

**PERCEPTIONS OF GANG VIOLENCE IN AN ELSIES RIVER PRIMARY SCHOOL
IN THE WESTERN CAPE.**

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ABSTRACT

All societies are violent to a greater or lesser degree, but when a nation becomes severely polluted by violence, the corrosive effects perforate all layers of society, damaging national institutions, community and family life. Nowhere is this more real than in the South African context, where violence was institutionalised and legitimatised by the apartheid government. This has led to the entrenchment of the notion of violence as being an acceptable means of conflict resolution, even in post-apartheid South Africa. In the Western Cape and specifically, the Cape Flats, the problem of gang violence has reached endemic proportions. This led to a workshop being held in Elsies River and the result of this workshop indicated that the community as a whole needed support in dealing with the issue of gang violence. Universally, two paradigms (positivism and social constructionism) have been used to investigate violence as a social phenomenon. These paradigms have different ontologies and epistemologies that result in research findings that are often confusing and contradictory. Literature suggests that research that uses the positivist paradigm is less helpful in explaining how and what sense children and adults make of their experiences with regard to gang violence and contends that the social constructionist paradigm is more useful in trying to understand how people experience and make sense of their realities. This thesis examines the perceptions of a group of adults and children with regard to the causes, the impacts and the solutions to gang violence. The study is qualitative in nature and the focus group technique was used to gather the information, while a thematic analysis was utilised to interpret the information. The participants of the study were drawn from the Clarke Estate Primary School in Elsies River, on the Cape Flats, as this school was identified as having a serious problem with regard to gang violence. The adult focus group consisted of seven teaching staff members and was comprised of three men and four women, ranging in age from twenty-eight to fifty-three. Two focus groups involving children consisted of seventeen children, which included eight girls and nine boys. In the first group there were five boys and four girls, while in the second group there were four boys and four girls. The age range of these children varied between eleven and fifteen years. The research findings suggested that there were differences and similarities between the adults' and the adolescents' perceptions with regard to the causes, the impacts and the solutions to gang violence. A major difference between the adult and the adolescent participants' perceptions with regard to the causes of gang violence was that the adults held the view that gang violence was a consequence of the socio-political and

socio-economic factors brought about by the past apartheid government. The adolescents did not refer to this at all. They felt that gang violence was a result of their parents being unable to meet the needs of their children. With regard to the impact of gang violence, both parties were aware that parents were overwhelmed by their daily experiences and could not provide support for their children. To help them to cope, the children turned to their peers for acceptance and recognition, which fed into the cycle of violence, fear and victimisation. A contradiction in the findings of the study is that, although the participants were able to focus on the structural and institutional aspects of violence, their solutions to the problem often had an individualised focus. A possible explanation for this can be that they have internalised the mainstream ideology that naturalised their oppression. This appeared to be evident by the adult participants' focus on the provision of adult education, educational programmes for children and the need for religious institutions to be more active. The significance of the results furthermore reflects that the participants are exposed to multiple discourses of reality and that they occupy different positions at different times. These discourses are the discourse of human agency and the discourse of victimisation and blame. Depending on the discourse within which the participants' located themselves, this influenced their response to their environment. In spite of the main stream ideology, namely that 'blacks' (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) should be less privileged than 'whites', which appears to hold centre stage, these different discourses indicates that there is potential for positive social change. Finally, it adds to the present body of research conducted on the Cape Flats.

DECLARATION

The author hereby declares that this whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is his own work.


C. D. MINGO

DEDICATION

To my parents, George and Elaine Cloete, for always believing in me and for always encouraging and supporting me when I needed it.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background:

All societies are violent to a greater or lesser degree, but human violence in contrast to natural violence, is as old as humanity and is embedded in its earliest myths and history. Hoffman and Mckendrick (1990) assert that human violence as a purely human phenomenon is deeply enmeshed in human interaction, on both an interpersonal and intergroup level. This thus suggests that human violence is not only a local phenomenon but is also an international and historical feature.

In support of this assertion, one need only to historically review this century and note that there have been two World Wars, the Jewish Holocaust and many other smaller scale conflicts throughout the world. Associated with this in recent years has been the 'ethnic cleansing' or genocide that has taken place in Eastern Europe and in Africa. South Africa has been no exception to the rule with the implementation of racial oppression as a form of human violence, as far back as the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1652 (Callinicos, 1988). This racial oppression was institutionalised when the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. This institutionalised violence was used to exclude the majority of the people from having access to basic education, housing, economic opportunities and social services (Callinicos, 1992; Wolpe, 1988). The result of this was a violent, mass counter-struggle by the majority of the people against this oppression (Mandela, 1994).

The consequence of this conflict led to writers such as Duncan and Rock (1996) highlighting the fact that political violence in South Africa prior to the mid-1990's ranked amongst the highest in the world. The effect that this was having on later generations of South African youth was in many instances cataclysmic. In spite of South Africa being freed from the totalitarianism of apartheid, the aftermath of apartheid and its legacies is still being experienced today.

This has led to a country that is dominated by violence as a means of conflict resolution. A culture of violence has therefore become firmly entrenched in our society, especially within everyday community life (Murphy, 1991). This culture of violence is evident from media reports that highlight an increase in drive-by shootings on the Cape Flats of the Western Cape. During the period between October 1997 and August 1998 there have been 624 urban terror attacks. This has reference to violence between vigilante groups and gangs and between the gangs themselves (Craig, 1997b; Weiss, 1998). Some outcomes of this violence are that schools and libraries have frequently been closed, while parents often refused to send their children to local shops as they were afraid that the children could be injured or killed in the conflict (Aranes, 1998b; Botha, 1997; Erfort, 1999; Joseph, 1998a; Schronen, 1999). Similar scenarios exist in local townships in the Western Cape, such as, Belhar, Bishop Lavis and Elsies River (Cavernelis, 1997; Isaac, 1998; Tromp, 1998). Craig (1998a) contends that while children in the past fought the struggle to liberate the country from apartheid, today's generation of children are involved in a different struggle, and that is the struggle to reach adulthood.

1.2 Rationale:

In addition to this background, the need to conduct this research also arose out of the deep concern expressed by a broad range of organisational structures within the Elsies River community. These concerns have its origins in the high incidence of gang violence that is currently affecting the community.

As early as August 1996, a workshop entitled **The Effects of Violence on Children** was held in the Elsies River community and was attended by sixty-three local organisations. The results of the workshop suggested that parents, teachers, NGO's, churches and children were very concerned about this issue and need support. What was highlighted at one school in the area (Clarke Estate Primary School), was that one hundred and forty-three children had lost a family member due to gang violence. Given that there are twenty-five schools in the area, the potential number of family losses experienced in Elsies River due to violence, could therefore be enormous. The workshop concluded with participants indicating that interventions to the problem were urgently required.

The broad aim of this study is therefore to explore, document and understand the perceptions of adults and children with regard to gang violence as an aspect of community violence. This includes specifically, gang violence and the potential threat of gang violence. The purpose of such research is to discover from those most affected by gang violence, how they experience and understand it. It is further envisaged that the outcomes of this research will contribute to the formulation of future research strategies.

1.3 Focus of the Present Study:

Accordingly, the main focus of the present study is to explore and understand the perceptions of adults and children with regard to gang violence through qualitative research. In this study, the perceptions of the adults and the adolescents will refer to the causes, the impacts and the solutions that they have for gang violence.

More specifically, since this is an exploratory study where the emphasis is on trying to understand how people talk about gang violence, three research questions have been used to guide the researcher, namely **(i) How do adults perceive gang violence? (ii) How do children perceive gang violence? (iii) What are the similarities and differences between adults' and children's perceptions?** The motivation for this focus is that according to the social constructionist view, people make sense of their reality by interacting with each other and the environment within which they find themselves. Through this interaction they form their perceptions, opinions and beliefs (Gergen, 1985) which in turn influences the way in which they respond to their environment.

The primary motivation for selecting adult and adolescent participants for the study is because the literature suggests that adults convey their understanding of gang violence to the children through interaction (Emler & Reicher, 1995). With this awareness in mind, adolescents are at a critical stage of their development and attempts were therefore made to get their views about gang violence before these views become solidified through their interaction with the community (Erikson, 1963).

1.4 Significance of the Present Study:

The literature study conducted by the researcher suggests that few studies have focussed on the phenomenon of gang violence, particularly in the Elsie's River community, where this has become a serious psychosocial problem. Most research in this area has been positivistic in nature, and seeks to identify cause-effect relationships. Dawes (1994) contends that the positivistic method of research does little about understanding the sense people make of their experiences, while social constructionist research attempts to understand the sense people make of their experiences. For this reason, this study aims to give voice to those people who for so long have not had an opportunity to express their concerns about gang violence and hopes to inform future intervention strategies. With this in mind, research in this area is of critical importance if this phenomenon is to be understood and the communities that are affected by this problem, are to be empowered to help themselves.

1.5 Chapter Organisation:

In Chapter Two a review of related literature that is relevant to the aims of the present study is presented. Included is a discussion of the two main paradigms that have been used to investigate the phenomenon, namely positivism and social constructionism. Finally, this section identifies the different theoretical frameworks that have been employed in research of this nature and highlights the conceptual framework that the researcher will utilise in the study.

The methodological issues that are germane to the present study are presented in Chapter Three. Included in this is a critique of the quantitative approach to social science research as well as a methodological critique of studies on gang violence specifically. A synopsis of the utility of the qualitative paradigm is also provided. In addition, the aims, participants, use of the focus group technique, data gathering procedures and method of analysis for the current study are detailed. This chapter concludes with a focus on ethical considerations.

The report on the focus group interviews, involving the children and the teachers of Clarke Estate Primary school is presented in Chapter Four. Thematic analysis is used to interpret the information gathered, and specific themes are generated according to Marshall and Rossman's

(1995) approach.

Finally, Chapter Five consists of a summary of the findings of the present study and highlights their significance. The limitations of the study are discussed and in conclusion several recommendations for intervention strategies and possible future research areas of significance are identified.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction:

With the perception that human violence is as old as humanity and that a culture of violence is firmly entrenched in many parts of the world, it stands to reason that the corrosive effects perforates all levels of society (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1968; Hoffmann & Mckendrick, 1990; Manganyi & du Toit, 1990).

Nowhere is this more true than in South Africa at present, and this is highlighted by a glance at any newspaper. In the period between October 1997 and March 1998, there have been 232 gang related attacks nationally, in which 57 people have been killed and many people live under the tyranny of gangs. Associated with this, are the high levels of unemployment and overcrowding, since in the greater Cape Town area, unemployment stands at a staggering 70%, while more than 300 000 families are waiting for homes. Coupled with this is the alternative economy, which is founded on a R 700-million-a-year drug industry which transcends the income generated by the legitimate endeavours of those who are employed (Editor, 1998).

A culture of violence is therefore firmly entrenched within our society as noted by the following statistics. A survey conducted by the South African Institute for Race Relations (1997) found that South Africa had a reported murder rate of about 45 per 100 000 people in 1995, compared with the international average of 5,5 per 100 000 people, an assault rate of 840 per 100 000 people compared with the international average of 142 per 100 000 people, and a recorded crime rate of 5 651 per 100 000 people in 1995, while the international average was 2 662 per 100 000 people. In the period between 1974/75 and 1995 assaults increased by 24%, murder by 119%, rape by 149%, robbery by 171%, motor vehicle theft by 275% and house breaking by 223%. These alarming statistics are indicative of the serious challenges that are facing South Africa.

This chapter examines the history of violence in South Africa, reviews the research literature on

the responses of people to violence, and examines relevant research on the psychological sequelae of violence on people. Firstly however, it is important to define the concept of violence and its implications.

2.2 Definitions of Violence:

2.2.1 Traditional Views of Violence:

Bulhan (1985) states that internalised prohibitions and the prevailing social controls condition the way violence is viewed. The outcome of which is that violence is often viewed very narrowly and selectively. This results in an emphasis on recognising violence mostly in those instances where it is blatantly destructive and contrary to the established norms of society.

Gibson (1987) and du Toit (1990) contend that this narrow and selective conception of violence has an adaptive function both in the psychodynamics' of the individual and the maintenance of the social status quo. What this implies is that the social and environmental contexts which could be contributing to the destructive behaviour are ignored and are not questioned, thus maintaining the status quo (Seedat, 1993). Bulhan (1985) asserts that this has come about because behavioural scientists who study the problem of violence tend to offer definitions that are individually oriented and fit the canons of (neo-) positivism. Bulhan (1985) furthermore states that this view of violence assumes that there is an identifiable perpetrator and victim, and that there are observable antecedents and consequences of violence. It avoids less immediate causes and long term effects, as this will introduce complexities, which overload established methods of verifiability, which is the cornerstone of (neo-) positivism. Although this approach has contributed to criminology and clinical work, its definition of violence in terms of what is measurable and quantifiable, presents with serious limitations when considering the problem of violence under conditions of oppression (Bulhan, 1985).

Not only does this definition focus on intent¹, but also on overt, direct acts in which the consequence is blatantly destructive, and it is not helpful in defining systemic violence, as many

¹ For a more detailed discussion of this issue refer to Bulhan (1985).

actions that cause harm may not be intentional, but their consequences are no less devastating. Writers such as Hoffmann and Mckendrick (1990), Marks and Anderssen (1990) and du Toit (1990) therefore contend that the definition of violence is a social construct and for this reason, Bulhan (1985) too rejects the traditional definition of violence.

2.2.2 Violence Revisited:

Bulhan (1985) proposes the following definition of violence:

Violence is any relation, process or condition by which an individual or a group violates the physical, social and/or psychological integrity of another person or group.

(Bulhan, 1985 p. 135)

This definition emphasises that violence inhibits human growth, negates inherent potential, limits productive living and causes death.

The above-mentioned definition is based on several assumptions:

Firstly, violence is a process and condition which undermines the well-being of the victim. Secondly, these violations can be physical, social and psychological. Thirdly, violence in any of these domains impacts on the other two domains. Fourthly, violence occurs between individuals, groups and societies and finally, the consequence of violence is more important than the intent (Bulhan, 1985).

Bulhan (1985) contends that this definition of violence allows the researcher to focus on aspects of violence which traditional definitions of violence do not allow for, and with this definition in mind, human violence therefore occurs on three levels, namely, personal, institutional and structural.

Personal violence is made up of a dyad, which includes the perpetrator and the victim and often involves direct action and is restricted to a place and a time. Institutional and structural violence

are higher order phenomena that subsume and supersede personal violence. Examples of micro-social systems in which institutional violence occurs are prisons, schools and the family. Structural violence is a feature of social structures and is inherent in the established modes of social relations, the distribution of goods and services and the accesses that people have to the law (Bulhan, 1985).

Institutional and structural violence thus involve more complex relations, processes and conditions than personal violence. These forms of violence span individuals and generations, and the historical forces that give rise to and maintain them, override personality traits and temperament. Bulhan (1985) contends that structural violence in particular imposes a pattern of relations and practices that are deeply engrained in and dominate everyday living. Individuals are therefore born and socialised into it as victims or perpetrators, and in the absence of fundamental social change, they play out their ascribed roles. This makes structural violence difficult to discern because it is part of the structure of social reality, prevailing values and everyday practices.

Institutional and structural forms of violence are firmly embedded within the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa. A consequence of which has been the high level of community violence that is present on the Cape Flats. In this context “community violence” can be defined as any form of violence that undermines the well-being of people within a given community. The focus of this study is on gang violence which is a specific form of community violence.

Since violence is embedded within the economic, political and social conditions of South Africa, the result is that South Africa as a society, is dominated by a culture of violence (Murphy, 1991). This culture is characterised by violence as a tool of conflict resolution, as opposed to negotiation. This fascination with violence has resulted in chronic gang violence on the Cape Flats. The present situation is aggravated by people’s feelings of rolelessness, hopelessness and group disintegration as brought about by the personal, institutional and structural violence that is present within the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa (Bulhan, 1985, 1987; Fanon, 1967, 1968).

On a national political policy level the apartheid regime relied on totalitarian means to keep subjugated the masses of poverty-stricken disenfranchised groups of people. Social engineering and other discriminatory practices and policies, e.g. relocating people in geographically separated own population groups areas, necessitated for the government to have state apparatus, e.g. a police force, which were well-resourced, dedicated and well-trained and which regularly resorted to violence in carrying out their duties. The role descriptions of these state employees may have changed after 1994, but the perceptions and beliefs of the employees concerning the attainment of success (including violent means) would not easily change.

On a personal level, the change in the socio-political context in South Africa after 1994, brought high expectations in terms of the availability of resources, personal fulfilment in general, and a higher living standard. This happened to only a small percentage of the population. General disgruntlement about dreams not coming true, may have caused many people to believe that South Africa owe them. In the process of attaining what's due to them, as they may believe, or for simple survival reasons, they resort to violent behaviour.

On a community level, it is generally recognised that debriefing from the political 'struggle' against an oppressive system, could have been better resourced and organised. Every community in South Africa could have appointed development officers who could have been responsible for the establishment of various forms of family support structures or neighbourhood support houses- in general 'debriefing' structures and systems of a particular community's own choice, to direct the 'struggle' in a new and positive direction. In all fairness, some initiatives (called Reconstruction and Development Programmes projects) happened, but hardly enough.

In essence, regarding the post-apartheid context and violence, the South African constitution has changed; institutional and structural changes will follow slowly. Community violence may be expected to increase while the ideals of civil responsibility within the context of democratic freedom become institutionalised and structurally realised.

To add to the above: During the political 'struggle' years churches and schools of the disenfranchised majority were extensively utilised as locations from which actions were launched. In a sense these churches and schools gave up its basic role of maintaining and

pursuing societal values which guarantee civil order. As the social fabric of certain sectors of the South African society broke down (in poverty-stricken areas like the Cape Flats) gangsterism flourished and gained prominence. In some instances communities looked towards gangs for protection and survival- a role that the church has played in many formats over the centuries.

Like churches gangs became institutionalised in some communities. It developed its own rules, goals and leadership structures, and for its continued existence it depended on community control by means of violence.

Whilst Bulhan's (1985) approach to violence offers one alternative perspective to mainstream definitions, a broad overview of a range of theoretical perspectives is essential in order to locate the study theoretically.

2.3. Theories of Violence:

According to Bawa (1997) the dominant theories of violence can be divided into two groups, firstly, those that derive from the traditional literature on aggression, and secondly, those that derive from contextual theories that locate violence within the interactional dynamic of the oppressed and the oppressor.

2.3.1 Traditional Theories of Violence:

2.3.1.1 The Genetic-Biological Hypothesis:

Originally this hypothesis contended that hereditary or constitutional factors accounted for violent behaviour, but newer proponents of this hypothesis emphasised age, sex, intelligence and other individual factors, which predisposed some people to violence and domination (Bawa, 1997; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Bulhan (1987) asserts that when people stand up against oppression, this viewpoint is used to explain their behaviour, thus justifying the repressive measures taken by the state.

Siann (1985) contends that this position fails to take into account either the subjective experiences of individuals or the social circumstances in which they live.

2.3.1.2 The Subjective Hypothesis:

The major subjective positions are the frustration-aggression hypothesis and the instinctual hypothesis. These tend to assert that frustration and/or an enduring state of deprivation leads to aggression (Berkowitz, 1962; Rule, 1988). According to Siann (1985) three assumptions underpin the instinctual hypothesis of aggression, that is, that violence and aggression are derived from innate sources, that the way in which a person displays aggression in later life is dependent on early emotional experiences and finally, that these experiences can cause pathological and malignant aggression.

Siann (1985) states that although these hypotheses deepen our understanding of individual and certain group processes, they do not take into account the social context that impacts on the behaviour of people.

2.3.1.3 The Environmental Hypothesis:

The major environmental positions are the learning hypothesis and the subculture of violence hypothesis. These hypotheses emphasise external and environmental factors and regard these as the most important or even as the sole determinants of aggressive behaviour.

Within the learning hypothesis, aggression is viewed as behaviour patterns that are learnt largely through reinforcement and modelling (Bandura, 1977).

The subculture of violence hypothesis operates from the assumption that there are certain subcultures that approve of violence as a problem solving strategy and suggest that the social life of these subcultures fosters the transmission from generation to generation of values which favour the use of violence (Newman, 1979; Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967).

This led Bulhan (1987) to criticise the class bias and ethnocentric essence of the subculture of violence hypothesis and he concluded that the recommendations of this hypothesis can be convenient justification for class as well as ethnic dominance and alienation, as well as the deracination of 'blacks'.

Bawa (1997) concludes that although this hypothesis is cognisant of the impact of social learning and cultural background, it fails to take into account the contextual elements that result in violent behaviour. He also states that the traditional theories of violence fail to posit a holistic understanding of aggression and violence as they disregard the impact of the social milieu in the development of violent behaviour. They place emphasis on the individual and his/her motivation in a social setting rather than on the interplay between social forces such as ideology, values, power and the individual experience.

As can be observed from the above comments, the traditional theories of violence are for the most embedded in a positivistic paradigm, where they assume that reality is objective and can be measured, that behaviour has to be observable either directly or indirectly, and that researchers can be 'scientifically objective' in assessing a situation or conducting research (Crosswell, 1994; Newman, 1994).

Gibson (1987) asserts that followers of this paradigm think that if they are 'objective' and 'neutral' then universal laws of human behaviour can be extracted and she concludes that these so-called protections against ideology constitutes an ideology in itself. This results in research that subtly limits discussion within the discourse to a single level of determinants, which skews the focus of the research towards empirically observed interactions and organises these observations around the rationality and violation of the individual. In this way the social forces embedded in the political economy are ignored and the nature of society is not questioned. Dawes (1994) adds to this debate by mentioning that the objectification of science as a method further reinforces the representation of these 'facts' and inhibits the emergence of alternative understandings.

2.3.2 Contextual Theories of Violence:

Theories of violence that highlight alternative understandings of the phenomenon are the contextual theories of violence. These theories emphasise the contextual and the historical nature of oppression and violence. With this view in mind, special attention will be given to the theories proposed by Fanon and Bulhan.

2.3.2.1 The Interactionist Hypothesis:

This approach states that theories that explain violence in mystifying instinctual or organic terms obscure the fact that it is above all people and the social systems they create, and the technology of death they develop, that bring about oppression and violence (Bawa, 1997).

Furthermore, the interactionist view of violence presumes that the basic structures of social and economic institutions fundamentally shape the behaviour of individuals in any given society. Thus, to understand the behaviour of individuals, it is important that the structures and the biases of the major system-defining institutions be understood (Biko, 1978). Contrary to traditional conceptions that isolate acts and persons from their social context, violence is seen to occur in an interpersonal and social milieu. Violence is thus regarded not merely as a single act or behaviour of one person but is constituted from a sequence of acts involving at least two people in an escalating spiral of conflict. This paradigm thus permits the consideration of the psychological and social forces that drive a person to violent behaviour (Bawa, 1997). It acknowledges that the act selected for designation as violent, the actor identified as 'offender', and the target considered as 'victim' depends on where a researcher chooses to punctuate a complex sequence of behaviours and relationships, provoking, reinforcing and constricting one another. This in turn is affected by where one is positioned within the social order as oppressor or oppressed (Fanon, 1967; 1968).

2.3.2.2 Fanon's theory of violence:

According to Fanon (1968) oppression is violence which reverberates through society and to understand it you need to delve into the problem of violence in its subtle and crudest forms. In its most subtle form, prolonged oppression permeates people's worlds to the extent that it confines and severely restricts their actional worlds. People are confined to a narrow world of ideas and prohibitions, which does not allow for psychological autonomy to prevail. Stripped of their own frame of reference, collective aura and psychological autonomy, the oppressed experience deep feelings of inferiority. This leads to the oppressed internalising and assimilating the values, norms, restrictions, prohibitions and images of the oppressor. This process of acquiescence according to Fanon (1967; 1968) not only invokes intense alienation, but also makes the oppressed agents of their own oppression.

For this reason, Fanon was concerned about how the oppressed could free themselves from the legacy of an inferiority complex, reclaim their identity, reconstitute their bonding and take control of their destiny. Pivotal to Fanon's theory is the notion that a Manichean psychology underlies human violence and oppression, and Fanon suggests that a Manichean view is one that divides the world into compartments and people into different species. This division is based not on reciprocal affirmation, but rather on irreconcilable opposites such as good versus evil, black versus white, human versus subhuman modes. He goes on to suggest that oppression creates such a psychology and at the same time violence emerges from and reinforces the Manichean psychology. Fanon therefore held the view that those who profited from violence could only be made to change through greater violence. The oppressed who are dehumanised by the violence of the oppressor also turn that violence against themselves when they lack the political consciousness and organisation to fight back. Fanon contends that once the process of political consciousness roots itself, the oppressed begin to redirect their previously internalised rage and anger at the oppressors and their symbols. Thus the oppressor's violence, which had been internalised and institutionalised among the oppressed is henceforth externalised and redirected in the service of personal and collective liberation (Fanon, 1967; 1968).

The culture of violence that is presently plaguing our country, as is highlighted by media reports, could therefore be seen in this context. South Africa, with its socio-economic history firmly

embedded within a racist capitalistic ideology, created the basis for the present culture of violence that is prevalent amongst many working class communities such as those on the Cape Flats.

This led Bulhan (1987) to develop a theory that created a framework for understanding violence in the context of oppressive social systems, as has been the case in South Africa.

2.3.2.3 Bulhan's Constrained-Strained theory:

Bawa (1997) states that this theory aims to provide a conceptual framework for the study of violence and deviant behaviour in the context of oppressive social systems, and does not seek to explain all human violence.

Bulhan's (1987) constrained-strained theory proposes three central considerations for any explanation of violent or 'deviant' behaviour and states that explanations of violence are firstly located in the prevailing conditions of social structural constraints, secondly, in experiencing psychological strain and finally, in the prevailing threshold of social tolerance.

According to Bulhan (1987) social structural constraints refers to the social and historical conditions that create, maintain and justify limits on the rights and privileges within a given social system. He adds that social structural constraints can have the cumulative effect of hampering the fulfilment of basic human needs, including those of nutrition, shelter, affiliation and work. These constraints segregate and perpetuate the systemic denial of rights to a given social group. Associated with this, is the dislocation of the group's cultural life, which leaves its members racinated and alienated.

Secondly, strain refers to the actual or perceived experience of reductions of sensory, cognitive and/or affective psychological resources and capacities to below optimal functioning levels. Such disequilibrium diminishes the individual's coping strategies to meet both personal needs and adequately respond to external stimuli and social demands (Bulhan, 1987).

Finally, the threshold of social tolerance refers to the numerous sanctions, both legal and extra-legal, which regulate and control 'deviant' behaviour. This threshold reflects the cultural norms, mores and laws which define the kind and limits of socially acceptable behaviour including violent behaviour (Bulhan, 1987).

Bawa (1997) asserts that these three domains stimulate and impact on each other in a spiral and triadic manner, interacting and reinforcing one another, and thereby creating cycles of escalation, and states that this theory offers some insights into the analysis of internecine violence and horizontal violence.

The culture of violence which holds South Africa captive today could thus be seen in the light of these contextual theories, but to understand its origins a specific focus on the history of structural violence within South Africa is necessary.

