

**A NARRATIVE OF CRYSTAL METHAMPHETAMINE: A  
CASE STUDY OF A YOUNG PERSON'S EXPERIENCE OF  
FACTORS THAT LEADS TO CRYSTAL  
METHAMPHETAMINE USE WITHIN A HIGH-RISK AREA  
IN CAPE TOWN**

Janine Chernay Jantjies

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of M.A. (Research) Psychology in the Department of Psychology, University of  
the Western Cape.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized building with columns and the text "UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE" below it.

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Supervisor: Dr. Shazly Savahl

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**Keywords:** crystal methamphetamine, Cape Flats, risk factors, youth, qualitative, case study, narrative, social constructionism, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, peer influence.

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## ABSTRACT

Recent research has indicated a significant increase in the crystal methamphetamine abuse in the Western Cape. The study aimed to provide an understanding of the interaction of the social and historical contexts in relation to the life experiences and perceptions of a young person residing in the Cape Flats. Primarily the study aimed to explore the factors that influenced the participant to use crystal methamphetamine. It adopted a social constructionist epistemological perspective and employed Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory as the theoretical framework. The subsystems of the ecological systems theory include the individual who is influenced by the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem and the chronosystem. This was a qualitative research study that employed an intensive case study. Data was obtained through series intensive semi-structured interviews that were approximately 40 - 70 minutes in duration. The participant is a coloured female, aged 28 years from a high-risk community in the Cape Flats. Prior to the interview process, relevant permission was obtained from the participant, which allowed the interviews to be conducted and recorded. The data was then analysed using a narrative analysis. The themes that emerged from the research findings include: childhood trauma; sexual abuse during childhood; social milieu and norms; adolescent delinquency; the cycle of abuse; understanding crystal methamphetamine use and the consequences of crystal methamphetamine use. Findings with regard to the individual factors included psychological well-being, depression and negative affectivity, feelings of hopelessness, suicidal ideations, loneliness, past abuse of legal substances, adolescence, delinquency and childhood sexual abuse. The influential factors that emerged within the microsystem were lack of family support, dysfunctional family dynamics, childhood abandonment, uninvolved parents, several custodial parents, childhood disequilibrium, parental modelling and family drug use. Further findings within the microsystem included peer influence viz. direct persuasion of drug use, peer exposure of drugs, experimentation, delinquent behaviour, gang-related involvement and peer group acceptance. The mesosystemic findings included, lack of emotional support or attachments, social support, lack of structure as well as relocating to numerous schools and homes. Findings located in the exosystem were the availability and accessibility of drugs in all the communities in which the participant lived. Findings in the macrosystem included the social environment of the individual, including the social norms of the community and the home setting as well as the norm of violence, crime and gangsterism. The information and

knowledge accumulated would optimistically contribute to addressing the paucity of qualitative literature and present knowledge to improve intervention and prevention strategies.



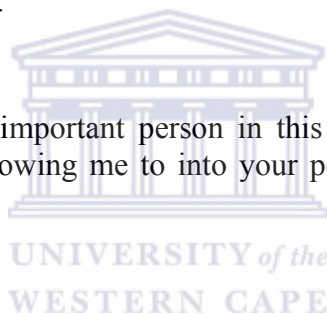
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**DECLARATION:**

I declare that 'A narrative of crystal methamphetamine: A case study of a young person's experience of factors that leads to crystal methamphetamine use within a high-risk area in Cape Town' is my own work. I have not allowed anyone else nor have I used another student's work. All the sources I have used or quoted are acknowledged by complete references.

Signed.....

Date:.....

Janine Chernay Jantjies





## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Background and Rationale

Post apartheid South Africa has been combating numerous environmental stressors, including the transition from apartheid, poverty, high crime and violence rates, the HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as a significant increase in drug use (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006). There is a widely held view that ever since the first democratic elections and subsequent re-entry into the global economy, South Africa has experienced an increase in illicit substance use and trafficking (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006; Chopra & Saunders, 2004; Parry & Pithey, 2006). Subsequent to the removal of trade barriers that once sheltered and protected South Africa from the illicit drug trade (Chopra & Saunders, 2004), the country has now been identified as a primary marketing venue for the trafficking of illicit drugs such as crystal methamphetamine, marijuana, heroin, cocaine and numerous other club-drugs (Parry & Pithey, 2006). Crystal methamphetamine in particular has had a devastating impact. There is a substantial body of empirical research that has revealed that South Africa is facing a crystal methamphetamine epidemic (Degenhardt, *et al.*, 2009; Plüddemann, *et al.*, 2009; Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2009). The Western Cape has been identified as the region with the highest increase in crystal methamphetamine prevalence than any other community in the world (Caelers, 2005). The use of crystal methamphetamine was reported to be more prominent in poverty stricken areas on the Cape Flats<sup>1</sup> (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006).

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<sup>1</sup> The Cape Flats is a vast expanse of flat land situated on the outskirts of Cape Town and houses a vast number of Coloured and Black townships. These townships are characterized by high unemployment and crime, and poor infrastructure

Plüddemann, Myers and Parry (2009) suggested that the majority of patients, who reported admission to rehabilitation centres, were those who used crystal methamphetamine as primary drug choice. They further found that rehabilitation admission for crystal methamphetamine use as the primary drug increased from 2.1% in 2002 to 45.8% in 2008. Whilst crystal methamphetamine users range between the ages of 13 to 61 years, Dixon (2007) claims that children as young as 10 years old on the Cape Flats area have experimented with this drug. Research surveys indicated that that the majority of patients in rehabilitation centres who use crystal methamphetamine as the primary drug, range between 20 and 24 years (Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2009). Approximately three out of four (74%) of the patients are coloured males from disadvantaged areas in Cape Town.

Berg (2005) suggested that the Cape Flats regions are regarded as high risk areas with high crime rates and are associated with high gang related activities (Berg, 2005). Up to 25% of the schools in the Western Cape are regarded as extremely high risk characterised by daily incidents of crime and violence (Berg, 2005). A study conducted by Benjamin (2005) found that, in the Cape Flats area, children are starting to use substances at a younger age. Research within the context of South Africa found that there are multiple reasons for young people resorting to crystal methamphetamine use. These include its low cost, accessibility, inexpensive manufacturing, ubiquitous clandestine laboratories (reducing the risk of trafficking) and the perceived benefits (Herman-Stahl, Krebs, Kroutil & Heller, 2007; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006).

Crystal methamphetamine has potentially contributed to the increase of HIV/AIDS infections (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). In addition, crystal methamphetamine is also associated with violent

behaviour resulting in social devastation (Berg, 2005). With the sudden rise in crystal methamphetamine use, particularly by young people, the state's substance abuse rehabilitation services are unable to keep up with the ever-growing problem (Parry, 2005). As alluded to earlier it may be presumed that intervention and prevention strategies need to be developed and put in place to yield the pandemic from escalating further (Parry, 2005). For this to be effective, context focused research should be conducted looking at all the factors that influence the young people to resort to crystal methamphetamine use.

There exists a large body of empirical research that has investigated the impact of crystal methamphetamine (see e.g. Degenhardt & Topp, 2003; Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006; Sommers, Baskin & Baskin-Sommers, 2006). However, the influences were often studied in isolation and often overlook the contextual factors that would give a holistic understanding of why the coloured youth on the Cape Flats have fallen prey to the epidemic (Plüddemann, Flisher, McKetin, Parry & Lombard, 2010; Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2008a; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). A number of studies have often neglected to locate crystal methamphetamine use within the historical context of the country and the long term effects of the apartheid legacy (Kaldine, 2007). There appears to be a dearth of local literature examining these and other salient components that contribute to the crystal methamphetamine epidemic.

Research in this area is in its infancy and Plüddemann *et al.* (2010) and others focused mainly on the broad understanding of the magnitude of the epidemic. The research focus has since shifted from prevalence studies to the consequences with only a few studies focused on contextual understanding of the epidemic. There is now a dire need to conduct research that

goes beyond the descriptive nature towards a more in-depth exploration. Thus, this study aims to contribute to the dearth of methodologically sound studies that provide an in-depth understanding of crystal methamphetamine use. This will illicit the salient factors by focusing on the social aspects that contribute to its use.

In conjunction with the existing quantitative studies, in-depth qualitative studies could prove useful in providing a more comprehensive understanding (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The case study design, in particular, offers a valuable approach to understand the use of crystal methamphetamine within its context. Thus, to go beyond just identifying the common themes, the current study aims to increase the understanding and focus on the narrative meaning of the crystal methamphetamine users on the Cape Flats.

This study provides an in-depth exploration of the youths' experience and perceptions of factors that contribute to the use of crystal methamphetamine in high-risk areas<sup>2</sup> in Cape Town. Primarily the study aimed to explore the perceptions and experience of young people who have used crystal methamphetamine in order to identify possible factors that influence the youth of the Cape Flats community to use crystal methamphetamine. The study is therefore located in the social constructionist paradigm, which draws on the narrative that is produced during the social interaction (Crossley, 2000). Narrative is an essential feature of human nature and is the key to understanding human behaviour (Pléh, 2003). Thus, narrative inquiry and analysis will provide a holistic understanding through examining a crystal methamphetamine user's experience within the different contexts.

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<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of the study high-risk area refers to a community with a high population density, high rates of criminality and drug use.

The study aims to contribute to the paucity of contextual understandings available in South Africa. Since it has become an epidemic there has been limited research studies and literature which aims at exploring the youth's experiences and perception with regard to crystal methamphetamine use in South Africa and even internationally (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). The current study therefore aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and the perceptions of the factors which lead young people to use crystal methamphetamine.

## **1.2 Aims and Objectives**

The primary aim of the study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of crystal methamphetamine users on the factors that influence the youth from the Cape Flats to use crystal methamphetamine. Through the narrative of a crystal methamphetamine user, the following objectives have been developed to guide the study:

- (a) To explore the life experiences of a crystal methamphetamine user within the event of a substance abuse culture.
- (b) To investigate the perceptions of factors that influence the youth to abuse crystal methamphetamine.
- (c) To explore meanings assigned to crystal methamphetamine use.

## **1.3 Conclusion**

This introductory chapter included a basic discussion of the crystal methamphetamine epidemic in South Africa. It also provided a concise overview of the influential factors and the adverse social consequences of crystal methamphetamine use. In addition, the chapter incorporated a profile of the highest cohort of crystal methamphetamine users. The discussion further highlighted the importance of this research study and its contribution to the literature

on the subject matter in South Africa. The chapter concluded with the aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter 2 will explore the relevant and most recent literature on crystal methamphetamine use. It will provide an outline of the physiological, psychological and social consequences of crystal methamphetamine use. This will be followed by a broad discussion of the factors that influence the youth to use illicit drugs. In addition a section of the philosophical stance which the study adopted will be included. Lastly, a broad overview of the theoretical framework of the study will be included.

