledgement and is ideal if the individual's needs are in accordance with society's needs. Deviation from expected role acting is seen as unwanted and dysfunctional or 'pathologic' and results in social rejection and punishment whereby mechanism of social control like police, law or youth welfare are put in place. Considering potential conflicts through discord between the individual's need and the society's role expectations, especially happening in the context of modern individualistic societies of today, it was criticized by Veith and agreed by the researcher that Parsons, like Durkheim, hardly reflected on the individual's freedom in his theory.

In contrast to these traditional theories, that focused more on the external forces on the individual, seen more as an object, and its internalization of social norms and roles, interactionist socialization theories look at the interaction between the active subject and its respective environment. Therefore, socialization is defined by a number of authors (Geulen/Hurrelmann 1980, Baumgart 2004, Bronfenbrenner 1979) as the process of developing a personality and becoming a functional member of society in a continuous reciprocal interdependency with the specific socially arranged material and cultural environment. To be able to analyze the various influencing factors for the personality's development Hurrelmann (1980) differentiates in a general model three analytical levels with the 'personality' as the centre between the 'external reality',

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81 Ibid; Baumgart 2004, p. 87; Tillmann 1989, p. 97.
82 Tillmann 1989, p. 92ff.
83 Ibid, p. 92.
comprising the society with its value structures, the socio-economic living conditions and the key contexts with its socialization agents (field of sociology), and 'internal reality' as the human organism with its physical and psychological structures (field of development psychology).\textsuperscript{87} The ‘external reality’ influences the development of a young individual essentially by providing real and perceived opportunities as well as obstacles depending on the resources available under the respective socio-economic living conditions and social relations.\textsuperscript{88} Nevertheless, human beings are not 'passive victims'\textsuperscript{89} of their external conditions, but influence actively their environment throughout their life, being “Producers of Their Development”\textsuperscript{90}, which was also pointed out by several authors (Ansell 2005, Hart 1997, Honwana & De Boeck 2005, McNamara 2000).\textsuperscript{91} That is where the ‘internal reality’ with the personal characteristics of an individual comes into play, because everyone has a different way of interacting with the social environment and especially having diverse coping strategies when facing challenges and stress.\textsuperscript{92}

In sum, according to interactionist theories, which complete the classical theories, individuals have choices and decide actively about their future pathways, but are influenced by the different socialization agents and are often limited to the opportunities and obstacles provided by their social environment.\textsuperscript{93} This understanding of socialization with focus on the target group 'youth-at-risk' will be used in this seminar paper combined with Durkheim's and Parsons' concepts of (un)successful socialization through (not) fulfilling society's expectations by (not) internalizing morality and social roles.

\section*{2.3. Ideal Socialization vs. Failed Socialization and the Case of South Africa}

The different presented socialization theories served as a background for understanding the interaction between youth and their environment including the socialization agents, and learning about the socialization's challenge of the individual's adjustment to society. The ideal socialization is achieved through the successful integration of its members with the help of fostering socialization agents and within a

\textsuperscript{87} Hurrelmann 1986, p. 19ff; Jary 2000, p. 569.
\textsuperscript{88} Crocket & Crouter 1995, p. 6; Baumgart 2004, p. 22f, 27.
\textsuperscript{89} Broone 2005, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{91} Ansell 2005, p.21f; Hart 1997, p. 28; Honwana & De Boeck 2005; McNamara 2000, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{92} Crocket & Crouter 1995, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid, p. 2, 6.
supportive environment that meets at minimum the individual's basic needs. The result are functional citizen that fulfil society's expectations by sticking to rules and norms, but also by following a desired life path that often includes passing school, getting a job and a family with children to contribute to society's reproduction and stability. Individuals, like 'youth-at-risk', that do not conform to the norms and behave antisocially are seen as dysfunctional members and are often marginalized in society. The reason is an insufficient or deviant socialization due to growing up under harmful conditions and the failure of socialization agents. Especially in developing countries, the socio-economic conditions are often hindering for a successful socialization because of poverty, lack of appropriate social institutions like social welfare or educational systems, which make it difficult to transmit social norms and values. In transitional countries like South Africa the society is even faced with social changes that create insecurity and can according to Durkheim lead to states of anomie if not new common values will be adopted by everyone.

In South Africa, identifying a general socialization process is challenging due to the heterogeneity and complexity of its society with various cultures and the high inequality between different population groups. This disparity is a direct outcome of segregation during the Apartheid, which resulted in different socialization processes considering each group and their respective living conditions. Numerous children grow up in a single-parent household, often in the absence of a father or positive male adults. Even worse, HIV/AIDS lead to an increasing number of orphans who are growing up without both parents, as important socialization agents, and many children do not have access to (quality) schools either, as another key agent. Considering this failure of socialization agents, youth are looking for alternative (male) role models, which they often find in gangs as negative peer influence that puts them at risk to deviant behaviour. Furthermore, young people growing up under poor socio-economic living conditions, like in the township communities of Cape Town, face more obstacles than opportunities also due to lack of adequate access to housing, health services, employment, safety. They get socialized in a ‘culture of poverty’, a concept that became known through the work of the anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1959). His concept explains the self-reproduction of poverty through intergenerational transmission of certain social-cultural value patterns that were developed by the poor in adaptation to

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94 Opening speech of the project director of the Chrysalis Academy, 14th of April 2007.
the burden of poverty. Consequenly, young South Africans growing up in impoverished homes, which Dawes describes as “sources of damage rather than growth”\(^97\), adopt manners and mind-sets that often hinders them in overcoming poverty in their future.\(^98\)

The consequences of failed socialization for a society are the creation of disintegrated dysfunctional members that represents a conflict potential that can be a serious threat to the social system's stability through the social reproduction of poverty and violence. For that reason, the society, in form of the government or non-governmental organizations (NGOs), needs to intervene by the help of rehabilitation- and especially prevention programs. One of these prevention programs is the project of the Chrysalis Academy for 'youth-at-risk, which the researcher presents for her analysis as an alternative and empowering socialization agent that partly takes over the role of typical socialization agents to achieve the youngsters’ successful integration.

2.4. Empowerment and Resiliency

To understand the empowering role, which the researcher assigns to the Chrysalis Academy program for her analysis, it is important to introduce in this section firstly the concept of empowerment and secondly the related paradigm of resiliency.  

The term ‘empowerment’ was developed in the context of various civil rights movements\(^99\) and community-based projects in the United States. Since the 1970s it has been connected to the American community psychology, whereby the term was mainly conceptualized by the social scientist Julian Rappaport, who is seen as one of the leaders in the research and practice of empowerment.\(^100\) He defined empowerment in 1981 as „a construct that links individual strengths and competencies, natural helping systems, and proactive behaviours to social policy and social change”\(^101\). Since then 'empowerment', seen as the „new paradigm-challenging concept”\(^102\), has become a popular key word, especially within the recent people-centered development approaches.\(^103\) Nowadays it is used inflationary in various disciplines and social fields.

\(^{96}\) Ibid.
\(^{97}\) Dawes 2005, p. 31.
\(^{98}\) UYF 2005, p. 10.
\(^{100}\) Ibid; Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, p. 572.
\(^{101}\) Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, p. 569.
\(^{103}\) Moser 1998: Developed in the 1970s/80s in the context of the failure of previous development strategies leading...
like i.e. psychology, politics, public health, organizational management or community development.\footnote{Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, p. 572.} For that reason, it is difficult to find one single comprehensible definition, as depending on the context, the agency’s perspective and the level of intervention their meaning differs.\footnote{Ibid, p. 571f; Eade 1997, p. 23.} Perkins & Zimmermann (1995) argues that empowerment should be seen as a dynamic concept and that it is not feasible to have a universal measurement of empowerment because, as Yowell & Gordon (1996) point out, there is no blueprint for implementing empowerment programs considering the various situational conditions of people that demands case-by-case and contextualized approaches.\footnote{Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, p. 573; Yowell & Gordon 1996, p. 1.} Nevertheless, several authors (Stark 1996, Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, Page & Czuba 1999, Sadan 1997/2004) agree on some points like seeing empowerment as a process and an outcome, using empowering strategies with the result of being empowered. They are also in agreement that three levels - the individual, the community and the professional organization - can be distinguished, but often being connected with each other.\footnote{Stark 1996, p. 127; Perkins & Zimmermann 1995, p. 570f; Page & Czuba 1999; Sadan 1997/2004, p. 75.}

The focus of this paper is on individual empowerment, which is according to Sadan (1997/2004) a process of personal development based on the belief that everyone has certain capabilities and skills, which need to be fostered when being impaired through different states of powerlessness through disempowering social structures like poverty, lack of public services and social support.\footnote{Sadan 1997/2004, p. 84, 115, 152f.} Understanding empowerment as a process, as the further focus of this work, this general definition is helpful describing it as “a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives”\footnote{Page & Czuba 1999.} through “enhancing an individual’s or group’s capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes”\footnote{Alsop & Heinsohn 2005, p. 5.}.

Nonetheless, Chamber (2005) remarks that empowerment is not simply about giving people the ‘power to’, but fostering a ‘power within’\footnote{Chamber 2005, p. 209.}, which means to raise in them the self-confidence that they can reach what they are capable of. Promoting a
critical understanding of the individual’s social-cultural environment is hereby an important step to develop a better self-awareness of the own potentials to change these conditions.\textsuperscript{112} Breton (1994) differentiates between an 'objective reality of empowerment', such as the structural context including shift of power relations and access to resources, and a 'subjective reality of empowerment', referring to the change of perceptions and behaviour.\textsuperscript{113} She remarks like Sadan (1997/2004), that one cannot talk about an empowered individual that only changed its consciousness whereas the depriving conditions stayed the same.\textsuperscript{114} Therefore, another significant step is not only to gain more knowledge but also to acquire and build on skills and abilities to improve the individual's life opportunities.\textsuperscript{115} Still, Eade (1997) points out the important fact that empowerment of people only works, if it is based on their own involvement and willingness to change.\textsuperscript{116} The empowered individual can then eventually be seen as the necessary basis for social change in the community, whereby participation and collective action are contributing elements of this further empowerment.\textsuperscript{117}

Regarding the difficulties in changing external conditions of people like poverty, the focus of this research is particularly on empowerment as a process of 'internal change'\textsuperscript{118} which is also known under 'psychological empowerment' with the goal of developing inner strength to cope as best as possible with the socio-economic environment.\textsuperscript{119} In this context, the closely related concept of resiliency as an empowerment outcome will be introduced by the researcher, which evolved from interdisciplinary research and practical experience especially in education and social work with youth.\textsuperscript{120} It is generally defined as the individual’s ability to manage risky, stressful and challenging circumstances like poverty, dysfunctional families or traumatic experiences in a positive and constructive way.\textsuperscript{121} This dynamic concept was introduced by Norman Garmezy and has been increasingly researched in the context of child and youth development since the 1970/80s, particularly by development psychologists, who

\textsuperscript{115} Sadan 1997/2004, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{116} Eade 1997, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{117} Page & Czuba 1999.
\textsuperscript{118} In comparison to empowerment as external change which is called political empowerment.
\textsuperscript{119} Sadan 1997/2004, p. 75f.
tried to discover the protective factors for this capacity.\textsuperscript{122} For a long time it was understood as a special character strength of only a few people, but today different authors (Edwards et al 2007, Kitano & Lewis 2005, Ryan & Hoover 2005) agree that it can be developed in everyone in a multidimensional process.\textsuperscript{123} Bonnie Benard, who is known for her intensive research on resiliency, even states “resilience is innate in all of us”- our innate wisdom, mental health, common sense, etc.”\textsuperscript{124} proposing herewith, that youngsters already have what they need to manage their life, but depend on the help of supportive adults to discover their strengths.\textsuperscript{125} The background for this was the important shift from a deficit-oriented perspective on youth to strength-based concepts in the field of social work and youth development.\textsuperscript{126}

The level of resiliency, also described as a protection shield that keeps youngsters away from and/or enables them to manage stressful or harmful effects of risky conditions, depends on the combination of supportive or hindering factors within the often-mentioned areas: the environment/community, the family, and the character traits of the young person.\textsuperscript{127} These protective factors that need to be fostered in youngsters can be categorized in ‘social resources’ like opportunity structures provided by the environment and reliable caring relationships\textsuperscript{128}, and ‘personal resources’ focusing on individual characteristics that include self-confidence and self-control, problem-solving skills, sense of purpose, productive coping strategies, interpersonal skills and health-promoting behaviour.\textsuperscript{129} Werner (1998) points out, that coping with high-risk environments is possible as long as there is a balancing out between challenging experience and protective factors, only “when stressful life events outweigh the protective factors in a child’s life, even the most resilient individual can develop problems”\textsuperscript{130}.

In the last decades, development of resiliency of at-risk groups has become a preferred goal of intervention programs especially for youth due to its pro-active and preventative characteristics.\textsuperscript{131} Empowerment, applied by the researcher in this study as

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{122} Edwards et al 2007, p. 33.
\bibitem{123} Ibid; Kitano & Lewis 2005, p. 201; Ryan & Hoover 2005, p. 117.
\bibitem{124} Benard 1998, quoted after personal communication by Lewis 1999, p.42.
\bibitem{125} Lewis 1999, p. 42.
\bibitem{126} Cahill 1997, p. 10.
\bibitem{128} Youngsters need trustful relationship with at least one significant adult in their life for support. Lewis 1999,p.52.
\bibitem{129} McNamara 2000, p. 53, 78; Kitano & Lewis, 2005; Ryan & Hoover 2005, p. 117; McWhirter et al. 1998, 80ff.
\bibitem{130} Werner 1998, in: Lewis 1999, p. 45.
\bibitem{131} Neill 2006.
\end{thebibliography}
building up resilience in youth and enabling them to help themselves, will give youth-at-risk the inner strength to cope with the socio-economic conditions and turn them into responsible agents of their own development. It will leave them less vulnerable to risky behaviour and turn them into positive role models with the potential of even initiating or supporting social change in their own communities.

2.5. Youth Empowerment and Social Integration of 'Youth-at-Risk'

After presenting the key concepts youth-at-risk, socialization, as well as empowerment and resiliency, the goal of this section is to connect these concepts based on Giddens' sociological structuration theory and Amartya Sen's approach of development as freedom, which both will be introduced in the following to lead systematically to the hypothesis.

To understand empowerment from Giddens’ perspective it is necessary to explain briefly his structuration theory, which interrelates social structure and social action (or human agency) for the first time in sociological theory in contrast to classical one-sided focused theories\(^{132}\), which put more emphasis on only one of the two concepts. Giddens is claiming that “structure and action are two sides of the same coin”\(^{133}\), stating that social structures direct the behaviour of human beings, but that every individual not only reproduces but also creates and transforms social structures through social action, which he calls the 'duality of structure'. Important is also his neutral understanding of power, seeing it as the ability to change processes, which he labels as 'transformative capacity'.\(^{134}\) Through this direct relation to the concept of power and the connection of the micro and macro level by action and structure, Giddens’ structuration theory represents a good basis for describing the empowerment process.\(^{135}\)

Empowerment is therefore understood as a process of transition from a powerless state to one of increased control over the environment and one's destiny due to changes in human behaviour and in social structures.\(^{136}\) For this, the individual acquires social skills and develops a social responsibility in interaction with the environment, so that he/she is able to take over socially valuable roles, which relates to Geulen's and Parsons'

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132 Haralambus & Holborn 1995, p. 969.
133 Ibid.
136 Ibid, p. 137, 144, 151, 166.
understanding of socialization. Through empowerment of individuals, a potential for community empowerment emerges which -if successful- presents then again an empowering environment for other individuals. For that reason, empowerment in the context of Giddens’ duality of structure can be described as a dynamic “circular process of social change and activation of abilities and resources”. Furthermore, empowerment can be connected to Amartya Sen's concept of development as freedom. The well-known development economist understands development as a process of enabling people to expand their ‘capabilities’, as one of the core elements of his approach, so that they can choose and live their own favored way of life in self-responsibility. This will be possible by overcoming the main sources of unfreedom like poverty, poor economic opportunities, lack of public services etc., which limit the individual’s opportunities. Sen’s approach is hereby in line with Giddens’ theory, because according to Giddens, everyone, even the poorest, has a potential power (‘transformative capacity’) to influence social structures that would allow more freedom of social action, if this potential is only discovered and fostered. Both believe that choices of human beings can be expanded by increasing their different capacities, but also through raising their consciousness about their constraining and enabling living conditions.

Nevertheless, there exists criticism of Giddens’ theory that rejects his conviction of changing structures simply by changed social action. Archer (1982) and Graaff (1994) especially point out the persistent and restrictive features of most social structures and the people's 'existential anxiety', as the fear of changes and need for security. For that reason, empowerment is not only understood as enabling individuals to transform social structures through expanded capabilities and herewith choices, but especially as strengthening the individual’s characteristics. This relates then finally to resiliency as the ability to face and deal as best as possible with the socio-economic environment.

To sum up, empowerment itself can be seen in this research as kind of a socialization process to develop youngsters into responsible, self-confident and resilient

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138 Ibid, p. 149, 151.
individuals. In the context of Sen’s approach and of Giddens’ structuration theory, youth-at-risk are confronted with the failure of socialization agents and poor socio-economic conditions as the social structures that limit their choices (‘unfreedom’). Through empowerment programs as alternative socialization agents - like the one of the Chrysalis Academy - youngsters will be equipped with skills and new social values as well as a confidence about their individual potentials (‘capabilities’), which will expand their choices of social actions, leave them more resilient towards adverse situations and at last contribute to their social integration.

2.6. Research Hypothesis

This research seeks to identify the role of empowerment programs for the social integration of 'youth-at-risk'. After introducing the key concepts and combining them within a theoretical framework in the previous sections, the following research hypothesis was derived:

*Empowerment programs contribute positively to the social integration of youth-at-risk.*

A sub hypothesis that complements the main hypothesis reads as follows:

*Empowering youth-at-risk helps building up their resiliency to enable them to cope better with their environment.*

The empowerment program represents the independent variable, whereas social integration and resiliency are the dependent ones. Therefore, if the hypothesis is valid, the more empowering the program, the higher the degree of the individual's resiliency and his/her social integration. The purpose of this research work is to test this hypothesis empirically based on the evaluation of the Chrysalis Academy’s empowerment training. The following chapter will describe the necessary research methodology (including the indicators for measuring the variables) that will be used for assessing the effects of the youth empowerment program of the Chrysalis Academy.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter serves the purpose to present in five sub-chapters the research design and the case study methodology, followed by explaining the utilized research methods for collecting quantitative and qualitative data. Furthermore, the process of data collection including sampling, time and setting is revealed and ethical considerations will be clarified. The chapter concludes with the description of the data processing and analysis as well as outlining the limitations of this study.

3.1. Qualitative Research Design – Case Study Methodology

How is the empowerment program of the Chrysalis Academy designed to achieve its goals to transform youth-at-risk into positive change agents and community leaders? How did the participants experience the program and in what way did it help them in their life after the graduation? And finally: Could the Chrysalis empowerment program contribute to building up the graduates’ resiliency and their social integration? These represent the three key evaluation questions that were guiding this research work. In order to answer the research question and to test the hypothesis, an appropriately designed empirical study was required. The researcher decided to base her research on a case study, a scientific research strategy to examine in-depth social phenomena in a real-life context, which is often applied in the field of sociology, especially for impact assessments of community-based prevention programs and for high risk youth studies.\textsuperscript{144} According to Tellis and Soy, the advantages of case studies are, that they are not only based on statistics, but that they represent a “detailed contextual analysis”\textsuperscript{145} of processes and outcomes of projects like the one of the Chrysalis Academy, and that they include the views of the respective actors to present their different perspectives.\textsuperscript{146} However, critics argue that case studies are just beneficial for exploratory studies, that their findings cannot be generalized as they are only based on one or only a few cases and that they are rather unscientific because of its ‘inherent subjectivity’\textsuperscript{147} due to the researchers intense exposure to the case.\textsuperscript{148} Garson argues against it by stating that as

\textsuperscript{144} Soy 1997; Tellis 1997.
\textsuperscript{145} Soy 1997.
\textsuperscript{146} Tellis 1997.
\textsuperscript{147} Becker et al. 2005.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid; Soy 1997, Tellis 1997
long as case studies are theory driven and aimed at hypothesis testing to make them replicable for other researchers, they represent a valid scientific method. Furthermore, Soy and Tellis point out that biases are attempted to be avoided by using the mean of triangulation, which is also seen as the strength of the case study method.\textsuperscript{149} Triangulation is defined as combining different research tools to get as much accurate information as possible, in this case about the empowerment program and its impact to create a convincing data basis for testing the hypothesis.\textsuperscript{150} Therefore, using the case study methodology allowed getting a holistic understanding of the complex process of empowering youth-at-risk, which is understood in this study as a socialization process.

The motivations for the researcher for choosing the Chrysalis Academy for the case study can be explained with the following arguments: There are quite a lot of organizations in Cape Town, whose projects are youth-oriented, but most of them are short-term interventions and focus only on certain groups like street children\textsuperscript{152}, disadvantaged youngsters\textsuperscript{153}, youth offenders and young crime victims (NICRO) or on certain issues like HIV/Aids awareness\textsuperscript{154}, empowerment through sport activities\textsuperscript{155}, capacity building\textsuperscript{156}, life skills & leadership training through outdoor experiences\textsuperscript{157} or career building (Umsobomvu Youth Fund). In contrast, the Chrysalis Academy is a long term and very comprehensive program, that combines most of the before mentioned project approaches and claims to be a 'unique concept',\textsuperscript{158} which raised the researcher's interest. Another special characteristic is that youngsters at-risk get away from their mostly disadvantaged communities for a three months empowerment training at the Academy, which presents a favourable condition for a researcher to observe and examine how the program works. For these reasons, the researcher decided that

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{Garson 2002/2008.}
\footnote{Soy 1997, Tellis 1997.}
\footnote{IPDET ((International Program for Development Evaluation Training), p. 66.}
\footnote{Like the organisations Homestead or Salesian Institute for Street Children.}
\footnote{Amy Biehl Foundation, New World Foundation etc.}
\footnote{LoveLife, TAC-Treatment Action Campaign etc.}
\footnote{Hoops4Hope, Kicking for Peace, Skip4Health, Play2Think, JAG Foundation etc.}
\footnote{Kolping Society South Africa, Peace and Development Project etc.}
\footnote{Educo, Outward Bound South Africa etc.}
\footnote{The Chrysalis model was replicated in the provinces of Free State and Limpopo, but failed through bad management. according to the Chrysalis founder Mark Wiley in the interview on 9th of May 2007. However, the NGO 'MyLife', founded in 2002, is working on a similar and even a longer lasting empowerment program for street children, which is planned to be realized as a pilot-project in 2009 in form of self-sustaining 'eco-villages'.}
\end{footnotesize}
Chrysalis Academy is an appropriate case to analyze its empowerment program considering its long-term impact on the graduates. Furthermore, it was convenient for the researcher that her supervisor is connected with the Academy's CEO via the Western Cape Network for Community Peace and Development and was aware of the Academy's openness to an external impact study of the Chrysalis program, which provided a research-friendly environment for the researcher. The young graduates of the Chrysalis Academy represent the target group of this research. Their experience of the three months empowerment program and their judgments of the program’s impact on their personal development were assessed.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods is more beneficial than a single-method approach, as the advantages of each method are utilized and the disadvantages are partly balanced out, because applying them together can be seen as functioning complementary.\textsuperscript{159} For that reason, the researcher used the different methods of participant observation, questionnaires, face-to-face interviews as well as the focus group interview, which are described in the following sub sections.