2.4. Violence in the South African Context:

2.4.1 Violent Consequences of European Expansionism:

To understand how this structural violence has come about, there needs to be a realisation that it is directly linked to the rise of capitalism. Hoogvelt (1997) contends that the rise of global capitalism can be divided into four periods, namely the mercantile phase (which involved the transfer of economic surplus through looting and plundering, disguised as trading), the colonial phase (which saw the transfer of economic surplus through 'unequal terms of trade' by virtue of a colonially-imposed international division of labour), the neo-colonial phase (which involved the transfer of economic surplus through 'developmentalism' and technological rents) and finally, the post-imperialist phase (which involved the transfer of economic surplus through debt peonage)².

According to Hoogvelt (1997) in each of these expansive phases of capitalism, the peripheral

²For a more detailed discussion of this issue refer to Hoogvelt (1997).

areas of the world were assigned a particular function at the service of the essential needs of accumulation at the centre or core of the system. Each phase of expansionism, however, resulted in cumulative differences in product capacity and income between the core and periphery, leading to recurring cases of disequilibrium after which the relationship was re-aligned. What follows briefly is summary of how this occurred.

Today the interdependence of countries and continents is widely recognised, and no country or continent is truly self-sufficient. This interdependence in economics and politics also entails an interdependence of psyches. Writers such as Bulhan (1985) and Callinicos (1988) therefore contend that the global problem of war and peace is not merely a question of armaments or economics, but is also a problem of psyches confronting, dominating and influencing each other and what is more significant, is that the global interdependence is based on oppression and that this nonreciprocal imposed interdependence has its origins in the birth of capitalism.

Bulhan (1985) asserts that the birth of capitalism brought about drastic changes in the culture, production, technical innovations and migratory patterns of Europe and presented a break with the past. Various scientific discoveries and contributions made land and sea travel safer and profitable and by the fifteenth century, money payments became the dominant means of commodity exchange and the old hopes of reconciling man with the world were replaced by the determination to control nature through knowledge of scientific laws (Callinicos, 1988). The greed for raw material, new markets and new wealth intensified and by 1492 the Americas and other continents were 'discovered' and international expansion occurred. Callinicos (1988) asserts that this resulted in the increase in the cultivation of sugar, tobacco and cotton and when the labour force which consisted of 'white' servants and convicts were unable to meet the demand, colonialism was introduced and this was followed by slavery. Bulhan (1985) contends that the demise of outright slavery was brought about by the fears of slave rebellion and the concerns about the plight of 'white' sailors in slaving ships and associated with this was the innovations and expansions that occurred within industrial capitalism, which imposed new requirements on production, social relations and markets.

Allen (1994) and Bulhan (1985) assert that the historic greed for profit, the glory of conquest abroad, the wish to ensure internal peace by conquering others in distant lands and the collective

conceit to save 'heathens' from hellfire all motivated and justified colonialism. This expansion of territories and the exercise of brutal control was to have not only catastrophic repercussions in the economics and politics in the world, but also had profound consequences for human psychology and particularly the relationship between people of European descent and the rest of humanity (Fanon, 1968).

2.4.2 Violence in Post-Colonial South Africa:

Racial oppression as a feature of South African society had its origins in the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in 1652, when they established a settlement at the Cape to provide its ships with fresh food and water. The first two centuries of 'white' colonisation were therefore characterised by pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, slavery and indentured labour at the Cape. Further inland, feudal relations of production, with settler farmers extracting rent in cash, kind or labour services existed while Africans remained as 'squatters' on the land which had been taken from them by force (Callinicos, 1988; Wolpe, 1988).

Callinicos (1988) asserts that the emergence of the modern form of racial discrimination was closely bound up with the development of capitalist relations of production, which came to predominate South Africa only as a result of the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 and involved several phases. Conditions of production in the gold and diamond mines required a supply of cheap labour. This was provided by the African people who were expropriated from much of their land by the British and Afrikaner settlers in the course of the nineteenth century (Wolpe, 1988). African peasants were therefore unable to support themselves and their dependants out of their own production and were forced to work on the mines as the labour intensive needs of the mining industry could not be met by 'whites' and convicts. The government with the support of the mining industry therefore introduced many laws which made it extremely difficult for 'blacks' to remain on their land and till the soil. Laws such as the Hut and Poll taxes, the Master and Servant Act of 1856, the Glen Gray Act of 1894, and the Native Land Act of 1913, all had as its aim to force 'blacks' off their land and to work in the mines. In this way, cheap labour was provided for the mining industry (Callinicos, 1988; Values Foundation, 1994; Wolpe, 1988).

The second phase came about with the defeat of the 'white' Afrikaners in the Boer war, which resulted in them consolidating their position and entrenching 'white' political control, by working closely with capitalists in an attempt to regulate 'black' labour effectively (Callinicos, 1988; Wolpe, 1988). This was achieved by introducing various laws which made it illegal to employ 'blacks' in most sectors. Forcing the 'blacks' off their land was not sufficient; they had to be prevented from occupying jobs which were reserved for 'whites'. For this reason, the following laws were introduced, the Transvaal Importation of Labour Ordinance Number Seven of 1904, the Mines-Works Act of 1911, the Nationalist-Labour Pact-Civilised Labour Policy of 1923, the Wage Act of 1925, the Industrial Legislation Commission of 1935 and the Apprenticeship Act Number 37 of 1944, all had as its aim the prevention of 'blacks' from gainful employment. Not only were 'blacks' forced off their land but they were prevented from being employed in any meaningful way except in jobs which were considered beneath 'whites' (Callinicos, 1988; Values Foundation, 1994).

This led to the third phase, which saw the emergence of and evolution of separate development and eventually apartheid driven laws. All these laws reflected the ideology of apartheid, and South Africa was ruled by a political autocracy, which had as its main function the protection of 'white' privilege to the exclusion of everything else (Wolpe, 1988). Examples of these laws were the Native Land Acts of 1913, the 'black' Urban Area's Consolidation Act and the Native Law's Amendment act, that is, the Pass Laws and the Influx Control act of 1952, the Group Area Acts of 1950, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the Environmental Planning and Utilisation of Resources Acts of 1967 (Value Foundation, 1994).

Finally, to enforce these structural and institutional violence various other laws such as the riotous assembly act of 1914, the Bantu Administration Act of 1927, the Suppression of Communism Acts of 1950, the Section 59 of the South African Constitution of 1961 and the Internal Security Act of 1976 were introduced. The purpose of these laws was that anyone who objected was immediately imprisoned (Wolpe, 1988; Value Foundation, 1994).

This oppression of the people led to various political parties conducting a war against the apartheid regime, and with the added pressure of international sanctions and the increased

isolation of the State from the world economy, South Africa was forced to hold its first democratic elections. This was a victory for the people as international sanctions were lifted and South Africa was re-admitted into the international community. A result of being back in contact with the international gang was the involvement of South Africa in the international trend towards globalisation.

According to Hoogvelt (1997) the changes that occurred in capitalism added up to the transformation of capitalism from its modern stage to post-modern stage. This stage is characterised by new flexible systems of production, a predominance of high technological industries, economic enterprises orientated towards niche markets and consumerism. Hoogvelt (1997) contends that for countries to be competitive (in a global sense) on the open market and to attract investment from multinational corporations, it had to relax restrictions on the protection of its workforce, thus placing workers at risk. This resulted in employers being less willing to provide benefits such as job security and stability. According to Rodrik (1997) this is not only as a result of increased competition but also because their enhanced global mobility has made them less dependent on the goodwill of their local workforce. Governments are thus less able to sustain social safety nets (unemployment benefits, medical aid and pension funds), as an important part of their tax base has become footloose because of the increased mobility of capital. Greider (1997) contends that this capitalistic ideological onslaught against the welfare state has made governments unable to respond to the domestic needs of a more integrated economy. He concludes by stating that the global expansion of markets has undermined social cohesion and is increasingly leading towards a major economic and political crisis, as the weakening of the social safety nets for the less skilled workers results in increased levels of unemployment and its associated consequences (Greider, 1997). Rodrik (1997) furthermore states that globalisation greatly enhances the opportunities available to those who have the skills and the mobility to flourish in world markets but at the same time it exerts a downward pressure on the wages of those who are unskilled in an industrialised country. He concludes by stating that the accumulation of globalization's side effects could lead to a new set of class divisions, between those who prosper in the global economy and those who do not (Rodrik, 1997).

Presently, the majority of people in South Africa do not have the skills to compete globally because of the structural violence of apartheid which worked against the accumulation of such

skills. The present government is unable to create an environment where it is possible for them to develop these skills, since the mobility of capital has prevented the government from raising the necessary revenue for this to take place.

This therefore resulted in serious economic, social and health disparities between the various 'races'. It is clear from the above-mentioned scenario that an emphasis on personal intent, and hence the perspective of the perpetrator, would limit our understanding of violence and mask its ubiquity in society. Emphasis on consequences, and hence the perspective of the victim, widens the range of perceptions and permits a consideration of the information on the immense toll borne by the oppressed (Bulhan, 1985). Bulhan (1985) asserts that the personal or collective intent is important and relevant to violence and oppression and that human action cannot be divorced from intent, but goes on to add, that the aim is not to minimise the significance of intent in human relations, but to underscore the fact that the consideration of consequences provides a different vantage point from which to study violence and oppression.

Therefore by almost every measure of social and individual well-being 'blacks' are at a marked disadvantage compared to 'whites', they die earlier, they suffer greater poverty, disease and dislocation (Bulhan, 1985). Their space, time, energy, mobility and bonding are curtailed, exploited and abused. The consequence of this structural, institutional and personal violence is a greater rate of physical, social and psychological death and Fanon (1968) contends that to claim that all of it happens accidentally or simply by default distorts reality and hinders the prevention of suffering and premature death.

Fanon (1968) also points out, that a tragic irony in situations of oppression is that the oppressed submit to subjugation for fear of physical death, yet they still die more frequently and at an earlier age than their oppressors.

In conclusion, it is important to highlight that apartheid capitalism and oppression brought about serious disparities between the various 'races'. The consequence of this was a greater rate of physical, social and psychological death for 'blacks'. With South Africa's re-entry into the global economy after the 1994 elections the majority of the oppressed were at a disadvantage as apartheid capitalism did not equip them with the education and skills which are important for

success within the new global economy.

Apartheid capitalism has therefore had critical consequences for all layers of the society including working class³ communities such as those in the Western Cape and specifically for the Elsies River community which is the focus of the present study.

2.4.3 Gang Violence on the Cape Flats:

Murphy (1991) shares Pinnock's (1980; 1984; 1996) view about the origins of gangs and highlights that this has resulted in Cape Town being one of the most violent cities in the world, with the Cape Flats being the place where most of these violent acts are committed.

The break-up of the extended family and the pressure on the nuclear family through apartheid and its policies, resulted in the solid core of contributing adult members crumbling and this caused the institutions that provided the foundations of the community to fall apart so that there was no domain within which strategies of survival could be worked out (Pinnock, 1980; 1984).

Pinnock (1996) contends that some parents became demoralised because of the long hours required to make ends meet. To cope some turned to drugs and alcohol which put added strain on the community safety nets and the consequence was that children were left to fend for themselves in an 'adultless' community. This is supported by various researchers such as Davis (1997) and Davis and Thiel (1997) in their investigations into gang violence in Factreton and Kensington on the Cape Flats.

Pinnock (1984) and Murphy (1991) contend that with no one to turn to the youth turned to each other and gangs replaced the extended family as the support network for children and youth. Pinnock (1996) contends that the reason why this happens is that young people need rites of

³This concept of social class refers to the way in which different collectives of people relate to each other and it assumes the presence of a class structure within society. For a more detailed discussion, refer to Wright (1987).

passage to adulthood, which are not provided by the present environment. He supports this by stating that throughout history young people have attempted to prove themselves worthy of adulthood and respect, but while wealth has institutionalised ways of turning this process into brief formal ceremonies, poverty catalyses them into protracted lawbreaking or violence.

Pinnock (1996) goes on to add that western societies have lost what pre-industrial cultures knew, and that is that adulthood did not occur in a vacuum, but by initiation and ritual. There was a conscious realisation that adolescence involves a process, a becoming, a transformation and is a time filled both with danger and enormous potential for growth. Unfortunately, for those who come from the urban ghettos of apartheid, the search for respect in crossing to adulthood takes on grave proportions. In the desperation of the streets, peer admiration has high value and the trickle down from successful crime syndicates keeps youth satisfied (Murphy, 1991; Pinnock, 1996).

Murphy (1991) contends that this oppression and exploitation has encouraged the continued use of force and brutality, and the youth who are the most vulnerable sector of the community have learnt to use violence to resolve conflict. This lifestyle has resulted in gang members living for the present because their future offers little hope, since they are locked into a view of the world which is violent and repressive and they see little change in their conditions and little hope for change in the future (Lilford, 1998; Murphy, 1991).

Gang violence therefore impacts people's lives in the following ways. Gang violence injures and destroys; it restricts lifestyles, evokes fear, damages relationships, dehumanises those who are involved and alienates people. Finally, gang violence also causes psychological disruption and leads to moral atrophy (Emde, 1993; Friedlander, 1993; Mckendrick and Hoffman, 1990; Richters, 1993).

This has caused residents on the Cape Flats to be virtual prisoners in their own homes, as their lives are characterised by fear and a struggle for survival. This has resulted in parents not socialising as they spend most of their time thinking about whether their children and husbands will simply get home safely at night (Aranes, 1998b; Baleta, 1997; Campbell, 1997; Staff Writer, 1997).

Some residents on the Cape Flats have also resorted to sleeping on the floor to avoid stray bullets and have moved furniture against windows to prevent bullets from flying through the glass (Aranes, 1998a; Cavernelis, 1997; Damon, 1998; Isaacs, 1998; Smith, 1997; 1998; Tromp, 1998). This is also occurring because of the increase in drive-by shootings and innocent children being caught in the cross-fire between gangs in Gatesville Estate, Belgravia Estate, Woodstock, Bonteheuwel and Kenilworth Centre (Craig, 1998; Joseph, 1998c; Staff Writer, 1998).

Finally, between October 1997 and August 1998 there have been 624 urban terrorist attacks, and of these attacks, 195 were attributed to Pagad and 429 were attributed to inter-gang violence. Of the 624 terror attacks, 86 were with pipe bombs and 33 were with petrol bombs, 377 involved shootings, while 128 involved stabbings. The Western Cape has also become the leading province with respect to crimes per 100 000 people, including houses break-ins, car break-ins, murder and attempted murder (Weiss, 1998).

Craig (1998a) concludes that children on the Cape Flats are involved in a new struggle and that is the struggle to reach adulthood, and this is supported by Viall (1998) who states that research indicates that homicide is the main non-natural cause of death amongst those under the age of nineteen.

2.5. Research Findings with Regard to Gang Violence:

With regard to how people are affected by the violence, Dawes (1994) states that essentially two forms of theoretical discourse have been used to generate knowledge about the effects of violence on children's and adults' lives. These two forms of discourse are underpinned by positivism and social constructionism and are embedded in different ideologies, which results in different ontologies and epistemologies. This tends to result in research findings that are often contradictory and confusing. Most research dealing with this issue utilises a positivistic approach, which makes various assumptions and suggests that reality is objective, singular and can be measured. It also proposes that the results can be generalised leading to prediction, explanation and understanding (Seedat, 1993).

Although all the studies focus on violence and children, it does not focus on adolescents per se. These studies have been used because of the lack of alternative literature on the subject and this is why there is a need to focus on adolescents and their perceptions of gang violence.

2.5.1 Research Findings within a Positivist Paradigm:

Research conducted within the positivistic paradigm suggests that similar factors are involved in the prediction of children's emotional reactions to violence. Researchers such as Dawes (1994), Gibson (1987) and Levett (1989) contend that most research on children's emotional reactions to violence has been framed within the psychiatric biomedical paradigm. This paradigm focuses on identifying mechanisms in the psychological make-up of the child and the context he/she inhabits, which predicts various forms of outcomes following exposure to violence. This leads to a focus on post-traumatic stress disorder as a result of exposure to violence, which tends to limit our understanding and methods of intervention. Research framed within this paradigm therefore focuses on how gang violence 'affects' children.

Research reveals that the levels of political violence in South Africa prior to the mid-1990's ranked amongst the highest in the world and that this ignominious distinction was regularly highlighted by countless scholastic and media reports (Duncan & Rock, 1994, 1997). These researchers add that the price children paid as a result of the high levels of political violence which characterised South African society until now has been substantial and that this is linked to past apartheid practices. Duncan and Rock (1997) contend that this has resulted in the optimal psychological development of children being undermined. In the same breath these researchers also highlight that it is not implied that the exposure to political violence automatically leads to psychopathology as these practices and discourses that flow from this assumption often place survivors of violence in touch with their vulnerabilities at a time when their need to cope from day to day is paramount. This issue will be discussed in more detail when dealing with research from the social constructionist framework.

This type of research also indicates that age and developmental levels are important factors in

the child's response to gang violence. Findings suggest that pre-school children tend to display passive reactions and regression (Simpson, 1996). They also tend to engage in re-enactments and play involving traumatic themes. These behaviours can be seen as attempts to re-enact the trauma, so as to establish control over them (Simpson, 1996). They may maintain a stance of silent aloofness, choosing not to speak of the traumatic event but this should not be mistaken for amnesia or disavowal of the event, as the child may, after some delay, describe the details to a trusted person. Since school-aged children have a much larger repertoire of cognitive, behavioural and emotional responses to psychic trauma they tend to be either more expressive or more inhibited and could develop somatic complaints, cognitive distortions and learning difficulties (Davidson & Smith, 1990; Gardner, 1971). In this age group re-enactments and play sequences become more elaborate and sophisticated the older they become, and they may involve their friends in redramatisations and trauma-related games (Duncan & Rock, 1997; Dyson, 1989; Eth & Pynoos, 1985; Malepa, 1990).

Other research findings suggest that children who experience trauma before the age of eleven are more likely to develop psychiatric symptoms than those who experience their first trauma as teenagers. A primary reaction of adolescents is a premature entrance into adulthood or a premature closure of identity formation. Feelings of rage, shame, and betrayal can erode the adolescent's position within the social group, which could lead to a search for new horizons. This could include a period of post-traumatic acting-out behaviour characterised by school truancy, sexual activity, substance abuse and delinquency. With some adolescents having access to cars and weapons, poor impulse control and re-enactment behaviour can be life-threatening to the adolescent. Research also suggests that because they are too old to engage in play re-enactments and denial in fantasy, adolescents could use self-destructive behaviour as a way to distract themselves from anxiety and painful memories and to expiate their guilt. They also no longer conceive of themselves as invulnerable (Mhlambo, 1993, Pynoos & Eth, 1986a, 1986b; Pynoos & Nader, 1990; Osofsky, 1995). This research appears to neglect investigating the impact of socio-cultural factors on the response of the child.

This research also suggests that exposure to violence can result in neurological damage which can impair competence and cause low self-esteem, self-denigration, post-traumatic stress disorder and conduct disorder, and disturbances in interpersonal relationships (Garbarino, Kostelny &

Pardo, 1991; Malmquist, 1986; Ngesi, 1996; Pynoos & Nader, 1987). Children can also present with anxiety, memory impairment, and phobic reactions and may develop a sense of futurelessness (Eth & Pynoos, 1985; Friedlander, 1993; Murphy, 1991; Terr, 1990). Ngesi (1996) and Gibson (1989) found that after periods of political violence children exhibited symptoms such as poor concentration, listlessness, anger, suspicion, fear, shock, sleeping disorders, social withdrawal and pronounced anxiety.

Research findings regarding the response of the child when he/she loses a family member due to gang violence is contradictory. One view suggests that children present with feelings of helplessness, despair, depression and suicidal tendencies, while a second view contends that the child is in a state of anger and seeks revenge. (Garbarino et al., 1992; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Pynoos & Eth, 1986a). A third view suggests that school-age children are confused, frightened and disturbed by their normal grief reactions and have difficulty expressing their feelings verbally (Pynoos and Nader, 1987). This results in parents and teachers not being able to detect the degree of traumatising which they experience. A fourth view suggests that the loss or injury of caregivers not only has debilitating consequences for the child's immediate material well-being, but also for his/her emotional well-being and later development (Setiloane, 1991). Duncan and Rock (1994) found that when children lost their primary care-givers as a result of the violence, they frequently experienced difficulty in developing an orientation of trust towards others and the world at large and conclude that these children are at risk of developing a range of behavioural and emotional problems. Where family members had been killed in working class families, the loss or injury inevitably meant the loss of vital income and security for the family, which had far-reaching implications for the well-being of dependent children. Ngesi (1996) found that for many children, the loss of parents or caregivers due to political violence has also meant being placed with distant relatives and friends for care-giving and in many cases, children were left with no-one else but older siblings as young as seven to fourteen years to fend for them. Duncan and Rock (1997) in their research found that the destruction and chaos that normally accompany political violence had affected the lives of children in several ways. Children had sustained severe physical injuries as a result of the political violence to which South Africa has been subjected to over recent years. Associated with this has been the destruction of property which has left many children and their families homeless and destitute. Other children, unable to cope with the stress of constantly witnessing the death and destruction, coupled with their

families inability to protect them, have run away from home (Ngesi, 1996; Simpson, 1996). They frequently ended up on the streets where they are plagued by misery, disease and starvation. In an effort to survive, many children fall prey to abuse and violence, while others become involved in crime, such as theft, drug trafficking and prostitution. Public health services are also another casualty, as people who live on the 'wrong side of town' are not allowed to make use of the facilities. Schools have also been disrupted and closed (Duncan & Rock, 1994; Duncan & Rock, 1997).

A further possible outcome of exposure to violence is the development of a truncated morality. Research indicates that boys are more at risk to develop this condition and that moral development is blocked when children function within hostile family or community environments (Garbarino et al., 1992; Osofsky, Wewers, Hann & Fick, 1993). Dawes (1994) contends that the relationship between a person's moral reasoning capacity and his/her behaviour is a source of debate and suggests that this debate has been influenced by social learning theory. This theory states that children will imitate violent actions of older people with whom they identify and engage in aggressive actions (Bandura, 1977; DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergast, Slavens & Linder, 1994). Dawes (1994) suggests that this perspective has influenced research on the exposure of children to violence and their subsequent reactions.

Chikane (1986) adds to this debate by stating that the real tragedy of this situation is that South African children, like other children, were not born to be violent, but were systematically socialised by our society to perceive violence as the only viable means of asserting themselves or resolving conflict.

Research also indicates that repeated exposure to violence may cause children to develop functional coping mechanisms that are pathological in the long run, since violent situations appear to lose its threatening character and children tend to expect more violence and expect to die at an early age (Davis, 1997a; Lorion & Saltzman, 1993; Murphy, 1991). Parents also tend to develop child-rearing strategies that impede children's normal development. For example, parents might not allow their children to play outside, thus denying the child a chance to be involved in social and athletic play. This can lead to the child perpetuating the cycle of violence, victimisation and fear (Bell, 1991; Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Craig, 1997a & 1997b; Duncan &

Rock, 1997).

Research within this paradigm also focuses on identifying protective factors which determine the child's response to violence. Bronfenner (1986) and Garbarino et al. (1992) suggest that children's inner resources and the social context that is established for them by their care-givers, influences the way in which they respond to their environment. The social context could include family functioning, social support, ethnic identity, religiosity, extended kin networks and coping styles of care-givers (Barbarin, 1995). In this regard many studies highlight the resilience and the effective adaptations of children living in situations of conflict (Anthony, 1987a; Dawes, 1990; Punamaki, 1987a & 1987b; Rutter, 1985). In sharp contrast to this, other researchers such as Malepa (1990), Duncan & Rock (1994) and Simpson (1993) have found that there has been a systematic disintegration of particularly the 'black' family or household unit as a result of apartheid policies, such as the migrant labour system and the forced removals. The result is that families have frequently not been able to serve effectively as a support system for children during periods of political violence. Associated with this is the role that the family serves as the conveyor of societal rules and morals. Where the adult members of the family are unable to adequately attend to the child or where the family itself is broken or dysfunctional, this process of teaching the child societal rules and morals, can be distorted or disrupted. A possible outcome is that these children will more likely grow up disregarding social norms and values, such as the sanctity of human life, which helps make communal life possible (Duncan & Rock, 1997; Simpson, 1993).

Dawes (1994) suggests that positivistic research is influenced by assumptions of life events frameworks, diagnostic child psychiatry and psychodynamically orientated developmental psychology. This approach therefore focuses on identifying possible developmental problems and identifying factors in the child and the environment which help to build resilience and improve the child's capacity to cope. This is highlighted by the literature that has been reviewed. What these positions contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon is that children who have minimal support, who have lost a parent and have no supportive relatives, are likely to develop some form of psychopathology. The short-coming of emphasising post-traumatic coping styles is that it is not helpful in identifying long-term reactions of children and adults to gang violence, as it is difficult to isolate the trauma of gang violence as the one variable which

accounts for the behaviour manifested by the child or the adult.

Dawes (1994) asserts that despite the problems with the positivist approach, much can be gained by incorporating aspects of the psycho-dynamic position within the constructionist framework. He suggests that there should be a focus on the inter-relationship between socially produced forms of truth and the psychological composition of the child, to understand how the child works through trauma. Duncan & Rock (1997) furthermore suggests that the social constructionist paradigm is helpful to inform our understanding of why it is that despite exposure to structural and interpersonal violence, most children emerge without major psychopathology or violent life styles.

2.5.2 Research Findings within a Social Constructionist Paradigm:

According to Seedat (1993) the central weakness of the positivist paradigm is its inherent difficulty in dealing with agentic aspects of human behaviour and the degree to which it posits a mechanistic and dichotomised view of individual-social relations. He suggests that the social constructionist orientation attempts to deal with this problem by rejecting the subject-object dualism of positivism and proposes that children's reactions and understandings develop through a process of social negotiation within specific discursive frameworks (Dawes,1994). Children are always interacting with people within the family and the community and the meanings that these significant others attach to instances of violence will influence the child's response.

Dawes (1994) states that in South Africa there have been several researchers who have been prominent in advocating this view. Amongst the earliest to do so was Swartz (1988) who challenged the assumptions of childhood innocence and the inevitable damages which were prominent in the discourses about the effects of political violence on children in South Africa. This was followed by Levett (1989) who deconstructed the notion of psychological trauma employed in the literature on child abuse and political violence. She cautioned against the assumption of inevitable damage, which was based on the decontextualised view of the human subject employed in the positivist paradigm. In support of this view, Swartz and Levett (1990) found that a mother's or family's coping style was not simply an individual choice but was

influenced by the coping modes encouraged by the larger community. Coping modes were therefore informed by certain values, norms, ideology and political beliefs. This view was also supported by Punamaki (1987b) who found that the strength displayed by Palestinian women was dependent on their political and ideological commitment to the struggle. In this community active socio-political coping styles were encouraged while passive and submissive responses were condemned. This affected children's responses markedly (Punamaki, 1987b). Duncan and Rock (1994) concur with this view and found that where children's support structures were compromised they were invariably rendered more vulnerable. This turmoil and social disintegration accompanied the high levels of political violence of the early 1990's and was largely due to the result of past oppressive practices.