Chapter 3 will provide a comprehensive overview of the methodology employed in conducting the study.



Chapter 4 will provide a holistic discussion of the research findings of the study. The chapter firstly looks at the historical context of South Africa in relation to drug use. Furthermore, findings with regard to the life experience of the case study will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with a broad overview of the findings with regard to the theoretical framework.

In conclusion, chapter 5 will discuss the basic issues related to the study and include with the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for future research on crystal methamphetamine.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

The chapter aims to provide a comprehensive outline of the recent findings based on the available substance abuse research as stipulated in Chapter 1. Recent reports iterated that there has been an increase in the crystal methamphetamine use in South Africa, with the Western Cape, specifically the Cape Flats, identified as the area with the highest and fastest growth than any other drug in this country (Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2008b; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006).

The leading research on crystal methamphetamine and substance use is conducted by the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU). SACENDU consists of a network of researchers, policy developers as well as practitioners who are established in various sentinel sites<sup>3</sup> in South Africa. The aim of this network is to identify, understand and mitigate the substance abuse epidemic in South Africa (Wong, *et al.*, 2007). Their research on substance abuse is primarily focused on prevalence rates, profiling the highest cohort of users and means of administration (Plüddemann, Myers, & Parry, 2009). Their work delineated the epidemic, setting the tone for further contextual knowledge production that sanctioned a deeper understanding of the risk factors, protective factors and knowledge that could improve the intervention and prevention strategies.

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<sup>3</sup>The six sentinel sites include Central region (The sites include: North West, Northern Cape and Free State), Eastern Cape, Gauteng Province, KwaZulu Natal, Northern Region (The sites include: Mpumalanga and Limpopo)

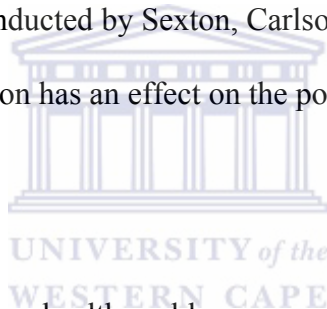
The local studies on substance use have been deficient in methodological use such as the representativeness of samples or the correlates of substance use (Flisher, Parry, Evans, Muller & Lombard, 2003). Recently, the focus in local research shifted from a growing concern of the HIV pandemic to the possible influence of crystal methamphetamine in relation with risky sexual behaviour (Morojele, Brook & Kachieng'a, 2006; Parry, Carney, Petersen, Dewing & Needle, 2009; Plüddemann, Flisher, Matthews, Carney & Lombard, 2008; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006; Wong, *et al.*, 2007). Regardless of the above advances, little attention has been given to the influential risk factors of crystal methamphetamine in the Cape Flats or in South Africa at large. Amongst the few studies available, is a quantitative study conducted by Flisher, *et al.* (2003) however, a few accredited qualitative studies in South Africa have been published to understand the crystal methamphetamine epidemic.

A perusal of literature suggests that there are limited research studies on explorations of the youths' perception with regard to crystal methamphetamine use, in both South Africa as well as internationally (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). Locally there is a gap in the research on factors that contribute to the abuse of crystal methamphetamine amongst the youth. Thus, this study aimed to gain more knowledge of experiences and the perceptions of the factors which lead youth to use crystal methamphetamine. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the literature that is available. The literature base, however, consists mostly of international literature. Nevertheless, the review will specifically include the consequences the drug has for the users, recently identified influencing factors, and implications of crystal methamphetamine use.



## 2.2 Consequences of crystal methamphetamine use

Both quantitative and qualitative studies found that the use of crystal methamphetamine increases the risk to of physiological, psychological as well as social health (Degenhardt & Topp, 2003; Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006; Sommers, Baskin & Baskin-Sommers, 2006). Although there were many reports that specify an increase in consumption and greater availability of crystal methamphetamine. There remains a paucity of research that focuses on the association of its use on the users' health over a period of time, specifically during the formative development stages of adolescents and young adults (Sommer, Baskin & Baskin-Sommers, 2006). Of the few research studies that have been conducted in this area, a study conducted by Sexton, Carlson, Leukman and Booth (2006) found that the mode of consumption has an effect on the possible health issues that might arise when using the drug.



The prevalence and severity of these health problems were often linked to the administration of the crystal methamphetamine. For instance, Richards and Brofeldt (2002, cited in Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006) found that there was a higher frequency of dental disease amongst those individuals who ingested crystal methamphetamine intranasally. Further, a link between crystal methamphetamine and keratitis (inflammation of the cornea) has been found, especially amongst the users who resorted to snorting or smoking the drug. Users who applied the method of injection stood a greater chance of HIV infection<sup>4</sup>, they reported a higher percentage of depression, psychosis, as well as suicidal ideation, than the non-injectors.

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<sup>4</sup> It was reported by the UNAIDS 2006 that injecting drug users accounted for 10% of the global statistic of HIV infections.

Conversely, other literature has indicated that smoking as a mode of ingestion had equally risk if not more adverse psychological consequences, in comparison to the injectors (Matsumoto *et al.*, 2002, cited in Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006). The following section will specifically focus on the physiological, psychological and social effects of crystal methamphetamine on the users that have been reported.

### **2.2.1 Physiological effects of crystal methamphetamine use**

The ingestion of crystal methamphetamine caused a release of dopamine, norepinephrine and serotonin that produced a rapid pleasurable 'high' or 'rush' (Winslow, Voorhees & Pehl, 2007). As a result, it induced physiological changes such as an increase in blood pressure, pulse, body temperature as well as respiration (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006). The desired psychoactive and physiological effects produced a desirable sense of euphoria, paranoia, increased energy, lowered anxiety, improved sexual performance, heightened sense of alertness, hallucinations and appetite suppression (Bungay, *et al.*, 2006; Greydanus & Patel, 2005; Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006).

However, the after-effects included a feeling of agitation and violent behaviour. Further withdrawal symptoms included prolific sweating, tremors, heart palpitations, chest pains and hot/cold flushes (Berg, 2005; Degenhardt & Topp, 2003; Russell, *et al.*, 2008; Sattah, *et al.*, 2002). Based on the study conducted by Degenhardt and Topp (2003) the majority of participants reported that the downside of crystal methamphetamine use known as the 'comedown', was followed by paranoia, insomnia, exhaustion, painful jaw and aggression, with long-term use that led to physical addiction.

There has been an increased concern regarding the adverse consequences of crystal methamphetamine use (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006). The long term effects of crystal methamphetamine included cardiovascular and neurological pathologies, respiratory failure, liver and kidney damage, stroke, cardiac arrhythmia, poor oral health, myocardial infarction and could lead to death (Homer, *et al.*, 2008).

### **2.2.2 Psychological effects of crystal methamphetamine use**

According to Plüddemann, *et al.* (2010) one of the most important consequences that was associated with crystal methamphetamine was its effects on the user's mental health. The most frequently occurring psychological side effects reported by the crystal methamphetamine users included irritability and psychosis, poor cognitive functioning, depression, paranoia, anxiety, insomnia, diminished appetite and violent behaviour (Degenhardt & Topp, 2003; Homer, *et al.*, 2008; Sommers, Baskin, Baskin-Sommers, 2006). In a qualitative study conducted by Bungay, *et al.* (2006), the participants described experiences of short periods of depression, which they called "black moods" after using the substance. Others reported feeling as if their personalities had changed ever since they have started using crystal methamphetamine. The participants described the change in moods as becoming more cranky or irritable. In contrast to the aforementioned feeling of euphoria, some of the participants identified that the crystal methamphetamine possibly magnified the negative emotions they experienced when taking the substance.

In the study conducted by Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth (2006), the participant reported, that a combination of extended use as well as the abovementioned psychological consequences often led to neglect of personal hygiene and medical problems. These

statements were corroborated by the study conducted by Bungay, *et al.* (2006) when participants reported that when they have used crystal methamphetamine they had a lack of personal hygiene and sanitation.

In addition, Sexton and colleagues (2006) claimed that chronic use has also been associated with poor psychological health that exacerbated accidental injury, interpersonal violence, self-inflicted wounds and suicide. This caused further harm to the user as well as the broader society.

### **2.2.3 Social consequences of methamphetamine use**

The use of crystal methamphetamine does not only affect the individual using it, but also has an impact on users' ecosystemic functioning, and often leads to further co-morbidities (Springer, Peters, Shegog, White & Kelder, 2007). Amongst others, the most prominent social consequences of its use are increased risky sexual behaviour, violence and other criminal behaviours.

The use of crystal methamphetamine led to a heightened libido, enhanced sexual pleasure and was also linked with high risk sexual behaviours (Degenhardt & Topp, 2003; Winslow, Voorhees & Pehl, 2007). Fernández, *et al.*, (2007) reported that heterosexual individuals used it to enhance their sexual experience, which placed them at a greater risk. Based on these factors Kenneth and Geerts (2007) confirmed that crystal methamphetamine users were at possible higher risk of sexually transmitted and blood borne diseases.

Research conducted by Simbayi, *et al.* (2006) found that the increase in crystal methamphetamine use and its relation to high risk sexual behaviour most likely contributed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa. Risk-related sexual behaviour included the exchange of sex for money or crystal methamphetamine (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006), impaired judgement and non-use of a condom during sexual intercourse (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006).

A study conducted by Bungay, *et al.* (2006) explored the experiences of young street crystal methamphetamine users and found that the usage of crystal methamphetamine caused extreme paranoia. When the users experienced this heightened paranoia, they feared the risk of personal harm and loss of their sense of belonging and security. Similar findings emerged in the study conducted by Sommers, Baskin and Sommer-Baskin (2006), where respondents in the study reported that this form of paranoia included the fear of others and a suspicion that people wished to threaten or harm them. Sommers, Baskin, Sommer-Baskin (2006) suggested that this type of paranoia was related to violent and aggressive behaviour. Findings in the study of Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth (2006) found that the user felt threatened by others or feared personal harm and as a result interpersonal violence was more likely to transpire. The paranoia produced a threat of danger and could possibly lead to defensive or pre-emptive violence. In the study, the respondents referred to these episodes of paranoia as 'being out of control', 'blowing up' or 'having an outburst' (Sommers, Baskin, Baskin-Sommers, 2006) which possibly posed a threat not only to themselves but to others as well.