3.2.1. Participant Observation

For getting a systematic and in-depth insight into the three months empowerment, the researcher used the qualitative method of being a (obtrusive) participant observer during most of the program with the respective people being informed about the researcher’s role.\textsuperscript{160} This was an essential research strategy as there existed no resources yet, that provided a sufficient documentation of the three months training, especially not with a perspective of seeing the Chrysalis Academy as an alternative socialization agent with its empowerment program as a socialization process.\textsuperscript{161} Therefore, it was indispensable for the researcher to experience the training herself, not only to collect detailed information for a comprehensive documentation as the first important part of the data presentation, but also to experience the direct effects of the training on the students. It was also important for building up trust relationships with staff members

\textsuperscript{159} Bless et al. 2006, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{160} The World Bank Group 2007, p. 367f.
\textsuperscript{161} The Strategic Proposal of Stratagem only provides the planned outline of the program, while the Evaluation Report of Herman Kotze in 2003 includes a detailed overview of the program but with a focus on the evaluation of the different classes and courses during the program on interviews and questionnaires.
and students, and to be finally able to develop an appropriate questionnaire and a guideline of questions for the face-to-face interview as well as the focus group interview. The challenges of this method are that through the researcher’s presence the observed persons’ behaviours might be influenced and might not reflect the actual activities as without the researcher’s participation.\textsuperscript{162} In addition, Flick (1996) points out, that the researcher in the field faces a role conflict due to trying to integrate among the observed group for better information access, while keeping the role of an objective, scientific observer at the same time.\textsuperscript{163} Hence, other research methods like questionnaires, face-to-face interviews and a focus group interview were deployed to double-check information and to collect further data, especially concerning the program's long-term impact on graduates to answer the main research question.

3.2.2. Questionnaires

To assess the long-term impact of the empowerment training from the graduates’ perspective, the researcher developed a structured questionnaire with closed questions (see Annex E) as a typical quantitative research method, which aims at collecting data in the same way to be able to compare them for conclusions.\textsuperscript{164} The focus of quantitative methods is generally more on statistical frequencies than meaning as it is in qualitative research.\textsuperscript{165} The questionnaire was distributed to a total number of a hundred former graduates of the Chrysalis Academy to discover how the training contributed to the graduates’ empowerment, an increased level of resiliency and social integration and where they find themselves today.

To be able to measure the intangible key concepts of empowerment, youth-at-risk, resiliency and social integration as the main variables of the hypothesis, they first needed to be operationalized by finding indicators. Questions concerning the personal background like residence area, parents' employment status, the graduate's education level and the description of potential risky living condition were formulated to measure the graduate's level of at-riskness. To get information about the empowerment process and its impact for the graduates, questions about their experience during the program and about their potential changes after the completed training were asked. The graduates' status of social integration after the graduation was measured in this research

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid, p. 367, 369.
\textsuperscript{163} Flick 1996, p. 384ff.
\textsuperscript{164} Neumann 2003, p. 278; IDPET, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{165} Neumann 2003, p. 466.
through indicators like continuing education, becoming employed or having at least better chances on the job market. Further indicators were improved relationships with family and friends, stopping substance abuse and criminal activities, but especially doing volunteer work in the own community and becoming herewith a positive role model for others. Measuring resiliency was more difficult, because it is a personality characteristic that includes different features i.e. like increased self-confidence, being more aware of own abilities and being more optimistic as well as goal-oriented (see chapter 2.4.). Students were hereby asked to assess themselves by rating different statements in the questionnaire's part about personal development, that were compiled based on James Neill’s (2006) measurement tools and the resilience assessment of Constantine et al (1999).

3.2.3. Face-to-Face Interviews

Semi-structured interviews (see Annex D) as a qualitative research method to get more detailed information and a deeper insight into the graduates' experience of the program were conducted with eleven volunteering graduates after they filled out the questionnaires. In comparison to quantitative research, qualitative research focuses more on meaning of written words than on frequencies and distributions of numerical data, therefore it is seen as an ‘understanding’ approach to subjective perceptions of the different participants. In contrast to the structured questionnaire with a focus on closed questions, open questions regarding complex issues were asked in the semi-structured interview. This allowed the interviewer to vary questions or pose additional ones for further clarification to avoid misunderstandings, while the respondent had more freedom to express him/herself.

3.2.4. Focus Group Interview

The focus group interview is another qualitative research method and is described by Gibbs as an ‘organised discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences of a topic’ Kitzinger understands them to be a structured process where the interviewer guides the discussion towards specific topics and aims to explore different perspectives.

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168 Semi-structured means that it is still a systematic approach, following general procedures but it is more open and therefore more flexible for both sides, the interviewer and the respondent. IPDET, p. 65.
as a form of group interview, which allows the researcher to collect more information from different individuals at the same time, which is therefore an easier and quicker way of data collection than one-on-one interviews.\textsuperscript{171} However, both authors point out that a focus group discussion is based on interaction between the participants (ideally four to eight persons) in contrast to a simple group interview, to gain insights into the different perspectives of the participants within a group context.\textsuperscript{172} The researcher decided to use this method as it is often applied for impact assessments of programs to learn about the participants’ experience and to give a safe platform for constructive criticism to achieve service improvement. The focus group interview (see Annex F) was conducted with five unemployed graduates to understand - apart from the personal evaluation of the empowerment training - the reasons for their current situation and to find out, how the Academy could prepare the students better during the empowerment training and how to improve the aftercare support for graduates.

3.3. Data Collection Process

3.3.1. Sampling

The database of the Chrysalis Academy, including all the 3759\textsuperscript{173} graduates since the project start in June 2000 to August 2007 with 53 \% (1975 graduates)\textsuperscript{174} of them being contactable, represented the sampling frame from which the sample of a hundred graduates for the main empirical research end of 2007 was chosen. The selection of the hundred graduates was dependent on the accessibility to them, which was made possible through different reunion events organized by the Academy, so that the sample can be categorized as a non-random accidental sample as the main reunions were not in the control of the researcher. It can also be defined as a convenience sample, because these selection opportunities offered by the Academy were to the researcher's convenience.\textsuperscript{175} From these hundred graduates who filled out the questionnaire, an accidental sample of eleven graduates was chosen for the face-to-face interviews. To identify the sample of unemployed graduates (quota or purposive sampling) for the focus group interview, the

\textsuperscript{171} Kitzinger 1995, p. 299.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid, Gibbs 1997, p. 1f.
\textsuperscript{173} This number excludes the 86 graduates of the course ‘07 Delta’ that the researcher was participating in (Sept-Dec ‘07) and the following courses in 2008 as the main research was done Sep-Dec. 2007.
\textsuperscript{174} This number excludes the courses from 2000 to 2002 because the five year follow-up ended and also the last two courses Charlie’07 and ‘07 Delta’ have not yet been included into the statistics of the Department for Graduate Affairs (GA) of the Chrysalis Academy.
\textsuperscript{175} The World Bank Group 2007, chapter 7, p. 4ff, 12.
researcher did a telephonic follow-up on the graduates from the 07’ Delta course, in which the researcher took part as a participant observer, to identify their employment status.

3.3.2. Time and Setting

To get a general idea of the development of this multidisciplinary empowerment program, how the Chrysalis Academy works and to learn about their experiences with empowering youth-at-risk, the researcher had her first meetings in April and May 2007 with the initiator and former CEO (Chief executive officer) Mark Wiley and the current female CEO Nomfundo Matroos. From the 17th of September to the 8th of December176, the researcher took part as a participant observer in the three months empowerment training at the Chrysalis Academy in Tokai to get basic impressions about the daily program routines, the four program phases with its different courses and the students’ reactions to the empowering experiences. In daily contact with the students for three months, the researcher also learned about the difficult living conditions they are facing in their communities, which would be challenging when going back after the empowerment training. All this enabled the researcher to develop the structured questionnaire and the guidelines for the face-to-face interview and the focus group interview.

During a five-week time period from the 5th of November till the graduation of the students on the 8th of December 2007, the researcher had contact to the hundred graduates mainly through two retrainings in Oudtshoorn in the Southern Cape and one for ’07 Bravo’ graduates at the Academy’s campus (in total ca. 60 to 70 graduates). The outstanding required number of graduates is composed of available graduates from different Chrysalis community youth clubs, that were specially invited for the research by the Department for Graduate Affairs (GA), then graduates from the Khayelitsha township, that the researcher met at their community youth club, as well as a few graduates, that are meanwhile employed at the Academy. Nearly a year later, from the 15th to the 26th September 2008, the researcher did the telephonic follow-up on the ’07 Delta’ graduates and identified 19 unemployed ones. From the nine unemployed graduates that confirmed to come out for the focus group interview at the Academy,

176 See the timetable of the field research in the Appendix (Annex A).
only five arrived, while one graduate came only three hours later due to transport problems.177

3.3.3. Ethical Considerations

The study was only conducted after an approval of the research proposal by the UWC Faculty Board for Research and Ethics Committees that included an ethical statement for protecting the participants as well as the researcher. Furthermore, a consent form with this ethical statement was signed by CEO of the Chrysalis Academy that allowed the researcher to conduct her field research at the organization and to interview volunteering graduates (see Annex B and C). Regarding the research procedure itself, the researcher generally introduced herself and her research purpose to these graduates as well as informing them about their voluntariness and anonymity. Furthermore, the researcher ensured the participant’s right to withdraw from the questionnaire or interview at any time before they were given the questionnaires. The researcher stayed with them until they finished filling out the questionnaires to assist them when they were comprehension problems, to check most of the questionnaires’ completeness and to finally thank them for their cooperation. The same conditions applied for the face-to-face interviews and the focus group interview. All volunteering participants in the research process as well as staff members and service providers were guaranteed that the collected data would be confidential and exclusively used for the purpose of this case study and that the Chrysalis Academy would receive a copy of the final thesis.

3.4. Data Processing and Analysis

The data of the questionnaires were processed using the statistical analysis program SPSS (Statistical Product and Service Solutions) Version 15.0, while the different interviews were transcripted for further data analysis. The outcomes of the quantitative data collection will be presented and analyzed in the following chapter four using descriptive statistics that comprises tables and graphics to describe the basic features of the data focusing on distributions, central tendencies, comparisons and

177 The main problem for the unemployed graduates was to pay the money for the transport to the far-out Academy in Tokai. The researcher tried to motivate these graduates by providing not only free lunch at the Academy, but also an introduction to the new Career Resource Centre, where they were informed about career choices & guidance.
relationship of variables. After the transcription of the eleven face-to-face interviews and a content analysis as a systematic approach for qualitative data, a polarization into employed and still unemployed graduates considering the impact of the empowerment program became obvious. The qualitative data will be therefore presented in form of cases as a further methodological step and will be analyzed based on the outcomes of the quantitative data. The focus group interview was also transcribed and analyzed regarding its content with a focus on reasons for the graduates’ unemployment and proposals for improvement of the empowerment training and Chrysalis’ aftercare program.

3.5. Limitations

The first obvious limitation of this study is that the focus is only on the Chrysalis Academy as a specific empowerment project with a quite “unique concept, both in South Africa and - to the best of our knowledge - the world”. Therefore, it will be difficult to generalize the findings for other empowerment interventions, which will be discussed in the last chapter. Furthermore, qualitative research is always context specific and for that reason it is challenging not only to reproduce the same research procedures but also to make generalizations. Other limitations consist in the restriction of time and resources that allowed only a small number and a non-random sample of all former participants (100 of 1975 represent only 5% of the contactable graduates) to be assessed with interviews and questionnaires during the field research, which therefore required a careful analysis of the results regarding their representativeness. Considering the fact that more males have been participants in the program since its start in 2000, while females are only in since 2002 (900 females out of 3759 represent with 24% not even a quarter), this gender proportion is only to a certain extent reflected in the results of the collected quantitative and qualitative data. A last limitation is the immeasurable influence of the researcher’s presence as a participant observer during the program and while conducting the face-to-face interviews, questionnaires and the focus group interview. Despite of these limitations, valuable results could be obtained for testing the hypothesis but also for learning how the empowerment program works as

178 IPDET, p. 89f.
179 Ibid, p. 84.
180 Neumann 2003, p. 441.
181 www.chrysalisacademy.org.za/welcome.html
182 According to statistics from 2007 of the Department for GA of the Chrysalis Academy.
guidance for other youth empowerment projects and what still can be improved for further success, which will be presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

This chapter aims at presenting the findings of the field research and is divided into two sub-chapters. To answer the first key question how the Chrysalis Academy's program is designed to achieve its goal of transforming youth-at-risk into positive agents of change, the first sub-chapter serves to give a detailed description of the Chrysalis Academy’s program. This includes general background information about Chrysalis’ five-year youth development program, the concept and framework of the three months empowerment training as its core, followed by the documentation of its four phases and its new program elements. Furthermore, the researcher illustrates the observed challenges during her participation in the empowerment training and finalizes this sub-chapter by giving insight into Chrysalis’ aftercare program for its graduates. This first sub-chapter also serves as the fundamental basis to understand the context of the results from the questionnaires, face-to-face interviews and the focus group interview. The second sub-chapter displays the outcomes of the quantitative data in form of the questionnaires, mainly through descriptive statistics and tables, followed by the results of the qualitative data in forms of the face-to-face interviews, through representation of typical case examples, as well as the other form of focus group interview and its content analysis. While the results of the questionnaires helped to test the hypothesis concerning the contribution of the Chrysalis Academy’s program for the graduates' social integration, the interviews provided an essential insight into the graduate's experience of the program and how it benefited her/him in their life after the graduation especially concerning his/her resiliency. The focus group interview finally allowed an insight into the challenges of unemployed graduates and ways how to improve the Chrysalis’ aftercare program for its graduates.

4.1. Documentation of the Chrysalis Academy’s Program for Youth-at-Risk
4.1.1. Background Information about Chrysalis’ Five-Year-Youth Development Program
In June 2000, the first pilot course 00 Alpha\textsuperscript{183} of the Chrysalis Academy started to
test a new preventative youth development program. This was initiated by Mark Wiley,
the former Minister of Community Safety in the Western Cape, based on his own
experience and tested through a requested feasibility study of the Strategic & Marketing
Consulting agency Stratagem with their specialists in the field of training and
development.\textsuperscript{184} The result is a program that focuses on the individual’s physical,
psychological and spiritual development by combining various empowerment methods,
which the Academy describes as a holistic approach. The chosen metaphorical name
‘Chrysalis’ describes the transformation of a larva into a butterfly in a protective
cocoon, which symbolizes the Academy with the aim of changing ‘youth-at-risk’ into
positive community leaders.\textsuperscript{185}

The Chrysalis project is aimed to be a sustainable program that comprises three
phases over a five-year period to empower youngsters to unleash their potentials and
enabling them to take control over their lives. The first phase is the residential three
months empowerment training that takes place at the Chrysalis Academy’s premises in
Tokai as the main basis for all graduates. The second phase refers to the follow-up of
graduates by progress monitoring, informing them about volunteer or work
opportunities and re-establishing contact by annual one-week meetings for retraining,
evaluation, assistance and counselling organized by the Department for Graduate
Affairs\textsuperscript{186} (existing since 2003). The third phase was realized in spring 2002 with the
opening up the first community youth club of now fourteen youth clubs in the Southern
and Western Cape that function as extensions of the Academy in areas where more than
twelve graduates live. While the first two phases take place in a certain time period at
the Academy's premises, the third phase is based on the activities of the community
clubs and does not necessarily have to end after a five year follow-up. The clubs are
established by graduates with assistance of the Academy to support graduates to fulfil
their role as active change agents by helping their community through volunteer work
and being role models for other youngsters.\textsuperscript{187}

\textsuperscript{183} The courses of each year are named in the following order: Alpha, Bravo, Charlie, Delta, Echo and Foxtrot.
\textsuperscript{184} Information are based on the first meeting of the researcher with Mark Wiley on the 9th May 2007 and his
strategic proposal for the Cabinet of the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape based on
Stratagem’s
research work.
\textsuperscript{185} Information material about the Chrysalis Academy provided by Mark Wiley.
\textsuperscript{186} During restructuring of the Academy’s organogram, the department was renamed into Dep. for Community
Affairs.
\textsuperscript{187} Information from www.chrysalisacademy.org.za.
4.1.2. Concept and Framework of the three months empowerment Training

The researcher got an insight in all three phases by not only participating in the three months empowerment training, but also being able to join a retraining about leadership in Oudtshoorn/Southern Cape and visiting two community youth clubs. Nevertheless, the focus is on presenting the process of the three months empowerment training with its methods, goals and observed effects on the students. In different information materials of the Chrysalis Academy, the training is described as an “intensive personal growth experience”\(^{188}\). Based on action-learning, as learning from experience, the training includes different physical and mental challenges for the students to overcome their fears and increase their self-confidence. It takes place at the Porter Estate in the Tokai forest 20 minutes away from Cape Town city, which offers sufficient facilities for accommodating the students, more than enough classrooms, different sports grounds, various workshops, a fire station, and adventure sites for the outdoor phase. The participation in the course is voluntarily and for youth in the Western Cape for free, but the tax investment in each youngsters shall be repaid by them through community service during and ideally also after the course during the five-year follow-up. Presenting itself as a prevention program, around hundred youngsters at risk with growth potential - and not only ‘problem kids’ that need to be fixed first - are selected preferably for each course out of around 1000 applicants. However, according to the training staff, students in the last courses have been more at risk than the students from the first courses. This reflects especially the serious problem with the fast spreading use of the drug ‘TIK’\(^{189}\), particularly in the ‘Cape Flats’, a Coloured area being notorious for its active gang networks.\(^{190}\) Generally, more than hundred students are chosen, because an average dropout rate of eight per cent per year is considered.\(^{191}\) ‘07 Delta’, the training course, which the researcher joined as a participant observer, started with 110 students whereof only 86 students graduated (indicating a higher than the average dropout rate with 22%).

\(^{188}\) Strategic Proposal for Mark Wiley produced by Stratagem.
\(^{189}\) Local name for the drug Crystal Meth, which is cheaper than cocaine but with a longer effective period, so that it became more popular than Mandrax and lead to faster addiction rates with the highest consumer rate in Cape Town, City of Cape Town 2007, p. 3; http://www.scienceinafrica.co.za/2005/june/tik.htm.
\(^{190}\) City of Cape Town 2007, p. 56f.
\(^{191}\) According to statements of the Department of GA. There was also never a course, which finished at the same number of students with which they started and often more males leave the course than females according to the facilitators.
The three months residential training is divided into four phases starting with the three weeks long Orientation Phase, followed by the Outdoor Phase of two weeks before the Skills Phase starts for a month, finishing off with the Community Phase for the last three weeks. Each course starts with an official intake on Saturdays, where the students and parents - coming mainly from distant disadvantaged areas - are welcomed by the CEO and an engaged training staff with motivational speeches. This includes slogans like “Today is a new day, a day of change for a new life” and “Make a difference in your own life to make a change in your community”, which reminds the students also on their future responsibility after being trained as agents of change or even young leaders of tomorrow. The students, often for the first time separated for a longer time from family and friends, have to share the rooms with eight to ten other students from different cultural and religious backgrounds as well as residential areas. For five weeks, they are not able to contact their close people, because cell phones as well as the use of public phones are forbidden and visitors are only allowed to come to the Academy each Sunday after the Outdoor Phase. This aims at ensuring the student’s full concentration on the course and his/her own development without external distraction. Furthermore, they have to get used to a challenging daily routine for the whole three months, which consists of an intensive seventeen hours day starting at 4.30am with physical training and drilling exercises, ablution and cleaning the rooms before they have their breakfast at 7am followed by inspection at 8am and a morning parade half an hour later. From 9am until 3.30pm, the students attend different lectures or participate later in courses of their self-chosen skills training, always with a tea break and lunch in between. In the afternoon till supper at 6pm, different sport activities like hiking in the surrounding mountains, running and the typical South African sports rugby and cricket for the student’s physical development take place, but also soccer, volleyball and even swimming in the Academy’s pool as well as drilling exercises. After supper, the students have free time for cultural activities or to do homework followed by ablution or cleaning for inspection before the lights are switched out at 9.30pm.

To achieve a feeling of unity and to avoid discrimination based on brand clothes, which is common especially in the townships and in gang cultures, all students wear the same uniform. Singing motivational African songs and multi-religious praying together play another important role during the course, whereby the praying in the morning and evening is carried out in the different languages of the participants (often English,
Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu and in Arabic for Muslims). For the Christians, Bible studies are offered Wednesday evenings and a prayer room for the Muslim exists in the student hostel, while all of them have to join service on Sunday morning for their spiritual development. To achieve an improved physical state, a fitness test is normally taking place once a week, whereby a positive competition is fostered by putting up a list to compare who is the fastest and fittest. Leaving the campus, smoking, drinking alcohol, taking drugs, intimate contact with girls (from parallel course), fighting, bullying etc. are strictly forbidden and according to the “Zero tolerance” rule, students have to quit the program in case of violation of these rules. Discipline and teamwork is achieved through the drilling exercises and parades, which are only seen as an aid to achieve an end, but this regimented training is often seen as the most controversial component of the program. Indeed, also the researcher was first skeptic being reminded of the military, but learned throughout the course how important it is for the training staff to introduce structures to be able to work with youth-at-risk coming from different backgrounds. She also saw the positive change from restive and disorganized students becoming confident, responsible and self-controlled graduates. An external comprehensive impact study from 2003\textsuperscript{192} stated that none of the contacted students or graduates had negative experience with the drilling, but instead most of them even tried to get into the prestigious drill parade for the graduation ceremony. The researcher’s results concerning this issue are similar and will be presented in the quantitative results part 4.2.1.