As noted above, the social constructionist paradigms have continually referred to the key role of the meaning given to events affecting the child's response to violence and stress. The importance of the social constructionist view is that it makes the social construction of meaning its focus, and thus contributes to our awareness of how children's understandings of and responses to violence develop (Dawes, 1994). For this framework, an essential feature of coping, which the stress and related formulations cannot address, is that children are exposed to discourses of coping which are regarded by society or the community as appropriate for their age and gender. This becomes part of their social understanding and Duncan and Rock (1994) contend that it is this understanding in itself which contributes to the outcome for the child exposed to violence. It renders some forms of violence more manageable and others impossible to deal with. Thus the social constructionist position suggests that many aspects of the child's age-related capacities are a function of social conventions and practices, and are critical to consider when formulating an understanding of how reactions to violence come about. Moreover, because notions of danger and trauma are social constructs to which the child is exposed, what is 'stressful' or traumatic also has no status independent of the internalised discourses which give it life.

This view has led to Swartz and Levett (1990) being very critical of most psychological research in this area on both adults and children because of its reliance on the 'psychopathological vocabulary of stress and disorder', which reflects its location within the biomedical discourse. Young (1987) asserts that this discourse contains positivistic assumptions regarding the nature of people and of traumatic events as having mechanistic 'effects' in the production of the

behaviour regarded as pathological. Levett (1989) asserts that research about psychological trauma draws implicitly on a medical model of physical trauma, where specific events have explicit consequences for physiological functioning. These effects may be evaluated through physical examinations and investigations using reliable instruments. Levett (1989) contends that even in dealing with physical trauma, there are unknown factors and the outcome is often difficult to evaluate. However, in evaluating the presence and the extent of psychological trauma in children many basic problems exist. Firstly, what constitutes a traumatic event, secondly, what ways are used to infer psychological trauma and finally, in which ways are these inferences bound up with dominant notions of childhood and models of development in contemporary western culture?

Levett (1989) therefore suggests that a focus on traumatic events has led to an oversimplification and a narrowly focussed research on a search for significant 'cause-effect' links, in relation to psychological trauma. This has led to a focus on identifying a particular event which preceded a set of emotional reactions and the understanding of these responses as survival strategies means that they are seen as natural responses. Levett asserts that this is as a result of a tendency to schematise human functioning in terms of emotional states, cognitive processes and learning. She furthermore suggests that people are separated from their historical contexts of social groups and sociocultural processes as if they are universal and not governed by sociolinguistic and cultural conventions. What is disregarded is the expression of emotions, the self and subjectivity and the awareness that these are culturally shaped and embedded in linguistic repertoires (Levett, 1989). Against this background in which emotions are viewed as 'givens' (fixed in physical structures and physiological processes) certain behaviours and expressions of emotions are given authoritative status through the process of professional education and expertise. This is based on a particular culture-bound body of knowledge where certain of these behaviours are understood to designate disturbance and are identified as traumatic events. The problem with these norms of behaviour and models of human development according to Levett (1989) is that they are enmeshed within a sociocultural value system and that these fluctuate historically and may differ from one social context to another, and Levett concludes that these conventions which guide recognitions of signs and symptoms among adults are questionable when applied to children. Closely linked to this is the notion of childhood and western culture's preoccupation with the discourse of 'innocent childhood'. Levett (1989) concludes that this discourse perpetuates the

western assumptions of a separation between the individual and the social group and are present in discussions of psychological trauma in children.

Duncan and Rock (1994) and Gibson (1989) assert that these discourses have the power and the authority to perpetuate a certain form of knowledge about psychological development under conditions of violence and this knowledge limits our understanding and the ways of intervention, since children do not just react to violence as 'natural' entities, but as social creatures, as individuals with a personal history and as members of a group with a social history. Gibson (1989) contends that this element of social history is important in framing the individual's experience of adversity. To illustrate this point, Dawes (1994) asserts that in Afghanistan during the war against the Soviet-backed government, young boys answered the call of jihad and in South Africa the 'young lions' (a term used for young activists) rose to resist apartheid. In both instances the youth were constructed as warriors whose task was glorious and whose potential suffering was constructed as a necessary component of their role. He furthermore contends that it is evident from these contexts of political conflict and all others, that people are constructed as individuals and also as members of a group in opposition, which gives them group as well as individual identities. This factor, and the discourses which are part of the definition of the group, act so as to produce a degree of resilience under extreme conditions like torture. This could also reduce the resilience when the group constructs itself as helpless. In South Africa, the rise of the black consciousness movement worked precisely to undermine this perception in the oppressed, reversing it and engendering feelings of pride and power (Biko, 1978; Ranuga, 1986).

Dawes and De Villiers (1989) and Straker et al. (1992) in their research found that positive group identity factors in young people who have been subjected to torture and to other forms of violence have rendered the experience meaningful in a positive rather than a negative and helpless sense. This has increased their own sense of coping and resilience even though it has not guaranteed the absence of normal fears, symptoms and even long term negative effects. These young people were not only exposed to a discourse of vulnerability but also to one of strength by their place in the political struggle. Hollway (1989) contends that these discursive positions have differing individual and social powers and he suggests that children and adults can therefore move between traumatised and other selves. This framework allows the researcher to see children subjected to political violence as potentially occupying a range of frequently contradictory

positions, as they respond with their own history of internalisations of invested subjectivities which have developed in the context of their learning of social codes and significations of events (Dawes, 1994).

Hill, Hawkins, Raposo and Carr (1995), Punamaki (1987b; 1988) and Punamaki and Suleiman (1990) in their research found that even though there is a general acceptance that psychological processes are context bound, few studies have examined the impact of social, political and historical conditions on the development and well-being of the individual. This view is supported by Gergen (1977) and Myers (1989) who found that external socio-political factors operate to either enhance or impede coping styles presented by people. Haan (1977) and Ilfeld (1980) share this view by stating that coping should be seen as a process taking place in interaction with the environment and society, and that the context in which coping takes place is central to understanding the effectiveness of the coping strategy. In their research, Punamaki (1987b; 1988) and Punamaki and Suleiman (1990) found that for Palestinian children, exposure to political hardships increased the use of effective coping modes and that prolonged exposure to political hardships increased the level of the children's psychological symptoms. These researchers found that even though the children tried to confront the hardships, they were nonetheless, negatively affected by the objectively traumatic reality. These results indicate that exposure to hardships may initiate a different kind of coping process depending on the historical-political conditions of the society.

This has led to researchers such as Hill et al. (1995) and Punamaki (1987b; 1988) and Punamaki and Suleiman (1990) using elements of both a positivist and a social constructionist approach to investigating the impact of violence on children's psychological responses. These results as indicated above are contradictory to research using solely the positivist paradigm.

Duncan and Rock (1997) state that research that uses the social constructionist approach is helpful when trying to understand what children experience. This approach highlights the fact that different ideologies operate at any given time in society and that children are exposed to different discourses of coping which are regarded by society and the community as appropriate for them. This becomes part of children's social understandings, and it is these understandings which influence the way in which the child responds to violence.

The social constructionist conceptual framework is relevant to the study for several reasons. Firstly, it acknowledges that understanding of realities is derived from people interacting with each other. Secondly, it acknowledges the contextual basis of knowledge which is contrary to positivism and finally, there is the awareness that the political economy influences all understanding.

2.6. Conceptual Framework:

An informative way of understanding how people experience gang violence is through the social constructionist approach (Dawes, 1994).

Gergen (1985) claims that the social constructionist view of knowledge production challenges traditional knowledge, as there is a move away from the objective basis of conventional knowledge. Knowledge is viewed as resulting from people interacting with each other and is not arrived at automatically.

The traditional definition of violence is rejected and there is an awareness that gang violence is an aspect of community violence. Gang violence can thus be located with-in the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa (Bulhan, 1985). Presently, gang violence appears to be the dominant form of violence on the Cape Flats, particularly in the Elsies River area, where the study is located (Editor, 1998).

With this awareness in mind, the paradigm makes the social construction of meaning its focus and would therefore contribute to our understanding of how children's understandings of and responses to violence develop (Dawes, 1994).

The Bulhanian theory of violence and the social constructionist paradigm is particularly useful for the present study as it acknowledges that different ideologies exist and that the dominant ideology informs understanding and serves to sustain and support certain patterns of knowledge above others. They also emphasise the role that historical and contextual factors play in the cycle

of violence and the perpetuation of violence. For these reasons, the theory which the researcher will be using to make sense of and understand the on-going gang violence will be the theory as advocated by Bulhan (1987) whose work is based on Fanon's views of oppression and violence.

With this conceptual and theoretical framework in mind, a qualitative method of data collection is ideal for exploring the perceptions of adults and children with regard to gang violence.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter will focus on some of the limitations of quantitative research in the area of gang violence, and will highlight the appropriateness of the qualitative approach to studies within this field. Furthermore the chapter also highlights the primary aims, research questions, methodological procedures, instrumentation and analytical processes of the current study.

Neuman (1994) states that the debate relating to whether research in the social sciences should be based on the approach utilised within the natural sciences has its origins in two main philosophical paradigms, namely positivism and non-positivism.

Both these paradigms have distinctive assumptions which are based on different ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetorical and methodological approaches (Cresswell, 1994). What follows therefore is a summary of the major arguments advanced by various proponents of both the positivist and non-positivist paradigms.

3.2 Positivism and the Quantitative Approach:

Early partisans of the positivist paradigm encouraged the adoption of the research method used by the natural sciences. The purpose of this was to gain credibility amongst the scientific gang, since science that was not controlled by the dictates of the natural sciences was not considered 'scientific' (Ferreira, Mouton, Puth, Schurink and Schurink, 1988). This resulted in the adoption of the natural sciences' assumptions concerning the world (Cresswell, 1994).

Firstly, this paradigm assumes that reality is objective and can be measured, secondly, it assumes that behaviour has to be observable and finally, it assumes that research can always be

'scientifically objective' (Cresswell, 1994). This has resulted in research focussing on the following areas.

Research within this paradigm therefore focuses on children's emotional reactions to violence which leads to a focus on post-traumatic stress disorder which tends to limit our understanding and methods of intervention. (Dawes, 1994). Research also focuses on identifying protective factors which determine the child's response to violence (Barbarin,1995, Garbarino et al., 1992; Rutter,1985).

Research in this field tends to group psychological studies from diverse contexts together uncritically. Duncan and Rock (1997) contends that developments within the social constructionist orientation have shown that what were once thought to be internally guided universal forms of psychological functioning can be immensely influenced by the context within which the child is reared.

Seedat (1993) asserts that this approach tends to pathologise individuals and their presenting problems, focussing on deficits and fails to examine the social context in which people live more critically. He furthermore asserts that this reductionist perspective locates psychological distress in individuals. Research conducted in this way tends to decontextualise the family, the community and culture as if they are apart from the larger systems and ideology of society (Seedat, 1993).

Gibson (1987) contends that it was out of these primary concerns that alternative methods of interpreting realities emerged.

3.3 Non-Positivism and the Qualitative Approach:

An alternative philosophical research paradigm in the social sciences arose in opposition to positivism. Neuman (1994) calls this the non-positivistic paradigm. This paradigm asserted that there are different ways of interpreting realities and that the positivist position was but one such interpretation. This paradigm contends that people's social reality is constructed and that it

should always be viewed within a certain context and to ignore this context is to misinterpret people's experiences (Babbie, 1998).

The qualitative research approach emerged from this paradigm and focused on the interactive processes of human behaviour. An attempt is thus made to capture aspects of the social world, for which it is difficult to develop precise measures expressed as numbers, as in the case of quantitative research (Neuman, 1994; Mouton, 1996). Cresswell (1994) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) underscore this by stating that an attempt is made to focus on the underlying perceptions and motives of human interaction within a social context.

In opposition to the quantitative approach there is the awareness that research cannot be value free, but that values are always present and explicit and that the information gained is situationally constrained and cannot be generalised (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

On a methodological level the quantitative approach assumes that the researcher is an expert and that social theory explains behaviour and has a strong deductive stance. The qualitative approach differs in this regard, and is both deductive and inductive. On the one hand, the researcher comes to the process with his/her theoretical knowledge and on the other hand, the researcher helps create an environment where the participants can shape and give meaning to their experiences. With this information at hand the researcher is able to build social theory (Neuman, 1994). This approach therefore has the potential to help people to grow, to take charge of and engage in social change.

In this approach reflexivity and change take place all the time. In the sense that the researcher brings to the study his/her own world view and bias and this impacts on the conclusions that are reached. The reason for this is that the ideological background of the researcher impacts on the kind of conclusions that are drawn and that someone with a different ideological stance could arrive at different conclusions (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994).

An advantage of research using the social constructionist paradigm is that it informs us that the way in which people respond to violence depends on the meaning that they and the gang attach to it. This paradigm acknowledges that people cannot be divorced from the political economy

in which they find themselves and the impact that it has on their lives (Duncan and Rock, 1997). Furthermore, this approach acknowledges that children are exposed to discourses of coping which are regarded by society or the community as appropriate for their age and gender (Punamaki, 1988; Punamaki & Suleiman, 1990).

Dawes (1994) concludes his argument for the utilisation of the constructionist paradigm by stating that more time be spent talking with children to understand the sense they make of things and how adults produce forms of truth for children while they talk and interact with them.

The qualitative research approach is therefore necessary because of the contextual focus of the study and because of its location within the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa.

3.4 Aims of the Study:

The broad aims of the study are to explore, document and understand the perceptions of adults and children with regard to gang violence.

3.5 Research Questions:

Cresswell (1994) states that the use of hypotheses is not applicable to the qualitative research process and suggests that broad research questions be utilised to guide the research process.

The following broad research questions were utilised in the study, in order to provide some focus for the researcher:

- i) How do adults perceive gang violence?
- ii) How do children perceive gang violence?
- iii) What are the similarities and differences between adults' and children's perceptions?

3.6 Participants:

While this is an exploratory study with a qualitative stance, sample size, characteristics and selection this study did not require the strict control procedures that are utilised within the quantitative research process (Cresswell, 1994).

All participants were drawn from a sector of the population historically labelled as 'coloured' under the apartheid regime and comprised of predominately working class people in the Elsie's River area on the Cape Flats. Participants were accessed via a community worker and comprised of personnel and children from a local primary school in the area. The two children's groups were comprised of students from grade six and grade seven, while the one adult group was comprised of teaching staff. The convenient sampling technique was utilised to access participants for the study (Cresswell, 1994).

Initially, two adult groups were sought but this did not materialise as the teaching staff at the school were fearful of becoming involved in this process. The school representative informed the researcher that the reason for the staff members' reluctance to participate was directly related to the threats that the staff had received from the gangs in the area. This resulted in them being scared of speaking to strangers as their trust had been betrayed in the past. Originally, eight members were to be involved in the adult group, but this was later changed to seven members (three men and four women) as the eighth member stayed away on the day of the session. The age range of this group was between twenty-eight and fifty-three years of age. The average age of the participants was thirty-two years of age. Originally, most of the adult participants were from the Elsie's River area. Since the time of the session most of them have moved out of the area. These participants commute daily from outlying areas to Clarke Estate, Elsie's River.

The children's groups consisted of grade six and grade eight children (eight girls and nine boys) who were divided between the two groups and the total number of participants were seventeen. The ages of the children varied between eleven and fifteen years. The average age of the children was twelve years. In sharp contrast to the adult group, the children were very eager to be involved in the process and this resulted in the researcher having to tell the children that all of

them could not be accommodated. In the one focus group there were five boys and four girls, while in the second focus group there were four boys and four girls. Some of the children lived in the surrounding areas and while others lived in Clarke Estate. These children were identified to take part in the study as they are at a critical stage (adolescence) of their psychological development. According to Erikson (1963) these children are busy formulating their own opinions, so before their opinions are influenced by the community and become crystallised, it would be informative to document their views.

In the preparation of the study, two appointments were made with the participants, but these appointments had to be cancelled because of the increase in gang violence in the area, which made it dangerous for the participants and the researcher. These meetings had to be postponed as the participants' safety could not be ensured.

3.7 Instrumentation:

The particular method of data collection utilised was focus group interviews. This technique of data collection was deemed useful as it was ideal for exploring people's experiences, beliefs and feelings (Patton, 1990). This technique also acknowledges that people's perceptions and opinions are not formed in isolation to their environment and that they become crystallised within group settings. In-depth interviewing does not create this kind of environment where people can exchange views and crystallise their own opinions (Patton, 1990).

Morgen and Krueger (1993) contend that a non-threatening, informal setting and open-ended questions encourage in-depth discussion which is difficult to achieve in any other setting.

Vignettes were used to stimulate discussion and included the topics that were of importance to the study (See Appendices C & D). In addition, an unstructured interviewing guide was utilised, to ensure that all the relevant topics were covered during the interviews in a relatively thorough manner (See Appendices A & B).

3.8 Data Collection Procedures:

With the focus on exploring people's opinions and feelings with regard to gang violence, unstructured focus group interviews were utilised.

Once school personnel and the children were accessed, an initial meeting was convened, comprising the school principal, the community worker and the researcher. The meeting was held in the principal's office. This was done in order to explain the nature of the research process and to gauge the willingness of the principal and the school to participate in the study.

It was explained that the aim of the study was to explore adult and children's perceptions with regard to the causes, the impacts and the solutions to the problem of gang violence. The principal informed the researcher that they were only willing to assist in this study since many of the children at the school had been exposed to gang violence and that they needed help. The researcher inquired from the principal how permission would be obtained from the children's parents and guardians, and was informed that letters had been sent to the parents and guardians of the children asking them for their permission to involve the children in the study. Confidentiality and anonymity of all the participants was assured and the researcher was informed that parental permission had been obtained prior to the researcher's arrival. This meeting took place in the staff room. A parallel process was also conducted with the children. The meeting with the potential adolescent participants was held in one of the classrooms.

After consent had been obtained from all concerned, the adults and the children were divided into separate groups and interviewed separately. The focus group sessions took place in one of the classrooms. Each of these interviews lasted approximately one and half-hours, and they were all audio-recorded with the consent of the participants.

Vignettes reflecting issues such as the possible causes, impacts and solutions to the problem were introduced at the beginning of each interview. This served to act as a focal point around which discussion could be initiated. Any topics not spontaneously covered in the discussion were then addressed by asking open-ended questions from the unstructured interviewing guide. Audio-recordings of the interviews were then transcribed verbatim for the purpose of analysis (See

Appendices E,F,G).

3.9 Analysis of the Data:

According to Neuman (1994) qualitative analysis is an inductive process, where the researcher rarely knows the specifics of the data analysis when the project is begun. Various writers such as Babbie (1998), Cresswell (1994), Marshall and Rossman (1995) and Parker (1990) mention that there are different techniques of qualitative analysis such as discourse analysis, content analysis and thematic analysis.

The researcher will briefly describe these different techniques and will elaborate on the chosen method of data analysis, namely, thematic analysis.

Parker (1990) contends that discourse includes all forms of verbal interaction and written texts and states that discourse does not only describe the social world, but categorises it and brings phenomena into sight. Discourse analysis allows the researcher to focus on what is not observable, but underlies all actions and provides frameworks for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways. Parker (1990) therefore states that discourse analysis draws attention to language and can help in reflecting what we do when we speak or write and concludes that the advantage of this approach is that it reframes our reality and allows us to treat it not as a truth but as one 'truth' held in place by language and power.

Babbie (1998) states that content analysis allows the researcher to examine a class of social artifacts such as books, art, newspapers and the constitution, etc. The researcher is involved in a process of coding information within a conceptual framework, where the focus is on counting how many instances there are of a specific behaviour or pattern. Babbie (1998) asserts that the advantage of this process is that it allows the researcher to study a process over long periods of time and goes on to state that this technique is unobtrusive, since social artefacts are already established and does not require lots of time and money.

Finally writers such as Cresswell (1994), Neuman (1994) and Marshall and Rossman (1995)

contend that thematic analysis is useful in reflecting upon group communication and this is particularly so when the aim of the study is exploratory in nature. These writers assert that this method of data analysis is not standardised and contends that thematic analysis is a search for general statements about the relationships among categories of data. Marshall and Rossman (1995) suggest that there are five phases involved in the analysis of data.

The first phase in analysing the data involves the researcher reading through the data several times so that he/she can become familiar with it. During this process the researcher will make minor editorial changes and list the information on note cards. Marshall and Rossman (1995) state that these ideas are the basis for the analytic memos that are kept on hand. These analytic memos are made up of the researcher's reflections and thoughts about the data coding process. It also forges connections between concepts, data and abstract theoretical thinking and contains thoughts and ideas about the coding process and comments on how the data is tied together.

Secondly, Marshall and Rossman (1995) state that the researcher will start coding, where the aim is to reduce the data into manageable chunks and bring the themes to the surface. The researcher will generate categories, themes and patterns. This information will be obtained from the literature review, concepts, the research questions and terms used by the respondents. This will be achieved by questioning the data and reflecting on the conceptual framework. The researcher will identify salient themes, recurring ideas or language and patterns of belief that link people and settings together. As these categories emerge, the researcher will search for those categories that have internal convergence and external divergence. What this implies is that the categories should be internally consistent, but distinct from each other (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Marshall and Rossman (1995) state that this will be achieved by moving back and forth from the concrete to the abstract.

Thirdly, as categories and patterns become apparent, the researcher evaluates the plausibility of these developing hypotheses and tests them against the data. At this stage the focus is on thinking about the linkages between concepts. This raises new questions which could result in the dropping of earlier themes, linking existing themes or examining others. Marshall and Rossman (1995) contend that this could entail searching through the data for negative instances of the patterns and incorporating these into larger constructs. During this stage several questions must

be kept in mind and they revolve around the possibility of consolidating or subdividing the different themes and getting information to support the conclusions drawn.

Fourthly, the researcher will search for alternative explanations. This entails the researcher searching for other feasible explanations for the data and the linkages between them. Marshall and Rossman (1995) furthermore contend that this involves selective coding, where the major themes that have been identified guide the researcher's search for instances that support these themes. They contend that even though the data might support more than one explanation, it will not support all other explanations and conclude that the researcher must be able to verify a sequence of events or steps of a process (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Throughout this process reflexivity and change take place. The researcher brings to the analysis his/her own world view and bias and this impacts on the conclusions that are drawn. The reason for this is that the ideological background of the researcher impacts on the kind of conclusions that are drawn and that someone with a different ideological stance could arrive at different conclusions (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994).

Finally, the researcher will write the report expressing his/her impressions of the data based on the phases mentioned above (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

In the first phase of the data analysis, the researcher transcribed the focus group interviews. These transcripts were checked for accuracy against the recordings (of the focus group interviews). The researcher read the transcripts repeatedly to become familiar with it and this was followed by the researcher keeping detailed note cards. The significance of the note cards was that it included thoughts about the coding process that the researcher wrote to himself. These note cards also contained the researcher's reflections on and thinking about the transcripts and formed the basis for analysing the data.

The second phase was characterised by the researcher coding the transcripts. This coding process brought themes to the surface and originated from statements made by the adult and the adolescent participants, the researcher's initial research questions, and concepts in the literature. Once themes were identified, the researcher used different colours to highlight instances thereof in the transcripts. These themes were noted on different paper and the

supporting statements made by the participants were included. Different linkages between the themes were noted on the note cards, and where there were differences, possible explanations were sought. The source of this information was either the participants themselves or the literature used in the study.

Thirdly, once the themes were apparent the researcher was able to view the emerging themes at a glance. The result was that a universe of themes was available for analysis. During this phase the researcher focussed on the linkages between the various themes. The researcher consolidated various themes and discarded others, while doing this, evidence was sought to support some themes and discard other themes. Notes to this effect were included in note cards and finally, the connections between the themes and transcripts were strengthened by the multiple instances of the empirical data from the transcripts.

Fourthly, with the universe of themes at the researcher's disposal, selective coding took place, where the major themes guided the researcher's search (e.g. where the participants indicated that they experienced a complete lack of safety and security, the researcher was able to search for instances which supported this in the transcripts and notes to this effect were included in the note cards). In this way sub-themes were also identified. The linkages between the major themes and sub-themes and the researcher's reflections on the process were noted on the note cards. These note cards formed the basis for the research report.

Finally, the researcher drew up the final report using the note cards and the themes and the sub-themes that were identified.

Given the above, Chapter Four will encompass the report on the analysis of the data gathered according to Marshall & Rossman (1995).

CHAPTER 4

THE REPORT

4.1 Introduction:

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995) in qualitative research, and more specifically in the analysis of the data, there is an emphasis on the interactive process of human behaviour. Here, the researcher focuses on the subjective meanings of the participants and an attempt is made to capture aspects of the social world. In this process the researcher brings his or her theoretical knowledge and attempts to create an environment where the participants can give meaning to their experiences. With this information at hand, the researcher attempts to build social theory. During the writing up of the report the researcher moves through the five stages of qualitative analysis as advocated by Marshall and Rossman (1995). The report therefore serves as the format through which the researcher conveys his or her impressions of the participants' social reality.

In writing and presenting the report of the focus group discussions, the qualitative researcher is re-interpreting participants' interpretations of their situations (Newman, 1994). With this awareness, this chapter will include a description of the context within which the present study was undertaken and will include an interpretation of the participants' social construction of their daily experiences with regard to gang violence.

4.2 A Historical Background to the Origins of the Elsie's River Community:

According to Pinnock (1980) in the 1870's the area was a peaceful farming community far from Cape Town, and several landowners lived there. Over the years the properties in Elsie's River were divided up among the families related to the landowners. This was followed by several waves of outsiders moving into the area. The first of these waves was as a result of the Anglo-Boer war at the turn of the century, which saw thousands of people being thrown out of Transvaal and the Orange Free State by the Boers and many fled for their lives. This resulted in the population of Cape Town doubling and since Elsie's River was near to the railway line from

the north, many people decided to live there and built shacks.

Pinnock suggests that the second wave of outsiders came in the 1930's, because of a series of droughts that wiped out many farmers, their families and labourers. This coincided with the Great Depression of 1929, which resulted in many industries going bankrupt causing thousands to lose their jobs and many people moved into Elsie's River because the land was cheap and houses could be built out of tin, sacks and wood (Pinnock, 1980).

The third wave of people moving into the area was slower, but in the end much greater. Pinnock (1980) states that this was caused by two closely related events. Firstly, the farming system in the country side was changing from small scale communal groups supporting many people on the land to large estates each owned and operated by one person with the help of paid labourers. This resulted in many families being pushed off the land and drifting into the towns and cities. Finally, industry in Cape Town was increasing and labourers were needed, but because wages were so low and rent so high, many people opted to put up shacks close to work to avoid travel costs (Pinnock, 1980).

In the old working class areas of District Six, Bo-Kaap and suburbs around the foot of Table Mountain from Woodstock to Wynberg, families lived with grandparents because of the housing shortage, and because people earned so little wages they lived together so that they could contribute to the payment of rent. This led to overcrowding, and even though illness was widespread, there was always someone to look after children (Pinnock, 1980).