Tyner and Freemouw (2008) argued that the tragic consequences of the increase in crystal methamphetamine pervaded all members of society. The rest of society became victims of

theft, the children of crystal methamphetamine abusers were either victims of neglect or abuse. In addition the public safety was compromised because of the irrational behaviours of these abusers and the criminal justice system was overwhelmed with criminal trials and incarcerations. Berg (2005) found that increased truancy and high school drop-out rates led to high unemployment and gang proliferation. Considering that the drug rehabilitation centres in the Western Cape were unable to keep up with the pace, the burden fell on social services. There are several additional influential risk factors for crystal methamphetamine use that will be discussed in the subsequent section.

### **2.3 Influential Risk Factors**

There are numerous reasons why individuals initially use substances and continue using it despite their knowledge of the consequences (Emmett & Nice, 1996). Individuals have used substances because of its availability because of social reasons with discernible underlying problems (Fields, 1998). Often in the research realm this was referred to as risk factors, defined as hazardous variables that emerge in an individual's life that increases the likelihood of disorders, in this case substance use (Arthur, Hawkins, Pollard, Catalano & Baglioni, 2002). Although, longitudinal research studies have identified numerous risk factors, the following section of the literature review will discuss factors at the individual domain, the function of drugs, knowledge and favourable attitudes toward drug use, psychological risk factors and the impact of the adolescent stage. Furthermore, this section will look at other environmental and contextual factors particularly, family risk factors, school factors, environmental risk factors as well as social milieu.

### **2.3.1 Individual Domain Risk factors**

#### 2.3.1.1 Motivational properties of the drug

Research suggested that the perceived beneficial properties that crystal methamphetamine produce, functions as a risk factor for crystal methamphetamine initiation and compulsive use (Fields, 1998; Swartz-Filies, 2007). The motivation for individuals that have used a drug was usually based on its desired functions and effects (Fields, 1998) such as the aforementioned psychoactive and physiological effects (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld & Booth, 2006).

The chemical addictive properties specifically in the case of crystal methamphetamine use, led to the release of dopamine, norepinephrine and serotonin that produced a rapid pleasurable 'high' or rush (Winslow, Voorhees & Patel, 2007) and its psychoactive effects were exponentially longer lasting (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth, 2006). Crystal methamphetamine was relatively lower in cost than other illicit substances such as cocaine or heroin (Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth, 2006).

Additional attractive properties such as an increase in energy and enhancement of sexual experience eventually produced compulsive drug use or addiction (Fields, 1998; Swartz-Filies, 2007). Sommers, Baskin and Baskin-Sommers (2006) found that not only heightened energy but also the feeling of mastery and power with the sense of well-being, acted as a reinforcing agent which often led to more frequent use than desired.

Furthermore, a study conducted based on perceptions of crystal methamphetamine by Bubar Winokur and Bartlemay (2007), found that weight loss, the extended euphoric high and the increased energy levels were among the leading factors in crystal methamphetamine use.

Crystal methamphetamine use suppressed appetite which resulted in weight loss (Homer *et al.*, 2008; McGuinness & Pollack, 2008). According to Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth (2006) the heightened energy associated with crystal methamphetamine use and the fact that it aids in weight loss acted as dual motivations for continued use. There was extensive evidence that females, in particular, favoured crystal methamphetamine use for the desire to lose weight (Embry, Hankins, Biglan & Boles, 2009), whereas men reported enhanced sexual performance as a motivation for crystal methamphetamine use (Buxton & Dove, 2008). In addition to the properties of the drug itself, having a positive attitude towards drug use was considered a risk factor.

#### 2.3.1.2 Knowledge and attitudes

Arthur, *et al.* (2002; Sattah, *et al.*, 2002) argued that the initiation of drug use is preceded by positive attitudes to its use. Adolescents who expressed a positive attitude towards drugs were inclined to use drugs. Russell, *et al.* (2008) conducted a broad literature review and found that positive attitudes towards drug use, especially towards crystal methamphetamine, was a worrying risk factor for its use.

Confirming the abovementioned, Yen, Yang and Chong (2006) found that crystal methamphetamine users had less knowledge of the consequences of the drug than the non-using control group. Furthermore, it was emphasised that there was a significant correlation between positive attitude towards crystal methamphetamine use and a pitiable knowledge of the consequences of crystal methamphetamine abuse. The positive attitude in context can be understood as the influence of the peers, the social ubiquity of the drug and also the perceived beneficial attributes this drug has to offer (Sherman *et al.*, 2008). In addition to the



favourable attitudes, social availability of a drug could lead to experimentation which could result in addiction.

#### 2.3.1.3 Curiosity

According to Greydanus and Patel (2005) adolescence is a stage characterised by the individuals' search for identity, experimentation and curiosity. The adolescent lacks coping strategies and skills, is vulnerable to external influences and is likely to engage in high-risk behaviour (Greydauns & Patel, 2005). In a qualitative study by Sherman, *et al.* (2008) it was reported that implicit as well as explicit pressure could contribute to crystal methamphetamine use. This included direct persuasion and the exposure to crystal methamphetamine itself. The study also found that access and exposure, in addition to the ubiquity of crystal methamphetamine, created a pre-awareness of the drug and therefore instilled a sense of curiosity in the individual (Sherman, *et al.*, 2008). They further established that curiosity in adolescents as a result of consistent exposure in the immediate environment was one of the factors that contributed to crystal methamphetamine initiation and continued use (Sherman, *et al.*, 2008). In addition to curiosity, psychological well-being of the adolescent is considered a vital influential factor in substance abuse initiation.

#### 2.3.1.4 Psychological wellbeing

Visser and Routledge (2007) defined psychological well-being as an adequate condition measured by the individuals' mental health, happiness and prosperity. They argued that psychological well-being was a broad concept and includes in the definition, the satisfactory condition of existence, happiness, prosperity and the emotional state characterised by the individual's health. In most cases substances were used after any event that caused emotional

distress (Clayton, 1992). This implies that the drugs are used to relieve that emotional distress and depression. Substances relieve distress on a short term basis, unfortunately the long term it induces depression.

Participants reported that these stressors among others included unhappy family relationships and work-related stressors. Crystal methamphetamine use served as a coping mechanism in response to the individuals' daily stressors, emotional voids and interpersonal conflicts. Those who were exposed to high levels of psychological distresses, including depression, were more likely than their peers to have use crystal methamphetamine (Herman-Stahl, Krebs, Kroutin & Heller, 2007; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006).

#### 2.3.1.5 Adolescence: Young people and high risk behaviour

Risk behaviour, according to Visser (2003), was viewed as both physically and emotionally perilous and contributes to the disruption in adolescent development. In addition, risky behaviour is part of the developmental period of adolescence contributing to eventual independence and maturity. It is during this period that risk-taking behaviour is influenced by macro level social factors. These factors are access and exposure to substances, peer pressure, illegitimate educational opportunities and economic status (Greydanus & Patel, 2005; Visser, 2003).

On a psychological level of development, adolescents have a need to be liberated from their parents and to discover their own identity. This is a crucial period for internalising social norms and values (Greydanus & Patel, 2005). They usually lack social skills and have limited coping strategies which increases their vulnerability to substances exposure and abuse.

Furthermore, the use of substances such as alcohol and drugs amongst adolescents contribute to injuries, and unprotected sexual activity. Therefore, the stage of adolescence was considered as an influential factor of risk behaviour (Visser, 2003).

#### 2.3.1.6 High risk sexual behaviour

Desired sensations of crystal methamphetamine use included a heightened libido and an increase in sexual pleasure which was also linked with high risk sexual behaviours (Winslow, Voorhees & Pehl, 2007). Kenneth and Geerts (2007) confirmed that crystal methamphetamine users were at high risk of sexually transmitted and blood borne diseases. Risk-related sexual behaviour included the exchange of sex for money or crystal methamphetamine, impaired judgement and non-use of a condom during sexual intercourse (Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). According to Simbayi, *et al.* (2006) the increase in crystal methamphetamine use and its relation to high risk sexual behaviour most likely contributed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa.

In addition to the adolescents' high risk behaviour, drug initiation and other individual factors, other environmental and contextual risk factors include the social, cultural and economic environmental factors, which include their family, peers and community (Sherman, *et al.*, 2008).

### **2.3.2 Environmental and Contextual Risk factors**

#### 2.3.2.1 Familial influences

Clayton (1992) described family as a structure function within relation to the roles in which it exists. The family members influence the child through teaching the skills and values in order

to make a decision about issues such as substance use and abuse. A study conducted by Needle *et al.* (cited in Clayton, 1992) found that boys in adolescence whose parents were divorced were at risk of substance abuse. However, amongst the female adolescence, remarriage of the custodial parent was a predictive factor for substance abuse.

With regards to parenting styles, research found that the lack of a bond between children and their parental figures increased the risk of children using or experimenting with illegal substances. In line with this, the presence of the parental role model altered the adolescents' consciousness of drug use (Kandal, Kassler & Morgulies, 1978, cited in Clayton, 1992). The inadequate family management techniques presented by the parents as users had a negative impact on the children and provided the schema which predisposed them to abuse illicit substances (Clayton, 1992). A study done by Vicary and Lerner (1986, cited in Jones & Heaven, 1998) found a positive correlation between substance abuse and high restrictive discipline. Factors such as low family monitors, low parental education levels, lack of a family confidant and inconsistent disciplinary methods were influential in substance use (Jones & Heaven, 1998; Russell *et al.*, 2008; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006).

Family history of illicit substance abuse was the most prominent factor in the development of drug abuse (Embry, Hankins, Biglan & Boles, 2009). Studies confirmed that parental drug use is significantly related to adolescent drug use (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006; Russell, *et al.*, 2008). Brook, Morojele, Pahl and Brook (2006) found that the correlation between the maternal child-rearing variables and drug use amongst adolescents was much greater than the paternal childrearing variables. Adolescent drug use

behaviour was acquired by some through the modelling of the behaviour of their parents, siblings as well as other family members (Brook, *et al.*, 2000).

Sutherland and Shepherd (2001) found that those individuals growing up in single parent families were at greater risk than those in an intact-family (Russell, *et al.*, 2008; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). Embry, Hankins, Biglan, and Boles (2009) found that a feeble family rule setting was considered a significant risk factor. Family stressors such as parental exposure to marital discord, disrupted family structure, impaired parenting as well as social deprivation influenced substance use (Embry, Hankins, Biglan, & Boles, 2009; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). In addition to personal and familial factors, the peer influences and school risk factors should also be taken into consideration.