All this represents the framework in which the course ‘07 Delta’, that the researcher participated in, took place, and which the students had to get used to during the three-week Orientation Phase. That included for some students also suffering from the effects of getting off drugs in the first week\textsuperscript{193}, where everyone is prepared physically and mentally for the course but also for the their time after Chrysalis. Most of the participants generally describe this period of adapting to the new structures and discipline as one of the toughest parts during the course (see under 4.2.) and most dropouts leave in these first days, while others have to leave throughout the course because of rules violation especially through smoking or fighting. The students are

\textsuperscript{192} Summary of the report was giving to the researcher by Mark Wiley among other info material about the Academy.

\textsuperscript{193} The Chrysalis Academy does not consider itself a rehabilitation project, but as a preventative initiative. Drug-addicts are not admitted on the program; students must be three months off-drugs, but it still happens that students get on the course who lied about their drug abuse. Often these are the ones, who drop off first due to the physical challenges.
supervised, but also supported and lectured by young male and female facilitators, who are all former graduates and represent therefore positive role models for the students, having experienced the same and showing that change is possible. The hundred students are split into five groups of twenty in the beginning, which makes it easier to work with them and each group is having another lecture or workshop, but take turns, so that everyone goes through the same program.

4.1.3. The Four Phases of the Empowerment Training

In the first week of the Orientation Phase, the students attend a four-day first aid basis course, which is provided by an external service provider and includes theoretical and practical elements.\textsuperscript{194} The final test was the students’ first success experience during the course, because everyone passed and a lot were very proud of their good results. The first week finished off with an interactive lecture about HIV/Aids and a documentary about substance abuse with a special focus on the dangerous local drug TIK. Most Friday evenings are ‘youth evenings’, where the students get visits from external youth groups, mix with the girls course or organize their own dance, theatre and music performances, representing their talents. On the weekends, the students are kept busy with sport activities, drilling, cleaning the premises, community work, but also getting to see social or educational movies on Saturday evenings. In the following two orientation weeks, essential life skill courses like personal development, problem solving, conflict management and sexual harassment are provided as well as an adventurous fire fighting training, and map reading in preparation for the Outdoor Phase. In most of these lectures, the students have to agree first on the rules during the lesson, that gives them responsibility and an understanding of the necessity of rules. Furthermore, the lectures are very interactive through a lot of group work, students’ presentations, practical exercises or little games. With these lessons, they actively learn how to deal with problems and manage conflicts constructively, as well as discovering the value of teamwork and self-discipline to achieve goals. The course sexual harassment, which is very important considering the fact, that South Africa is infamous

\textsuperscript{194} Since my field research at the Academy end of 2007, a new staff member was employed to restructure and update the curriculum of the three months empowerment training, so that the order of the different elements has changed, even though a final version is not achieved yet.
for its high rape rates\textsuperscript{195}, triggered interesting discussions among the male students with their different cultural perspectives and initiated a reflection of their own mindsets.

Very empowering is according to the researcher’s view – which is also confirmed by the graduates according to the results of the later presented data analysis (see 4.2.1.2.) – a two sessions long course of personal development, which is provided by a female psychologist. She has longstanding experience with youth-at-risk and worked for seven years with male gang members in the notorious prison Pollsmore, which is located not even 15 minutes away from the Chrysalis Academy. She describes her course as a ‘journey to understand oneself (better)’ and points out the need of confronting and changing yourself first before becoming an agent of change. Addressing the identity crisis, low self-esteem and lack of life purpose of most youth-at-risk, she leads the students to discover their own unique identity on the one hand and their sameness with all human beings considering their physical, mental, emotional, spiritual and social dimensions on the other hand. The students learn that only through self-acceptance and self-respect one is able to accept and respect others. In these intensive and intimate sessions, the students are asked to reflect on their family background to understand why they developed in a certain way and to look at the past with a focus on former hurts, losses, anger and fears, which they have to write down. Afterwards, each student burns his paper over a candle like a little ritual, as one way to deal with past irreversible events, that includes forgiving and be forgiven. The students learn that it is always about choices and conscious decision-making, and that through letting go and moving on, they are able to be open for positive change. This was also reflected in the open evaluation round at the end of the course with most of them feeling relieved. Some of the students told the researcher later during the course, that they wrote letters, phoned their parents or talked to them to ask them for forgiveness, which helped them to improve the family relationships.\textsuperscript{196} In the end of her personal development course, the lecturer gave the students a gift to strengthen them for the Outdoor Phase. Everyone could look inside a box, where she surprisingly had a mirror, so that each student would see himself, which she commented with the encouraging words: “You are the best gift to yourself – cherish it!”.

The Outdoor Phase is inspired by the concepts of Kurt Hahn (1886-1974), the

\textsuperscript{195} City of Cape Town 2006, p. 55: “South Africa has the highest reported rape rate in the world, with Cape Town following national trends.”

\textsuperscript{196} One rather calm Xhosa student even wrote an English poem for his parents, which can be found as an example of the course’ impact in the appendix (Annex H).
founder of experiential education, who strongly believed in learning by doing with mind, heart and hand, especially in a wilderness setting, where nature becomes the best teacher. Hahn is also famous for creating - among other experiential school projects – the international organization ‘Outward Bound’, whose South African branch used to be the provider of Chrysalis’ Outdoor Phase in the first years. Due to high cost, this part was taken over by Chrysalis’ specially trained facilitators. For two weeks, the students will be out of campus for hiking, camping, beach walking, but also doing canoeing as well as other exciting and challenging activities like passing an obstacle course, learning to rock climb and abseil, all in a breathtaking natural surrounding. The students are divided in six new mixed groups of twelve to fifteen participants, which are accompanied by one facilitator for facilitation and safety. Each student gets his own equipment for hiking, camping and cooking in the mountains, so that they have to carry their tents, sleeping bags, clothes and their food rations. Each group has to plan their hiking routes, ration their food, choose a daily leader, deal with conflicts, and motivate and support each other to achieve their common goals.

This outdoor experience provides many challenges and allows the student to apply practically the already learned life skills with a special focus on planning and goal setting, problem solving, teamwork, personal discipline, leadership as well as environmental awareness. Consequently, this is one of the most empowering program parts because everyone can learn about his potentials of a team player and a leader (“To become a leader, you need to follow first”) as well as discovering his own inner strengths by testing his personal limits, communication skills and creativity in problem solving. Particularly the solo, the outdoor part, where each student has to stay for himself in the forest with only little food for two days and a night, gives them time and focus to think about their past failures, what they learned from it and to set goals for their future. Afterwards, this experience was openly discussed in a feedback round, that showed that everyone - being so intensively confronted only with himself – had not other chances than to deal with himself, so that the solo represents a powerful tool for self-reflection. Students reported to the researcher, that this part was one of the toughest during outdoor, but also the most valuable for their personal development. Each group has finally to present their experience in form of singing or theatre performances to the

197 www.kurthahn.org, Strategic Proposal of Mark Wiley.
198 In the strategical proposal of Stratagem they were recommended and were used as Provider for the first years.
199 According to information of the Head of Department (HOD) for Training.
200 Often used quote during the course by most of the facilitators.
training staff. In conclusion, the Outdoor Phase provides to the students an important inner source for dealing better with life’s challenges, gives them self-confidence and new enthusiasm as the best start into the Skills Phase. Families and friends, who are allowed for the first time to visit the students after their return to their hostel, can already see these differences in the apparently physically fit and confident students.

The Skills Phase represents with its four weeks the longest period in the training course introducing the students to basic vocational skills in different subjects, which they can choose according to their interest and educational level. The offer of various subjects changes with each course, depending on the demand on the job market and the respective work conditions. The students of ’07 Delta’ completed practical courses in tourism, tailoring, welding and woodwork in the Academy’s workshops, whereas the courses in electricity and motor mechanics were provided at the nearby Westlake College. The lessons were mainly practically, which the students enjoyed, being especially excited to see the results of what they were able to produce with their hands as another positive achievement, particularly in tailoring, woodwork and welding. Proudly showing their products around, they even started small trading among themselves in exchange for little money or other products. Students of the tourism class instead were privileged to experience two daily excursions to discover famous tourist sightseeing spots in Cape Town and surrounding, including a visit of one of the major hotels, which they were grateful for, as most of them have not had these experience yet.

The Skill Phase plays another important part for students to discover their potential, specially to be able to make better career choices. In the last skill week, the afternoon program also changed from sports to preparing the different graduation performances like the gumboot dance, choir and break dance as well as the popular drill parade. After returning from the outdoor, the facilitators handed over more responsibility to the students, so that they had to manage themselves with the facilitators only assisting them when needed. A Student Representative Council (SRC) was also created, whereby each room chose a representative, who then together elected the president for all students. Herewith, they learn democratic procedures and to become a more aware and responsible citizen when back in their community. Furthermore, two new leaders were

201 In the early courses, students were exposed to all the different subjects for a few days, while nowadays they have to decide for one course, that they can focus on one skill and get more insight as a good preparation for future jobs.

202 The training of security officers did not only stop because of the new management view on the Academy’s military status, but also because of the low salaries and bad working conditions in that industry.
selected for each day to test their leadership skills on a higher scale, which the other students assessed in a feedback round every evening. Sadly, three students had to leave three weeks before graduation because of fighting, which was hard for them being so close to the course’s accomplishment, but also for the other students, who all got close to each other.

The **Community Phase**, as the final three weeks, aims at preparing the students for their life back in the communities with focus on providing life orientation skills like personal development and career choice & behaviour management, basic computer skills (includes writing an own CV) and an introduction into sports coaching for swimming, cricket and rugby for voluntary work in the community. As a follow-up of the personal development course during the **Orientation Phase**, the teacher returns for another session to address the students’ fear of going back to their families, friends and community that has not changed as well as fearing to fall back to bad habits. After letting the students reflect on their changes through the program and the new acquired skills, she provides them with strategies that includes that everyone needs a plan of action with set goals and especially to put boundaries in place by learning to say ‘No’. Other possible ways are geographical distance (in cases of leaving a gang), cut relationships with negative peers and spending the time wisely i.e. doing constructive activities like volunteering. Important for the students is to become responsible for their own choices and to have self-control, particularly when it comes to overcoming substance abuse.

Another empowering course is hereby the career choice & behavioural management session, which is provided by an external volunteering life coach. He gives the students an understanding of misbehaviour as compensating behaviour resulting from suppressed feelings (if not expressed verbally like anger then often physically in form of violence) and the conflict between the self-created image of oneself and the self-acceptance of the real personality. Therefore, it is necessary to discover the true person in oneself and working on one’s discipline, which is there defined as self-imposed integrity and being true to your real self in contrast to an other-imposed discipline like i.e. through drilling. Very powerful was also the final group work about how to deal with the fears and challenges when going home. The students divided themselves into four groups according to their major fear, whereby the largest groups were the ones, who were afraid of having nothing to keep them busy (lack of job,
danger of doing harmful activities) and the ones, who fear making wrong decisions (getting back into gangs and substance abuse). The other two small groups were more concerned about how others will react to their change, and bad influences. Every group had then to present their coping strategies that included things like getting a job, study further, quit bad friendships and choosing new positive friends, avoiding bad influence and substance abuse, setting boundaries, and spending more time with family and good friends as well as being true to yourself. This exercise helped the students to deal with the potential challenges when back in the community and based on the learned life skills to reflect and develop coping strategies. Helpful was therefore also the meeting of the ‘07 Delta’ students with some graduates of ‘07 Bravo’ (previous male course, at campus for retraining), who could share their experience of going back and facing different challenges, and how they dealt with them. Some of them came from a tough background with gang involvement and drug abuse, but changed through the Chrysalis Academy and are having a job now or are volunteering and being respected in the community. They advised the ‘07 Delta’ students, to keep up the sport, to have a lot of will power to abstain from alcohol and drugs, and that they should do it for themselves and not for others as it is about their future.

During the Community Phase, the students also had the opportunity of two big community events, where they could volunteer at the weekend and which gave them the positive experience of helping others. For the first time since the Academy’s existence, a voluntary HIV/Aids test for the students, but also for the staff, was introduced, which a lot of them made use of to learn about their status. Furthermore, a job agency visited the Academy to do a written tests and first job interviews with the students, so that a few of them even had the chance to start immediately with a new job after their graduation. Another opportunity for the students is a new three years pilot course of “Safety in Society” based at the Chrysalis Academy, which is offered by the False Bay College in cooperation with the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Education Department in preparation for 2010.

Before having the honour of graduation, the students still had to face a final challenge, which is a three-day route march, where the students have to walk the whole way from the Academy in Tokai over the mountains to the Cape Point against time, which all the students of ‘07 Delta’ managed successfully. On graduation day, all the students who applied for the three-year pilot course of “Safety in Society” at the Chrysalis Academy were accepted.

203 www.falsebaycollege.co.za
204 Meanwhile, the course has started and around one third of the ‘07 Delta’ students managed to get onto the course.
students were dressed up in their best uniforms and special ‘07 Delta’ course T-shirts, welcoming their families and friends by marching down to the performance area in one impressive squad. A program follows, where the students present their course songs as well as their talents in gumboot dancing, singing, break dancing and showing the popular drilling parade. Three students also read out their testimonies about how they have changed through the Academy, before finally every student gets his certificates and is free to leave back home after three months.

4.1.4. New Program Elements: Life Coaching and Parent Workshops

With the new CEO Nomfundo Matroos since 2005, this regimental training approach has been softened, by her focusing more on the student’s social development. A social worker was employed and every student is now assessed as a basis for follow-ups and interventions like counselling. Another significant new component is the parent workshop since the beginning of 2007, which proved to be a powerful tool in improving the graduates’ relationship with their families, giving them an important support when returning to their communities. Parallel to the training of ‘07 Delta’, four workshops were provided to their parents, whereby around 80 family members (highest level of participation since its start two courses before) took part, among them also quite a lot of male members. In this very powerful course, the parents learn about their children’s needs, especially the importance of self-esteem, and how they can support their youngsters in developing their potentials. In group works and interactive role-plays, they also gain knowledge about listening and communication skills, as well as how to set up rules and achieve discipline. The parents of the ‘07 Delta’ students were very attentive, motivated and grateful about the sessions and it was planned that they keep on networking in support groups in their respective residential areas after the course.

Achieving a mind shift among the training staff from ‘instructor’ to ‘facilitator’ away from a ‘teacher centred approach’ - which was criticized 2003 in an impact study assigned by the funder - is another new approach. The researcher also realized noticed, that with each course, new things are tried out to improve the program, i.e. the students of ‘07 Delta’ were the first ones getting sneakers instead of wearing boots during the whole course (except for the drill parade) as another ‘de-militarizing’ element. After the main field research, during the year 2008, the researcher could observe further changes, as the facilitators are not wearing any uniforms anymore but jeans and outdoor shirts,
while the students wear mainly tracksuits. Furthermore, the sport afternoon program was improved to the excitement of the students after the former Head of Graduate Affairs was appointed for the new position of a sports coordinator, who developed a detailed sports curriculum in collaboration with two Dutch sports students who volunteered as interns at the Academy earlier in the year. Fortunately, also an urgently needed second social worker/life coach was employed, even though both of them are currently on maternity leave. Taking all these positive changes into consideration, it becomes obvious that the Academy’s understanding of seeing itself as a learning organization that adapts to changes is put actively into practice.

4.1.5. Challenges during the Empowerment Training

Even though the three months training is according to the researcher a very comprehensive and empowering concept, she could observe some problems that occurred during her presence in the program. Firstly, there were more hidden racial conflicts between several individuals, despite an on the surface positive mixing of the students of different backgrounds. According to different students’ information, this happened out of sight of the facilitators and the researcher, so that these students wished, that this issue would have been addressed openly to find a mutual solution to the problem and that there should have been more focus on cultural diversity courses. Secondly, there was an occasion, where one recently employed facilitator attacked one of the students, whereby only after some students went on strike, a disciplinary hearing started and decided finally, that the facilitator had to leave. However, in another case, one student who was known for trouble during the whole course did not have to leave despite different unpleasant incidents because of miscommunication among the facilitators and lack of reporting. This lead to frustration among all the students, who felt not listened to when reporting and confused about the structures, so that they voiced very honestly their concerns and critics in a meeting with the training staff. It represented a powerful experience to practice constructive problem solving and demonstrated the students’ ability to stand up for themselves and express their opinions. Nevertheless, even though there were investigations made, the student concerned graduated together with the other students, which did not seem fair to the ones who had to leave before. Other experienced challenges and respective recommendations will be

205 That was one of the main recommendations of the researcher given to the Academy after her field research.
presented in the last chapter.

4.1.6. The Aftercare Program for Chrysalis Graduates

After the graduation, the students have to face the big challenge of reintegrating into their communities, being often confronted again with poverty, dysfunctional families, gangs, crime and substance abuse. Finding a job or continuing education is often seen as an important step in the graduate’s new life. The Department for Graduates Affairs (GA) of the Academy is assisting them hereby, but it was never the mandate of the program to find employment for the students, but to equip them with the necessary tools so that they are able to control responsibly their own lives which includes being able to find a job on their own and to be on a lower risk. If graduates get a job, it represents a bonus for the Academy, but the reality is that students and especially their parents come to the Academy with the expectation of the students automatically finding a job afterwards.\(^{206}\) The Department for GA is more focused on following up the graduates over the five years and encouraging the students to volunteer in their community by doing sports coaching at primary schools, neighbourhood watch patrolling, greening projects, marshalling at different (sport) events and clean-up activities. For that reason, the Department cooperates with organizations like the Skip4Health project, Bambanani against Crime, the Kicking for Peace project or the City of Cape Town Blue Flag beach cleaning project.

To realize these activities and maintain these collaborations with community stakeholders, the fourteen established Chrysalis Community Youth Clubs play a significant role. They were designed as part of the aftercare program to represent the Academy’s extension in the various communities to promote its vision, recruit new youngsters as students, assist with the tracking to support graduates and to coordinate the volunteer activities and community events. Due to lack of the Academy’s sufficient support, the clubs find themselves in a crisis since last year, which worsened even during 2008, as there are currently only eight clubs active, and they are rather far from operating to their full potential.\(^{207}\) One main reason for the declined situation, despite appointing a coordinator specifically for the clubs beginning of 2008, was that the Academy was confronted with the challenging and time-consuming task of accommodating around 180 to 220 refugees on its premises for several months as a

\(^{206}\) According to information provided by the head of Department for Graduate Affairs.

\(^{207}\) According to the feedback of the different club presidents.
consequence of the xenophobic attacks in the Western Cape earlier in the year.\textsuperscript{208} The failure of the clubs from the Academy’s side and therefore the urgent need of reviving the clubs was acknowledged by the CEO and the management team, who tried to respond to the issue in several meetings and a strategic workshop with the active club members from Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Atlantis, Elsies River, Hanover Park, Manenberg and Mitchell’s Plain.\textsuperscript{209} An emergency plan was developed based on visits of the active clubs by a delegation of the Academy including the CEO, which was addressing the clubs’ need for office and sport equipments as well as various skills trainings and strategic support of the Academy. Furthermore, more efforts are made now by the Academy in networking with other existing community structures that can support the existing clubs and can assist in building up new ones in the future. The recruitment of more volunteers for the clubs is planned to be realized by a stronger promotion of the clubs and a spirit of volunteerism to the current students during the \textit{Community Phase} of the empowerment training.\textsuperscript{210} Graduates from the 07 courses, who were invited to the Academy for an impact assessment beginning of October 2008, were also introduced to the different clubs by the club members themselves to encourage them to become involved as volunteers.\textsuperscript{211}

After the researcher’s field research, with the beginning of 2008, the Academy also employed a curriculum manager, who is since then busy with assessing and improving the three months empowerment training. With regards to the Academy’s aftercare program, she improved the life skills courses by linking them more up with career skills (e.g. how to search and apply for jobs, and how to keep the job following certain job ethic guidelines), inviting colleges and corporates for a Career Day at the Academy during the \textit{Community Phase}. She also coordinated the launch of the new Chrysalis Career Resource Centre for students and graduates, where she gives career guidance and assists the Department for GA in linking up with community structures to find places for graduates who want to volunteer.

After this comprehensive documentation of the program, the results of the quantitative and qualitative data will be presented in the following sub-chapter.

\textsuperscript{208} Cape Times Article, 12\textsuperscript{th} June 2008.

\textsuperscript{209} The researcher could take part in most of these meetings as well as in one of the day trips to the clubs.

\textsuperscript{210} Both, networking with community structures as well as the promotion of the clubs among students and graduates were recommendations given to Chrysalis after the researcher’s field research end of 2007 (see also chapter 5.2.).

\textsuperscript{211} The researcher assisted the Academy with the impact assessment using a shorter version of her questionnaire.
4.2. Presentation and Analysis of the Quantitative and Qualitative Data

4.2.1. Results of the Quantitative Data (Questionnaires)

In this part, the outcomes of the collected quantitative data, which were documented and analyzed with SPSS program, will be presented in four subsections, which are arranged mainly according to the structure of the questionnaire. Hundred graduates from different courses since the program start in 2000 up to the latest course ‘07 Bravo’ and from different areas and social background filled out the questionnaire to get information about the effects of the program. Based on the given answers, the personal background of the respondents will be described first, followed by the section about their empowerment experience at the Chrysalis Academy. The last two subsections, which are especially important for testing the hypothesis, deal with the impact of the program after the student’s graduation and look at relations between the for the hypothesis valuable variables followed by a summary of the presented results. Due to the fact, that the number of polled graduates is exactly hundred, there were no problems in transforming the number in percentages, as they are identical. To illustrate the results of the quantitative data, adequate quotes from eight of the conducted interviews\textsuperscript{212} are integrated in the following data presentation, while the other three interviews will be presented as typical cases in the chapter 4.2.2.