Pinnock (1980) asserts that in the late 1940's the heightened racial feeling under the new Nationalist government caused 'whites' to move out of the area and the poorest and the least skilled 'blacks' continued to move into the area. In the mid 1950's the country's economy was starting to improve and employers needed labour to work for them, but in the extended family one worker supported many people and family members helped each other and worked for the extended family. These people therefore had no need to seek work in the factories, so labour was 'locked-up' within the extended family. To get these people to work in the factories the government implemented the Group Areas Act and this Act was passed in 1950, and it was updated in 1957 and in 1966. This was done firstly to stop the move of the 'coloured' people from

the farms and the villages, so that housing could be controlled, and finally, to 'unlock' the labour of the extended family (Pinnock, 1980). The apartheid regime had to break up existing homes, and this was done by forcing people into housing estates such as Elsie's River. These new houses were so small and rents were so high that many people had to work, and to prevent the extended family from moving in the council would not allow 'boarders'. Pinnock (1980) contends that these houses and flats that were provided for the working class were not designed with the extended family in mind, but was designed for the nuclear family that was considered the basic working family unit of the capitalist system in South Africa.

With more people finding their lives reduced to nuclear families, women had to carry a heavier burden of housework and childcare. In many factories the way in which goods were being produced was changing, as more machines were being used instead of men's strength. This made it possible to employ women to work the machines and they were paid less and this was justified by stating that the men were also working so it was not necessary for women to earn that much (Pinnock, 1980). In Cape Town as in other cities, more and more women were being employed in industry because they were considered 'cheap' labour. The result of this was that children were being left at home unattended.

Pinnock (1980) suggests that the school stepped into this vacuum by providing alternative caring while parents were at work and teachers were forced to become part-time parents. This was possible up to standard five because the teacher taught all the subjects and spent a great deal of time with the children. When children reached the critical stage of adolescence (and high school) and had to make a choice around which identity they would choose, they had no role models to choose from as they were not known to the teachers since they had changed schools (Pinnock, 1996).

Pinnock (1980) asserts that all at once they had lost their 'parent-like' teacher, lost the status of being the oldest children in the school and were now the youngest. They now needed to act as adults and there was nobody at home or at school to teach them how to do that (Emler & Reicher, 1995). With parents being at work and the extended family broken up, children had nobody to turn to except their peers and the media. Children were then educated by the media and its skewed portrayal of life (Emde, 1993).

Pinnock (1980) states that these children are unable to find work to live out their dreams, so instead of giving up and thinking of themselves as failures, they look for ways to achieve their dreams. To achieve what they need they often join gangs, as there is no other 'legal' way of achieving wealth in the ghettos.

Elsies River is situated approximately 20 kilometres north of Cape Town and is located between two railway lines, namely Parow and Bishop Lavis. The area is surrounded by four industrial areas, that is, Goodwood, Epping, Beaconvale and Parow Industry. Some of the people in the area are employed in the clothing and textile industries and earn low wages, while others are professional people who work in the surrounding areas (Pinnock, 1980). Rapid urbanisation and a recession resulted in very little economic development and have resulted in massive unemployment in the area. In a population of an estimated 120 000, many are working class people, and approximately 33 700 people are registered as unemployed and approximately 45% of these people are under the age of 21 years (Pinnock, 1980; 1996).

Initially, as noted in Chapter Three, one of the aims of the study was to conduct two adult and two child focus groups. However, several constraints arose which made it impossible to achieve. This resulted in one adult group and two children's groups being held.

The discussion that follows focuses on the perceptions of the adult and the two children groups with regard to gang violence. The researcher's interpretations are presented in the form of thematic categories that were developed to assign meaning to the descriptive information collected during the study.

4.3 Thematic Analysis:

Firstly, the report focuses on the adults and the adolescent's perceptions of the causes of gang violence and this is followed by the adults and the adolescents perceptions of the impacts of gang violence on their lives. Finally, there is a focus on the possible solutions to the problem as identified by the participants of the study.

The theories of Fanon (1968) and Bulhan (1985, 1987) are used to interpret the information, as it is the researcher's opinion that the culture of violence that exists in the post-apartheid South Africa has its origins in the past socio-political context of apartheid South Africa. This has resulted in personal, institutional and structural forms of violence as defined by Bulhan (1985) being firmly embedded within the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa. This has contributed to the high levels of gang violence on the Cape Flats and particularly in the Elsies River area.

4.4 The Adults' and Adolescents' Perceptions of the Causes of Gang Violence.

4.4.1 Gang Violence is a Consequence of Socio-Political and Socio-Economic Factors:

During the discussion of the possible causes of gang violence, the participants appeared to support the view that is expounded by Bulhan (1985). In this regard, a major theme that is highlighted by the adult group is that gang violence is a result of the oppressive government policies of the past. The following statements support this.

“we got a problem... raping, killing, robbing, but it all boils down to the old system of Apartheid; they put people up in places such as this area...”

(M1, Adult Interview)

“Overcrowding is definitely a problem and has come as a result of the previous regimes their policies you see, because of overcrowding, the children see so many things going on...our children's heroes are the skollies and this is a very big problem. They try to imitate them”

(M2, Adult Interview)

This appears to coincide with what Bulhan (1985) states, and that is that the basic structures of social and economic institutions fundamentally shape the behaviour of people in any given society. What this could imply is that the social environment and the economic circumstances of people influence the way in which they relate to each other. Bulhan (1985) further suggests that apartheid legislation ensured that these people did not have access to adequate education, housing and employment. This appears to be supported by what the participants highlighted, in that people do not have work, housing and that no recreational facilities are provided for people in these communities. It would thus appear as if the participants felt that because of the factors mentioned, people became involved in gang activity to supplement their income and to deal with their frustrations. The following comments suggest that this is the case.

“Unemployment is also a big problem, when people are unemployed, and there are those who do not want to work and the easiest means of getting what I need [stealing].”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“But that [gang violence] is also the result of no work, unemployment”

(F2, Adult Interview)

“There are no facilities for the children where they can go after school if you look outside and into the flats there is a park but there is nothing there...they go to the games shop and the gangsters hang out there seeing that the children don't have money, they offer money and in return for the money they have to do drug smuggling, stealing”

(F3, Adult Interview)

This supports the view held by Bulhan (1987) and Fanon (1968) who contend that when social and structural constraints hampered the fulfilment of basic human needs, people's identity and culture are marginalized, which works against group cohesion and distorts people's relationships with their families, next of kin and the community. This can cause people to experience

psychological strain as they are stripped of their frame of reference and this can result in them experiencing strong feelings of inferiority, which led to feelings of alienation and created a sense of not 'belonging' (Bulhan, 1987; Fanon, 1968). One participant expressed the view that when people are denied these basic human needs the result is the following.

"There's going to be problems; there's going to be killing, there's going to be rape ...for instance if you take two families sons get married, moves into one house can't cope. In the beginning it is going to be fine, but after two months the problems are going to start, created and that's what going to happen in the flats"

(M1, Adult Interview)

The disequilibrium that results from people's basic needs not being met can diminish people's coping strategies to meet social demands. This can cause people to become frustrated which can result in them developing feelings of rage and anger (Bulhan, 1987). The ideology of the dominant class naturalises actual oppression and makes them the agents of their own oppression. Unable to find meaning in the wider social context, the oppressed become auto-destructive. They can engage in behaviour that is debilitating to themselves, their families and their community (Bulhan, 1987; Fanon, 1968).

Within this context the adult participants also felt that parents supported their children in gang activity, which leads to the next theme.

4.4.2 Gang Violence is as Result of Parents Supporting their Children in Gang Activity.

Structural and institutional forms of violence as mentioned above places considerable strain on the family unit. A possible result can be that family values are undermined and to make ends meet some parents encourage their children to become involved in gang activity. Alienated from themselves and their community, parents could become negative role models, and encourage their children to become involved in gangster activity as a survival strategy (Fanon, 1967;1968).

This can cause a breakdown in the family, since parents are unable to meet the needs of the children. To illustrate this point the adult participants made the following comments.

“Many of the parents are the big gangsters”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“There are many times he steals to feed his children...I feel gangsters are not born on the street they are raised in homes, so if you don't have a stable family, values deteriorate”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“...they (parents) receive stolen goods and whatever”

(F3, Adult Interview)

Participants are of the opinion that when people's basic needs are not met because of the inequalities of the past political dispensation, this can result in them adopting various survival strategies which encourages active involvement in illegal activity to make ends meet (Bulhan, 1987). This behaviour on the part of some parents results in them hiding the children from the police, and this can support criminal activity.

“They (parents) hid the children...they send them somewhere else for a time to cool off...like when everything is OK the children come back and then it happens all over again”

(F2, Adult Interview)

“Parents come here and ask the school to alter the date of birth, to sign an affidavit...to say that this child is not eighteen but sixteen...”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“Yeah...Parents cover-up”

(M & F, Adult Interview)

With parents appearing to support their children in gang activity by hiding them from the police and trying to change their ages so that they are not sent to prison, they are feeding into the culture of violence which is present on the Cape Flats (Chikane, 1986).

This leads to the next theme that indicates that the adolescents have a more basic understanding of the origins of gang violence.

4.4.3 Gang Violence is the Result of Parents not Meeting the Needs of their Children.

According to the adolescent participants of the study, they are of the opinion that gang violence is the result of some parents not meeting the needs of their children. The following statements support this view.

“The reason why people become gangsters...because they don’t get enough attention from their parents...”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of them [children] live on the street and become gangsters...they smoking drugs...sniffing glue...and the problem begin in the houses”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of the parents abuse their children...they also don’t have enough food to feed the children...and every child must eat everyday”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 2)

Bulhan (1987) contends that when people’s basic needs are not met their ability to meet social demands becomes impaired. The result is that some parents are unable to provide for the needs of their children. The children turn to their peers for acceptance and recognition and the role

models that adults present to the children are also a strong motivation for feeding into the cycle of violence. While these children need to make decisions about their future roles, a potential crisis can occur when they are unable to create or discover coherence in their identity (Emler & Reicher, 1995). A crisis can occur when adults are unable to meet the needs of these children as highlighted by the above mentioned extracts. These children could experience relief by rejecting all societal standards and choosing everything that is regarded as negative by society. The loss of identity and the need to belong to something results in these children choosing identities, even those that are devalued by society. What these children are unable to get at home in the form of acceptance and belonging, they get in the company of peers (Emler & Reicher, 1995; Pinnock, 1985; 1996).

Emler and Reicher (1995) suggest that the peer groups that exist in these communities are dangerous for these adolescents whose internal psychological structures are already weak. The social structural constraints mentioned earlier hamper the fulfilment of basic human needs, which cause people to experience psychological strain which could result in them not being able to function optimally in meeting the needs of their children (Bulhan, 1987; Osofsky, 1995). This could result in the children feeling that they are not getting the love and attention that they need from their parents (Halpern, 1990). A possible consequence of this can be that they turn to their peers as mentioned above.

Another possible cause of gang violence that is identified by the participants of the study is that the judicial system and the police perpetuates and causes gang violence.

4.4.4 The Judicial System Perpetuates Gang Violence:

Another theme that is highlighted by the group discussion and which contributes to the problem of gang violence is the perceived leniency and the corruption of the judicial system. There is also the perception that the judicial system perpetuates gang violence and this is supported by the following statements.

“There is something wrong with the judicial system...like the

lady said there is something wrong with the judicial system...we need to have these existing laws...there are people who get something out of neglecting these laws...they have a loose attitude towards the law”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“These bail conditions...you can be committing a crime to-day and to-morrow he’s on the streets...this must stop...they must be kept in jail until they appear in court...if they appeal against their sentence, why do they walk the streets until the appeal date comes through...they must be locked up because they scare and intimidate the very people that they attacking or the families of those...”

(F1, Adult Interview)

“Something should be done about this system”

(F4, Adult Interview)

“There is a focus on their [criminals’] constitutional rights, human rights”

(F3, Adult Interview)

What these statements appear to be highlighting is that there is a focus on the criminal’s human rights, which is not extended to the victim, with the result that the community feels that the judicial system is not geared to protecting them, since criminals are out on bail to threaten and intimidate them soon after the crime is committed.

This situation is worsened by the perceived corruption in the police force as is highlighted by the following statements made by the participants.

“They [Police] took a decision Sunday night at 7:30 pm and one of the gangsters out there when we spoke about what the

police said...he said, yes but we in Clarke Estate knew by 8pm the night...and only the top executive who knew about the meeting...so where is the leak”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“It was only the executive who was at the meeting...who decided on the action...at the same time the gangsters knew about the meeting”

(F1&F3, Adult Interview)

“Sometimes the police help the gangs...”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Some of the people [police] when they find someone smoking drugs...then they take him in the van and go to a far place and then they hit him..and then the police leave him alone”

(M3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of the cops are sitting on the yard of the smugglers...they are also drinking and smoking drugs...but then they want to pick up other people who are also smoking drugs”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

These views support the hypothesis that when a society goes through a phase of transition as South Africa is experiencing, that is from a totalitarian state (PW Botha era) to a more democratic state, (Mandela era) a period of social upheaval is experienced. During this period of transition a different ideological stance is expected of the community, the police and the judicial system and when this does not occur, no resolution is found to the problem and in this way responsibility is deflected away from the role players. This could serve as a survival strategy as the participants remain detached from the problem. The result could be that people’s sense of

powerlessness, hopelessness and helplessness gets reinforced. Children thus see that the law and adults are unable to protect them and with their restricted world view which fosters a sense of futurelessness, find themselves moving towards their peers and gangs to provide them with safety and security in a hostile environment (Garbarino,1995; Pinnock, 1985; 1996).

In conclusion of this section, it would appear as if the adult participants are able to locate the problem of gang violence within the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa. They are aware that the origins of the problem are a result of personal, institutional and structural forms of violence that are present in our society which has its origins in the past socio-political context of apartheid South Africa. This supports the view held by Biko (1978), Bulhan (1985, 1987) and Fanon (1968) who suggest that to understand the behaviour of people, it is important that the structures and the biases of the major system defining institutions be understood. So while the adults appear to have the political consciousness to identify the origins of the problem, i.e. the focus on individuals within the police force, the judicial system and parents suggests that they have an understanding of the problem. This informs the researcher that the adults are moving between the different discourses as advocated by Bulhan (1985, 1987) and Fanon (1968). These discourses are the discourse of human agency and the discourse of victimisation and blame. The former refers to where people have the political consciousness to identify the cause of the problem and address the problem, while the latter refers to people having internalised the main stream ideology which locates the problem solely within themselves and those around them and makes them the agents of their own oppression.

The adolescent participants perceptions of the causes of gang violence appears to be located within the discourse of victimisation and blame. The Actional world of these participants appears to be restricted and prevents psychological autonomy from prevailing. This results in them having internalised the mainstream ideology which locates the problem within the individual and not in the wider socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa (Bulhan, 1985, 1987; Fanon, 1968).

These discourses not only influences the way in which they see the causes of gang violence, it also influences the way in which they experience the impact of gang violence on their lives. This leads to the next section of the report that focuses on the impact of gang violence on the

adults and the adolescents.

4.5 The Adults' and the Adolescents' Perceptions with Regard to the Impact of Gang Violence on their Lives.

4.5.1 Teachers' Psychological Responses to Gang Violence:

Teachers' personal responses to gang violence appear to indicate that they are caught in the discourse of victimisation and blame and that they are experiencing emotional difficulties, such as feelings of helplessness and powerlessness, mental and physical tiredness, concentration difficulties, excessive concern about their physical safety and issues around interpersonal relationships. This may relate to the fact that they have to travel into Clarke Estate daily which expose them to a reality different from the one in which they live.

Adult participants highlighted that they experience psychological problems that make it difficult for them to focus on scholastic work as a result of assiduous exposure to gang violence. This coincides with the Bulhanian theory on violence which indicates that when people are continuously exposed to violence, they may experience disequilibrium that diminishes their coping strategies to meet both personal needs and to adequately respond to external stimuli and social demands. Examples of responses already mentioned are the following:

“Sometimes you feel like floating away...out through the door like it's just a dream...I feel helpless...what can I do to make a difference...I for one...can't concentrate because my mind is not here, my mind is outside, because I am wondering what is happening outside, because I still have to leave the school premises”

(F1, Adult Interview)

“When I took the corner and saw the caravan...it took me back in time to '76...you know when you are overstressed

and the situation...that was a very stressful time for me...when you were a teacher or a student”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“Mentally and physically draining, you don't know what's happening anymore”

(F2, Adult Interview)

A strained relationship develops between teachers, as they have difficulty in dealing with their day to day experiences because they are scared and do not trust each other. This is highlighted by the following statements:

“I think relationships has deteriorated...between teachers, mainly because of stress...we are scared...umh...we don't trust each other...umh...this is all to do with stress...”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“I did not feel like coming to school because of the situation and the frustrations of teachers...it would be made easier if you had a different relationship with the teachers at school”

(M3, Adult Interview)

The focus on self-protection prevents the required scholastic work from taking place and creates strain amongst teachers. This could possibly be associated with the desire of the participants to maintain some sort of control over their environment and to maintain a measure of equilibrium.

Although the above scenario appears to indicate that some teachers find their experiences debilitating, others are able to provide support for each other and for the children in their care. This resulted in one group participant wanting to reach out to those children whose parents are involved in gangster activity. The following statements highlight this:

“When it is somebody's birthday, then we club together and

after a while we have something for the person and we socialise...if there is enough time we ask everybody to try and bring something”

(F4, Adult Interview)

“A couple of weeks now people have not been absent that frequently. This was the initiative of the teachers to patch up their differences and no use we going forward individually..we must go forward as a school”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“Overprotective...over children whose fathers or uncles whoever in the family are involved with gangs...you encourage that child and you give him your love that he does not get at home”

(F2, Adult Interview)

These statements suggest that the group participants experience different kinds of emotions and respond accordingly. Even though some adult participants find their experiences overwhelming, others are able to respond positively and provide support for each other and to the children in their care. This leads to the next theme that highlights the way in which gang violence impacts on the lives of parents.

4.5.2 Parents are Overwhelmed by the Gang Violence:

One possible result of the chronic stress of living in poverty-stricken and violence-ridden communities is that parents are unable to meet the needs of their children. Depressed, overwhelmed and their own needs unmet, these parents are unable to care for and nurture their children adequately (Bulhan, 1987; Halpern, 1990). Parents therefore find themselves in a very precarious position. They are caught in a situation where they have to endure and meet the needs of the children (Hill et al., 1995). In discussing this issue, the adult participants are of the

opinion that parents respond in the following ways because they do not have access to social support and other services. Unable to cope due to the lack of social support and social services in the community as a result of the legacy of apartheid, parents attempted to cope using whatever means are available to them (Bulhan, 1985). They are not able to meet the needs of the children, as highlighted by the following statements:

“They are under the influence (drunk)... they don’t know who the teacher is”

(F3 & F2, Adult Interview)

“Some of them [parents] don’t know whether the child’s in std 3 or 4. They don’t care enough about their children...don’t give attention to the children”

(M3 & F3, Adult Interview)

This view is supported by the adolescents who made the following statements:

“My mother is drinking all the time...they [parent] are using the children’s [grant] money for drugs”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Parents are drinking and smoking [dagga]”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of the children’s parents...they on drugs”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 2)

To contextualise this behaviour, Bulhan (1985) highlights that although ‘blacks’ comprise of 83% of the population in South Africa, they receive less than one-third of the nation’s income. Seventy-five percent of the ‘black’ population lives below the poverty line, and unemployment amongst ‘blacks’ is staggering, while ‘whites’ are virtually guaranteed full employment and

enjoy better housing, nutrition and health care. The message echoed by persons and institutions permeated by the ideology of apartheid is that when you are born 'black' you have no rights, no dignity, and no claim to human status. Duncan and Rock (1994) and Simpson (1993) in their research, found that this results in the systematic disintegration of the 'black' family because of apartheid policies. Families are therefore not able to serve as a support system for children during periods of gang violence. Bulhan (1985) also mentions that in situations of violence such as South Africa, violence breeds more violence and a community of victims, unaware of its history and unable to control its destiny, engages in auto-destructive behaviour. The social structural constraints that exist prevent adults from having access to the resources which would help them to cope with the present situation (Bulhan, 1987).

This can result in the parents developing different childrearing practices (Garbarino et al., 1992; Halpern, 1990). The participants of the study identify several types of childrearing practices. Firstly, parents develop childrearing practices that feed directly into the cycle of violence, fear and victimisation. This they do by lying about the age of the children, when the police apprehend the children. The adult participants of the study are of the opinion that this occurs because the parents are involved in gang activity. With the high level of gangsterism amongst the parents themselves, children are released into the custody of the parents who encourage this behaviour and the problem is perpetuated, as indicated by the following statements:

“you can't keep children under the age of eighteen in prison and the gangsters are aware of this...they [gangsters] employ younger guys knowing that if they land in court they must be released into the custody of their parents... and who are the parents?...many of the parents are the big gangsters so this is also another big problem... parents come here and ask the school to alter the date of birth, to sign an affidavit...to say that this child is not eighteen, but sixteen”

(M 2, Adult Interview)

“Sometimes they [parents] go to the police and just ask for an

affidavit and they just swear that this is the child's age...they take it to court and the child gets free"

(F 2, Adult Interview)

Finally, other parents, in an attempt to deal with the present situation, use parenting styles that are often harsh and restrictive, and these measures normally suppress the self-assertive tendencies of children (Osofsky, 1995). Garbarino et al. (1992) contends that this parental style unfortunately heightens aggression on the child's part and endorses an acceptance of violence as the modus operandi for social control. This view is echoed by the adolescent participants:

"Some parents don't have respect for their children, they swear and the children don't feel good...it hurts you inside..."

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

"If you talk to your mother, then she gets angry...Jy kan nie jou ma se nie dan raak sy kwaad"

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

"...If they hit the children, then the children run away from home"

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

The restricted world view that people in poor communities have of themselves is worsened by the absence of positive role models as parents are often unemployed or do very menial work (Davis, 1997). Fanon (1967;1968) asserts that when the oppressed find themselves in situations wherein they cannot legitimately defend themselves against the physical, psychological and social abuses for fear of further reprisal, they repress their anger and rage, unable to sublimate these repressed feelings and find expression over a prolonged period, their capacity for human tolerance is eventually saturated. Thus unable to find meaning in the wider social context, they become auto-destructive, in that they engage in behaviour that is destructive to themselves and those around them (Bulhan 1985).

According to the adolescent participants this results in parents being scared of the journey to work as they are worried whether they would return home safely. Parents are also unable to focus on their work. This is highlighted by the following comments made by participants and is similar to what other researchers have found (Baleta, 1997; Smith, 1997). These statements also highlight that parents are sharing their concerns with their children that could imply that the parents' concerns are becoming the children's as well. The hopelessness and helplessness that parents are experiencing is therefore transmitted to the children:

"...Sometimes my mom is scared to go to work...as they are shooting outside"

(M1, Adolescent Interview 1)

"When the gangsters start shooting and parents go to work...they think about what's going to happen and they leave work and come home"

(M2, Adolescent Interview 1)

"...When my mother's at work, she can't think about the work, she thinks whether we are safe"

(M3, Adolescent Interview 1)

"They thinking about if they going to come home safe at night"

(M3, Adolescent Interview 2)

In this way adolescent participants realise that their parents are unable to protect them and this is highlighted by the following statements (Garbarino, 1995):

"It makes me furious that they can't protect me"

(M1, Adolescent Interview 1)

"The gangsters say they will kick my mother in my ma se die"

en daai, then you scared to go outside”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

“They are not scared of my father”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Sometimes when they see you...they take out the gun and they shoot one shot in the air and they take my mother’s bag and keys”

(M3, Adolescent Interview 1)

Finally parents become withdrawn as a way of coping with the high levels of violence that they are exposed to. This might be functional in the short term but in the long-term children adopt their parent’s style of coping and it might become a pathological means of coping with their experiences (Davis, 1997a; Isaacs, 1998; Murphy, 1991). For example:

“Some of the parents are scared of the shooting outside and don’t want to go outside”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 2)

“They just worried about what’s happening outside...they are not worried about the other people”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“My mother said that we must move”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of the parents’ don’t want you to go to the mobile...because the gangsters are at the mobile”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 2)

What these coping styles of some parents highlight is that they are unable to contend with what

is happening around them, they are focused on themselves and are unable to meet the needs of the child (Barbarin, 1995; Halpern, 1990). Bulhan and Fanon assert that in conditions of prolonged oppression such as the South African context, those people that are exposed to structural, institutional and personal violence develop coping mechanisms that are dysfunctional in the long run and make them the agents of their own oppression. Caught up in the discourse of victimisation and blame and because of prolonged exposure to oppression and violence, children can share adults' feelings of self-rejection and alienation. Through personal experience children learn that adults cannot protect them from the hostile environment and this has devastating consequences. This leads to the next theme, which focuses on lack of safety and security as result of the high levels of gang violence.

4.5.3 The Lack of Safety and Security in a Strife-Torn Community and its Consequences:

According to Bulhan (1985) a possible consequence of living in a violent oppressive community is the impact it has on people's movement, space and the way they spend their leisure time. Situations of oppression and violence may therefore restrict people's lifestyles, evokes fear, damages relationships and alienates people from each other and could cause moral atrophy (Bulhan, 1985). These views are prevalent amongst the participants of the study. Firstly, an important theme that is highlighted by the adult participants is that they cannot protect children from gang violence. Closely related to this theme are several subthemes, which all relate to the lack of safety and security that children experience.

Firstly, children's safety cannot be guaranteed and the following statements support this.

"We can't guarantee the children's safety"

(M3, Adult Interview)

"The teacher had to lock the children in the classroom"

(F3, Adult Interview)

“The gangster has access to the houses in that section [where he lives]”

(M1, Adult Interview)

Adults cannot protect children as gangsters have access to people's houses and the school. Children are thus unable to explore and develop through play. This could result in children having feelings of insecurity and inferiority, which could make them susceptible to peer and other social pressures (Papalia & Olds, 1989).

This situation is worsened by the actions of the police and the result is that the adults become abusive towards the police. The adult participants felt that parents behave in this way because they are trying to protect their children who are involved in gang activity from the police. Another possible reason is that the police do not respond immediately. Finally, the participants are of the opinion that the police are involved in gang activity as well. In this way adults communicate their helplessness and hopelessness to their children (Osofsky, 1995). This appears to be supported by the following statements made by the adult participants.

“When the police are called in they hurl abuse or stones at the police... the police...don't respond immediately”

(F4, Adult Interview)

“The police dropped gangsters in front of the flats... they started stabbing people”

(M2, Adult Interview)

This view is shared by the adolescents, as highlighted by the following statements.

“Women argue with the police...they don't think...”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“..Some people argue with the police”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 1)

“It’s always the same people who argue with the police”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Sometimes the police help the gangs...”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Some of the cops are sitting on the yard of the smugglers...they are also drinking and smoking drugs...but then they want to pick up others people who are also smoking drugs”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some of the cops are with the gangsters...they give them guns and smuggle guns with them...to shoot other people”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 2)

Associated with this was the unpredictability or randomness of the violence.

