

**“AN EXPLORATION INTO CHILDREN’S AND ADOLESCENTS’ PERCEPTIONS  
OF COMMUNITY VIOLENCE”**

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## ABSTRACT

This study ultimately aimed to explore children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence. More specifically, the study investigated the meanings that adolescents assign to personal safety and security and the extent to which these assignments explain child and adolescent well-being. At a methodological level, the study followed a qualitative methodological framework and collected data from 14 adolescents between the ages of 14 and 15. Two focus groups were used to collect the data which consisted of seven participants each. Participants were purposively selected from a high school located in a low income community in Cape Town. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret the findings and the study was framed using Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework and the theoretical perspectives of Bulhan's theory of violence, social identity theory, psychological theories, social learning theory, and social disorganization theory. Key findings indicated that the participants were exposed to violence, both through witnessing and being subjected to it within their school, home, and community. Some children perceived a lack of safety within the environments with which they interacted. Data further indicated that exposure to violence created feelings of insecurity, such as fear and anxiety. Similarly, exposure to violence was perceived to have various detrimental effects on the well-being of a child and adolescent. These effects included injury, poor academic performance, post traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, depression, fear, hopelessness, and many others. In addition to this, and based on these results, this study is significant because it taps into the realities faced by many children so that an awareness can be created and a safe space provided for these children to be children.

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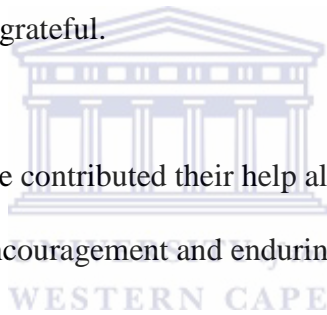
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**Finally God:** for his love, strength and wisdom provided to complete this thesis.



## DECLARATION

I declare that the research, “An investigation into children’s and adolescents’ perceptions of community violence” is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university and all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Taryn Amos

November 2009

Signed by: \_\_\_\_\_





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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Rationale

“South Africa’s Constitution envisages a society that respects the equality and dignity of every person, both child and adult alike. It is a society that cares about people’s socio-economic well-being as much as it cares about their personal and political liberty. Children are afforded a special place in the Constitution: Section 28 of the Bill of Rights safeguards the right of children to care and protection, over and above the rights they have in common with everyone else. In its particular attention to children’s rights, the Constitution sets the ideal for an environment in which every child may flourish in the present (during childhood and for each successive generation of children) and in the various stages along the road to adulthood” (Proudlock, Dutschke, Jamieson, Monson & Smith, 2008, p. 6).

Furthermore, the South African Children’s Act (No. 38 of 2005) provides various rights for children as contained in the Constitution. It stipulates that children have the rights to parental care and early childhood development, provision regarding their protection, rights to prevention and early intervention, alternative care, foster care, child centers’, and also provides for the creation of certain new offences relating to children (Government Gazette, 2006).

However, even though these rights exist, numerous children of all ages, cultural groups, and geographical areas have become victims of violence, crime and various forms of abuse (Bowen & Bowen, 1999; Haj-Yahia, 2001; Kim, Kim, Park, Zhang, Lu & Li, 2000; McIntosh, 2002). According to data from the South African Police Services provided by RAPCAN, 44.4% of rapes in 2007 were of children, more than half of all reported cases were

of indecent assault (52%), and 22.4% of children were murdered as a result of violent acts against them (RAPCAN Factsheet: Crimes against Children, 2007).

Of the victims in these cases, one in five (20.5%) children felt unsafe in their communities, one in 10 (11.5%) children reported feeling fearful at school, and 8.4% of the children were fearful at home (RAPCAN Factsheet: Crimes against Children, 2007). These statistics are typical of low income areas such as Parkwood, which was the research site for this study. Parkwood is suburb of Cape Town located approximately 15 km from the city centre and is characterised by poor infrastructure, low levels of skills and education, high levels of unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, crime and gangsterism (Western Cape Education Department, 2008).

Furthermore, an association can be made with the lack of personal safety and security, exposure to violence, and its effects on the well-being of a child. Pollard and Rosenberg (2003, p. 14) define well-being as follows:

**A state of successful performance throughout the life course integrating physical, cognitive, and socio-emotional function that results in productive activities deemed significant by one's cultural community, fulfilling social relationships, and the ability to transcend moderate psychosocial and environmental problems.**

Research conducted by September and Savahl (2009) has shown that exposure to violence can have potentially deleterious consequences on the well-being of a child. Findings indicate that children perceive themselves to be at risk and have expressed fear and anxiety about the constant threats of violence within their communities. Farver, Ghosh and Garcia (2000)

suggest that when children are exposed to violence, their well-being, sense of self, control over events in their lives, and opportunities to play safely within their environments are compromised.

Therefore, given the social context described by the proposed site of research (i.e. Parkwood) when exploring children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence one can see that many studies (e.g. Seedat, Nyamai, Njenga, Vythilingum & Stein, 2004; Ratner, Chiodo, Covington, Sokol, Ager & Black, 2006) have all attempted to quantify the extent of exposure to violence and its effects on the well-being of a child, but none have attempted to investigate qualitatively the meanings that adolescents assign to personal safety and security and the extent to which these assignments explain child and adolescent well-being within a South African context. In contrast, this research study employed an ecological perspective by drawing attention to children's and adolescents' perceptions and experiences so as to acknowledge them as "competent social actors with valuable insight to offer on their experiences and interactions with the social worlds they inhabit" (Stanley & Sieber, 1992, p. 193).

## **1.2 Aims**

The ultimate aim of this study was to explore children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence by investigating the meanings that adolescents assign to personal safety and security, and the extent to which these assignments explain child and adolescent well-being.

The following research objectives were developed to guide the study:

- 1) To determine how children perceive and understand issues around community violence, personal safety and security.
- 2) To investigate children's and adolescents' perceptions of how exposure to violence influences child and adolescent well-being.
- 3) To investigate the feelings and meanings children assign to community violence, personal safety and security, and to which extent these assignments explain child well-being.

### **1.3 Chapter outline**

The following chapters will explore, in more detail, how the aims and objectives of the study have been met. Chapter Two explores the relevant literature covered on well-being, children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence, personal safety and security, as well as the effects of violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent. The chapter also provides an explanation for the theoretical framework that was used to guide the study. Following this, Chapter Three consists of the methodological design and framework chosen for this study which includes the details of the research technique, participants that were involved in the study, and a description of the procedure utilised in the research. Chapter Four highlights the key findings of the focus groups by giving a detailed description of the thematic categories and sub-themes that have emerged. Furthermore, each theme is understood in relation to the reviewed literature and the theoretical framework of the study, and a comprehensive discussion of the results is provided. Lastly, Chapter Five presents the present limitations and future recommendations for the research study.

## 1.4 Conclusion

Children are human beings with rights and entitlements, including the right to well-being (Arieh & Frønes, 2007). However, even though these rights exist, the statistics speak otherwise, indicating that violence is pervasive within South Africa and that children and adolescents are at risk. In light of this, studies have shown that an association can be made with violence and the well-being of a child or adolescent because exposure to violence and lack of personal safety and security has its effects. Therefore, given the context and choice of the research site, the above views will be further elaborated within the next chapters.





## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

Child and adolescent well-being can be understood in terms of various dimensions: namely, physical, psychological and emotional, social, cognitive, educational and economic. Physical well-being includes general physical attributes such as height, weight, nutrition, physical abilities, and overall health and susceptibility to diseases. The psychological and emotional dimension encompasses psychological constructs such as self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-worth, happiness, anxiety, and stress. Social well-being is concerned with the quality of children's social relationships and includes personal interaction, social coping skills, delinquency, and pro-social behaviour. Cognitive and educational well-being encompasses factors such as cognitive ability, knowledge acquisition, school attendance and achievement. Lastly, economic well-being pertains to economic determinants of quality of life, such as standards of living and caregiver employment status (Thornton, 2001 as cited in September & Savahl, 2009).

Bradshaw, Hoelscher and Richardson (2006) suggest that well-being is multi-dimensional and that all aspects of a child's life should be considered in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the extent to which a child's well-being can be affected. In providing an understanding, these three researchers reviewed literature on well-being and used it to compare existing indicators of well-being among children and young people from the European Union. In doing so, these researchers focused on eight clusters, namely, children's material situations, housing, health, subjective well-being, education, children's relationships, civic participation, and risk and safety. Here, it was not only the discourse of well-being that came into play, but also that of well-becoming.

Thus it is clear from the above dimensions that well-being is holistic in that it recognises a number of critical factors that impact on the well-being of a child. If all the dimensions are not considered when taking into account exposure to community violence, one will miss the true essence of this concept, and a limited understanding of the effects of violence for a child will exist (September & Savahl, 2009).

Therefore, the next sections of this chapter will review studies within the field of child well-being and in doing so cover themes such as children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security; and the effects of exposure to violence on their well-being. The chapter also explains the theoretical framework that was used for the purpose of this study.

## **2.2 Children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and of personal safety and security**

Farver et al. (2000) conducted a quantitative study which consisted of 223 elementary school children (7–11 years old; 126 boys, 97 girls) from low and high violence communities. These children were asked to draw pictures of their neighbourhoods, complete a neighbourhood safety survey, and rate their perceived self-competence and locus of control. The results of the study indicated that children living in high violence neighbourhoods felt unsafe playing outdoors, at school, and walking to school compared to the children living in low violence neighbourhoods. It was found that the children living in high violence community were more distrustful of the police, had lower perceived self-competence, and had more violent content in their drawings than did children living in low violence neighbourhoods.

Children who perceived their neighbourhoods as unsafe were more likely to feel afraid of being harmed and unable to do anything about it. Perceived threats to safety contributed to elevated levels of anxiety, depression, fear, hopelessness, vulnerability, stress, and hyper-vigilance, all of which in return impacted on how children felt about themselves, their sense of self-efficacy, their conceptions of, and relationships, with others. Children who reported being fearful and anxious were found to have difficulties with their cognitive performance and socio-emotional functioning with peers (Farver et al., 2000).

However, this study was posed with several limitations. Firstly, the study was limited by social desirability because when the children were asked to respond to questions posed by the researcher some of them under and over-reported their experiences with violence. Secondly, no information about the children's home environments, household demography, or length of residence within their community was obtained and should have been considered when weighing the findings as an individual's environment, whether violent or not, exposes them to various risks. Thirdly, a small sample was used which did not allow for a proper comparison of the children in the high violence neighbourhoods who felt safe, with the children in the low violence neighbourhoods who felt unsafe, and therefore the findings are not a true reflection of the children living in the high and low violence communities (Farver et al., 2000).

A research study conducted amongst a group of Malawian school children showed that children felt unsafe both walking to school and at school. Children most feared being attacked or being bullied while travelling to school and feared specific places in their school, such as the playgrounds and toilets. Feeling unsafe was seen not only to impact on a child's sense of physical and emotional well-being but also on their psychological states and

attitudes towards school which negatively affected their schooling experience and performance. Living in a country where few people own a car, and public transport is both unreliable and unaffordable, children were most likely to walk to school which exposed them to various threats on a daily basis (Section 2: Safety and perceptions of safety among Malawian school children, 2007).

September and Savahl (2009) conducted a qualitative study that investigated issues around personal safety and security among 200 children between the ages of 9 and 16 years in the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape. The results of the study provided evidence that children perceived protection as being crucial for their well-being. Many children identified lack of personal safety and high exposure to violence as factors impacting negatively on their well-being. Children did not feel safe within their communities and felt that they did not have the freedom to walk around within their neighbourhoods without the fear of having something happen to them. Many children raised concerns about their personal safety and expressed a strong need for security measures. One limitation of this study, however, is that it was a limited qualitative study and therefore generalisation was not an appropriate consideration.

In a study conducted by Spilsbury (2002), that examined 607 children's neighbourhood perceptions and help-seeking behaviour in Cleveland, Ohio (USA), key findings indicated that children of neighbourhoods of both low and elevated levels of violence were exposed to violence and expressed their concerns about victimisation. To deal with violence exposure many children described strategies to maintain personal safety while seeking help. Ward (2007) conducted a qualitative study which explored children's experiences and perceptions of high levels of gang activity among four communities within the Cape Town Metropole area. Her findings indicated that children were exposed to high rates of crime and violence

within their communities and viewed gangsterism as deeply embedded in the social fabric of their areas. To protect themselves, many children developed careful strategies for staying safe such as walking only in certain areas, never walking alone, and staying inside one's house after dark. Children uniformly described the fact that only certain areas were safe in their neighbourhoods as gangs had clearly delineated territories. Children described living with high levels of fear and frustration because of the restrictions that gang activity placed on their lives.

Tucci, Mitchell and Goddard (2008) conducted a study on children's sense of safety amongst 600 children and young people aged between 10 and 14 years. Findings suggest that, even though on the surface, the vast majority of children surveyed believed that Australia is a good place to grow up in, many of them felt worried and concerned for their own safety and the protection of other children. More than a quarter of the children in the sample was actively concerned that they might be hurt by an adult or become a victim of crime. Many of the children expressed a degree of anxiety about children not being protected.

The findings further indicated that many children felt that being bullied at school is a major concern. More than half of the children in the sample reported high levels of anxiety and worry about being bullied, teased, and not fitting in with their peers. A substantial proportion of children perceived bullying as a significantly critical source of tension and concern in their everyday lives (Tucci et al., 2008).

Finally, the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention conducted a study that focused on the influence of family and community violence exposure on the victimisation rates of South African youth among 4,409 young people between the ages of 12 and 22 years selected from

all nine provinces in South Africa. A survey questionnaire was used to explore exposure to and experiences of both crime and violence within the home, school, and the broader community of these children. Findings indicated that if a child was exposed to violence within the home, school or community, it was most likely that this child would become a victim of such violence. Exposure to violence commonly resulted in a child experiencing feelings of anxiety, depression, and fear, which in turn impacted on the individual's sense of safety and their ability to develop healthy interpersonal relationships (Leoschut, 2006).

It was found that young people's perceptions of safety were largely inconsistent with the levels of violence they experienced because the findings indicated that a large number of participants reported that they felt safe at home and in their communities despite the prevalence of violence within their homes. This could suggest the normalisation of crime and violence as indicated by the children due to their learnt tolerance for violent occurrences of crime and violence within their communities, as many children adjusted their lives accordingly (Leoschut, 2006).

### **2.3 Effects of exposure to violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent**

Research conducted by Thompson et al. (2007) has found that children's exposure to violence is an important predictor of child outcomes, and besides violence being a leading source of injury, violence takes a toll on more subtle aspects of functioning such as the cognitive, behavioural, social, and emotional functioning of the child. If a disruption in these domains occurs, a child's progression through typical developmental processes will be affected, depending on the nature of the violent act, timing, type, and chronicity of it (Margolin & Gordis, 2004).

Children also suffer from both short and long term effects of violence. These effects include aggression and delinquency, depression and anxiety, post-traumatic stress symptoms, academic and cognitive problems, and children becoming perpetrators of violent acts (Margolin & Gordis, 2004).

Therefore, this section will advance an understanding of violence and its effects by integrating various findings within this theme (Margolin & Gordis, 2004).

*Physical well-being:*

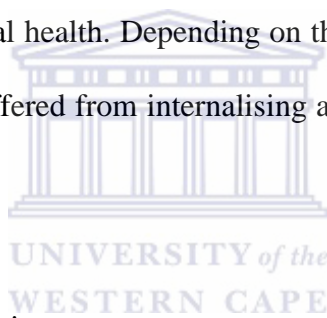
Casanueva, Foshee and Barth (2005) conducted a study on intimate partner violence as a risk factor for children's use of the emergency room for injuries. With the use of various methodological techniques, the results indicated that some children had visited the emergency room or needed urgent care for an illness or injury during the previous 12 months. Injuries included accidents or poisonings, outdoor injuries, falls, animal or insect inflicted injuries, and injuries that were attributed to domestic violence within the household.

Furthermore, most of the caregivers reached the diagnostic criteria for depression, alcohol abuse and drug abuse, and more than a third of the children had suffered from a lack of supervision, physical abuse and sexual abuse. The findings indicated that children whose mothers were current victims of severe interpersonal violence had significantly more use of the emergency room than children of non-abused mothers (Casanueva et al., 2005).

This study had several limitations, for instance, it did not explore the direct connection between male batterers' behaviours and children's use of the emergency room and injuries as

only four mothers in the study declared that their children's injuries were due to a domestic violence episode (Casanueva et al., 2005).

Turner et al. (2006) conducted a study which examined exposure to violence, victimisation, and its impact on the mental health of children. A sample of 2,030 children aged 2–17, as well as the caregivers of these children, was used. A telephone interview, Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire, and a Trauma Symptom Checklist were used. The findings indicated that if a child came from a family where various structures were not present due to stress and lack of education or income, a child is more at risk of various forms of violence against them. If the parent was using or abusing alcohol and drugs, the well-being of the child was at risk, especially their mental health. Depending on the level of exposure to violence, it was found that many children suffered from internalising and externalising problems such as depression, anger or aggression.



*Cognitive and educational well-being:*

Henrich, Stone, Fanti, Jones and Ruchkin (2004) investigated the long-term effects of exposure to community violence on academic achievement and feelings of safety among a large sample of urban middle-school students, using a quantitative method. The study found that if a child was exposed to violence or witnessed violence their performance within school was lower than those children who had not been exposed to violence. Children who felt less safe within their school and in their communities performed more poorly academically than those children who felt safe. The findings have shown that with the internalising of one's experience of violence can be associated with other deleterious effects to a child's well-being, such as: depressive symptoms, disruptive behaviours, hypersensitivity, and aggression towards teachers and peers. However, this study was limited by its lack of external and



construct validity which could have influenced the findings or what the research was trying to measure.

In relation, Ratner, Chiodo, Covington, Sokol, Ager and Black (2006) conducted a quantitative study which found that community violence exposure is a critical urban problem among six and seven year old children, and is associated with negative academic outcomes. These theorists argue that children who report feeling safe performed better than those who did not feel safe within their school. Children who did not feel safe showed high levels of stress and anxiety which impacted negatively on their academic performance.

In addition to this, Ozer (2005) conducted a 1-year longitudinal school-based study on the impact of violence on 73 seventh and eighth grade urban adolescents from a major metropolitan school district in California. A Baseline and Follow-Up study was conducted as a means of measuring adolescents' exposure to violence, daily hassles, school connection, anxiety and intrusive symptoms, depressive symptoms, and aggression when understanding the phenomenon under investigation.

Key findings indicated that recent exposure to violence, lack of support and security, and lack of connection with the school environment negatively impacts on the psychological health and well-being of the adolescent and could lead to depression and anxiety. The findings showed that, if adolescents had some form of support and safety within their school environment, their mental functioning would not be affected even when exposed to violence. It was found that if these protective factors existed in the lives of these adolescents, they would deal better with the violent experiences, as well as the depressive symptoms or feelings of anxiety (Ozer, 2005).

Lastly, it is important to note that self reports were used to obtain the information for this study and therefore the validity of the reports can be questioned because of over-reporting or under-reporting. Under-reporting could have been due to lack of trust and confidence in the survey, as well as having the teachers and parents present (Ozer, 2005).

*Social and economic well-being:*

In terms of social well-being, a link between violence exposure and a child's development was found through studies and showed that factors within the child (maladaptation, stress and substance abuse) and their social environment (parenting) can impact negatively on their development and overall well-being. The amount of exposure to violence, characteristics of the child (such as gender), and the characteristics of their environment (maltreatment, family support and relationships with others), can impact on the development of the child, causing him or her to externalise and internalise various feelings (Lynch, 2003).

Seekings, Alexander, Jooste and Matzner (2004) conducted the Third Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) which comprised of a survey addressing the social and political attitudes and behaviours of a sample of 200 African, 200 Coloured, and 200 White individuals from households within the Cape Town Metropole area. The survey focused on the current positions of the government, including existing inequalities and injustices faced by many, and comprised of various aspects in order understand social and political attitudes and behaviours.

When looking at the data collected, the finding indicated that crime, or fear of crime, was present within this community because 16% of the respondents said that they or someone in their family had been physically attacked in the past year, and 30% said that they (or a family

member) had been a victim of a burglary or other theft. Some respondents who reported that neither they nor their family had had their homes broken into or had been attacked in the previous year still reported having felt unsafe while walking around their neighbourhood both during the day and especially at night (Seekings et al., 2004).

*Psychological and emotional well-being:*

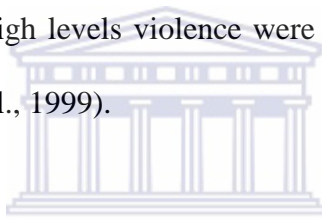
Exposure to violence leads to a person both internalising and externalising their experiences. According to Lynch (2003) a relationship between exposure to violence and increased risk of various types of externalising behaviour problems exists as exposure to violence positively correlates with antisocial behaviour and aggression. When it comes to internalising problems caused by violence exposure, exposure to violence has been shown to correlate positively with symptoms of anxiety and depression, low levels of self-esteem, feelings of separation anxiety, and feelings of relational insecurity (Lynch, 2003).

A study conducted by Buckner, Beardslee and Bassuk (2004) on 95 poor children (8–17 years) found that when children are exposed to high levels of violence within their communities they either internalise or externalise their feelings. Internalising symptoms included depression and anxiety, and externalising problem behaviours consisted of aggression and delinquent behaviour. One limitation of this study was the small sample size used.

Raviv, Raviv, Shimoni, Fox & Leavitt (1999) conducted a quantitative study on children's exposure to violence and its relationship to emotional distress. More than 1,000 second and fourth graders who reported exposure to high or low levels of violence within their neighbourhoods participated in the study. Each child completed a group-administrated

questionnaire which was designed to assess exposure to violence at school and on TV. The children also completed a questionnaire assessing symptoms of distress. Results showed that students in high violence schools reported more exposure to violence than children in the low violence schools, and fourth graders reported more exposure to violence than second graders. Children who reported high levels of exposure to violence reported high levels of emotional distress as well.

In terms of gender differences, findings indicated that boys reported higher levels of violence exposure than girls. However, girls showed higher levels of distress compared with boys. Moreover, many children reported more violence seen on television than encountered at school, but both television and high levels violence were found to impact on the emotional distress of all children (Raviv et al., 1999).



Seedat, Nyamai, Mega, Vythilingum and Stein (2004) conducted a comparative study on 2,041 boys and girls from 18 schools in Cape Town and Nairobi. Results indicated that more than 80% of the children reported being exposed to severe trauma either as victims or as witnesses of violence. Kenyan adolescents compared with South African ones had significantly higher rates of exposure to witnessing violence, physical assault by a family member, and sexual assault. The findings also showed that exposure to violence can lead to post-traumatic stress symptoms. Boys were as likely as girls to meet the post traumatic stress disorder symptom criteria. However, higher rates of sexual assault and post-traumatic stress disorder were traditionally documented in girls than in boys.

Several limitations of this study are worth mentioning. First, although a relatively high symptom threshold of ‘most of the time’ was used to establish PTSD criteria was used,

diagnoses of current PTSD (full and partial) was based solely on symptom status and not on functional impairment. Secondly, because the age of onset and duration of PTSD were not documented, it was not possible to establish symptom chronicity. Thirdly, exposure to trauma was measured as a count of trauma types rather than as the number of exposures or severity of exposure to a particular trauma, which might have contributed to the failure to detect significant differences between the samples. Lastly, the questionnaire was administered in English (to be eligible participants had to be able to read and write English at tenth grade level), even though English was not the home language of the majority of the respondents (Seedat et al., 2004).

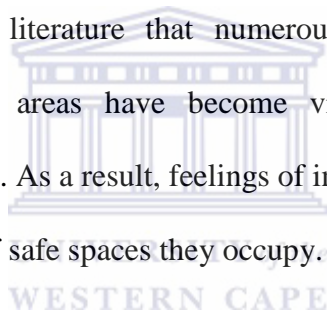
A quantitative study was conducted by McCart, Smith, Saunders, Kilpatrick, Resnick and Ruggiero (2007) on urban adolescents' exposure to community violence and how it differs from family violence and sexual assault amongst 4,023 youth (aged 12–17 years). Each child was interviewed by telephone and asked about their history of interpersonal violence exposure, symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and delinquency.

Findings indicated that with exposure to violence an association can be made with post-traumatic stress disorder and delinquent behaviour. In terms of age, gender, and ethnicity the following was found: when it came to older adolescents, these adolescents reported experiencing higher levels of violence and endorsed more symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and delinquency than younger adolescents. Girls, in particular, reported experiencing higher levels of family violence and sexual assault. Moreover, the reports indicated that the girls were more likely to experience symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder due to exposure to violence and less likely to engage in delinquent behaviour compared to the boys in the sample (McCart et al., 2007).

However, at the same time, these findings support several limitations. Firstly, the study made use of a self-report measure which could have been biased when gathering this type of information. Secondly, with the use of a telephone survey methodology, because when using this type of assessment approach, the interviewer had limited control over the respondent's environment. Lastly, this study was limited by its cross-sectional design and by its inability to determine the timing of each participant's victimization experience. Some of the participants that reported exposure to multiple violent events may have described situations that occurred in the recent past, and these events may have triggered acute symptoms (McCart et al., 2007).

#### **2.4 Concluding Remarks**

It is clear from the available literature that numerous children of all ages, cultural backgrounds, and geographical areas have become victims of violence within their communities and neighbourhoods. As a result, feelings of insecurity exist among children and adolescents because of the lack of safe spaces they occupy.



Various studies have all shown the link between violence and its effects on the personal safety and security of a child and adolescent and their well-being. For instance, studies conducted have shown that exposure to violence can have potentially deleterious consequences on the well-being of a child because exposure to violence causes children to perceive a lack of safety and security which leads to many expressing fear and anxiety because of it. Furthermore, exposure to violence leads to various effects on the physical, educational and cognitive, psychological and emotional, social, and economic well-being of a child and adolescent, as studies have shown that children are at risk to injury, depression, anxiety, poor academic achievement, and post-traumatic stress disorder.

## 2.5 Theories of violence

There are various theories that explain the root causes of violence and its effects on the well-being of a child and adolescent. These theories include: Bulhan's theory of violence, social identity theory, psychological theories, social learning theory, the theory of social disorganisation, and Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of child development. Each theory will be viewed sequentially:

### *Bulhan's theory of violence:*

When drawing on the theories of violence it is important to recognise the influences of the past and how these influences can be used to understand where violence may have originated. In providing an understanding of the causes of violence and its effects on the individual Bulhan drew on the works of Fanon whereby he looked at the ways in which violence manifested itself within situations of oppression. In his attempt to do so, Bulhan explored how colonialism caused violence amongst groups because of the greed of many to occupy land that had been living spaces of others (Bulhan, 1985).

Furthermore, Bulhan explored Fanon's theory which states that the world is governed by a Manichean psychology that underlies human violence and oppression. In this sense, the world is divided into different compartments and people, based on irreconcilable opposites cast into good versus evil, beautiful versus ugly, intelligent versus stupid, white versus black, and human versus subhuman modes. In a situation of oppression, the Manichean psychology permeates everyday living so that the oppressor has his own world and the oppressed have theirs. These two worlds are separate and do not mix in colour, class, or even beauty (Bulhan, 1985).

Secondly, the Manichean psychology permeates the prevailing values and beliefs of a group. This manifests in the oppressor identifying himself in terms of sublime and beauty while depicting the oppressed in terms of absolute evil and ugliness (Bulhan, 1985).

In addition to this, an identity is created from the environments, cultures and people in the two separate worlds of existence. On the surface, the oppressor benefits because his identity is more secure, his self-respect maintained, and his confidence reaffirmed, yet on the other hand, the oppressed becomes full of doubt, feels inferior, and lacks self-worth and confidence which further leads to rage and violence against the oppressor as a means to make their situations of living a better one (Bulhan, 1985).

Moreover, Bulhan (1985) identifies another form of violence which is known as structural violence. This type of violence is seen as the most lethal form of violence because it is the least discernable, because it causes premature deaths in the largest number of persons, and because it presents itself as the natural order of things. It fosters institutional, interpersonal and intrapersonal violence, and it pervades the prevailing values, environment, social relations, and individual psyches of others.

For instance, South Africa was recognised as a society of opulence for a minority of whites and a consuming inferno for a majority of blacks. To Bulhan, there was no society in the world that better illustrates the results of a violent compartmentalisation of people into races and the calculated fortification of a Manichean psychology. South Africa was a country in which the ruling group relentlessly strived to divide its population into, as it were, four distinct species differentiated on the basis of race. As a result, many people suffered from great poverty, disease and dislocation. Wealth, power, and privilege were distributed



according to these divisions and so were the rates of preventable death and disability. Therefore, apartheid was indeed structural violence in its crudest form (Bulhan, 1985).

*Social identity theory:*

According to Baker (2007), Tajfel argued that people categorise themselves into in-groups and out-groups in an attempt to establish a positive sense of value. Positive group (and self) value is derived by making clear distinctions between the in-group and the out-group, distinctions which view the out-group in a negative manner and the in-group more favourably.

Furthermore, in social identity theory, social identity is seen as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his or her membership of a group, together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership. Three dimensions exist: the cognitive, evaluative and emotional. The cognitive dimension consists of the recognition of belonging to the group, the evaluative, of the recognition of the value attached to the group, and the emotional, of the attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders. These recognitions allow for a particular identity to be formed (Baker, 2007).

In light of this, an association can be made between social identity and stereotyping. According to Brown, when individuals stereotype people, they attribute to them certain characteristics that are seen to be shared by all or most of their fellow group members. Here, stereotypes are the inferences that we make and the images that spring to mind once a particular category is evoked (Baker, 2007).

When linking this theory to violence, it can be noted that various factors within one's environment, such as exposure to prolonged conflict or stressful events within the home (lack of parenting, drug and alcohol abuse, and poverty) can put youth at risk of adopting deviant behaviours. For example, children's circumstances may influence their need to belong within their community, and children may join a gang and adopt the gang's identity because of this. Young people's behaviour is then likely to be guided by the norms and values of the gang according to which aggressiveness is a virtue and the use of violence a legitimate means of defending the gang's honour and territory (Strocka, 2005).

*Psychological theories:*

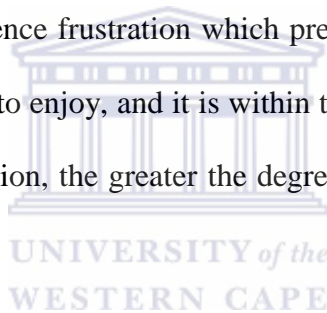
Psychological explanations of violence emphasise power relations and contend that individuals are drawn to the path of violence as a consequence of psychological forces. The people that would fit into this kind of explanation would be individuals with a damaged self-concept and who have never fully integrated the good and bad parts of the self. Furthermore, these aspects of the self are split into the 'me' and the 'not me' whereby the individual with this personality constellation idealises his grandiose self and 'splits out' and 'projects' onto others all the hated and devalued weakness within. Based on this, these individuals then need an outside enemy to blame (Ferracuti, 1990, p. 27 as cited in Ruiz, 2002, p. 113). In a case like this, members generally suffer from distorted or distressed personalities which cause them to use violence against another (Ruiz, 2002).