4.2.1.1. Personal Background of the Graduates

From the hundred polled graduates, most\textsuperscript{213} of them (19 \%) are born in the year 1986, followed by 1982 (15\%) and 1987 (14\%) ranging overall from the oldest ones being born 1978 (30 years) to the youngest in 1989 (19 years), whereby the average graduate is 24 years old. More than half of the respondents (55\%) come from Cape Town, especially Khayelitsha (20\%), as Cape Town’s largest township, while 40\% are from the Southern Cape, particularly from George (12\%). A minority even resides in the far cities of Port Elizabeth and Beaufort West or in the distant provinces of Kwa-Zulu-Natal and the Northern Cape. Around one third of the respondents are females, whereas the general proportion of the total number of the Academy’s graduates is one quarter, so that the share of polled female graduates in the sample is higher than expected. Even though the Academy welcomes students from all different population groups, there are

\textsuperscript{212} All eleven interviews were transcripted and can be accessed.

\textsuperscript{213} 'Most' refers to the greatest number of cases (persons or things), but it does not necessarily reflect the 'majority'.

48
only Coloured and Blacks\textsuperscript{214} among the respondents, whereby the Blacks represented with 52\% the slim majority, although this does not reflect the proportion in the Western Cape, where the Coloureds form the greater population part in contrast to the other provinces.\textsuperscript{215} A possible reason for this might be that Black South Africans are still more disadvantaged through the Apartheid and are therefore more in need of empowerment projects. The gender proportion among the two population groups is very similar (Coloureds: 16 females/32 males, Blacks: 17 females/35 males) with only slightly more black males and females. The vast majority of respondents are Christians with 94\% and only 3\% each being Muslims or believing in ancestors.

Concerning the graduates’ family background the following can be stated: around half of the parents were employed (mothers: 50\%\textsuperscript{216}, fathers: 44\%), with more unemployed mothers (23\%) than fathers (13\%), whereas more fathers (14\%) are deceased than mothers (10\%). Noteworthy is that a high number of respondents (28\%) indicated having no information about the father or stating him as disappeared, which together with the number of deceased fathers adds up to 42\% of graduates that grow up without a father. That reflects the mentioned problem of being socialized in a single-mother household without a father figure, as one element in the male identity crisis that makes so many young South African men vulnerable to gangs (see section 2.3.). Furthermore, the data is showing that the chance that both parents are unemployed seems to be higher when already one partner is unemployed (71\% of women are also unemployed if her man is unemployed and only 14\% of men of unemployed women are working). Moreover, respondents having unemployed parents seem more likely to be unemployed as well according to the statistics (if unemployed mother: 71\% of the graduates also unemployed, unemployed father: 69\%) then in the case of having employed parents (employed mother: 49\% of graduates also employed, employed father: 44\%). These numbers, according to the results of the descriptive statistics, seem to indicate the reality of the mentioned theoretical concept of intergenerational

\textsuperscript{214} These ‘racial’ categories are still in daily use due to lack of alternatives and to be able to make comparisons between the past and the present to see if there is improvement for the formerly disadvantaged population groups.

\textsuperscript{215} Black Africans constitute more than three-quarters of South Africa’s total population with 79\% or 35.4 mio, while Whites make up 9.6\% (4.3 mio), Coloureds 8.9\% (4 mio), and Indians/Asians 2.5\% (1.1 mio). Black Africans are in the vast majority in all provinces except the Western Cape (at 26.7\%) and Northern Cape (35.7\%). Coloured people are in the majority in these two provinces, with 53.9\% in the Western Cape and 51.6\% in Northern Cape. http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/demographics/census-main.htm.

\textsuperscript{216} With a number of 8 missing in the statistic, n=92 as 100\%.
transmission of the culture of poverty (see chapter 2.3). However, this might be only coincidence and would require a more detailed research to verify this statement scientifically.

Most of the polled graduates (30%) grew up with two siblings, followed by 23% with more then five, whereby a few state having even up to ten siblings. The higher the number of siblings, the more pressure is generally on the parents, often single mothers, to provide sufficient shelter, food and education as basic needs. This represents a disadvantaged condition resulting in a higher chance for youngsters to become at-risk (see chapter 2.1. and 2.3.). Around a quarter of the respondents are already parents themselves with 22% having one or 4% having two children, whereby 55% of the graduates are under 22 years and more males (16%) then females (10%) being a parent. Considering the education level, surprisingly most of these graduates (64%) have Standard 12/Matric\textsuperscript{217}, while only 14% left school after Standard 8, which contrasts the researcher’s assumption of the Academy’s youth-at-risk being low education students.

Describing the life of the polled graduates before participating in the Academy’s empowerment program - sorted from the highest to the lowest frequencies - it becomes obvious that most of them (58%) stated to be unemployed, which is still lower then expected considering, that this is one of the requirements for joining the Academy. Possible explanations could be that the respective respondents had worse problems and focused on that, i.e. drug abuse or gang involvement, or that some of the employed were looking for a better job – as stated later under the point referring to motivation - due to low salaries, limited contracts, bad working conditions etc. Most of the unemployed respondents are males (68%, n=57)\textsuperscript{218}, black South Africans (61%) and from the Cape Town area (28%, especially Khayelitsha) followed by the Southern Cape (26%). However, in relative terms, more of the polled graduates from Southern Cape (65%) are unemployed than graduates from Cape Town (52%). This reflects the problem that it is generally more difficult to find employment in smaller cities and rural areas.\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{217} Standard’ is here equivalent to ‘grade’. South African primary schools are from grade 0 to grade 6 and high schools from grade 7 to grade 12. http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/education/education.htm.

\textsuperscript{218} The distribution within the gender groups shows: more males (59%, n=66) than females (55%, n=33) have no job.

\textsuperscript{219} This was also expressed in conversations with unemployed graduates from the Southern Cape during the retraining. Unemployment in rural areas leads to a lot of young people moving to big cities, whereby this urbanization trend is a global phenomenon. City of Cape Town 2006, p. 12. However, unemployment rates in the Western Cape became now higher in urban areas, which contrasts the figures for whole South Africa, where rural unemployment (40.6%) outweighs urban unemployment (33.7%). This may be a result of a steady migration of people from other provinces to find jobs in the Western Cape’s cities and towns. PROVIDE 2005, p. 21.
More than one third of the respondents admitted alcohol abuse (37%), having hung out with the wrong people (36%) and having been smokers (35%) before the course. Additionally, around a third of the respondents (35%) was and probably still is living in an unsafe area with a fifth of all polled graduates confessing their drug abuse, having family conflicts and being school-dropouts. 18% of the graduates stated their involvement in fights, 16% admitted their gang connection and 15% being even engaged in crime. Only relatively few had to face the loss of a family member (11%) or a friend (8%), while teenage pregnancy (7%) and divorce of parents (6%) are lower than the researcher expected. Regarding the low divorce rate, it can be argued that most of the parents in disadvantaged communities lack the resources to marry officially (therefore low marriage rate rather than low divorce rate), so that the researcher should have asked instead, if the parents are living separately. Furthermore, the researcher considered in general the probability, that not every respondent might have filled out the questionnaire honestly, overlooked given possible answers, did not understand them, or even felt uncomfortable with the question. This might have been the case, especially regarding sensitive questions like about abusive relationships (2%) and relating to socially unaccepted behaviour like gang membership and substance abuse, so that only 4% of the graduates admitted having a criminal record. However, not having an official criminal record does not mean, that there were no other youngsters involved in criminal activities, which explains the number of students who admitted this being 15%, that indicates, that the actual number could be even higher.

To get an understanding of the level of the graduates’ at-riskness before the Chrysalis empowerment training, the researcher created a scale with four categories: category 1 being the lowest and 4 as the highest level of at-riskness. The highest reported case was 14 marked out of 20 possible at-risk indicators (from smoking to having a criminal record) which presents the upper benchmark. The difficulty was, how to judge the value of each indicator, considering, that gang involvement and drug abuse is clearly riskier then smoking or the parents’ divorce, even though each individual reacts differently to disadvantages. However, the figures often revealed, that if a student has been involved in a gang, the chances were very high, that many other indicators were connected like substance abuse, school dropout, crime activities, leading herewith

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220Even though the minimal conditions of admission comprise having no criminal record, few cases are accepted in the program in cooperation with the Department for Social Development. According to Chrysalis’ Head of Training.
nearly automatically to a higher level of at-riskness in total. Therefore, each indicator got a value of one, which was then added up leading to the following frequencies:

Table 1. The graduates’ level of at-riskness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of at-riskness</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. low (crossed 1 to 3)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. crossed 4 to 7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. crossed 8 to 11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. high (crossed 12 to 14)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. above shows, that the majority of the polled graduates can be categorized as ‘low-risk-youth’ before coming to Chrysalis, meaning that not every student joining the Academy might have been (or admitted to be) a drug addict or gang member. More often they are i.e. a smoking Matric students from disadvantaged areas, who have not found an adequate employment yet (60%) and were looking for opportunities to increase their chances on the job market. One example for a low-risk graduate is a female from Kuilsriver who graduated in 2002:

*I was really a shy person, I wouldn’t speak loud in front of people... I finished matriculating at school and I worked at a few the places, but the places I worked at I knew that’s not what I wanted to do... I wanted something more out of life but I didn’t really want to study... so I came to Chrysalis basically to learn...”*

Around one third of the graduates falls into the second category of ‘middle-risk’, that often includes having been connected with any form of substance abuse. The last two levels, comprising 14% of the graduates, can be seen as the ‘high-risk’ youth, where most of them admitted having been involved in gangs and crimes: “I was using drugs [heroine and mandrax] and I was involved with gangsters... I wasn’t living a normal young childhood... I was living an abnormal childhood (...)... ok not in jail... but I ended up with police chasing me for drugs...” (‘07 Bravo’ graduate from Mitchell's Plain).

Asked for their main motivation to come to the Academy, most of the polled graduates (47%), who could give here also multiple responses, wanted to sort out their life and become a positive community leader, followed by 44%, that aimed to discover themselves through the program as it can be seen in figure 1.

Figure 1. The graduates' main motivation to come to the Chrysalis Academy
One of the ‘07 Bravo’ graduates expressed himself in this regard as follows:

*First of all, it is to find myself... I never really knew who I am... I always wanted to find out... stop the substance abuse, stop smoking... I came here also for the fitness and drilling... I just came here to change my life, just to turn the page and re-chapter my life...*

Even though 58% graduates stated to have been unemployed before, only 39% announced, that getting a job was their main motivation, while 30% indicated their wish to get a better job afterwards. Nearly a third (30%) wanted to get away from negative peer pressure and wished to improve the relationship with their family (29%), while 23% hoped to use their time efficiently until they find a new job or go back to school. Only every fifth graduate joined the program for the certificates and no more then 9% came for having only an exciting time. Even though 38% of the graduates admitted having problems with alcohol and 21% with drugs, only 17% were mainly motivated to overcome their substance abuse through the Chrysalis program, like a ‘07 Bravo’ graduate from Strandfontein: “*I took it as my last chance because I have been at other rehabs centers but it didn’t help and I knew that I can do something with my life so I took this as my last chance to actually achieve that.*” Other mentioned motivations, which were not offered as options, but added by the graduates were: reaching physical fitness, being up for a new challenge, changing own attitude, learning time management as well as doing sports coaching and learning life skills.

The empowerment course is based on voluntary participation, but in each course there are individuals, who have been sent by their parents to the program and that are then often the ones, who drop out in the first week. Nevertheless, there were three individuals among the respondents, who have been sent by their families, but who in the end graduated realizing that the Academy is their chance for change. The researcher also created here four categories to judge the level of motivation, whereby 42% were
motivated only on a low level (crossing 1 to 2 out of 12 options), whereas the same proportion crossed 3 to 5 possible motivational reasons, while the remaining 17% were highly motivated (crossing 6 to 9). To sum up, the main reason for graduates to join the program was to sort out their life, which might include a lot of other given motivational reasons like getting a job or overcoming substance abuse, which would explain their rather low proportions in comparison to the level of at-riskness.

4.2.1.2. The Graduates' Experience at the Chrysalis Academy

Most of the polled graduates (42%, n=96) have been students at the Chrysalis Academy in 2007, around 40% were there in the years from 2004 until 2006, 5% of them in each year from 2001 until 2003 and even 3% from the pilot courses in 2000, so that each course year is covered. It is obvious that the further back in the past a course is, the less graduates from the respective year are to be found in the sample. This is understandable considering that the Academy keeps track of their graduates only over five years, so it only speaks for the Academy, that there are even graduates from the first two years. Furthermore, it is taken into account that graduates from the earlier courses are meanwhile employed, moved away or might have found families so that they do not keep up contacts with the Academy anymore. Most of the respondents heard via friends (31%), family/relatives (26%) or via former graduates (24%) about the Chrysalis Academy:

There's a lot of guys who was on Chrystal Meth where I live and they was telling me about this place and I see the results when they come back so I saw yah I must go for it, so I send myself away” ('07 Bravo' graduate). The school (12%), the community (10%) and the Chrysalis youth clubs rather played a less important role. Info flyers, radio stations, local newspapers or Chrysalis’ events in the community who hardly were a source could be therefore used more in the future with the help of the youth clubs in the different areas to inform youth-at-risk, but also communities in general, about their program.

Looking at the most influential elements of the program for the graduates’ lives, surprisingly 69% chose sharing rooms and working together with people of different cultural backgrounds as having the highest impact. This is surprising, because in the Academy’s surveys and the impact study from 2003, this point is not included and the

221 The majority of these graduates (n=13) from the first courses (2000-2002) have been volunteers (85%), everyone (100%) stated seeing him/herself as a change agent with 62% claiming to hold a leadership position in the community.
researcher just added this as one of many options after talks with the students about their experience during the course.

Figure 2. Direct impact of the different program elements (see next page)

After this, drilling (61%), physical training (57%) and outdoor with the ‘solo’ (53%) represent the other most impacting experience for the polled graduates: “I think it was the outdoor experience that I had there... it made me actually open my eyes about what life is really about... to learn the hard way... not only to go the easy way.” (Graduate from the first pilot course in 2000). Furthermore, the life orientation phase including courses like personal development (48%), being three months away from family and friends (47%), the vocational skills phase (45%), the three-day route march (43%) and finally the graduation (43%) were according to the graduates other important program components. In contrast to what could have been expected to be higher - as it was a big contrast to the graduates' normal daily routine - like getting up early (19%), the community phase (14%), rules based on ‘zero tolerance (13%) and having an intense 16 hour day (7%) played a less striking role for the students.

Possible reasons for the highest score of sharing the rooms with people from other cultures can be that this experience was connected with the most challenges because the students had to spent intensive time with people they would normally not socialize with in their community and were therefore forced to interact and deal with potential conflicts due to prejudices. This represented also many opportunities to test and apply the learned life skills in a still controlled environment as a preparation to deal with possible conflicts when the students are back in their communities. So whereas
graduates can forget the daily routines of getting up early or ‘zero tolerance’ that were put in place to be able to run the project, skills like conflict management and cultural diversity are more relevant in a multicultural society like South Africa.

The researcher created here three categories to measure the direct impact level from low as category 1 to high as category 3 depending again on how many options have been crossed by the graduates.

Table 2. The direct impact of the program on the graduates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of impact of the program</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. low (crossed 1 to 4)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. middle (crossed 5 to 8)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. high (crossed 9 to 13)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing: 0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 2. above shows that at first glance, most of the polled graduates (42.4%) were influenced by the program on a rather low level (crossing 1 to 4 out of 13), which could be explained with the fact that most of the respondents were at-risk on a low level, representing rather the unemployed Matric students. This will be shown in part 4.2.1.4., where the relationship between the main variables will be described and tested. 29.3% of them marked 5 to 8 of the program element as having a significant impact on them and 28.3% regarded nearly every program aspect as important. Combining category two and three will add up to 57%, which means that the majority of the respondents appraise most of the empowerment training’s components as essential for their own development. However, there were also fifteen individuals among the polled graduates from all the courses since the year 2000 that declared having had also negative experience but stating different reasons: Racism/interracial conflicts (33%) and problems with facilitators/unnecessary punishments222 (27%) were the main complaints and individuals experiencing stolen personal belongings, getting sick during outdoor, getting up early or lack of mutual respect. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of 97% of the respondents would recommend the Chrysalis Academy to other youngsters and 83% would make the same decision again to join their program (12% ‘maybe’, only 5% marked ‘no’), which shows that the project has a positive direct impact on most of the students.

4.2.1.3. The Graduates' Lives after the Chrysalis Academy

222 This is one important reason to lessen the military approach as it is also recommended in the final chapter.
First, the researcher presents the main changes in connection to the graduates’ at-riskness before looking at resiliency factors and the graduates’ integration level. Concerning the most important changes in their life after the graduation, the majority of the graduates that were motivated to discover themselves (n=44) are more confident about their potentials (77%) and 73% of them stated to have learned more about themselves: “There’s the confidence, the potential that I never thought I had... the positive attitude I had... the zoom I had to do things... no matter what comes... that really was the major change... I am more independent... I strive just for the best I would say” (female graduate from one of the first female courses in 2002). Considering the other graduates, who were not specifically motivated for that reason (n=55), a high proportion of 60% declares to be more confident and 45% also having learned more about themselves. The vast majority (81%) of the drug abusers (n=21) claimed to have stopped their addiction, 65% of the admitted alcohol addicts (n=37) quit their abusive consumption, but only less than half (43%) of the previously smoking graduates (n=35) reported having given up on their addictive habit. Furthermore, there are additional four graduates that stated having stopped alcohol and smoking, even though they did not admitted these in the other question. Maybe they did not marked it before because they just did not see it in the questionnaire or another reason might be that being addicted is negative, while stopping the abuse is positive and human beings tend to rather point out their successes than their failures. Regarding the drug and alcohol abuse, the figures would indicate a remarkable success rate, on the assumption that all the respondents answered honestly. Another reason could be that most of the polled graduates were from the last courses in 2007 (n=40), who just graduated some weeks ago or not longer than a few months before the data collection took place. So they could have been still infected with optimism and will power, that they have not (yet) fallen back into their old habits or also did not want to admit that they failed to resist. Finally, it should be considered that graduates, who are back into substance abuse, might feel too ashamed or disappointed to come to the Academy for a follow-up study in the first place. These arguments might also apply for the following figures.

Most of the eighteen graduates (78 %) that have been involved in fights avoid now this form of physical aggression and 75% of the sixteen respondents that admitted

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223 The figures show, that the success rate among these graduates is even higher than the general one: 88% of the drug addicts (n=8) claimed to have stopped the abuse as well as 83% of the alcohol addicts (n=18).
having been involved in gangs, left the gangs after returning to the community.\textsuperscript{224} Eight out of the fifteen individuals (53\%) that were drawn into crime, assert to have quit these activities as well as five additional individuals that have not admitted their crime involvement before in their responses. These numbers include the four individuals with a criminal record, whereof three of them declared also to have stopped their criminal associations. The majority of the graduates (72\%) that had problems with hanging out with the wrong people before coming to Chrysalis (n=36) as well as eight of the other respondents announced choosing their friends more carefully. Of those who wanted to become a positive community leader (n=47), more then a half (55\%), and twelve of the other graduates, are now volunteering in their communities.

In contrast to the other high results, only 38\% of those who admitted having family conflicts (n=21) before joining the program stated that their family relationship improved, even though most of them (62\%) were actually motivated to change the relations for the better. Instead, 72\% of those who were motivated (but not necessarily having conflicts in the family, n=29) also reported an improved relationship. This shows that going through an empowerment program will obviously not solve all the respective problems and that especially the affected families need to be involved in the process of change too, like it is done now with the recently introduced parent workshops to support the returning graduates. Nearly every fifth polled graduate announced to become a responsible parent, which included 71\% of the seven respondents who revealed their teenage pregnancy in the questionnaire. Only close to a quarter (24\%) of the school-dropouts (n=21) went back to school, but are representing half of the students who were doing their Matric, and 17\% of all respondents mentioned being busy with their tertiary studies. Finally, there were seven graduates that added other possible change options like being employed now, better physical fitness, achieving own goals and being more motivated.

Concerning the graduates’ hope to find a (better) job after their graduation, the results of the questionnaires show that 47\% of the unemployed respondents (n=57) found employment, which nearly comes close to the proportion of the 54\% of unemployed students who were motivated to get a job (n=39) by joining the Academy. This figure is lower then the official one given by the CA’s Department for Graduate Affairs, which is said to be in average around 65\%.\textsuperscript{225} This difference between the

\textsuperscript{224} Even two other individuals who have not admitted their membership in the question before, said they quit gangs.

\textsuperscript{225} The number of employed graduates is actually difficult to state according to the HOD, because the Academy’s
numbers can be explained with the fact that the polled graduates who filled out the questionnaires were at that time taking part in one of the two retrainings, which are generally organized by the Academy for still unemployed graduates with one being particularly addressed to previous ‘07 Bravo graduates. Furthermore, it was also considered, that employed students had mainly no time to come to the Academy or to the youth club in Khayelitsha during the day, to only fill out a questionnaire, so that also for that reason this figure cannot be seen as representative for the whole graduates. The kind of employment varies a lot from jobs in local super markets, delivery services, administration, jobs as a teacher, fireman, constable, technician, waiter, sales consultant or research assistant, to work with children and youth, finding jobs based on the Academy’s certificates like in welding and electrical work or having different positions at the Academy itself. A few are additionally also directly involved in the Chrysalis youth clubs in their communities, which shows, that these graduates take their responsibility to give back to the community seriously, representing herewith positive role models.

Even though the graduates have been going through a tough and demanding three months empowerment training, the biggest task for them is actually to return after the graduation to their communities that have not changed. Asked about their main challenges that they had to face when going back home, the polled graduates mentioned often the same following issues: many of their communities were still ruled by crime, drugs, gangs, teenage pregnancy and abuse, in contrast to the safe Chrysalis Academy. Old friends had their same mindsets and were still involved with the same risky habits like alcohol, smoking and drugs as temptations for the respondents, trying to resist the peer pressure and risking to be rejected:

_They [friends] gave me a braai when I got home and then there was a lot of alcohol and stuff... and then I just looked at them and said I am tired and I wanna tell them good night and they went out steaming, they were crossed with me... “What did Chrysalis do to me, I'm not that kind of a person”... but after some while they actually accepted me the way I am and I am now helping them to grow more fond of themselves._(female graduate from course Alpha '06)

So some admitted that they fell back into old routines and find it hard to stop their alcohol and drug addiction, losing their focus again, especially when they are still unemployed and just hang around with their friends doing nothing. However, there were also some graduates among the respondents that were confident enough to resist the database cannot be updated regularly (normally only once a year) due to lack of resources and staff, so that when graduates are finally tracked, they might be employed but in the next month unemployed again or vice versa.