“They [gangsters] just shoot...they don’t worry”

(M5, Adolescent Interview 1)

“The gangsters don’t aim at anyone, they just shoot...they shoot wild”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Sometimes the gangsters don’t shoot the gangsters; they shoot the innocent people...and...children”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“They shoot a other boy in the head...he was not even a gangster”

(M3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“He was standing in his bedroom by the window and they shot him through the window...then he died”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“A bullet went through our window and missed me...I was worried because...it can happen to us also”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

Garbarino (1995) states that once the feeling of danger has been established, it takes very little new threat to sustain it. There is thus no one who can provide the basic emotional and physical security that the child needs since parents are unable to cope with gang violence and the police are seen to be involved with the gangs as mentioned previously. Children see the police behaving in the same way as the gangs and conclude that the whole adult world cannot be trusted to provide safety and security. This could cause the children to experience feelings of insecurity and could result in them not exploring their environment. A possible consequence of this in later life is that these children will not be strong enough to resist their peers and other environmental factors that might contribute to them feeding into the cycle of violence, fear and victimisation. They become auto-destructive (Bulhan, 1987).

This leads to the next subtheme that focuses on the restriction of movement, space and leisure activity that is caused by the lack of safety and security. The following statements support this.

“You can't go to your friends...you must just stay in the house”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“You can't walk to the shop”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

“If you buy something...the gangsters come and rob you”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“I went to the shop...they [gangsters] wanted to take my bike”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 1)

With the focus on safety and security, children are forced to stay indoors and are not given the opportunity to explore their environment that is important for feelings of control and self-confidence. In this way they cannot become confident of their capabilities which is crucial for their self-esteem (Aranes, 1998b; Garbarino et al., 1992). This is highlighted by the following statements:

“ We can't play outside...because of the shooting”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“You can't play outside”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“You play inside and you not feeling good”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“We must go play...because we must play...we must not sit at home and do nothing...”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 1)

This may result in children who are insecure and have a poor self-image as they have not gained control over their environment (Eth & Pynoos, 1985). With the knowledge that parents cannot protect them from the environment, they turn to their peers for support and acceptance. This causes the child to develop a sense of futurelessness where the recognition and the status of a gangster is all important (Craig, 1998a; Emler & Reicher, 1995; Pinnock, 1996; Terr, 1990). They then model themselves and their behaviour on those powerful and aggressive individuals

and groups in their environment who caused the violence in the first place. Bell (1991) states that the children who experience recurring violence will themselves feed into the cycle of violence, victimization and fear. Fanon (1967;1968) and Bulhan (1987) go further by stating that when people's identity and sense of self have been marginalised and destroyed through oppression, this creates strong feelings of self-rejection and inferiority amongst the oppressed. This could result in people becoming dehumanised by their daily experiences and a possible consequence of this could see them moving from being the victim to becoming the new perpetrators of violence. This could occur because the oppressed lack the political consciousness to identify the cause of their oppression and in this way fight back (Fanon, 1967; 1968).

Once this sense of futurelessness has developed because of a lack of safety and security, children often question why it is necessary to take part in normal childhood activities since they expect to die young. Children therefore develop a restricted worldview where the focus of their lives is on survival (Garbarino, 1995). This is supported by the following statements made by the adult participants.

“Why don't you look for work? [is Meneer mal] that's the kind of response you get...you can't talk to juveniles because [sic] I must make a name for myself and must prove myself”

(M1, Adult Interview)

“Nothing is going to stop him from doing that [shooting]”

(F1, Adult Interview)

“[sic]It's nothing for me to go to prison...but life in prison is wonderful...I get my meals on time, I am not hungry myself and there is a recreation hall I can play my soccer, I can read, I can study, I get paid for it...some of them say that it is better inside than outside”

(F 2, Adult Interview)

The adult participants are of the opinion that children develop this narrow world-view because

of the high level of unemployment in working class communities, as they are exposed to the prevailing ethos amongst the community people. This narrow worldview also undermines motivation to participate in the investment activities of adolescence, such as staying in school or doing homework. Children thus embark on a self-destructive course of action as highlighted by the previous statements made by the participants (Mhlambo, 1993; Pynoos & Eth, 1986a, 1986b).

In conclusion of this theme: What appears to be highlighted is that when people internalise the main stream ideology, some of them are unable to find meaning in the wider social context and become auto-destructive. The result is that children experience a loss of safety, predictability and free movements. Finally, this may lead to them developing a narrow worldview where they develop a sense of futurelessness. This can impact on the way in which they relate to each other and their surroundings. In this way they can become the new perpetrators of violence when once they were the victims (Fanon, 1967; 1968). This leads to the next theme that focuses on the psychological responses of the adolescents to gang violence.

4.5.4. Adolescent's Psychological Responses to Gang Violence:

Children are exposed to different discourses of coping and adopt diverse coping strategies in response to their environment (Dawes, 1994; Duncan & Rock, 1997).

The adolescent participants' responses to their environment centres on them turning to religion, using drugs, fantasising and becoming withdrawn. It would appear that the religious discourses help them to construct their reality and give meaning to their experiences.

With this awareness the adolescent participants tend to turn to religion as a means of coping with their experiences (Hill et al., 1995) and this is highlighted by the following statements:

“We must turn to the Lord and we must just pray and He will protect us..”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“I will be safe because the Lord will protect me...I must just pray to the Lord and then He will make this problem sort out”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“The Lord give us a chance...to be on the earth... we must turn to the Lord and we must just pray and He will protect us...”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Another gangster...they prayed for him and he became saved”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

Secondly, with their existence characterised by the culture of violence, children experience high levels of fear and anxiety that can result in them becoming withdrawn (Pynoos & Eth, 1986a;Terr, 1990). This could result in the children fantasising and the following statements support this:

“A other girl was chased by a gangster...she does not go out anymore”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“When it’s not peace you must just stay in-doors...you’re scared in your house”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Sometimes I want to be on another planet...because they [sic] shooting”

(M5, Adolescent Interview 1)

Thirdly, children turn to drugs and alcohol to help them to deal with their experiences.

“...They smoke dagga...children at school are also doing it...they sniff glue”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“They see other children and big people do it...smoke drugs and sniff glue”

(M4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“They just want to forget what’s happening”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Sometimes you want to tell your best friend what’s happening...sometimes they tell the gangsters what you said...you can’t trust anybody”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

Children in this type of situation often feel that there is nobody to turn to for support and they may find themselves completely isolated. Trusting nobody, they adopt coping strategies that help them to cope in the short term, but might be pathological in the long term (Anthony, 1986; 1987a).

Finally, knowing no other reality, these children also cope by turning to those people who are causing them harm in the first place, namely the gangsters (Bell, 1991; Osoksfy, 1991). Bandura (1973) contends that aggression is behaviour patterns that are learnt largely through reinforcement and modelling. Thus learned aggression is a pattern of response acquired through imitation of a model or ‘identification with the aggressor’. The following statements appear to support this assessment.

“ I want to talk about the bigger gangsters who use the small children to buy the drugs and give them money on the streets”[silence in the group]

(M3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Their friends are gangsters...then they put peer pressure on them...now they are going to become gangsters”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“Some gangsters just use the other children...if they are shooting and the police come...they just give the guns to the jongens and the jongens feel nothing for the police, they just do their stuff...they just walk past the police and hide the guns away”

(F3 & F4, Adolescent Interview 1)

“Some children of the fathers are gangsters...and the children see my father is a gangster...now I want to be a gangster to”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 2)

Children cope with gang violence in several ways as mentioned above. These statements appear to support the view that when children are not protected from their environment, they may turn to their peers for acceptance and security. With their low self-esteem they are susceptible to peer pressure. Papalia and Olds (1989) contend that peers play an important role in the development of self-concept and self-esteem and that peers also help the child to choose values by which to live and offers emotional security when adults are unable to fulfil this function. With some of these children finding no support and meaning in the wider social context, they can get caught up in the cycle of violence, victimisation and fear (Bell, 1991; Bulhan, 1987; Fanon, 1967; 1968).

With the gang violence that appears to hold centre stage in the community, it is bound to have an effect on the scholastic progress of children.

4.5.5 Gang Violence Constrains Learner's Scholastic Progress:

In this regard the views expressed by the adult and the adolescent participants were similar. The adult participants of this group are of the opinion that the children find it extremely difficult to focus on schoolwork (Aranes, 1998a; Damon, 1998).

"With all the violence around here, you as a teacher give the children homework, you tell them to do it...they come back they did not do it...with the violence around the children they can't sleep, they can't rest"

(M2, Adult Interview)

"This is a common occurrence and children come to school tired...we had a break for a month, at least the children had a break for the month at least...then they started shooting again...peace for two months..."

(M3, Adult Interview)

"It has been worsening for the past few years...because in my class...the average child...has a very low average... If you look at standard five's you find pupils that can't read...in the old days...everybody could read...some struggled to read but they could read... now you find pupils that totally can't read"

(F3, M 2 Adult Interview)

"Another thing is the library; parents' don't let the children go to the library because of the violence and shooting"

(F2, Adult Interview)

What is highlighted by these extracts from the group discussion is that gang violence results in children not being able to sleep and rest, so they come to school tired, and are unable to focus on their school work (Aranes, 1998a). Teachers are aware of this so they do not pressurise the

children to work, and as a result very little work gets done (Craig, 1997). This also causes a restriction of movement on the part of children, as it becomes dangerous for them to move around, which in turn results in the children not having access to resources such as the library to assist them with their projects. This in turn causes the child not to progress at school, which further undermines their self-esteem, which makes them susceptible to peer and other social pressures (Emler & Reicher, 1995; Garbarino, 1995; Joseph, 1998a; Pinnock 1996).

Associated with this is the desire by parents to fetch their children at school when violence flares up (Cavernelis, 1997; Tromp, 1998). This is highlighted by the following instance.

“For the rest of the day you can’t do anything with the children...because they are traumatised...some run around, they crying they’re want to go home and the parents start streaming in. They want the children at home”

(F1, Adult Interview)

The following statements suggest that the children find it very difficult to focus on their schoolwork (Campbell, 1997, 1998). The everyday experiences that the children are exposed to result in them associating school with danger and this could result in them viewing school as a distraction. The following statements support this.

“On your way to school...you don’t know if you are safe because you don’t know when they [gangsters] going to shoot...because you thinking just any minute they going to shoot...they can hit you”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 2)

“ When you at school, there are things on the board...but you are thinking about your family at home...you are thinking about what’s happening at your home...is my sister still safe at home...I could not work...my hands shaking...I was so scared...could not concentrate...I was too scared”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“I can’t concentrate on my schoolwork”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 1)

“If they’re shooting...nothing goes in here...and you don’t know what you read”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“When they shooting outside some children are crying...”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“When you at home you can’t concentrate on your homework because you thinking what is happening outside”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

These comments support earlier quantitative research findings that children are unable to focus on their scholastic work because they are worried about what’s happening outside and are concerned about the well-being of their family (Dyson, 1989; Gardner, 1971; Pynoos & Eth, 1988). These researchers conclude that these difficulties occur because of the intrusion of thoughts related to violent experiences that result in the children not being able to concentrate. Children also develop the defensive mechanism of forgetting to help them to control spontaneous reminders of the event, and consequently experience fatigue from sleepless nights (Campbell, 1997; Caverelis, 1997). The experiences of children on their way to school result in them associating school with danger and this discourages children from wanting to attend school. This result in children not being able to cope and their self-esteem is further battered by their inability to progress at school. According to Bulhan (1987), people in these situations experience psychological strain which results in a reduction of sensory, cognitive and/or affective psychological resources and capacities to below optimal functioning levels. The disequilibrium that results diminish children’s coping strategies to meet both personal needs and adequately respond to external stimuli and social demands. A possible consequence of this is that schools can be seen not as a valuable community resource by the children, but as a distraction that

prevents them from focusing on their survival skills.

A difference between the adult's and the adolescent views on how the violence effects the children's scholastic progress, focuses on the children's perceptions that the adults did not understand what they are experiencing. This is highlighted by the following comments:

"Some teachers understand what you are experiencing while others don't...they just hit you"

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

"They [teachers] don't feel what you are feeling in your heart"

(F1, Adolescent Interview 1)

"Sometimes the teachers don't understand...they shout at you...but they don't feel what you feeling...then you just want to walk away..."

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

The above instances suggest that the children are of the opinion that the teachers are not aware of what they are experiencing. Pynoos and Nader (1987) support this by stating that the experiences that children are exposed to, make it difficult for them to express their feelings and this result in teachers being unable to detect the degree of traumatization that children experienced.

Another possible explanation for the lack of understanding between the adults and the adolescent participants could be related to the developmental stage at which the adolescents find themselves. According to Papalia and Olds (1989) adolescence is characterised by the adolescent developing formal operational thought. This process involves the adolescent thinking about possibilities and of comparing different realities. Another characteristic of this phase is that adolescents believe that their emotions are unique, and that people are not aware of what they are experiencing. This could thus possibly explain why the adolescent participants felt that the teaching staff did not understand what they were going through.

The spiral of violence which was holding the community hostage, has led to the community organising itself to address the problem of gang violence.

4.5.6 The Rise of Vigilantism as a Community Response to Gang Violence:

Initially, adult group members highlighted that communities on the Cape Flats were fed up with the on-going gang violence and decided to address the problem. The result was the formation of the organisation called People against Gangs and Drugs (Pagad). This organisation had the support of people from most sectors of the community as the following instance indicates:

“In the beginning people stood behind Pagad and felt the need for such a group”

(M1, Adult Interview)

With the support of the community, it was hoped that Pagad would address the problem of gang violence, but instead what has happened was that Pagad appeared to imitate the gangs in their use of force to resolve conflict. Children participants in their discussion shared this view.

“After a while when they started killing people, people became scared of what was going to happen next...after a while it went to bloody killing”

(M1, Adult Interview)

“They [Pagad] are operating in the same way that the gangsters are doing because they do not consider other people who are not involved in drugs”

(F1, Adult Interview)

“Some people support Pagad...but Pagad is just so with the gangsters”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“...They [Pagad] are also smuggling drugs...and give guns to the people”

(M2, Adolescent Interview 2)

“They [Pagad] are also making people sore...”

(F4, Adolescent Interview 2)

“I saw on the news Pagad shoot just like the gangsters here. The behaviour of Pagad is the same as the gangsters”

(M1, Adolescent Interview 1)

“We don’t know what they [Pagad] have in mind. They just so with the gangsters”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

What these statements suggest, is that Pagad is unable to address the problems that people in oppressed communities are experiencing. There is thus a sense of disappointment and frustration amongst the participants of the study. The rise of vigilantism as represented by Pagad may be viewed as a desire by the oppressed community to search for leadership that would guide them in addressing the problems that they are experiencing in a post-apartheid era. This search could be coupled to the collapse of the anti-apartheid civic structures that existed during the apartheid era that explained and made sense of people’s existence. The oppressed community therefore searches for an organisation that can make sense of their reality in a post-apartheid era. It would appear as if Pagad fulfilled this role until the community realised that addressing the problem of gangs and drugs on a superficial level would not solve their problems, because unemployment and the housing shortage that is associated with gang violence are not addressed.

As mentioned earlier, the participants of the study are caught between the discourse of victimisation and blame and the discourse of human agency. While discussion around the impact of gang violence is embedded within the discourse of victimisation and blame, the solutions that the participants mention appears to be embedded within the discourse of human agency. This

indicates that the participants were able to move between these two different discourses of coping, and this informs the researcher that although the situation is very critical, the participants believe that the problem can be solved.

4.6 The Adults and the Adolescents Perceptions of the Solutions to the Problem of Gang Violence:

While the adult participants could locate the problem of gang violence in the socio-political context of post-apartheid South Africa, when it came to discussing the possible solutions to the problem, all the solutions put forward had an individualistic focus to it. This thus gives the researcher the impression that the participants do not have a deeper understanding of the problem, even though they do mention past apartheid practices. They could locate the problem contextually but they could not direct their solutions in that direction.

In this regard the adult participants indicated that a serious problem or a contributing factor to the problem of gang violence, was the lack of education amongst the adult community.

4.6.1 Adult Education can be used as a Means to Counter Violence in the Community:

The adult participants are of the opinion that if this problem is to be addressed, then the adult community would be empowered to assist the children in combating gang violence. Group discussion therefore revolved around the inability of parents and caregivers to read and write. The following statements support this.

“A big percentage of the gang out there they are illiterate, if we send out forms that must be filled in...they can't”

(F2-M1, Adult Interview)

“They can't write down their address”

(F2, Adult Interview)

This could result in parents not being able to assist the children with regard to their school work, which could result in the children getting the impression that their parents are not concerned about their well-being. A possible consequence is that the child is not only unsuccessful at school, but also develops a low self-esteem, since parents do not show concern. They in turn can therefore turn to their peers for acceptance and support, which could lead to gang activity to prove themselves (Pinnock 1985; 1996).

Within this broad theme the participants also felt that parents should be taught parenting skills and conflict resolution skills. In this way parents could become positive role models and inculcate family values to the children. The following statements support this.

“Positive role models and family values are important to a child”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“You first have to change people’s minds and thinking and attitude towards their fellow human beings...respect for someone else’s life”

(M1, Adult Interview)

Associated with this was the need to implement educational programmes to assist children to resist the pull of the gangs.

4.6.2 The Role of Educational Programmes for Children in combating Gang Violence:

Participants also felt that the media could play an important role in educating and empowering children in how to deal with stresses of life. A strong focus should also be on equipping the child to resist becoming part of the gang problem. This could take the form of life skills programmes, puppet shows and story-telling, as highlighted by the statement made by one particular group member:

“And for another thing more exposure should be given

through television and radio about these things...umh...umh..a lot of children watch television...more exposure should be given to how to go about not belonging to gangs...when they do have these shows, the time is too late at night...Even with stories and puppet shows...it would be much more effective especially for small ones”

(F2, Adult Interview)

Discussion then revolved around who is best suited to fulfil this role and the church is identified as being in the ideal position which leads to the next theme.

4.6.3 The Role of Religious Organisations in Combating Gang Violence:

The adult participants then discussed who would be in the best position to do this and who was acceptable to the community, and they felt that religious institutions were well suited for this role. These participants therefore felt that religious organisations should play a more important role in the community as they had access to people’s homes.

“..we need to ask ourselves who bears easy access to peoples homes...and sort of give them a pep talk...the people who go there is the pastor...I think these are the guys should...should...they don’t take sides”

(M3, Adult Interview)

“They [churches] are not involved enough in the community ...they need to be more active”

(F1, Adult Interview)

A possible explanation why this was not happening could be because during the so-called ‘struggle years’, specifically starting in 1976, the role of the church has changed. Initially, the church was the institution in civil society that upheld, maintained and took responsibility for the internalisation of values necessary for ‘responsible’ living. The political upheaval that took place

in the country changed this and the church increasingly partook in political activism. In this way the church lost some of its appeal and credibility concerning its main role and as a result lost a huge following. To address this imbalance participants felt that the church could play a crucial role in combating gang violence by being more active in the community. They could initiate programmes in the community to assist and equip people in dealing with problems that they are experiencing. Participants also felt that this could not be done in isolation and that the problem of police corruption needed to be addressed.

4.6.4 The Role of the Police in Gang Violence must be addressed:

During the apartheid era the police carried out the hated (by the disadvantaged communities) dictates (and laws) of the state. Now it is expected that the police be of service to the community. Neither the community nor the police appeared to have adjusted or worked out ways to expedite progress in the direction of a community-accepted police service and associated with this, is the involvement of the community in gang activity as well. This has led to a strained relationship between the community and the police that has been worsened by the perceived corruption in the police service. Participants therefore felt that as a start corruption in the police should be exposed and that the police should become accountable to the community. The following statements support this.

“They don’t have confidence in the police”

(F2, Adult Interview)

“...the police dropped gangsters in front of the flats and when they dropped the guys...they started stabbing people...and the police were still there...now...now...I mean for police to drop the people there...”

(M2, Adult Interview)

“...but the police were still there while they were stabbing, shooting and throwing stones and the police did not do anything, that is why they also don’t co-operate when they see

something, because they will get hurt in the process”

(F1, Adult Interview)

In conclusion adults are of the opinion that if there is a focus on adult education, housing, employment, police corruption, educational programmes for the children to combat the influences of peers and gangs and the increased involvement of the church, then the issue of gang violence can be addressed.

The adolescents also moved between the different discourse of victimisation and blame and the discourse of human agency. They felt that if the community could stand together and support each other, then there was hope for the people. They furthermore suggested that the area be kept clean and that people start to take pride in their surroundings. In this way people would develop better feelings towards each other and would focus on building their community instead of terrorising each other. Associated with this was the need to stop police corruption and in conclusion, they felt that if more police were on the streets, they would stop gangsterism. The following statements support this:

“They must tell the police where they are smuggling the drugs and where the gangsters hide the guns...the community must stand together and the police must patrol the area, because the problem is here”

(F1, Adolescent Interview 2)

“The community must stand together, there must be more police protection...”

(M & F, Adolescent Interview 2)

Although the adolescent participants focussed on strengthening the community and a more visible police presence to discourage gangsterism, a strong sense of victimisation and blame was felt. This is supported by the following comment.

“all the gangsters must go to jail..umh..umh...if they shoot

nobody even...if they do nothing...they must go..to jail”

(F2 & M1, Adolescent Interview1)

“They must go away...the gangsters must be destroyed...they must just go...all of them must go to jail”

(F3, Adolescent Interview 1)

“We must kill them...put them in jail”

(F2, Adolescent Interview 1)

“They must all go to Robben Island..they can’t escape”

(M3, Adolescent Interview 1)

The responses of the adolescent participants indicates that they are caught up in the discourse of victimisation and blame, which results in them internalising the dominant ideology which naturalises their oppression. The responses also appear to indicate that they are caught in the culture of violence and this is reflected in their response to how the problem should be addressed.

In conclusion, it can be noted that both adult and children participants shared some similar views with regard to their perceptions of gang violence. A major difference between the adult and the adolescent participants of gang violence focussed on the causes of the problem. Another difference between the adult and the children’s responses to gang violence was evident with regard to how the teaching staff was affected by the gang violence, while the children felt that the school staff was not aware of how gang violence affected them. What is significant, is that both the adult and the children participants felt that building a sense of community pride would go a long way to restoring a sense of togetherness and support for each other and in this way the issue of gang violence would be addressed. A very interesting omission on the part of the participants of the study was that there was no discussion around how the political parties could intervene to address the problem of gang violence. This would appear to support the views expressed by Bulhan and Fanon as mentioned earlier, which highlights that as long as people are caught up in the dominant ideology which naturalises

their oppression for them, they will be unable to develop the political consciousness to identify the causes of their oppression and in this way take constructive steps in resolving it.

Given the above, the following chapter will include a summary of the major findings, the limitations of the study and possible intervention strategies.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, a summary of the major findings of the study is presented. In addition, the limitations of the research process are discussed and this is accompanied by potential issues for further research and finally, this section closes with several concluding comments.

5.1 Summary of Major findings:

This section is structured around the adults and the adolescents perceived causes of gang violence. This is followed by a focus on the perceived impacts of gang violence, which is followed by a focus on how the adults and the adolescents felt the problem could be addressed.

The adult and the adolescent participants of the study highlighted certain differences and similarities with regard to the perceived causes of gang violence.

5.1.1 The Adults' and the Adolescents' Perceptions of the Causes of Gang Violence.

A major difference between the adults and the adolescent participants' perceptions of the causes of gang violence was that the adults were of the opinion that gang violence was a consequence of the socio-political and socio-economic factors brought about by the past apartheid government. The adolescents did not refer to this at all. The adult participants felt that this was evidenced by the people not having access to adequate housing, working opportunities and recreational facilities. This resulted in people becoming involved in gang activity to supplement their income and to give vent to their frustrations. This view is supported by Bulhan (1985) and Fanon (1967, 1968) who contend that when the social and economic institutions were unable to meet basic human needs, people's identity and culture were marginalised, which worked against group cohesion and distorted people's relationships with their families, next of kin and the community. People experienced psychological strain as they were stripped of their frame of

reference that could result in them experiencing strong feelings of inferiority. A possible result could therefore be that they felt alienated and did not 'belong'. The disequilibrium that resulted from people's basic needs not being met, could diminish their coping strategies. Feeling frustrated and with the dominant ideology naturalising their oppression, they became auto-destructive. They engaged in behaviour that was debilitating to themselves and those around them (Bulhan, 1987; Fanon, 1967). Family values suffered as a result and parents actively supported their children in gang activity. The result was that parents hid their children from the police, which perpetuated gang violence.

Another difference between the adult and the adolescent participant's perceptions of the causes of gang violence was that the adolescent participants felt that their parents were unable to meet the needs of their children. This supports the view expounded by Bulhan (1987) that suggests that when people's basic needs are not met, they are unable to meet social demands. The result was that some parents were unable to meet the needs of their children and the result was that these children turned to their peers for acceptance and recognition. What these children were unable to get at home in the form of acceptance and belonging, they got in the company of their peers (Emler & Reicher, 1995; Pinnock, 1985, 1996).

A common feature that the adults and the adolescents shared was that they viewed the corruption and the perceived leniency of the judicial system as a contributing factor to gang violence. These participants felt that there were too much focus on the criminal's human rights while the victims rights were being ignored and that the situation was worsened by the perceived corruption in the police services.

The comments made by the adult and the adolescent participants with regard to the possible causes of gang violence indicates that they are moving between the different discourses as advocated by Bulhan (1985, 1987) and Fanon (1967, 1968). These discourses are the discourse of human agency and the discourse of victimisation and blame. The former refers to where people have the political consciousness to identify the cause of the problem, while the latter refers to people having internalised the dominant ideology which makes them the agents of their own oppression. The adolescent participants' perceptions of the causes of gang violence appears to be located within the discourse of victimisation and blame, where they tend to individualise

the causes of gang violence.

These discourses not only influence the way in which they perceived the causes of gang violence, it also influenced the way in which they experience the impact of gang violence on their lives.

5.1.2 The Adults' and the Adolescents' Perceptions with regard to the Impact of Gang Violence on their Lives.

The difference between the adults and the adolescents' perceptions with regard to the impact of gang violence on their lives revolves around the teachers' psychological response to the problem. The teachers' psychological response to gang violence, indicates that some of them are caught up in the discourse of victimisation and blame. In that they experienced emotional difficulties, such as feelings of helplessness and powerlessness, concentration difficulties and interpersonal problems. This coincides with the Bulhanian theory on violence, which indicates that when people are continuously exposed to violence, their coping strategies are diminished and they are unable to meet personal needs and to adequately respond to external stimuli and social demands (Bulhan, 1987). While some teachers are caught up in the discourse of victimisation and blame as indicated above, others were caught up in the discourse of human agency, where they provided support to each other and the children in their care.