#### 2.3.2.2 Peer pressure

Numerous studies have found that peer influence was the strongest predictor of substance use amongst adolescents (Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). Adolescents' were at great risk to be influenced by their peers. In some cases, young people were socially influenced or pressurized to conform to the norms of drug use (Moleko, 2007). Illicit substance use provided some youth with the courage to cope with social pressures, such as sexual experimentation (Greydanus & Patel, 2005). These adolescents' sense of self-worth was fragile and depended on their perceived sense of competence, which was often threatened.

Studies conducted by Russell, *et al.* (2008) and Sherman, *et al.* (2008) found that peer pressure tended to be the largest facilitating factor for crystal methamphetamine use. This pressure included explicit verbal persuasion as well as the implicit encouragement of peers.

In a study conducted by Sexton, Carlson, Leukefeld and Booth (2006), the interviewees reported that their use of crystal methamphetamine was prompted by the regular interaction with acquaintances who unreservedly shared their substance. Furthermore, some of the participants asserted that under circumstances of direct exposure to the drug by their peers, crystal methamphetamine became entrenched in their daily social lives.

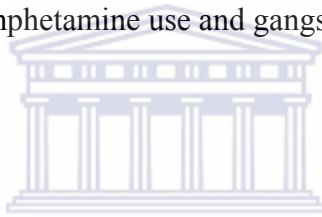
Embry, Hankins, Biglan and Boles (2009) found that participating in delinquent activities or associating with peers with deviant behaviour was an important risk factor. With relevance to the environment correlates, Embry, Hankins, Biglans and Boles (2009) and Yen, Yang and Chong (2006) further established that adolescents were more likely to use crystal methamphetamine if their peers participate in illicit drug use or antisocial behaviour.

#### 2.3.2.3 School environmental risk factors

At school, rejection or acceptance by either the school teacher or their peers was very crucial to an adolescent. Rejection, according to Clayton (1992), was therefore an important risk factor in the probability of consequent drug abuse. He added that pressures at school or college influence the students to surrender to drugs. Teter, McCabe, Cranford, Boyd and Guthrie (2005) found that students used crystal methamphetamine to enhance their school performance or just to cope with the workload. Poor performance in collaboration with peer influence at school, are risk factors of substance abuse, but the community and environment are also important influences.

#### 2.3.2.4 Community and Environmental factors

Many of the young people and adults have used drugs in order to escape their environmental stressors, such as unemployment, poverty, high crime rates, high divorce rates, and the anxieties of contemporary life (Greydanus & Patel, 2005). A common high risk factor identified by Clayton (1992) was living in a culture of poverty, viz. those living in poverty stricken neighbourhoods. According to Herman-Stahl, Krebs, Kroutin and Heller (2007) substance use, such as crystal methamphetamine was prevalent in persons with low levels of education, low financial incomes as well as in those involved in criminal activities. In a study conducted by Swartz-Filies (2007), it was established that in low socio-economic areas with a high prevalence of crystal methamphetamine use and gangsterism, the drug lords expose the youth to the drug.



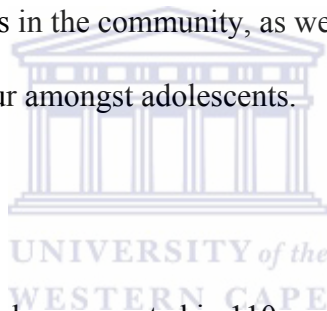
Brook, Morojele, Pahl and Brook (2006) added that the environmental stressors as well as discrimination, stigmatisation, poverty and hunger were influential factors. Based on the ecological systems theory these factors are entrenched within the exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979 as cited in Visser, 2007), as it does not influence the individual directly. The ubiquity of crystal methamphetamine was one of the risk factors based on a community level that had both direct and indirect impact on the user (Sherman, *et al.*, 2008).

#### 2.3.2.5 Social Milieu

Based on current research findings, the social milieu emerged as a salient factor for crystal methamphetamine initiation. This specifically refers to the deliberate social environment of the individual, including the social norms of the community, as well as the home setting. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological systems theory, different layers of the

environment have an effect on the individual's development. The social milieu is located within the microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem namely the peers, family and community influences.

Research by Bubar, Winokur and Bartlemay (2007) also supported the initiative that the widespread availability of crystal methamphetamine led to an increase in crystal methamphetamine use. Brook, *et al.* (2001) stressed the importance of the social milieu. They emphasised that general drug availability amongst other factors was a predictor of adolescent drug use. Furthermore, in another study by Feinberg, Ridenour and Greenberg (2007) they found that the availability of drugs in the community, as well as norms regarding drug use was an indication of risk behaviour amongst adolescents.



### 2.3.3 Summary of literature

Crystal methamphetamine use has been reported in 110 countries globally and is now the second most commonly used drug alongside cannabis (Degenhardt, *et al.*, 2009)<sup>5</sup>. As mentioned, this drug was reported as an epidemic specifically on the Cape Flats. The SACENDU project's research findings were able to illustrate that crystal methamphetamine has become one of the most popular drugs of choice, with rehabilitation admissions numbering approximately 2255 in 2004 in Cape Town alone (Plüddemann, Meyers & Parry, 2009). Moreover, the research reports of the epidemiology were restricted to the treatment entrance, therefore many reports of abuse remains unreported. This was a common research limitation in many countries, where the paucity of the research literature in this area can be ascribed to several reasons.

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<sup>5</sup> The article of Degenhardt, *et al.* (2009) was a comprehensive literature search of international grey and peer-reviewed literature in order to have a global understanding of crystal methamphetamine and its association to HIV.



As previously stated, majority of the crystal methamphetamine research remains descriptive in nature in order to understand the extent and complexity of the epidemic, and as a result there remains a lack of in-depth understanding in this research field. Considering the fact that this research was fairly recent, and now focus on its potential implication on the public health (Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2008b); few qualitative studies<sup>6</sup> has been published and no research have been conducted in order to obtain a contextual understanding of the sudden increase in rehabilitation admissions. In the editorial of the South African Medical Journal, Parry and his colleagues (2004, p. 965) voiced an urgency of knowledge “... specifically equipping primary health care providers and emergency room personnel to provide brief screening and interventions; and (v) introducing science-based models of substance abuse treatment into community settings, especially cognitive-behavioural approaches.”.

Available literature was largely based on international research studies, had conceptually identified factors, including individual, family and social factors as well as peer influence. However, no actual research studies clearly identified the interaction of the risk factors, within a particular context which holds time for South African research as well. Thus, leaving a great austerity of in-depth exploratory research that might add a deeper understanding of the crystal methamphetamine epidemic.

Consequently, the paucity of literature motivates the importance for more empirical research in an effort to possibility remedy the status of this epidemic by means of advancement and the development of effective intervention and prevention strategies. Therefore, the focus of

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<sup>6</sup> Amongst these is the international study Sherman and colleagues specifically looking at the risk factors. Local qualitative studies such as the study conducted by Simbayi, *et al.* (2006), Morojele, Brook, & Kachieng’A (2006) and Parry, Carney, Petersen, Dewing and Needle (2009) that is focused on its implications of HIV. No local qualitative study was found that specifically study the possible influential factors.

this research study aimed to explore the perceptions and experiences of the youth with reference to the influential factors of crystal methamphetamine use in Cape Town. The study focused on further risk factors with regard to socio-political and the historical impacts. According to Plüddemann, Myers and Parry (2008b), in the 'coloured' community, organised crime and gangsterism, poverty, unemployment, peer influence, the low price, aggressive marketing and availability of crystal methamphetamine are considered to be the influential factors that explain the rapid progression of the epidemic. Furthermore, they advised that additional qualitative research needs to be conducted to understand this phenomenon.

Thus the case study method that looked at an individual case is an anticipated method as it allows for new and contextualised in-depth knowledge production that could add meaning and value to the current literature available. The study provides a thorough introduction to the array of risk factors experienced by the participant living on the Cape Flats. It also provides a view of the systemic interaction of these factors and the impact it had in the participant's life and how eventually it led to crystal methamphetamine use.

#### **2.4 Epistemological Stance**

According to Durrheim (1997) the epistemic sense of social constructionism is positioned in the notion that through discourse and social interaction we are able to construct our reality or account of the world. For the constructionist "... real is what a sufficiently large number of people agree to call real." (Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, 1974, p.97, cited in Guterman & Rudes, 2008).

According to Williams (1992, cited in Whiting 2007), social constructionism stems from postmodernism and therefore, encompasses many of the tenets of this framework. The social constructionist perspective emphasizes that the realities we construct are subjective and affixed in the language systems we use. It is believed that since meanings are created in a social context, it may change within that social context. It is important to recognise that social constructionism suggest that meanings are formulated in exchange of discourse and are socially negotiated (Gergen 1999, cited in Whiting, 2007).

The current study adopts a social constructionist perspective as an epistemological stance. This perspective views that knowledge is intrinsically reliant upon communities of shared intelligibility of socially mediated discourse (Gergen, 1985). The world we experience and construction of meaning is the product of social processes where language is paramount (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). This perspective places emphasis on the contexts as well as interpersonal process in the mutualised constructed meanings. During ongoing conversations, in their daily lives people develop an inner-voice or sense of identity whereby shared versions of knowledge are constructed.

Stemming from this, social constructionists believe there is no single truth but multiple truths of a single reality. Social constructionism recognises expert knowledge but takes preference to the narratives of the person's lived experience. Whilst acknowledging the importance of the social nature of human life, social constructionism encourages the individual to tell their stories (Gergen, 1985). The inclusion and emphasis of the participant's personal narratives and multiple realities makes social constructionism a relevant theory for the current study.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.5.1 Overview theoretical frameworks**

There are numerous theories that can be applied to investigate substance abuse. An extensive review based on a literature search by Oetting and Beauvais (1986), identified seven frameworks. Amongst others, the more current applicable theories include the disease-addiction model, social theories such as the social learning theory, the psychosocial theories such as Jessor's problem-behaviour theory, Engel's biopsychosocial model and Bronfenbrenners' bioecological systems theory.

The disease addiction model views substance abuse as a disease afflicting otherwise healthy people. In broad terms the theory states that the exposure to a substance results in a physiological addiction to it. However, Oetting and Beauvais (1986) believe that this theory does not adequately explain adolescent substance abuse, since not all substances are physiologically addictive. From a more physiological view, the social learning theory is a theory identified at a more cognitive level.