226 The pure male course Bravo'07 took place in April- June 2007 and was followed by the female course Charlie'07.
pressure by breaking up with these friends, quitting gangs and keeping themselves clean from substance abuse, as the previous results have shown, despite having lost friends through these decisions: “So when I went home I felt like no man nothing can stop me now... it's my own right to say “No”... that's it. I would just tell them “No man, I've learned a lot and that's not for me and I just wanna motivate you guys don’t do it man, stop this things, it's not right for you! (‘07 Bravo’ graduate). Their challenge is the people that do not believe in their change, so that they have to prove themselves constantly: “Proving to them, that you actually have changed, because there is nothing to see, people still don’t believe it, so you need to prove to them and to yourself that you have changed.” (female graduate from course Alpha'06). Other respondents reported, that people are even expecting too much of them, i.e. being a role model to others, doing community work, after they have been to the Academy, but according to them it is not easy to build up community projects and get other youngsters together. In this regard, a few students, including a youth club leader, also complaint about the lack or only little support of the Academy. The Department for Graduate Affairs has been aware of its limited resources since longtime and could finally react to that by hiring an additional employee just in December 2007, who will be focused on working with the fourteen Chrysalis youth clubs in the Western and Southern Cape.

To be able to measure not only the changes of the graduates’ level at-riskness, but also their level of empowerment in form of resiliency, the researcher included in the questionnaire a comprehensive table of 42 statements (with a scale from 1 as ‘false’ to 4 ‘true’) concerning the graduate’s personal development. Due to the large size of these data, the researcher decided to focus only on nine key statements that would describe best the necessary indicators to measure resiliency, which is according to the illustrated theoretical concept (see chapter 2.4.) characterized by self-confidence, self-discipline, goal orientation, healthy life style, as well as a sense in life, and optimism. The following results are presented from the highest to the lowest value, whereby most of the polled graduates (83% ‘true’) stated feeling more confident about themselves with an additional 16% voting this to be ‘more true than false’, so that only one individual declared, that these statement is not describing him/her at all.

Figure 3. Empowerment indicators for the graduates' resiliency

227 According to information of the Department for Graduate Affairs.
After this statement, 81% announced feeling proud that they have accomplished things in their life, which could be directly related to the graduation after succeeding in the empowerment program: “My parents was really impressed with me, I’m more confident about myself and I never thought I would be someone who achieves something in life and I really did it. (‘07 Bravo’ graduate). Concerning having more self-discipline, 78% voted this statement as ‘true’ (18% ‘more true than false’) and 77% of the respondents feel that their life has more purpose now (19% ‘more true than false’). When it comes to being more optimistic about the future as well as an increased importance of setting and achieving goals, 76% of all respondents declared these two statements to be ‘true’ for them, with 21% as being ‘more true than false’. Being more aware of own potentials is a true statement for 73% of the graduates (23% ‘more true than false’) and having more control about what is happening to them, is affirmed by around two third of all polled students (67% and 26% with ‘more true then false’). Finally, the statement about taking more care of their own body by following a healthy life style reveals the lowest results of all with only less then a half of the respondents (46%) stating this as ‘true’ (35% as ‘more true then false’ and 19% in the two last categories). Except for the last statement, there are not many changes in the lower categories, because the loss of percentages of category one (‘true’) adds then up with the proportion of the second category, so that the overall results are still very positive with over 90% of affirmation. The outcomes for each indicator imply therefore a high level of the respondent’s resiliency as one significant empowerment outcome of the three months training. Nevertheless, these results need to be interpreted carefully, because in comparison to the changes of the
graduates’ at-riskness the researcher cannot compare these results to self-judgments which should have been inquired before the graduates were joining the course, even though low self-confidence is generally seen as one of the main features of ‘youth-at-risk’.

As the research question of this thesis is about social integration of youth-at-risk through empowerment programs, the polled graduates were also asked if they feel like an integrated member of their community since they have left the Chrysalis Academy. More than a half of the respondents (54%) answered with affirmation, while 40% only responded with ‘maybe’ and 6% negated the question. The high proportion of the ‘maybe’ respondents could refer to the latest courses in 2007 that represent alone 42% of all the respondents, and who might be still struggling with the mentioned challenges when returning and herewith being unsure about their reintegration into their community that has not changed. The more surprising is then the high number of respondents (86%) that see themselves as an agent of change or even a positive leader in their communities. To avoid the respondents from simply affirming the question, the researcher double-checked the answers by inquiring also in what way. Most of them declared to be an agent of change because they have changed through the Academy (quit gangs, crime and substance abuse) and represent therefore positive role models for other youngsters showing that change is possible: “I stopped drugs- others can also stop that and I feel I have done a lot for my community... coz that’s one of the biggest problem we are faced with.” (‘07 Bravo’ graduate from Strandfontein). In this regard, other respondents also stated, that they are positively influencing their friends and youngsters in their community by changing their attitudes:

> I see myself as someone who can help change... lot of my friends were on drugs... when I’m back, they saw that I changed...I sat with them... organized stuff to do... so we did not had to participate in drugs...few of them stopped... so I feel good about it... Chrysalis helping me with my life and then I could help other people as well. (female graduate from Alpha'06)

This question had the highest number of missing values (13) due to its unfavorable position under the large table in the questionnaire, so that it was often overlooked by the respondents. In the first retraining, the researcher could not control each questionnaire and inform the graduates because they were handed back in one batch. Graduates from the Khayelitsha youth club filled it out without the researcher, and these were given back only after weeks. To be able to make a statement, if the Academy contributed to the integration of graduates, it would have been better, if the graduates would have been also asked if they felt already integrated before coming to Chrysalis. At least through the interviews where the graduates tell about their experience with Chrysalis, it becomes clearer.
A few asserted to be always willing to help and serving their community through involvement in neighbourhood crime watch, informing youth about the danger of drug abuse, do counseling or teaching children sports as well as being involved in Chrysalis’ youth clubs. Finally, 42% of all respondents claimed actually holding a leadership position in their community, with more then a half (53%) of them representing respondents who earlier stated being motivated to become a positive community leader.

4.2.1.4. Relationship of the Main Variables and Testing of the Hypothesis

In this part, the relationship between the important variables of the graduate's at-riskness, empowerment as well as integration in connection with his/her motivation will be presented as the basis for testing the hypothesis. The main results of the last three sub chapters will be then finally summarized.

The table 3 below shows the outcomes of cross tabbing the variables of the graduates’ level of at-riskness and the level of his/her motivation to join the empowerment program. The most striking results are in each of the following tables marked in bold type (see next page).

Table 3. Relationship between the graduates' level of at-riskness and the level of motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of at-riskness</th>
<th>1. low crossed 1 to 2</th>
<th>2. crossed 3 to 5</th>
<th>3. crossed 6 to 9</th>
<th>4. high crossed 10 to 12</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. low (cross 1 to 3)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. crossed 4 to 7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. crossed 8 to 11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. high (crossed 12 to 15)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 3, the numbers highlighted in bold type always present the highest value for each category for the level of at-riskness and it becomes obvious, that the graduates with the lowest risk level were also the least motivated. The higher the level of at-riskness of the respondents was, the more increased was also the level of their motivation to join the empowerment program at the Chrysalis Academy. As these are only results of descriptive statistics, the stated relationship between the variables could
be only coincidence. To test the relationship statistically, the researcher used the Spearman's correlation coefficient (between -1=perfect negative correlation, 0=no correlation, and +1=perfect positive correlation), showing the direction and strength of the relationship between two variables. The stronger the coefficient is to 1.0 or -1.0, the stronger is the relationship, while it is weaker the closer it is to 0.0.\textsuperscript{230}

Table 4. Example for Spearman's correlation test (level of at-riskness and level of motivation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spearman's rho</th>
<th>Level of at-riskness</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main motivation to go to CA</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of 0.634 in table 4 indicates a significant and fairly strong positive correlation the level of at-riskness and the level of motivation, confirming herewith the observed relationship in the cross tabulation. A possible reason could be that the highest at-risk students had the highest hopes that with their participation in the program their life would change to the positive i.e. stop substance abuse, improve relationship with the family, getting a job. While the lowest at-risk graduates were not facing so many problems they had to deal with, so that they were motivated for fewer reasons, i.e. ‘just’ to get employment.

The following table 5 looks at the relationship between the just presented level of motivation and the impact level of the empowerment program on the polled graduates.

Table 5. Relationship between the level of motivation and the impact level of the program

Looking at the highest results in each category for the level of motivation one can clearly see, that table 5 above shows a similar pattern like table 3, with the least motivated being the least influenced by the empowerment program and the most motivated respondents being the ones, where the impact level of the program was the highest. The Spearman correlation coefficient is hereby 0.564, which is lower than the

\textsuperscript{230} Nardi 2003, p. 155f.
result for the other relationship, but is still a significant indicator for a fairly strong positive correlation between the two tested variables. It seems, that the impact was lower for the less motivated, for the possible reason, that the less reason a student has to join a program, the less involved he/she might be, only focusing on the things he/she came for. Whereas the more motivated a student is, the more open for the whole training he/she might be and fully makes use of the given opportunities that results in the program to be more effective. The relationship between the level of at-riskness and the impact level is finally shown in table 6 that interestingly shows the same pattern as table 3 and 5.

Table 6. Relationship between the level of at-riskness and the impact level of the program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of at-riskness</th>
<th>Level of impact of the empowerment program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. low (cross 1 to 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. low (cross 1 to 3)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. crossed 4 to 7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. crossed 8 to 11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. high (crossed 12 to 15)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to the other two tables, the figures in table 6 show, that the more at-risk a student is, the higher is the level of impact, while for the least at-risk ones the impact level of the program was the lowest. In this case, the Spearman's correlation coefficient is only 0.411 and is herewith lower than the other two results, but is still a significant indicator for a positive although weaker correlation between the two tested variables.\(^{231}\)

The impact seems to be lower for the less at-risk graduates because as mentioned before, facing less problems then the other respondents, the acquired knowledge and skills seemed for them maybe partly known already, were less applicable or only some program parts were particularly important to solve their problems. Conversely, the high-risk respondents appeared to have benefited more from the empowerment training, being able to make use of the different skills and knowledge obtained for sorting out their concerns.

\(^{231}\) A reason for what can be seen in the observed results for level 2 in table 6, that are more equally distributed than in the tables 3 and 5, which could be related to the difficulty when creating the level of at-riskness, so that especially in Level 2 (crossed 4 to 7) the boundaries between low and high at-riskness become blurred. To avoid this in future, the respondents should assess themselves on a low to high at-riskness scale based on the crossed indicators before.
Based on descriptive statistics and statistical tests with Spearman's correlation coefficient, the results of the three cross tables can be summarized in the following relationship:

↑ (↓) level of at-riskness → ↑ (↓) level of motivation → ↑ (↓) level of impact

The more (less) at-risk the polled graduates have been before coming to the Chrysalis, the more (less) motivated they were for joining the training course and the higher (lower) was the impact of the empowerment program. This proves already the first necessary part of the hypothesis, stating that the empowerment program of the Chrysalis Academy has a positive impact for youth-at-risk, being hereby more effective the higher the level of the graduate's at-riskness and the level of his/her motivation.

To be able to test the whole hypothesis that the empowerment program is positively contributing to the integration of youth-at-risk, it is necessary to further look at the personal changes of the graduates, as the level of the program's impact only indicates how much the graduates learned there, but does not indicate, if this experience also lead to the desired behaviour changes after the graduation. Therefore, looking at the different graduate's positive behaviour changes and relating it to the graduates' status of integration will help finding out if there exists positive relationships that allow to confirm the hypothesis. Cross tabulations show that around or more then a half of the respondents, who stopped drug abuse (50%, ‘maybe’: 35%), alcohol abuse (57%, ‘maybe’: 32%) and avoid fighting (56%, ‘maybe’: 36%) but also the still unemployed ones (59%, ‘maybe’: 35%) stated to feel now like an integrated member of their community.\footnote{To get a better insight of changes, one should let the students fill out questionnaires before the program starts, to be able to make comparisons, i.e. how much integrated did the students feel before joining the training and then after.}

One ‘07 Bravo’ graduates describes it as follows:

*I was first an outcast because of my drug addiction... I think people -they are actually amazed to see, you know- some are still very skeptically, is this really... and so, I think I have integrated... (...) to show to others that it's possible and that's make me a community leader in itself.*

These figures are similar to the general proportion of the graduate’s felt integration (see 4.2.1.3), with more then a third of the respondents being still unsure about their status of integration, which was explained before with the number of graduates of 2007, who might be still struggling with getting back only recently to their communities. Another possible reason in relation to these indicators could be that these graduates might have been the ones being notorious in their community for anti-social behaviour, but have changed through the empowerment program, still, the community watches them.
carefully, which makes them feel not really being integrated again. This could be especially the case when looking at the following figures, where positively all of respondents who quit their gang involvement (57%, ‘maybe’: 43%) and crime activities (50%, ‘maybe’: 50%) affirmed feeling like an integrated member now. However, the proportion of the respondents answering with ‘maybe’ is higher then in the other presented cases, probably for the just given reason of not being trusted yet by their community.

The most fostering factors for feeling more integrated, by showing higher proportions in affirming responses, seem to be volunteering in the community (64%, ‘maybe’: 31%), feeling as an agent of change or even positive leader (56%, ‘maybe’: 40%) and having a leadership position in the community (56%, ‘maybe’: 37%). Obviously, involvement in the community as a way to show responsibility and community results in earning the people’s respect and friendliness and will lead then to a better integration into the same. Interesting is however, that being confident, employed, a volunteer or even a leader does not always lead automatically to an integration in the society, as there was a minority of five to seven respondents, that despite all these supportive factors did not feel integrated, yet. Possible reasons could be that these individuals are employed facilitators at the Academy or moved away from home for a (better) job, so that they are not faced with their community to get a feeling of integration. Another reason could be that they just do not feel comfortable in their own community, which might be controlled by gangs, drugs, crime and violence, where integration rather means to become also a gang member.

However, the presented data shows, that especially through stopping anti-social activities like gang involvement or drug abuse and by getting involved as a volunteer or becoming a community leader after the Chrysalis empowerment program, the number of graduates feeling integrated increases. This shows a positive relationship between the graduate's personal changes as the result of the empowerment program and the graduate's feeling of integration, which leads to result that the hypothesis for this research can be stated as confirmed.

The main results of the quantitative data can be summarized in the more illustrative form of the average graduate. This average graduate is male, 24 years old, lives in Khayelitsha/Cape Town and has been a student at the Chrysalis Academy in 2007. The chance is high that he grew up without a father and that he is unemployed.
like his mother, even though he has finished his Matric. He might be still categorized as a ‘low risk’ youngster like the majority of the respondents, while around one third of his fellow graduates hung out with the wrong people, live in an unsafe area, were smoker and alcohol abuser before joining the empowerment program. His main motivation to go to the Chrysalis Academy was to sort out his life, to become a positive community leader and to discover his potentials. Like for the majority of his fellow students the most impacting experience was sharing rooms and working together with people of different cultural backgrounds, the drilling and physical training as well as the outdoor phase with the ‘solo’. Judging most project components as being meaningful for his personal development, he, like the overwhelming majority, would recommend the Chrysalis Academy to other youngsters and would not hesitate to make the same decision again. Being more confident and having learned more about the own potentials were the most important changes for him and his fellow students. Furthermore, he, like half of the other graduates, found an employment. The vast majority of drug abusers and alcohol addicts stopped the harmful consumption, while gang members ended their involvement and fights were avoided. However, the biggest challenges for him and the others were to return to his unsafe community that has not changed, resisting old friends and their risky habits, which is especially tough, when one still does not find employment and having nothing to do. Like most of the graduates, he could stand this challenge and feels like an integrated member, also because of doing volunteer work in the community and being involved in one of the Chrysalis Academy youth clubs. Therefore, he sees himself like an ‘agent of change’ and some of the others even hold leadership positions in their communities. Concerning his personal development, it can be stated that he, like the majority of his fellow students, feels now proud, optimistic, goal-oriented and self-disciplined as well as having more control about his life, which all indicates a high level of resiliency, which enables him to cope better with the adverse conditions in his community.

To sum up, the outcomes of the presented quantitative data are much more positive than negative with often high positive results that clearly provide evidence for the success of the Chrysalis Academy as an alternative socialization agent with its three months empowerment program as a socialization process that transforms youth-at-risk into positive role models. The hypothesis that the Chrysalis' empowerment program positively contributes to the social integration of youth-at-risk could be confirmed based
on these presented data. Despite these positive results, there is still room for improvement especially when it comes to the third phase of the Academy, which deals with the follow-up and support of the graduates. These and other challenges will be addressed in the last chapter, providing also recommendations for the Academy.

4.2.2. Results of the Qualitative Data (Interviews)

After presenting the outcomes of the questionnaires, the focus in this chapter is on the qualitative data in form of the eleven conducted and transcripted interviews with former graduates to shift from frequencies to the individuals' stories behind the statistics. The open interview structure allowed a deeper insight into the background of ‘youth-at-risk’, their experience at the Chrysalis Academy as an alternative socialization agent and the program’s impact on them, which could not be achieved in this complex form through quantitative data. Through the mostly self-explanatory interviews it was especially possible to get a better understanding of the graduate's process of social integration and building up resiliency as the program's empowerment outcomes. These were difficult to detect through the questionnaires, as there were alone 13 cases missing regarding the important question about integration, also lacking information about the graduates' felt status of integration and the graduates' level of self confidence and other empowerment indicators for resiliency before the Chrysalis program.

Three different groups of graduates were categorized by the researcher based on their status after the program: first, the employed graduate, second, the still unemployed graduate, and lastly, the unemployed but volunteering graduate. Herewith, the different dimensions of the program's impact from the 'happy, successful' graduate to the less fortunate, still unemployed graduate are illustrated, which could not be gained only based on quantitative data. The aim is to discover or to affirm the potential determining factors for a successful social integration of the graduate as one of the significant impacts of the program, but also to point out challenges as a basis for giving recommendations in the last part. The categories will be presented and analyzed in three reconstructed case stories. For this purpose, comprehensive and representative

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233 All the eleven transcripted interviews are available if needed.
234 There was no interviewee who admitted to be still in gangs or involved in crime and often these graduates cut their ties with the Academy. However, according to the Department for GA, there were alone three former graduates in the Pollsmoor Prison at the time of the field research (December 2007). One of the youth club leader reported also, that there are especially in Khayelitsha quite a lot of former graduates that are disappointed about the Academy, being still unemployed, and often fell back into their gangs and old habits.
interviews were chosen for this thesis, especially concerning the earlier stated relationship:

\[ \uparrow (\downarrow) \text{Level of at-riskness} \rightarrow \uparrow (\downarrow) \text{level of motivation} \rightarrow \uparrow (\downarrow) \text{level of impact}. \]

This chapter is divided into four subsections, whereby in the first three ones the case stories will be presented, while in the last one the obtained outcomes will be summarized.

4.2.2.1. Being employed – the Case of the Graduate Charlene\(^\text{235}\)

Charlene was born in Johannesburg in the year 1986, but when her father passed away when she was three years old, the family moved to Hanover Park\(^\text{236}\), Cape Town. This was a big difference for her, being faced with gangsterism, teenage pregnancy and widespread domestic violence. She grew up in a single parent home and had to care for her siblings being the oldest of four children, while her mother was working. Before she came to Chrysalis Academy, she was a very shy person who would never dare to speak to unknown people. One day during her Matric, she found a brochure of the Chrysalis Academy in school and was so excited about the comprehensive training that promises to improve self-esteem. Motivated to become a positive community leader and to discover her own potentials, she gave them a call even before she talked to her mother and after the application procedure she was accepted as a student in the program in 2005.

The first week was one of the hardest for her so that she wanted to go home, but then she motivated herself to continue and completed finally the course, which was “not a waste of time” as she learned and achieved a lot. The main challenge for her was to walk up the Elephant’s Eye (mountain behind the Academy) for the first time as she never has walked that far before, but the second time the facilitators chose her to lead the group, which motivated her for the rest of the course: “Since that time, I was like I can do anything like they say, no, you can’t say, ‘I can’t do it unless you’ve done it before’”. The other big experience for her was the three-day route march in the last week of the program, which represents the last demanding task for the students:

> It was hectic, (...) it was a challenge for me because I never experienced something like that in my entire life walking for three days... but it gave me that power to do something else which I never have done before... it’s like life experience, I can even tell my children.

\(^{235}\) The names of the following presented individual cases are imaginary to ensure their anonymity. All the three presented interviews were conducted by the researcher on the 6th of December 2007.