A similarity between the adult and the adolescent participants' discussion was that they could identify that the parents were overwhelmed by the gang violence. This coincides with research conducted by Halpern (1990) and Hill et al. (1995) who found that parents were overwhelmed by their daily experiences because of the chronic stress of living in poverty-stricken and violence-ridden communities. A possible result was that parents developed child-rearing practices that fed into the cycle of violence, fear and victimisation, in that they either protected their children who were involved in gang activity or they used parenting styles that were harsh and restrictive. The result in both instances were that the children were drawn to their peers (Barbarin, 1995; Bell, 1991). To contextualise this behaviour Bulhan (1985) highlighted that 'blacks' comprised 83% of the population of South Africa, but received less than one-third of the nation's income, while 75% lived below the poverty line. Apartheid policies therefore

resulted in the systematic disintegration of the 'black' family (Duncan & Rock 1994; Simpson, 1993). Bulhan (1985) concludes by stating that in situations of violence such as South Africa, violence breeds more violence and a community of victims unaware of its history and unable to control its destiny, engages in auto-destructive behaviour. Another result was that parents were to scared to leave there homes during the day and the adolescent participants realised that adults could not protect them from the environment.

Within this context the adult and the adolescent participants experienced a lack of safety and security and this is supported by Bulhan (1985) who found that living in a violent oppressive community impacted on people's movement, space and the way they spent their leisure time. This was worsened by the actions of the police and the result was that the community was abusive towards the police. Both parties felt that there were several reasons why this occurred, firstly because the parents were protecting the children, secondly because the police did not respond immediately and finally, because the police were involved in the gang activity. Garbarino (1995) found that once the feeling of danger was established, it took very little new threat to sustain it. Children therefore developed a sense of futurelessness and questioned why it was necessary to take part in childhood activities as they expected to die young. Children therefore developed a restricted worldview where the focus of their lives was on survival (Garbarino, 1995; Mhlambo, 1993; Pynoos & Eth, 1986a).

Since children were exposed to different discourses of coping, they adopted diverse coping strategies in response to their environment (Dawes, 1994; Duncan & Rock 1997). The adolescent participants coped by turning to religion, using drugs, fantasising and becoming withdrawn. These coping responses helped them to cope with their daily experiences and finding nobody to protect them from the environment, they turn to their peers for acceptance and security (Hill et al., 1995; Pynoos & Eth, 1986b; Terr, 1990).

With the gang violence being the centre of their existence, it was bound to influence their scholastic work. Once again the adolescents and the adults shared similar thoughts in this regard. Both parties found it extremely difficult to focus on schoolwork (Aranes, 1998a; Damon, 1998). The result was that the teachers did not pressurise the learners, as they were aware that the children came to school tired and were unable to focus on their schoolwork (Campbell, 1997,

1998; Craig, 1997). Researchers also found that these children experienced learning difficulties because of the intrusion of thoughts related to violent experiences and that children developed the defensive mechanism of forgetting to help them to control spontaneous reminders of the events (Dyson, 1989; Gardner, 1971; Pynoos & Eth, 1988). Children therefore started to associate school with danger and did not see school as a valuable community resource but as a distraction that prevented them from focussing on their survival skills.

A difference between the adults and the adolescent participants views on how the gang violence effected children's scholastic progress focussed on the adolescent's perceptions that the adults did not understand what they were experiencing. According to Papalia and Olds (1989) this could be because the adolescent developmental stage was characterised by the adolescents believing that their emotions were unique and that people were not aware of what they were experiencing. This could possibly explain why the adolescent participants felt that the teachers did not understand what they were going through.

This environment led to the rise of vigilantism as a community response to gang violence. In this regard the adults and the adolescent participants shared similar thoughts. Initially both parties felt that the formation of Pagad would address the problem of gang violence, but what happened was that Pagad imitated the gangs in their use of force to resolve conflict. The support of Pagad initially indicates that the community was searching for an organisation to take the leadership role in addressing the problems that they were experiencing in the post-apartheid era. This search could be coupled to the collapse of the anti-apartheid civic structures that existed during the apartheid era that explained and made sense of people's existence. It would appear that Pagad fulfilled this role until the community realised that addressing the problem of gang violence on a superficial level, would not solve their problems, as unemployment and the housing shortage that is associated with the gang violence, are not addressed.

5.1.3 The Adult and the Adolescent Participants' Perceptions of the Solutions to the Problem of Gang Violence.

There were marked differences between the adults and the adolescents' perceptions with regard to the solutions to the problem of gang violence.

Even though the adult participants could locate the problem of gang violence in the socio-political context of apartheid, their possible solutions to the problem mostly had an individualistic focus to it. This gave the researcher the impression that the participants did not have a deeper understanding of the problem, even though they did focus on past apartheid policies and practices. With this view in mind the adult participants felt that a possible solution to the problem was adult education (life skills, conflict resolution skills and parenting skills training). In this way parents would be able to provide support for their children. The adult participants also felt that educational programmes for children was important if the children were to be equipped to resist becoming involved in gang activity. In this way the media could become a useful tool in educating and empowering children to deal with the stresses of life.

The adult participants also felt that religious institutions had an important role to perform in combating gang violence. They could initiate programmes in the community. The family values that were destroyed by apartheid practices, could be rebuilt through these institutions. In this way people could take pride in themselves and develop a sense of family and community.

They also felt that the role of the police and the relationship between the police and the community, had to be re-examined. The police had to become accountable to the community and the community had to become accountable to the police. This relationship was further complicated by the perceived corruption in the police services.

With regard to the adolescent perceptions of the possible solutions to the problem of gang violence, they appeared to be caught up in the discourse of victimisation and blame. The comments made by the adolescent participants indicate that they appeared to be influenced by the culture of violence and this was reflected in their response to how the problem could be addressed. This could be because they were caught in the dominant ideology that naturalised their oppression, in that they were unable to identify the causes of their oppression and suggest solutions along those lines (Bulhan, 19685, 1987; Fanon, 1967, 1968).

Finally, an omission on the part of the participants of the study was that there was no discussion around how political consciousness could challenge the problem of gang violence, given that



there was an awareness of the origins of the problem (Biko, 1976). This would thus support the views expressed by Bulhan and Fanon as mentioned earlier. This view suggests that as long as people are caught up in the dominant ideology which naturalises their oppression, they will be unable to develop the political consciousness to identify the causes of their oppression and the violence in their community and in this way take constructive steps in eradicating it (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967, 1968).

5.2 Reflexivity:

In retrospect, the researcher realises that his own bias and ideological stance guided him and impacted on the information that was collected. This prevented other avenues from being fully pursued by the researcher. The researcher only became aware of it once the information was being interpreted. While this can be viewed as a shortcoming of the research, it is in step with qualitative research as there is an acknowledgement that research cannot be value-free and objective as people come to any situation with their own pre-conceived ideas and notions.

5.3 Limitations of the Research Process:

Since the study was exploratory in scope, an in-depth discussion on people's perceptions was not possible, as only one group session was held with each group. Associated with this was the researcher's inexperience, which resulted in possible issues not being further explored as the researcher became aware of it only after transcribing the manuscripts.

With this study being embedded within the qualitative paradigm, the themes that were reflected are closely associated with the researcher's ideological framework and the literature that the researcher reviewed, and implies that another researcher could identify and highlight other possible themes.

In conclusion of this section, the absence of a parental focus group reduced the possible range of themes that could potentially have emerged from the adult focus group interviews, in that the other focus group could have had completely different views as compared to the first focus

* group. This could have influenced the conclusions that the researcher reached.

5.4 Further Issues for Research:

One of the issues for further research should be how the multiple discourses' of reality influence marginalised communities. Secondly, what impact it had on marginalised communities' construction of their reality. Finally, there should be a focus on how the multiple discourses of reality influences peoples' levels of vulnerability, resilience and social competence in the face of social adversity.

5.5 Concluding Comments:

What appears to be evident in the study is that marginalised communities are exposed to different discourses' of reality and that these discourses' influence the way in which they respond to their environment. The study has also indicated that people occupy different positions at different times and that they are not static social beings. The result is that they experience reality differently at times and respond accordingly. Finally, these different discourses that the participants are exposed to informs the researcher that the potential for change exists and needs to be grasped if any change for the positive is to be made within marginalised communities on the Cape Flats.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Unstructured Interviewing Guide. (Teachers)

1. Questions:

- 1.1 What are your views with regard to the article that was just read?
- 1.2 What do you think are the causes of the high levels of gang violence?
- 1.3 How do you think this has influenced peoples lives?
- 1.4 What do you think are the solutions to the present problem?
- 1.5 What do you think are chilidren's views on these questions?
- 1.6 Would you like to include anything else?

APPENDIX B: Unstructured Interview Guide (Adolescents)

1. Questions

- 1.1 What do you think about what was read?
- 1.2 What do you think are the causes of gang violence?
- 1.3 What effect has it had your life?
- 1.4 How can this problem be solved?
- 1.5 What do adults think about this, any ideas?
- 1.6 Did I forget anything?

APPENDIX C: Vignette One (Teachers)

Since the elections in 1994, the newspapers have reported a steady increase in gang violence in areas such as Elsies River, Bontehewuel, Belhar, and many other working class areas. This has resulted in people being traumatised.

People have different opinions as to the causes of this violence. Some feel that the involvement of Pagad has worsened the problem. While others feel that the abolishment of the death penalty has lessened the fear of those who are responsible for the violence in the communities. Finally, there are those who feel that the high levels of unemployment and poverty are the causes of the violence in the gang.

The Weekend Argus highlights that in the past month (September) eleven deaths, twenty-seven bombings and twenty-four shootings were reported. This has caused residents in these areas to be prisoners in their own homes. What is highlighted is that people are angry and scared at the same time. In the sense that people are scared for their families that they might be harmed, while they are angry at their lives being disrupted. Parents are just waiting for the next incident of violence and the what makes matters worst is that innocent people are the one's who are being killed and injured.

To solve this problem some people suggest that the death penalty be reinstated, while others feel that Pagad and the gangs should call a meeting and sort out their differences. Others are of the opinion that the government should act more strongly against those who are responsible for the violence.

APPENDIX D: Vignette Two (Adolescents)

Gang violence is increasing in our communities and has many bad effects on people.

Some people believe that the cause of this violence is because people do not have work and have no money, while others believe that Pagad is to blame for the violence.

This gang violence has caused people to stay in their houses as they are too scared to go outside. Parents also do not allow their children to play outside as they are scared that the children will be hurt. This makes it difficult for children to do their school work as they are worried about the fighting that is going on outside.

People feel that something must be done about it and want the government to take action against the gangsters and Pagad, while others feel that the gangs and Pagad must solve their problems in a peaceful way.

APPENDIX E: Teacher Interview

- I : If everyone understood what was read, would you like to share ideas about what has been mentioned in the article?
- M1 : Well,... if you take what has been read and talk about PAGAD...in the beginning people stood behind PAGAD and felt the need for such a group...but after a while when they started killing people, people became scared of what was going to happen next...and I don't know if they still have such an impact as the first time...they came out stronger and after a while it went to bloody killing.
- I : Are you saying initially they had the support of people...but now there is a question mark.
- M1 : Yes, definitely.
- F1 : I for one think that they are operating in the same way that the gangsters are doing because they do not consider other people who are not involved in drugs ...and if you bomb your next door neighbour's house, then obviously my house will come under attack.
- I : How do other people feel? (silence)
- F2 : Well everyone has heard by now that Hernus Kriel wants the death penalty reinstated in the Western Cape. I read last night's Argus...some comments on it...where the money comes from...somebody even said well that if it came from the President everybody would be satisfied with it, but now it comes from the Western Cape Premier...umh...but I think that it is really a good thing that he said and many people also in the Western Cape will stand behind him.
- I : So you think that part or the solution should be that they reinstate the death penalty.
- M1 : I would differ.
- I : Let's hear your views on that.
- M1 : Because...because if you, we got a problem... raping, killing, robbing, but it all boils down to the old system of Apartheid, they put people up in places such as this area, they knew what's going to happen to the people and now ultimately they get what they

bargained for...they want to bring back the death penalty.

I : If you say that they knew what they were going to get...what do you mean by that?

M1 : They knew for instance that if they put a lot of people in one house or one flat...there's going to be problems...there's going to be killings, their's going to be rape...for instance if you take two families sons gets married, moves into the house with his parents, his wife, obviously the two families in one house can't cope, in the beginning its going to be fine, but after two months the problems are going to start, created and that what going to happen in the flats.

I : Are you saying that part of the problem of violence is probably overcrowding?

M1 : Overcrowding definitely.

I : How do other people feel?

M2 : Well...umh...well I heard views about PAGAD and I quite agree, I would like to confine what I say to the area (mentions speaker's name and all burst out laughing). Overcrowding is definitely a problem and has come as a result of the previous regime, their policies, you see because of overcrowding the children see so many things going on and...umh... you know if you must go to other schools and ask them who their heroes' are... it's Chester Williams, Hansie Cronje, Jonty Rhodes, our children's heroes are the skollies and this is a very big problem. They try to imitate them.

I : Are you saying that children in poorer communities...do not have positive role models?

M2 : Definitely.

I : How do other people feel?

M2 : Unemployment is also a big problem, when people are unemployed, and there are those who do not want to work and the easiest means of getting what I need.

I : Thus far people have mentioned that the causes or possible causes that they see are unemployment, overcrowding and also people not having positive role models. Would you like to add something to that?

F3 : And there are also no facilities for the children where they can go to after school, because

they use the school ground and they damage the school property and if you look outside and into the flats there is a park but there is nothing there. Demolished by the children, so when the children leave here from high school... and they do from primary school they are much more attached to the gang members...as we have different groups in the area... they can't use the hall as the owner won't allow it. They use the school premises, but the school premises is too small for the equipment that they have, I think if we look ahead there must be a definite plan to set up a gang building where the children can go to, like the one in Bellville.

I : Are you saying that part of the problem is that there are no recreational facilities?

F3 : Yes, I want to add to that, seeing that there are no facilities they go to the game shops and gangsters hang out there, seeing that the children don't have money, they offer money and in return for that money, they have to do drug smuggling, stealing.

M1 : Just on that point the multipurpose centres, gangsters gather there and they ask the children protection money to use the facilities...in Retreat we have what you call it... CAFDA...CAFDA was there for children to use and also one next to Steenberg police station, pupils could not go there because of the gangsters...gangsters gather at the shops.

I : Ok.

M1: : It must be situated at such a place that it is accessible to everyone.

I : Are you saying, if I understand you correctly even though recreational facilities are important for children to play at, recreational facilities alone are not going to solve the problem because the gangsters will still be there and will still exert influence over the children.

M1 : Yes.

I : Ok, what would you like to add?

M3 : I would like to say that people see the death penalty as a kind of redeemer to eradicate all forms of violence, but I don't see it that way.

I : Just for me to understand, are you saying that some people feel that the death penalty will solve the problem of gangsterism, but you don't share the view.

- M3 : I don't share that view...if you go back to the past most of the people who were executed were blacks and by reinstating the death penalty we are saying to our kids...we execute all those who perpetrate violence in our society...what happens to those who maim, stab... are you going to execute all...so I think the death sentence is not the solution to our problem is I feel gangsters are not born on the street, they are raised in homes, so if you don't have a stable family, values deteriorate, are you going to use the death sentence to scare people.
- F2 : It is definitely not going to solve the problem because the gangster who came here to the school emphasised that he is not afraid of the death penalty or to be hanged or anything like that, neither are his fellow mates or the ones that he will send to execute the boy.
- I : So are you saying that the death penalty is not the solution to the problem, reason being that you see the problem as originating in our families and if we don't have families where proper values are taught, then it's senseless you trying to scare people.
- M1 : Especially, the death penalty, if you look at the gangsters here, they start shooting...they all of them are facing the death penalty every day, execution everyday, so it is nothing to scare them with.
- F2 : Because they don't even wear masks or anything they just do whatever.
- M1 : In front of everybody.
- F2 : If I must think of how many deaths we witnessed outside the school, I personally can't count from 1991...I can't count how many I witnessed...it is terrifying to see that you just spoke to that boy yesterday or a few minutes ago...he left the school grounds and went across the road and there he was killed.
- I : We have been talking about the causes and possible solutions, what other solutions do you suggest?
- M2 : If you look at the gangsters...umh...very many of them are under eighteen and there's the law that you can't keep children under eighteen in prison and the gangsters are aware of this, the children are aware of this so what these gangsters do if they really want to come out in force, they employ younger guys knowing that if they land in court they must be released in the custody of their parents... and who are their parents?... many of the parents are the big gangsters, so this is also another big problem... this is something the

law can possibly look at.

- M1 : I spoke to a boy yesterday his sister was shot last week and the guy that shot his sister is out on bail... he spent the weekend...how terrified must the family be at the moment if he is going to terrorise them...seeing this person shoot your sister, then seeing him walking around!!
- F2 : This age thing... sometimes the child is over eighteen but sometimes their parents lie for them and confirm that they are fifteen or sixteen years old because they don't ask for a birth certificate and then they just get away with it.
- I : What I am hearing here is that part of the problem is not only the children but the parents, as well?
- F & M : Yeah... Parents cover-up.
- M2 : Parents come here and ask the school to alter the date of birth, to sign an affidavit... to say that this child is not eighteen but sixteen... then they realise that the school is not going to do this... for the past two years the school have not had any requests like this, then they realise very quickly that we are not prepared to give a false... affidavit.
- F2 : Sometimes they go to the police and just ask for an affidavit and they just swear that this is the child's age and the policeman just signs it... and they take it to the court and the child gets free or put into ...umh...umh... boystown and when they run away the people don't even worry because their problem is like.
- M1 : And also you have pupils in the school who don't even have a birth certificate... do you now what I mean... how can we say how old the child is when he does not have a birth certificate.
- I : From what has been mentioned, I am getting the impression that parents encourage the children?
- F2 : Yes, even if the police come, they hide the children... they send them somewhere else for a time to cool off... like when everything is OK the children come back and then it happens all over again.
- M3 : The reason for this is, these gangsters you see here, they are not a family on their own, they are part of the people who stay here, it is my son, it's my daughter so they can't

- squeal on their daughter or son. There are many times when he steals to feed me, so there is security so if I'm going to squeal him... there is danger of him turning on me.
- I : Just for me to understand what you are saying the reason why parents are reluctant to squeal on their children is because they sometimes bring in an income.
- F3 : Yes... and they receive stolen goods and whatever.
- I : And they're putting food on the table, so if these children go to jail...is this the impression that I am getting?
- F2 : But that is also the result of no work, unemployment.
- I : When I was coming to the school, the army and the police were driving around and I heard the gang abusing the army and the police. Why do you think this is?
- F4 : That is what is happening here daily, when the police are called in they then hurl abuse or stones at the police... in one case they even chased the police out, about two years ago... cough... and quite a few of them got seriously hurt... and I think the reason why is when you call the police when there is trouble, they don't respond immediately... and if it is rival gangs that are competing the one loses he is the one who is going to inform the police to come... to come and stop the fighting here... you see... but the police don't respond quickly enough or they don't respond at all and then they come here and the people are so fed up.
- M2 : What also happens is that people see what the youngsters see for instance... this weekend...umh... we have people saying that the police dropped gangsters in front of the flats and when they dropped the guys... they started stabbing people... and the police were still there...now... now... I mean for the police to drop the people there, then they should at least explain to the people... look here we dropped these people but we don't really want to drop them because we had them at the police station for charges or whatever... but now the people just see that the police drop them... so they like... so you on their side.
- I : Has this happened before?
- M1 : Well this is the first time that I heard of it.
- F1 : I have heard about it before and... umh... I spoke to a lady the other night and she said that there are no gangsters in her flat... but the police were still there while they were

stabbing, shooting and throwing stones and the police did not do anything that is why they also don't co-operate when they see something because they will get hurt in the process.

F2 : They don't have confidence in the police.

I : How does all of this affect people?

M2 : With all the violence around here, you as a teacher give the children homework, you tell them to do it... they come back they did not do it. At the moment with the violence around the children they can't sleep, they can't rest... I don't think we can imagine because we don't live in this type of situation...we don't really know what it is like if you experience continuous trouble, continuous shooting and gangsterism and... umh... we can only think we know under what pressures the children are living... so we don't even give the children homework... very often you hear we just left school and they being shooting since three o` clock till three, four o`clock to-morrow morning, so when does the poor child do the school work.

M3 : This is a common occurrence and children come to school tired... we had a break for a month, at least the children had a break for the month at least... then they started shooting again... peace for two months.

F4 : Many of our school's functions had to be cancelled because of violence... then parents don't attend the function... we know about it then we just cancel.

I : How does this affect the children?

F1 : I come to school early in the morning then sometimes there is shooting taking place... sometimes we ring the bell thrice or before the time, so the children see everything is clear they must come to school. But now shooting stops for about an hour and you in your class working... and then there is shooting again for the next half-an-hour... for the rest of the day you can't do anything with the children because they are traumatised... some run around, they're crying, they want to go home and the parents start streaming in they want the children at home... I for one as a teacher can't concentrate because my mind is not here, my mind is outside because I am wondering what is happening outside, because I still have to leave the school premises.

M1 : We have been fortunate, in the past they had shooting the whole day and the previous principal went to the gangsters and they agree that they won't shoot from eight till two

o'clock during school hours and then it will start from 2:30.

- M3 : We can't guarantee the children's safety, especially we that are on the field... sometimes they start shooting what am I going to do.
- F2 : Yes, then also, yesterday the principal got a message... umh... that it's him and the teachers that are calling the 'boere', he must stop it and the next time they are not going to leave it like that.
- F3 : Most of the faces that we see walking around the school now- a-days are the faces that we don't now and they are the people that we can't trust. Others we can speak to them... and tell them to leave and we talk to them in a nice way... but the other ones we can't trust.
- M3 : Sometimes we meet gangsters from other areas.
- M1 : They send someone else.
- F2 : We know them, so they send others from Bonteheuwel and Belhar.
- M1 : What I find, you can talk to adults but you can't talk to juveniles because I want to make a name for myself and must prove myself and that's why I am prepared to do the shooting.
- I : You feel that you can reason with adults?
- M1 : Yes, you can't reason with a child.
- F1 : And nothing is going to stop him from doing that.
- F3 : Their was one case where the teacher had to lock the children in the classroom, when he went to the toilet ...and this should not happen.
- I : For what reason did the teacher do that?
- F2 : Because the children were in the class and was threatened... and the children was not supposed to be without supervision.
- I : So they had to prevent the gangsters from getting at the children.

- M1 : Yes.
- I : We have been talking now about how the violence has impacted children, how does this impact staff, teachers, yourselves.
- M2 : I think relationships has deteriorated... between teachers, mainly because of stress because.. we are scared... umh... we don't trust each other...umh... this is all to do with stress and ...umh... I think as a result we started to patch up relationships now... because... we understand what happened to us in the past and we looking forward now just to get to a level to try to trust each other so that pupils can trust us.
- I : Are you saying that, that after everything that happen you became withdrawn?
- M1 : I think so.
- I : As a result you did not have that bond or that relationship and you started to work on it now.
- F3,1,4 : Yeah.
- M1 : It made people short tempered...
- F3,4 : ... mmm... mmm...
- M1 : Because you can't reason with the person the way you use to before.
- F1 : I would also just like to add that the children have no cultural upliftment and as a result of that I have a grade three class and they must move up to the next grade... and there for instance the teacher has the class... she will feel that the children do not know what they are supposed to know and they can't do this and they can't do that and then she gets stressed out and as a result she takes sick leave or she gets booked off because she can't take the children and that is how it influences our relationships.
- I : Just for me to understand what you are saying, in between periods of gang violence certain portions of work cannot get done.
- F2 : Yes.

- I : Because of...
- F2 : School had to close and children don't concentrate.
- I : As a result they don't finish all the work that they must finish for the year, what happens next year then is that these children go into the next standard not knowing their work. The teacher that has them gets totally stressed because they can't cope as well and it becomes a cycle and it just gets worse.
- F3 : Yes, it has been worsening for the past few years now... because in my class... the average child... has a very low average.
- M2 : If you look at standard five's you find pupils that can't read like the one teacher said in the old days you had pupils... everybody could read... some just struggled to read, but they could read... now you find pupils that totally can't read.
- F4 : Yes.
- M2 : I think you can't expect the child to study at home, reading is something that you must practise you don't have time in class to do it properly... the parent must practise at home with the child and that is another thing... you know... that is part of the problem... if you apply for extra classes, remedial classes, you can't get because the government does not have money, so that's all... contributing to the problem.
- F2 : Another thing is the library, parents don't let the children go to the library because of the violence and shooting.
- M1 : Children can't use the facilities as it's in other gang territory.
- F3 : It's very frustrating for the teacher as the kids say that they can't go to the library to do an assignment.
- M2 : This is where another problem comes in... umh... say I am in charge of a certain aspect of the school because I am a head of department or something... now the principal says... this group of teachers must do this particular thing at that particular time... he turns around and expects me to see that it is being done...now I... see it not being done... now he gets upset with me.
- I : This is where the friction comes in.

- F,M : Yes.
- M2 : Because as the previous speaker said in her class for the past three/four years... now the result the child goes into the next standard now the teacher find the child can't cope, now what happens... somewhere someone is going to ask but why is teacher "B" children so weak... what is teacher "B" going to do for teacher "A" because of these situations it causes frustrations.
- M3 : Just another thing a year ago... in the mornings I did not feel like coming to school because of the situation and the frustration of teachers... a couple of weeks now people have not been absent that frequently so I came... how can I say... they want to come and work and be with their fellow teachers... this was the initiative of the teachers to patch up their differences and no use we going forward individually... we must go forward as a school.
- I : So what I'm hearing from you is that support is very important here.
- F : mmm... mmm...
- I : In the past when you try and survive on your own, it was very difficult to manage... but now that you starting to turn to each other and getting support from your fellow teachers... then you feel better equipped to deal with issues... is this what I'm hearing.
- F4 : Yes, that is why... when it is somebody's birthday then we club together and after a while we have something for the person and we socialise... if there is enough time we ask everybody to try and bring something.
- I : That's part of trying to take care of yourself.
- M1 : Very much so... and just to feel free and happy to come to school.
- I : And probably to know that there is someone who cares about what you are experiencing.
- F1 : Yes.
- M1 : It is difficult not to take your problems home and to leave it at school, when you come home you had a bad day and you stressed... you don't feel like talking... the wife wants

to talk... sometimes you have to talk... but when you and your wife are at the same school... you don't share because you got the same problems.

M3 : It would be made easier if you had a different relationship with the teachers at school.

I : How has this impacted on your relationship with the child, we have spoken about how it impacts on the child, the child can't do homework, can't concentrate, how it impacts on the teacher, is the teacher feeling frustrated, the teacher knows the teacher can't really get upset with the child because of the whole circumstances, violence happening in the gang... so the teacher can't like say that you had a chance to do your homework, so you can't really get angry with the child.

F4 : You also can't punish the child.

M1 : "Gooi water oor God's akker boom".

M2 : Every teacher assess the situation and says that I know what the problem is and will not get upset with the children, but now... unfortunately you categorise children... there are children as there are big people who have the same ways... same ideas... there are children at school who takes advantage of the situation, that is the biggest problem and you can almost immediately identify those trying but because of the situation out there cannot cope and those who don't want to cope and they are using the situation if you separate those children you have half the battle won.

I : Is it possible to do that?

M2 : Oh yes, some of them you can see immediately, you now, not possible in grade 1,2,3 but especially a standard five child, you can see it immediately, as the child is really struggling but because of the situation out there he does not stand a chance but you get quite a few of them who take advantage of the situation... what also happens where you can see it when you offer to give them extra lessons, so those who are using the situation don't attend they not interested.