The social learning theory explains specific risk behaviours (Rosenstock, Strecher & Becker, 1988). This theory is commonly able to highlight the causal significance of peer and family influence on delinquent behaviour in cases of substance abuse (Kim, Kwak & Yun, 2010).

The model of Akers' was first thought to be based on two major sources, namely the cognitive theory and the stimulus response theory, views that encompass learning behaviour through the processes of classical conditioning and instrumental conditioning (Higgins, Mahoney & Ricketts, 2009). The theory purports that deviant behaviours and conformity are often products of the learning process that are modelled by peers and family.

Based on Akers' social learning theory (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979), there are four equal weighted learning mechanisms. The first learning mechanism is known as association, whereby learning occurs through identifying or deviating to the behaviour of one's primary group. Secondly, differential reinforcement includes the thought of social and non-social reinforcement, in other words the net balance cost and reward of present and past, which in this instance, relates to the use and non-use of substances. The third learning mechanism known as definitions and refers to the process of learning certain values and attitudes which could be favourable or unfavourable. The last mechanism viz. imitation is the copying of behaviours observed of the primary group. In the past, empirical validity of the theory has been established by a large body of research (Kim, Kwak & Yun, 2010). Oetting and Beauvis (1986) further identified other theories such as the psychosocial theoretical framework to understand substance use namely; Jessor's problem-behaviour theory which takes into account both the social and environmental characteristics of the individual.

Donovan, Jessor and Costa (1991) stated that the problem behaviour theory is a social-psychological framework. It was developed to assist the development of a broader understanding of a variety of problem behaviours of adolescents in relation to conventional-unconventional behaviours. Problem behaviour refers to delinquent behaviour, such as illicit substance abuse, amongst others.

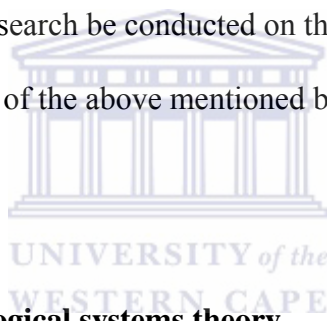
Problem-behaviour theory is a psychosocial model that consists of three interrelated systems. Firstly, it is the personality systems which include the individual's social cognitions, values and belief systems, attitudes as well as knowledge. The second system is the environmental systems which include the social influences such as the individual's peers and family

expectations and recommendations with regards to problem behaviours. The third system comprises the problem and conventional behavioural structures that operate in opposition (Zamboanga, Carlo & Raffaelli, 2004). The theory stipulates that the problem behaviours such as drug abuse originate from the individual's affirmation of independence from parental and societal influence. The conventional-unconventional behaviour is the behaviour orientated toward socially acceptable behaviour that is the prevailing values which adheres to societal norms. According to Jessor and colleagues, the individuals' predisposition to specific problem behaviour involves the affiliation with other problem behaviour and deviation or a lesser involvement in conventional behaviours (Donovan, Jessor & Costa, 1991). An additional theory that explains substance use is the biopsychosocial model.

The biopsychosocial model takes on the perspective that substance abuse is a complex interaction of numerous models (Griffiths, 2005). The model was developed by Engel (cited in MacDonald & Mikes-Liu, 2009) to include a systems approach to the previously established biomedical model describing mental health. This model does not have a prescribed structure, although the main theorists suggest several models. According to Borrell-Carrio, Suchman, and Epstein (2004) the model takes into consideration the biological factors such as physiological, genetic and biochemical factors, amongst others. In essence the biopsychosocial model is based on the three domains firstly. Firstly the biological and neurological influence of behaviour; secondly, the psychological and personality traits that conduct the interpretation and conduct behaviours in interpersonal relationships; and lastly, the social as well as developmental factors that are associated with the needs of an individual relative to society in which he or she resides (Tansey, 2010).

If based on the literature of theoretical frameworks that construct the understanding of substance abuse, research, remains quite limited, when considering the objective of the current study. The disease model, as mentioned previously is only applicable to the physiological realm providing little room for exploration of other factors such as socio, psycho or even cognitive factors. The models are also domain specific, with the biopsychosocial model providing greater opportunity for exploration at different levels.

However the model remains inadequate, since the objective of the study goes beyond the requirements of all the above mentioned theories. If the ecological system's theory of Bronfenbrenner allows that the research be conducted on the various levels it could be said that it incorporates all the notions of the above mentioned by looking at all levels of human development.



### **2.5.2 Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory**

All life forms, according to Visser (2007), are integrated and have a tendency to form multi-levelled structures of systems within systems. As individuals, we are continuously influenced by various individual and environmental factors; this places this study within the theoretical framework of the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (1994).

Bronfenbrenner initially argued that in order to fully understand human development we have to go beyond the behaviour that is directly observable or measurable. He emphasised that we need to take into account the multiperson system of interaction as well as aspects not visible in the immediate environment, in other words, distal factors such as the interrelated social and cultural environment (Muuss, 1988). From this notion and conceptualisation, he

ineventually developed the ecological model. The model initially identified five major structural systems, but recent research findings suggested that the biological as well as chronosystemic aspects are to be taken into consideration.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory looks at the development or existence of an individual within the context of the systems of relationship that make up the individual's environment (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). In his argument, he notes that throughout our existence, development continuously "... takes place through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment" (Bronfenbrenner, 1995, p. 620). In order for this development to be effective the interaction must have a sense of continuity, therefore occurring on a regular basis and over prolonged periods of time. This process of interaction with the immediate environment is what Bronfenbrenner refers to as the proximal processes.

The proximal processes were cited as having greater impact depending on the direction, the power and the content rather than that of the context in which development occurs. However, it is important to note that all of the other environmental and contextual factors have an essential impact on development (Bronfenbrenner, 1995).

Bronfenbrenner's theory was conceptualised in a series of concentric circles, whereby each circle represents a layer or a subsystem where the proximal processes transpire in different facets (Bronfenbrenner, 1995). Bronfenbrenner termed interaction between the individual and other influences or subsystems as bidirectional since the influences goes in both directions.



The different levels infiltrate the individual's existence and consist of five different layers.

The subsystems place the individual at the centre, followed by the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, macrosystem and lastly the chronosystem.

The microsystem has an immediate effect and direct contact. This system includes the relationships as well as interaction with the individual and their immediate surroundings such as the home, school and workplace (Muuss, 1988). These are interpersonal relationships involving direct face-to-face interaction, with the individual's peers, family, teachers, friendship networks as well as sport teams mates (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Within the microsystems level, the bi-directional influences are strongest and have the most impact on the individual, although the outer levels can still impact the inner structures. According to Muuss (1988) a healthy microsystem is based on reciprocity within relations and when the reciprocity is negatively altered, the quality of the microsystem declines.

The mesosystem are as the linkages between the microsystem which the individual enters (Visser, 2007). Bronfenbrenner (1979 as cited in Visser, 2007) believed that development will improve if the different settings, in which the individual is emerging, are strongly linked. These links would include the values taught in the home, amongst peers, at school or church. The quality of the mesosystem is determined by the amount and value of interrelated links. When analysing the mesosystem the researcher should look at the frequency, the quality as well as the influence of such interactions, and how these interactions such as family experiences and characteristics are related to other microsystems such as school adjustment, intimacy in social relationships, church attendance and vice versa (Muuss 1988).

The mesosystem and the microsystem can either function in a congruent manner to reinforce one another, or can be divergent whereby one demoralises the other. The congruent mesosystem is considered a system that exerts a powerful and consistent influence.

According to Muuss (1988) the potential problems and risks located in the mesosystem that affects the individual, referred to as the impoverished mesosystem, is often determined by few or no meaningful linkages between the present microsystems.

Muuss (1988) makes reference to the fact that these are usually parents who are uninvolved in the adolescent's/child's school work or uninterested in their friends, etc. Further dangers that might occur are the divergent values of microlevel influence, such as peers who encourage, recompense or romanticise risky behaviour such as substance use. Other microlevel influences include religious values, parents or educators who, view such behaviours or attitudes as negative, with disapproval or even punishment. When such tensions in the mesosystem emerge, the individual feels pulled in different directions and is thus placed under great stress. Further mesosystemic tensions can be caused by interlinking microsystems, such as both parents and peers who approve delinquent behaviour; that is possibly in contradiction to the exosystem or the macrosystem (Muuss, 1988).

A further critical aspect within the mesosystem identified by Bronfenbrenner is what he refers to, as the ecological transition. This ecological transition transpires when the mesosystem is disrupted; whereby previous microsystems are either defunct or new microsystems emerge. These transpire in life changes such as relocation of homes, divorce of parents, moving from public to private school, transitioning from primary to secondary education, etc. Some of the individuals adapt with ease, whereas others find it more difficult.

This adaptation is usually determined by the wellbeing of the individual's microsystems (Muuss, 1988). The system that further affects the individual and the mesosystem is the exosystem.

The third system is the exosystem, which is considered to be the broader social system in which the individual does not function directly, but influences the functioning of the other previous two systems. Bronfenbrenner (1977, p. 515, cited in Muuss, 1988, p. 305) defined the exosystem as "... an extension of the mesosystem embracing other specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves contain the developing person but impinge upon or encompass the immediate setting in which that person is found...". This is therefore the larger community-environment level, which is the governmental decisions, economic climate, the mass media, medical, educational as well as the recreational sources in the neighbourhood (Paquette & Ryan, 2001; Visser, 2007). This refers to the community in which the individual lives and, even though they do not directly partake in some of the exosystem decision making processes, the decisions made do have both a direct and an indirect influence on the individual (Muuss, 1988).

According to Muuss (1988) the decisions made at the exosystemic level is able to either enrich or impoverish the quality of the individual's microsystem and mesosystem. These encompass decisions such as the school which the child would attend, decisions of the governing body to save money thereby lowering the individual's level of education, government's decisions to numerate or terminate the availability of extracurricular activities and many others. The individual at a young age, such as during the adolescent stage, is rather powerless in the exosystem, but as they grow older and participate in more community affairs, they have more influence in the decision making process. When they reach a higher

social ranking, the individuals have a greater impact on decisions such as budgetary or political considerations (Muuss, 1988). Followed by the broader outer layer, is the macrosystem.