\(^{236}\) Hanover Park is a Coloured area in Cape Town’s outskirts, which is notorious for it’s gang fights and drug trade. Standing 2005, p. 17f.
During the program, she remembered especially doing first aid, basic engineering and home care and returned to Chrysalis as a novice\textsuperscript{237} to do business management as well. The most impacting experience for her was the first aid, as she was scared of blood, but she overcame her aversion and even did level 3, realizing, that she would be able to help people in accidents. The main changes after the graduation were that she changed from a shy person to someone that was trusting in herself to speak in front of many people and even becoming the volunteering coordinator of a street youth program in her community:

\textit{I was like feeling motivated because I had experience and I learned a lot from Chrysalis... how to be a people's person and how to achieve more in life,...and how to be open and how to help people that had problems and how to be a mediator and a motivational speaker. (...) I used what I've learned here to be an inspiration to the young people out there...}

The main challenges for her when going back to her community were, that the living conditions were still the same including teenage pregnancy and particularly the peer pressure, which she could resist successfully:

\textit{I always tell the people you can't blame other people for your own mistakes... it's for you as person to stand up and say "No I don't want this and No I don't want that"... due to the fact that we had all these challenges outside it still made me strong because I knew I can fight against it.}

She got accepted at the police where she is still working as a constable with focus on social crime that includes working at schools doing motivational speeches especially about substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and domestic violence. The acquired knowledge at the Academy about first aid and fire fighting, she can apply at work saying that she is “\textit{for people almost like a first aid directory}”. Due to her work, she sees herself as a leader and a role model:

\textit{Because some of the youth I was like involved with before I went to Chrysalis Academy.. a lot of then turned out to be drug addicts- I have a lot of friends who became drug addicts... mothers of three, four children.. but today they can tell me we are very proud of you and that makes me proud of myself.}

Her personal dream is to become a magistrate one day so that due to lack of finances she was applying for a bursary to achieve her aim, which she is sure to reach: “\textit{I'm still young [21], so I will.}”. She sums up her experience at the Chrysalis Academy with the words:

\textit{If it weren't for Chrysalis, I wouldn't have been who I am today because I was a shy person- if I didn't come here I would also have been maybe addicted to drugs because most of my friends I had are drugs addicts, they can't get rid of the drugs... and due to the fact that I came to Chrysalis I'm not even regretting I was here and thanks to Chrysalis I'm glad to say I'm a person- I'm proud to be who I am today.}

\textsuperscript{237} Element of the second phase for some chosen students to learn further skills for three months, but not existent anymore due to lack of funding.
Regarding this interview and the data of her questionnaire, Charlene's case is a good example for the stated relationship of low level of at-riskness → low level of motivation, as she was not a substance abuser or involved in gangs, but 'only' a shy Matric student growing up without a father in a disadvantaged area, who wanted to raise her self-confidence by discovering own potentials to become a positive community leader. However, the level of the program's impact was in comparison to these indicators very high, as well as the responses for the statements regarding her personal development (all the nine statements were marked as 'true'). This shows the potential power of the Chrysalis program to trigger positive change if the person is only open and willing enough. Empowering experiences for her were leading the group up the mountain and not giving up during the route march as it made her discover her strengths and potentials, motivating her to face and not to avoid further challenges during the training and afterwards. The result of Chrysalis empowerment training is her change from a shy person to a confident community leader. Through her positive involvement in the community not only as an employed constable but also through voluntary work for street youngsters, she became a positive role model for her friends and for other youngsters in the community, so that it can be stated that the Chrysalis empowerment program positively contributed to her better social integration. Her increased resiliency as another important empowerment outcome becomes especially obvious in the way she handled the peer pressure when returning to her community. Other contributing indicators for her resiliency are her pride about her achievements, her goal orientation and determination, especially concerning her plan to become a magistrate as well as the belief in herself and the optimism, that she will achieve this dream. To sum up, Charlene is a good example to show that the Academy reached its goal of avoiding her to become a high-risk youngster through drug addiction but instead, by unleashing her potential, transforming her into a positive community leader that helps other youngsters to reduce risky behaviour.

4.2.2.2. Being still unemployed – the Case of the Graduate Xolani

Being born in 1983, Xolani was raised up in Nyanga East by his mother, who passed away in 2002. Having no contact with his father, Xolani has been staying together with his grandmother and his cousin since then. Before coming to the Chrysalis Academy in 2004 he dropped out of school with Standard 8\textsuperscript{238} and described himself as

\textsuperscript{238} This low education level became obvious due to his problems of understanding the interview questions and to
having been a drug abuser: “I did a lot of dirty work according to peer pressure, you see... sometimes we used to rob other people there by our street...”. He heard about the Academy through a former female graduate who gave him an application form. His main motivations to join the program were “to get a better life, to have a decent job, so that I can be recognized at my community”, which also included overcoming his substance abuse, getting away from negative peer pressure to discover himself and to use his time efficiently till finding a better job. The three months empowerment training has been a tough time for him, especially because of the intensive physical training, even though he also enjoyed the exciting games. One challenge he faced during this time was sometimes loosing his temper with some of the other students, but the facilitators always tried to resolve these conflicts and according to him “it’s better now, cause I can just limit my temper now.”. Another challenge was the Outdoor phase, as for most of the students, where he realized that he is a stronger person than he expected. During the course, he remembered learning about sports coaching, electricity and particularly learning a lot about personal development. However, it was the hard physical training that had the greatest impact on him. Therefore, the main change for him was also, that he - after arriving thin – became big and muscular, which was also the most obvious thing for his family and fellows. Furthermore, he reported having stopped smoking and drug abuse, feeling more confident, avoids fighting and is choosing his friends more carefully, even though he admits still hanging out with some of the old ‘so-called friends’ sometimes when he feels lonely. His main challenge when going back to his community was exactly this: spending time with old friends that got him arrested someday in 2005, “it was not a good year for me, it was a bad year “. So he had to stay in prison for something he claimed he did not do but “because of hanging out with the wrong people”. The magistrate finally released him after three months and subsequent to that bad experience, he could at least get a learner ship in the area safety and security of tourists. Even though it was promised to him and other learners that they will be employed for 2007 after the learner ship, no one got a contract and Xolani has not even received his certificates from the organization yet, to be able to apply at other associations. And even though he put all the received certificates of the Academy as additional qualifications in his CV, he was not yet successful with his job applications. Being still unemployed and also not studying made him partly fall back to old habits and according to him, he did not get the expected support from the Academy

express himself in the English language not being his mother tongue.
to find a job, but rather for getting involved in the community. However, even though he said, he likes to become a member of the Nyanga youth club, he claims he could not find the youth club despite the Academy's description, that graduates of Nyanga are not getting much information in general and that they lack furthermore support in their community. Nevertheless, he states feeling as an integrated member and through his experience at the Chrysalis Academy he sees himself as a change agent, too. For his future, he wishes “I can own everything, like own a house, own a car and have a big family... so that I can tell myself now I am successful”. Yet, he knows that to achieve this, he has no other option than going back to school for his Matric to increase his chances on the job market. The problem is, as for many other graduates that he needs to have finance to be able to fund his education, so he needs to earn money again, which is a vicious circle because he wanted to reach a better education to get a job in the first place.

Xolani's case shows a high level of at-riskness, which confirms that being involved with gangs and drugs seems to be often connected with other at-risk indicators like in his case growing up in a disadvantaged area without a positive male role model, being a school drop-out, having been involved in fights and criminal activities etc. This high level of at-riskness correlates with his high level of motivation, as he wants to get a job for bettering his life and stop most of his risky behaviour. His comment about his wish to be recognized in his community indicates, that he, as a result of his anti-social activities, might not have felt integrated before coming to Chrysalis Academy. Despite the correlation between the high level of the first two variables, the level of the program's impact is low, which is reflected in Xolani's responses mentioning only the physical exercises and the outdoor as program elements that made him bigger and feel stronger, but not indicating any mind shifts through life skills courses. Nevertheless, he claims to have stopped the drug abuse, the fighting and crime, and feeling more confident, which would indicate some significant changes, if true. However, the fact, that he had to go to prison because of hanging out with the wrong people, shows that Chrysalis' empowerment program had not enough impact on building up his resilience, as he could not resist negative peer pressures. Finding himself in a vicious circle of getting a job which he needs to pay for education to get an appropriate employment puts him at high risk to fall back into his old negative habits. Despite his unemployment, he states feeling integrated now and seeing himself as a change agent, even though the
interview gives the impression of him not being really confident and optimistic or ambitious to really get involved in the community as he is also coming with excuses like he could not find the youth club.

If the data from his questionnaire would be the only source and regarding the different levels for his at-riskness and motivation, as well as his changes, integration status and him feeling like a change agent, one could interpret that he positively transformed from a drug addicted school dropout into a confident change agent. Only through the interview, it becomes obvious that he did not developed yet the necessary resilience to deal with negative peers and other challenges, and he also seems to be rather a passive person that depends on others and rather blames them for his failures than taking control for his life. Xolani's case also suggests that it seems to be more difficult to change the attitude and the behaviour of high-risk youngsters, especially when lacking a positive attitude and the will power to change.

4.2.2.3. Being unemployed but volunteering – the Case of the Graduate Ryan

Ryan was born in 1989 in Mitchell's Plain and was raised up together with his sister by their caring mother. His father was hardly at home due to his job as a bodyguard for a government official, which forced him to spend more time with the person he had to protect than with his own family. To compensate this lack of a male role model, Ryan found comfort in his friends, which turned out to be a negative influence: "I am a ex-drug addict, like I said, I mixed with wrong friends, did the wrong things...didn't know how to get out of it, that's basically when I heard about Chrysalis Academy". However, the first time he heard of the Academy was actually four years ago, when the training program was presented at his school. At that time, aged 14 years, he was still too young to join, but was already starting trying out drugs. Eventually, it was his father, who asked him if he not want to go to the Chrysalis Academy, where he was then accepted as a student in the end of 2006. Even though he was a drug-addict, it were the skills and especially the outdoor experience that mainly attracted him to participate in the program: "I am a adventurous person, I love learning new things.". He also planned to do mechanical engineering during the skills phase, but it was not offered so he did life guarding instead, which he fell in love with.

The three months training was very interesting for him and he enjoyed it a lot, even though the first two weeks were hard for him, not only to adapt to the routines, but
also because he and another guy were the youngest in the course with 17 years, so that the other ones tried to take advantage of him. He particularly loved the outdoor phase, “because there are things, I never knew I would do”, but it was the solo part, where one is alone and has time to reflect, that had the greatest impact on him: “it made me think about how my life was and how it’s supposed to be or how I wanted it to be... that was when I decided to change things.” Furthermore, he was proud to get into the drill squad and to see how fit he could become whereby it was the swimming as a life guard, where he pushed himself to the limits, that build him up the most. Other challenges apart from being the youngest was the fear of not being fit enough especially for the three day-route march. The only conflicts he had were not about racial tensions: “we were like a family in the room”, but more about cleaning in their room, which shows that sharing the room with people of different cultural backgrounds can be seen, depending on one's attitude, negatively only as a conflict potential or positively also as a great chance to learn from each other.

After graduation, like in the case of Xolani, Ryan's friends were surprised how he changed from thin to bulky through the proper food, sports and drilling. The main changes for him were, that he stopped drugs, smoking and drinking, even though he admits drinking “occasionally a cider or two, but not like I used to”. He was challenged right after the graduation, when his 'so-called' friends organized a party for him with drugs and alcohol, but despite the temptations, he said he could resist. Another change is that he used to do skating to deal with his stress, anger or depression and that now he is doing cycling, running and swimming and is even training for a triathlon in the future.

The main challenges for him when going back to his community were the bad influence of old friends and gangsters. He explains that it is difficult just to cut contact to them, because they can become quickly your enemy, which is also one reason he is involved in the Chrysalis youth club in Mitchell's Plain to keep himself busy and to rather avoid contact with them. However, he also tried to encourage them to come to the Chrysalis Academy and sometimes he just sits with some of them, if they need someone to talk to. This is one way how he can apply his acquired skills and knowledge from the Academy, especially anger management that taught him how to deal in a healthy manner with his feelings. Other skills that he enjoyed learning are life guarding and event management. He also mentioned that he would have loved to acquire knowledge about social work as his passion is to help children and is therefore trying to get support
from the Department for Graduate Affairs. Despite his belief that his training at the Academy increased his chances on the job market, not necessarily through the received certificates, which are too basic, but because of the whole personal experience, he is currently unemployed. After the graduation, he was a college student of administration in 2007, which he could not continue due to lack of funding, but he also admitted that it was too theoretical for him being more into practical work. Since then, he is involved as one of the main active members of the Chrysalis youth club in Mitchell's Plain. He sees himself as an integrated member of his community and as a role model, because children always used to looked up to him and especially being more positive now after coming back from the Chrysalis Academy. His goal for the future is to join the triathlon, even in international sports, “I want to push myself to the limits”. His last interview comment about the Academy was about the changes of the training course:

Now they softening the course... All I wanna say is, they must stay being hard on the guys... because that is how they actually learn things... (...) I'm not gonna do wrong again, gonna be proud, I'm gonna push myself to do the best that I can do.. but now being soft they tell you once and then I do it again.. and they not telling me again... I'm gonna keep on doing my wrong things.

That is an interesting remark, being similar to the raised concern of one of the facilitators who is at the Academy since he was a student in the first pilot course:

I think the approach changed a lot, you can even measure the level of discipline just by looking at the students, for instance if you take 2000 and you take courses from 2005, the first ones are more disciplined... it was really strict at that time; the approach was a bit, it was very different from what it is now, it’s softer now, those days, it was more strict, you knew in those days, if you did something wrong you won’t do it again, you are really learning from your mistakes...(...) Honestly, I don't think it [the soft approach] is working, students become more relaxed, is becoming more like a college place.

In comparison to the facilitator, Ryan, has been a student only in one of the latest courses, which was already softened and not so much comparable anymore with the first courses. However, it shows a general concern, as it was mentioned several times not only by other graduates but also some staff members, that the course should not loose its disciplinary framework, that gives the students necessary structures, which they often lack in their own social contexts.239

239 Their assumption seems to be, that discipline can only be achieve through military means, which is a very narrow perspective reducing discipline to an unreflective submission to authority and hierarchical structures, which is contra-productive to developing self-confident role models and is herewith definitely not in the interest of an empowerment program. Therefore, the 'softening' of the course does not intended to reduce the discipline military context by substituting it with a positive discipline that is based on an understanding for rules interpersonal respect.
Ryan's case is a perfect example for the stated relationship: \( \uparrow \text{level of at-riskness} \rightarrow \uparrow \text{level of motivation} \rightarrow \uparrow \text{level of impact} \). Additional information from the questionnaire concerning his high level at-riskness show that he also dropped out of school in Standard 9, smoked and abused alcohol, experienced family conflicts and was involved in fights. As he saw the Academy as his last way out, he was highly motivated to sort out his life, overcome his substance abuse, discover himself, get away from negative peers, use his time efficiently including getting certificates and finally to become a positive community leader. For that reasons, the level of the program's impact was high as well, as he enjoyed every part, but especially all the physical activities like outdoor, drilling, fitness test etc. as he loves sports, which he also uses to deal with his anger positively. Feeling empowered by the Academy through discovering himself and having become more confident, he stopped his substance abuse, went back to school for his Matric, chooses friends more carefully, avoids fighting and is volunteering for a Chrysalis youth club. The last also being a strategy to keep him occupied to not get back with negative peers and falling back into old habits. All this, the sport, volunteering and his positive attitude help him to resist temptations and to deal with challenges, which indicate a well-developed resiliency. Further indicators are his awareness about his potentials in sport and social work, his goal orientation, motivation and high discipline especially regarding his aim of joining a triathlon, herewith his healthy life style, his optimism and pride about his achievements. This shows a clear difference to Xolani, even though both are not having a job, but due to Ryan's positive attitude and voluntary involvement, it can be stated that Ryan is more integrated in the community and presents the more responsible and active agent of change. However, it should be noted, that Ryan seems to have more support of his family and is therefore not experiencing the financial pressure as Xolani, which allows him to volunteer without worrying to much about getting any job just to be able to make a living. Nevertheless, Ryan is just one successful example of a youngster at high risk that came to Chrysalis and benefited fully from this empowerment opportunity, which resulted in the desired change from a troublemaking drug-addict to a confident and very motivated volunteer in one of the Chrysalis youth clubs to make an impact in his community.

4.2.2.4. Summary of the Results
After presenting and analyzing the three cases of Charlene, Xolani and Ryan regarding the relationship of the three variables of at-riskness, motivation and impact as well as looking at their personal changes after the graduation, their status of integration and their resiliency as empowerment outcomes, the main results will be summarized.

First of all, it can be stated that the relationship \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of at-riskness \( \rightarrow \) \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of motivation \( \rightarrow \) \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of impact was only confirmed by the last case of Ryan, while in the other two cases only the first part \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of at-riskness \( \rightarrow \) \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of motivation could be approved.\(^{240}\) This reflects the result of Spearman's correlation coefficient, which was the lowest for the relation \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of at-riskness \( \rightarrow \) \( \uparrow (\downarrow) \) level of impact. Secondly, the case of Xolani shows, that one can - in contrast to the earlier argument that the program's impact might be higher for high risk student – argue, that it is actually more difficult to change them in this relative short time of three months as there are too many risk indicators involved that they have to overcome (poverty, unemployment, drug abuse, gang involvement etc.) which is challenging, if the conditions are not changing to the better.\(^{241}\) Thirdly, the other two cases illustrate that with the necessary openness for change and a positive (learning) attitude one can benefit more from the Chrysalis empowerment program. Especially in the case of Ryan, it becomes clear, that despite being unemployed like Xolani, he is more self confident, motivated and especially more resilient which helps him to deal better with the challenges through disadvantageous living conditions. Both, Charlene and Ryan, have become resilient enough, to resist peer pressure, whereby important indicators for their resiliency is their acquired self-confidence through the empowerment experience, having clear future goals, optimism, but especially their voluntary involvement in the community, that reinforces the other indicators. For that reason, it is important that the Department for Graduate Affairs gives more support for willing volunteers via the youth clubs and should connect them also with other community organizations that need volunteers. Fourthly, in cases like Xolani, it becomes obvious how important the role of a job is, as it is for most graduates connected with a 'real' start into a better life. Not finding a job and having nothing to do, puts the graduates at a higher risk of falling back.

\(^{240}\) However, the results for the other eight interviews regarding this relationship model show, that there were five cases similar to Ryan, two cases like Charlene and one case as the one of Xolani. One interview, which presents a self-explanatory success case is attached as an interview example in the Appendix.

\(^{241}\) This is also one reason why the Academy pays attention that not too many high-risk students are on the course to not negatively influence group dynamics and the impact of the program.
into old habits, so that it is important to involve these graduates so long as volunteers to keep them busy with productive work that is accepted in the community.

Looking at these results, it becomes clear, that not through the statistics but through the interviews the process of empowerment at the Academy, the graduates’ personal changes and their challenges back in the community could be comprehensibly illustrated. However, it proved to more advantageous, to use data from the questionnaires and the interviews (triangulation) at the same time to get as many information as possible.

4.2.3. Follow-up of ‘07 Delta’ and the Focus Group Interview

After presenting the results of the questionnaires and the face-to-face interviews, this subchapter serves to illustrate first the results of the telephonic follow up of the ’07 Delta’ course, secondly the results of the focus group interview with five ’07 Delta’ graduates and finally summarizing the outcomes.

4.2.3.1. Results of the Telephonic Follow-Up

After being a participant observer in the three months empowerment training of the ’07 Delta’ course, spending an intensive time with these students, the researcher had a high interest in the follow-up of these graduates, to find out where they find themselves a year after they started the Chrysalis training. The follow-up also allowed the researcher to compare the results with the figures of the general database and the results of the questionnaires (triangulation), but especially to identify the unemployed graduates for the focus group interview. Within two weeks from mid September 2008, the researcher tried to get hold of all the 86 ’07 Delta’ graduates through telephonic contact, being provided with the details via the Academy’s database and could reach 80 out of the 86 graduates\footnote{These 6 graduates could not be tracked, as the number was wrong or only voicebox responded during 2 weeks.}. From these 80 graduates, 42 % are currently employed, 24 % are still or again unemployed\footnote{Some have been employed part-time or via contract after graduation, but the contract was not renewed or job lost.} and 34 % are presently at a college (only one graduate being back at school). From these graduates who are at a college, 82 % of them are in the three year Police Course provided by the False Bay College at the Academy’s premise, for which they were assessed during their empowerment training (see 4.1.3 under Community Phase). More of the ’07 Delta’ graduates, together with other Chrysalis graduates from previous courses, were accepted, but alone six graduates from
Vredendal stopped as they found work back home, while another five graduates dropped out because of misbehaviour, but most of them also found employment in the meantime. Comparing these figures to the results of the questionnaires, it shows that 42% is close to the number of 48% employed graduates, even though it needs to be mentioned, that the hundred graduates who filled out the questionnaires were from different courses since 2000, so that they had more time to find a job, while the '07 Delta’ graduates were assessed one year after and some of them have been also employed in between. The average number of 45% is still much lower than the official figure of 65% given by the Academy's Department for Graduate Affairs, and considering the difficulties with tracking of graduates, especially not being informed about their changing status, the researcher judges this high official number as not realistic. The high number of 34% of the '07 Delta’ graduates at college in comparison to 12% of the graduates from the questionnaire (including even school, college and studies) is not surprising, when taking the unique opportunity of the False Bay Police course into consideration, that was provided to them, so that the figure otherwise would have been similar. The same argument applies regarding the high number of 48% unemployed graduates from the questionnaires in comparison to 24% of unemployed '07 Delta’ graduates, but another reason is also, that the questionnaire was handed out to graduates during retrainings, which are mainly attended by unemployed graduates. From the nineteen unemployed ‘07 Delta’ graduates, the researcher got confirmation of nine graduates to volunteer for the focus group interview, but only five graduates could finally make it to the Academy.

4.2.3.2. Results of the Focus Group Interview

The focus group interview took place Friday, the 26th September 2008 at the Chrysalis Academy, and as the ’07 Delta’ graduates were familiar with the researcher in comparison to the other graduates that filled out questionnaires and took part in the face-to-face interview, the existing trust relationship allowed quick a relaxed and open interview session. The five unemployed graduates from Mfuleni, Delft, Hanover Park and Khayelitsha were aged between 21 to 25 years old and passed grade 10 to 12. The first part of questions were the same ones used in the questionnaire and the face-to-face interviews regarding the graduates’ motivation to come to Chrysalis, their learning experience of the empowerment training, if and how they changed afterwards and the challenges experienced back in their communities. The second part included new
questions that focused especially on their current status of unemployment and their high risk of falling back into old bad habits, their perceived reasons for that and questions regarding the Academy’s and their own responsibility in addressing these issues that would assist the researcher in giving recommendations for improving the Chrysalis’ aftercare program.