Freud points out that each human being is born with equally powerful instincts toward life and death. If the death instinct is turned inwards, it results in self-punishment. However, when directed outwards it results in hostility and anger which may lead to destructive behaviour and violence against another (Gottesman & Brown, 1996).

Secondly, *Social learning theory* states that violence is caused from external forces of or events in one's environment that evoke a particular reaction. In this case, it is the interaction between behaviour of a person and their social setting that is of importance (Ruiz, 2002).

Bandura argues that violence is learnt via modelling and imitation. It is through the observation of role models at home, at school, and through the media that children learn social conduct rules and a repertoire of social behaviours, including aggression and violent behaviour (Gottesman & Brown, 1996).

Lastly, according to *Aggressive Drive Theory* people are driven to attack others when they are frustrated. When they are unable to reach their goals or when they cannot receive the rewards they expect, they experience frustration which prevents a person from obtaining the pleasures he or she had expected to enjoy, and it is within this frustration that aggression lies. Therefore, the greater the frustration, the greater the degree of aggression against the source of frustration (Ruiz, 2002).



*Social disorganisation theory:*

According to Jensen (2003) social disorganisation theory is a theory that attributes the variation in crime and delinquency over time and among territories to the absence or breakdown of communal institutions (e.g. family, school, church and local government) and communal relationships that traditionally encouraged cooperative relationships among people. If an absence or breakdown of these relationships occurs, social disorganisation comes into play.

For example, Sutherland believed that the mobility, economic competition, and an individualistic ideology that accompanied the capitalist and industrial development led to the

disintegration of both the large family and homogenous neighbourhoods as agents of social control, expanded the realm of relationships that were not governed by family and neighbourhood, and undermined governmental controls. Those in domination imposed their interests, values, norms and beliefs on many, and because of this, a separation existed between the poor and the rich. The poor in particular, were exposed to environments that put them at risk of the socialisation of crime through which they adopted delinquent behaviours as a reaction (Jensen, 2003).

In relation to this, cultural transmission theory can be looked at which argues that social disorganisation is the inability of local communities to realise the common values of their residents or solve commonly experienced problems. For example, lower-class neighbourhoods tend to have differing values and needs and are simply organised differently in ways that best serve their interests. Three factors that give rise to these differences are residential instability, racial or ethnic heterogeneity, and poverty, which result in social disorganization and through which criminal traditions become embedded in communities (Thabit, 2006).

From another perspective, Farris (1948) extended the concept of social disorganisation to explain social pathologies and social problems in general, including crime, suicide, mental illness, mob violence, and suicide. He defined social disorganisation as the weakening or destruction of the relationships which hold together a social organization. This concept was to be employed objectively as a measurable state of a social system, independent of personal approval or disapproval. When applied to crime, Farris's central proposition was that crime rates are reflections of the degree of disorganisation of the control mechanisms in a society. In turn, crime also contributed to disorganisation, a proposition that would be revived four

decades later. Disorganisation of such conventional mechanisms was especially likely in large, rapidly growing industrial cities where such disorganisation permits highly organised criminality, as well as, less organised forms of group and individual crime and delinquency (Jensen, 2003).

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework of the current study**

*Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory:*

According to Bronfenbrenner (2005) the ecological model is an evolving theoretical system for the scientific study of human development over time. This development takes place through processes of interaction with others and their environment by extending over the life course of a child across successive generations through historical time, both past and present.

The ecological theory looks at a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment and defines complex "layers" of their environment, each having an effect on a child's development. The theory also emphasises that a child's own biology is a primary environment fuelling his or her development. The interaction between factors in the child's maturing biology, his or her immediate family or community environment, and the societal landscape fuels and steers their development. Changes or conflict in any one layer will ripple throughout other layers (Paquette & Ryan, 2001).

Four levels have been identified in order to understand human development over time. In this sense, Bronfenbrenner explained the importance for human development of interrelated ecological levels conceived of as nested systems which consist of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. Firstly, he described the microsystem as the setting within which the individual is behaving at a given moment in his or her life, which

encompasses the complex relations between the developing person and the environment in an immediate setting containing the person (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515 as cited in Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. xiii). Secondly, the mesosystem is a set of microsystems constituting the individual's developmental niche within a given period of development, and comprises the interrelations among major settings containing the developing person at a particular point in his or her life (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

Thirdly, the exosystem is composed of a context that, while not directly involving the developing person, has an influence on the person's behaviour and development. This system is an extension of the mesosystem which embraces specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves contain the developing person but impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings in which the person is found, and thereby delimit, influence, or even determine what goes on there (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

Finally, the macrosystem is the superordinate level of the ecology of human development; it is the level involving culture, macroinstitutions and public policy which influences the nature of interaction within all other levels of the ecology of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

For example, if good interactions exist between children and their parents, their friends, and other people, this can help with their development. If parents are present in the lives of their children, are supportive, and establish good emotional attachments with their children, their children will develop optimally. However, if these interactions do not exist within a child's environment their well-being is at risk, including the intellectual, emotional, social, and moral aspects of their lives. From this, children are seen to be at greater risk of problems such as,

dropping out of school, involvement in socially alienated or destructive peer groups, smoking, drinking, adolescent pregnancy, vandalism, violence, and criminal acts (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).

*Socio-political context in South Africa:*

When looking at Bronfenbrenner's model from a community rather than a developmental perspective as proposed above, the following can be noted about violence. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) various interactive levels within a person's community can impact on the behaviour of the individual. The individual exists within layers of social relationships: the family, friendship network, organisations, neighbourhoods, culture and societies. All layers are interdependent on one another, impacting on the individual's life. There are four levels of interaction that are important in understanding individual behaviour; these include the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and the macrosystem. The microsystem focuses on the immediate experience and personal interaction of the person in a direct way. For a child, this would be the interactions that take place within the family, their relationships with teachers, learners, friendship networks or sports teams (Visser, 2007).

The mesosystem is a set of linkages between the microsystems that the person enters. For instance, the values taught at school and at home can impact on the child's behaviour and development. On the other hand, the exosystem consists of interconnections between the micro, meso, and those systems with which the person has no direct contact, but which may affect his or her experience or the functioning of these two systems. Here the environment of the community is of importance. Last of all, the macrosystem consists of the wider system of ideology and organisation of social institutions common to a particular social class, ethnic group, or culture to which a person belongs. It includes the attitudes and values of people and

policies that govern behaviour, economic trends, gender roles, social class and cultural values (Visser, 2007).

Furthermore, and based on these levels, in this study, violence can be understood in terms of four things: apartheid, poverty and social deprivation, the unlawfulness associated with the transition from apartheid to the democratic rule, and the lack of structures and policies present at a given time (Visser, 2007).

In terms of Apartheid, violence has a long history within the South African society. It was during 1934-1948 that the South African government officially adopted a policy of racial segregation which laid the foundation for the establishment of an apartheid government in 1948. This policy prevented black South Africans from meaningful participation in the affairs of government with the ultimate aim of ensuring the supremacy of white South Africans. The policy was enforced by violence which caused a separation of those seen as other than white from various sectors including education, employment, health care, and place of residence. Many tried to fight against these policies, and the police, who served those in power, used force against them. This force included beatings, arrests, assassinations and torture, and also structural and systematic violence (Visser, 2007).

Secondly, when it comes to poverty and social deprivation, the brutality of Apartheid and the conditions it created for various groups of people caused a separation of groups by unequal distribution of resources, ill health, inferior education, hardships, and family divides among many. During this time, many people became poor and a drastic decline in their living standards occurred, which led to frustration and anger. In reaction, these vast differences in economic status led to rage and violence against whites whose wealth was perceived to have



been built on the exploitation of cheap black labour (Vogelman, 1990 as cited in Visser, 2007). However, this rage was not targeted at whites only but at wealthier, better educated blacks as well (Visser, 2007). For another perspective, Jewkes (2002) states that poverty is one of the key contributors associated with violence because it is a product of inequality due to the socioeconomic injustices that exist within various communities or societies.

Thirdly, with regard to the unlawfulness associated with the transition from apartheid to democratic rule, this study focuses on the following. During 1990-1994 many violent crimes of all kinds occurred due to the political situation at that time. Black youth participated widely in taking a stand by protesting against the existing political structures in order to regain their identity, as their involvement in political activities gave young people a sense that they could have a say in their futures. However, these violent protests were replaced by political negotiations and the black youth of the 1990s were urged to return to school, even though nothing had changed in the schools, and this being the case, the black youth found a new identity by belonging to criminal gangs in which they found a means of wealth creation, power, and status within their communities (Visser, 2007).

In 1994 many people were given the freedom to move around which led to criminals having access to more places in which to commit their crimes. Taxi violence also occurred, as many wanted to make money in the taxi business yet at the same time there was not a place for everyone and their aspirations (Visser, 2007).

Furthermore, high levels of urbanisation occurred in South Africa, together with an increase in immigrants from various neighbouring countries, many of whom had entered the country illegally. As a result of this, high levels of unemployment, the development of large informal

settlements, overcrowding, a lack of social and health resources, and severe poverty came about. In these circumstances domestic violence, involvement in prostitution, alcohol and drug abuse, and other criminal acts thrived in many communities (SAPS, 2002/3 as cited in Visser, 2007).

Lastly, when looking at the lack of corrective structures and policing, the truth and reconciliation commission movement emerged which addressed the past injustices of many. Here individuals were given the chance to address their wrongdoings and receive forgiveness. However, at the same time the TRC did not have the ability to eradicate crime and violence (Visser, 2007).

In this sense, a culture of violence was cultivated during the Apartheid years, which still exists today as poverty and social deprivation remain a reality for most previously disadvantaged communities despite the advent of democracy. Even though the police worked together, than against individuals, many believed that they were instrumental in enforcing the Apartheid laws, and many people are still suspicious and hostile towards them to this day (Visser, 2007).

Therefore, this framework was used to understand how violence manifests within the context of the systems that form apart of children and adolescents environments. Each layer mentioned above was used to show how violence provides a fuelling ground for exposure to violence, lack of perceived safety and security, and violence effects amongst the children and adolescents. Furthermore, the interaction between factors in the child's maturing biology, his immediate family or community environment, and the societal landscape was evaluated.

## 2.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has reviewed current empirical, as well as theoretical literature on perceptions of exposure to community violence, personal safety, and violence effects. However, when identifying the gaps within the literature consulted no research has been conducted on parents and teachers perceptions of safety, violence, and violence effects. Common limitations include small sample size and the use of self reports.

Furthermore, the following chapter discusses the methodological design and framework utilised throughout the research process. Chapter Three also includes details of the research technique, the participants involved in the research, and a description of the procedure employed in this research.



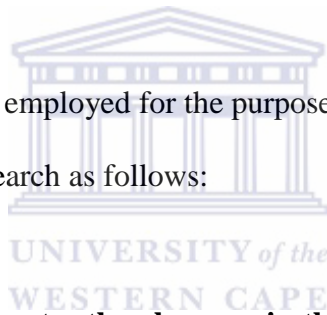
## CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological design and framework utilised throughout the study. Here the research question, aims, and objectives of the study were used to guide the methodology which includes details of the research technique, the participants involved in the research, a description of the procedure employed, and the ethical considerations of the study. The methodology also utilises an ecological perspective which influenced the choice of data collection technique and type of analysis used.

### 3.2 Research Design

A qualitative research design was employed for the purpose of this study. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3) define qualitative research as follows:



**It is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive and material practices that makes the world visible. These practices ... turn the world into a series of representations including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that the researcher can study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.**

Therefore, when taking the above definition into an account this research study took a qualitative stance by drawing on children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and safety within their schools, homes and community.

### **3.3 Participants**

The participants of this study consisted of 14 children, both male and female, between the ages of 14 and 15 years. Each participant was school-going; attending a high school located approximately 15 km from the city centre of Cape Town, residing in a coloured township known as Parkwood. This particular area is characterised by low levels of skills and education, high levels of unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, poor infrastructure, crime and gangsterism (Western Cape Education Department, 2008).

The study also made use of purposive sampling. According to Judd, Smith and Kidder (1991) the basic assumption behind purposive sampling is that with good judgment and an appropriate strategy, one can handpick the cases to be included and thus develop samples that are satisfactory in relation to the study's needs. This of course, however, according to Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006), all depends on the availability and willingness of the sample to participate in the study, as well as, on the selection criterion for the study which was based on the age, place of residence, and voluntary participation.

### **3.4 Procedure**

Written informed consent was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department and the school, and an initial appointment was made. With the assistance of a life skills teacher, the participants were chosen based on the selection criteria for the study, which was voluntary participation. Thereafter, the participants were informed of the process and

requirements of the study and permission was obtained in writing from the learners as well as their legal guardians. In addition, the focus groups were conducted at the school, audio recorded and transcribed verbatim.

### **3.5 Data Collection**

For the purpose of this study, data was collected from two focus groups consisting of 7 participants each. The reason for the use of a focus group according to Krueger and Casey (2000) is that it is a carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, nonthreatening way because discussions are relaxed and often participants can enjoy sharing their ideas and perceptions with each other. A further motivation for the use of a focus group was that it is a socially orientated research procedure that views children as social creatures who are influenced by their interaction with others and do not form opinions in isolation (Krueger, 1994 as cited in Kader, 2006, p. 39). Kader (2006) suggests that the use of a focus group sets an ideal environment for children so that they will feel intimidated to share their views than if they had been in an interview session.

The use of a focus group also allowed for direct interaction with the children which helped the researcher to probe and raise issues the researcher wanted to discuss (Smithson, 2000 as cited in Kader, 2006, p. 39), and further enabled the researcher to draw meaning from the children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security, so that a local in-depth understanding of the phenomenon could be obtained. In addition to this, a semi-structured discussion guide was developed and used to guide the focus groups (See Appendix D).

### 3.6 Data Analysis

The information gathered from the transcriptions was analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method used for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data because these themes are seen to capture something important about the data in relation to the research question and represent some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

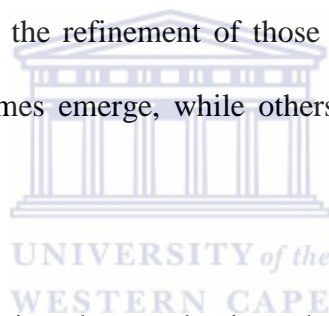
According to Braun and Clarke (2006) there are six steps that should be taken in this process. These are: familiarising oneself with the data collected, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing a final report. In this study, each step was followed when analysing the data collected.

Briefly, the first step, familiarising oneself with the data, suggests that researchers must immerse themselves in the data collected to the extent that they are familiar with the depth and breadth of the content. In this case, immersion usually involves repeated reading of the data, and reading the data in an active way so as to search for meanings and patterns. It is ideal to read through the entire data set at least once before coding because the ideas and identification of possible patterns will be shaped as one reads. In this step, data is further collected and transformed from spoken words into written texts so that the coding process can take place (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Secondly, the production of initial codes from the data takes place. Here codes are developed to identify a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst and refer to the most basic segment or element of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63 as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.

88). From this, the data is then organised into meaningful patterns by using highlighters or coloured pens to indicate potential patterns, or by using post-it notes to identify segments of data. Codes are matched with data extracts that demonstrate that code (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thirdly, the searching of themes begins when all the data has been initially coded and collated, and a long list of the different codes has been identified across the data set. This phase, which re-focuses the analysis at the broader level of themes, involves sorting the different codes into potential themes and sub-themes and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified theme. Furthermore, the fourth step occurs whereby the themes are reviewed. This step involves the refinement of those themes that have been identified. Some themes are kept; new themes emerge, while others are discarded (Braun & Clarke, 2006).



The fifth step, defining and naming themes, begins when the researcher has satisfactory themes for the data. At this point, one then defines and further refines the themes that will be presented in the analysis and analyses the data within them. In other words, this means that the researcher must identify the essence of what each theme is about (as well as the themes overall), and determine what aspect of the data each theme captures. This is normally done by going back to collated data extracts for each theme and organising them into a coherent and internally consistent account with an accompanying narrative, as well as identifying the story that each theme tells, and considering how it fits into the broader overall story that the researcher is trying to tell about their data in relation to the research question or questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).



Lastly, the sixth step focuses on producing the final report, and begins when the researcher has a set of fully worked-out themes, and involves the final analysis and write-up of the report so as to tell the complicated story of the data in a way which convinces the reader of the merit and validity of the analysis. In addition to this, the write-up must provide sufficient evidence of the themes within the data so that the essence of the point the researcher is trying to demonstrate is captured by the extracts provided (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

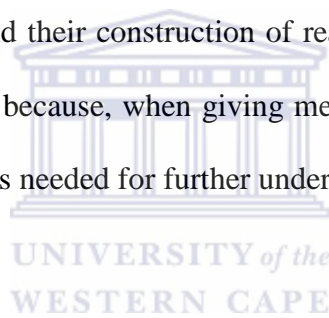
### **3.7 Reflexivity**

Giorgi (1986), Haraway (1991) and Kader (2006) all emphasise the importance of reflexivity in qualitative research as it is believed that all researchers enter the field of research with preconceptions of what they are studying (Burr, 1995). Within this study, and at all times, the researcher was aware of her own personal background and position to the phenomena under investigation. To make sure reflexivity was thoroughly maintained in this thesis, it is important to note that as a researcher, my background, gender and position may have influenced the interaction between the participants and myself, and therefore their responses. Haraway (1991) suggests that it is important to “recognize that knowledge is partial and situated, and accounts adequately for the effects of the positioned researcher” (p. 184). When it comes to reflexivity in research, this process is primarily an enterprise of knowledge construction where the researcher, with his or her participants, is engaged in producing knowledge through a process of scrutiny, reflection, interrogation of the data and the researcher, the participants, and the context that they inhabit (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

The reflexive researcher does not merely report the facts of the research but also actively constructs interpretations, while at the same time questions how those interpretations came about (Hertz 1997, p. viii as cited in Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 274). In this case,

reflexivity in research is a process of critical reflection both on the kind of knowledge produced from research but also on how that knowledge is generated.

Therefore, at all stages of the research process the stance that the researcher took was not in any way imposed on the children and adolescents so that their constructions of the world and the meanings they assigned to exposure to community violence, personal safety and security, and violence effects were that of their own and not that of the researcher (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). However, when interpreting the findings, the researcher tried her best to derive meaning from what was said and link it to the literature reviewed, theories of violence, and the framework of the study so that the researcher's knowledge of the world did not cloud what was said by the children and their construction of reality (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Although, this was very difficult because, when giving meaning to what these children said, an interpretation of one's own was needed for further understanding.



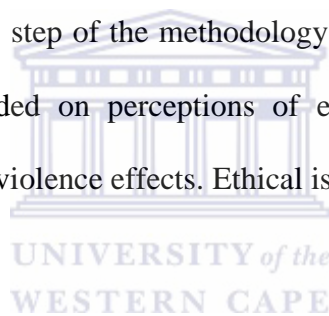
### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

The ethical considerations of the study fell under those stipulated by the University of the Western Cape. Permission was first sought from the Western Cape Education Department in order to gain access to the school and the principal of that school. Thereafter, participants then volunteered willingly after they had been informed of the aims of the study, and consent letters from the parents and children were required to be signed before the focus groups took place. The participants were also informed of their rights in the research process; these rights included not being obligated to reply to any questions with which they were not comfortable, and that they could withdraw from the research process at any time without consequence.

Furthermore, confidentiality was ensured, as all the information discussed within the focus groups was kept confidential. In addition to this, if any emotional suffering arose, psychological counseling was privately arranged by the researcher. In terms of objectivity and validity; the researcher made sure that the study adhered to trustworthiness, transferability, and conformability within a qualitative methodological framework.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

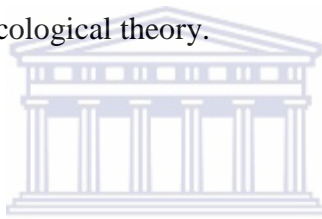
This chapter provided a systematic account of the methodological procedure utilised in this study. The first step was a description and a motivation for using a qualitative framework. The second step explained how the participants were selected for this study, as well as the data collection method. The final step of the methodology highlighted the stages of analysis used to analyse the data provided on perceptions of exposure to community violence, personal safety and security, and violence effects. Ethical issues were also discussed.



## CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an explanation of the key findings of the focus groups which aimed to identify thematic categories of children and adolescents perceptions of exposure to community violence, personal safety and security, and violence effects. The analysis is geared towards extracting these categories from the compilation of responses and then comparing them to current literature on the phenomena under investigation. Under each category a set of relating themes is discussed as this allows for a better understanding of the emergent category. In addition to this, the categories and themes are understood within the framework of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory.



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### 4.2 Findings

The following thematic categories were identified from the data:

- a) Causes of violence
- b) Children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence, personal safety and security
- c) The effects of violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent
- d) Meanings ascribed to violence, personal safety and well-being

### **4.3 Thematic Category One: Causes of violence**

There are essentially six core themes that have emerged within this category, namely, drugs and alcohol, intergroup conflict, romantic relationships, media, accidents, and parental relations. Furthermore, it is important to note that violence has also manifested itself in a horizontal and vertical way in accordance with these themes. Briefly, horizontal violence is harmful behaviour via attitudes, actions, words, and other behaviours, that is directed towards others by another person. Horizontal violence controls, humiliates, denigrates or injures the dignity of another. This type of violence also indicates a lack of mutual respect and value for the worth of the individual and denies another's fundamental human rights. For example, intergroup conflict is caused by horizontal violence (Blanton, Lybecker & Spring, 1999). In contrast, vertical violence usually occurs downwards but possibly upwards. Parental relations and the media are examples of this type of violence. In addition to this, horizontal and vertical violence can be overt or covert, physical or psychological. Overt violence is "in your face" and obvious for everyone else to see. It can be either physical or psychological. Covert is hidden violence, mainly psychological, and would range from unkind behaviour to extreme cruelty (Fudge, 2006).

#### **Theme 1: Violence is caused by the use of drugs and alcohol**

The theme of drugs and alcohol as causes of violence emerged because many participants indicated that the use of these substances has led to violence occurring against and around them. From this, the following extracts indicate the association between the two:

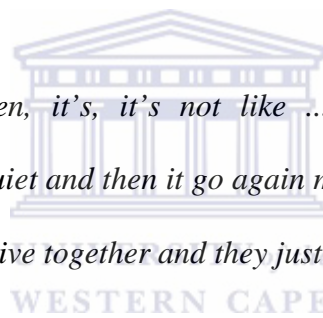
*F4: If they like, like they will have a party and so now everyone will drink and then they will like look for a argument or so and then that's how it will start.*

M1: *...I can't walk to the shop or that 'cos [because] people they smoking dagga [marijuana] and they not sober, they drink 'cos [because], if I walk to the shop then they always try to look a, to fight with me, to cause violence or something.*

M2: *Naai [no man], there's a lot of violence there by us like people that fight with beer bottles and stuff because they drunk and they argue over stupid stuff and they like, how can I say, gerook [high], then they sommer [just] like look for arguments evens with the police and stuff like that.*

*(Focus group 1: p. 11, 15)*

F4: *It happens now and then, it's, it's not like ... constantly, it's happening, it's happening, it's just like quiet and then it go again messed up 'cos [because] I like live opposite people who like live together and they just smoke and they dri ... drink and ...*



*(Focus Group 2: p. 14)*

From the above responses it is clear that participants have associated abuse of drugs and alcohol with violence within their community, and because people are indulging in such substances the movements of these participants are restricted. For instance, the participants have indicated that they are unable to walk to the shop because certain community members will be drinking and will look for a fight with them.

Similarly, one can draw on the works of Casanueva et al. (2005); Savahl and September (2009); and Leoschut (2006) in which they all indicate that alcohol and drug abuse are factors

that contribute to exposure to violence and further put the well-being of a child and adolescent at risk.

## **Theme 2: Intergroup conflict**

The second theme that emerged within this category is intergroup conflict. This particular theme addresses two causes of violence, namely: slander (name calling) and gossip. Based on these two causes the participants have illustrated the following:

Slander:

*M2: And miss uhr [hesitant]... some people in my class they like calling people other names then uhr [hesitant] ... and if somebody call them names, I don [don't] understand why like and then they wanna [want to] get mad.*

*F3: ... wanna [want to] fight...*

*F1: Like you [M2], you fought in the week with a boy...*

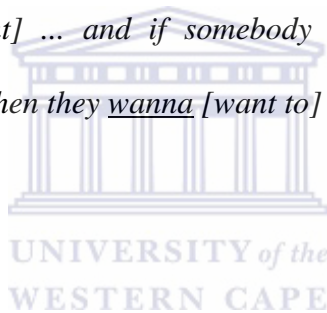
*M2: Uhr [yes]... he like, he called me names the last time.*

*For example:*

*M3: Its like, see I wear glasses now...*

*F4: Now he look like a nerd...*

*F1: Then its four eyes...*



The above extracts indicate that calling another person something seen as unacceptable rather than their original name is problematic for the reason that name calling can manifest in violence as children resort to it as a means of gaining back their respect. Studies conducted by Lynch (2003) and Buckner et al. (2004) have shown that when a person finds themselves in a particular situation, such as when someone is calling them names, they internalise various feelings and externalise these feelings by acting out in a violent way. Furthermore, the self is compromised within the name calling process, and if a person has low self-esteem and various insecurities within, feelings of aggression and anxiety will emerge which may lead to delinquent behaviour, such as fighting back to protect the self that has been ridiculed.

However, it is important to note that Lynch's (2003) and Buckner's (2004) work implies that there is not always a neat, one-to-one matching between name-calling and violent acting out. Of course, this cannot be accurate as some children would, for instance, brush it off or get depressed instead of externalizing their feelings.

Gossip:

The second sub-theme within this theme focuses on gossip. The following extracts illustrate how gossip creates a space for misunderstanding and further violence to occur as a reaction to it:

*F3: Oh, can I say, I got a issue as in now, what's happening right now, I heard this whole thing as in F2 is threatening her brother to, 'cos [because] she has to go with him to the matric ball ... I'm going out with her brother now ...*



F2: *Now I'll tell you the correct story nê [okay], I think my daddy asked who's going to the matric ball with your brother so he said he asked you but you didn't give him a answer, so I told him, hi, so, so I told him horrr [check here]... how I wish I can go, so he told me oh you can, so my daddy said, my daddy said uhr [hesitant] ... what did I hear now, so I said no ... my brother said I'm going with him to the matric ball so, so my brother said yes daddy she's going with me, so I come to school so she tell the whole class she's going with him.*

F3: *Did you hear my mouth?*

F2 *But I heard you going...*

F3: *I didn't open my mouth...*



F4: *Die stories hardloop [the stories travel fast]...*

F2: *That's what I don [don't] like man ... its people they don [don't], I think it's better, I don [don't] like it, it happens on school a lot, people talk behind your back ...*

F2: *People start, that's what I don [don't] like, people carry stories nê [okay] from this one to that one nê [okay], and that person didn't even say it.*

F2: *... and some people can't help how they react to it because, it depends on what that people say that ... it depends, say now you speak about my mommy, obviously I'm*

*gonna [going to] get you cos [because] my mommy did nothing to you, you don [don't] even know my mommy so, what's the point ...*

*F3: Now I don [don't] agree with this third party...*

*F1: Why can't she just tell me to my face and come to me, to me and say it...*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 46-54)*

The above responses indicate that the participants have used a narrative of a particular incident to show how violence has the ability to manifest itself in the process of telling a story. In other words, Burr (1995) suggests that people are seen to externalise when they act on their world creating some artefact or practice. A person may have an idea, such as in the above situation, and then externalise it by telling a story. Thereafter, a person's story enters the social realm whereby other people re-tell the story, and once in the social realm, the story begins to take on a life of its own. The story, and the idea it expresses, then becomes an object of the consciousness for people in that society and develops a kind of factual existence or truth as it seems to be out there. Finally, the story ends up with the person to whom the story was directed, who internalises it as part of their consciousness and as part of their understanding of the nature of the world. However, through this process the meaning of the original story could get lost and the story can end up being something other than what it was intended to be. In reaction to this, violence occurs between the person that externalised the story and the person to whom it was directed.

### **Theme 3: Romantic relationships**

The following extracts have been chosen to illustrate the third theme which is that of romantic relationships:

F2: ... you must see how the girls fight over boys, oh my word...

F2: Physically fight, pull your hair, you go home with a blue mark...

F1: Miss there was one week nê [okay] where there was like four girl fights.

F2: At this school.

F4: And it's just over boys...



F2: Ek wil nie oor a boy baklei [I will not fight over a boy]...

M1: ... and over bitchiness also, the girls fight a lot also.

F1: That's why nê [okay] miss, that's why I prefer boys as friends, my best friends are boys.

F2: Me also yes, and I don't have any girlfriends...

(Focus Group 2: p. 58-60)

The third cause of violence identified by the participants was that violence occurs between girls over boys (boyfriends). In this case, girls fight for what is rightfully theirs. It can be assumed that girls portray boys as their possessions, i.e., this is my boyfriend not yours, and if other girls step over the boundaries of their relationship with a boy, a fight will occur. The findings have also indicated that most girls possess some form of bitchiness which further leads to violence occurring between other girls. As a result of this, most girls tend to be friends with boys than girls, for example, *‘that’s why nê miss, that’s why I prefer boys as friends, my best friends are boys’*; *‘me also yes, and I don’t have any girlfriends...’* so that they can avoid the bitchiness that some girls are seen to have, which prevents fights and the loss of a girlfriend in the process.

#### **Theme 4: Media**

The fourth cause of violence that emerged within this category is the exposure to violent media content. Based on the responses below, children watch television and learn various violent behaviours that they further project onto other people, for instance:

*F1: It’s like the children, some of them watch wrestling and they pick it up from there...*

*F4: And the, and the movies.*

*F1: Then they say don’t try this at home.*

*M1: Uhr [yes]... I did that at home and I broke my wrist, almost from wrestling...*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 75)*

Television can be seen as a cause or medium for violent behaviour whereby a child observes what is being done and then later adopts the behaviour by projecting it onto themselves or others in a violent way. This is in line with social learning theory which states that violence is caused from external forces or events of one's environment that evoke a particular reaction, and in this case, violence is learnt by watching it on television (Ruiz, 2002).