As denoted by Garbino (1985, p.60, cited in Muuss, 1988, p. 307) the macrosystem is the “...cultural blueprint that underlies the organisation of institutions.” within a society. The macrosystemic layer considers the cultural values, political values, religious values, laws and customs or ideology of a particular social class, ethnic group or culture of that individual. Essential to the macrosystem are the social, historical, technological, and cultural as well as the subcultural forces that shape it. Furthermore, the macrosystemic values locate expression in what is acceptable and to some extent fashionable, in other words the socially accepted norms (Muuss, 1988). The legislative restrictions might affect the mass attitude towards smoking drugs and other health practices or for instance promote condom use to avoid the spread of HIV and Aids.

Muuss (1988) highlights something rather critical about the macrosystem but essential to the context of South Africa, i.e. that transformation at this level, is usually through a slow and violent revolution. Revolutionary changes through such mechanisms as urbanisation, industrialisation, democratisation, women’s liberation are all exemplifications of fundamental macrosystemic transformations which South Africa has seen in recent years.

The final system or the outermost level is known as the chronosystem, the parameter that surpasses the environmental level. The chronosystem includes consistency or change of a person’s characteristics over time, as well as the environment in which they live

(Bronfenbrenner, 1994), for example life changes in employment, socio-economic, family structure or place of residency.

These levels interact with and influence one another. Different integrated levels infiltrate the individual's existence. According to Visser (2007) individuals co-exist within stratifications of social relationships including one's friends, family, neighbourhoods, culture, governmental laws and the individual's society. Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner's ecological paradigm is not abstract, as it allows the investigation of all the proximal processes, identifying often concealed factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) thereby yielding more in-depth results. The model is beneficial as it permits scientific insight and covert information that often remains untapped by the conventional modes of conceptualisation and analysis (Bronfenbrenner, 1995). Thus, this framework offers a clear and more structured understanding of the perception of the youth on the use of crystal methamphetamine.

In contrast to the other theories, this theoretical framework incorporates all of the tenets of the other theories, but most importantly, looks at the more covert factors that are often unintentionally overlooked. In addition, it provides a framework for understanding not only the individual factors, but also the other environmental factors impacting on the use of crystal methamphetamine. This framework thus allows a contextual understanding of the crystal methamphetamine use of a young person from the Cape Flats.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with the literature based on previous research studies conducted on crystal methamphetamine. This literature review provided a detailed description of the research

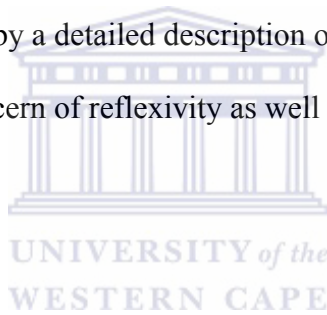
findings which include the consequences of using crystal methamphetamine as well as the influential risk factors. This was followed by a brief discussion of the current state of the literature on crystal methamphetamine use both globally and locally. Furthermore, it provided a general overview of the epistemic stance the research embarked on. An overview of the theories available was used to understand substance abuse was provided. The chapter concluded with a description of Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological systemic view which was used as the theoretical framework for this study.



## Chapter 3: Method

### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this research study was to explore a young person's perceptions and experiences pertaining to the factors that eventually led to crystal methamphetamine use. The research study was focused on producing a detailed description of the young crystal methamphetamine user's life experiences and perceptions and therefore located in a qualitative research design. This chapter includes a detailed discussion of the qualitative research approach that was utilised. Furthermore, a succinct introduction to the research design, in particular the case study research method, followed by a detailed description of the case selected, the procedure, the method data analysis, the concern of reflexivity as well as the ethical considerations will be discussed in the chapter.



### 3.2 Research design

Due to the objective of the research study viz. to explore the perceptions, meanings and experiences of a crystal methamphetamine user, a case study design was apposite. A case study is defined by Creswell (1998) as a research exploration bound by time and location and an empirical investigation that explores contemporary phenomena with real-life context, particularly when the fine line between phenomenon and context is blurred (Yin, 1994).

Easton (2009) claims that the benefit of applying the case study design is that it provides a great amount of qualitative data, thus, allowing a greater insight into the nature of the phenomena being studied. It is important for the researcher to recognise that a case study should be able to stand on its own and yet provide an in-depth understanding or

comprehension of a phenomenon. The research questions of a case study should be identified in terms of the research questions such as who, where, what, how and why (Yin, 1989; cited in Easton, 2009). The abovementioned criterion was central to meet the objectives of the current study. To understand why this young person has used crystal methamphetamine the research should focus on the narratives that are classified within the case study (Flyvberg, 2006).

An intensive case study method is based on the principle of interpretation, exploration, tabulation as well as narratives (Cunningham, 1997; Flyvberg, 2006). It is an all-encompassing research strategy, based on the logic of the research design in order to specify which approaches should be adhered to for the data collection and analysis, and which is appropriate for the current study (Yin, 1994). Moreover, the case study design offers a holistic approach to understand why this young female started to use crystal methamphetamine.

It is important to note that study did not attempt to understand the crystal methamphetamine epidemic in the Cape Flats. On the contrary, this was a case study of a young female crystal methamphetamine user, the aim was conceptualise a systemic understanding of her life experiences and how that led her to crystal methamphetamine. With this said, the highlight some of the possible risk factors that appeared in her life and thus add to the paucity of qualitative literature on crystal methamphetamine.

The case study method is not free of criticism. Yin (1994) claims that the method allows a diminutive basis for scientific generalisation. Although Yin in (2003) argued that the

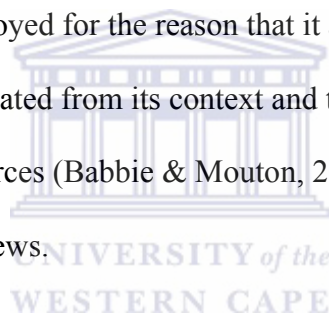


traditional prejudices the findings of a single case study aims not to be statistically generalisable but rather generalisable to theoretical propositions.

When using the case study method, data can be obtained by means of naturalistic observation, personal documents, interviews as well as archival records (Punch, 2005). For the purpose of this study, multiple tools were used to collect data, with the primary tool being a series of individual interviews with an individual that who used crystal methamphetamine.

### **3.3 Method of data collection**

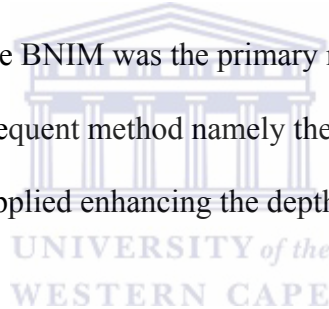
The case study method was employed for the reason that it allows the exploration of the multiple variables; it is rarely isolated from its context and thus most importantly allows for data collection from multiple sources (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The study used one data source, namely individual interviews.



The research participant was expected to provide her life account, her personal experiences and a construction of her identity. Because her responses were narrative in structure, a technique of narrative inquiry was utilized. This resulted in semi-structured and unstructured interviews, which sanctioned a narrative mode of discourse (Hiles & Čermák, 2008). The narrative orientated inquiry views narrative as its own methodological approach. This necessitates an appreciation of the assumption underpinning, as well as the using of narrative interviews. Hiles and Čermák (2008) argue that the interviews should not be an interrogation, but rather a mutual exchange of views that is in turn a coproduction of meaning. Thus, this approach includes biographical interviews as well as the topic-focused interview. Due to the

inherent nature of in-depth narrative orientated interviews, the data that was collected included a wealth of detail.

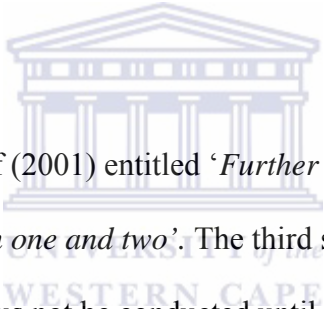
The interview guides were designed and questions were prepared based on the structure provided by Wengraaf (2001) for designing biographic-narrative interviews. Although Wengraaf (2001) provides an adequate structure, due to the nature of the study, various changes were made to adapt to several contextual factors. For the elicitation and provocation of narratives, Wengraaf (2001) advises that the Biographical-Narrative-Interpretive method (BNIM) consist of three subsessions which could translate into a series of interviews. This however, depends on the objective of the study, the depth of information and the affluence of the data obtained. Even though the BNIM was the primary method used, in order to achieve the objective of this study, a subsequent method namely the Dolbeare-Schuman-Seidman' Narrative-interview design was applied enhancing the depth of the data (Wengraaf, 2001).



In the first subsession, *Initial Elaboration of Story Around Topics*, the researcher is required to ask a single initial question that is designed to elicit the full narrative. Wengraaf (2001) refers to this as a *single question interview session* (SQUIN) where the participant is encouraged to answer the SQUIN with support of their life story and further probing for more narrative. Under no circumstances should the interviewer spell out or change the question. For the purpose of this study the SQUIN was developed to meet the above mentioned and was as follows: *'I would like you to tell me your life story, all your experiences and events which were important to you. Start wherever you like and take all the time you need'*.

The second subsession which Wengraaf (2001) refers to as *Extracting more story from the topics*, is considered more topic focused and is based on the issues raised in the initial

narrative in subsession one. According to Wengraaf (2001) these questions are *Topic Questions Inducing Narrative* (TQUIN). At this point it is important to use the words of the interviewee to construct topics to further induce narrative. Thus the interviewer is restricted to questions raised in the previous session. Due to the nature of the insidious negative factors, the second subsession was not stringently applied. This subsession was adapted extrapolating step two of Dolbeare-Schuman-Seidman's Narrative- Interview Design, focusing on the details of the participant's past experience. The questions developed for this subsession included for instance; *'I want you to tell me about the story about your life again, at the beginning you said you lived in Kensington, can you tell me about that time if you can remember'*.



During subsession three Wengraaf (2001) entitled *'Further Questions arising from preliminary analysis of subsession one and two'*. The third subsession is based on the previous subsessions and could thus not be conducted until thorough analyses of the previous subsessions were completed. The session was more topic-focused and based on the objective of the study, with the preliminary analysis that guided the formulation of these questions. In order to attain the third aim of the study, step three of Dolbeare-Schuman-Seidman's Narrative- Interview Design, sanctioned the reflection on the meaning of the participant's use of crystal methamphetamine.

A series of intensive interviews were conducted with the participant, translating into six sessions ranging from approximately 40 to 70 minutes. The study used a semi-structured interview guide that followed a sequence of questions and remained relatively flexible to allow probing when necessary. (See Appendix F for the Interview Schedule developed based on the Narrative interview design proposed by Wengraaf (2001). This entire interview

procedure was recorded and conducted in both English and Afrikaans to accommodate the research participant. Using a case study that employed a narrative interview design placed the research study in a qualitative methodological framework.