Regarding their motivations to come to Chrysalis, the five graduates had their individual reasons ranging from getting better job opportunities through skills learning like first aid and fire fighting to learning about themselves and even the need of getting away from the community to avoid trouble and to get self-respect back. The Outdoor Phase with hiking in the mountains was for most of the five graduates the most impressive experience during the empowerment training, but also learning about discipline, mutual respect as well as about people and their different cultures. Furthermore, they became more aware about having choices and that “there are no boundaries… whatever you want to achieve, there are no boundaries… it’s just yourself!”244. This need of inner strength to overcome challenges and the need to respect others to be respected were also mentioned as results of what they have learned about themselves while in the program including the awareness of lifelong learning. Concerning changed behaviour after the training, the graduates admitted that they are trying to stay focused and true to themselves by making different choices and trying to meet new friends to avoid the old peer pressure, but also by motivating other youngster to join the Academy’s empowerment training. Only one graduate from Delft admitted that not much has changed after he lost the part-time job again: “Now, not having something... nothing to do is boring... so what else is there to do? My friends take me out... my friends are not that bad... it's just alcohol and girls... it's not that bad...”. With regards to the challenges, they had to face when back in the community, all agreed, that the beginning of the festive season after their graduation in December presented the biggest test, as they were under the pressure of their friends who were partying and drinking. Three of them said, that they were focusing on themselves and ignoring the group pressure: “it’s all about myself... if someone else doesn’t appreciate how I am now, I don’t care... it’s all about my happiness. I lost a lot of friends, because I don’t go to the places I used to go...”.245 which indicates a higher level of self-awareness and

244 Quote of the ‘07 Delta’ graduate from Hanover Park.
245 Quote of the ‘07 Delta’ graduate from Khayelitsha.
resiliency as the desired outcomes of the empowerment training. The other two confessed that they were continuing drinking when back home and one expressed why:

*I will be honest.. u see, where I come from... every weekend.. you must have a party or go to some...so it's not that my friends are bad or so.. I also like that... all my friends are working so they pick me up and say let's go... that's weekly... so I am used to that life... so there is no change... I wouldn't lie and say it's a bad thing.*

The second one explained that he felt like a new person, which made him and his mother happy, but he still wanted to drink with friends, which made his mother upset and so she did not believe that he changed. Believing, that he is only wasting her money, she refused to pay for his learner’s license, which pushed him into more drinking that resulted again in her throwing him out, so that he is staying alone since then being dependant on the support of some friends. Being in this difficult situation with no job, he points out, that he is not out at night anymore to get money through illegal means, indicating that he changed at least in this regard. Regarding their status, also two of the other graduates stated, that they are currently dependant on their families and friends as they cannot find employment despite applying and searching for jobs and that only shortly after the graduation they had some short-term casual jobs. The other two have been employed with contracts, which were not renewed, and while one of them is now self-employed selling clothes to survive, the other one is involved with the police on a casual basis and applied recently for fire fighting training waiting for a final feedback. This question asked in the interview offered much more insight into the graduates’ situation then just the figure from a statistic, as it shows that unemployed graduates also have been through phases of short employment, that they are continuously trying to find a job and that by next week they could be working again, which makes the tracking of graduates and getting reliable figures so difficult.

Comparing these presented results with the ones from the questionnaires and interviews, a lot of similarities can be identified especially regarding the graduates’ motivation, their experience and changes through the training as well as the challenges when back in the communities. Therefore, having similar results with different research methods as the mean of triangulation proves the validity of the collected data.

The second part of the focus group interview included new questions with a focus on the graduates’ situation of unemployment and possible alternatives to collect information on how the Academy’s aftercare program could be improved. Reflecting on the reasons for their unemployment, there was a general agreement among the graduates, that it is difficult to find a job if you are not having any connections or
relations inside the respective workplace. This reflects their frustration and a belief that getting a job is rather out of their control, which shows a rather low level of optimism and self-confidence. Only two mentioned also the importance of skills, as one of them could get a job after the graduation because of his acquired skills in electric circuitry at the Academy, while the other one stated that he has only grade 10 and would need matric and computer skills to have better chances in the job market. These statements indicate that one way of getting a job easier would be through more skills and higher education, and that the Academy could partly assisted hereby, but that it is in the graduate’s responsibility to educate him/herself further afterwards. The researcher’s question regarding why they are not volunteering via the Chrysalis youth clubs as an alternative till finding a job and as way of giving back to the community as part of their five year commitment with the Academy did not receive much feedback from the graduates. It seemed like there was an unspoken agreement among them, that volunteering was no option for them as there was no money involved and one tried to argue that there was no club and support from the Academy, but it was difficult to start a discussion as the graduates did not react. Only the graduate from Khayelitsha mentioned, that he started a clean-up campaign with his friend as a way of giving back to the community, but as it took him a lot of time to organize resources from sponsors and to motivate the youth, he gave up on that: “You see, I hate wasting my time. I need also to earn money.” The next question provided important insights into possible reasons why some graduates fall back into old bad habits, which could help the Academy to address better the graduates’ needs. Boredom because of having no job or anything to do then sitting at home or hanging out with friends was one of the responses, while another pointed out the challenge of living in a neighbourhood that is ruled by gangs, drugs and crime and being even affected by it in the own family. The graduate from Mfuleni referred again to his own dysfunctional relationship with his mother as a reason for falling back:

It’s the frustration that I get from my mother, when she is swearing at me that I am useless... that makes me go there. I am trying to control myself by reading the poem246 that you gave me and take my photos, knowing it was nice here... the good days...

The graduate from Khayelitsha revealed, that he feels sometimes challenged by seeing

246 The graduate refers to the poem “Today, I will make a difference!”, that the researcher gave as a present with a photo CD, documenting the graduates during the three months empowerment training, to each of the ’07 Delta’ students at their day of graduation as a reminder and encouragement for the time when back in their communities.
how other people earn money in a short time through illegal activities as he used to:

> It’s hard to earn money... but seeing old guys who make much money quickly out of the blue, makes me look back... someone just gets in an hour; what I work for in 3 weeks... that tips me off sometime... I try to stay focused then... because at least whatever I am spending now, I did work for it, so that helps!

Summing up potential causes that increase the chance of graduates falling back into old negative habits include the factor of unemployment itself with boredom as the result, peer pressure and a challenging environment including lack of family support and crime as a quick income-generating alternative. This lead to the question, how the Academy could prepare the students more during the empowerment training to prevent them from falling back afterwards. Their responses showed that there was general satisfaction with the program itself, but that there seem to be a general problem of (mis)communication regarding follow-ups, as the Academy assisted all of them with applications for jobs, colleges and bursaries while they were in the Community Phase, but none of them got any response, neither from the institution nor the Academy itself. While the graduates expected the Academy to do the follow-up, the researcher tried to encourage them to do the follow-up themselves, as the Academy’s aim is to empower them to become independent and responsible for their own lives, also pointing out the Academy’s lack of resources to do follow-ups for each graduate. Asked eventually about what could be improved regarding the Academy’s aftercare program, there was a generally agreement that the Academy should assist them in finding jobs or study opportunities, even voluntary work by providing the necessary information. This is already in the process to be addressed by the Academy through the new Career Resource Centre to which the graduates were introduced to after the session. There were no other proposals made, and it was again confirmed that the graduates were already grateful for the Academy’s training, but would not mind further support: “The training was great... the basic levels is alright... but we need experience.. we need to study further...”247 and “For me, they did it all, it’s up to me now... but if they have something for me, they should contact me...”248. After focusing on the Academy’s role in the aftercare program, the researcher finally challenged the graduates with the last question about their personal role as Chrysalis graduates in giving back to the community as part of their five-year commitment. Apart from rather general statements like “trying to motivate the kids that

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247 Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Khayelitsha.
248 Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Delft.
are still growing up to show them the right way"\textsuperscript{249} and "give back by lending a hand wherever there is a need"\textsuperscript{250}, there seem to be no concrete ideas also due to a lack of spirit of activism to volunteer in the community as their focus was more on getting a job. Other reasons seemed to be the tough conditions in the community and that the graduates do not see themselves as competent enough to volunteer: "You must be strong leader.. it’s tough.. it’s hectic by us... with the gangs... and you can smell the stuff... the pipes, the glue"\textsuperscript{251} and "people there just do things their way... it’s not easy!"\textsuperscript{252}, which was confirmed by the other graduates. After this last question, the researcher thanked them for their time and cooperation, and after they got served lunch from the Academy, the researcher took them to the new Chrysalis Career Resource Centre. They were introduced to the services of the centre and had a short career guidance session where different career options were presented, but also pointing out again their responsibility to take own actions. Personal data from each of the five graduates were collected as a basis for assisting the graduates further in achieving their personal goals and different information flyers about jobs, colleges and bursaries were distributed to them. The visit was positively received by them, making them feeling better and more hopeful again, after being quite frustrated and rather negative about their situation before.

4.2.3.3. Summary of the Results

The telephonic follow-up of the ’07 Delta’ course allowed the researcher to learn about the status of these graduates one year after their training at the Academy, getting a more realistic picture of the unemployment figures and an insight into the challenging task of tracking graduates.\textsuperscript{253} This included practical challenges like not getting hold of graduates due to wrong numbers or constant voice box, language barriers (Afrikaans, Xhosa) when communicating to family members and the changing employment status of some of the graduates. Conducting the focus group session and its results helped the researcher to confirm the validity of the results of the questionnaires and the face-to-face interviews. But it especially gave the researcher a better insight into the challenges that unemployed graduates face, causes that puts them at a higher risk of falling back into old habits and their views about the Academy’s role and their responsibility in the

\textsuperscript{249} Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Mfuleni.
\textsuperscript{250} Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Khayelitsha.
\textsuperscript{251} Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Hanover Park.
\textsuperscript{252} Quote of the ’07 Delta’ graduate from Delft.
\textsuperscript{253} The researcher hereby also assisted the Department of GA in tracking as she made the results available to them.
aftercare program. However, the researcher expected more feedback regarding e.g. volunteerism and proposals for improving the aftercare program, and also has to admit that the session was more a group interview than a focus group discussion. Possible reasons are, that the researcher felt challenged in creating a vibrant discussion and that the graduates were still very disciplined and respectful in letting others finish talking so that no real dynamic dialogue could develop. It also seemed as if through the frustrating experience of unemployment, these graduates have lost part of their self-confidence and optimism again that was built up through the empowerment training. The researcher also felt that during the course of the interview, the graduates were getting a bit lost in memories by reflecting their experience and their situation now, also because of seeing other graduates again after a year and learning how they are struggling or coping. Disadvantageous was also, that there was only one Coloured among four Xhosas, and that he had the most problems in expressing himself in English, switching sometimes to Afrikaans. It would have been important, to have had at least another Afrikaans speaker there\textsuperscript{254}, who could help out with translation, as he is facing a lot of issues like living in a dangerous neighbourhood, having a dysfunctional family with a family member being even involved in gangs and drug abuse (TIK etc.), which he could not articulate in the way he wanted to.

Nevertheless, the focus group interview showed very clearly, like the interview case of Xolani in the previous chapter, that unemployment is one of the main risk factors for falling back into old bad habits and that volunteerism as part of the graduates’ commitment during the aftercare program is a positive alternative to address boredom, frustration and peer pressure to keep up their positive spirit until they find a job. However, even though employment and education are presented as the key in getting out of the vicious cycle of poverty and crime, it does not seem to guarantee that graduates are still not falling back into old habits, as there are some of the graduates who are employed or at a college who are still drinking or using drugs.\textsuperscript{255} For that reason, the researcher recommends encouraging also these students to volunteer as a

\textsuperscript{254} Among the nine graduates, that confirmed for the interview, the number of Coloureds was actually higher than the number of Xhosas, but in the end, only one of them came, while the others had problems with transport money.

\textsuperscript{255} Known examples are few graduates from retrainings and especially graduates who are in the False Bay College’s Police Program, whereby the information are based on own observations while on campus and conversations with different Chrysalis graduates in this program. Reasons are, that this pilot program of the False Bay College was not properly planned and therefore lacked structures to supervise the graduates as it is in place at Chrysalis.
way of giving back to the communities and promoting the vision of the Chrysalis Academy for the sustainability of the empowerment training.

**CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**5.1. Discussion of Results and Conclusions**

The hypothesis for this research stated, that empowerment programs contribute positively to the social integration of youth-at-risk and that resiliency is developed enabling the graduates to cope better with their environment after the program. The results of the presented quantitative data showed that there is a positive relationship between the empowerment program and the graduates' social integration, so that the hypothesis for the context of the Chrysalis Academy is valid. The main factors for a successful integration were identified and comprise showing positive behaviour changes/stopping anti-social activities, getting a job, as well as volunteering and becoming an exemplary community leader. Furthermore, most of the graduates affirmed the positive statements about their personal development, which represents the indicators for resiliency. The interview cases illustrated how the built-up resiliency through the empowerment program helped the graduates to resist negative peer pressure and to prevent them from falling back into old habits, so that also this sub hypothesis is supported by the presented data.

The theoretical framework for this positive relation between the hypothesis and the data results is based on an understanding of the empowerment training as a socialization process with the aim of developing youth-at-risk into self-confident, resilient and integrated role models (Parson's concept of socialization as social role learning for successful integration). The Chrysalis Academy presents hereby an alternative socialization agent for the youngsters that experienced the failure of socialization agents within the context of poor socio-economic living conditions. According to Gidden's structuration theory and Sen's development approach, these conditions are seen as social structures that limit the individual's choices. Through the Chrysalis empowerment program, the graduates shall internalize the discipline, rules and social values (Durkheim's understanding of socialization as moral disciplination for social integration) to become responsible and caring role models in their communities. Furthermore, they are learning different life skills as well as vocational skills to increase their confidence about their potentials, which will expand their choices of social action, contribute to their social integration as well as develop their resiliency. A main condition
for the success of the Chrysalis Academy's empowerment program is that students have to join the program voluntarily and wanting to make a change, as empowerment can not be enforced. To increase the contribution of the Academy's empowerment program for the graduates' integration, the follow-up and the support of the graduates needs to be improved. This includes actions steps like the graduates forming support groups and to involve the graduates more in voluntary work, to keep them motivated and optimistic with positive activities, especially when unemployed.

After linking the results of the hypothesis testing with the theoretical framework, the results can be compared with the outcomes of the evaluation report (2003) of Herman Kotze. Hereby, similarities concerning the graduates' assessment of the program can be discovered, whereby his results are even more positive without any exceptions. However, it should be mentioned, that Kotze's research was based on a smaller sample of 87 students, whereof only 30 cases were analyzed in detail with additional results of focus group discussions with 49 graduates. Moreover, the figures were presented without any further analysis or critical reflection and he used changing sample sizes without any explanations. A reason might be that the more than 400 pages report focused more on a very comprehensive and detailed description and evaluation of each project phase based on observations and interviews rather then on a follow-up study based on quantitative data. As he only looked at the graduate's perspective on the project and behaviour changes after the graduation, it is not possible to compare the researcher's data concerning the graduate's integration or resiliency.

Reflecting on the results of the questionnaires, it must be critically stated, that the representativeness of the data is limited to the researched sample, as it is not a random sample which would have allowed to make generalizations for the whole graduates in the database. Furthermore, this sample excludes most of the employed or studying graduates, as they did not have the time for a one-week retraining or coming during the working days to the Academy. Additional, also graduates who might be disappointed with the Academy for being still unemployed or graduates that are back into old habits would not have make an effort to come to the rather distant Academy only for a research study. However, as they form part of all the graduates since the project started, they should be included in follow-up studies to show a more representative picture of the long-term impact of the empowerment training. This would especially help the Academy to discover reasons for the graduates' relapses, to be able to develop strategies

Kotze 2003, p. 216, 323.
to lower these rates in future. Therefore, it is recommended to conduct a special follow-up study where the focus is only on these 'failed' graduates. To be able to reach these students, first of all, the database needs to be updated more regularly and secondly, the researcher has to actually go to their areas for follow-up studies. This kind of door-to-door study to track graduates in general has been done already in two areas in the Cape Flats by one Pastor, who is volunteering for several years for the Academy. He could present informative portraits of each graduate from these two areas as a necessary basis for developing better support structures. The researcher attempted such a special follow-up study on ‘failed’ students on a small scale by conducting the focus group interview with the five unemployed ’07 Delta’ graduates one year after their training. Even though this gave her an idea into their challenges of finding a job and risk factors of falling back into old habits, she recommends to conduct an impact assessment on a larger scale based on questionnaires and completed by a focus group discussion with more graduates and an experienced moderator that can facilitate fruitful interaction and debates about how best to address the graduates’ challenges by developing better prevention strategies.

Regarding the researcher's questionnaire and the results it provided, it can be further noted that there is still room for improvement especially when planning to measure the real level of impact. This would require a pre-test to measure especially the student's level of integration and self-confidence as well as other statements that gives insight into the students’ self-image before the course start and then another test after the graduation, to be able to measure changes in the students’ self-assessment. However, the collected data, despite the different shortcomings and limitations, allowed an insight into the Chrysalis Academy’s program and could form the necessary basis for confirming the research hypothesis. Summing up the results of this research, it can be stated that the Chrysalis Academy's empowerment training represents a good-practice example with its valuable contributions to the integration of youth-at-risk, but for its sustainable success it still has to work on improving its aftercare program for the graduates.
5.2. Recommendations

In this last part of the thesis, recommendations are finally given based on the researcher's experience during the three months empowerment training and retrainings, conversations with different staff members, students as well as graduates especially through their feedback from the collected data. These recommendations should be understood as proposals to increase further the positive impact of the Chrysalis Academy's empowerment training with its valuable contribution for the social integration of youth-at-risk. The recommendations are presented in list form for a better overview and are separated firstly, in terms of the three months empowerment training and secondly, in terms of the five year aftercare program after the graduation.

I. Empowerment Training

- Selection of less high risk cases is recommended due to the bad influence of these students for the other participants and the high-risk students being more difficult to empower and to integrate in the short period of three months. Otherwise, there will be a gradual shift from a prevention program to a rehabilitation program.

- Discipline is important to give structures to the students and for the facilitators to be able to work with them. However, it is recommended to further lessen the military touch, substituting it with more team work exercises, sport activities and educational games, aiming to install an internal discipline rather than a purely externally imposed discipline.

- The course' rules based on 'Zero tolerance' should be applied to every student in the same way regardless of his/her background to avoid a case like experienced in ‘07 Delta’, which put the trust of the students and the success of the program at a high risk. Therefore, a consistent documentation of students reporting incidents should be ensured by the facilitators in future.

- Students should get up later then 4.30am (i.e. 6am), because they need more sleep to be alert especially during the life skills courses and the Skills Phase, which are essential for their personal development and acquiring skills to increase their chances for a job.
Even though the training is designed to have a multi-religious approach, there is still in some courses a dominant focus on the Christian religion, which should be critically reflected. Equal acknowledgment of other religions is recommended.

Considering the reported racial tensions between students, it is highly recommended to put a higher focus on classes dealing with cultural diversity and racial prejudices as well as to address this issue through facilitation of open discussions among the students in case of conflicts.

It is recommended to assure, that students are able to actually do their chosen course during the four weeks skill phase as there were students who learned a skill they did not want or need, even though the empowerment course is about 'unleashing potentials'.

Considering the high HIV/AIDS rate in South Africa, it is recommended to put more focus on HIV/AIDS awareness by cooperating hereby with respective organizations like LoveLife or TAC (Treatment Action Campaign). In this context, it is recommended that the in the last courses introduced voluntary HIV/AIDS test should become an integral element of the program.

Regarding the widespread discrimination of females in a male dominated South African society, it is recommended to introduce a gender workshop or a separate manhood/womanhood sessions in the Orientation Phase or as part of the Community Phase. This could otherwise also be addressed in a retraining as desired by graduates.

Furthermore, a leadership course similar to the one during the retraining in Oudtshoorn would be recommended as part of the community phase to prepare the students to become positive community leaders as it is the main aim of the Chrysalis Academy. Alternatively, this should be offered at a first retraining for graduates to learn the necessary skills for a better involvement in their communities.

There is only one to two social workers at the Chrysalis Academy, who urgently need additional assistants to be able to serve not only the ca. 100 - 120 students during the course but also the numerous graduates during the aftercare program. In cooperation with psychology departments at universities, it could be organized that there are continuously psychology postgraduate students involved as volunteers at the Academy to assist with the students. However, it is highly recommended to ensure that there are at least two social workers/life coaches, ideally one for the students during the training and especially one also for the graduates afterwards in cooperation with the Department for Graduate Affairs.

The lately introduced parent workshops should stay an integral part of the empowerment program as it proved to be successful in improving family relationships representing a necessary support basis for graduates when returning to their communities.

To promote volunteerism, the club members as well as other community based organisations should be invited during the Community Phase to present their work and need
for volunteers, so that interested students can already sign up and start volunteering right after graduation.

- The students should become more aware about their five-year commitment of giving back to the community as volunteers and should ideally sign a volunteer agreement with the Academy during the Community Phase or at latest on the day of graduation.
- It is furthermore recommended to provide the graduates at that day with a list of all the Chrysalis Clubs as well as of local projects and community organizations where they can do voluntary work as the suggested option of transferring their acquired life skills to other youngsters and preventing them from falling back into old habits, as it keeps them occupied with constructive work especially when unemployed, but gives them also work experience and further self-confidence.
- It should be ensured, that all graduates leave the Academy with all their certificates to be able to directly apply for jobs.
- To continuously monitor and improve the empowerment training, it is recommended to let the students and facilitators evaluate it by distributing and analyzing appropriate questionnaires.

II. The Aftercare Program:

- Graduates should ideally form support groups according to their area to keep in contact through regular meetings to help or just to motivate each other when facing the challenges of returning to their communities. This is especially important considering the peer pressure, dysfunctional families, gang involvement, unemployment or drug addiction. It was also proposed by graduates to form special groups for ex-drug addicts to avoid relapses.
- The Chrysalis youth clubs in the different areas should be hereby used as a platform for the different meetings of graduates i.e. in form of the proposed support groups, but also for organizing activities for children and youngsters in the community to get them off the street.
- For reviving the Chrysalis youth clubs an assessment of each club in the context of the respective community and its challenges is recommended to reach more effectively the children and youngsters and their needs in these communities.
- In this regard, the youth clubs should also network with other community organization for exchange of experience and organizing activities together.
- As recommended at the parent workshop, also the parents should form support groups according to their areas to support each other dealing with their sons and daughters.
- These parent support groups should collaborate with the respective youth clubs in their communities to strengthen their activities and promote the Chrysalis’ vision and mission.
• With regard to volunteering, the researcher even proposes that ideally each graduate should become a mentor and herewith a positive role model for children or youngsters at-risk in his neighbourhood. The Department for Graduate Affairs could cooperate hereby with the NGO Big Brothers Big Sisters South Africa as an experienced mentoring initiative.

• As there are complaints of graduates about the lack or only little support of the Department for GA as well as their problem of following-up graduates, it is recommended that the Department appoints an additional assistant for updating the database (ca. 4200 graduates now) to be able to fulfil the Academy's mandate of being a sustainable development project through a successful five year follow-up and support of their graduates.