### **Theme 5: Accidental**

The second last theme that emerged is accidents. Within this theme, many of the participants stated that violence is caused by something that is accidental, for instance:

M2: *Miss they fight evens if they walk against you...*

F1: *And then they, and then they like.*

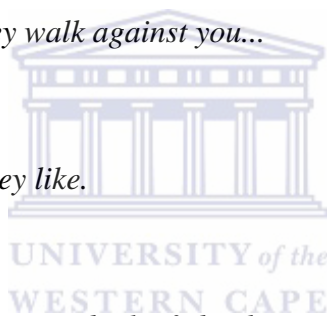
M3: *They get a scissor by this one and a knife by that one.*

F3: *...then this one say I'm gonna [going to] jump in for you, and this is how.*

F2: *And then the cousin come in, you took my cousin for a dingus [thing] ... then that one go fetch his uncle, and you see...*

M2: *They bring their getuiers [friends]...*

F3: *And the whole family come.*



*(Focus Group 2: p. 60, 61)*

It is clear from the above extracts that an indiscriminate and accidental occurrence such as bumping into another person results in violence occurring amongst children and adolescents, and as a reaction to being bumped into, children fight with the person who bumped into them. However, if this is not enough, these children further involve their friends and family members to revenge themselves on the person for bumping into them.

Furthermore, this can be linked to aggressive drive theory whereby people are driven to attack others when they are frustrated, when they are unable to reach their goals, or when they cannot obtain the rewards they expect (Ruiz, 2002). In this case, the children and adolescents resort to violence because of this. Unfortunately, the person who bumped into them by accident becomes the target of their frustration and anger.

Secondly, violent behaviour can be due to modeling. As mentioned above, Bandura suggests that violence is learnt via modeling and imitation. It is through the observation of role models at home, at school, and through the media that children learn social conduct rules and a repertoire of social behaviours, including aggression and violent behaviour (Gottesman & Brown, 1996).

### **Theme 6: Parental relations**

Within this theme linkages can be made with Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem level. For instance, this level takes into account the values within the home (Visser, 2007). The responses below illustrate an example of this:

F1: *I blame the parents.*

F2: *It, it all starts at home...*

F2: *'Cos [because] the parents, they never made a success, most parents they don't, they didn't make a success of their lives nê [okay], so like.*

However:

M1: *That is not always the case...*

M1: *Yes there's some people that is rich, they have everything in the world but then they turn out, their children is druggies and, they dik [heavy] druggies.*

F2: *Then they don't know what to do with themselves...*

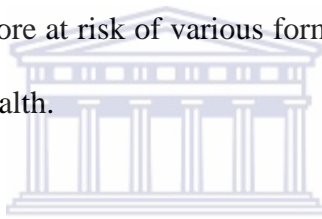
M1: *No man, some parents that doesn't have any, anything, they try to do the better for you like to educate you 'cos [because] they will say I wasn't educated, don [don't] go into the path that I fell in, they will push you forward and uhr [hesitant] ... move forward...*

(Focus Group 2: p. 73, 74, 77)

The above extracts indicate the blaming rhetoric in action because the participants are clearly trying to externalise the cause of violent behaviour to that of blaming the parent. Based on what they said about parent's 'never making a success of their lives' or 'not being educated',

a link can be made with that of violence. For instance, Bronfenbrenner (2005) shows that if good interactions exist between the child and their parents, this can help with their development as children. However, if these interactions do not exist within a child's environment, their well-being is at risk, affecting the intellectual, emotional, social, and moral aspects of their lives. Because of this, children may not make a success of their lives and may become chronic drug users as a result of the lack of certain parental structures within the home, but more importantly, the lack of values that exist within the family.

Turner's et al. (2006) study has shown that if a child comes from poor family structures where an enormous amount of stress is present, lack of parental educational, or single or step parent environments, a child is more at risk of various forms of violence against them, which further impacts on their mental health.



In addition to this, one can draw on the concept of stability whereby, if a parent provides a healthy environment of living for their children, their children will flourish even if the circumstances are not very good (e.g., '*some parents work hard to make their children lives better*'). On the other hand, lack of stability can lead to children turning to violence as a means out of their situations which exposes them to violence, and impacts on their well-being. The current economic conditions and past historical conditions of the family also play a role in this (Savahl, 2009).

On the other hand, one should note that there is a wealth of other literature, much more detailed, which suggests associations between parenting and children's risk behaviours that has not been covered in this section, and that the above interpretation serves as minimal.



To conclude, the above findings can be framed using Bronfenbrenner's theory because the theory shows an interaction between the child and their community when exploring children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security as an important dimension of child well-being. Findings indicate that violence has manifested itself on an individual, school, home, and community level, including the broader political system with which these participants interact, causing violence to occur, and a lack of safe spaces to occupy. In this sense, violence is caused on the microsystem, exosystem, mesosystem and macrosystem level with which these participants interact.

For instance, at an individual level, violence is caused by the use of drugs and alcohol, at a microsystem level it is caused by intergroup conflict, romantic relationships and accidents, at an exosystem level it is caused by parental relations, at a mesosystem level, by lack of parental relations, and lastly, at a macrosystem level, by the media. Therefore, given the context of these themes and how the causes of violence came about, many participants are exposed to violence and lack safe places which could be detrimental to their overall well-being.

#### **4.4 Thematic Category 2: Children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security**

Within this category the perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security will be explored. These perceptions will also be understood in terms of how they emerged in the various systems related to the individual, as proposed by Bronfenbrenner. For instance, participants' perceptions will be explored from a school, home, community, and political perspective.

## **Theme 1: At school**

Within this theme the perceptions of the participants on exposure to violence and personal safety within the school will be evaluated. This is further explained below.

### **1.1 Exposure to violence at school**

The first sub-theme illustrates their experiences of violence at school:

*F1: Two people on the school robbed her [F2].*

*M2: I also, somebody in our, in my class, our class, and now also he was also robbed.*

*F1: Miss there was one week nê [okay] where there was like four girl fights.*

*M2: ...and also like, like if a person just walk across each other ... and the person just swear, and that's how they will start a fight...*

*(Focus group 2: p. 15, 18, 59, 60)*

As a consequence, the environment with which the participants interact at school exposes them to various forms of violence such as robbery and fighting, and because of this, their well-being is at risk.

### **1.2 Perceptions of safety walking to and from school**

The participants further indicated that their journey to and from school threatened their safety and well-being. Based on this sub-theme the following responses were given:

F2: *Like you see nê [okay], you can walk nê [okay], you can walk home nê [okay], and there is like a 50 percent chance nê [okay] that you will get robbed.*

F1: *I do fear sometimes but I'm reassured, I don [don't] walk home alone anymore.*

F2: *I do nê [okay] because, now when it is in winter nê [okay], I used to get into a taxi like so quarter to seven and when you get here nê [okay] it's ... the sky is pitch black and I must walk down that road alone, so I'm like how do I do this.*

M1: *...my mommy drop me at school.*

M2: *My daddy drop me.*

M3: *You can get into a lot of fights.*



F2: *I know a lot of people so ... I used to live here man so the, the gangsters and stuff like that ... I like grew up in front of them and stuff...*

*(Focus group 2: p. 8, 55, 56)*

F1: *I don't in a way...*

F3: *But you do have friends.*

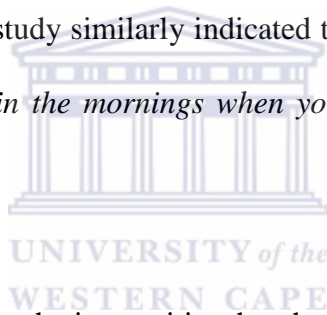
F2: *When you come to school there is a lot of people that walk like.*

F1: *Ja [yes] but in the mornings I have to go to school, then I have to walk alone.*

F2: *Sometimes in winter it's, the sun comes out late you see, and so uhr [yes] ...*

*(Focus group 1: p. 20, 21)*

From the above responses it is clear that the participants do not feel safe walking to and from school because they are exposed to various threats along the way. Similarly, research conducted in Malawi and by Farver et al. (2001) has shown that travelling to and from school exposes children to various forms of violence which in return creates feelings of insecurities. As one of the participants in the study similarly indicated that when you walk to school '*you can get into a lot of fights*' or '*in the mornings when you go to school, you have to walk alone*'.



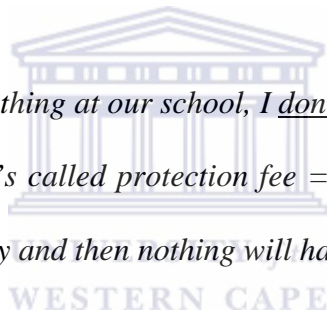
On the other hand, when looking at the insecurities that the participants acquired as a result of exposure to violence, a sense of safety amongst them came from being dropped off at school by a parent or walking with a group of friends. A female participant indicated that she felt safe walking to and from school because she knew a lot of people, including the gangsters within the area. It appears that from this response a certain amount of status is attached to gang association, and in this case the association was used in a sort of crude positioning. This resonates with similar findings by Savahl (2009) who suggests that young people use discursive strategies to position themselves within the safety net that gang association provides. In this way they construct the notion that the social environment is a place of safety. Yet, at the same time, the participant contradicts herself by indicating that she does not feel safe walking to school especially in winter when it's dark and when she has to walk

alone i.e., 'like you see nê [right], you can walk nê [right], and there is like a 50 percent chance nê [right], that you will get robbed'. In other words, this means that when the gang members are present one's safety is assured, but when these members are not present the individual becomes a target of violence, and without a form of positioning, the individual's well-being is threatened.

### 1.3 Protection fee

The following sub-theme explores one of the means that the participants used to obtain money from each other with the use of violence. In terms of this sub-theme, the following responses illustrate the participants' perceptions around safety at school:

F2: ... and then we have something at our school, I don [don't] know if it is still going on, I don [don't] know but it's called protection fee = F1 uhr [yes]... pay me and then, uhr [hesitant] ... = you pay and then nothing will happen to you...



(Focus group 2: p. 33)

Based on the above example a link between money and safety can be made because many children and adolescents at school are forced to pay a fee for their safety. This indicates that young people do not occupy safe spaces within the school because they have to pay for it. In addition to this, one can see that children obtain money from other children by threatening their well-being.

## 1.4 Bullying at school

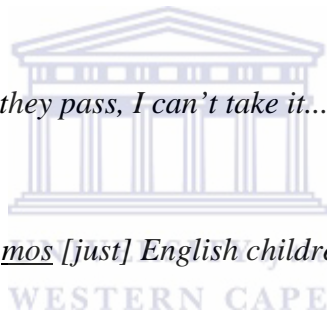
Another sub-theme that emerged within the findings is that of bullying. The following responses indicate how this sub-theme emerged within the school and amongst the participants:

I: *And so you don't have like bullies or anything?*

F2: *Yes we do.*

F4: *Especially the Afrikaans children.*

F2: *... and the comments that they pass, I can't take it...*



F2: *Yes because, because it's mos [just] English children...*

F1: *Uhr [yes] ... we white.*

F2: *They mos [just] think we mos [just] think we, we...*

F1: *Full of ourselves.*

F2: *Yes and we English and we bright students.*

M2: *I don [don't] know why they against...*

*M1: Jealousy.*

*F3: We can't fight, we play with Barbie dolls.*

*(Focus group 2: p. 35-38)*

*I: No!*

*F1: I think normally in primary schools they do that, because when you come to high school you more older and you can defend yourself, and like.*

*M3: Don't bother.*



*(Focus group 1: p. 21, 22)*

When it comes to the safety of these participants within school and amongst each other, many are at risk of being bullied at school. This is in line with Bradshaw's et al's. (2006) study which shows that many children experience violence, particularly being bullied at school. As a result of this, children use both verbal and physical violence to dominate their peers.

On the other hand, these views expressed in focus group 2 are contradictory to those of focus group 1 as the participants in focus group 1 felt that no bullies exist on the school, '*that's a primary school thing*'. Interestingly, these participants all attend the same school yet they all have different perspectives on what is going on around them.

## Theme 2: At home

The following theme explains the perceptions of the participants on exposure to community violence and personal safety within their homes. These perceptions are further elaborated on below.

### 2.1 Exposure to violence at home

The first sub-theme that emerged within this theme focuses on the experiences of violence within the home amongst the participants. Their responses are illustrated below:

F1: *Uhr [hesitant]... there's domestic violence also, spouses, yes, so normally on weekends and then they have to call the ambulance, ADT, or the police because spouses are fighting and all that stuff.*

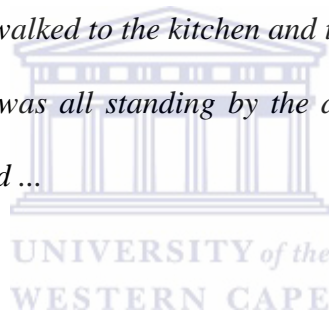
M2: *I also experienced a burglary but, burglary, but I, I was sleeping and my daddy normally comes home late so I thought it was him walking in my room but it was a other man, I sleep one way [everybody laughs], I don ... they took the Hi-Fi and cell phones but my daddy came, but my daddy came, so my daddy chased him and so he dropped the Hi-Fi and so it broke, and climbed out the window, so he ran away.*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant]... it was during the holidays, I was sleeping but I heard my brother shouting, trying, trying to tell this man to come out of our house, he was bleeding, he said that this gang is coming after him and so I just got up and he, he was like standing, not really close to me but I just looked at him, but I was so in a shock that I couldn't move and then ja [yes] I heard my grandma was shouting that I must, that I must come to her so my brother, we were trying to, he locked the door and we were*



*trying to open it and then my brother got it open and then I went, and my grandmother turned, called my uncles friend 'cos [because] his a police officer and then he came and then he, but the guy was already gone, and then we told him to go home, we didn't really shout at him 'cos [because] my ma [grandmother] said when they in that state you mustn't really shout at them, you must just be calm, and then he went home.*

*F2: My sister them they came out of school, I think it was a few years back, my sister them came out of school and there was somebody trying to break in the house but the back door was open and uhr [hesitant] ... when they came in they just dropped their bags like by the door and they walked to the kitchen and the washing machine and the DVD and my mommy's watch was all standing by the door and they just locked the, the front door and they walked ...*



*(Focus Group 1: p. 13, 26-28)*

When looking at the experiences of violence within the home, the participants have experienced a robbery whereby someone came into their home and took things that did not belong to them. Domestic violence was also present within home, which is another form of violence against another.

## **2.2 Perceptions of safety within the home**

The second sub-theme that emerged is feelings of safety within the home. Responses are as follows:

I: ...do you feel safe at home?

F4: Yes.

M3: Not always...

F1: When my dog was still alive it was okay 'cos [because] he will bark at night and we will come out and check 'cos [because], but now ...

M2: I feel very protected in my house.

F1: I'm never alone.



(Focus Group 1: p. 23, 24)

F1: Yes I do.

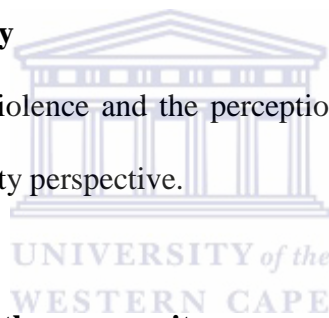
M1: I do feel safe...

F2: I don't so much because a lot of stuff nê [okay], it's like, no, okay the community I live in nê [okay], it's like they don't have respect for anybody there in Hanover Park, you nê [okay], they, they like, okay for example now the people nê [okay], even okay the youngest nê [okay] that okay, we have a high rate of teenage pregnancy there nê [okay], there's a lady she's 29 nê [okay] and she's a granny already ... nê [okay], and then...

When taking into account the feelings that these participants have expressed on safety within the home, many children felt protected while others did not feel safe at all. One participant indicated that a dog provides a sense of security within the home, whereas another participant used her lack of safety within the home to express that pregnancy is a problem amongst the youth within her community. An assumption can then be made that with a lack of safe spaces to occupy the well-being of young girls are at risk due to the fact that they find security in the arms of someone else.

### **Theme 3: Within the community**

Within this theme exposure to violence and the perceptions of the participants interviewed will be explored from a community perspective.



#### **3.1 Exposure to violence within the community**

The following examples were given by the participants and indicate their experiences of violence within their communities:

*F4: ...If they like, like they will have a party and so now everyone will drink and then they will like look for a argument or so and then that's how it will start.*

*M3: ...People from Parkwood they come over then they come rob you in your own place and then they go back and go sell your stuff...*

F1: Uhr [hesitant] ... a couple of years ago my aunty, my two aunties were coming back from the shop and so uhr [hesitant] ... my aunty was on the corner, so they were having a conversation and so somebody came behind her, so they robbed her, they took her bag off from her, so they ran, my daddy them uhr [hesitant] ... took, okay they drove on, they took a baseball bat with just in case they found the man [F1 laughs] but afterwards so they didn't find him so they took her money and everything, her credit cards also, all of that was stolen.

(Focus Group 1: p. 11, 12, 14)

M3: Me? I was robbed once of my bicycle ... this two guys that came up to me, I was by the shop, two guys came up to me with a long knife and the guy said give me your bike and so I said no, so the guy tried to stab me, and so I gave them my bike...

M1: My one friend, they took his phone off, now he stand, now is he standing, now is he so sad, now the skelm [thief] tell him, iy [you]... hardloop [run], the skelms [thieves] tell him he must run but they, they took his phone off him and they told him run.

(Focus Group 2; p. 17, 20)

Based on the experiences of violence the responses indicate that participants are exposed to violence within their communities. Once again, one of the most common forms of violence that they have experienced is robbery, because many of them have been in a situation where a robbery had occurred. It appears that people are robbing these young people within their community for a means of survival, yet at the same time putting their well-being at risk. One

participant even indicated that for the robber it is normal to steal because, as indicated above, the thief questioned the child for not running away when they were robbed. However, to the child's understanding the robber should be the one running away because they were the ones that were in the wrong. In this sense, a lack of fear is present on the robber's part due to robbing being such a norm. In addition, the use of alcohol seems to be evident when associated with violence.

### 3.2 Perceptions of personal safety within the community

The following perceptions were identified:

*F1: No, I don [don't] think, 'cos [because] in my area, just because of like smoking dagga [marijuana] and getting, sometimes you hear people at night in the road, and people would be partying the weekend, and I don [don't] necessarily think it's safe.*

*M1: I would say my area is safe but only in some parts, like in my road it is safe but sometimes I can't walk to the shop or that 'cos [because] people they smoking dagga [marijuana] and they not sober, they drink 'cos [because], if I walk to the shop then they always try to look a, to fight with me, to cause violence or something.*

*M2: Naai [no man] there's a lot of violence there by us like people that fight with beer bottles and stuff because they drunk and they argue over stupid stuff and they like, how can I say, gerook [high] then they sommer [just] like look for arguments evens with the police and stuff like that.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 9, 11, 15)*

*F1: My area is civilized.*

*F2: No.*

*F4: Mine is in between.*

*M2: It's also like, like, it's also like, like 50/50 ja [yes], like what F4 said because uhr [hesitant] ... sometimes you see violence now and then [M2 laughs] and uhr [hesitant] ... ja [yes] some, and also like my place is also, the community is also quiet and that stuff, so like that.*

*F2: ...You not safe even, okay, in your own home you not, you not safe anywhere ... and not evens in church...*



*(Focus Group 2: p. 9, 12-15)*

It is clear that these participants have expressed their concerns about their safety within the areas in which they live as many of them identified that their areas were 50% safe or only safe in some parts. As a result of this, many of the participants felt safe within their area but at the same time feared for their lives. One participant indicated that it is not safe anywhere, not even in church. From this, the well-being of these children is continually at threat because violence is everywhere within their communities. Lastly, a common trend running through these views is that of drugs, alcohol, and peer pressure, which has been associated with violence earlier in the causes, and with which exposes children to violence and puts their well-being at risk.

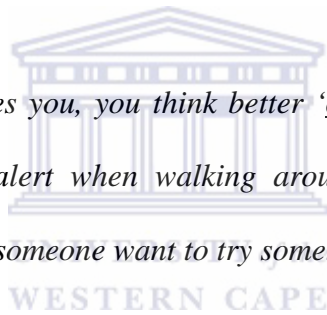
### 3.3 Feelings around safety within one's community

In addition to exposure to violence, further feelings arose amongst the participants, such as:

*I: ...How does it make you feel knowing that you not safe and that violence is around you?*

*F1: It makes me feel scared ... uhr [hesitant] ... I'm not feeling safe, it's like every time I go to the shop 'cos [because], I have to look around me 'cos [because] my grandmother every time say, like when I walk to school the, she's like, look around you, your surroundings, know that you feel safe and stuff like that.*

*M1: It makes, actually it makes you, you think better 'cos [because] you looking active, looking out for it, you alert when walking around, you first check out what is happening around you, if someone want to try something, ja [yes].*



*(Focus Group 1: p. 16, 17)*

*F2: Scared.*

*M2: Scared and upset.*

*M1: Sad.*

*F2: Fear.*

*F3: Fear to go outside, walk to the shop.*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 23, 24)*

It is clear that the participants constructed their well-being as being dependent on a psychological state, inferring constructs such as fear, anxiety and psychological distress in relation to the issue of safety. This is consistent with previous research which shows that children are living in areas that impact on their safety and well-being, and because of this, children are scared and fear for their safety (see Farver et al., 2000; September & Savahl, 2009). For example, one participant indicated a constant need of having to look over their shoulder because of this.

Another child, however, indicated that he was not fearful or scared but showed that by knowing you are not safe you become more street smart whereby you are able to negotiate the vagaries of a violent environment e.g., “*you first check out what is happening around you*”.

#### **Theme 4: Perceptions around the police and government**

The final theme that emerged explores the wider system of ideology and organisation of social institutions common to a particular social class, ethnic group or culture to which a person belongs. It includes the attitudes and perceptions of the participants towards issues around exposure to community violence and safety within the school and various other structures, such as the police and government (Visser, 2007).



#### 4.1 Socio-political context

This sub-theme is understood within the context of Apartheid because the participants located their current situation in which they found themselves at school with that of the past experiences of Apartheid. The following responses have been given:

F2: *We then have Apartheid here.*

F3: *... and it's coming a long way on where, where the English and the Afrikaans children cannot get to, get along with each other.*

F2: *Yes they fight for no reason.*

F3: *We can't fight, we play with Barbie dolls.*

F2: *Uhr [yes]... they, they look at us almost, oh she walk like that, she talk like that like that, she's niks werd [worth nothing].*

F4: *Kyk hoe lyk sy [look how she looks]...*

F2: *They have this thing at school, they kyk [look] you by your gesig [face], if you live, look like you nê [okay], worth nothing, you can't fight nê [okay], then that's the person they pick on the most...*

F2: *I think nê [okay] that they, they, I'm not trying to be rude or anything but I think nê [okay], it's all about jealousy...*



F2: *I'm not degrading them nê [okay], okay, look at us nê [okay] we can't, we didn't ask for it nê [okay], we have nice hair, pretty looks and stuff like that, some of them think nê [okay] ... and now they like, now they, they jealous and what jealousy does to a person nê [okay], it does, it does weird things man...*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 33, 37, 38, 58)*

The above responses indicate that violence is rooted within the legacy of Apartheid. Based on this, one can draw on Bulhan's (1985) theory of violence whereby he looks at how violence manifests itself within situations of oppression. In this case, a division between the Afrikaans children (oppressor) and the English children (oppressed) exists. Furthermore, Bulhan argues that people create two separate worlds of existence, one for themselves and one for the other group, and based on the responses, it is clear that the Afrikaans and English children have created separate worlds of existence as is demonstrated by the fact that the Afrikaans children are jealous of the English children for speaking English and being more beautiful than they are.

Furthermore, a sense of superiority and inferiority exists between these two groups because it is obvious that the Afrikaans participants feel inferior to the English participants and have used their jealousy to gain self-respect by resorting to violence as a means to make their situations of living a better one for themselves. Lastly, it appears that power is gained when the Afrikaans children pass comments so that they can get a reaction from the English children, which leads to violence.

In addition, it is important to note that this situation is reversed when compared to Bulhan's theory because it is normally the oppressor that possesses the good characteristics and the oppressed the bad. Moreover, one should note that these are the views of the English speaking participants only, and not that of the Afrikaans participants, therefore the above extracts provide only a partial understanding portrayed by these children.

#### **4. 2 Police and government**

A second sub-theme that emerged within this category looks at the feelings around what the police are doing to keep children safe. These feelings are as follows:

*I: ...what do you think the police is doing to...*

*F2: Nothing.*

*F1: Not standing up to their job really.*

*M3: Last, well the, when it was school, before the holidays, the June, the June holidays someone came there in the grave yard behind my house, they came to come steal the copper pipes, they, they cut the pipes off so I caught this man, so he ran, so I went to the garage, so I went to go fetch a spade to chase him, so he ran over to Parkwood, so it was people from Parkwood that came there, so I phoned my daddy, they phoned the police, the police still didn't come until today, they didn't come.*

*M3: They useless.*



(Focus Group 1: p. 17-19)

M1: *They doing nothing.*

F4: *They just nonchalant [don't care].*

F2: *No man ... I said nê [okay] what's the point of having police in a community nê [okay] when you see the police, they supposed to, so uhr [hesitant] ... insure people that they safe and stuff like that, here you, they, they, you in a, say ma [for example] someone shot you, you phone the police, when it's your funeral then the police comes, so what's the point ... they take like forever...*

F2: *No man, our ministers and stuff of today nê [okay], they all nê [okay] ... okay of what I heard, okay you see nê [okay], what is that ladies name, Mantu Shabalala, what is she? now what did she do, she something, when she was in hospital so she drank nê [okay], or something like that and then Zuma was for rape and stuff like that and the other judge he was caught for drunk and driving, nothing happened to them but they still, they ministers, what example is that for us...*

(Focus Group 2: p. 26, 27, 29)

The above extract is suggesting a strong sense of helplessness in the participants and it appears that they have to some extent accepted their position in society. These participants lack spaces in which to negotiate their safety which leaves them vulnerable to violence within

the world, but also exposed to violence due to the lack of concern from the police and government.

It is also clear that the well-being of these adolescents are at risk, yet those to whom we think we can turn in times of trouble are not present to protect them (both the police and government). The government is not exactly setting an example for these children which gives these children no other option but to take the law into their own hands and suffer the consequences thereafter.

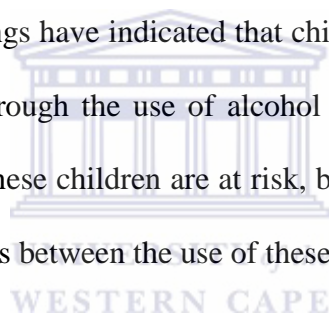
Similarly, these responses are in line with the work of Farver et al. (2000) where they show that when children are exposed to high levels of violence within their community and lack the support from the police, children become more distrustful of the police because of it. When looking at the above two sub-themes, Bulhan's (1985) concept of structural violence is present. In this sense, violence has manifested itself within the structures of these children like the school, police and government.

To conclude the above themes, the responses further suggest that the participants' feelings towards safety were couched within the desensitisation discursive theme because the participants spoke freely about being exposed to violence within their school, home and community. There was also a clear indication that these instances of violence were common everyday occurrences which (see also September & Savahl, 2009).

Secondly, it is evident that the responses given indicate that both the child and adolescent are exposed to violence and both perceive a lack of safety within their school, home and community. Exposure to violence and lack of safety can be understood within

Bronfenbrenner's framework because the microsystem and exosystem come into play here. It is unmistakable that both these systems are connected and interact within the lives of these children both directly and indirectly exposing them to community violence, but also affecting their well-being. In this sense, these children have had an immediate experience and personal interaction with violence and lack of safety in a direct way. These experiences come from being robbed on the school grounds, having to pay protection fee to stay safe, being bullied, exposed to robbery within their homes, and also, being exposed to various forms of violence within their communities.

On the other hand, exposure to violence and lack of safety has indirectly impacted on the lives of these children. The findings have indicated that children's environments expose them to violence. In this case, it is through the use of alcohol and drugs by various community members that the well-being of these children are at risk, because these children have clearly indicated that an association exists between the use of these substances and violence.



Therefore, violence has spilled over from the school, to the home, and lastly, within the community that these children live in. As a result of this, a perceived lack of safety is present, as well as the well-being of these children being at risk.

#### **4.5 Thematic Category 3: The effects of violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent**

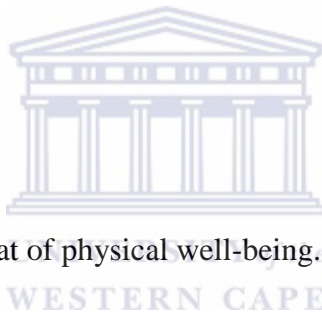
The previous two categories have explored the various levels of Bronfenbrenner's theory by showing how violence manifests within the school, home, community, and amongst the participants. However, Bronfenbrenner goes a step further by exploring the development of a child and how if a child's environment is not stable their ability to develop optimally is

affected (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In this case, this category will explore how violence and a lack of safety affect the development of a child and their well-being.

Furthermore, when looking at the effects of violence on the well-being of these participants Thompson et al. (2007) suggests that violence is an important predictor of child outcomes, and if a further disruption in these domains occurs, a child's progression through typical developmental processes will be affected (Margolin & Gordis, 2004).

In addition to this, each theme is located within Thornton's dimensions of well-being, and based on the responses given by the children; the following effects of violence have been identified:

### **Theme 1: Physical well-being**



The first theme that emerged is that of physical well-being. The following can be noted:

*M1: You can have a heart attack and die.*

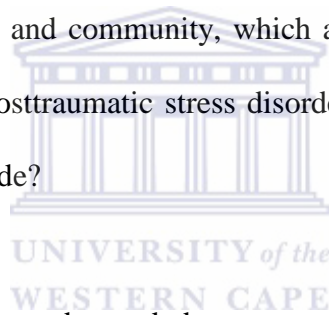
*F3: Commit suicide.*

*M3: Start doing drugs.*

*M2: Uhr [hesitant] ... maybe they like, like they worry too much and that stuff, like my cousin uhr [hesitant] ... she worry too much and that so she had a stroke because she had too much pressure on her and that, so she went to rehab to...*

The above responses show that being exposed to violence can have detrimental effects on the physical well-being of a child and adolescent. In this regard, worrying can be linked to the findings of studies which have shown that exposure to violence leads to post-traumatic distress symptoms (McCart et al., 2007; Seedat et al., 2004).

Secondly, studies have found that subjective factors such as appraisal, perceived safety, and perceived life threat contribute to the psychological distress of the child (Weaver & Clum, 1995 as cited in Overstreet, 2000). Following from this, children begin to feel that there is no safe haven in their school, home and community, which alters their perceptions and makes them vulnerable to developing posttraumatic stress disorder (Overstreet, 2000), and in this case it is wanting to commit suicide?



In addition to this, an association can be made between exposure to violence, post-traumatic stress disorder and delinquent behaviour. It is clear from the responses that children and adolescents engage in delinquent behaviours such as drug use to help them deal with the stress of their environments.