### **3.4 Research method**

The study was conducted within a qualitative methodological framework. The primary focus of qualitative research is the manner in which meaningful qualities of human experience as well as actions are interpreted then presented (Parker, 2005). Qualitative research is usually conducted within natural occurring settings where conditions continuously change as a result of development and constant interaction between participants and the environment (Willig, 2001). This approach allowed the researcher to tap into those hidden accounts that usually lie buried beneath the surface, which is the primary objective of this research process. The qualitative research method allowed an in-depth exploration of the study, a detailed description as well as identifying covert themes that emerged from the data collected (Durrheim, 2006; Parker, 2005). In other words the researcher attempted to ‘see the world through the eyes of the beholder’, i.e. try to understand life from a crystal methamphetamine user’s perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Therefore qualitative methods are seen as a “...descriptive research which uses the methodology of empathy” (Kelly, 2006, p. 378). Based on a review of the current literature, researchers have attempted to quantify the effects, experiences and consequences of crystal methamphetamine use by means of quantitative designs. This allowed limited room for investigation with a complete understanding of what the contributing factors could be that lead to crystal methamphetamine use among youth. Therefore, the importance of this case

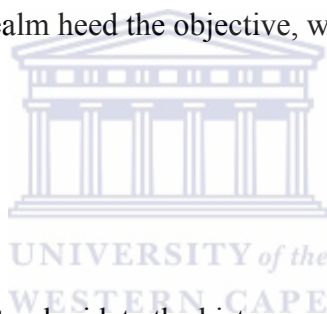
study was to explore the experiences, perceptions and attitudes of the crystal methamphetamine users, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and the influencing factors that lead the youth of the Cape Flats to use crystal methamphetamine.

“The word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 8). Qualitative researchers place emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality, the subjective relationship between the researcher and what is being researched, on value-laden inquiry as well as the context which structures the research study. The focus is to understand and explore how social experience is created and how it gives meaning to that situation in contrast to the quantitative method that places emphasis on measurement of variables and claim that the research is conducted within a value-free framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

It is vital to question the research method the researcher intends applying to his or her research study. One of the most common criticisms of qualitative research is that it lacks scientific rigour (Mays & Pope, 1995). Qualitative research is often criticised merely as an assembly of anecdotal and personal premises which is strongly subject to bias. Based on his methodological debate, Silverman (2006) argued that experimental methods in the research of social and psychological phenomena should be abandoned when research studies aim to understand it contextually.

Silverman (2006) contends that the qualitative research method is often considered to be a romantic approach and has constantly to defend its reliability. Kirk and Miller (1986, p. 72 cited in Silverman, 2006) argue that “Qualitative researchers can no longer afford to beg the issue of reliability.” While the forte of field research will always lie in its capability to sort out the validity of propositions, its results will (reasonably) go ignored with no attention to reliability. For reliability to be calculated, it is incumbent on the scientific investigator to document his or her procedure.

Nevertheless, the researcher remained mindful of the criticisms, although preponderant comparisons of the quantitative realm heed the objective, where the qualitative method was thought to be most applicable.



### **3.5 Case Selection**

The aim of the current study was to elucidate the history, provide a description, as well as the interpretation of the life experiences of the crystal methamphetamine user. A single case study design was ample when considering the context of the research. According to Yin (1994) the single case study design should be applied when the aim is to significantly contribute to knowledge construction, or when the case is unique or extreme, and lastly to investigate phenomena that has not yet been accessible for an in-depth understanding. In addition, due to the scope of the study, it being a mini-thesis, is consistent with a single case study. This case study aimed to address the paucity of literature concerning the risk factors in the crystal methamphetamine epidemic, specifically on the Cape Flats.

The fundamental quest of this study was to bring to the fore a contextual understanding of the influential factors that initiate and further facilitate crystal methamphetamine use among the youth in the Cape Flats<sup>7</sup>. An apt conduit that sanctioned adequate results for the all encompassing nature of the objective of the study was through the narratives of the crystal methamphetamine user. The participant was selected according to the purposive sampling method. A technique that permits the researcher to select the participants that will be included in the study based on expert judgement and specific criteria (Hart, 2007). The participant was selected based on the relevant criterion and most likely to provide useful information for the purpose of the study (Willig, 2001). The participant was selected based on demographic criteria and that of having a history of crystal methamphetamine use.

The participant was selected according to the highest cohort of crystal methamphetamine users<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, the participant was expected to be coloured<sup>9</sup>, age 20 years and older, residing in the Cape Flats region and should have used crystal methamphetamine within the last six months. These participants should be able to provide their personal narrative of their life history and experiences that will offer an in-depth understanding of crystal methamphetamine use.

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<sup>7</sup> The Cape Flats is a region consists of black and coloured townships that were established as a consequence of segregation of the groups areas act in the apartheid regime. Race was the major determinant of access to social resources in South Africa, and black and coloured people limited and as a consequence they still face copious challenges such as sprawling epidemic of gangsterism or gang-warfare, proliferation of narcotics, high levels of poverty and criminality, high rates of youth unemployment and low education attainment (Jeppie, 1999; Myers, Louw & Fakier, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> See, Plüddemann, Myers & Parry (2009) Fact Sheet-methamphetamine for further details.

<sup>9</sup>The term 'Coloured' was formal racial classification enforced by the apartheid regime to maintain oppressive power and racial segregation by the white ruling elite. The classification was based on the colour of their skin, viz. white and non-white and more specifically they were categorised as 'black, coloured and Indian;' were grouped into areas based on the Group Areas Act (Burman & van der Spuy, 2001). The 'coloured' classification was a racial category of the ethnic group of mixed race that held an intermediate status in the racial hierarchy in the apartheid regime, with the black people seen ranking lowest in the hierarchy (Adhikari, 2006). Although in South Africa previous racial categorisations still remain part of our country's lived reality. The researcher by no means is in concordance with this political categorisation, but for the purpose of the study will be using this term for descriptive purposes.

It was quite challenging to gain access to an eligible research participant that fits the above criterion as they are often ephemeral and difficult to remain committed. Access to the participant was aided by the New Birth Community Outreach Centre<sup>10</sup>, an out-patient programme that the participant is currently attending. The core participant is a 28 year old coloured female, from a working class area in the Cape Flats region. She has a long standing history of substance abuse, which began during her adolescence and used crystal methamphetamine for approximately four years and is admittedly still using. Due to a spiral of historical events, including her crystal methamphetamine use, the participant is categorised as homeless<sup>11</sup> and fending for both herself and children on the streets of a coloured township.

### 3.6 Research Context

The study was conducted in the New Birth Community Outreach Centre located in Dennewere, Blackheath. Blackheath and Dennewere are 'coloured townships' located in the Kleinvlei region in the surrounding area of the Cape Flats. These regions are in close proximity to Kuils River and Eerste River, and according to the findings of Plüddemann, Myers and Parry (2009), these areas were amongst the highest cohort of individuals reporting for rehabilitation for crystal methamphetamine use. Furthermore, the Kleinvlei police station census report an increase in drug related crimes. In April 2004 until March 2005, there were only 341 documented drug related crimes. However there was an increase of 1 932 reported drug related crimes from April 2009 until March 2010. Therefore, one is able to presume that there has been an increase in drug use in these areas.

<sup>10</sup> The New Birth Community outreach centre is a Non-Profit organisation located in Dennewere and Blackheath provide social services to delinquent youth in this area.

<sup>11</sup> Homelessness is defined by the HSRC (Human Science Resource Council) as a state whereby an individual is residing on the streets. They have no shelter; beg for food and money, street trading and they forage or are sub-survivalist within the informal sector work for quick and easy funds.



### 3.7 Procedure

Permission for the study was obtained from the participant and University's research grant and ethics committee. The participant was informed about the aims of the study, the data collection process and the use of the research results. Secure and private access to the participant was granted by the community leader, founding head and facilitator of the New Birth Community Outreach centre in the Dennemere area.

The interview appointments were finalised with the participant. She received consent forms that clearly stipulated the nature of the study. She was reminded of her rights at the commencement of each interview. Written consent was obtained from the participants. The participant granted permission to be interviewed and recorded by means of a digital Dictaphone recorder. The digital recording was beneficial, since it permitted the researcher to concentrate on the interview as opposed to laboriously noting what is being said (Crossley, 2000b). The researcher had five contact sessions with the participant, however, three of these sessions were interviews. The in-depth discussions were then conducted and recorded with time intervals of approximately 40-70 minutes at the New Birth Community Outreach Centre. The data was then transcribed by the researcher and analysed according to the narrative analysis technique.

### 3.8 Data analysis

**Experience is meaningful and human behavior is generated from and informed by this meaningfulness. Thus, the study of human behavior needs to include an exploration of the meaning systems that form human experience... narrative, the**

**primary form by which human experience is made meaningful. Narrative meaning is the cognitive episodes. Because it is a cognitive process, a mental operation, narrative meaning is not an “object” available to direct observation. However, the individual stories and histories that emerge in the creation of human narratives are available to for direct observations... narrative include personal and social histories we use to explain our own and others actions.**

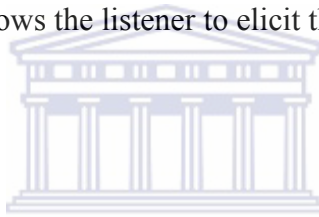
(Polkinghorne, 1988, p.1)

The data analysis approach for this study is rather intricate. Polkinghorne (1988) provides an outline in his theory that provides a coherent comprehension of what a narrative actually is. Prior to embarking on the journey of narrative research, it is imperative that the interpreter understands the foundation of narrative. Polkinghorne (1988) was able to establish the most important philosophical assumptions and definitions of a narrative that are essential when doing narrative investigation. He postulates that, to appreciate a narrative, it is important that it is understood within the social milieu, in view of the fact that meaning is embedded in experience.

He further argues that when studying narrative, it is essential to be familiar with the importance of language and discourse within the narrative and understanding its meaning attached to one's experiences. The following section will introduce some of the essential components of a narrative when doing a narrative analysis. These include: What constitutes narrative?; the realms of human existence; the realms of meaning; studying the realm of meaning; the narrative scheme; the plot; narrative and language; analysis of narrative vs. narrative analysis as well as the method of narrative analysis.