The last recommendation is addressed generally at the Chrysalis Academy, seeing itself as a learning organization that adapts to changing conditions. Therefore, decisions about new directions in the current transformation process should be transparent and based on interactions between the different departments including consultations of affected staff members. Especially the experienced training staff that presents the important foundation for a successful empowerment training, should be involved in transformation plans to be able to give their input. Only in cooperation with the staff members will the Academy be able to continuously improve their important work of transforming youth-at-risk into positive role models for their communities.
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Internal Documents:

– Graduates Statistics until May 2005
– Introduction Material to the four phase- training model of Chrysalis Academy
– List of Chrysalis Community Clubs, from Department for Graduate Affairs
– Project Chrysalis. Fund Western Cape Trust. 2001
– Time table for the 12 week program for ‘07 Delta’, from Mr. Marthinus
– Time table for the 2 week Outdoor program
APPENDIX:
Annex A. Timetable for the Field Research Period at the Chrysalis Academy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIMEFRAME</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd week of April</td>
<td>Initial information &amp; contact to organization via web, mail &amp; phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. April</td>
<td>First visit of organization: invitation to intake of 109 new female participants, opening speech, first orientation talks with Head Coordinator for Training, CEO &amp; life coaches/counselors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. April</td>
<td>First meeting with current CEO Nomfundo Matroos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. May</td>
<td>First meeting with project founder &amp; former CEO Mark Wiley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. September</td>
<td>Intake of 111 boys, start of the three months training incl. the following four program elements: taking part as participant observer in the whole course, so-called “07 Delta”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. September- 5. October</td>
<td>Orientation Phase (3 weeks): first contact with staff members, facilitators and participants, getting first impressions of the daily program routines and getting to know the new students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.-20. October</td>
<td>Outdoor Phase (2 weeks): being 'outdoor' hiking and camping with the students etc., observing especially group dynamics and the students' experience in conflict management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. October</td>
<td>Participant Observer at 2nd Parent Workshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. October</td>
<td>First visits of family and friends for Students at the Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. October- 16. November</td>
<td>Skills Phase (4 weeks): insight into the different skills courses offered, developing first drafts for interviews &amp; questionnaires based on the received information and insight into the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. - 9. November</td>
<td>Assisting as a participant observer in a one week retraining nearby Oudtshoorn for graduates in the Southern Cape, distribution and collection of questionnaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. December</td>
<td>Graduation Ceremony for ‘07 Delta’ students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec '07/Jan '08</td>
<td>Data processing, analysis and evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.- 26. Sep 2008</td>
<td>Telephonic follow-up on Delta’07 Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Sep 2008</td>
<td>Focus group interview with six ‘07 Delta’ graduates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE  
Institute for Social Development  

Chrysalis Academy – Field Research Project

Dear……………… (Chief Executive Director),

The UWC Faculty Board for Research and Ethics Committees has given me permission to conduct a field research for the mini-thesis with the following title:

**Evaluation of a Youth Empowerment Programme for Youth-at-Risk:**  
A case study of the Chrysalis Academy in Cape Town, South Africa

For the data collection, the researcher will use the mean of participant observation, questionnaires, face-to-face interviews as well as focus group interviews as the research methods. The target group will be the students and graduates of the Chrysalis Academy.

The aims and objectives of this case study will be:

- To provide a documentation of the three months empowerment training of the Chrysalis Academy to present their strategies of empowering youth-at-risk.
- To assess the perceived level of youth empowerment as a result of the empowerment training at the Chrysalis Academy from the subjective perspective of the participants.
- To provide recommendations to improve the Chrysalis Academy’s youth development program in future

The Chrysalis Academy’s willingness to participate in this study is highly appreciated. The research will be conducted according to the UWC Ethic Guidelines. Full confidentiality and privacy will be ensured at all times during and after the research process.

I would appreciate your participation throughout the research project but you have the right to withdraw whenever you want to.

Yours faithfully

………………………….  
1st June 2007
Annex C. Chrysalis Volunteer Consent Form

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
Institute for Social Development

Chrysalis Academy – Field Research Project

Master Thesis:

TITLE: Evaluation of a Youth Empowerment Programme for Youth-at-Risk:
A case study of the Chrysalis Academy in Cape Town, South Africa

VOLUNTEER CONSENT FORM

As a graduate of the Chrysalis Academy, I am aware that my identity will remain protected (anonymity) throughout the research process. I have been informed about the research project and I agree willingly to participate in questionnaires, face-to-face interviews or focus group discussions (where applicable).

Consent

I, ____________________________________________, hereby give the researcher, Dayana Dreke permission to use all collected data (if necessary) for the purposes of her research study.

_______________________
Signature of participant Date: ________________________

_______________________
Signature of researcher Date: ________________________

Dayana Dreke
Research Master Student
Annex D.  

**Interview guide for former Graduates of Chrysalis Academy**

1. When have you been a student at the Chrysalis Academy?

2. What is your family background?

3. Looking back at your life BEFORE the Chrysalis Academy how would you describe yourself and your daily life? (substance abuse, education, family relation, abuse, loss of loved ones, peer pressure, gang involvement, crime...)

4. How did you hear about Chrysalis Academy?

5. What were your main reasons or motivation to come to the Chrysalis Academy?

6. How did you experience the three months being student at the Chrysalis Academy?

7. What were the main challenges you were faced with during that time?

8. What skills and knowledge did you acquire through the program?

9. What experience had the greatest impact on you during that time?

10. Did you see any changes in your life AFTER your graduation at Chrysalis Academy? If: what were the main changes you experienced as a person? Are there things you are doing differently today?

11. What were the main challenges you were faced with when going back to your old environment that has not changed? (family, girl-/boyfriend, friends/peer, community)

12. Can you apply some of the acquired skills, knowledge and experience of the Academy and if yes: in what way?

13. Were there things (skills/knowledge) that you expected but missed in the Chrysalis program that you would need to face the challenges in your daily life.

14. What are you currently doing as a job or for education?

15. Do you think that your chance on the job market increased through your experience at the Chrysalis Academy and the received certificates?

16. How do you see yourself within your community? Do you see yourself being an integrated member of the community, as a role model, as an agent of change or even as a leader in your community- if yes: in what way?

17. Final question: What are your personal dreams and hopes for your future and how do you want to realize them?
Annex E.  Questionnaire for former graduates of Chrysalis Academy (CA)

The interviewee is taking part voluntarily and stays anonymous. The answers are only used in terms of the research for the Master thesis of the interviewer on youth empowerment programs.

I. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Date of Birth: __ __. __ __. __ __ __ (dd. mm. yyyy)

2. Place of Birth: _________________________________

3. Current residence area: __________________________

4. Sex: □ Female (1)  □ Male (2)

5. Population group: □ White (1)  □ Indian (2)  □ Coloured (3)  □ Black (4)

6. Religion: □ Christian (1)  □ Muslim (2)  □ Belief in Ancestors (3)  □ Other (4)

7. Family background:
   a) Origin of parents (population group and birthplace):
      Mother:_____________________________________________________________________
      Father:_____________________________________________________________________
   b) Parents’ job position:
      Mother:_____________________________________________________________________
      Father:_____________________________________________________________________
   c) How many sisters and brothers?
      _________________________________________________________________

8. Relationship Status: □ single (1)  □ in relationship (2)  □ married (3)  □ divorced (4)

9. Number of own children: □ none (0)  □ one (1)  □ two (2)  □ more than two (3)

10. Level of Formal Education: □ lower than Standard 8 (0)  □ Standard 9 (1)

    □ Standard 10 (2)  □ Standard 11 (3)  □ Standard 12/Matric (4)

II. EXPERIENCE AT CHRYSALIS ACADEMY
11. When have you been student at Chrysalis Academy?

________________________________________________________________________

12. How did you hear about Chrysalis Academy? *(mark accordingly)*

☐ friends *(1)* ☐ youth clubs *(2)* ☐ former graduates *(3)* ☐ school *(4)* ☐ family/relatives *(5)*

☐ community *(6)* ☐ info flyers *(7)* ☐ staff members of CA *(8)* ☐ CA events in community *(9)*

☐ local newspapers *(10)* ☐ radio stations *(11)*

13. How would you describe your daily life BEFORE Chrysalis Academy: *(mark accordingly)*

☐ drug abuse *(1)* ☐ alcohol abuse *(2)* ☐ smoking *(3)* ☐ living in an unsafe area *(4)*

☐ problems in school *(5)* ☐ drop out of school *(6)* ☐ teenage pregnancy *(7)* ☐ family conflicts *(8)*

☐ divorce of parents *(9)* ☐ father unknown *(10)* ☐ loss of family member *(11)* ☐ loss of friend *(12)*

☐ involved in fights *(13)* ☐ involved in gangs *(14)* ☐ involved in crime *(15)* ☐ criminal record *(16)*

☐ hanging out with the wrong people *(17)* ☐ involved in abusive relationships *(18)*

☐ unemployed *(19)* ☐ other (please specify) *(20)*: ____________________________

14. What motivated you in the first place to come to Chrysalis Academy?

☐ to get a job *(1)* ☐ to get a better job *(2)* ☐ get CA certificates *(3)*

☐ use my time (efficiently) till new job/ going back to school *(4)* ☐ have an exciting time *(5)*

☐ overcome substance abuse *(6)* ☐ sort out my life *(7)* ☐ to discover myself *(8)*

☐ get away from negative peer pressure *(9)* ☐ improve relationship with family *(10)*

☐ want to become a positive community leader *(11)* ☐ my family sent me here *(12)*

15. What experience at Chrysalis Academy had the greatest impact on your life? *(mark accordingly)*

☐ being away for 3months from family and friends *(1)* ☐ getting up early *(2)* ☐ drilling *(3)*

☐ having an intense 16 hour day *(4)* ☐ rules ("zero tolerance") *(5)* ☐ physical training (PT) *(6)*

☐ sharing rooms and working together with people of different cultural backgrounds *(7)*

☐ life orientation phase (personal development course etc.) *(8)* ☐ outdoor with "solo" *(9)*
16. Did you have any negative experiences?

☐ yes(1) ☐ no(2) If yes: What kind of? ________________________________

17. What were the most important changes in your life after graduation?

☐ stop drug abuse(1) ☐ stop alcohol abuse(2) ☐ stop smoking(3)
☐ going back to school(4) ☐ doing my matric(5) ☐ taking on tertiary studies
☐ learning more about myself (strengths & weaknesses)(6) ☐ being more confident about my potentials(7) ☐ become a responsible parent(8) ☐ better relationship with family(9)
☐ better relationship with girl/boyfriend(10) ☐ choosing my friends more carefully(11)
☐ avoid fighting(12) ☐ quit gangs(13) ☐ quit crime(14) ☐ volunteer work in community(15)
☐ other (please specify): ___________________________

18. What were the main challenges you were faced with when going back to your old environment that has not changed?

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

19. What is your current status?

☐ employed(1) ☐ unemployed(2) If yes: What kind of job? ________________________
☐ school(3) ☐ college(4) ☐ study(5) ☐ other (please specify): ___________________

III. PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT RESULTS

20. Please choose a number indicating how much each statement best describes you as a person?

1. False - This statement doesn’t describe me at all.
2. Not Like Me - More false than true.
3. Like Me - More true than false.
4. True - This statement describes me very well.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel more confident about myself.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more aware of my own potentials.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have more control about what is happening to me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see problems now as challenges to learn from and grow stronger.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am always honest even when it is not easy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am now able to have trustful relationships.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

107
I now choose friends that are role models so that I can learn positive things from them.

My life has more purpose now.

I am more optimistic about my future.

I now take care of my body by following a healthy lifestyle.

I am spending more time in sports, clubs or organizations in the community.

I have more energy to do what I have to do.

Setting and achieving goals is more important to me.

When I make plans I now follow through with them.

I feel that I can handle more things at a time.

I have more self-discipline.

I can be more on my own if I have to now.

I can face more challenges than before.

I am more able to resist negative peer pressure.

I now stand up for my values and beliefs.

It is okay for me now if people do not like me.

I feel proud that I have accomplished things in my life.

I have more respect for other people.

I am more able to put myself in the position of others.

I feel more comfortable with people from other cultures now.

I understand now why rules and norms are put in place and respect them by sticking to them.

I think more carefully about the consequences of my risky actions.

I now avoid unnecessary conflicts with others.

Now, I can look at a situation in a number of ways.

I work harder to solve what is causing my problems.

When I am in a difficult situation, I am more able to find my way out of it.

I try to resolve conflicts more nonviolently.

Other people respect the way I handle conflict now.

I like now more cooperating in a team.

Now, I do not hesitate taking over responsible tasks anymore.

I like helping other people.

I am proud of my involvement in the community.

I can be a good leader when things need to get done now.

In an emergency, I am somebody people generally can rely on.

If I have problems, there are people in my community who help me to solve them.

I help people in my community to get along with each other.
21. Do you feel like being an integrated member in your community?

- yes
- maybe
- no

22. Do you see yourself as an agent of change or even as a positive leader in your community?  
- yes
- no

If yes: In what way?

23. Are you holding a leadership position in your community?  
- yes
- no

24. If you could turn back time, would you make the same decision again to join the Chrysalis Academy?  
- yes
- maybe
- no

25. Would you recommend the Chrysalis Academy to other youngsters?  

- yes
- maybe
- no

26. What are your personal dreams and hopes for your future and how do you want to realize them?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME & COOPERATION  
ENJOY THE REST OF YOUR DAY!

Contact: Dayana Dreke  
dayana.dreke@gmx.de

(Master student of Social Development/Development Management at the University of Western Cape & Bochum University in Germany)
Annex F:

Guide for Focus Group Discussion
with former Graduates of Chrysalis Academy

1. What were our main motivations to come to the Chrysalis Academy?
2. How did you experience the three months empowerment training at Chrysalis?
3. What did you learn about yourself?
4. Are you doing things differently after the graduation? Please give examples!
5. How was it for you being back in your community? What were your challenges when going back?
6. What are you doing now? (still unemployed?/back to school?/volunteering?...)
7. Why do you think you are still unemployed?
8. Why are you not volunteering in your community e.g. sports coaching?
9. What are your personal reasons for falling back into old (bad) habits?
10. How could Chrysalis prepared/supported you better to prevent you from falling back?
11. What could be improved for the aftercare program as part of Chrysalis’ 5-year youth development program?
12. What role can you imagine to play in the future to give back to the community as a Chrysalis graduate as part of you five year commitment as a volunteer?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME & COOPERATION!
Annex G: Interview Example

The male graduate, who was interviewed on the 6th December 2007 during a retraining at the Academy, was born in 1986 in Mitchell's Plain as one of five children.

**When have you been a student at the Chrysalis Academy?**
This year.. May till August [2007], in ‘07 Bravo’.

**What is your family background?**
My mother is a housewife, my father is a truck driver, my sister, one sister is in the… (?) department studying for a lawyer part-time, my one sister is in the cosmetics at Woolworth, my one brother is working at Pick’n Pay and my youngest one is 18 and still in school. My sister has an own child, she is also still in school, and me currently working at my dad’s – helping my dad out part time and hopefully next year… I can go study further through Chrysalis Academy.

**How was it growing up in your family?**
For me growing up in my family… it was good… ok each family has its ups and downs… but me it was… I’m in the middle… I’m the third eldest… so for me.. I was like always.. how can I say… my mom used to always pamper me man… treat me like a baby and so on… she never allowed me to play outside with other boys until I was 13 years old… with friends in the road… yeah that’s basically it.

**Looking back at your life BEFORE the Chrysalis Academy how would you describe yourself and your daily life?**
- Yoah… ok I was using drugs and I was involved with gangsters… and I wasn’t living a normal young childhood… I was living an abnormal childhood, but since I came to Chrysalis… ok not in jail… but ended up with police chasing me for drugs… but since I came to Chrysalis — actually my two cousins were here and friends… filled forms out… so I came here… so now I cannot ask for a better life… this place was really amazing… told a lot of friends… and I inspire and encourage them to come here. Mr Marthinus gave me forms … amazing, there’s no other place that could take Chrysalis place… it’s one of a kind...

**What drugs were you using?**
Heroine and mandrax.. but I'm eight months clean now… don’t smoke, don’t drink… just playing sports, girlfriend… do a daily program… keep myself injected… keep up the spirit.

**How did it happen that you got involved with gangs?**
Like I said earlier… my mother never allowed me to play outside with the boys and mix with the outside world… so I wasn’t aware of the dangers out there… my parents never told me things like that… so when I got out.. there were the guys always talking that gangster language and it was cool... and I wanted to be with the cool guys… told me to do this, do that, you can join us, hang out with us… and then we start doing all these funny things… and then you start with tattoos… I never took a tattoo… but I have like that old thing in my mind… but I - to me it’s like that.. I don’t regret my past… I believe god has a reason why he let me do these things so that I can open my eyes and see these things.

**How did you hear about Chrysalis Academy?**
My cousins and two friends sent me here.
What were your main reasons or motivation to come to the Chrysalis Academy?
First of all is to find myself… I never really knew who I am… I always wanted to find out… stop the substance abuse, stop smoking…I came here also for the fitness and drilling… I just come here to change my life, just to turn the page and re-chapter my life.

How did you experience the three months being student at the Chrysalis Academy?
It was really tough, was not really what I expected to be…but it was worth it, there were really a lot of conflicts… for me it was a big challenge.. god give me this opportunity.. opened my eyes.. and I'm grateful for that.

What were the main challenges you were faced with during that time?
In the course? Main challenge was… try to adapt to this environment and to try to communicate with other cultures… built serious relationship with them…half of others were not our cultures… keep myself focused and motivated during the time I was here.

What skills and knowledge did you acquire through the program?
Leadership for one… basic fire fighting, first aid, sports coaching… yeah I developed a lot of things I never knew… teach you more about what life is all about… how to appreciate life… so some people don’t appreciate life and like I never cared about life, I was just like if I should die tomorrow- I should die- so I didn’t care.. but now I am more focused, more dedicated now, I wanna achieve my goals and dreams.

What experience had the greatest impact on you during that time?
For me it was to… the graduation was one of it… for me to built the relationship with all students and with facilitators.. and facing the challenges during the three months...

Did you see any changes in your life AFTER your graduation at Chrysalis Academy?
If: what were the main changes you experienced as a person?
Yeah, actually I developed a lot but most important thing is that I became very mature.. this place develops you into a man… I'm more responsible, can take of myself, I don’t need to ask my mommy nothing… more responsible, more focused… dedicated.

What were the main challenges you were faced with when going back to your old environment that has not changed?
Drugs, gangsterism , peer pressure, community… the community people not liking me for things I did in the past… adapting to my home, because I’m a changed person but the world hasn’t.

Can you apply some of the acquired skills, knowledge and experience of the Academy and if yes: in what way?
Yes, I can in my communities... I tried… and I’m still busy trying coz won’t give up.. because I did sports coaching for under 11.. and trying to involve myself also in Bambanani…in crime watch in the neighbourhood watch.. try to teach my skills to other people as welding, because I’ve done welding here…and I try to teach them basic fire fighting…

Were there things (skills/knowledge) that you expected but missed in the Chrysalis program that you would need to face the challenges in your daily life.
I think the skills that I learned were more then enough.. couldn’t ask for less .. or for more.

What did you expected?
My cousins only told me the nice sides.. not to get up early… thought getting up at 8o clock.. going to school… just relaxing…(laughs).

What are you currently doing as a job or for education?
I want to go study further… I wanted to study engineering.. become a fitting turner or taking welding further cause I am very good at it.. at the moment I'm helping my dad… I’m a driver.. and with customers… just helping him out.

Do you think that your chance on the job market increased through your experience at the Chrysalis Academy and the received certificates?
Yes, definitely, because people look at it.. and Chrysalis has a very good name out there in the job industry.. you are disciplined, dedicated.. determined.. and more mature.. I want to work… I know how to work….. it's about passion.. not only for money.

How do you see yourself within your community? Do you see yourself being an integrated member of the community, as a role model, as an agent of change or even as a leader in your community- if yes: in what way?
Yes, as an agent of change and role model... because I am a mirror to other people now in the community … they can see me now.. and how I was before, they see a whole different me now… obviously inspires them to come to this place…

Final question: What are your personal dreams and hopes for your future and how do you want to realize them?
Like I said I want to study further… I would like to work as a fitting turner in an engineering company.. start my own business further.. welding, making gates etc. and … I don’t want to get married now… hard work, that’s all I can say.. it takes hard work to really achieve what you want in life… keep yourself focused, disciplined and dedicated…otherwise you don’t know what’s worth it.

Are there any other things concerning the Chrysalis Academy you want to mention?
I would just say, that when guys come to this place, they should not take it for granted, they must appreciate it… because that is something the government is doing for us, they should really appreciated it and don’t take it as a joke…. when I came here the first week I though what did I get myself into… and I’m like.. after two week I saw the changes.. and how I developed especially in the outdoor. I had to wait two years to get into it.. more then 1000 applying… people waste chances… smoking, fighting… When I was in high school.. had no control.. no direction after Matric.. involved in drugs… but if you sent someone here and it’s not his decision it won’t work.. I told my parents I want to come here.. don’t wanna die.. my parents were at the parent workshop… while I was here. They were at the parents meeting.. they saw me changing.. and they know how to handle me, how to answer my questions… I think they told the parents how to treat us when we come home.. they wanted to show me that they love me.. support me.. my life today is sorted out.. I’m clean, I’m enjoying my life now!

Thanks a lot for your time!
Thanks Mum & Dad

I never forget you Mum
I never forget you Dad
In my dark days,
In my bad days
In my happy days
You are always with me
You are my heroes
I salute you Mum & Dad

You never give me up
To all of those things I do
To broke your heart
To broke my sister's heart
To disappoint my family
And those people loving me
That's why I salute you Mum & Dad

Thank you Mum & Dad
To forgive me
I never forget you
I'm always thinking
About you Mum
I'm always thinking
About you Dad

I remember the days
You shout at me every day
To show me the good way
But now your words make me strong & proud
I remember the day you say
it is better that God takes you away from me
To leave me alone in this world,
But now, Mum I say sorry to you
I will never break your heart again
I'm still your son
I will make your dream come true
Thanks Mum & Dad

To keep me out of troubles
Now I'm a man, I know who I am
I remember the day
You saved my life to protect my life
Your clothes and your hands
Smelling my blood
I never forget you Dad
You are my hero
I never forget you Mum
You are my angel