## **Theme 2: Cognitive and educational well-being**

The second theme that emerged within this category deals with the cognitive and educational well-being of a child and adolescent. The following effects of violence were identified by the participants within the focus groups:



F1: *I think it's, it's different, it's different for everybody because say it will, for certain people it will affect them because they thinking of, will they be safe, and when they go home, and stuff like that.*

F2: *For certain, for certain people it will affect what happens at school but for other, for most, majority of the people doesn't affect them.*

F2: *Like a, family matters and stuff that happened like in your area, it will uhr [hesitant] ... affect your school work because you won't be able to concentrate on what you doing, it won't, like say in, in your head.*

M3: *Concentration will be on your family...*



F1: *I'll say like uhr [hesitant] ... like during exams you more stressed, you wanna [want to] pass but you have family issues, and it's, you more concentrating on that then your exams.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 22, 23)*

M1: *You won't be able to do your work if something like that happen.*

F1: *And concentrate.*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 85)*

The above responses are in line with reviewed literature which indicates that if a child is exposed to violence or has witnessed violence; their performance at school will be lower than those children who have not been exposed to violence at all. Children who felt less safe within their school and in their community tend to perform poorly academically than those children who feel safe (Henrich et al. 2004), whereas, children who did not feel safe showed high levels of stress and anxiety which in return impacted negatively on their academic performance i.e. 'won't be able to concentrate' or 'ones concentration will be on family issues all the time' (Ratner et al., 2006).

### **Theme 3: Psychological and emotional well-being**

The third theme that emerged is in line with psychological and emotional well-being of the participants. This can be seen in the following responses:

F1: *Uhr [hesitant] ... emotionally you, you won't be the same, it's like a part of you just died and stuff like that and your state of mind you won't, it's like you won't be there.*

F4: *You won't care about the way you life.*

F4: *Your lifestyle...*

*(Focus group 1: p. 30, 31)*

F1: *I blame the parents.*

F2: *It, it all starts at home...*

F4: *Blame yourself...*

M1: *Some people will, after a break in, they, doesn't they, don [don't] wanna [want to] sleep, they scared that the people is gonna [going to] harm them and stuff like that, they don [don't] wanna [want to] go home; they rather go to someone, to friends or so.*

F2: *Give up on life.*

F4: *Just wanna [want to] be alone uhr [yes]...*

F1: *...uhr [hesitant] ... you lose hope...*



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The above extracts undoubtedly demonstrate a close relationship between violence and the psychological and emotional state of the participants. Based on the literature that outlines the psychological and emotional effects of violence on the well-being of children, violence impacts on a child's well-being in the various ways (Savahl, 2009), e.g. antisocial behaviour and aggression (Lynch, 2003; Buckner et al., 2004), depression and anxiety (Buckner et al., 2004), emotional distress (Raviv et al., 1999), delinquency (Buckner et al., 2004; McCart et al., 2007), and post-traumatic stress disorder (McCart et al., 2007; Seedat et al., 2004).

A relationship between exposure to violence and antisocial behaviour can be noted as many participants responded by saying that if you have been exposed to violence, witnessed, or

experienced it, “you won’t be the same”, “you will give up on life”, and that “you want to be alone”. Feelings of separation also emerged as one participant responded by saying that when exposed to violence you “don’t want to be alone, rather go sit by somebody or your friend till your parents come home”.

### 3.2 Desensitisation

A further sub-theme, desensitization, emerged and is illustrated in the following:

F2: *I witness crossfire’s a lot and gang fights and that...*

F2: *I saw a dead body already, he was shot through the head, after the crossfire then there’s just blood and bodies in the road, it doesn’t look that nasty [terrible] like, like people say, I like blood so, but it doesn’t look that nasty [terrible] ...*

F1: *How can you like blood, oh my word...*

M3: *You then have blood...*

F2: *Exactly...*

M1: *Isn’t man, you used to it, you used to it, bodies laying and crossfire’s and they, you used to it, so never mind that you know already that there is a body lying on the side.*

I: *You seem to be used to it...*

F2: Yes 'cos [because] I, I live in, I live in, isn't man it's like you must, in our, in our community nê [okay], it's like you must learn to live with it 'cos [because] its reality.

F1: But reality's better than a dream.

(Focus Group 2: p. 14, 17, 87, 88)

In the above extracts, a female participant has demonstrated instances of violence within her area. This, together with firsthand accounts of witnessing violence, i.e., '*I witness crossfire's a lot and gang fights*', '*I saw a dead body already*', functions to lend itself to how she and the other participants make sense of violence and how it is perpetuated in society. Furthermore, by this display, viz. a sense of familiarity with instances of violence, as well as a keen self-awareness of their reaction and responses to it: '*isn't man you used to it, bodies laying and crossfire's*', '*it's reality*', a sub-theme, that of desensitisation, emerges which suggests an intense familiarity with, and consistent exposure to, violence. For that reason, the emergence of this theme supports findings by Leoschut (2006) as well as McCart et al. (2007) who found that when children are exposed to or witness violence on a regular basis, they learn to tolerate these violent occurrences by adjusting their lives accordingly, or by learning to adapt to them over time. In addition, one could then argue that violence is a part of these children's lives and what it means to be a child (Savahl, 2009).

#### **Theme 4: Social well-being**

The fourth theme that emerged is based on the social well-being of these participants. The effects of violence on the social well-being of these participants indicate the following:

F2: Yes, some friends will be there to comfort you in, in ways that, that...

F2: *Different way, ja [yes], but then you get friends that will be very fussy [full of nonsense], I don [don't] wanna [want to] be your friend.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 31, 32)*

F2: *Is, like with trust issues, there also, cos [because] say now nê [okay] the person that robbed you nê [okay] was like ... you trusted that person your whole life and then you like, that's why I nê [okay], I don't trust anybody.*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 82)*

In terms of social well-being one can see that exposure to violence can impact positively or negatively on children's and adolescents' relationships with others, and based on the above responses, friends '*will either be there to support you*' or '*not want to be your friend*' because of the changes that have occurred from being exposed to violence. Therefore, the social environment of these participants acts as a key determinant of their well-being.

### **Theme 5: Economic well-being**

The last theme that emerged is based on the effects of violence on the economic well-being of the participants. The following responses illustrate this:

F1: *I think that when we see this uhr [hesitant] ... act happening, this violence, that we turn to it, that we, we become members of the gang and we do the stuff they do, 'cos [because] you hear some people like say that it's okay no you have a better life with*

them, it's like they, your family, and you, they, it's like they trying to tell you it's okay to be a gang member, and stuff like that.

M1: Uhr [yes] ... the gangs will, some children will get affected because in our area there is a lot of poor children, and they see like the gang members always have nice rings on and chains, they look nice, and then they have nice cars also, then it's, then, then poor children think they also wanna [want to] become gang members because then, will have a kwaai [cool] phone and stuff like that.

F2: ...Obviously the money...



(Focus Group 1: p. 28-30)

M1: Another thing is uhr [hesitant] ... why people become gangsters and stuff is for protection also 'cos [because] they know uhr [hesitant] ... if you gonna [going to] try and hit me he's got backup, he got like the whole, that's why, that's where it all starts.

F2: ...But what you don't know at the end of the day nê [okay] is that you, you digging the gra ... your, your grave uhr [yes]...

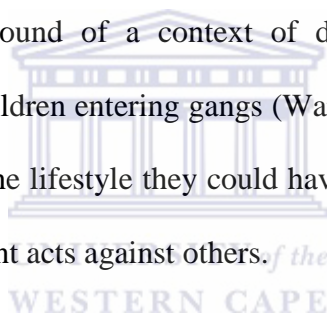
M3: ...Your grave for yourself...

F2: ...You digging a neary grave for yourself because, that make you more wanted...

(Focus Group 2: p. 88)

If appears that a certain amount of status is attached to gang association. In this case the association is used in a sort of positioning. In other words, many participants stated that children who were exposed to high rates of crime and violence in their communities are at risk of becoming a '*gangster as a way out*', for '*protection*', or because they were '*forced*'. This, then, is in line with Ward's (2007) study which shows that gangsterism is deeply embedded in the social fabric of one's area.

Furthermore, the research found that the reason that some children joined gangs was a result of the perceived wealth of the gangs, protection they received, respect gained from community members, identity formation, and revenge. These attractions were all understood as being so against the background of a context of deep poverty which every group mentioned as a key reason for children entering gangs (Ward, 2007). Based on the responses, many children joined gangs for the lifestyle they could have ('*cars*', '*clothes*', '*chains*', etc), even if it meant committing violent acts against others.



Lastly, the theory of social identity can be drawn upon, as it was noted that the children might have turned to gangsterism to obtain a positive sense of self, a place of belonging, for recognition, and for emotional stability which may have been lacking at home or in their communities (Baker, 2007).

*However:*

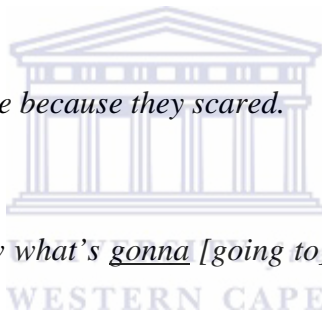
*F2: Not always because now, uhr [hesitant]... they, they put down rules for you to obey and if you don't abide by that rules they will, it's almost, it's like most gangs will say if you with a gang, because if something happen to you and then your family will like be under that and uhr [hesitant] ... now you have a girlfriend then they say you not*



*supposed to have a girlfriend, and you, you, you disobey their rules and then they will come after you for like ...*

*M3: Like some gangs, if like, like we sitting now, and we sit like this in a circle, in a crowd, when the main one, he, he will put a gun down, and if they sit, sit in a circle, he, they will spin the gun, and the gun show to her, say for example now the gun show to her, she must go do the deed, she must go kill the person, if she can't do it then they kill her, that's what some gangs do.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 29)*



*M1: But that's why they become because they scared.*

*F4: But they don [don't] know what's gonna [going to] happen to them when, when they die.*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 88, 89)*

However, on the surface the perceived attractions draw children into becoming a part of a gang, yet at the same time many do not know the other part of being in the gang, as mentioned, the gang members will lay down rules and if you don't obey them they will kill you. It can be noted that young people's behaviour is guided by the norms and values of the gang, according to which aggressiveness is a virtue and the use of violence a legitimate means of defending the gang's honour and territory (Strocka, 2005). Based on the responses,

when becoming a part of a gang one needs to be able to adopt the other side of it as well, not just the perceived attractions.

Lastly, some of the participants stated that if you choose to become a part of a gang and do wrong within the world, *'it's your own thing'*, and *'you don't know what's going to happen to you when you die'*. Therefore, what you choose to do in life will affect you in your future.

## 5.2 Reactions to violence occurring in ones community

In addition to the above themes a further sub-theme, reactions, emerged. The following extracts illustrate this theme:

M3: *Yes, most of the boys here cause violence in this place because when people start robbing then we go look for the people and then they, when we get them then we give them a hiding...*

M3: *Give him a warning, not to come back again...*

M2: *Teach him a lesson...*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 15, 16)*

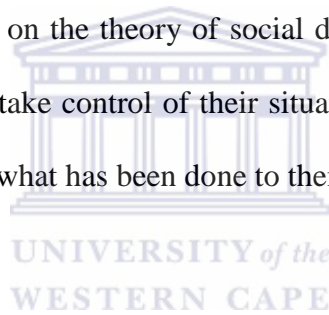
M3: *Like you see, like once this other guy he robbed my friend's brother but his brother's about 7, and we were like, his a ... we were like a group of friends who went to the shop one day, so my friend said that's the guy and we were all beating him up.*

F2: *Then you take control.*

(Focus group 2: p. 25, 41)

Based on the above responses a sense of frustration or excuse exists among these participants due to the fact that the police and government are not fulfilling their roles to protect them. In reaction to the inaction of the police and government, these participants have expressed their concerns about victimisation and lack of safety, yet, have also developed careful strategies to maintain personal safety, such as, 'getting the person back' for what they did by 'beating them up' and giving them a 'hiding' as deterrent to the repetition of their actions (Spilsbury, 2002).

In addition to this, one can draw on the theory of social disorganisation according to which these children, when in a group, take control of their situations by resorting to violence as a way of revenging themselves for what has been done to them.



However:

M2: They just don [don't] know that I'm better than them...

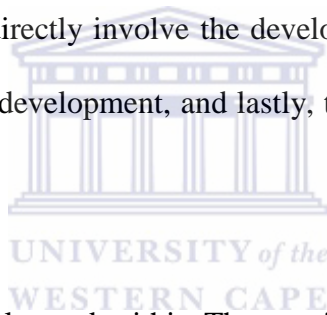
F4: ...if people call you names, whatever, you must just ignore them because they gonna [going to] constantly do it...

F2: You must show that you the better person...

(Focus group 2: p. 40, 41)

In contradiction to the above reactions, these participants further indicated that there are other ways to react to violence, such as '*ignoring*' the perpetrators and '*showing them they better*'. What is interesting is that these children also say that if they see the person that robbed them, and they are in a group, they will teach them a lesson by fighting back.

To conclude, in drawing together the above themes and sub-themes that emerged while exploring perceptions of exposure to community violence and of personal safety and security, one can see that they indicate an interaction between the child and their school, home and community as an important dimension of child well-being. The effects of exposure on the well-being and development of a child can be the result of the setting itself, even when what happens in the setting does not directly involve the developing child, but which still has an influence on their behaviour and development, and lastly, the ecology of the development of the child (Bronfenbrenner, 2005).



Finally, the above views can be located within Thornton's dimensions of child well-being because the responses that the participants gave fall within these dimensions, showing that well-being is multifaceted and can be affected by a child's context of living.

#### **4.6 Thematic Category 4: Meanings ascribed to violence, personal safety and well-being**

The last thematic category that emerged is the meanings that the participants assigned to violence, personal safety and security, and well-being. How these participants perceived these three concepts is illustrated below:

## Theme 1: The meanings ascribed to violence

Within this theme the following meaning was attached to violence:

F2: Uhr [hesitant]... it means. People use it as to, to solve problems, which is not right, and it hurts a lot of people in a lot of ways...

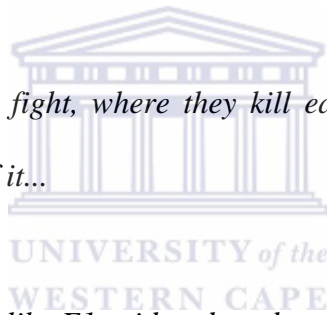
M1: ...crime is like when you do drugs and stuff.

M2: Crime is like, uhr [hesitant]... going against the law or the countries law and policies and not abiding to it and violence is fighting and stuff like that.

M3: Crime is, is when people fight, where they kill each other, like: stabbing, robbing people, rape, that's one of it...

F3: ...it's almost like fighting, like F1 said and, and sometimes they uhr [hesitant] ... they turn to crime or violence just to comfort themselves 'cos [because] and, and they don' o [don't know] what damage it is doing to another person.

F4: okay, uhr [hesitant] ... crime is basically, uhr [yes]... many people like in the community, in different communities, uhr [hesitant] ... some will form, uhr [hesitant] ... groups like, and they will like, uhr [hesitant] ... put peer, whatever that word is, peer pressure, on their friends and so if you don't join a group you not a part of us, and so, they will like do it to hurt her, the next person. Many people use it as their hobby and so.



*(Focus Group 1: p. 2, 3)*

*F1: Mostly about fighting.*

*F2: And swearing.*

*F4: And abuse.*

*F1: Verbally.*

*M1: Conflict.*

*F3: Emotional abuse.*



*(Focus Group 2: p. 2, 3)*

When looking at the meanings that these participants of the focus groups have assigned to violence, in focus group 1 violence is seen as a means to an end. For example, the participants perceive violence as something that other children use to solve problems, kill, rape, comfort themselves, or to gain something from the person by robbing them. However, in focus group 2 they identified the various types of violence, such as emotional and verbal abuse caused by conflict. These types can be further understood in terms of violence within the home, making violence exist both on an interpersonal and intrapersonal level.

## **Theme 2: The meaning ascribed to personal safety and security**

In terms of the meanings assigned to safety, the following responses were given:

F2: *Uhr [hesitant] ... to know that there is nothing gonna [going to] happen to you, for where you are, and to just know that you'll, there is people that is watching over you and your safety.*

F4: *like uhr [hesitant] ... safety is, like if you in a environment uhr [hesitant] ... if you feel comfortable in it, like example, for crime now, if you don't feel comfortable in, in that area then there is like no safety in that area.*

F1: *Uhr [yes]... when you feel relaxed and you know you don't have to be afraid to go outside.*



M1: *When you in a secure place, like you can do anything, like in your house, you can feel free to do anything.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 3, 4)*

F1: *To be locked in a house.*

M1: *Like feel free to walk anywhere, where you want to.*

F4: *To keep away from all the things that is happening like.*

M1: *The bad things.*

F2: *Just like, you know nê [okay], like you, like you, you, your, your, you can go wherever nê [okay] with knowing that nothing can happen to you or something, that is like safety.*

F1: *And like if we, like in your house and then like, like have like, in Cape Town, what do you call that gates, that trelly door, and the burglar bars...*

*(Focus Group 2: p. 4, 5)*

The participants described safety in terms of being free or being restricted. In the focus groups safety was seen as *'when you know nothing is going to happen to you'*, *'when you feel comfortable and relaxed in your environment'*, *'when you feel free to go where ever you want to'*, and *'when you not afraid of the bad things that can happen'*. However, at the same time to be safe was also viewed as being *'locked in your house'*, *'by having a safety gate'*, or by having *'burglar bars'*. Thus, these responses are completely different to the previous responses so that safety comes to have multiple meanings: safety is viewed both as a sense of freedom and at the same time as being restricted from the world by being locked in a house.

### **Theme 3: The meaning ascribed to well-being**

The third theme that emerged within this category is the meaning of well-being. For instance, well-being is:

F1: *...when you healthy and fit and stuff like that.*



*F1: And you mentally okay and stuff.*

*F4: The right mindset.*

*M1: When you feel happy, like you achieve something in your life and you feel good about yourself, and you feel good inside...*

*F2: Emotionally.*

*(Focus Group 1: p. 6, 7)*

*F1: Like all the positives, positive emotions.*

*M1: Positive points.*

*I: Instead of the negative things that...*

*F3: Sometimes I feel pressured because I try my best in all my subjects and then 'cos [because] I know it was that thing in English, there was only three children that passed, and then I was...*

*F1: We failed this term.*

*F3: Having respect, having respect and discipline.*



In general, the participants have shown that being well comprises of a variety of aspects. This is in line with both Thornton's (2001) and Bradshaw's et al's. (2006) views whereby they indicate that well-being is multidimensional and encompasses a variety of aspects. In this case, they indicate that in order to be well you need to be physically, psychologically and emotionally, and cognitively well. It is clear that the dimensions these children identified affirm a holistic approach to well-being because they recognise that for all individuals there are various factors that can have potentially deleterious consequences on the well-being of a child, e.g., failing the term (September & Savahl, 2009).

Therefore, to conclude the above thematic category, it is clear that the meanings that these participants have ascribed to violence, safety and well-being are influenced by the exposure to violence and lack of perceived safety within the microsystem (home and school), exosystem (community), and macrosystem (police and government). From the above responses four tensions exist when ascribing meaning to violence, safety and well-being, namely, violence as a means to an end, safety as a form of freedom, safety as a form of restriction, and lastly, desensitisation.

Furthermore, the meanings that these participants ascribe to violence, personal safety and well-being can be associated with the above thematic categories which explore the causes of violence, exposure to violence and perceptions of safety, and the effects of exposure to violence on the well-being and development of children. For instance, when it comes to the meanings ascribed to violence, the participants have identified it as a means to an end and this could be due to the fact that many of these participants have experienced a robbery in

their lifetime. Secondly, when it comes to the meanings ascribed to safety, a tension between freedom and restriction exists. This could be due to the fact that many children were exposed to violence resulting from the use of drugs and alcohol within their communities which prevented them from having the freedom to walk about within their neighbourhood without becoming victims of violence. Lastly, when it comes to the meanings that these participants have ascribed to well-being it was clear that these came from exposure to violence and perceived lack of safety. However, many of these participants perceived well-being as something positive, yet believed that they did not possess these positive attributes due to violence exposure and their insecurities within.

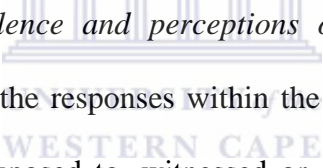
In addition to this, these meanings can be further understood from the framework of Bronfenbrenner's theory which indicates that the context of these participants' environment provides them with the meaning that they ascribe to violence, perceived safety and well-being. Accordingly, it is by interacting with the various systems and being exposed to community violence that these participants obtain meaning to violence, safety and well-being.

#### **4.7 Summary of Findings**

The findings indicate that the participants' responses can be located within four interrelated thematic categories viz.: Causes of violence, Exposure to violence and perceptions of personal safety and security, Effects of violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent, and the meanings ascribed to violence, personal safety and well-being. These emergent categories are consistent with identified literature (see Bradshaw et al., 2006; Buckner et al., 2004; Casanueva, et al., 2005; Ratner et al., 2006; Seekings et al., 2004; September & Savahl, 2009; Thornton, 2001; Tucci et al., 2008; Ward, 2007; and many others). Furthermore, these

emergent categories are indicative of children's and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security.

Firstly, the '*Causes of violence*' category emerged and focuses on the perceptions of why other people commit violence. Key findings indicated that violence is associated with the use of drugs and alcohol, intergroup conflict, romantic relationships, media, accidents and parental relations. Because of this, many participants found themselves restricted in their movements within their environments. Furthermore, these causes were in line with the works of Bulhan (1985), Burr (1995), Brofenbrenner (2005), Casanueva et al. (2005), Raviv et al. (1999) and Turner et al. (2006), all of whom have showed how violence manifests itself within the lives of these participants based on the causes of it.



Secondly, the '*Exposure to violence and perceptions of personal safety and security*' thematic category emerged from the responses within the focus group interviews. Findings indicated that participants were exposed to, witnessed or experienced violence within their school, home and community. Common forms of exposure to violence include being robbed on the school grounds, having to pay a protection fee to stay safe, being bullied, being exposed to robbery within their homes, and also, being exposed to various forms of violence within their communities.

When it came to the perceptions of the participants, many felt that they lacked spaces within which to be children without having their well-being compromised. From this, further feelings arose amongst these participants, such as feelings of fear, anxiety and psychological distress around the issue of safety, as many participants perceived themselves to be at risk to violence within the school, home and community, and were scared for the safety of their

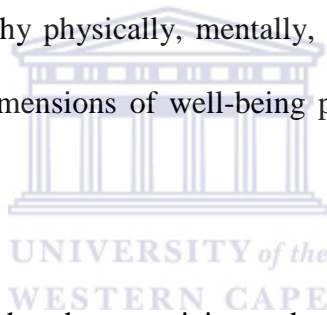
lives. These findings are confirmed by studies conducted by Farver et al. (2000) and September & Savahl (2009).

With regard to the police and government, many participants felt that they failed to ensure the safety of many. In reaction to this, many participants took the law into their own hands by revenging themselves on the person that had harmed them by beating them up as a deterrent to repetition to those acts.

Thirdly, the *'Effects of violence on the well-being of a child and adolescent'* thematic category emerged. Based on Thornton's (2001) dimensions of well-being findings indicated that exposure to violence has detrimental effects on the physical, educational and cognitive, psychological and emotional, social, and economic well-being of these participants. For instance, they linked violence to the overall health of an individual (e.g., exposure to violence leads to a heart attack or someone dying because of it), to post-traumatic stress disorder and psychological distress (e.g., suicide), poor academic performance (e.g., not being able to concentrate), antisocial behaviour (e.g., staying at home or distancing oneself from friends and family), delinquency (e.g., taking drugs as a way out of one's situation), and poverty (e.g., by becoming a gangster).

Similarly, a further sub-theme emerged, that of desensitisation. In this case, the participants identified that violence is something that is normal and which happens on a daily basis. In this regard, one can draw on the works of Leoschut (2006) who shows that frequent exposure to violence can cause people to learn to tolerate these violent occurrences of crime and violence within their community by adjusting their lives accordingly. Violence, therefore, became a reality, a norm, as well as, a way of living for these participants.

In addition to this, a fourth thematic category emerged which explores the '*Meanings ascribed to violence, personal safety and well-being*'. Findings indicate that violence was perceived as an unlawful act that is caused by fighting with another person, killing, murder, rape, a way to solve problems, a hobby, but also, caused by swearing or abuse. In this sense, violence was viewed as a means to an end. In terms of safety, this was viewed as feeling comfortable and relaxed in your environment, when you know nothing bad is going to happen to you, to feel free to go wherever you want, as well as not having to be afraid of the bad things that could happen to you. Here, being safe was presented by the freedom these children had. On the other hand, to be safe is also to be locked in your house, to have a safety gate or to have burglar bars, therefore having to be restricted to be protected. Hence well-being was viewed as being healthy physically, mentally, and emotionally. In this case, the participants identified multiple dimensions of well-being proposed by Thornton (2001) and Bradshaw et al. (2006).



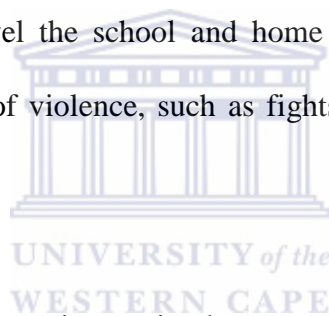
It is also clear that the meanings that these participants have ascribed to violence, safety and well-being are influenced by exposure to violence and lack of perceived safety within the microsystem (home and school), exosystem (community), and macrosystem (police and government). From the above responses four tensions emerged when ascribing meaning to violence, safety, and well-being, namely, violence as a means to an end, safety as a form of freedom, safety as a form of restriction, and lastly, desensitisation.

To conclude, the above themes are indicative of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory because they show an interaction between the child and their environments when exploring exposure to violence and perceptions of personal safety and security as an important dimension of child well-being. The findings have indicated that violence has manifested itself on the individual,

school, home, community, and the broader political system with which these participants interact, causing a lack of safe spaces to occupy. In this sense, violence occurs on a microsystem, exosystem, mesosystem and macrosystem levels with which these participants interact.

Firstly, on an individual level, findings indicated that violence is associated with the use of drugs and alcohol, intergroup conflict, romantic relationships, media, and accidents. Though, these causes are also evident in the other systems proposed by Bronfenbrenner, such as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem.

Secondly, on a microsystem level the school and home environment of these participants exposed them to various forms of violence, such as fights, bullying, robbery and domestic violence.

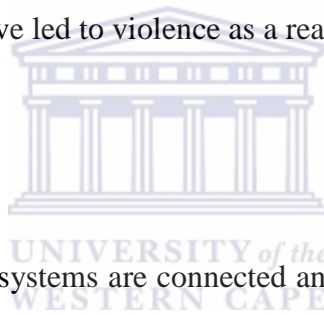


Thirdly, in terms of the exosystem an interaction between the participant and their community can be explored because the findings have indicated that most of the participants experienced or were exposed to violence within their community. One of the most common forms of violence that these participants had experienced was robbery. Findings also indicated that some learners identified that the area in which they lived was safe while others said it was not safe.

At a mesosystem level linkages were made with the microsystem. For instance, this level took into account the values within the home. More specifically, parental relations were taken into account and findings indicated that if poor structures were in place within the family, children were most likely to be exposed to violence. If there was a lack of good values,

education or support within the home, the child was most likely to suffer in the intellectual, emotional, social, and moral aspects of their lives. These findings are in line with Bronfenbrenner's (2005) ecological theory of child development and Turner's et al. (2006) study which examined exposure to violence, victimization, and its impact on the mental health of children.

At a macrosystem level the findings suggest two ideologies. Firstly, that violence within the school was understood within the context of Apartheid, as the participants located the current situation in which they found themselves at school within that of the past experiences of Apartheid. Secondly, just as during Apartheid, the police and government fail to ensure the safety of many children which have led to violence as a reaction, as many children have taken the law into their own hands.



Similarly, it is evident that these systems are connected and interact within the lives of these participants both directly and indirectly, exposing them to violence and causing them to perceive a lack of safety, and also putting their well-being and development at risk. In this sense, the participants have had an immediate experience and personal interaction with violence and lack of safety in a direct way. These experiences come from being robbed on the school grounds, having to pay a protection fee to stay safe, being bullied, exposed to robbery within their homes, and also being exposed to various forms of violence within their communities.

On the other hand, exposure to violence and lack of safety has indirectly impacted on their lives. In this sense, the findings have indicated that it is the nature and reality of their social environments that exposes them to violence. Here the use of alcohol and drugs by various



community members, and the failure of the police and government to do their job impact negatively on the well-being and development of these participants.

The findings further suggest that the participants' feelings towards safety were located within the desensitisation discursive theme because the participants spoke freely about being exposed to violence within their school, home and community. There was a clear indication that these instances of violence were common everyday occurrences (Savahl, 2009).

Form this one can see that violence has spilled over from the school, to the home, and eventually into the community within which these children live. A perceived lack of safety is present and the well-being of these participants is at risk.

#### **4.8 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter focused on detailing the emerging thematic categories of the participants' perceptions of exposure to community violence and personal safety and security as an important dimension of child well-being. Using the thematic analysis put forward by Braun and Clarke (2006) the responses of the participants in terms of exposure to violence, perceptions of personal safety and security, and violence effects were obtained. Furthermore, the participants' responses were placed in themes and sub-themes. The themes were then compared to previous research on the topic and the framework put forward by Bronfenbrenner, including the section on theories of violence in order to explore how violence manifests itself within the individual, school, home, community, and broader macrosystems with which these participants interact. In addition, the subsequent chapter provides recommendations for future research.

## CHAPTER FIVE: LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### *5.1 Limitations*

This study was limited by its use and number of focus groups as the participants' responses could have been influenced by their peers within the groups. According to Krueger, children are social creatures who are influenced by their interaction with others and do not form opinions in isolation (Kader, 2006, p. 39), therefore, the responses of the participants in this study could have been influenced by others in the focus group. These participants could have first listened to what their friends said and then elaborated on that, even if their views were different, so as to fit in with the group.

Secondly, data was collected from a few individuals that were not randomly drawn which meant that the findings could not be generalised to the larger population. In this sense, the results only apply to those children within the Parkwood area, and therefore only a local in-depth understanding of the phenomenon studied was provided.

Lastly, at times the study shows replication of previous research yet what is different is that this study posits the gap in that it focuses on the meanings and feelings that children assign to personal safety and security, including a South African perspective.

It would have also been interesting to provide the perceptions of teachers and parents as this would have added to the holistic dimensions of understanding how these children's well-being was affected or compromised.

## 5.2 Recommendations

It is recommended that more safe spaces are provided for children and young people. Three ways in which this can be done is that the security team be reinstated into the school, as these participants indicated that when these security guards were present on the school grounds, a sense of safety and security came from it. Furthermore, at various points along the journey to school more security guards or marshals can be present so that they do not have to worry about being robbed or getting into a fight when walking to and from school.