I : Any other ideas on that... how does it impact on your relationships with the children?

F2 : I would say... I... personally... umh... overprotective... over children whose fathers or uncles whoever in the family are involved with gangs... you tend to be more alert and you give that child... you encourage the child and you give him your love that he does not get at home and you let the child talk about his problems so that he can release that

stress that is inside of him... that's not only in my class but bigger children too because they would come to me with their problems and then I would talk to them or refer them.

I : mmm... mmm... any other views?

F1 : Sometimes you feel like just floating away... out through the door like it's just a dream.

I : Because of everything you have experienced... you tend to cut yourself emotionally off from the children.

F1 : Yes.

I : Why do you think that happens?

F4 : There's nothing that you can do.

F1 : I feel helpless... what can I do to make a difference.

M1 : Especially when you see people coming here and they try to defend their children... also they are gangster parents and we know for a fact that the children are gangsters and they know also they deceiving... protecting their own children... what I personally found was that I was more involved with children in my class... you get those who take advantage of the situation and you know and that's the problem.

I : It seems like you don't know what's going to happen next.

M3 : You have pupils who wrote in June, they don't come and fetch their reports and parents don't enquire.

F2 : Half of the reports are still lying in the class.

M2 : The people did not come and fetch it.

I : Why do you think that is?

F3 : Parents don't pay the school fees and I can also say that they don't care enough about their children... they don't care about the children... they don't give the attention to the children that they should receive from the parents.

- I : How come do you think this is happening?... that parents are not giving support to children
- M3 : If you take the unemployment for instance...what happens to the child after he finishes school... can't offer the child to go to varsity...can't afford to send the child to college. Do you know what I mean...the child has to go and work...the sooner the better in many cases...the people usually get a grant and that's the only reason the pupils are in school. To receive the grant... there is a child in standard five before the examines she comes to school to write the examines, clever girl... she must pass... she is like more advanced than many children in the class that sit there the whole year... the mother whenever there is some form to be filled in sends the child so are you going to punish the child by failing her or are you going to punish the mother... do you know what I mean... because the mother keeps her at home... if you punish the mother by failing the girl, pupil...then actually you punishing the girl.
- F4 : Another thing is ignorance on the part of the parents... they come to school... umh... many don't know in what class their child is and what the name of the teacher is.
- I : Is that a common occurrence?
- F4 : Definitely.
- F2 : Then they are also under the influence... and then it is difficult.
- F3 : We had a parents evening two weeks ago and they don't know who the teachers is and they don't know whether the child is in standard 3 a,b, or c.
- M3 : Some of them don't know whether the child is in standard 3 or 4... the relationship with the children have also affected us... when I... I tell you... it was so stressful... it started to affect my children(at home)... I was shouting at them. I don't shout at these children because they have so much stress... until one day we realised something was wrong... I was ... I was shouting at my children when they not responsible for the stress we are going through.
- F1 : I am going for counselling at a psychologist.
- I : Because of the violence and the stress you are experiencing?
- F1 : Yes... over the years all the things you are experiencing.

F2 : Mentally and physically draining, you don't know what's happening anymore.

I : I saw a road block as I came into the gang, how does this affect you?

F2 : On your daily functioning.

F1 : The police are not here all the time and when they leave.

M3 : When I took the corner and saw the caravan... it took me back in time to "76"... you know when you are overstressed and the situation... that was very stressful time for me.. when you were a teacher or you were a student.

I : How did the other people feel?

(The whole group acknowledged that this was a very stressful time and shared the view of the previous speaker)

F1 : When you had to walk in Clarke Estate... you can't show... umh... umh... show anybody you are a teacher... you not allowed to walk with your bag or anything or books.

I : We have been going for an hour so just a couple of questions still then we will finish up. We have spoken about the causes, the impacts on you and the children... what possible solutions... let's spend the last couple of minutes thinking and speaking about possible solutions.

F1 : I would say firstly there is something very wrong with our country's judicial system.

I : Do you want to expand on that?

F1 : One day they say this and the next day they say that... when new laws are being made, it's going to fast... they say it's being processed... these bail conditions... you can be committing a crime to-day and to-morrow he's on the streets. This must stop... they must be kept in jail until they appear in court... if they appeal against their sentence, why do they walk the streets until the appeal date comes through... they must be locked up because they scare and intimidate the very people that they attacking or the families of those.

I : How do the other people feel?

- F2 : The prosecution say that you can't infringe on anybody's human rights and for instance if I was a gang member and I get a sentence of 2 to 3 years and I get jail and I go to prison... but life in prison is so wonderful... I get my meals on time, I am not hungry myself and there is a recreation hall I can play my soccer, I can read, I can study, I get paid for it and then I come out and I make the same crime whether it is murder or whether it is rape or hijacking or anything I just go back because I know that I am going to have a wonderful life inside... some of them say that it is better inside than outside because they know they going to have their meals, they going to eat... something should be done... to me being in prison seems to me it is not a punishment that is what the gangsters say "it's nothing for me to go to prison" and even while they are in prison they practicing the very same thing that they do outside, they have their phone calls, they have their music and their schemes... it's nothing to them.
- F1 : It's a vicious cycle.
- F4 : Something should be done about this system.
- M1 : They are even going to have permission and privacy to have sex with their wives.
- F3 : There is a focus on their constitutional rights, human rights.
- M3 : Like the lady said there is something wrong with the judicial system... we need to have these existing laws... I think these guys who are in power positions... there are people who get something out of neglecting these laws... they have a loose attitude towards the law... we have a lot of people in power positions... we talk about criminals many times people's mind's go out in to the streets... me not really... I will judge the guy up there with the tie that is informing them... many times lots of people are being killed... but who is the mastermind behind all the killing... but we are trying to punish these little boys on the ground... it's not going to solve the problem.
- I : So you are saying we must go to the people at the top... the big boys to solve the problem.
- F1,2,M1 : mmm... mmm...
- M2 : Can I just say we had the commissioner of the police here on Monday and he came here and said to us that they started with these searches at 4 o'clock the morning... they took the decision on Sunday night at 7:30 pm and one of the gangsters out there when we

spoke about what the police said... he said yes but we in Clarke Estate knew by 8 pm the night... and only the top executive who knew about the meeting... so where is the leak.

- I : Are you saying that part of the problem is the corruption.
- F1,3,M2 : Yes, right at the top structures because as we said it was only the executive who was at the meeting... who decided on the action... at the same time the gangsters knew about the meeting.
- F1 : And Mister Mandela was here and he immediately called a meeting with Mfumadi and Fivetz and nobody has heard anything since... There is just talk, talk , talk.
- M1 : One way of solving this is to keep the army here and you can go about your daily task knowing that they are in the vicinity that's part of the solution.
- M2 : Sorry could I just come in on that point... in Kwazulu-Natal the first three months was calm, but after that the people just disregarded the army.
- F1 : They patrol here until 10 pm.
- M2 : They don't stop.
- F1 : No it's just a hypothetical situation... they leave at ten it's quiet nobody is outside, not a skollie in sight, not a gun in sight... then when they leave they come out of their holes and they start shooting... now the next shift starts again at 2 am ... what happens between 10 pm and 2 am.
- I : What I am hearing you say is that even having the police and the army here it is not a solution to the problem... what has been mentioned is the corruption in the police force needs to be sorted out, that is one solution, another solution was that the laws of the country need to be implemented very strictly, which you feel is not being done. What other solutions are there?
- F2 : Work and overcrowding facilities... sometimes you have up to six,seven families staying in one flat with two rooms.
- F1 : There are so many people on the waiting list, so you don't know when you will be helped.

- M1 : If you talk about jobs... I spoke to a few boys who usually come to us and asked the one guy why don't you look for work "is Meneer mal" that's the kind of response you get.
- I : Why do you think you got this response?
- M1 : I don't know... is it because the parents get a grant for them because they think they are at school or... do you know what I mean... some parents give the grant to the children saying this is your pocket-money... so why must they go work for pocket-money.
- M3 : I believe that the first six years of a child's life is very important... parents should be aware of this ... so positive role models and family values are important to a child.
- M2 : Yes...besides the children not having the facilities available and the violence and all that... if I take myself my daughter is in standard five, if she has a problem, if she does not understand she can come back to me, then you have these children... some... some standard two very many of their parents are illiterate... who do they turn to.
- F2 : A big percentage of the gang out there they are illiterate, if we send out forms that must be filled in.
- M1 : They can't...
- F2 : You can see that they don't know how to fill in forms if you ask them their occupation then they say they get a grant from coloured affairs or something like that... they can't write down their address, so something should be done in the gang to help them to go about to educate the gang.
- I : What I get out of the group is that part of the problem is education... parents need to be educated.
- M2 : mmm... mmm... there is some gang group who is teaching parents who cannot read and write to come to classes... I think they tried to start in Clarke Estate but it has not worked because of the violence, they cannot come in.
- M3 : You don't know who you are going to find in the class, an "American or a Hard Living" and they don't want to be together.
- F2 : I have a son who is an "American" I have nothing to do with gangsterism but I am classified as an "American" because you are the parent or even in which flat you live,

near the school is classified as “Americans” they can't go to Foodworld to buy food because they get chased by the other gang.

M1 : If you live in a certain section then you as a gangster have access to the house in that section.

M2 : Not that they have access, but they force access, you must cover up or otherwise you will be targeted.

M1 : Once the violence is going on outside then there is no break-in in our school but once there is peace then you get break-ins.

F2 : If there is peace they break our windows and they steal equipment.

M2 : I heard a very disturbing thing about Bonteheuwel yesterday, the principals went to see Brian O'Connell, the Director of Education, the reason being that the “firm” came to all the schools and ask protection money and when the schools said that they have not got... they said you have teachers... they can give a hundred rand a month, so you can see where it is coming to now.

F2 : I won't do that, we get paid so little money already.

I : This is what's happening?

M2 : You know... we got the same gangs here and it is eventually going to come this way.

M2 : The gangsters want protection money from the schools ... what do they want next.

I : So you say the solutions to the problem are not simple.

F,M : No.

M1 : You first have to change people's minds and thinking and attitude towards their fellow human beings.. That's important... if you don't have respect for someone else's life then there is nothing we can do to help you and if you don't have respect for someone's life then you not afraid to die in any case.

I : The sense I'm getting here is that people's world view.

M1 : Yes.

I : Is so small, if I die it's no big deal for what else is there for me to do... to struggle and hopefully one day get a grant.

M&F : mmm... mmm...

M2 : Do you know that every third house/flat is a shebeen... I don't know if it has changed since... I can't say.

M3 : You get gangsters they now demand sort of protection money so you either pay your protection money or you give up.

M1 : That's what I heard when the shooting started ninety-what the one gang asked the other gang protection money... they said they going to die for the money rather than pay up.

M2 : I was at a party in Charlesville, there was a doctor he would have been there ten years this year... he was a house doctor... they the "firm" actually asked him a quarter of a million rand with a result he closed up there... there's no doctors now in Charlesville.

F2 : The reason being that the gangsters are armed with heavy weapons and where do they get the weapons from.

M2 : That is another... that part of the solution... get the source of the weapons.

M1 : I know somebody who makes ammunition... they actually make bullets... he's got the machine to do it... where did he buy the machine... if that's acceptable for the police... for people to go and buy bullets.

I : Is there anything that I have not mentioned that you think we need to talk about?

M3 : We said sentences and peoples minds needs to change... we can open a education centre... but can I get there ... is it safe for me to get there... we need to ask ourselves who bears easy access to peoples homes... and sort of give them a pep talk... the people who go there is the pastor... I think these are the guys should... should... they... they don't take sides.

I : Are you saying that religious leaders should play a more functional role in our communities...

- F1 : They are not involved enough in the gang... they need to be more active.
- M2 : There are churches... where the leaders of the churches work at a full-time job and there are other churches where the minister... that is his work... and the funny part is that you seem to find more churches in the area where the ministers are fully employed compared to the Anglican and Catholic churches.
- F2 : Sorry that I must mention it but the "26 gang" started from the Apostolic church, they are registered as a business and that is where the problem comes in... and for another thing more exposure should be given through television and radio about these things...umh... umh... a lot of children watch television... more exposure should be given to how to go about not belonging to gangs... when they do have these shows the time is too late at night.
- I : Are you saying that the media can equip people...
- F2 : Even with stories and puppet shows and so on... it would be much more effective especially for the small ones.
- M2 : We do have a school clinic and one psychologist at the school... comes twice a year... children with learning difficulties can't be sent for help because the waiting list is so long.
- I : I detect quite a bit of frustration here.
- M&F : Yes... the psychologists want to help but they can't cope.

APPENDIX F: Adolescent Interview Group One

- I : If everyone understood what has been read, would you like to add anything?
- M1 : Sometimes... sometimes my mom is scared to go to work... as they are shooting outside.
- I : How do other people feel?
- M2 : Other people scared... umh... because gangster... umh... gangster are not like normal people... they not friendly... umh... they unfriendly people.
- M3 : On the police force... they must put more police on the streets... where they can pick up the gangster.
- F1 : We must go play... because we must play... because that is our right and we must not sit at home and do nothing... because of gangsters... we must... umh... umh... hulle moet dink `n slag... hulle kan net nie in die huise bly en niks doen nie. (they must think for a change... we can not just stay in the house and do nothing).
- M4 : When we play outside... the gang they don't talk... they just shoot... they just shoot... sometimes they shoot... umh... sometimes they shoot small children.
- M5 : They shoot small children.
- M4 : They don't worry who they shoot... because they think it's a right to shoot.
- I : You can't play outside?
- F&M : Yes.
- I : You feel the gangsters are unfriendly people and they don't care about you.
- M5 : They just shoot... they don't worry... they shoot because... they know the children are in the houses.
- M2 : At first we can play late... but now we can't play outside... because of the shooting.
- I : If you can't play outside how do you feel?

- F2 : You play inside and you not feeling good.
- F1 : We just children and we must go outside... because nobody can stop us ... from playing outside...
- F3 : Some gangsters just use the other children to... to... hide the stuff... all their stuff... they must put it away.
- I : What do you mean by the gangsters using other children.
- F3 : If they are shooting and the police come... they just give the guns to the jongens and the jongens feel nothing for the police they just do their stuff.
- F4 : They just... walk past the police and hide the guns away.
- M3 : To the women ... or to the children.
- F&M : Yes.
- M2 : Another gangster shoot a hole through my grandmothers window and throw the gun and my grandmother called the police... and the gangsters came afterwards and asked my grandmother... and my grandmother said there was nothing.
- F4 : Sometimes... sometimes I'm scared to come to school... because the gangsters here they want to hijack or rob us... sometimes I want to stay at home because they say all the children who stay on that side... can't pass.
- I : Is it because you stay in different areas?
- F&M : Yes.
- F3 : I live just over the other area... one day I am coming to school... umh... umh... a guy put his arm around my neck and said... is jy jou skool rok nie op lig nie, dan gaan jy sien... toe het ek vir my ma gese... toe hou die gangster die gun by my ma se kop... (if you don't lift your school dress, then you will see ... so I went to tell my mother... so the gangster held the gun to my mother's head)... I don't know what I said to him... I just went to school... when I come to school, I could not work... my hands shaking... the principal had to take me home...

I : What did your mother do?

F3 : My mother was not scared of them... because my mother knows them... and they cocked the gun... toe het my ma gebid... toe val die gun uit sy hand uit. (so my mother prayed... and the gun fell out of his hand).

I : When this happened your mother started to pray and afterwards you came back to school... and how did you feel during the day?

F3 : I just sat... I was so scared... could not concentrate... I was too scared... my hands were going like this....

I : Your hands were shaking?

F3 : Yes.

M2 : I went to the shop to buy some bread, and then I came back... and I was stopped by the gangsters and they wanted to take my bike... toe se ek vir hulle dat ek nie my bike vir hulle sal gee nie... toe gaan haal ek my pa... toe gaan haal hulle groeter jongens... toe se my pa hy is nie bang vir hulle nie... toe wil hulle my pa skiet... toe se my pa hy gaan sy broer haal wat 'n polisieman is. (so I told them that I would not give my bike to them... so I went to fetch my father... so they fetched bigger jongens... so my father said that he is not scared of them... so they wanted to shoot my father... so my father said that he will fetch his brother who is a policeman).

I : Wat het daarna gebeur? (What happened then?).

M2 : Toe se hulle ... hulle sal my pa vrek skiet.(So they said that they will shoot my father dead).

I : How did it make you feel?

M2 : It made me very angry because everytime I see them... they say... hulle is nie bang vir my pa nie.(they are not scared of my father).

I : I get the impression that you don't feel secure... even if you call your parents they just go fetch more people.

F&M : Yes...

M2 : Sometimes I go to the library and I meet gangsters... they say I don't go to the library... when I came out... they take a knife and they open it... they want to hit me with the knife.

I : Do they want to stab you?

M2 : Yes... they hit me and I run...

M3 : Sometimes when they see you... they take out the gun and they shoot one shot in the air and they take my mother's bag and keys... and then the police arrive... toe skiet hulle op die polisie.(so they shot at the police).

I : It would seem as if everyone has been exposed to gang violence.

F&M : Yes.

I : How does that make you feel?

F2 : They must do something about it... umh...umh... gangster they are every...(silence)... hulle is baie evil mense...(they are evil people) something must be done... the more you do nothing... the more they kill people.

F3 : They must really do something...

F4 : Sometimes the police help the gangs...

M5 : Sometimes I come out the house and here is many gangsters... on the corner... they stop me... I go to the shop... the one gangster take a gun out and shoot another gangster in the leg, and they shoot at each other...

I : How does all of this affect you?

M1 : It is very rough... I told my mother I want to go away from here... it is not for us to go away... because it is not us... it's the gangsters...

I : Are you saying that sometimes your mother and you want to move away out of the area.

F&M : Yes.

- I : But then you realize that you are not the problem... it's the gangsters.
- M2 : Sometimes the gangsters don't shoot the gangsters; they shoot the innocent people... and... children.
- M5 : Sometimes I want to be on another planet... because they (sic)shooting...
- F4 : The gangsters also go to school... so why can't they leave us... now we in school... sometimes when I get home... the gangsters sit there... they want to pull me... when the school children are walking... dan se die gangsters hulle moet na hulle toe kom... die skool kinders gaan ook uit met die gangsters... som groet meisies hulle werk saam met die gangsters... hulle slaap saam met hulle op die hoek... dit is 'n ou huis... da bly gangsters in.(then the gangsters say that they must come to them... the school children also go out with the gangsters... some of the big girls work with the gangsters... they sleep with them on the corner... it is an old house... the gangsters live there).
- F3 : All the gangsters must go to jail, all of them... umh... umh... if they shoot nobody even... if they do nothing... they must go...
- M1 : To jail.
- F3 : They must go away... I think they must not live... the Lord gives us a chance... to be on the earth... die Here het 'n doel gehad waarom ons op die aarde is... die gangsters moet uit geroei word... hulle moet net gaan... almal moet tronk toe gaan...(the Lord had a purpose for putting us on the earth... the gangsters must be destroyed... they must just go...all of them must go to jail)... they don't have respect for older people... they must go to jail.
- M2 : Sometimes you can't move around because of the 28's and the "American" territory.
- F4 : Some mom's of children are also with the gangsters.
- F2 : The people must first stand together... in this situation...
- F3 : They must stand together... umh... hulle moet saam staan... some parents don't have respect for their children, they swear and the children don't feel good... it hurt you inside...
- F1 : Sometimes the gangsters come to school and they go on with the children... the teacher

can do nothing, they also scared and when the gangsters are on the school place, I am scared... and... ek kan nie my teacher se nie, want as ek my teacher se, dan gaan sy se ek is vriende met gangsters.(I can't tell my teacher, because if I tell my teacher then she is going to say that I am friends with the gangsters).

I : Are you saying that when the gangsters come to school, you feel that the teachers can't protect you?

F1 : Yes.

I : How does that make you feel?

M1 : It makes me "furious" that they can't protect me.

F2 : We must kill them... put them in jail...

M3 : They must all go to Robben Island... they can't escape.

F1 : When small children play, they play fighting with knives and guns... home-made guns.

F4 : They not playing with toys... it's real stuff... even if it is with knives... they think the gangsters stab the way they play... but they don't know that it is real.

I : What other solutions are there?

M1 : I think they must make another road block in the area here... I came out there was a road block... and one car drive away and one policeman get in the car and he chased the car and there were two guns in the car.

I : So you think more police and road blocks will help?

M3 : Yes.

I : Tell me what do you think are the causes of gang violence?

M2 : There is not ... umh... umh... much work... in this place... the young teenagers in this place... they have to much time... and they turn to gangs.

I : Are you saying that children don't get work when they finish school.

- M2 : Yes.
- M1 : Yesterday me and my mom were on Bellville station... toe staan ons en wag vir 'n trein... toe kom da jonges en hulle rob 'n vrou... toe hardloop al die mense... toe kom die polisie da om, en hulle maak niks...(we waited for a train to arrive... and gangsters came and robbed a women... everyone ran away... then the police came... and they did nothing).
- F4 : It does not matter to move away... to another place because it is the same all over.
- F3 : They shoot each other dead.
- F2 : Just like my mother... mmm... yesterday my mom got a paper and my mom say thank God... and the paper says that my mom got a house in Kewtown... and... my mom was looking all over for a house... because we don't want to live here... everytime my brother go out he comes with a knock... last time they shot him in his leg... and... ek weet nie wat hy gemaak het nie... (I don't know what he did) the gun just landed in his hand and he got seven years... hy is verniet in die tronk... ons weet nie waarom nie... niemand kan se wat aangaan nie.(he is in jail for nothing... we do not know why... nobody knows what's going on).
- F1 : I want to say... my uncle was also a gangster... but he married... now he is just a normal person ... he is not with gangsters anymore, but sometimes they can't get out.
- F3 : Dan maak hulle jou seer.(Then they hurt you).
- I : If I understand what you saying sometimes... the gangsters do want to reform... but it's difficult for them to get out of the gangs.
- F&M : Yes... they are made scared, their families...
- F3 : Most of my family... my brother, uncles are in gangs... (tearful)... I just come out of school and they shot him in the head... die man wat hom geskiet het... lag... as 'n mems winkel toe gaan dan sien jy hom. (The person that shot him... laughed... and if you go to the shop, then you see him).
- I : So the person that did this is still around?
- F3 : Yeah... they said that if my mother says who did it, then she is in big trouble... they

threatened my cousin... my father's cousin is a policeman... I told him who did it... the gangsters don't know me... toe se hulle as ek hulle nie se wie gese het nie, dan gaan hulle haar nie los nie... toe het hulle haar gesny in haar nek... haar slagbaar... toe se ek dat dit ek was... toe maak hulle my vas... toe kom die polisie om die hoek... toe hardloop hulle weg... umh... hy is nog steeds in die area.(so they said that if I don't tell them who did it they will not release her... so they cut her in the neck... and I said that it was me... they then tied me up... just then the police came around the corner... and they ran away...umh... he is still in the area).

I : So you can't speak about what's happens because the gangs scare your family if you speak?

M2 : The teachers...

F3 : We must turn to the Lord and we must just pray and He will protect us... there is some children who use drugs and sex... the gangsters use them... I know somebody my cousin's boyfriend... he was also a gangster... they did not like him... the gangsters came back and cut his throat... when he came to the hospital he was dead...

F2 : Sometimes you want to tell your best friend what's happening... sometimes they tell the gangsters what you said... you can't trust anybody.

I : You can't trust people and you can't speak to people about what's happening?

F&M : Yes.

M3 : My aunty's son put his jeans on the line... so a other boy who is a gangster... het sy jeans vol gatte gesny (cut his jeans)... they had a argument and they started fighting and the gangster runs and gets his father's gun and shots him three shots through the head... toe jag sy pa hom... toe skiet hy sy pa... toe gooi hy die gun in die sand... toe hardloop hy weg... toe stamp 'n kar hom (so his father chased him... so he shot his father... he through the gun in the sand... so he ran away... and so he was knocked over by a car).

M1 : I think we must get police all over the place... because when the police look for the gangsters, they can't find them.

F3 : The police must behave like normal people, the gangsters must not know that they are police... en se maar hulle skiet so dan moet hulle die mense vang... die gangsters moet nie weet wie is polisie nie (and if they shoot, then the police must caught them... the

gangsters must not know who the police are).

I : You feel the police must be undercover?

F&M : Yes.

M5 : One day I saw a policeman ride on a bike and one gangster he came up and he shoot at another gangster... hy ry vinniger.. hy jump van sy bike af en vang die gangster (he rode faster... and jumped from his bike and caught the gangster).

I : How does this affect your school work?

M3 : I can't concentrate on my schoolwork.

F3 : Sometimes the gangsters shoot outside and you can't concentrate... then I think of my mom that's at work... what's going to happen to my sister and brother that's at home... we can't concentrate on our schoolwork because... it makes us....

F2 : You can't think when the people's going on... and when you are sitting in class...jy hoor net die gun skote wat af gaan...jy sit net so ingedagte...jy dink net waarom moet dit gebeur (you hear the gun shots... and think why this must happen... you are unable to concentrate).

I : You can't concentrate on your work, because you are thinking about the violence outside and you are thinking whether your parents and family are safe... wherever they are... is that what I am hearing?

F&M : Yes!!

M5 : Other people feel scared because... when the gangster come... the people take the clothes off the line... and the gangsters come over and they shoot... it's not safe for the people.

I : Are you saying that the gangsters don't care who is around...

M5 : Yes!

M2 : The gangsters are not scared when other people are around... hulle kom na die mense se huise... dan dreig hulle die mense... dan se hulle die mense, is jy net se dan gaan jy sien wat gebeur met jou kind (they come to the peoples homes... and threaten them...

and say that if they say anything something will happen to their children).

F2 : Then the people are to scared to open their mouths... because they are scared what's going to happen to their children... when the police arrive they lie and say that they saw nothing... I think the people must talk to the policeman because this gangsters... umh... umh... hulle dink net as die mense nie kan se nie, dan gaan hulle vry kom... as die mense se... hulle is bang vir die tronk... as ek moet iet's gesien het... sal ek praat met die polisieman...(they think that if people don't speak out, nothing will happen to them... if people talk... they are scared of going to jail... if I see anything ... then I will tell the policeman) because I know I will be safe because the Lord will protect me... I must just pray to the Lord and then he will make this problem sort out.

F1 : The gangsters don't aim at anyone, they just shoot... they shoot wild... then they hurt a lot of people... they shot a woman in the back ... and she died... and three other people were shot in the legs.

I : Are you saying that the gangsters are not afraid, they just threaten the families of the witnesses and they keep quiet... but you feel that they should not keep quiet, because the Lord will protect you.

F2 : Yes!

M1 : Die gangsters skiet net... hulle weet nie waarom hulle skiet nie(the gangsters just shoot... they don't know why they are shooting).

M5 : Hulle wil net kwaai wees... hulle wil iemand wees (they want to be important... they want to be somebody).

F4 : If the one has nice clothes then the other one wants it... to be kwaai(important)... he take out the gun and theatens the other person...