Another recommendation is that the school can continue providing counseling for those who have experienced a violent act against them. Lastly, further research can be done on understanding the well-being of these children, but through the eyes of their parents and teachers.



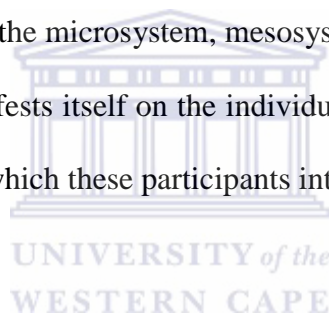
## 5.3 Conclusion

To conclude, this study aimed to explore children's and adolescents' perceptions of community violence, personal safety and security as an important dimension of child well-being based on how children construct and derive meaning from the phenomenon under investigation. More specifically, the study aimed at determining how children and adolescents perceive and understand issues around personal safety and security, exposure to violence, its consequences on child well-being, and lastly, the feelings and meanings that children assign to personal safety and security so as to ascertain the extent to which these assignments explain child well-being.

At a methodological level, participants in this study were a group of children and adolescents, both male and female, between the ages of 14 and 15. With the use of a qualitative design,

particularly a focus group method, the responses of the children were divided into four thematic categories using the thematic analysis technique put forward by Braun and Clarke (2006). Key findings indicated that the participants were exposed to, witnessed and experienced violence within their school, home, and community. Exposure to violence further created feelings of insecurity, such as fear and anxiety amongst these participants. Findings also showed that exposure to violence has various detrimental effects on the well-being of a child and adolescent affecting their physical, cognitive and educational, psychological and emotional, social, and economic well-being.

Additionally, these findings can be explained within the ecological levels conceived of as nested systems which consists of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem, thus showing how violence manifests itself on the individual, school, home, community, and the broader political levels with which these participants interact.



#### *5.4 Reflection*

Various difficulties were encountered during the entire research process such as difficulties with gaining access to the school, contacting the school, and with the school's commitment and participation in the research. Another difficulty that was encountered was with timing because the class time of these learners could not be infringed upon. However, even though these difficulties existed, permission to conduct the research was granted by the school, the children and their parents. Within the focus groups some participants were reluctant to participate, yet at other times they gave what I felt was the best they could give at that moment.

When reflecting on the time frame given to complete this study (which was less than a year) as a researcher, I was filled with anxiety and frustration about my ability to complete the thesis within the given time frame. At times the thought was that it would be impossible, yet, even though I felt overwhelmed by the task at hand, my commitment and dedication to completing this thesis got me through the entire research process, and enabled me to reach my goal.



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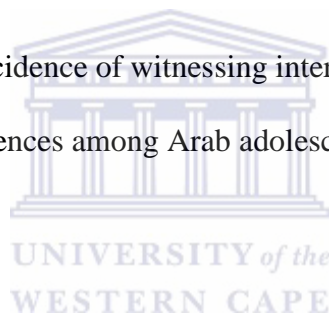
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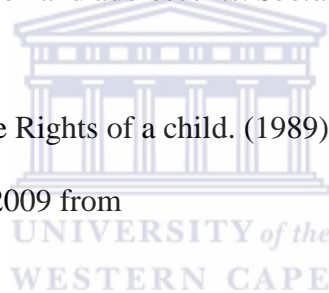
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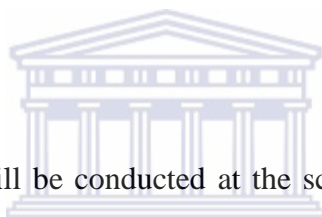
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## APPENDIX A

### INFORMATION LETTER

I, Taryn Amos, a Psychology Masters student from the University of the Western Cape, am conducting a research project which seeks to explore children' and adolescents' perceptions of exposure to violence, personal safety and security as an important dimension of child well-being. The proposed study aims to investigate the exposure to violence and its consequences on child well-being, as well as, to investigate the feelings and meanings that children assign to personal safety and security and the extent to which these assignments explain child well-being.



Two focus groups discussions will be conducted at the school, after which the information gathered will be analyzed and published as part of a research report. All the information gathered in these group discussions will remain confidential. The research process is guided by strict ethical considerations of the University of the Western Cape and will be adhered to at all times. You have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process.

Should any emotional suffering arise, a psychologist will be available and can be privately arranged with the researcher.

#### **Researcher's Contact Details**

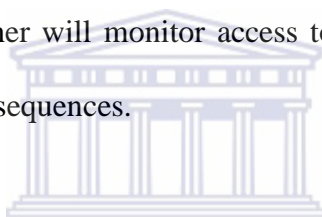
Taryn Amos, University of the Western Cape, Department of Psychology. Cell phone number: 083 320 0071. Email address: 2429359@uwc.ac.za.

## APPENDIX B

### CHILD ASSENT FORM

I, ..... the undersigned agree to participate in the study having read and fully understand the ethical guidelines set out below.

I understand the nature of the research. All my questions about the research have been answered. I agree to participate in my individual capacity and can withdraw at any stage without any consequence. Confidentiality will be maintained at all times. My identity will not be disclosed and the researcher will monitor access to the information I provide. I can withdraw at any time with no consequences.



My permission needs to be secured to disclose information.

The information will be disseminated to the public via publications.

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet attached.

I agree to keep all information discussed among the participants within the focus groups confidential.

I agree to participate in the study.

**Signature of participant** ..... **Date:** .....

**Signature of Researcher** ..... **Date:**.....

*Thank you for volunteering to participate in this study.*

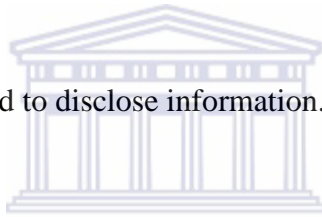


**APPENDIX C**

**CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS/GUARDIANS**

I, ....., the undersigned, hereby give consent for my son or daughter, ....., to participate in the research study.

I understand the nature of the research. All my questions about the research have been answered. Confidentiality will be maintained at all times. My child's identity will not be disclosed and the researcher will monitor access to the information he or she provides.



My permission needs to be secured to disclose information.

The information will be disseminated to the public via publications.

WESTERN CAPE

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet attached.

I give permission for my son or daughter to participate in his or her individual capacity.

**Signature of Parent/Guardian:..... Date:.....**

**Signature of Researcher:..... Date:.....**

*Thank you for your cooperation.*

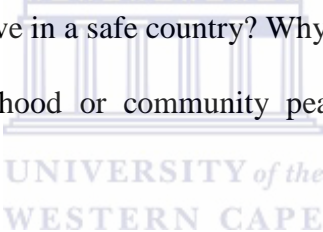
## APPENDIX D

### PRELIMINARY FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

**Question 1: What are some of meanings that you assign to violence, personal safety and well-being?**

- In your own words, what does violence, personal safety and well-being mean?  
For example?

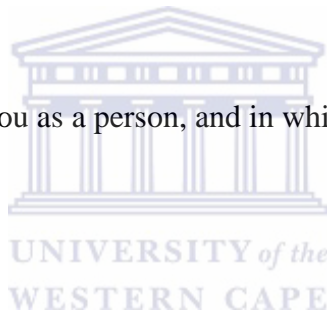
**Question 2: What are some of the perceptions around exposure to violence and personal safety and security among children and adolescents?**

- 
- Do you think we live in a safe country? Why?
  - Is your neighbourhood or community peaceful or marked with violence?  
Elaborate?
  - When walking alone in your neighbourhood during the day, do you feel safe?  
Explain?
  - How safe do you feel walking in your area after dark?
  - Tell me about the gangs in your area?
  - How well do you think the police are doing in controlling crime within your community?
  - Can you trust them?
  - How safe do you feel when walking to and from school?
  - Has anyone tried to harm you and your friends when walking to and from school?

- Tell me about the bullies at your school?
- What steps or strategies have you taken to protect yourself from harm within your community and at school?

**Question 3: What are some of the experiences and effects of violence within your community or neighbourhood?**

- Have you been a victim of violence, or have you witnessed violence? Tell me about it?
- How did it affect you?
- To what extent has your experience affected you psychologically, socially and academically?
- Has this affected you as a person, and in which way?



## APPENDIX E

### FOCUS GROUP 1:

I: *Okay, can we go. Can we start with M3 and then go around = F1 okay = = F3 uhr [hesitant] ... = so that way we don't have to talk [F1 laughs] over each other, or would you like to start?*

F1: *I would like to start.*

I: *Then we will go that way = F2 uhr [yes] ... = and end off with you = F2 horrr [my word] = okay, is that fine? [F1 laughs]. Uhr [hesitant] ... in your own words what does violence or crime mean?*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant] ... something that's illegal and, okay [laughs].*

I: *Don [don't] worry there is no wrong answer so if you feel that that's the way you think it is then you can tell me.*

F1: *Something bad that's happening like fighting or killing someone, murdering, and stuff like that.*

I: *Okay, and you?*

F2: Uhr [hesitant] ... it means. People use it as to, to solve problems, which is not right, and it hurts a lot of people in a lot of ways, and.

... [Silence]

F3: ...horrr [my word]. Okay, crime is like. Okay, I can't actually explain crime but it's almost, it's almost like fighting, like F1 said = I yes = and, and sometimes they uhr [hesitant] ... they turn to crime or violence just to comfort themselves = I okay = 'cos [because] and, and they don' o [don't know] what damage it is doing to another person.

F4: Okay, uhr [hesitant] ... crime is basically, uhr [hesitant] ... many people like in the community, in different communities, uhr [hesitant] ... some will form, uhr [hesitant] ... groups like, and they will like, uhr [hesitant] ... put peer, whatever that word is, peer pressure = I okay = = F1 yes = on their friends and so if you don't join a group you not a part of us, and so, they will like do it to hurt her, the next person. Many people use it as their hobby and so.

I: I'm gonna [going to] put it in the middle, sorry [the recorder].

M1: ... = M2 you = crime is like when you do drugs and stuff.

I: Okay. If I do repeat you it's only because I want it to come clearly on the thing [recorder] okay. So you said crime is about drugs and violence basically. Okay, that's fine. Next one?

M2: *Crime is like, uhr [hesitant] ... going against the law or the countries law and policies and not abiding to it, and violence is fighting and stuff like that.*

I: *Okay, so going against the = M2 law = law, okay, and violence? What did you say violence was again? = M2 fighting and stuff = fighting, and M3?*

M3: *Crime is, is when people fight, where they kill each other, like: stabbing, robbing people, rape, that's one of it.*

I: *Okay, so crime is like going, stabbing, robbing = M3 killing = and stuff, killing, and do you guys have any other examples?*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant]...*



I: *We don't have to go like that, you can, if you don't want to speak then someone else can just say something, okay.*

M3: *Examples?*

I: *Besides the ones you gave me like rape, and stabbing = M2 abuse = and robbery = M2 abuse = abuse, ja [yes]. Okay, that's fine, and, and safety? What does safety mean to you guys?*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant] ... when you feel relaxed and you know you don't have to be afraid to go outside, okay.*

I: So when you feel relaxed and you don [don't] wanna [want to] go outside, and you?

F2: Uhr [yes] ... to know that there is nothing gonna [going to] happen to you, for where you are, and to just know that you'll, there is people that is watching over you and your safety.

I: Okay, to know that you are safe and...

F3: You, you free to do whatever you want, but there's like a certain limit = I okay = that they go to.

I: And what do you mean by that, like?



F3: Like, uhr [hesitant] ... how can I say like, my dad always used to tell me you must pick your friends wisely because otherwise they can influence you to do something that's not good and that, and then uhr [hesitant] ... it will harm like your safety = I okay = 'cos [because] just now it lead to different stuff = I okay =].

F4: Like uhr [hesitant] ... safety is, like if you in a environment uhr [hesitant] ... if you feel comfortable in it, like example, for crime now, if you don't feel comfortable in, in that area then there is like no safety in that area = I okay =]

M1: When you in a secure place, like you can do anything, like in your house = I okay = you can feel free to do anything.

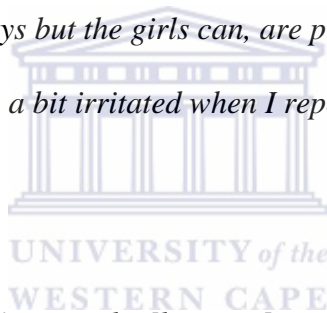
I: *So when you in a secure place and you can feel free.*

M1: *To do anything, ja [yes].*

I: *You can do anything you want to, and you?*

M2: *Safety is when you feel you protected and you know that uhr [hesitant] ... nothing bad will happen to you there.*

I: *Okay, so when you feel you protected, and that nothing bad will happen to you. I'm sorry for repeating you guys but the girls can, are projecting their voices but the guys are so shy [all was getting a bit irritated when I repeated what they were saying], why you shy?*



M3: *I'm not shy [girls laugh] I'm just uhr [hesitant] ... safety is where you can stay at home and know nothing will happen to you, where you gonna [going to] be on the road, as in people come, they look for trouble and they cause violence.*

I: *No that's fine = M3 stay at home, be safe, you safe = so when you at home and you know nothing is gonna [going to] happen to you = M3 feel safe = on the road, you feel safe, okay, and, and well. What does it mean to feel well?*

F1: *...See uhr [hesitant] ... let me, okay as I was saying, it's when you healthy and fit, and stuff like that.*



I: *Okay, when you healthy and fit, and you = F1 and you mentally okay and stuff = [girls laugh] mentally okay = F4 the right mindset = the right mindset, ja [yes] that's right.*

F2: *Uhr [yes] ... your wealth is uhr [hesitant] ... how can I say ... to know that there is nothing wrong with you, so that you don [don't] like, like to [girls laugh at the F2 for saying wealth instead of health] to, if, like many people have different kinds of wealth ... health problems, and your wealth is to know that you very wealthy person, is to uhr [hesitant] ... yes, just.*

I: *Ja [yes] so it is based on your health basically, to know that you healthy, and you?*

F3: *You got to be a very active person to be healthy, and eat properly, you go on like healthy diets, you don't have too starve yourself, like you can eat like fruits and vegetables, and you have to eat the right food and drink the right dingus [things] and stuff = I okay = like food.*

I: *So you have to take on a healthy lifestyle, okay and you?*

F3: *[Girls laugh] Uhr [hesitant] ... it's basically uhr [hesitant] ... your way of living because if you going to eat a, if you compare a healthy person and a person that does drugs and so, there's gonna [going to] be a huge difference because his messing his life inside and out, and where the person is like healthy, and that's basically it.*

I: *Okay, no that's fine.*

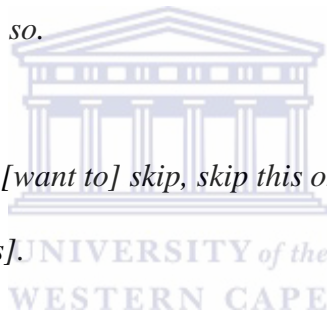
M1: *Healthy means when you = I but also what does it mean to feel well, like in general, not just on health = = F2 emotionally = when you feel happy, like you achieve something in your life and you feel good about yourself, and you feel good inside.*

I: *Okay, so when you feel happy and when you feel good inside and you achieve something.*

M2: *... Well ... I don't know.*

I: *Its fine, if you don't wanna [want to] say anything then we can move on because we just having a conversation so.*

M3: *Well ... = I do you wanna [want to] skip, skip this one = ja [yes] I'm gonna [going to] skip [everybody laughs].*



I: *Now, based on like everything you said like on uhr [hesitant] ... violence uhr [hesitant] ... what it means to be safe, and on well-being in general, like you also said that it affects you emotionally [like F2 said] as well, and he [M1] said if you achieve something, then you said uhr [hesitant] ... mental aspects [like F1 said] and everybody said health, so now, uhr [hesitant] ... I'm gonna [going to] ask you like a series of questions, uhr [hesitant] ... questions, then what we can do is, you can just give me your views of it, based on what you think, okay, and then, uhr [hesitant] ... do all of you guys live in this area?*

F2: *No.*

F4: *Not in the same area.*

F1: *No, not actually.*

I: *Okay, so uhr [hesitant] ... what are the areas you guys come from?*

F2: *We come from]*

F1: *Ottery]*

I: *Okay, Ottery]*

F2: *The two of us come from]*



F1: *= Actually Lotus River, not Ottery =*

I: *Lotus River.*

F2: *Whatever.*

F4: *Half grassy park and half Parkwood.*

M2: *That's Montague]*

I: *Okay, half grassy park, half Parkwood.*

M2: *I'm just telling you it is Montague, you see]*

I: *Oh, Montague]*

M2: *No, I live in Grassy Park]*

I: *Oh, you live in Grassy Park ]*

M1: *I live in Lotus River.*

I: *Lotus River.*

M3: *Gaolers.*



I: *Gaolers [girls indicate that it's here in the area, close to the school] Gaolers, okay, and uhr [hesitant] ... based on like being safe, is, are your guys' area safe? ... okay, we can go around then = F1 okay = 'cos [because] I see everyone shaking their heads, so [everyone laughs].*

F1: *No, I don [don't] think 'cos [because] in my area, just because of like smoking dagga [marijuana] and getting, sometimes you hear people at night in the road, and people would be partying the weekend, and I don [don't] necessarily think it's safe.*

I: *Okay, so you don't think your area is safe because people are partying and taking drugs, okay, and you said Ottery [F1 nods her head] okay, and you?*

F2: *There's, not really, but there is people that walk around at, at uhr [hesitant] ... the dog in the road will bark at them and uhr [hesitant] ... but it is, mostly it is.*

I: *So you saying your area is safe = F2 not really, different parts of it, 50/50 actually = okay 50/50 = F2 uhr [yes] =]*

F3: *Uhr [hesitant] ... my part okay, uhr [hesitant] ... okay I live down the road like by the flats kinda [kind of] and uhr [hesitant] ... I have friends that live there and uhr [hesitant] ... at night then our dogs will like also bark when people walk past but I think like my road, I think, I'm kinda [kind of] safe in my road.*

I: *Okay, so you think your road is safe, and the other areas? The other parts of your area?*



F3: *Uhr [hesitant] ... I really don't know = I you don't know = 'cos [because] I don [don't] like go to that other parts = I no, it's fine =*

F4: *Okay, I basically say uhr [hesitant] ... my area is safe but not that safe because uhr [hesitant] ... things happen there like uhr [hesitant] ... people will like fight a lot, and so, and uhr [hesitant] ... like she said like smoke stuff, and so [referring to F1] which is not a good influence for the next person.*

I: *Okay, so it's not safe when people fight, and it's not a good influence, but now, what are the? What? Can you give me like an example of why they would fight? Like, for*

*example, maybe, I don't like M3 so I'm gonna [going to] go now and I'm gonna [going to] fight with M3 'cos [because].*

*F4: No, it's basically = F2 causes conflict = ja [yes], conflict, if they like, like they will have a party and so now everyone will drink and then they will like look for a argument or so, and then that's how it will start.*

*I: So they look for a argument, okay.*

*M1: I would say my area is safe but only in some parts, like in my road it is safe but sometimes I can't walk to the shop or that 'cos [because] people they smoking dagga [marijuana] and they not sober, they drink 'cos [because], if I walk to the shop then they always try to look a, to fight with me, to cause violence or something.*

*I: Okay, and uhr [hesitant] ... where did you say your area was again?*

*M1: In Lotus River.*

*I: Lotus River, so you live in a safe area but where you can't walk to the shop because people are taking dagga [marijuana] and they drinking and they will look for a fight with you.*

*M2: My area is safe but uhr [hesitant] ... there's a lot of peer pressure, and people they go tekeera [go mad], they go on [everyone laughs because he thinks that the interviewer does not understand what he means when he says tekeera] = I know what that means,*

*I come from Steenberg, so don't worry = and they drink a lot and stuff, so it's like = I okay = that's why sometimes it's not safe.*

*I: So your area is safe but not = M2 all the time = always because there's a lot of peer pressure, and like everyone one said the common thing is drinking and smoking dagga [marijuana].*

*F2: Uhr [yes]...*

*I: Do people take other stuff?*

*... [Silence]*



*I: I mean it's not, based on you [everyone laughs] but it's based on what other people are doing, so I'm not asking, if you say tik [take methamphetamine], for example, I'm not gonna [going to] think, oh my word, his taking tik [methamphetamine] [everyone laughs] it's just, you know what I mean, it's just in general, but M3, you wanna [want to] say something about your area?*

*M3: It is safe so now and then but nowadays you must walk with, with a knife or something because people from Parkwood they come over then they come rob you in your own place and then they go back and go sell your stuff = I okay = = F2 for tik [methamphetamine] money = now sometimes at night when you walk you always get people walking around here looking for houses that's empty, that's quiet and that,*

*then that, that they can break in and that, but I say it's sometimes, it's safe, sometimes it's not.*

*I: Okay, sometimes it's not and, and what was your area again?*

*M3: Its Gaolers, here.*

*I: Gaolers, ja [yes], so you say sometimes it's safe, sometimes it's not safe, and you have to walk with a knife because people from Parkwood come over and, okay, then they sell your stuff, and like you said F2, for tik [methamphetamine] money, okay, and uhr [hesitant]... is there? Besides the fact that people like take drugs, and you say you need to walk with a knife and stuff like that, what other things happen? = F1 well there = in terms of violence, like M3 said robberies because the houses are = F2 quiet = quiet.*

*F1: Uhr [hesitant] ... there's domestic violence also, spouses = I and does this happen in your area? = yes, so normally on weekends and then they have to call the ambulance, ADT or the police because spouses are fighting and all that stuff.*

*I: Okay, so you normally have to call ADT 'cos [because] the spouses are fighting, and have you seen this happen? = F1 yes = okay = F1 but it stopped recently = it stopped for a while = F1 uhr [yes] ... = okay.*

*... [Silence]*



I: *Any violence in your area?*

F2: *I don [don't] think so.*

I: *And it doesn't necessarily have to be that you've seen it, you can tell me an example of someone you know, or if something happened to one of your family members, or let's say I met someone and they told me what happened in my area ... okay.*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant] ... a couple of years ago my aunty, my two aunties were coming back from the shop and so uhr [hesitant] ... my aunty was on the corner, so they were having a conversation and so somebody came behind her, so they robbed her, they took her bag off from her, so they ran, my daddy then uhr [hesitant] ... took, okay they drove on, they took a baseball bat with just in case they found the man [F1 laughs] but afterwards so they didn't find him so they took her money and everything, her credit cards also, all of that was stolen.*

I: *Okay, so what corner was this = F1 like two, okay ours, away from our house = oh, so a corner away from your house, so they basically came behind her and took away her stuff and robbed her, okay, your aunty.*

F4: *I have nothing to say.*

I: *It's fine.*

M2: *Naai [no man] there's a lot of violence there by us like people that fight with beer bottles and stuff because they drunk and they argue over stupid stuff and they like, how can I say, gerook [high] = I uhr [yes] = [everyone laughs] = I I know what gerook [high] means = then they sommer [just] like look for arguments evens with the police and stuff like that.*

I: *Okay, so a lot of people in your area they fight because they drunk, and because they smoke, so they just, because they in that state they just looking to fight with people =F2 uhr [yes] = and you say they fight with beer bottles and?*

M3: *Yes, most of the boys here cause violence in this place because when people start robbing then we go look for the people and then they, when we get them then we give them a hiding [everyone laughs] = I okay, shhh [keep quiet] = like there was, there was last month, there was people walking here in Gaolers from Parkwood with a trolley stealing bricks, they will go in by every house, then they stole bricks, so one of the neighbours down the road, but we started with a neighbour watch thing, so my brother and them they chased the people, the one ran down Klip Road, this way, and the one ran that way, but the one jumped in the school so they got him, so the boy got on the fence, but the one neighbour down the road they, he wanted to know why the gate is open because the gate was pushed closed, so they saw the gate was, was locked, so the gate slide open, so they swore that man out that was now standing on the, on the fence so when he came down, so we gave him a good hiding [everyone laughs] we kicked him in his head = I okay = so he won't do it again.*

I: Okay, but do you uhr [hesitant] ... when that does happen are you there to like kill the person or do you just wanna [want to] = M3 give him a warning, not to come back again = = M2 teach him a lesson = teach him a lesson, so you basically saying crime only happens when someone comes = M3 when they, when they = when they look for trouble or take something from your community or your area, and then you go back and you say okay this is not right we gonna [going to] teach you a lesson = M3 yes = okay, that's fine. Uhr [hesitant] ... and how does it make you guys feel knowing, like for those who have maybe seen, witnessed, do not feel safe? How does it make you feel knowing that you not safe?

F1: It makes me feel scared ... uhr [yes] ... I'm not feeling safe, it's like every time I go to the shop 'cos [because] I have to look around me 'cos [because] my grandmother every time say, like when I walk to school, that she's like, look around you, your surroundings, know that you feel safe and stuff like that.

WESTERN CAPE

I: Okay.

... [Silence]

M3: What was the question [everyone laughs?]

I: How does it make you feel knowing that you not safe and that violence is around you?

M1: *It makes, actually it makes you, you think better 'cos [because] you looking active, looking out for it, you alert when walking around, you first check out what is happening around you, if someone wants to try something, ja [yes].*

I: *Okay, so it makes you feel more alert, okay, and I mean uhr [hesitant] ... it doesn't mean that crimes happens in your area, hey [okay], you like look at the mall for example, they breaking into shops, so even if you know something like that happened there, you can use that as one of your examples 'cos [because] not always does crime happen in our areas, it's only when we know something happens, or when you see it that.*

... [Silence]



M3: *Uhr [hesitant] ... I don't really feel scared when there's crime or something like that, I was almost robbed four times already but then they couldn't take the stuff from me because they come with a knife, they come with a screw driver, they can do nothing with you, I just walk on, if they must do something they must do something, but I'm not giving my stuff off, so I uhr [hesitant] ... above, above them, if they must rob me, stab me, kill me, then you can take my stuff but I'm not gonna [going to] give my stuff off, and I just show them I'm not scared of them.*

I: *Okay, so if you show them you not scared then somehow they like = F2 they not going to do anything to you, back off = = M2 leave you = they leave you, but if you show you scared then they know, okay, I can take your stuff = M3 ja [yes] = okay, and uhr [hesitant] ... what do you think the police is doing, besides this episode toady? [police*

*came to school to do a random drug search] = F2 nothing = what do you think they are doing to, nothing.*

*F3: Nothing now]*

*F1: Not standing up to their job really]*

*I: They not standing up to their job.*

*F1: I think now 2010 is coming, new laws are coming in, they being more stricker [strict] in case of terrorist strikings, terrorist attacks for example, stuff like that =*

*I: Okay, so they being more strict in case with uhr [hesitant] ... like she said [F1] of the terrorist attacks.*



*... [Silence] [Everyone laughs]*

*M3: Last, well the, when it was school, before the holidays, the June, the June holidays someone came there in the grave yard behind my house, they came to come steal the copper pipes, they, they cut the pipes off so I caught this man, so he ran, so I went to the garage, so I went to go fetch a spade to chase him so he ran over to Parkwood, so it was people from Parkwood that came there, so I phoned my daddy, they phoned the police, the police still didn't come until today, they didn't come.*

I: *Okay = M3 they useless = so they basically doing nothing ... okay, and in school, do you feel safe here in... ?*

M3: *I feel safe.*

F2: *No.*

F1: *In a way, in a way you feel safe, in a way.*

I: *So in a way you feel safe, in a way you feel safe =*

F1: *'Cos [because] certain, certain, it's just to know that you surrounded by friends who cares and stuff, they care about you and stuff, and like that makes you feel safe.*

I: *Okay, so surrounded = F1 and uhr [hesitant] ... = by friends, sorry, and you feel safe.*

F1: *'Cos [because] in a way you feel safe like, like when I was at Plantation Road a incident happened, last, when I was in grade 7, that was the last day for me and uhr [hesitant] ... one of the former learners there, they came and had a riffle and they shot this one boy in his shoe but luckily it didn't hit his foot [everyone laughs] and the care taker started, ran, ran after him and he jumped on the fence and they just, I don [don't] know if anything happened so I just turned around.*

F2: *It's junk because you supposed to enjoy your last day and then that happens =*

I: *Okay, so your friends is there to support you, anyone else?*

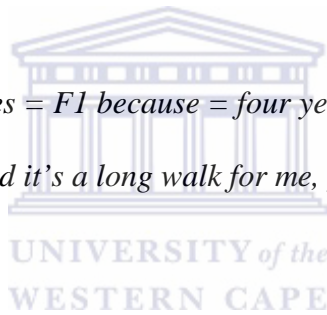
... [Silence]

I: *Okay, you uhr ... are there any people on this school, okay let's first start with, do you feel safe walking to and from school?*

[Some say yes, some say no, vague]

F1: *I don't in a way]*

I: *Okay, so we have two yeses = F1 because = four yeses and you say you don't = F1 I don't because I live far and it's a long walk for me, you see = okay, so you live far and you walk.*



[Girls say something, vague]

F3: *But you do have friends]*

F1: *No, when I come to school]*

F4: *Oh]*

I: *It's a long walk]*

F2: *When you come to school there is a lot of people that walk like =*

F1: *Ja [yes] but in the mornings I have to go to school, when I have to walk alone = F2  
sometimes in winter it's, the sun comes out late you see, and so uhr ... =]*

I: *Okay, in winter you don't feel safe but there's a lot of people walking down this road,  
they going to work = F2 yes = and children are going to school, okay, there, are  
there any people like on this school that are like, does everyone know what a bully is?*

F2: *Yes]*

F1: *Yes]*

F4: *Yes]*



I: *Are there people like that who, who look to bring violence here or fight with you, or  
... put you down, or has anyone experienced that, or do you know of people that do  
that?*

... [Silence]

I: *No!*

... [Silence]



F1: *I think normally in primary schools they do that, because when you come to high school you more older and you can defend yourself, and like.*

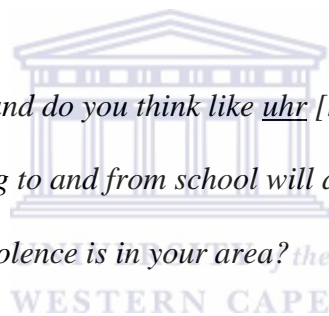
I: *Okay, at high school it doesn't really happen, more in primary school, not here.*

F1: *Uhr [yes]...*

M3: *Don't bother*

*[Girls laugh]*

I: *And, oh, no one bothers, and do you think like uhr [hesitant] ... like she said [F1] like you don't feel safe walking to and from school will affect the way you learn at school, or knowing that there's violence is in your area?*



F1: *For some people it will =*

F4: *For some children, yes]*

F1: *I think it's, it's different = I for some children = it's different for everybody because say it will, for certain people it will affect them because they thinking of, will they be safe, and when they go home = F4 when they go home = and stuff like that.*

I: *So it affects you in terms of, your thinking, will I be safe when I go home, okay, and learning, no, you will still learn normally but only when you go home?*

F1: Uhr [yes]... =

F2: *For certain, for certain people it will affect what happens at school but for other, for most, majority of the people doesn't affect them.*

I: *Okay, so certain people it will affect them, but now can you give me an example?*

F2: *Like a, family matters and stuff that happened like in your area, it will uhr [hesitant] ... affect your school work because you won't be able to concentrate on what you doing, it won't, like say in = M3 concentration will be on your family = in your head.*

F1: *I'll say like uhr [hesitant] ... = I okay, can I just repeat that so uhr [hesitant] ... he said [M3] said that your concentration will stay in your family, and like she said [F2] you won't be able to concentrate = like during exams you more stressed, you wanna [want to] pass but you have family issues = F2 uhr [yes] ... = and it's = F2 uhr [yes] ... = you more concentrating on that then your exams.*

I: *Okay, so if you have like issues you rather concentrate about that then, for example, and not focus on your exam because it makes you anxious.*

... [Silence]

I: *Okay, and uhr [hesitant] ... at home, like a lot of you guys said that uhr [hesitant] ... like M3 for example said that at home sometimes people come in and they try and break, do you feel safe at home? ... in your house?*

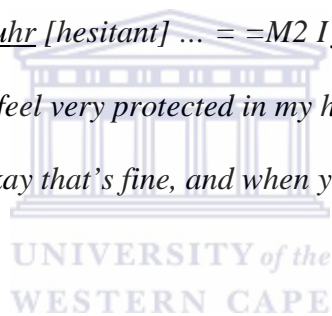
F4: Yes]

F2: Yes]

F1: I do]

M3: Not always]

I: Okay, yes, not always = F1 no = sometimes = F1 when my dog was still alive it was okay 'cos [because] he will bark at night and we will come out and check 'cos [because], but now = F2 uhr [hesitant] ... = =M2 I feel = okay when your dog was alive you felt safe = M2 I feel very protected in my house = [everyone laughs] okay, you feel very protected, okay that's fine, and when you alone?



F2: No]

F4: Yes]

F2: No]

F4: I do ]

F1: I'm never alone]

M3: I feel protected]

F2: For him, horrr naai [no man]

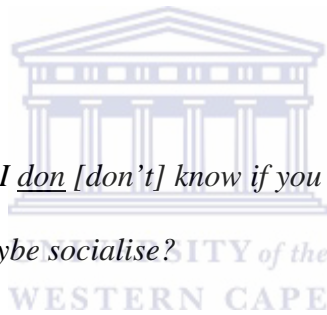
M3: I do]

F3: How can you feel safe when you alone [vague]

I: For most of you guys you feel for, protected and for some, the girls?

F1: I was never alone = F2 weren't you never alone = they made sure someone was with me = I okay, someone's not alone = = F2 horrr [that's heavy] = someone's always with me.

I: And uhr [hesitant] ... like I don [don't] know if you guys do but do you maybe sit outside with your, and maybe socialise?



F2: Uhr [yes]...

F1: Every afternoon after school [girls laugh].

I: Okay, so you do that every afternoon after school, and do you feel like safe when you sitting with your friends?

[All the girls say yes]

I: And at night?

F1: *No [girls say no] I'm, I'm not outside at night but you don't feel safe = F4 I feel safe = on the weekend = I you say [F4] you feel safe =*

M3: *I feel safe = F2 uhr [yes] ... = when I'm at my girlfriend at night = F2 horrr [that's heavy], your girlfriend = [girls laugh] = F4 your girlfriend = I must walk from there, from Lotus home = I okay = but then I walk a certain time where there is cars on the road, or I don't walk too late, then I know there's no one.*

I: *Okay, you will visit your girlfriend but you won't walk too late because then you will know there is like = F2 no cars on the road = still people like, and no = M3 there will be people walking = cars on the road, okay.*

M2: *I feel safe.*

I: *No you just protected [girls laugh], his protected all the time, and okay, and then has anything like happen in your house, like I've experienced a burgla ... burglary yes, someone was in the house = F2 while you were in the house = = F1 I = ja [yes], when I came home then the person was in my house so I just nicely closed the door = F2 yes that must be scary = and I walked out [everyone laughs].*

F2: *My sister them they came out of school, I think it was a few years back, my sister them came out of school and there was somebody trying to break in the house but the back door was open and uhr [hesitant] ... when they came in they just dropped their bags like by the door and they walked to the kitchen and the washing machine and the DVD and my mommy's watch was all standing by the door = I okay = and they just locked*

*the, the front door and they walked, okay, and then the police didn't come, my uncle had to come look for him.*

*I: Okay, so you, you've experienced a burglary where all your stuff was like that = F2  
uhr [yes] = okay, anyone else?*

*F1: Uhr [yes] ... = F4 uhr [yes] ... = it was during the holidays, I was sleeping but I heard my brother shouting, trying, trying to tell this man to come out of our house, he was bleeding, he said that this gang is coming after him and so I just got up [M3 says something, vague] and he, he was like standing, not really close [M3 says something, vague] to me but I just looked at him, but as I was so in a shock that I couldn't move and then ja [yes] I heard my grandma was shouting that I must, that I must come to her so my brother, we were trying to, he locked the door and we were trying to open it and then my brother got it open and then I went, and my, then, grandmother turned, called my uncles friend 'cos [because] his a police officer and then he came and then he, but the guy was already gone, and then we told him to go home, we didn't really shout at him 'cos [because] my ma [grandmother] said when they in that state you mustn't really shout at them, you must just be calm, and then he went home.*

*I: Okay, so he was basically in your house and then he said that he came from a gang = F1 uhr [yes] ... = and then he wanted to be safe in your house, okay, and then you were obviously scared and your ma said that you mustn't shout at him because otherwise he will get upset with you guys and try to hurt you.*

*... [Silence]*

M2: *I also experienced a burglary but, burglary, but I, I was sleeping and my daddy normally comes home late so I thought it was him walking in my room but it was a other man, I sleep one way [everybody laughs] I don [don't]...*

I: *So, you experienced a burglary = F1 yes = but you just slept on, but you thought it was your father coming home because he comes late but it was actually someone else, and did they take stuff?*

M2: *Ja [yes], they took the Hi-Fi and cell phones but my daddy came [girls laugh] = I your Hi-Fi and your cell phones = but my daddy came so my daddy chased him and so he dropped the Hi-Fi and so it broke [girls laugh] and climbed out the window = I okay = so he ran away.*

I: *Okay, so your daddy came, he dropped the Hi-Fi that he had = F2 they might as well of just take it = and he went home, no?*

M3: *Nothing?*

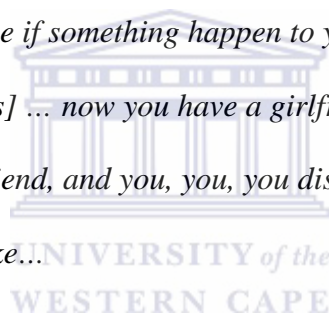
I: *And then what do you think are some of the bad effects of all this violence going around us and the fact that sometimes we don't feel safe no matter where we are?*

F1: *I think that when we see this uhr [hesitant] ... act happening, this violence, that we turn to it, that we, we become members of the gang and we do the stuff they do = F2 'cos [because] you see it solves many problems = 'cos [because] you hear some people like say that it's okay no you have a better life with them, it's like they, your*

family, and you, they, it's like they trying to tell you it's okay to be a gang member, and stuff like that.

I: Okay, so you, you basically say that if you experience violence within your community, so people just tell you, rather become a part of it because it's better, and there's a better life if, for you, there so, you, just because it's happening, so you just do it.

F2: Not always because now, uhr [hesitant] ... they, they put down rules for you to obey and if you don't abide by that rules they will, it's almost, it's like most gangs will say if you with a gang, because if something happen to you and then your family will like be under that and uhr [yes] ... now you have a girlfriend then they say you not supposed to, have a girlfriend, and you, you, you disobey their rules and then they will come after you, for like...



I: Okay, so basically they have rules and if you don't abide = F2 uhr [yes] ... = by that rules = F2 they will come after you = then they will come after you, so not always is it okay to be a part of a gang = F2 of a gang =

M3: Like some gangs, if like, like we sitting now, and we sit like this in a circle, in a crowd, when the main one, he, he will put a gun down, and if they sit, sit in a circle, he, they will spin the gun, and the gun show to her, say for example, now the gun show to her, she must go do the deed = I okay = she must go kill the person, if she can't do it then they kill her, that's what some gangs do.



F2: Uhr [yes]...

I: So that is basically like what she said [F2] the rules, if the guns in the middle and they spin it around, and you wouldn't do what people say then they obviously gonna [going to] shoot you.

F2: Uhr [yes], uhr [yes]...

M1: Uhr [yes] ... the gangs will, some children will get affected because in our area there is a lot of poor children = I okay = and they see like the gang members always have nice rings on and chains, they look nice, and then they have nice cars also, then it's, then, then poor children think they also wanna [want to] become gang members because then, will have a kwaai [cool] phone and stuff like that.

I: Okay, so you saying because of poverty children might wanna [want to] be a part of gangs because they have kwaai [cool] clothes and they got kwaai [cool] cars and = F2 obviously the money = there's money in it = F2 uhr [yes] ... = and any other like bad things that could happen to you as like a person.

F1: Uhr [yes] ... emotionally you = F2 uhr [yes] ... = you won't be the same, it's like a part of you just died and stuff like that = I okay so emotionally you won't be the same = and your state of mind, you won't, it's like you won't be there.

F4: You won't care about the way you live as well =

I: *Okay, your state of mind, you won't be the same]*

F4: *You won't care about the way you live]*

I: *You won't care about the way you love]*

F4: *Your lifestyle]*

I: *Oh, your lifestyle, and what do you think, will it affect, and your friends, like your relationships with your friends?]*

F2: *Yes, they will, see]*

F4: *Yes, the different]*

F1: *Yes]*

F2: *Uhr [yes]...*

F4: *Uhr [yes]...*

F2: *Yes, some friends will be there to comfort you in, in ways that, that]*

I: *They can]*



F2: *Different way, ja [yes], but then you get friends that will be very fussy [full of nonsense], I don [don't] wanna [want to] be your friend.*

I: *Okay, so if you maybe feel like emotionally funny or it affects you mentally then you, you might be a different person, then your friends like will not wanna [want to] be with you, but then other times they will support you.*

... [Silence]

I: *Anyone else, no, okay.*

... [Silence]

I: *Okay, that's basically it that I wanted to ask you guys, uhr [hesitant] ... is there anything else you wanna [want to] tell me, just based on like the three things that we covered on violence, being well and uhr [hesitant] ... safety?*

... [Silence]

M3: *Yes, always stay at home for safety man, just keep the doors locked, people, say the wrong people like rob, like people that rob children, don [don't] let them come in, keep your doors locked, close all the windows when you alone at home for safety matters, and when you see people having violence, avoid it, just walk away, one, and people that want, some that say wanna [want to] fight with you so, just walk away = I okay = you can feel, stay strong.*

*I: Okay, so always stay at home, keep your doors locked, and if you do see violence happening, just walk away = M3 uhr [yes] ... = so you can avoid it at all time, okay, thank you, I'll stop.*



## ***FOCUS GROUP 2:***

*F1: Miss am I allowed to eat a sweet?*

*I: Uhr [yes].*

*F2: You fasting F1.*

*I: You fasting?*

*F2: Not anymore.*

*F1: I'm Christian.*



*I: Put it back.*

*F2: But with a scarf on your head.*

*I: Okay.*

*F1: I'm Christian.*

*F4: Maybe you must take your scarf off your head.*

I: *Okay, basically = F1 then my hair will stand [F1 laughs] = compared to Serena's study hey, mine looks at violence but safety and like how you feel inside, like your well-being and stuff like that, so we will look at those three things and then I'll ask you questions and then you can just tell me what you think about it, your opinion, your views and stuff like that, okay, can we start?*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Everyone ready?*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Okay, uhr [hesitant]... in your own words what does violence mean to you?*

F1: *Mostly about fighting.*

*[Girls laugh]*

F2: *And swearing.*

I: *If I =*

F4: *And abuse.*



I: *Sorry [I interrupted] ... and if I do repeat you it's just to, that, in case I don [don't] hear you then I can hear my own voice, okay =*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

F2: *Repeat.*

I: *No I just, just now you think I'm taaty [mad] 'cos [because] I'm repeating myself [girls laugh] and then, okay, so you [F1] said fighting, you [F2] said swearing = F2 fowl language = and then = F4 abuse = abuse = F1 verbally, verbally = = M1 uhr = verbally = M1 conflict = verbal abuse and conflict.*

F3: *Emotional abuse.*



I: *Sorry.*

F3: *Emotional abuse.*

I: *Emotional abuse.*

*... [Silence]*

*[M2 and F1 laugh]*

I: *Okay, no it's fine.*

F2: *Speechless.*

I: *And uhr [hesitant]... safety, what does safety mean?*

F1: *To be locked in a house.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

I: *To be locked in a house.*

F4: *Just...*

F1: *Isn't, man like, like]*



F4: *To keep away from = F1 uhr [yes] = all the things = F1 bad things = that is happening like.*

M1: *The bad things.*

F2: *Just like, you know nê [okay], like you, like you, you, your, your, you can go wherever nê [okay] with knowing that nothing can happen to you or something, that is like safety.*

I: *Okay.*



F2: *You must...*

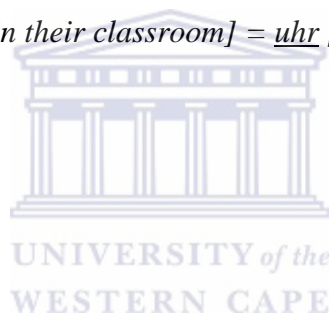
M1: *Like feel free to walk anywhere, where you want to.*

I: *Ja [yes].*

F2: *It's almost like...*

F1: *And like if we, like in your house and then like, like have like, in Cape Town, what do you call that gates, that trelly door = F2 words vague = = I oh yes = and the burglar bars = I almost like this [in their classroom] = uhr [yes]...*

F2: *This is almost like jail.*



*[Everyone laughs]*

I: *Oh, oh, okay, this is almost like jail [everyone laughs] = M3 Pallsmore = anyone else, do you guys have trelly doors at home, and stuff like that?*

F1: *Hey, I'm]*

M1: *We have safety gates]*

F1: *No, I have a gate]*

F3: *No]*

M1: *Yes]*

F2: *Big gates and alarms and that stuff]*

F1: *Uhr [yes]...*

I: *And alarms.*

F4: *Ons is [we are] [vague].*

M1: *And some people don't ... safety gates.*

I: *And some people don't have a safety gate, okay, and what does it mean to be well?*

F1: *Well?*

F2: *To, to, sorry?*

I: *To be well like in terms of like, I feel well because I feel healthy.*

F1: *Uhr [hesitant]...*

F2: *Oh, where your health is concerned?*



M1: *Oh.*

I: *Health, emotions, mind...*

F2: *To be well.*

M1: *To be well yes.*

I: *So to be happy and not to be sad.*

F2: *Oh.*

F1: *Like all the positives, positive emotions.*

M1: *Positive points.*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Instead of the negatives things that...*

F2: *That will then be like heaven on earth.*

*[Girls laugh]*

I: *Okay.*



F1: *But heaven is on earth]*

F2: *Uhr [hesitant]... no earth is like uhr [hesitant]...*

I: *But then you can say the good things and the bad things.*

F2: *Ja [yes] but = M1 uhr [hesitant] ... = it's like the disadvantages overcome the advantages so.*

I: *So your, your well-being is not that great at the moment.*

F2: *With the surrounding not really.*



I: *With your surroundings at school, at, in your area?*

F2: *Like you see nê [okay], you can walk nê [okay], you can walk home nê [okay], and there is like a 50 percent chance nê [okay], that you will get robbed.*

I: *Okay.*

F2: *Now something like that man, you not safe even, okay, in your own home you not, you not safe anywhere.*

I: *Okay so...*

F2: *So and not evens in church =*

I: *Okay so what is one of the examples that you can maybe link to well-being then? =*

... [Silence]

F1: *For example.*

M2: *Well-being, being.*

I: *If you don't have one it's fine.*

F3: *I'm busy thinking.*

I: *Does anyone else wanna [want to] go so long?*

F4: *Not yet.*

M1: *Well-being, I think it's mostly on, mustn't do drugs, smoke, drink, and stuff like that.*

I: *So drugs, smoke and drink = M1 to be healthy = and then it affects you, your health.*

M1: *Yes it can affect your health.*

I: *Okay, it can affect your health.*



F3: *Having respect = M1 uhr [yes] = having respect and discipline.*

I: *Having respect and discipline, yes.*

... [Silence]

F2: *I'm finished thinking.*

I: *You finished thinking.*

F1: *What did he [M1] say miss?*

I: *He [M1] said, oh sorry, repeat it again?*



[Girls laugh]

M1: *I said that well is uhr [hesitant]... the drinking and smoking, and that if you don't drink and you don't smoke = F1 oh = and you don't do drugs and stuff = I it won't, it won't affect you = immune system and everything is strong = I having a good immune system, system = [F2 words vague] = F3 like if you drug yourself = uhr [yes]...*

I: *Okay, now based on like violence, crime, and then also safety and well-being, I'll ask you like a set of questions then you can just tell me what you think about it in, I think uhr [hesitant]... one of the questions, let me just see where I am now, what area do you guys come from?*

*F1: I come from Ottery.*

*I: Ottery.*

*F2: Hanover Park.*

*I: Hanover Park.*

*M3: Parkwood.*

*I: Parkwood.*

*F4: Grassy Park]*

*I: Grassy Park]*

*F3: Grassy Park]*

*M2: Zeekoevlei.*

*I: Zeekoevlei.*

*M1: Grassy Park.*

*I: Grassy Park, and is it safe in your area?*



F1: *My area is civilized.*

F3: *Yes.*

F2: *No.*

M3: *No]*

I: *Your area is civilized, uhr [hesitant]...*

F4: *Mine is in between.*

I: *In between, okay, so why is it civilized?*



F1: *'Cos [because] ask her = F2 it's, it's ... = it's quiet there.*

F2: *It's locked away = F1 and like = from society = I oh = if I come there then it's noisy  
=*

F1: *No don [don't] lie, don [don't] lie.*

F2: *I'm joking.*

F1: *It's like man, like ... I can't explain.*



M3: *Oh like, it's died]*

F2: *The people nê [okay], say now nê [okay] they, they like that, that man, they still, say now the wife and the husband have a fight, they have it inside the house = F1 uhr [yes], like that = and say now someone, they smoke weed [marijuana] or something, they do it in their own yard, so they don [don't] go walk around in the streets and do it and stuff = I okay = like that man = M1 and influence other people = so their community isn't like a target = I and influence other people = or something so man.*

I: *Okay, then why do you [F2] say your area is not safe?*

F2: *Because horrr [oh my word]... [Girls laugh] that people have no respect there [F2 laughs].*



I: *What do they do?*

F2: *They, they, they, they nê [okay], they, they smoke sommer [just so] in front of big people and they swear the big people, at the big people and so man, and the people they fight, they have like no shame.*

F1: *And the merchant = I okay = lives upstairs = F2 on top = her.*

I: *Uhr [yes]... the merchant lives on, upstairs where you live and like = F2 his family = can you give me an example = F2 of = like a = F2 I saw = okay of a crime or stuff =*

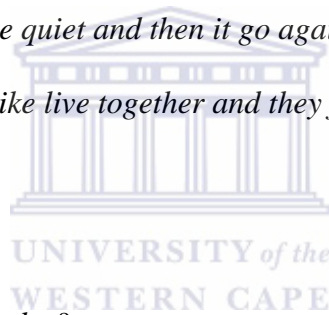
*F2 I witness cross fires a lot and gang fights and that = okay = F2 I witness that a lot = okay.*

*F1: How can you witness it?*

*I: And you [F4] said 50/50.*

*... [Silence]*

*F4: It happens now and then, it's, it's not like ... = M1 every = constantly, it's happening, it's happening, it's just like quiet and then it go again messed up 'cos [because] I like live opposite people who like live together and they just smoke and they dri ... drink and.*



*I: Okay ... okay, and anyone else?*

*F1: You [M2] live in Zeekoevlei, you must say?*

*M2: Uhr [hesitant]...*

*F2: By the fishes.*

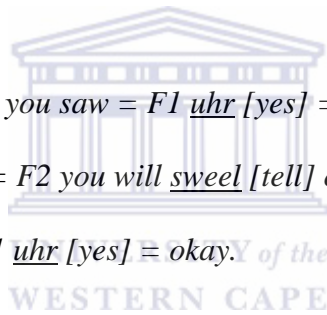
*M2: It's also like, like, it's also like, like = M3 it's away in the corner = 50/50 ja [yes], like what F4 said because uhr [hesitant] ... sometimes you see violence now and then*

[M2 laughs] and uhr [hesitant] ... ja [yes] [F2 laughs] some, and also like my place is also, the community is also quiet and that stuff, so like that.

I: Okay and does anyone know of an example, besides the fact that she [F2] said like cross fire's that happened and gang fights and stuff like that of violence that happens?

F2: They rob people in front of you, and say now nê [okay] you do, you witness it nê [okay] and the people that, the person, the robbers nê [okay], they saw you there and they know nê [okay] that you witnessed it nê [okay] then they, you like, you like make your, you like a target your whole life man.

I: Oh, because they saw that you saw = F1 uhr [yes] = = F2 ja [yes] and they know = like if you say something = F2 you will sweel [tell] on them so = they will get you back = F2 ja [yes] = = F1 uhr [yes] = okay.



F1: Like bribery.

I: And does anyone = M1 not bribery man, threaten you = = F1 uhr [yes] ... threat = oh = F1 oh = they threaten you = M1 uhr [yes] = and you, has anyone experienced it or = F2 what, being robbed? = or besides, ja [yes] = F2 ja [yes] = = M3 yes = = F2 a lot = or like witnessed it = F4 not a lot = or your family members, can you tell me = M3 a lot = a little bit about that?

F1: Two people on the school robbed her [F2].

I: *Okay, on the school, okay.*

F1: *Tell them there [girls laugh].*

F2: *You told her now.*

F1: *They took her phone off from her.*

I: *Okay]*

F2: *On my way home when I lived here [in the area]]*

I: *When you lived here.*



F2: *Uhr [yes] ... then I moved to Pelican Park, then I moved to Hanover Park.*

I: *Then you moved to Pelican Park, then you moved to Hanover Park.*

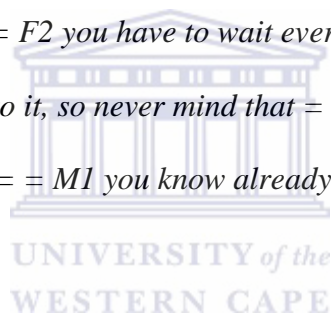
*[Everyone laughs at the fact that she moved homes so much].*

M2: *Horrr [oh my word]...*

I: *And any other experiences?*

F2: *There's a lot of moving]*

I: *Okay, everyone said yes = F2 I saw a dead body already = a dead body? = F2 yes = [F1 get chills thinking about it] = F2 he was shot through the head = did you, did you see someone? = F2 yes = what happened? = F2 after the cross fire then there's just blood and bodies in the road = oh, okay = F2 it doesn't look that nasty [terrible] = = F1 krap [nonsense] = = F2 like, like people say, I like blood so, but it doesn't look that nasty [terrible] = you like blood? [I and M2 laugh] [M2 laughs again] = F1 how can you like blood, oh my word = = M2 yes = = M3 you then have blood = = F2 exactly = =M3 how can you not like = = F1 no it's so = = F2 I like seeing it man, it's so, I wanna [want to] make out dead people = = M1 isn't man you used to it = = F1 go cut yourself then you can see blood = you used to it = M1 you used to it, bodies laying and cross fire's = = F2 you have to wait every month and then you see blood = = M1 and they, you used to it, so never mind that = never mind that it's just another person = F2 exactly man = = M1 you know already that there is a body lying on the side= okay, and you?*



M3: *Me? I was robbed once of my bicycle [girls laugh] = I okay = = F1 tell her that story, what's the story? = = F2 tell her that story = no it's, this two guys that came up to me, I was by the shop, two guys came up to me with a long knife and the guy said give me your bike and so I said no so the guy tried to stab me and so I gave them my bike, okay [girls laugh] = I oh okay = but so the next day I saw them so I threw the one guy with a brick [girls laugh] = I you threw him with a brick, and did he get you? = no I got him [girls laugh] = I no meaning did he get you back, you didn't go to the shop for a long time = [girls laugh] = F2 he went to a different shop = = I uhr [yes] =*

I: *And any of you guys?*

M2: *I also, somebody in our, in my class, our class [M2 laughs] and now also he was also robbed but he didn't, also, he didn't know what to do like uhr [hesitant] ... he could of actually throw his phone to his friend because his friend was like, like = F1 on the other side = = F2 ... I did that to ... when they robbed me but = = F1 did you? = = F2 so she caught miss = a distance away from the thing so the boy, uhr [hesitant] ... in my class, he was so in shock that he just gave it but he can uhr [hesitant] ... should throw it, and then the other bra [boy] can just like hit the thing with a skate board because my friend told him that he had a skate board and that's = I okay = and so he can just like, like chase him away and hit him and stuff like that so uhr [hesitant]...*

M1: *Another thing is that you don'o [don't know] what that thief has on him = M2 uhr [yes] = he can have a gun on him, now you throw the phone and then he shoot you = F2 and then he shoot you = = M2 yes that's why he didn't throw it = = F1 uhr [yes] = = M2 miss because he saw the bra [boy] has a = = F1 a skate board = = M3 a knife = = F1 no a skate board = [F2 laughs] = I a knife = [Girls laugh].*

I: *Okay, so depending on what they have, will most of you give your stuff away or will you?*

... [Silence]

F4: *I will*

F1: *I will*

F3: *I won't give it away]*

F2: *I will, I will give it away, it depends on the situation]*

M1: *Uhr [yes] ... [Shakes his head].*

M3: *I'll put on a fight first but if I see they wanna [want to] stab me now to get something.*

M2: *They nê [right], the, if they pull a]*

F2: *My life is too precious for a cell phone]*

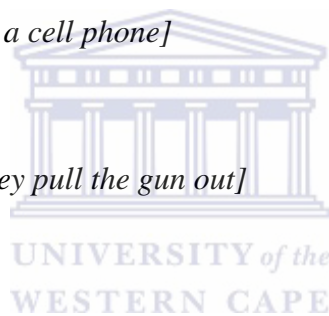
M2: *A knife is nothing but if they pull the gun out]*

F2: *Uhr [yes]]*

F1: *Uhr [yes]]*

M2: *Then you know give it off, you tell him its orite [all right]]*

F2: *Quick, quick ... but sometimes they shoot you even if you, even if you, they = F1 uhr  
[yes] = they take it off easy = F1 uhr [yes] ... you get that people = 'cos [because]  
you witness and you can, can = F1 can tell = tell someone and they sommer [just so]  
just BA [shoot you] dead.*



M3: *Or they, they just stab you.*

F2: *Finished.*

M1: *My one friend, they took his phone off, now he stand, now is he standing, now is he so sad, now the skelm [thief] tell him, iy [you] ... hardloop [run], the skelm [thieves] tell him he must run but they, they took his phone off him and they told him run.*

F2: *I will walk hong [yes].*

M2: *Check at that.*

I: *You will walk.*

F2: *Yes.*



M2: *Horrr [oh my word] ... look at this.*

F2: *No because there's, there in mine nê [okay], I like, not, I like then, if I get robbed, but it's like I know what that persons' gonna [going to] come over man, his gonna [going to] be unlucky and his obviously gonna [going to] come over something worse than I did that...*

F3: *What comes around goes around.*



F1: Uhr [yes].

I: Oh, like karma.

F2: He make blocks [trouble] for himself]

M3: But if you see nê [okay]]

F3: Ja [yes] like comes around goes around]

F2: Karma.

[Girls laugh]



M3: If you live in a community like where we live and then you know it's a small community then you will find the person easily.

F1: Uhr [yes]...

I: Okay, what if it's big?

F1: Uhr [yes].

F2: You have connections.

F1: Uhr [yes].

I: Like Ottery because it's isolated?

F1: Oh, yes [F1 laughs].

F2: Horrr [oh my word]... [F2 laughs].

... [Silence]

I: Okay, anything else, and uhr [hesitant] ... about crime and violence that you wanna [want to] say, any examples in your area?

F2: Are we gonna [going to] move off this topic now?

M3: Yes.

I: Uhr [hesitant] ... it's basically the same, it just deals with [hesitant] ... safety and well-being.

F1: Oh.

F2: Oh.

I: Why, what wanna [want to] tell me?