F2 : Die een wil better as die ander een wees... as ek iets het, en ek wil dit nie vir hom gee nie... dan wil hy twee dinge soos dit he...so dink ek gaan die violence(the one gangster wants to be better than the other one...and if I got something and don't want to give it to him... then he wants two of those things of what I have...this I think is the cause of the violence).

I : Are you saying that I want something better than you and I want to be better than you and this causes the violence.

- M&F : Yes
- I : Are you also saying that the gangsters don't know why they are fighting?
- M&F : Yes!!
- I : Then we mentioned possible solutions, like Robben Island... and the police and the army must spend more time here.
- M&F : Yes.
- F1 : They must clean the area.
- M1 : And take away the guns.
- F2 : Some people say they must clean the area... som mense se hulle wil die plek skoon he... maar... maar... netma gooi hulle ... hulle vullis... die mense in die fletse... daar is a groet veld... dan gooi hulle dit net... die mense stem maar net saam... dan doen hulle dieselfde... maar daar is soms mense wat nie so dink nie... hulle wag tot die vullislorrie kom... daai mense kan nie wag nie... hulle kyk nie TV nie...hulle hou nie die nuus dop nie... hulle is net geworry oor buitekant... hulle is nie gewoory oor die ander mense nie(some people say that they want to keep the place clean...but...but...just now they...their dirt...the people in the flats...there is a big field...they still throw the dirt...the people all agree...but then they do the same thing...some wait for the refuse truck...those others can't wait... they don't watch TV and the news...they are just worried about what's happening outside...they are not worried about the other people).
- I : Waarom dink jy is hulle nie geworry oor ander mense nie?(Why do you think they are not worried about other people?)
- F1 : As long as their children are safe and their family is in the house, they not geworry oor ander mense nie... dan se hulle "ag man"... ons is nie geworry oor hulle nie "they are not worried about other people... then they say "oh man"...we are not worried about them).
- I : It seems as if people just stay inside their homes... they don't go out... why do you think that is?
- M5 : To feel safe.

- F3 : The other children are safe... maar nou is die een vrou se seun is 'n gangster... dan praat 'n meisie met hom... dan kyk die meisie se ma deur die venster... dan vra die ma die kind hoekom praat jy met gangsters... die ma glo nie die kind nie... somtyds glo die ouers nie die kind nie(but now one women's son is a gangster...and then a girl speaks to him...then that child's mother looks through the window and sees this...and then the mother does not believe the child...sometimes the parents do not believe the child).
- F2 : Daarom dryf die kinders weg van hulle ouers... ons het nie gevra om op die aarde te wees nie... daai is eintlik onse reg... hulle moet na ons ook luister... somtyds... daarom gebeur dit so dat som kinders uit hulle ma se huise is... as hulle die kinders slaan, dan hardloop die kinders weg(that's why the children drift away from their parents...we did not ask to be on this earth...that is our right...they must also listen to us...sometimes...that is why some children have moved out of their mother's home...if they hit the children, then the children run away from home).
- F4 : Parents are also scared to send the children out because they will be shot... but sometimes this does not happen.
- F1 : You also can't go to Foodworld; you can't walk there.
- F3 : If you talk to the people, then your mother says that you are also with the gangsters... en as ons praat met iemand anders ... en ons kan nie help dat my ma is kwaad vir iemand anders... nou moet ons ook kwaad wees vir daai persoon se kind.. ek dink dit is verkeerd... ons kan nie agter ons se ma aangaan nie... vandag moet ons net ons se eie way stap... nie eintlik ons se eie way nie... ons moet onse ma reg hulp somtyds... ons kan nie elke dag kwaad vir mekaar wees nie... dan more is die persoon nie daar nie... dan dink ek waarom was ek kwaad vriende met daardie persoon (and if we talk to someone else...and can't help it that my mother is upset with someone else...now we must also be cross with that person's child...I think that, that is wrong...we can't just follow what our mother's says... to-day we must just walk our own path...not actually our own path...we must help and guide our mothers sometimes...we can't be upset with each other everyday...then to-morrow that person is no longer around...then I think why was I bad friends with that person).
- I : Are you saying that the gang violence causes people not to speak to each other?
- F&M : Yes!!

- I : Then they expect you not to talk to other people's children.
- F&M : Yes!!
- F4 : Sometimes the children belong to different gangs... then they fight with each other... dan fight die ma's ook teen mekaar... it is not the mother's fight... it is the children's... sometimes the mothers also don't help the children to come right... die kinders wil ook nie hoor nie. ("the children don't want to listen").
- I : How does this affect your relationship with your family?
- F3 : When you at school, there are things on the board... but you thinking about your family at home... when the shooting starts... jy concentrate nie op die werk nie... dan dink jy aan jou huis... is my susterjie nog veilig by die huis (you can't concentrate on your work... because you are thinking about what's happening at your home... is my sister still safe at home).
- F2 : Sometimes the teachers don't understand... they shout at you... but they don't feel what you feeling... then you just want to walk away... sometimes the teacher speaks to the children... hulle hartjies is nog sag... dan huil hulle so... dan loop die trane net... dan weet die kinders nie vir wat nie... dan se die ander kinders dat hulle is "moffies" (their hearts are still soft... then they just cry... and the tears start to roll... then the children don't know why... then the other children say that they are moffies [a person with feminine traits]).
- F1 : They don't feel what you are feeling in your heart.
- I : Are you saying that sometimes the teachers speak to you and you start crying... the other children tease you... but they don't know what you are going through... what you are experiencing in your heart.
- F&M : Yes!!
- M5 : There are some people at home; they are gangsters... their father in the house; the big brother and the others are also gangsters... they belong to the same gangs. If there is trouble they help each other.
- F4 : I know a family, the brothers belong to different gangs... these gangs fight each other... when the brothers come home, they sometimes fight with each other... elke aand is daar 'n beklyery (their is fighting every night).

- I : Do they fight because they are in different gangs?
- F&M : Yes!!
- I : How do adults feel about the gang violence?
- F1 : Some people work with the gangsters... I stay with my grandma... my ouma voel nie dat hulle so moet skiet nie... en... en som mense skel die polisie uit... agterna se hulle waarom kom hulle nou...(my grandmother does not want them to shoot like that... and...some people argue with the police...because they respond slowly) maybe they were busy with another job.
- F2 : My ma is bekeer en my pa is maar net by die huis... altyd is die mense skiet en die polisie kom... die vroumense skel sommaar die polisie uit... hullie dink nie... daai polisie was seker besig met ander gevalle... die mense weet wie geskiet het... dan se hulle iemand anders se naam(my mother is converted and my father is just at home...always when the people shoot and the police come...the women argue with the police...they don't think...the police were probably busy with other cases...the people know who shot...but they say someone else's name).
- I : The violence that's going on... the people are angry at the police.
- F2 : Yes.
- F3 : It's always the same people who argue with the police.
- F2 : Yes.
- M1 : On Sunday people went to church... but the brothers belong to different gangs... when the parents came back from church, one of the brothers had burnt the house down.
- I : The families are religious, but the children belong to different gangs... then there is always conflict?
- F&M : Yes!
- I : We have been talking for an hour. Can we speak a bit more about how adults feel about the violence?

- M3 : My mother said she wants to send me to the farm, because of the shooting... when my mother's at work, she can't think about the work. She thinks whether we are safe.
- I : As you are concerned about your parents at home... parents that work are worried about your safety.
- F&M : Yes!!!
- M2 : When the gangsters start shooting and parents go to work... they think about what's going to happen and they leave work and come home.
- F3 : A person can't be concerned about your children alone, but about other children as well.
- F2 : 'n Mens moet concerned wees oor ander mense se kinders(a person must also be concerned about other people's children).
- I : Is this how your parents feel?
- F&M : Yes!!
- F2 : 'n Mens moet nie net weet waar is my kinders nou... semma jy haal jou kinders uit die pad uit; jy moet ander mense se kinders ook uit die pad neem... se nou jou ma en my ma is enemies... jy neem jou kinders uit die pad uit en die ander mense se kinders ook ook(a person must not only know where her children are...if you take your children out of the road, you must also take other people's children out of the road...if your mother and my mother are enemies...you take your children and the other person's children out of the road).
- I : Hoe voel julle om hieroor te praat?(How does it feel to speak about it?)
- F2 : Ons moet daaroor praat, anders gaan jy altyd dink daaroor... en dan gaan jy jouself siek maak (we must talk about it, otherwise you will just think about it...and then you will get sick).
- F3 : En jy gaan ook ander goete doen... wat jy nie moet nie... soos die kinders... as hulle ma vir hulle uitskel... dan rook hulle dagga... is kinders op die skool wat dit ook doen... hulle sniff glue (and you will do other things...that you are not supposed to do...like the children, if their mother speaks to them...then they smoke dagga...children at school are

also doing it...they sniff glue).

- I : Why do you think they sniff glue and smoke dagga?
- M3 : They want to forget...
- F4 : Hulle wil net die dinge oor hulle he(the they just want to forget what's happening).
- F2 : Is sy broer dood is dan is hy alleen... nou dink hy aan hom... hulle weet die dagga maak hulle nog deurmekaar... dagga maak jou lelik.(If his brother dies, then he will be alone...now he thinks about him...they know that the dagga causes them to be confused...dagga causes you to be ugly).
- I : You are saying that children and other people smoke dagga and sniff glue to forget what they're going through... but they don't realize that it makes the problem worse.
- M&F : Yes!!
- F3 : Sometimes it's not like this, because your friend is doing it ... so you want to try it...
- F4 : Nou doen jy dit aanmekaar... dan kom jy dronk by die huis, dan vra jou ma miskien... dan se jy vir jou ma... moenie vir my vertel nie... vir wie het jy nodig, vir jou ma or vir jou tjommie(now you are doing it continuously...then you come home drunk and your mother asks you...then you tell her that she can't tell you anything...who do you need, your mother or your friends?).
- I : Se my wat dink hulle van Pagad?(Tell me what you think about Pagad?)
- F2 : When things started... they had to stop Pagad...that's what I think.
- F3 : Some people support Pagad... but Pagad is just so with the gangsters.
- I : If you say Pagad is with the gangsters, what do you mean?
- F4 : Hulle staan saam met die gangsters... not here... but in other places... somtyds se die mense hulle moet vir Pagad roep(they are the same as the gangsters...sometimes people say that Pagad must be called).
- I : You saying that some people feel you must get Pagad in to deal with the gangsters... but

others feel there is no difference between Pagad and the gangsters.

- F4 : Yes
- F3 : Sometimes they fight about anything, then they have peace... then peace is broken, then they shoot again... so it does not matter if they make peace.
- M2 : I don't agree with that she saying on the nuus...Pagad staan for people against gangs and drugs... hulle probeer om die land reg te kry, om al die gangsters en drugs uit die land te kry(they are trying to rid the country of the gangsters and the drugs).
- I : Are you saying that Pagad is trying to get the country right... try to get rid of gangster and drugs?
- F2 : We don't know what they have in mind... they just so with the gangsters.
- M1 : I saw on the news Pagad shoot just like the gangsters here... the behaviour of Pagad is the same as the gangsters.
- F&M : Yes!!
- M1 : Police can do nothing about the situation.
- M&F : Yes!!!
- I : Is there anything you want to talk about that we have not mentioned?
- F3 : I just want that whatever was spoken here, must not get out.
- I : I made that promise at the beginning of the group and intend to keep it.

APPENDIX G: Adolescent Interview Group two

- I : Did everyone understand what has been read... would you like to say anything?
- M1 : The reason why people become gangsters... because they don't get enough attention from their parents... some parents... don't have jobs... now they robbing the old people... for their pension money.
- I : You feel one of the causes of gangsterism is because people don't have work.
- M1 : They don't have work and don't get enough attention... don't have the love of their parents... so they go... to gangsters... if you a gangster you "that guy" you can bully other people.
- F1 : Some of them live on the street and become gangsters... they smoking drugs... sniffing glue... and the problems begin in the houses.
- I : When you say the problem begins in the houses... then what kind of problems are you talking about?
- M2 : Parents are drinking and smoking... that's why they see their parents smoking and drinking... and they also want to smoke and drink.
- F2 : Some of the parents abuse their children... they also don't have enough food to feed the children... and every child must eat everyday.
- I : You also feel that parents abuse their children... they don't give them clothing and food... so they turn to gangsters... and the parents also abuse drugs.
- F&M : Yes!!!
- M3 : I agree with what F2 said.
- M4 : Some of the people see the gangsters robbing other people... but they don't go and report it to the police... they are scared the gangsters are going to attack them and kill them.
- I : mmmm.... mmmm....

M2 : The reason why there are gangsters... they think they are "good"... they sell drugs and wine.

I : So you say they sell drugs and wine, so they think they are "good".

M2 : Yes!

M1 : Some of the cops are with the gangsters... they give them guns and smuggle guns with them... to shoot other people.

M4 : Some of the cops are sitting on the yard of the smugglers... they are also drinking and smoking drugs... but then they want to pick up other people who are also smoking drugs.

F&M : Yes!!!

M3 : Some of the people when they find someone smoking drugs... then they put him in the van and go to a far place and then they hit him... and then the police leave him alone.

I : Do you feel that all of this contributes to gangsterism?

F&M : Yes!!!

I : Can you think of any other causes of the problem?

M1 : A gangster messes with another gangster's family... that gangster shot that other gangster... and that's why the other gangsters come and fight this weekend... they mess with the gangster's family... and now the gangster get's angry and they take revenge.

I : So you feel that the causes of gangsterism is that there is no work... people don't have food and don't have money and sometimes the parents are the causes... because they smoke, drink and abuse their children... then the children see they not getting anything at home and then they go and join the gangs.

M&F : Yes!!

M3 : Some feel that when they carry a gun... then they are "that Guy" and other people must feel scared of them because they have guns.

I : How does this affect peoples' lives?

- M2 : Some people writing exams... they are learning... now... the violence... the shooting... the gangsters are shooting... some people are scared... they cannot study... because they scared.
- I : Are you saying that how it affects children, is that if you are writing exams and are they are busy shooting outside... then you can't study... you can't concentrate.
- M2 : In grade two the gangsters were shooting outside... you could not study because of the shooting outside.
- I : It's upsetting you... you can't concentrate... because you thinking of what's happening outside.
- M2 : Yes!!
- F3 : On your way to school... you don't know if you are safe because you don't know when they going to shoot... because you think just any minute they going to shoot... they can hit you.
- I : So you also feel that coming to school in the morning is dangerous... you don't know whether you're going to get to school in one piece... because you don't know when they going to start shooting.
- F&M : Yes!!!
- M1 : Last week the gangsters shoot... they shot a small boy in his side... in front of the school gate... then another child picked him up and bring him into the office.
- I : How did it make you feel?
- M1 : Scared!!
- M3 : I want to talk about the bigger gangsters who use the small children to buy the drugs and give them money on the streets.
- I : So the big gangsters use the small children to sell drugs on the street (silence 5 seconds).
- F4 : At the end of the day some girls get raped on the streets... they can't even walk to their friends... they are being raped and some people are being killed and they... some... some

gangsters don't worry who they shooting and... and they have no love in their hearts.

- I : You feel that girls can't walk around safely anymore because you are scared of being attacked by the gangsters, since the gangsters don't mind who they shoot anymore.
- F3 : Yes.
- F1 : I just want to tell you about the girls on the street using drugs... when the cars come... they climb into the cars and drive away.
- M4 : Some children don't want to go to school... they just want to be on the streets and sniff glue and smoke drugs.
- I : Why do you think children do this?
- M2 : They don't get enough attention.
- F3 : They think it's fun to do that.
- M4 : They see other children and big people do it... smoke drugs and sniff glue.
- I : Anything else?... mmm... mmm... Just to get back to the other point... mention was made about the child that was shot outside the school gates... the question I asked at the time was how does that make you feel... when you know that the child was your age and you possibly knew the child... How did it affect you?
- M2 : I was worried because... because when we came... we don't... it can happen to us also!!
- I : Are you saying that when you come to school you don't know if you can also be hurt.
- F&M : Yes!!!
- M1 : We feel scared.
- F3 : Sometimes... sometimes... you don't think it's... it's... you... you scared to come to school... with the shooting and... and you cannot walk on the street... and... the shooting... then you run into some other house... sometimes you go to the shop to buy you something and... and... you... can walk before... but you can't walk now.

- I : Are you saying that you can't walk freely with all the shooting and this scares you.
- F&M : Yes!!
- M4 : If you buy something... the gangsters come and rob you... some gangsters they don't even have to hurt you, they take the gun out and scare you.
- F2 : Some of them make their own families sore... the gangsters do this because they don't get enough attention and... and... the mother of the gangster... umh... umh... if the gangster ask the mother money and they don't want to give... and then they make their mother sore.
- I : So you saying that if the parents don't give in to the gangsters then they get hurt.
- F2 : Yes.
- M3 : Some gangsters they see it is a rich person's child and they taxing the child... and they are waiting at school and they say the child must give them money and... then everyday of the week... they are waiting for the child to give them money. They get taxed so the gangsters leave them alone. They pay protection money.
- F&M : Yes.
- F1 : The gang must stand together and the police must patrol the area, because the problem is here.
- I : Are you saying that to solve the problem, the gang must stand together.
- F1 : Yes, they must tell the police where they smuggling the drugs and where the gangsters hide the guns.
- M2 : If you tell the police where they are smuggling drugs you must not give your identity because they can find you.
- I : Possible solutions mentioned... the people must stand together and you and help the police and you must have more police in the area...
- F3 : They must create more jobs.

M1 : Some children they are at high school... they are not gangsters... but their friends are gangsters... then they put peer pressure on them... now they are going to become gangsters.

I : So you feel sometimes that there is peer pressure.

M1 : Yes.

F2 : Some of the fathers are gangsters... and the children see my father is a gangster... now I want to be a gangster to.

I : You saying that if the parents are gangsters... then the children see my parent is a gangster... then they also want to be like their parent.

M&F : Yes!!

M4 : This happens in the area.

M2 : If the gangsters ask for money and you don't want to give... they will attack you.

I : How can we solve this problem?... It was mentioned that the gang must stand together and the police must patrol more often... and unemployment.

M2 : Police from Athlone and Bellville must patrol.

I : In the article mention is made of Pagad, how do you feel about Pagad?

M2 : They are people against gangstism but they are also smuggling drugs... and giving guns to the people.

I : Are you saying that Pagad says that they are against drugs and gangsterism... but you feel that they are also giving the people drugs and guns...

M3 : When they shot Rashied Staggie Pagad also intervened with the killing of Staggie.

I : Are you saying that they behave just like gangsters themselves.

M&F : Yes!!!

F4 : They are also making people sore and...

M2 : They taxing people who smuggle with drugs and every month they collect R10 000 from the merchants.

I : Are you saying that Pagad is also taxing the merchants?

M2 : Yes! My uncle lives in Ravensmead... who is a merchant... everytime they want to tax my uncle... he does not want to pay... and then they want to hit my uncle.

I : For me to understand you... you saying your uncle is a merchant and Pagad comes to him to tax him.

M2 : Yes and when he don't want to give they want to make him sore... In Athlone... there was a buyer he also did not want to give Pagad money... but then they burnt his house.

I : Are you saying in Athlone there was a buyer... a merchant in other words... that did not want to give Pagad protection money... then Pagad bombed his house.

M2 : Yes. Pagad collect every month from all the merchants... they tell my uncle they will give him a gun... a car... my uncle say he don't want it because they stole... now they want to give a stolen car to my uncle.

F3 : Some of the gangsters make peace... but some of them are breaking the peace again.

F2 : The peace is broken when they fight each other... they shoot over each other... they know where they shooting... because... they shooting innocent people.

M3 : They shoot a other boy in the head... he was not even a gangster.

M4 : A other boy every Sunday he was in church... but he was standing in his bedroom by the window and they shot him through the window... then he died.

I : This violence of Pagad and gangsters how does it affect you, you mentioned that you are scared... in what other ways does it affect you?

M4 : For instance when you are staying close to the gangsters the "Americans" when you come to school... then they soma say you a "American".

I : What's another problem if you live in the "Americans" territory and you need to come to school but you need to go through the "28" territory then you get threatened by the "28".

M&F : Yes!!

M1 : When they are shooting they putting other people's lives in danger, they don't... they can't even shoot correctly but they want to have guns.

I : They don't even know how to shoot properly but they want to have guns and that's when innocent people get killed.

M&F : Yes!!!

M1 : The gangsters they shoot at each other... it went against a gas tank... but it did not explode.

M2 : A bullet went through our window and missed me.

I : When this happened how did you feel?

M2 : I lay on the ground... because you never know when the bullet comes through the window... they shoot a other girl... with one bullet... she was outside... it was her own fault, she saw the gangsters shoot... but she did not listen to her mother.

I : Tell me... when you have all this violence... hey ... and you come to school...

M1 : When they shooting outside some children are crying... some children attending school... they have family who are gangsters... and they are crying.

F3 : Now it's peace... I can go to my friend... I don't have to worry about the shooting...

I : If it's peaceful you can visit friends and not be worried about shooting... are you saying then that if there is shooting you can't go out?

F&M : Yes!!!

M4 : When there is peace you can play outside... you can play without fearing that you will be shot... When it's not peace you must just stay in-doors... you scared in your house.

- I : Are you saying that once the shooting starts and you in-doors you still scared because you don't know if the bullet is going to come through the house or windows.
- F&M : Yes!!
- I : If the shooting is going on how does it influence your school work?
- F4 : If the shooting... nothing goes in here... and you don't know what you read.
- I : If there is shooting you can't concentrate on your school work and you don't remember what you have read.
- F4 : Yes.
- M2 : When you at home you can't concentrate on your home work because you thinking what is happening outside...
- I : How does this influence your relationship with your teachers? Silence!!!!
- M2 : Some teachers understand what you are experiencing while others don't... they just hit you.
- F&M : Yes!!
- I : Do you speak to your teacher about how you feel?
- F&M : No.
- I : How do you think violence affects adults? Your mother, father or grandparents or whoever stays with you.
- M3 : They thinking about if they going to come safe at home... because some gangsters are waiting at the taxi-ranks... at the stations... when the people come with their money... then they rob the people.
- I : Are you saying some adults when they go to work they don't know whether they going to get to work safely.
- M3 : Yes.

I : Or whether they going to get home safely because the gangsters wait for them at the taxi-rank or the station.

M3 : Yes.

M4 : My mother is drinking all the time... and she wants to fight with my sister and me... and there was a day I was running away from home... I went to stay with my uncle... the next day my mother came to fetch her children... she wants us to come home...

I : The violence has caused your mother to drink... what happens then she wants to hurt you and your sister... then you decided the best thing to do is to leave home... now your mother comes to fetch you... but you don't know what to say to her... but you also don't feel you want to go home... is this all because of the gang violence?

M4 : Yes.

F4 : Some of the girls have relationships with the gangsters...

F2 : Some of the parents are scared of the shooting outside and don't want to go outside.

I : So parents are just as scared as you are to go outside.

M1 : Some of the parents don't want you to go to the mobile... because the gangsters are at the mobile.

M2 : The gangsters say they will kick my mother in "my ma se die en daai" then you scared to go outside.

M3 : Then you tell your mother and she is scared and she does not want to face the gangsters.

I : Are you saying that your parents are also as scared to confront the gangsters.

M&F : Yes!!!

I : How does that make you feel?

M1 : You feel hopeless...

I : Who can you turn to?

- M2 : The police, jy kan nie jou ma se nie dan raak sy kwaad.
- I : You can't tell your mother then she gets upset... then you just keep everything that happens to yourself.
- M&F : Yes!!!
- M2 : My mother said that some people are scared of the gangsters so there must be more police... but some of the police are also scared of the gangsters.
- F1 : My mother said we must move... but it does not matter... because in other places it's the same.
- I : What do your parents think this problem can be solved? Silence!!!
- M1 : The police must kill all the gangsters.
- F2 : The police is just like the gangsters... they are bought by the gangsters
- F3 : It does not matter that you send the gangsters to jail or kill them... because the children are also becoming gangsters.
- I : Are you saying that the death penalty won't help... why do you think this?
- F3 : The children that's growing up when they big they will also become gangsters... they become more and more...
- M1 : Some of the parents must stop their children from becomming gangsters...they must give the children love and attention, then the children will get off the street.
- I : So you saying to prevent gangsterism parents must give the children love and attention... then it's not necessary for the children to go out into the streets?
- M&F : Yes!
- M2 : Another gangster... they prayed for him and he became saved.
- I : Are you saying that the people must pray for the gangsters?

- M2 : Yes... some of the people must... think about it... the government and... protect our homes... and take revenge.
- I : The government must take revenge and stop the violence?
- M2 : Yes... some of the people are scared to tell the government... because if they get their names... the gangsters will kill them.
- M&F : The gang must stand together, there must be more police protection and people must tell the government and create more jobs and the people must tell the police where the gangsters are smuggling.
- I : The impression I get here is that the people must stand together to solve the problem.
- M&F : Yes!!
- I : We also spoke about how it affects your school work,... you can't concentrate, you can't do your homework... and what else?
- M2 : You can't walk to the shop.
- F3 : You can't play outside.
- F1 : You can't go to your friends... you must just stay in the house.
- M1 : Your parents don't want to go and work because you going to be hurt, stabbed for their money...
- F4 : Some of the children's parents don't work they on drugs... the children come to school without shoes... they bare-feet... without a school shirt.
- I : Is this how violence possibly affects big people?
- F4 : Yes.
- I : They don't know how to deal with it... so they drink... to forget... unfortunately when they do drink they forget about their children and they forget that their children need clothes and food and they spend all their money on alcohol.

- M4 : Some people they are getting grant for the children... they are using the children's money to buy drugs... they don't think the children need shoes.
- I : What's coming out here is that some parents get grants for their children, but they spend the money on alcohol and drugs for themselves... and forget that the money should be spent on the children.
- M&F : Yes!!!
- F3 : A other girl was chased by gangsters... she does not go out anymore.
- I : We have being going for an hour... lets talk a bit more about how it affects adults? Mention was made that adults use grant money for drugs and alcohol to cope with what's they experiencing and they tend to neglect the children and this is also how some children end up being gangsters. How does it affect people in your area? (Silence)
- M1 : Some people skel the gangsters... some people enjoy it when the gangsters fight... because when they chasing each other the people tell them where they are hiding and if they are stabbing each other... the people say stick hom... stick hom.
- I : mmm... mmm...
- F2 : Some of the people say once you a gangster you can't get out of it... because if you inside you can't get out... "is jy soos 'n gangster liewe dan gaan jy soos 'n gangster dood".
- M1 : They prayed for him and he serves Jesus.
- I : Is there anything you want to talk about that we have not mentioned?
- M2 : Some of the gangsters break into the school.
- F3 : They break into the school and they write ugly things on the board.
- M1 : A grade one boy broke into the school already... his friends go to a other school.
- M3 : The gangsters see the teachers are trying to build up the school... but the gangsters want to break it down.
- M2 : They say you learn nothing... but a past child is a doctor to-day.

F3 : Some children have guns... and some mothers keep the guns for the gangsters.

F4 : If there's trouble they fetch the guns from home.