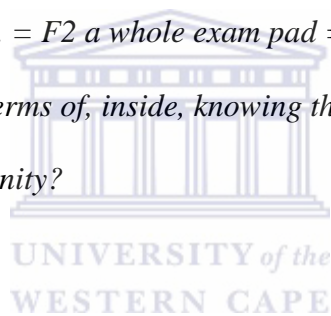
F2: *No, its fine because you didn't ask like Serena asked nê [okay] = M1 crime is like = why do, what do you think the cause of all this is?*

I: *Oh, that I'll ask you at the end.*

F2: *Oh.*

F1: *Must miss and Serena do a report?*

I: *Yes ... but its two different studies, okay, we will go on, don [don't] worry, I, I have short stuff uhr [hesitant]... = F2 a whole exam pad = [everyone laughs] now how does it make you feel, in terms of, inside, knowing that you not safe and this crime is happening in your community?*



F2: *Scared]*

F1: *It's sad]*

M2: *Scared and upset]*

M1: *Sad.*

*[Girls, ja [yes]]*

M2: *It makes you upset the whole time.*

F1: *Yes.*

F2: *Fear.*

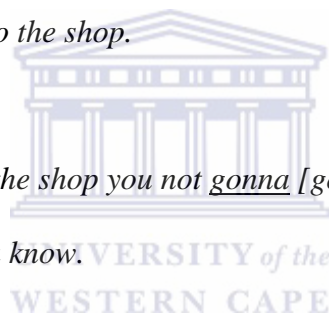
M1: *You fear yes.*

F1: *Ja [yes].*

M2: *Yes, you fear and get scared, and that stuff.*

F3: *Fear to go outside, walk to the shop.*

M1: *Like if you get robbed by the shop you not gonna [going to] go to the shop again, you scared 'cos [because] you know.*



F2: *No, if you go, you go, then you take a friend with [F2 laughs].*

M2: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Oh, you take a friend with]*

F2: *Or you show, or you like go to the shop nê [right] and then it's like you might get to see that person at the shop again and then you can mos [just] take someone with you, then you tell the person, that is the person that = F1 take a car [F1 laugh] = robbed me, a car, what you gonna [going to] do with a car F1?*

*[Girls laugh]*

*I: Ride away [I laughs].*

*F1: Go to another shop.*

*M1: It's like, by the other shop.*

*F2: You don [don't] get what I'm saying.*

*F1: Uhr [yes].*

*M3: Like you see, like once this other guy he robbed my friends brother but his brothers about 7, and we were like, he's a = F2 he's a child, you see nê [okay], you see = we were like a group of friends who went to the shop one day, so my friend said that's the guy, and we were all beating him up.*

*F2: Horrr [oh my word] ... you all had a hand.*

*F1: At the shop [F1 laughs].*

*I: Okay, so did you go to the shop hoping that, that person will be there so that = F1 uhr [yes] = you can beat them up, or did you just wanna [what to] go to the shop.*

*M3: Just wanna [want to] go to the shop.*

F2: *Isn't [is not] so, 'cos [because] you wanna [want to] go to the shop.*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Oh, okay.*

F1: *It's like if you really want something.*

F2: *If you want to buy a cigarette then you go to the shop.*

M1: *If you go to the shop and you see here's that guy that robbed me and you with a group of friends you gonna [going to] get him back.*

F2: *No but they, did you notice nê [okay], they don [don't] rob you alone = F1 uhr [yes] = they always bring a friend with because then they know the people of today they mos [just] stand up for themselves = F1 uhr [yes] = so if it's two persons' [people] then nê [okay], it's like easier for them to get the stuff off you = F1 uhr [yes] =*

I: *But when you alone = F1 they beat you up = it's different? = F1 uhr [yes] =*

F2: *No man when, I mean the = F1 sometimes they = robbers, they coming to you, so.*

I: *Okay, and what do you think uhr [hesitant]... the police is doing to solve = F4 they doing nothing = = M1 they doing nothing = = F4 they just nonchalant [don't care] =*

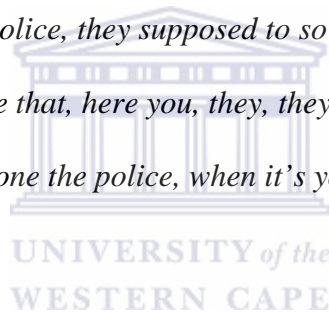
[girls laugh] = F2 okay, we going down this road again = they nonchalant [don't care].

F2: Horrr [oh my word]... [F2 laughs] we had a huge debate about that]

[Everyone laughs]

I: Tell me, tell me about it?

F2: No man ... I said nê [okay] what's the point of having police in a community nê [okay] when you see the police, they supposed to so uhr [hesitant]... insure people that they safe and stuff like that, here you, they, they, you in a, say ma [for example] someone shot you, you phone the police, when it's your funeral then the police comes, so what's the point.



I: Yes.

F2: They don't = F1 and like uhr [hesitant] ... = if, have you experienced that already? They take like forever.

I: Yes someone broke into my house and then I phoned them to say that the person is in my house = F2 and then what? = and then they didn't come = F2 exactly my point = probably never came = M1 horrr [oh my word] ... = F2 and like uhr [yes] ... = I just left home.

F1: *Say now like the robber is like breaking into your house and then you like want to like get him back for what he did and then at the end of the day it's, that you hit him and then you have to go sit in jail.*

I: *Yes.*

F4: *Now that is also not right.*

F2: *Now that is self defense = F1 uhr [yes] = doesn't it fall under or something =*

I: *It is self defense.*

F2: *But do you see what the police is doing here, you hear the, the = F4 it's Zuma man = the chief commander = I Zuma = [girls laugh] of police he road into this man's viva creet [wall] or into this persons wall because he was drunk, but then nothing happened to him, so what's the point.*

F1: *Uhr [yes]...*

F2: *'Cos [because] he's the chief commander of the police.*

I: *Yes.*

F2: *They, they, they also corrupt man.*



M3: *Jacky Celebi.*

I: *What?*

M2: *Jacky Celebi, I think that's his name.*

*[Girls laugh]*

I: *Oh, okay, Jacky Celebi or something.*

F1: *Uhr [yes]...*

F2: *No man our ministers and stuff of today nê [okay], they all nê [okay] ... okay of what I heard, okay you see nê [okay], what is that ladies name, Mantu Shabalala, what is she? = M2 uhr [yes] = = M1 Mantu Shabalala = = I isn't she the minister of health = = M1 yes = = M2 ja [yes] I think so = now what did she do, she something, when she was in hospital so she drank nê [okay] = I yes = or something like that = I she was a alcoholic or something like that = = M2 uhr [yes] ... = and then Zuma was = F1 he raped that girl = for rape and stuff like that = M3 but Zuma then = and the other judge he was caught for drunk and driving = F1 and nothing happened to them = nothing happened to them but they still = M1 but they catch = they ministers, what example is that for us = M1 but, but it's too much pressure and then = = F4 when we do something wrong then we must go there and then = = M1 they don [ don't] even have an education = exactly [girls laugh] = M1 uhr [yes] ... he was a herd boy from Unglungi = [girls laugh] horrr [oh my word] ... he did his history .*

I: Yes.

F2: Naai [no man] but that's why I think nê [okay] there will never be peace in our country because of the president now, people nê [okay] = F4 ja [yes] = they, they think now horrr [oh my word] ... like I also said when I heard Zuma was becoming president nê [okay], this is my words exactly, he did all of that so if I must do something wrong, they will lock me up, but then I'll say Zuma did it and nothing happened to him so what, so why's he different = F1 uhr [yes] = from, from me = M2 uhr [yes] = is it because his president? ... It doesn't work like that.

I: Okay.

F2: Not that I would have gotten far [everyone laughs].

I: Ja [yes], and you?

F3: Uhr [hesitant].

F2: She's thinking of food [F3 is fasting], we all hungry.

F3: No I'm not thinking of food, I don't really.

F2: I lis [feel like] for a refrigerator now, where we are, with a pizza.

F3: To put the debate up.



M2: Horrr [oh my word] ... we said a lot and stuff nê [right].

F2: To put the debate up again.

I: And uhr [hesitant] ... = F4 I lis [feel for] for cake = okay can we focus on school now, in particular = F2 sorry = do you feel that school is safe? Like you [F2] said two guys, she [F1] said two guys robbed you, because the last group said that this school is very safe = F2 ha [what?]. ... = = M1 no man = = F4 no = [all shocked] and your friends support you so = M1 yes = = F1 no, okay the friends do support you = = F2 some friends do nê [okay] but the thing that make nê [okay] = = F1 last year = = F2 but the thing that put us in the most danger is nê [okay], okay you know nê [okay] we have Mamguanani (Bambunani), Mamguanani (Bambunani), that stuff man = = F3 Mamguanani (Bambunani) = = F1 that people that wear the green tops = = M3 the security guards, the security guards = okay = F2 now they nê [okay], it used to happen in the past, they used to let their friends and stuff come on school nê [okay] = F1 uhr [yes] ... = = F2 'cos [because] it's their friends now, so what if their, one of their friends harmed one of our students then how wouldn't it been = yes = F2 exactly =

F4: We can't even get our people.

M1: Yes.

F2: And then we used to have that people that build this, I don'o [don't know] what they calling it = F3 stadium = at the back = I the stadium or something = the stadium =

M2 the sports field = = I sports field = it doesn't look like that to me = F3 sports field  
 = [everyone laughs] they will walk through our school and they went on with the  
 learners, nothing happened, now they gone, now everything's fine, now what will  
 happen, what, what would have happened nê [right] = M1 if one of them would have  
 raped, one of them = exactly, something like that already happened to one of our  
 learners = M1 then Mr. ... wanna [want to] wake up = exactly = M1 then it's too late  
 = eventually when something happens, they only take action when they = I when  
 something happens = exactly = F1 and last year = then it's too late.

M1: I think after the incident with her [F2] so the police came on the school.

F1: Last year...



F2: No, but the police also used to assault the children, assault the children.

WESTERN CAPE

F1: Uhr [yes].

F2: Because what didn't, what I uhr [hesitant] ... I uhr [hesitant] ... I didn't like so much  
 was like they, when Mr. ... computer went missing = F1 uhr [yes] = they sommer  
 [just] came to this class and they looked thru your bags = M1 uhr [yes] ... = = F1  
 they didn't ask = they didn't ask you = I yes = we didn't even know what they were  
 looking for = M1 uhr [yes] ... = but they = F1 uhr [yes] = they caught us off guard  
 and I was like, no you not gonna [going to] look in my bag, and they like, yes we are,  
 I'm like, not here sorry.

I: Okay, so.

M2: And also miss uhr [hesitant] ... also like, like = M1 but they don't have the right = = F2 I know = when Mr. ... laptop went missing so they went to the boys toilet because they thought that the boys stole it = M1 but it was a girl = = F2 uhr [yes] = but so it was the girls that actually.

F1: See 'cos [because] they think boys is inferior to girls.

M2: Uhr [yes].

F4: Uhr [yes].

I: Okay and uhr [hesitant] ... do you think that uhr [hesitant] ... uhr [hesitant] ... girls are more at risk of violence = M2 yes = = F2 yes because they nê [okay], okay, I'm gonna [going to] speak Afrikaans now nê [okay] = it's fine = F2 they have this thing at school, they kyk [look] you by your gesig [face] = = F1 uhr [yes] = = F2 if you live, look like you nê [okay], worth nothing, you can't fight nê [okay], then that's the person they pick on the most = = F3 person, judge a book by its cover = = F1 uhr [yes] = = F2 and then we have something at our school, I don [don't] know if it is still going on, I don [don't] know but [ M1 says something unclear] it's called protection fee = F1 uhr [yes] ... pay me and then, uhr [hesitant] ... = F2 you pay and then nothing will happen to you = protection fee = F2 yes = [M1 says something unclear] so uhr [hesitant] ... do you know people who do stuff like that?



F1: *It happened last year = I last year = = M1 uhr [yes] ... = it's, it's calmed down now.*

I: *But are there still some people doing it?*

M2: *It's only at home = F4 yes = in our communities, only at home.*

I: *So do they do it to you guys at home?*

F2: *No horrr [oh my word] ... if I'm in my home ground and you do something like that to me horrr [oh my word]... =*

M2: *Yes.*



M3: *Do they do it to you? [referring to M2]*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

M2: *Only once.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

I: *So how much did you have to pay for protection?*

M2: *No I just gave them a little 'cos [because] it was my parents' money.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

*I: Okay.*

*F2: F1 stop putting papers = M1 I didn't put them = in my pocket.*

*I: And anyone else?*

*... [Silence]*

*M1: It never happened to.*

*F2: And me]*

*F4: And me]*

*F1: And it never happened to me]*

*I: And so you don't have like bullies or anything?*

*M2: Yes]*

*M1: Yes]*

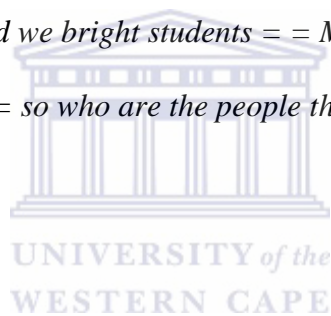
*F2: Yes]*



F3: *At school]*

F2: *Yes we do.*

I: *And what do they do = F4 especially the Afrikaans children = besides protection fee  
and = M2 uhr [yes] ... the = = M1 uhr [yes] ... = besides kyk [look] you by your gesig  
[face] = F2 yes because, because it's mos [the] English children = = F1 uhr [yes] ...  
we white = = F2 they mos [just] think we mos [just] think we, we = = F1 full of  
ourselves = = M1 uhr [yes] = = F2 no we, we think we dingus [thing] ice-cream =  
why because you speak English = F4 we mean k ... ice-cream = [everyone laughs] =  
F2 yes and we English and we bright students = = M2 yes = = F2 apparently and  
stuff like that so they like = so who are the people that come on, is it the Afrikaans  
students?*



M2: *Yes]*

M1: *Most of them]*

F2: *It's mostly the Afrikaans students]*

M2: *I don [don't] know why they against]*

F2: *Its like man, I think man =*

I: *And are they, what, are they also coloured? =*



F2: I think nê [okay] =

F1: Yes]

M1: Yes]

F2: I think nê [okay] that they, they, I'm not trying to be rude or anything but I think nê [right] it's all about jealousy = M1 jealousy = = F4 uhr [yes] = 'cos [because] we nê [okay], I'm not degrading them nê [okay], okay, look at us nê [okay] we can't, we didn't ask for it nê [okay], we have nice hair, pretty looks and stuff like that, some of them think nê [okay] [M3 shacks his head, ja [yes] right] [everyone laughs] it's unfortunate nê [right], now, and now they like, now they, they jealous and what jealousy does to a person nê [okay], it does, it does weird things man, and sometimes they can't [F1 laughs] [M3 speaks unclear] = I shame don [don't] be nasty = [girls laugh] [M3 sommer [just] turn it around] I'm not saying it's me but, and they do say self preservation has no recommendations [everyone laughs] so I don [don't] know why you laughing, but I mean, I think that is, that is the, the main reason man, it's jealously.

I: Yes.

F3: And it's coming a long way on where = F4 uhr [yes] = where the English and the Afrikaans children = M1 uhr [yes] ... = cannot get to, get along with each other.

F4: And we mos [just] can't fight, we mos [just] can't fight =

F3: *We can't fight, we play with Barbie dolls.*

F2: *Uhr [yes] ... they, they look at us almost, oh she walk like that, she talk like that = F1  
uhr [yes] ... like that = she's niks werd [worth nothing].*

F4: *Kyk hoe lyk se [look how she looks]]*

F2: *Horrr [oh my word] ... and ooohhh [can't take it]... the comments that they pass, I  
can't take it hong ooohh [can't take it hey] ...]*

I: *Like give me some of the comments?*

M2: *Horrr [no] ... miss.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

I: *Even if it's, even it's ugly.*

F2: *Hey.*

I: *Shame you gonna [going to] kick him.*

*[F2 laughs]*

M3: *Hey, say sorry.*



*[Everyone laughs]*

*I: He won't be able to walk out here.*

*F2: Push your table nearer man and your chair.*

*F4: Shhh [keep quiet]... you [F2] such a rude child.*

*I: What are some of the comments?*

*F1: What are the comments?*

*M1: M3?*



*[Girls laugh]*

*I: What is it?]*

*F2: Ask M3 he knows this.*

*M3: I don [don't] know.*

*F1: Ask M3 he knows.*

*M3: I've got a sweet in my mouth.*

I: No, no, take it out.

F2: Now take it out.

[Girls laugh]

I: Okay you can, when we not looking, you can put it back in your mouth, what is the comments?

M3: It's like, see I wear glasses now = I okay = now you see = F4 now he look like a nerd  
= = F1 then it's four eyes = = M2 uhr [yes] ... I also wear glasses = glasses = F1  
four eyes and all that stuff = [M2 laughs] but they just don [don't] know that I'm  
better than them and that = F4 uhr [yes] ... = and I just tell them that = F2 no that's  
what they say pay no mind to those who talk it simply means that you one step ahead  
of them = = F4 yes = = I oh so you just don't take notice = = F2 uhr [yes] ... = = M1  
uhr [yes] = = I not because you better = = F2 no, my thing is nê [okay] = = I not  
because you better, because it's the right thing to do = = F2 but my thing is nê  
[okay], okay I know I have a lot of enemies on school nê [right], people that don  
[don't] like me because of my mouth, I talk a lot = = F1 and your attitude = = F2 yes  
and my attitude = [M1 speaks unclear] = F2 but my thing is nê [okay] a lot of people  
tell me, if people talk about you, whether it is something good or bad you mus [must],  
you mus [must] feel kwaai [cool] 'cos [because] they taking the time out of their busy  
lives' to actually speak about you =

I: Yes ... okay but what if they do bad things to you, then what?

F2: *Then you take control.*

M3: *And then you take control.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

F4: *But then they also said that if people call you names, whatever, you must just ignore them because they gonna [going to] constantly do it and then they gonna [going to] think, naai [no] man = M1 naai [no] man = = F2 but the hardest thing nê [okay] = = M1 they can do nothing = the hardest thing nê [okay] = M1 leave her = just leave her = F2 no wait F4 but you know how F4 = = F1 you know how some people are they say, no you can do nothing, you didn't say something to her = = F2 ja [yes] = but ja [yes] then they gonna [going to] show you = F2 you must show that you the better person = that you the better person = F2 exactly, but you know how they are = uhr [yes] ... I know = M1 but = = F2 sometimes you have to put your foot down = = M1 but, but, but = = F2 and show them you not a muppet [puppet], you can do something = = M1 but, but = = F2 but, but, but, but = = M1 but sometimes this keeping your mouth [ I laughs] and walking away, it's wrong.*

M2: *Uhr [yes] ... because also sometimes.*

F4: *Uhr [yes] ... uhr [yes] ... that is a wrong thing]*

M2: *If you fight, if somebody call you a name nê [right] and somebody like, and you fight with that person then that person will stop.*

F2: *But I always have a comeback so =*

F1: *Like you [M2], you fought in the week with a boy]*

F4: *You get that people that go on]*

M2: *Shhh [keep quiet]...*

I: *Tell me, tell me about the fight]*

M2: *No miss.*

I: *We won't judge you]*

F2: *Just tell man]*

F4: *His king fighter.*

M2: *It's just that ...]*

F1: *You know what the, miss said, what happens in the room stays in the room.*

M3: *Street fighter]*

M2: *Uhr [hesitant] ... he like, he called me names the last time.*



F2: *What did he call you? =*

M2: *No I'm not gonna [going to] say.*

M1: *You must say =*

M2: *No =*

F2: *Come man]*

M1: *It's anonymous.*

M2: *And so uhr [hesitant]...*

I: *Say it 'cos [because] your name won't = F1 uhr [yes] = I'll, I'll make sure that I  
block it out.*

F2: *The best.*

M2: *Okay miss [M2 laughs] horrr [no man]...*

*[Girls laugh]*

F1: *What did he call you?*



[M2 laughs]

F1: *Just say it.*

M2: *No nê [okay], man, he like also making fun of my brother, like saying nasty things to my brother = F1 uhr [yes] = and like = F2 act of love = and also like [F2 laughs] = F1 don [don't] she's laughing = and uhr [hesitant] ... ja [yes], and so he said that uhr [hesitant] ... like, he like calling children names and that stuff, and people names and so horrr [oh my word] ... it's hard to say it [M2 laughs] = F2 come on man we won't laugh at you = = I then don [don't] say it, it's fine = = F3 don [don'] say it = = M1 take your time = I'm not gonna [going to] say it = M1 we not pressurising you = [everyone laughs] = F4 hy will nie hoor [he will not listen] = = F2 he needs to go for counseling = = I no it's fine, okay and then what happened, so did you fight back with that person = = F1 no he, he hit the boy = = F2 no miss you must see, the first time I saw M2 in action = = F1 'cos [because] on primary school he was like the angel = = I did he hit him = = F2 yes 'cos [because] M2 was like an angel, angel but so now ooohh [no] ... M2 = = F3 ain't we all angels on primary school? = [F1 says something vague] uhr [yes] ... everyone change when they come out of high school.*

F2: *I was, I was, I was never a angel =*

F3: *But I mean some of us.*

F2: *But, but I'll be honest [F2 laughs].*



*[Everyone laughs]*

F2: *I don'o [don't know] why you laugh.*

F1: *We all angels.*

I: *Okay so sometimes you won't take action, but other times you will.*

M1: *Uhr [yes]]*

M2: *Uhr [yes]]*

F4: *Uhr [yes]]*



F2: *Sometimes you have to put your foot down = F4 uhr [yes] = to show them = M1  
whose boss = and then only afterwards they will = I whose boss = respect you = F4  
uhr [yes] = = F3 they will respect you = = F4 they won't come again = = F3 and  
sometimes they also bring it as in you sitting there and then they wanna [want to]  
come as a group = = F4 uhr [yes] = because they, but some people abuse the  
situation = F3 they come = you see nê [okay] they told, tell the person something then  
they try it with everybody.*

F1: *Miss and you know what I can't understand nê [right], say now me and she nê [okay]  
= F2 oh, ja [yes] = have a argument nê [okay] then her friend come in = F2 uhr  
[yes] ... horrr [I can't take it]... = and jump in nê [oaky] = M3 yes = = F4 uhr [yes]*

= = M1 yes = = F2 and that what I don [don't] like, and the whole = but it's between me and her = I yes = = F2 and then she make if it's = = M2 like little = = F2 she would nê [okay] stick the vier [fire] on die brand [the burn] man = = I yes = = F4 ja [ yes] = [M2 laughs and says nogal [also] like doing that] = F2 light a fire man, and ja [yes], horrr [oh my word] ... and that's what I don [don't] like nê [okay], say now we making a joke in class nê [okay] then it's like horrr [oh my word] ... you leave it so, I would never leave it so = M1 uhr [yes] = = F2 ek slaap nie vernand nie [I won't be able to sleep tonight] = [girls laugh].

F4: Uhr [yes].

I: Oh okay [I laughs].



M1: I uhr [hesitant] ... I'm the corner boy.

F2: Uhr [yes] ... ek laat nie vir you sê nie [I will not let you know].

[Girls laugh]

F2: I don [don't] like, it's like everything must end in a, in a.

M1: Uhr [yes] ... or...

F3: Oh, can I say, I got a issue as in now, what's happening right now, no offense if, what is said between us stays between, stays here = F2 yes = = M1 yes = nothing can

leave here = M1 okay = F4 nie niks nie [no nothing man] = = F2 yes mention names  
 I like this = [everyone laughs] = F2 I know what she is gonna [going to] say = = F1 I  
 like = I also know, you can see = F2 obviously you gonna [going to] say that thing =  
 like some people threaten, I heard this whole thing as in F2 is threatening her brother  
 to, 'cos [because] she has to go with him to the matric ball ... = I oh = I'm going out  
 with her brother now ... = F2 I'm F2 nê [okay] = = I okay = that's it = F2 now I'll  
 tell you the correct story nê [okay] = okay = F2 F1 you were there did I threaten my  
 brother I asked my brother = no, no, no now = F1 uhr [yes] ... her daddy said that it  
 looks = = F2 I think my daddy asked who's going to the matric ball with ... so he said  
 he asked you but you didn't give him a answer so I told him, hi, so, so I told him horrr  
 [oh my word] ... how I wish I can't go, so he told me oh you can, so my daddy said,  
 my daddy said uhr [hesitant] ... what did I hear now so I said no ... said I'm going  
 with him to the matric ball so, so my brother said yes daddy she's going with me, so I  
 come to school so she tell the whole class she's going with him = oooh [I can't take  
 it] ... I did = F2 now we didn't = ... oooh [I can't take it] ... did you hear my mouth?  
 = F2 but I heard you going = = M3 shhh [keep quiet] ... stop, this can't go on = and  
 no, no wait [everyone laughs] listen = I it's conflict now = = F2 waaa [in your face,  
 whatever] [laughs] ... = just hold on = I just walk away, walk away = [M1 says  
 something vague] no we not, it's, I didn't open my mouth ... = F4 she's jealous = and  
 then all, there, you see you didn't hear my mouth in class I have never said a thing =  
 I oh, so you were, because = = F4 ja [yes] you see now we acting like children = no I  
 wasn't upset at all because I said whatever it's ... choice , it's his matric ball, whether  
 he wants to go with his little sister, with F2, with his mommy = F2 I am his little sister  
 [laughs] ... okay sorry, ja [yes] [F2 laughs] = = I but your daddy said you can't go =  
 = F2 what? = = F4 no = = F1 her daddy said she can go = = I but you can only go

with your = = F1 no man = = F2 you not catching my drift = = F1 it's her brothers  
 matric ball and = = F2 it's my brothers matric ball and my daddy said if, my daddy  
 said yes I can go with him = = F1 if F3 don [don't] go with = = F2 he said if she  
 doesn't give him, he said if you [F3] didn't give him a answer by the end of last week  
 [F1 laughs], so I ask him now what did she say, she didn't give him a answer, so I'm  
 going with, so his like she didn't give me a answer so I told him look here just leave it,  
 so I didn't speak to him then he came around and told me yes you going with me, and  
 now I must hear other stories, that's why I just = so I didn't go = F4 die stories  
hardloop [the stories travel fast] = yes the thing is = F2 that's what I don [don't] like  
 man = they don [don't] = F2 it's people they don [don't], I think it's better, I don  
 [don't] like it, it happens on school a lot, people talk behind your back, if I have  
 something to say about you nê [right] = come to me = F4 tell it straight to me face =  
 exactly = F2 I wouldn't = = F4 don't go skina [gossip] behind your back = = F2 I  
 wouldn't, I wouldn't [F2 laughs] like it if someone, I don [don't] know my = neither  
 do I = F2 my uhr [hesitant] ... gonna [going to] react nê [okay] if someone = = I yes  
 = = F2 say something behind my back, obviously, evens if it's not, I'm gonna [going  
 to] go to the person and ask you did you say that about me = now that's the thing,  
 there you actually wrong = F2 I know, no but = you don't, wait, just hold on, can I  
 just get that point, as in I'm speaking.

I: Okay, one more thing then we moving on.

[Girls laugh]

F1: No miss.

F2: No miss.

F1: It's fine.

F3: Just hold on listen to this = F1 it's fine = I'm that person that, it's she, you can ask her, it won't be, you can call me rude or whatever but if I got something to say and I don [don't] like you I'll say it just so in front of you, I'm not gonna [going to] still gonna [going to] take my time and behind your back and gossip, that's not me = F4 uhr [yes] = the thing I, okay, we were friends, close friends = F2 were, were = ja [yes] = F2 past tense, were = it's the key word there = F2 were = = I okay = = F2 like sisters = = M3 shhh [keep quiet] ... = so she ja [yes], there was problems there but I'm not gonna [going to] go down that as well = F2 but it's a long road = [everyone shocked, agrees and laughs] = F2 sorry = = F4 ouch = okay a thing, that issue = F2 I'm just rating it = = I okay let F3 speak = ja [yes] horrr [my word] ... then she has that issue as in she speaks to her friends and her friends tend to stand up for her, remember on in ... class, you's all, horrr [my word] ... bombarded on me = F2 no ... had something against you because of that bra [boy] = no wait, wait = F1 shut up = = F2 don [don't] be nasty = just hold on = F1 just keep quiet = and so they all came while = M3 hold it = as in saying no uhr [hesitant] ... sisters is, one designing her dress and all this [F2 laughs] and all that, I was, I didn't pay attention much to it 'cos [because] I wasn't bothered because then I asked ... I heard your sisters going with you to your matric ball so he said no I then asked you [girls laugh] = F2 you see that why I, I don [don't] still worry, you see and that is the thing man, if I, if she had issues with me then why didn't you come straight to me and tell me, but I told you kyk hie sa [look here] I don [don't] like you, and you said then we stay out of

*each other's way, and that's what we did = that was the whole plan, until people started carrying, wait [F3 laughs] = F2 zip it, people started, that's what I don [don't] like, people carry stories nê [okay] from this one to that one nê [okay], and that person didn't even say it = = F1 uhr [yes] ... like = = I yes and then = = F2 and some people can't help how they react to it because = = M1 uhr [yes] = = F2 it depends on what that people say that, that person also = = I yes = = F2 it depends, say now you speak about my mommy, obviously I'm gonna [going to] get you 'cos [because] my mommy did nothing to you, you don [don't] even know my mommy so, what's the point = = I yes = exactly my point.*

*I: So obviously the story ... = F2 yes = gets, blows out of proportion.*

*F3: Yes and we got some of those learners in our class that will probably, as in.*

*F2: Some, all of them, but okay =*

*F3: Some of them = F2 I'm joking = mention names, 'cos [because] I wanna [want to].*

*[Girls laughs]*

*F2: It's not me, it's not me, it's not me.*

*[M2 laughs]*

*M1: Hou jou bek [keep your mouth].*

F1: *It's him miss.*

M1: *Horrr [my word]...*

F3: *It was the first day of school and I dyed my hair, I did colour it and then someone uhr [hesitant] ... oh uhr [yes] ... = F2 I actually said that you looked pretty, no wait, I heard, I'm saying, but not anymore = [girls laugh] what I heard.*

I: *oooh hina [oh no] ... oooh hina [oh no].*

F4: *You rude, horrr [oh my word]...*

F1: *Miss, give her money to me]*

F2: *As in]*

M3: *Now wait, now look here, now look here can I just get something in here]*

F1: *Wait M3 we in the middle of something.*

F2: *Ja [yes] we going off the topic here.*

I: *Okay you can go, you can go then we moving on, come.*

F3: *Ja [yes].*



M3: *No miss I don't like, we should go on now]*

F1: *No wait miss we still busy]*

M1: *Uhr [yes].*

F1: *No.*

F4: *Uhr [yes].*

M2: *Miss I also think]*

I: *Oh, sorry]*

M2: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *Speak.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

M1: *And this is now bitchiness, too long, this story of you's [you two].*

F4: *Ja [yes].*

F4: *It's eating on me.*





F2: *We going off your topic here.*

M2: *And Miss uhr [hesitant] ... some people in my class they like calling people other names then = F4 uhr [yes] ... = uhr [yes] ... and if somebody call them names, I don [don't] understand why, like and then they wanna [want to] get mad = F4 uhr [yes] ... =*

F1: *And now Miss uhr [hesitant] ... like.*

M2: *Like ... like...*

F1: *And like.*



F2: *What about her.*

F1: *Wait man.*

F3: *No man if others call others names and then you call her back then she get cross ... cross.*

M2: *And then she wanna [want to] fight.*

F2: *That's mos [also] your friend =*

F3: *She wanna [want to] fight ... fighting, like that.*

F4: Uhr [yes].

F1: And uhr [yes] ... like say for instance that, me and someone had a argument and then she's, then she say that uhr [yes] ... that F2 did this and all this = F2 ja [yes] = stuff like that]

F3: Now I don [don't] agree with this third party = F1 why can't she just tell me to my face = ja [yes] = I okay = and come to me, to me and say it.

F2: And nê [okay] what I don [don't] like it nê [okay], one day she can be your best friend and then the next day nê [okay] = F3 she just stab you in the back = she's against you.

I: So people stab each other in each other's back] the  
WESTERN CAPE

F2: Naai [no man] I can't, I can't take people like that hong [yes] [F3 says something vague] it's either you my friend or you oooh [I can't take it] ... I'm not mentioning names [refers to F1] [girls laugh] I'm only joking, you my friend.

F1: Uhr [yes].

I: Okay and uhr [hesitant] ... okay different topic now.

F3: Yes]

F4: Ja [yes]]

I: You remember you [F2] said that because it's a 50 minute walk from school and to school it becomes a bit much = F2 15 = did you say 50 or 15 = F2 half an hour, half an hour = okay half an hour, does anyone feel scared walking to and from school?

F3: Yes]

F2: Yes]

F4: No miss]

F1: I do fear sometimes but I'm reassured, I don [don't] walk home alone anymore.

F2: I do nê [okay] because, now when it is in winter nê [okay] I used to get into a taxi like so quarter to seven = F1 in the morning = and when you get here nê [okay] = F4 and then it's dark = it's, horrr [my word] ... the sky is pitch black and I must walk down that road alone = M2 horrr [my word] ... = so I'm like how do I do this.

I: And you guys?

M1: Oh no ... my mommy drop me at school.

[Girls laugh]

I: *Okay, you lucky, your mommy drop you at school.*

M2: *My daddy drop me.*

I: *Okay, and uhr [hesitant] ... has anything happened when you were walking to and from school, besides being robbed like you [F2] said.*

... [Silence]

M3: *You can get into a lot of fights.*

I: *Just that incident?]*

F2: *I know a lot of people so.*



I: *Who do you know?*

M3: *But uhr [hesitant] ... also.*

M1: *There's.*

F2: *I used to live here man so = I oh = the, the gangsters and stuff like that.*

M2: *And like also = F2 I like grew up in front of them and stuff = like also while you walking some dogs may, may like bite you [F2 laughs] or something = I oh =*

[everyone laughs, someone refers F2 as the dog] = F2 naai [no man], naai [no man],  
okay naai [no man] [unclear] it's fine =

F1: And you get that people that say now nê [okay] you friends with the gangsters  
[everyone laughs] = I yes = and then, shhh [keep quiet] ... and then, and then, and  
then you friends with this gangsters [F1 laughs] and then say now one day they like  
smoke and then, then they go tell their frrr [friends]... wait, and they like come to your  
house, and so my friend, and so one day he smoked and then he tell his other friends  
what you have in your house and then they come break in.

I: Oh, okay.

F1: You get what I'm trying?



M1: You don't make sense]

F2: We not catching your drift]

I: Yes I know what you saying.

F1: But okay, it is.

[Everyone laughs]

I: But it's, it's fine, don [don't] worry, and nothing's wrong, and then just in terms of  
like going back to like that whole bully thing, besides the fact that people don't like

*each other, based on your looks = F3 ja [yes] = you have a third party [I laughs] =  
F1 miss nê [okay] there = = F2 we then have Apartheid here [F2 laughs] =  
[everyone laughs] it was Apartheid but with the coloured people = F3 yes = with  
Afrikaans = F3 yes = and English uhr [yes] ... do people actually like ... besides that  
robbery as well, do violent things on the school?*

*M1: Yes.*

*F2: Yes they fight for no reason.*

*M1: They fight.*

*F4: Uhr [yes].*

*F2: Oooh [I can't take it] ... = I besides fighting = you must see how the girls = F1 over  
boys = fight over boys, oh my word oooh [I can't take it]...*

*M3: Niks nie [nothing man]]*

*F4: Girls = I physically = is worse than boys]*

*F3: Yes]*

*M1: Ask M3]*



F2: *Miss why]*

M2: *Miss they fight evens if they walk against you]*

F2: *Physically fight, pull your hair, you go home with a blue mark]*

M1: *Ask M3 last year some serious stuff, some seniour hit Mr. ... glasses broken]*

I: *Okay]*

F1: *Miss there was one week nê [okay] where there was like four girl fights.*

F2: *At this school.*



F1: *At the school there was like one week where there was like four girl fights.*

I: *Okay]*

F4: *And it's just over boys =*

I: *Over boys, what did you say?*

F2: *Ek wil nie oor a boy baklei [no, I will not fight over a boy] =*

M1: *And over bitchiness also, the girls fight a lot also.*

F1: That's why nê [okay] miss, that's why I prefer boys as friends = F3 ja [yes] = my best friends are boys.

F2: Me also yes and I don't have any girlfriends = M2 but you have = except this one sitting right here [refers to F1] =

I: Okay and you?

M2: And also like, like if a person just walk across each other ... = F1 yes = = F2 ja [yes] then it's = = F1 like a mistake, say like you knock your arm into hers then it is a big thing = and the person just swear, and that's how they will start a fight = F2 and say now = a big thing ja [yes] = F2 you say sorry or something, that doesn't mean anything, I'll meet you by the gate after school = uhr [yes] = F2 like that =

I: Oh, and then what do they do by the gate?

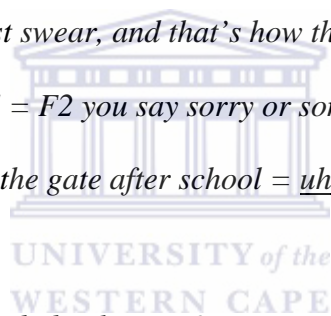
M1: They fight.

F2: And then they fight.

M1: They fight.

I: They fight.

F3: Ja [yes].





F2: *And then they fight.*

I: *Okay, and do people do other stuff?*

F4: *Kry jou naar skool [I'll get you after school] =*

F1: *And then they, and then they like.*

M3: *They get a scissor by this one and a knife by that one]*

F1: *And then this one say, and then this one say.*

F3: *This, then this one say I'm gonna [going to] jump in for you, and this is how.*

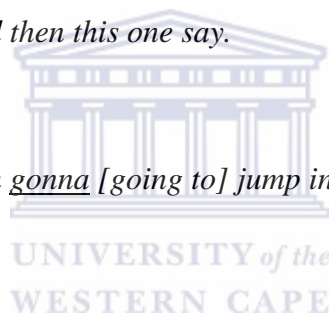
I: *And this miss]*

F2: *And then the cousin come in, you took = M2 they bring their getuiers [friends] = my cousin for a dingus [thing] so wherrr [in your face] ... then that one go fetch his uncle, and you see]*

F3: *And the whole family come]*

I: *The whole family come]*

F1: *And then this one go fetch the play balls and all that stuff.*



F2: *And so there was that day nê [okay], with the PBS, they mark them.*

I: *Okay.*

M2: *The virgin lovers.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

F2: *The Pets boys club = F4 strictly = they soccer man, and it so, it was a thing nê [okay] between ... nê a[okay] and uhr [hesitant] ... = F1 that Rasta boy = Rasta boy = F1 his in grade 8 = and so horrr [my word] ... = F1 his in grade 8 = horrr [my word] ... and so ... walk outside of the school nê [okay] all of them = F1 all of the Rasta's = pull up with bikes and long sticks, I'm standing so I'm like, I'm supposed to go home with ... that day so I'm like where's ... Manguanani (Bambanani) takes ... away hong ... don [don't] wanna [want to] go to the office, I say ... you must go home ... yes come we go, so we went out and so = F1 the boys were saying I'm gonna [going to] kick him in his p ... and thing stuff = and so we got = I okay = to ... Road so they were waiting there for ... = F1 so they all went away nê [okay] and so =*

I: *So what happened to...?*

F2: *No, and so, and so, so ... uhr [hesitant] ... friends from uhr [hesitant] ... Steenberg and that = I okay = and so they also came and, so they just left everything horrr [oh my word] ... = I okay = I was so scared that day.*

I: And home? Uhr [hesitant] ... do you feel safe at home?

F1: Yes I do]

M2: I do]

F3: Yes]

F4: I do]

M1: I do you feel safe]

[F4 says something vague]



F2: I don't so much = I why? = because a lot of stuff nê [okay], its like = F1 come live by me = no [everyone laughs] = F3 horrr [my word] ... = = I you don't want to be isolated = [F3 laughs] [F1 shocked and says are you saying I'm isolated?] [girls laugh] no, okay the community I live in nê [okay], it's like they don't have respect for anybody there in Hanover Park, you nê [okay], they, they like, okay for example now the people nê [oaky], even okay the youngest nê [okay] that okay, we have a high rate of teenage pregnancy there nê [okay] = I okay = there's a lady she's 29 nê [okay] and she's a granny already ... nê [okay], and then = F1 miss there is 28 pregnant girls on this school =

I: On this school?

F4: *Uhr [yes].*

F3: *Uhr [yes].*

F4: *All left this school.*

F2: *Maternity ward.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

F2: *That's what they say.*

I: *And when you alone ... in your house, do you feel safe?*

F3: *I still feel safe]*

F1: *I feel safe]*

M1: *No]*

F2: *I just put the music on and lock the doors and I feel safe.*

F1: *Miss like nê [okay]]*

F2: *And then hot box with orka pipe]*



F1: Like nê [okay] on Friday my mommy, my mommy them, my mommy]

[I laughs and says you hot box with orka pipe!]

[Everyone laughs]

F1: Miss on Friday.

F4: Watch movies horrr [my word] ... movies make you scared.

F1: Shhh [keep quiet] ... I'm talking = F2 you watch too many movies = miss on Friday so my mommy, so my mommy and my daddy went like to my mommy's friends birthday thingy [thing] and I didn't wanna [want to] go with so I stayed at home but so I was, I was, I went to my friend and them but, and then I left the TV [television] on and, and I have a small dog nê [okay] = F2 a puggy [pug] [F2 laughs] = = F3 keep quiet = it's a house dog nê [okay] = I ja [yes] = and so he was laying on the coach man and the back door was, when I left so the back door was open, I mean closed, and then I just locked the door and I locked the gate so I went to my friend, so when I came back so the dog was in the bathroom and the back door is open and so I think, I was thinking to myself but the dog is inside and, but then so my daddy like came back = I oh okay = so I was like thinking oooh [I can't believe it] ... [F1 was relieved] [M2 laughs] [everyone laughs]

I: And you guys?

M1: *I feel safe; I have two big dogs there at home.*

I: *So do you think dogs is a form of protection, of somewhat?*

M2: *Yes.*

F3: *Yes.*

F4: *Very much, nobody can break in by our house, and because = M1 and they permi [all the time] = we, we don [don't] have that pit bulls or whatever, we have the Jack Russell and gebus met alles [born with everything] = F2 that ankle bitters = [everyone laughs] I'm vys [I know] miss then = F2 cant you speak pure English = = M3 ja [yes] shhh [keep quiet] ... =*

M1: *Now uhr [hesitant]...*

I: *I understand Afrikaans, I.*

F2: *Is it?*

F1: *Miss you know what I'm scared for.*

I: *Look here I might look white but I'm very much coloured.*

*[M2 laughs]*

*[Everyone laughs]*

*F1: Miss do you know what I'm scared for?]*

*M3: A typical coloured.*

*[Girls laugh]*

*F1: Miss you know what I'm scared for?*

*I: And I live in Steenberg, so it's not like I.*

*F2: Is it? Where in Steenberg do you live?]*

*I: Close to the station]*

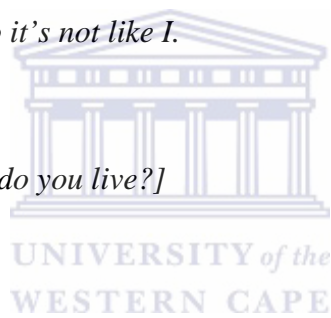
*F1: Don't go in detail.*

*I: But if I tell her she's gonna [going to] come visit me.*

*M1: Oh, okay.*

*[Girls laugh]*

*F4: No don [don't] tell her]*



F2: Naai [no] I won't]

[F3 laughs]

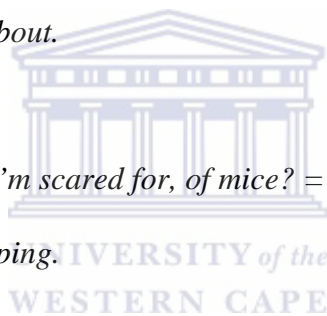
I: No I'm coming to watch a movie by your house [I laughs].

[M2 laughs]

[Everybody laughs]

F4: Horrr [my word] ... talk about.

F1: Miss and you know what I'm scared for, of mice? = M2 laughs = I really am, I saw a mouse and then I was jumping.



I: Ooh hina [oh no]...]

F2: I don [don't] like that [the rest of the words was unclear].

F4: It's not normal for everybody]

I: Okay, okay lets go to another topic now, do you, do you find, do, do you guys find it okay when you sitting outside, maybe in the day or night?

F1: Yes.



M1: *Yes]*

M3: *Yes]*

F4: *Yes miss]*

I: *Is it also safe, and no violence happen? =*

F4: *It's really safe]*

F2: *Yes, I'm never sitting alone, outside so.*

F4: *Uhr [yes] ...]*

I: *So if you sit with someone its better?*

M1: *Uhr [yes]]*

F2: *I sit with a lot of people so]*

I: *You sit with a lot of people = F4 I sit alone = outside.*

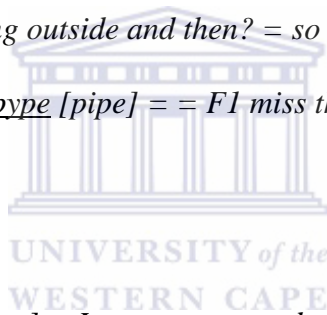
M1: *When I come outside then like the whole rrr [road] ... I like, we round up like a gang]*



F2: I don [don't] like it when you alone 'cos [because] then anything can happen, then nobody has, there wasn't a eye witness to say what happened]

F4: I have my back up = I oh okay = the dogs is my back up =

M1: Like when, when I, I = F1 she sit with her dogs 'cos [because] she don't have friends = [F2 laughs] = F3 shhh [keep quiet] ... = come outside then uhr [hesitant] ... = F4 no I have a lot of friends I'm very sorry = the neighbours, all my friends in the road, like down the whole road, around the corner = I shhh [keep quiet] ... guys = = M2 around, right around the corner in the next road = F3 uhr [yes] ... = we all friends = I okay so everyone is sitting outside and then? = so everybody comes outside, we walk around = F2 smoke orka pype [pipe] = = F1 miss there in my area nê [okay] = we walk the dogs.



F1: There's two circles nê [okay] = I yes = so yesterday [F1 laughs] uhr [yes] ... so my friend just, my friends nê [okay], the boys they were playing soccer in the park nê [okay], and there was, and we like about, say 16 people like outside, it's a lot nê [okay]]

I: Yes [F1 laughs] so it's fine when [F2 says something vague] so what if you alone?

F1: No I'm just telling her miss.

[F2 laughs]

M1: *When I'm alone = F4 hey, I'm never alone and = when I'm alone = F4 so people will always come sit there with you = if I see that they try to rob me, I can just go there by the neighbour 'cos [because] I know all of them, I know all them.*

I: *Okay, so you know all of them]*

F1: *You see the neighbours taking their dogs for a walk]*

F3: *Uhr [yes] ... ja [yes]]*

I: *Okay.*

M1: *I just don't.*

F4: *I'll take F2 for a walk its fine]*

*[Girls laugh]*

F2: *That's not funny.*

*[F3 laughs]*

M2: *Horrr [oh my word]...*

*[Everyone laughs]*



[F3 laughs]

I: You see nê [okay] we mustn't be nasty with each other = F2 tell her = because I don  
[don't] wanna [want to] come to the gate later and there's a fight happening.

F2: I don [don't] wanna [want to] come to you at night nê [okay] [vague] sommer [just]  
go away.

[M2 laughs]

I: Hey.

M1: Apartheid]

F4: Horrr [my word] ... that was so funny.



[F3 laughs]

M3: Hey stop it.

F3: Horrr [oh my word]...

I: Guys we must love each other.

F1: Don [don't] be rude.

F4: *Yes we are loving each other = I okay = we just = I now here's a question = no hard feelings.*

I: *Here's your question = M1 naai [no] man, shhh [keep quiet] ... = that you wanted to answer = M1 do you need to go on like that = so what are, do you think are [M1 says something vague] = F4 uhr [yes] = some of the causes = F1 I blame = of violence?*

F1: *I blame the parents.*

I: *Parents.*

... [Silence]



F2: *It, it all starts at home]*

F4: *Blame yourself]*

F1: *Uhr [yes].*

M1: *Uhr [yes].*

I: *At home, yourself.*

F2: *'Cos [because] the parents, they never made a success, most parents they don't, they didn't make a success of their nê [right], so like.*

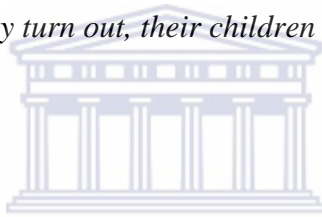
M1: *That is not always the case =*

F2: *Sometimes like]*

F4: *What the f ...]*

F2: *If, exactly]*

M1: *Yes there's some people = F2 what the f ... = [F2 laughs] that is rich = F1 miss = they have everything in the world = F2 then they don't know what to do with themselves = = F1 like ... = but then they turn out, their children is druggies and, they dik [very] druggies.*



F1: *Miss, and like uhr [hesitant]!..*

F3: *Naai [no] I must disagree with that =*

F2: *You have everything nê [right], but you still aren't happy =*

I: *Okay hold on = F1 and = hold on, we, we going around.*

F1: *Okay.*

F3: *Ja [yes].*

F1: *It's like the children, some of them watch wrestling = M1 uhr [yes] = and they pick it up from there = M1 uhr [yes] =*

*[Girls laughs]*

F4: *And the, and the movies.*

*[Some laugh]*

I: *No that that is true]*

F2: *It's true.*

F4: *Epecially movies]*



F1: *Then they say don't try this at home.*

F4: *At home [F4 laughs].*

M1: *Uhr [yes] ... I did that at home and I broke my wrist [girls laugh] = I did you try it? = F2 he's tried it = almost from wrestling.*

I: *You see because = M3 and her brother = [F3 laughs] you weren't supposed to try it = M1 no, her brothers big =*

F2: *Miss he won't even dare try something, this gedungtus [stuff].*

F1: *She [F2] jumped off of her cupboard onto her bed.*

*[F4 laughs]*

M2: *Yes.*

F2: *Don [don't] share your secrets, too much detail.*

I: *Okay, and you [M3]?*

M3: *Nothing.*

F2: *M3.*

F4: *What was I gonna [going to] say now.*

I: *Consequences.*

F1: *You again forgot it.*

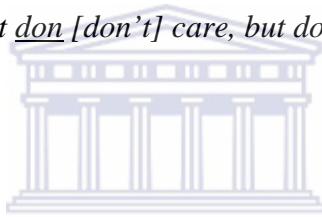
I: *Oooh hina [oh no] = F2 you didn't go fast = [F2 laughs] = F3 I can say I disagree =  
you said you disagree so?*





F3: Yes because I got four brothers, I'm the only girl so I'm kinda [kind of] the, the spo [spoilt] ... okay, some people when they meet me they kinda [kind of] think I'm the spoilt brat [F2 shacks her head, yes you are a spoilt brat] because I'm the apple of my daddy's eye, I can't do nothing wrong, say and then okay you get what you want but, or, at least I show respect, I don [don't], I don [don't] back chat to my parents nothing, my report, I forever try to get, as where she can, where they can be proud of me and = F2 we don't care = that, so whatever I can ask them they would say yes = F4 uhr [yes] = but also look at the consequences that it.

I: In what and uhr [hesitant] ... like you [F2] said sometimes when parents done have anything and then they just don [don't] care, but does that mean that you should also not care?



M1: No man = F2 you supposed to make something of = some parents that doesn't have any, anything = F3 they try to give their parents, the child = they try to do the better for you = M3 uhr [yes] = like to educate you 'cos [because] they will say = F2 but some children [the rest unclear] = I wasn't educated, done go into the path that I fell in = F3 ja [yes] = they will push you = I okay = forward and uhr [hesitant] ... move forward = I push you forward =

I: And uhr [hesitant] ... in terms of, do you wanna [want to] say something? = F1 long time miss = [F2 laughs] and in terms of like your well-being [F4 says something unclear] = F2 I taught her well = how is, how is it gonna [going to] affect you then?

F2: Your well?

F3: *Sometimes I feel pressured because I try my best in all my subjects and then 'cos [because] I know it was that thing in English, there was only three children that passed = F2 uhr [yes] ... that was just, that was bad = and then I was = F4 that was bad = = F1 there was three children nê [okay], there was six altogether = in the grade = = F1 in the two English classes = = F2 grade 9's that passed, we all failed grade nine = = F1 they passed English =*

I: *Oh, yes the other people also told me that.*

F1: *We failed this term]*

F3: *Uhr [yes].*

M2: *I failed by 8% [M2 laughs].*

F2: *That was just sad.*

F1: *I failed by 3%, 4%]*

F2: *I failed by 3]*

M1: *Uhr [yes] ... I failed by 3]*



F3: *No, no, I was, when they told me that, I wasn't here the last week and then = F2 it's meant to be = they told me that so I was like praying because I was hopefully not one of them.*

I: *Okay and what other effect like do uhr [hesitant] ... for example, like if I'm exposed to violence sometimes I'll be, I'll be very anxious to go home because I'll think maybe, like from the burglary, it will happen again, so consequences like that?*

F2: *But I like seeing police uhr [yes] ... = I you like seeing police? = uhr [yes] ... I don [don't] know why, I like action and I'm very bus [I want to know what's happening].*

I: *Are you bus [do you want to know what's happening]?*



F2: *Uhr [yes].*

F4: *Sonner wiele [Without wheels].*

F1: *And, and so.*

I: *Oooh hina [oh no].*

*[F3 and M2 laughs].*

I: *So what else do you think...?*

F2: Go on.

F3: I don't really get it [rest of the words are vague].

M1: Some people will, after a break in, they, doesn't they, don [don't] wanna [want to] sleep = I yes = they scared that the people is gonna [going to] harm them and stuff like that, they don [don't] wanna [want to] go home; they rather go to someone, to friends or so.

...

I: Anything else?

M2: Uhr [yes] ... maybe they like, like they worry too much and that stuff = F4 uhr [yes] = like my cousin uhr [yes] ... she worry too much and that so she had a stroke because she had too much pressure on her = F4 uhr [yes] = and that, so she went to rehab to, like to, what do you call it = M1 to distress ja [yes] = = I to get better = = F1 to detoxicate = [I laughs and says detoxicate].

F2: My cousin had a nervous breakdown [M2 laughs] now she's sitting in Lentegour [F2 laughs].

I: And what did she have a nervous breakdown from?

F2: I don't know.

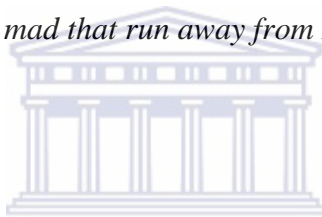
I: *Is it because of violence [unclear]?*

F2: *You must see nê [right] with her horrr [oh my word] ... she's weird and she trip any second = F1 so because she is in Lentegeur = = M2 uhr [yes] = then she hit, then she sommer [just], she sommer [just] fight with you =*

M2: *Siska.*

*[Everybody laughs].*

F4: *There's people that are so mad that run away from Lentegeur, they run away from rehab.*



F2: *They break out ja [yes], sommer [just] phone 183, come eat fruit and yoghurt, I was laughing.*

WESTERN CAPE

*[F3 and M2 laughs].*

I: *And like your = F2 taatie [mad/crazy] = uhr [yes] ... your relationship with maybe your or your family, do you think that will be affected?*

F1: *No.*

M1: *No 'cos [because] you will be more close to your friends or something there.*

F2: *Is, like with trust issues, there also 'cos [because] say now nê [okay] the person that robbed you nê [okay] was like horrr [oh my word] ... you trusted that person your whole life and then you like = F4 uhr [yes] = that's why I nê [okay], I don't trust anybody.*

[F1 shocked, and me?]

F2: *Only a little bit.*

[F1 shocked]

I: *Because in case they gonna [going to] be violent against you or something]*

[F1 shocked]



F2: *I don [don't] know what you capable of, there okay, but I mean.*

[M2 laughs]

I: *And your health = F4 you can trust me = = M1 you could be a murderer = = F4 with your life = = F2 no = besides the fact that your [M2] cousin had a stroke, what other effects could happen on your health?*

M1: *You can have a heart attack and die.*

I: *Okay.*

F3: *Commit suicide.*

M1: *Uhr [yes].*

M2: *Uhr [yes] ... commit suicide.*

I: *Suicide.*

F4: *Kill yourself]*

F1: *Overdose on tablets]*

F2: *Whatever.*

F1: *It's the same meaning, der [versin]]*

I: *Oooh hina [oh no].*

F4: *I just wanted to do something.*

M3: *Start doing drugs.*

I: *So you then just sommer [just] start doing drugs other stuff.*



F2: Give up on life.

M1: Uhr [yes] ... = M2 uhr [yes] = but to make you feel happy = F1 uhr [yes] ... you lose hope = = F2 uhr [yes] = = F1 you lose hope =

[Girls laugh]

F4: No miss and you must always have hope that's what I say, that's my motto.

F1: But hope is a name]

F2: Ja [yes] but you know nê [okay] some people nê [okay] =

F4: Believe in yourself.



... [Silence]

I: Oooh hina [oh no] and uhr [hesitant] ... okay [girls laugh] = F4 tripping here = okay and lastly, I have one more question = F1 miss you take your time = and school? = F1 excuse me = how do you think it will affect you at school?

M1: You won't be able to do your work if something like that happen.

F4: Yes and you...



I: *You won't be able to do your work.*

F1: *And concentrate.*

F2: *On that stuff, you must go for counseling.*

F4: *Just wanna [want to] be alone uhr [yes]...*

F2: *Like I went for counseling [F2 smirks], it was fun.*

I: *For all the, the violence that was happening?*

F2: *No 'cos [because] I was robbed.*

I: *Okay.*

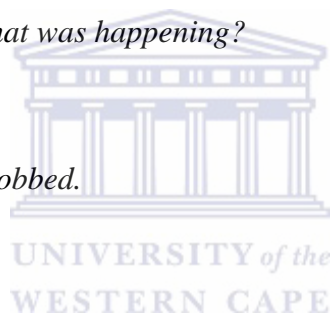
F2: *So I went for counseling*

M2: *And.*

I: *And has it helped?*

F2: *So they gave me tea and cake =*

F4: *Now, how do you feel [F4 laughs and imitates the counselor].*



*[I shocked at F2's answer]*

*[M2 laughs]*

*I: So you went for tea and cake, okay.*

*F2: On a Monday afternoon [F2 laughs].*

*I: And, or, are, are all of you's [you guys] = M3 leka [nice] = = F2 nê [right] = used to this violence and stuff = F4 no = how do you react to it?*

*F4: I wasn't brought up like that.*

*... [Silence]*

*I: Okay.*

*F1: Amen sister.*

*[F2 laughs]*

*F3: I also was never in a situation already so]*

*F2: What did you say now?*



F1: *Amen sister]*

M1: *She wasn't brought up like that]*

I: *Now are you used to it by now?*

M1: *Ja [yes], no.*

I: *You [F2] seem to be used to it 'cos [because] you say it happens = F4 uhr [yes] = =  
F2 yes 'cos [because] I = to you all the time = F2 yes I live in, I live in, isn't man it's  
like you must = M1 uhr [yes] = in our, in our community nê [okay] it's like you must  
learn to live with it 'cos [because] its reality.*

M1: *Uhr [yes].*

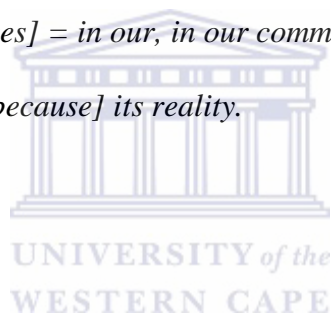
I: *Okay.*

F2: *Like that man.*

F1: *But reality's better than a dream.*

*[Girls laugh]*

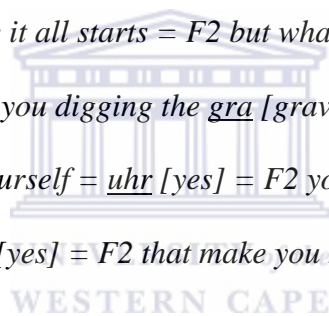
I: *Oooh hina [oh no].*



F2: *It's a new rule, that's when you in love [F2 coughs]*

I: *Okay, and then just briefly, anything else you wanna [want to] say based on violence, safety, and well-being that I can, from you own perspectives that you wanna [want to] say that you feel that maybe we didn't speak about or = M1 another = that you wanna [want to] share...*

M1: *Another thing is uhr [hesitant] ... why people become gangsters and stuff is for protection also 'cos [because] = F2 uhr [yes] = they know uhr [hesitant] ... if you gonna [going to] try and hit me he's got backup, he got like the whole = M3 uhr [yes] = that's why, that's where it all starts = F2 but what you don't know at the end of the day nê [right] is that you, you digging the gra [grave] ... your, your grave uhr [yes] ... = M3 your grave for yourself = uhr [yes] = F2 you digging a neary [near] grave for yourself because = ja [yes] = F2 that make you more wanted =*



M1: *But that's why they become because they scared.*

F4: *But they don [don't] know what's gonna [going to] happen to them when, when they die.*

F2: *Exactly.*

M1: *Now that's their own thing.*

F2: *That's why I live nê [right], like is, say now my daddy buys me sweets nê [oaky] then I eat it up all today because if I die tomorrow nê [oaky] then whose gonna [going to] eat it, you see.*

F1: *You want to mos [just].*

F2: *Don [don't] talk nonsense.*

*[F2 shacks her head]*

I: *Why because, do you think you gonna [going to] die every day?*

F2: *No it isn't man, it's like you don'o [don't know] when = F1 miss but you don'o [don't know] = you see nê [okay] you could, like the lady next to me nê [right] I spoke to her Friday, here Sunday morning they wake us up three o'clock she died [F4 shocked] so it happened just like that = I she died just because of old age? = she was 85 = I okay but = = M1 she is old, she is old = she died of a heart attack = M2 horrr [oh my word] ... = ja [yes] = F3 yes but then she died of old age, that's a natural cause = no but I mean man God can take you away [F2 snaps her fingers] = I yes = [M1 says something unclear] in a split second man so you must mos [just] live your life to the fullest.*

F1: *Look here [the rest of words are vague].*

F3: *Ooour [our]...*

M1: *Like you can fall now here]*

F4: *You don [don't] know if you gonna [going to] live tomorrow.*

F2: *Exactly.*

I: *And you [M3] come, your lolly pops finished now.*

F2: *That's why I'd be nasty every day.*

*[Everyone laughs]*

F4: *No you must be nice everyday so that when you, when, answer your God = F2 they gonna [going to] miss me = shhh [keep quiet] ... = M1 you must live your life to the fullest = = F1 man you gonna [going to] miss us = = I you must live your life to the fullest = = F2 uhr [yes] ... you must live your life with me = = I yes =*

*[I laughs]*

F4: *Nie man los, ons praat nie vir [no man leave it, we not talking about].*

F1: *Come here's a [the rest of the words are vague].*

F2: *I'm joking.*

F4: Die kind hong [this child hey].

F1: Miss don [don't] put that on your, the recorder nê [okay].

[M2 laughs]

I: I won't.

F3: It's already on there.

F1: But she's not gonna [going to] write it.

F2: Oh.

I: And uhr [hesitant] ... your one? = F2 horrr [oh my word] ... she must summarise all of this now = okay, anyone else, no, thank you guys.

F1: No miss talk on we don [don't] wanna [want to] go to class.

F2: Can't we rather talk about teenage pregnancy now?