### 3.8.1 What constitutes narrative?

Narrative research places focus on the ‘self’ for both the data collection as well as the data analysis (Merriam, 2002). In other words, narratives are understood as first-person accounts of experiences that are structured within the story format. It is fundamentally concerned with making sense of one’s experience, and at the same time it is interested in constructing and communicating meaning (Murray, 2003). The narrative metaphor is a collaborative practice which presumes that the narrators and listeners interact in the meticulous cultural milieu as well as the historical contexts that are essential to interpretation (Riessman, 2003). In the course of the narrative process, one is able to construct the links between the exceptional and the ordinary, in other words, it allows the listener to elicit the unknown or eccentric into the realm of everyday life.



Narratives provide a wealth of information of the phenomena being studied within its natural setting (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 2006). Therefore, “...events do not present themselves as stories, but it is the experience of an event that becomes a story.” (Hiles & Čermák, 2008, p.149). Contemporary psychologists such Gergen (2009) and Polkinghorne (1988) concur that narratives are our central human means of making sense of the world we live in, by connecting events over time, through the stories we tell. When providing the narrative account of our everyday lives, we speak in the narrative form and also draw from the narratives of others.

Polkinghorne (1988) calls to our attention, that there has been method confusion pertaining to narratives. He declares that this confusion emerges from the fact that the term narrative has been used interchangeably for the type of data and the types of analysis (Bailey & Jackson,

2003). Narrative data is the data that is structured in a storied form, which provides the researcher with information pertaining to connected events that have temporal sequences, which, according to Polkinghorne (1995, cited in Bailey & Jackson, 2003), has intentional quality. The data usually includes explanations of the why and how things have occurred.

### **3.8.2 The realms of human existence**

Our human existence according to Polkinghorne (1988) beset a stratified system of distinctively organised realms of reality that are scilicet, the organic-, the material- and the mental realm. His contemporary view of human existence is in concord with that of the social constructionist assumption. The realms of human existence are entrenched in multiple realities. He further states that “human existence as a systemic synthesis of multiple kinds of reality and identifies narrative meaning as an aspect of one of these realities, the realm of meaning.” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.1). In order to comprehend the function of this process, it is best described through the theory of the emergence of multiples realities that explains the influence of each realm and thus corroborates its functions and influences on the mental realm which in essence is the most evolved of all realities. Polkinghorne (1988) recommend that this notion is best understood through the notion of the emergence theory.

Based on the brief overview of the emergence theory, Polkinghorne (1988) claims that throughout the course of human evolution parvenu levels of reality emerge. These regularities of these novel levels usually differ from individual to individual, and cannot be explained in terms of laws and theories of the less complex phenomena. Each level of the human existence is cast by different influences, based on structure, organisation etc. Within this ongoing process, new levels of complexities occur with new structures and processes which further

produce new characteristics. According to Polkinghorne (1988), each new level contains former levels arranged as strata. Succeeding the new level, it continues to influence or produce new characteristics on the prior levels once vacuous. In summary the human realm influences and is influenced by the organic system (Polkinghorne, 1988).

According to Polkinghorne (1988) this process is accumulative. The process eventually reaches a particular threshold of its complex structure influenced by the newest organisation. Though characteristically very different from the previous levels, the human existence transition from matter to life, and from life to consciousness. In general terms, Polkinghorne (1988, p.2) explains that "...the emergence of human beings from life in general to reflective consciousness and language is a threshold change that has brought about a unique level of reality that I will call 'the order of meaning'." Since human existence is embedded to varied degrees in the meaning-, organic and material realm, it incorporates three further basic structures, of reality which is known to be matter, life and consciousness. Human existence is thus fused in the realms of matter, life, as well as meaning.

### **3.8.3 The realms of meaning**

The realm of meaning becomes more restricted as it not only remains in the realm of human existence, but within the interaction of the organic and material realms as well. In view of the fact that the narrative is one of the essential processes in the realm of meaning, an unequivocal study of this realm acts a facilitator in the understanding of narrative. This realm remains an activity and not an object, but acts as an artefact to produce the substances. It is usually described as verbs instead of nouns, considering the fact that it also acts to establish the relationship or identify the connection of elements (Polkinghorne, 1988). These elements

are the realm of meaning which is known to be the contents of awareness which are in turn products of the organic realm. Thus the realm is the receptiveness to the world.

**The actions of the realm of meaning add to this awareness an additional presence, including: (a) one perception is the same as or not the same as another, (b) one is similar or dissimilar to another, (c) one is an instance of another, (d) one stands for the other, (e) one is a part of the other, and (f) one is the cause of the other. In the ongoing production of meaning, these various kinds of relationships are combined to construct connections among things.**

(Polkinghorne, 1988, p.4).

The mental realm is the process in which narrative meaning is situated functions to organise the elements of awareness to what Polkinghorne (1988) refers to as meaningful episodes. In summary, it aims to influence the action and the events that influence human beings.

Narrative constructs its meaning and communicates the contributions that events and actions have, to an exacting product which then reinstates itself into the entirety of the narratives.

### **3.8.4 Studying the realm of meaning**

Meaning it is often criticised as finite and Polkinghorne considers it the most basic of all inquiry. As Husserl (1970 as cited in Polkinghorne, 1988) indicated, the entire scientific endeavour is ultimately situated in the perceptual as well as meaning making operations of the human consciousness. For the researchers to understand human existence, as well as actions, they require the knowledge of the organisation which is responsible for producing the experienced realm whereby we direct our expressions or actions. The study of the realm of

meaning precedes an understanding of the manner in which human beings create knowledge and thus informs the operations of science itself.

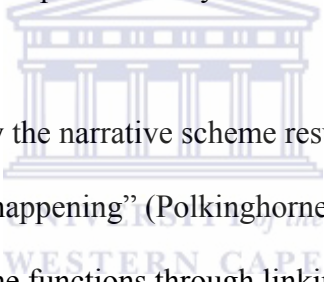
Since the characteristics of the realm of meaning are distinctive from those of the material realm, it is clear that the research process requires that the traditional human science methods, used to study human consciousness, be revised. The notion of single reality should in this context be annihilated and take into account the notion of multiple realities. In summary, what Polkinghorne (1988) is implying, is that we cannot use the notion of a single reality, as it will yield inadequate results and that drawing on methods from this philosophical view, will restrict the results to a single reality. In other words, when studying material reality these methods are relevant. He further emphasises that when descriptive method is applied, the narrative is lost in translation. The material realm is best suited to be quantified and moved to a method of inquiry best suited for the region of consciousness (Polkinghorne, 1988).

The primary aim in the realm of meaning research, is to produce unambiguous and accurate descriptions of the varieties and structures of the meaning systems that would permit knowledge which would augment a group or individual's power and control over their actions. This is best attained through interviews, self-reflection and artefacts that should be analysed using hermeneutic techniques and systemic principles of linguistic analysis (Polkinghorne, 1988).

### **3.8.5 The narrative scheme**

When conducting narrative, research acknowledges that narrative understanding in itself is one of two modes. One is the cognitive functioning and the other is referred to by Jerome

Bruner as the logico-scientific mode (Polkinghorne, 1988). Both of these modes of thought provide distinctive manners which are based on their distinctive principles of ordering experience whereby they construct reality. Although both are focused on connecting events, the approaches are different (Polkinghorne, 1988). The logico-scientific mode is focused on the search for the universal truth conditions whilst the narrative searches for particular connections between events. With both methods, the relationship between the reality and events is embedded in discourse. Moreover, the narrative mode is the “vicissitude of human intentions” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 17). This narrative organisational scheme is considered to be the most important human activity since it demonstrates the purpose and the direction in the human matters and construct comprehensibility and structure in the human lives.



“The registering of relationship by the narrative scheme results from its power to configure a sequence of events into a unified happening” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p 18). This ordering process within the narrative scheme functions through linking diverse events along with what Polkinghorne (1988) refers to as, temporal dimensions, by means of identifying the influence each contrarily has on the other. It further coalesces the human actions and events that have an influence on human life into a temporal gestalt. It appears that there is a limited amount of gestalt operations that are able to generate recognisable perceptual configurations, thus there will be a limited number of narrative schemes that would be able to produce coherent narratives. During this process, some actions take significance in its contribution to the complete episode, and can thus, in retrospect, alter the meaning in the episode in its entirety (Polkinghorne, 1988).



### 3.8.6 The Plot

**A story is a symbolised account of actions of human beings that has a temporal dimension. The story has a beginning middle and an end... The story is held together by recognising patterns of events called plots. Central to the plot structures are predicaments and attempted resolutions.**

(Sarbin, 1986:3 as cited in Crossley, 2000a, p.46)

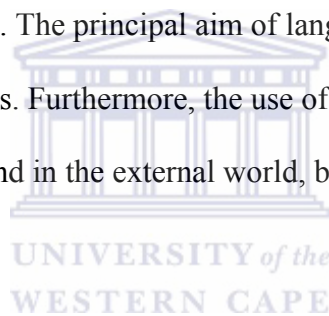
Like Sarbin, Polkinghorne (1988) defines the narrative plot as the organising theme that identifies the importance as well as the function of each event within the narrative. The objective of the plot is to transform a chronicle of events into a schematic entity through accentuating and recognising the contribution that each event makes to the development as well as the outcome of the narrative. Thus, without the significance of the plot, the events appear a discontinuous or separate and thus the meaning will be limited in a spatiotemporal location (Polkinghorne, 1988). Through its weaving of the complex events, the social and historical contexts are combined, and the events that occurred synchronously, thus decri the importance of unique and new occurrences. The narrative is thus able to articulate and amalgamate the complex threads of multiple activities through a profusion of the subplots (Polkinghorne, 1988).

More than one narrative plot proffers a meaningful integration and constellation of a similar set of events. Moreover, different plot organisations can distort the meaning of the event, considering that the roles are reinterpreted with reference to their functions in different plots. Thus, Polkinghorne (1988, p. 19) claims that “The meaning and identity of an event is not an isolated phenomenon located in the single event itself. Rather, the meaning of the events in

stories are produced by a recognition of how the event and the plot interact, each providing form for the other.”

### **3.8.7 Narrative and language**

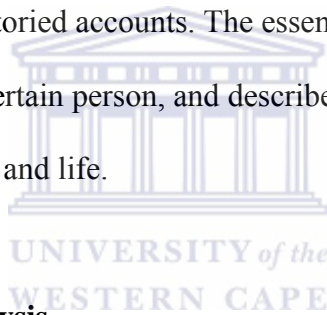
According to Polkinghorne (1988) the understanding or construction of narratives is a function humans are able to perform through the use of language. Language is the agency that sanctions humans to express the nonpareil order of existence and is considered to be the human realm seeing that it acquiesces as the medium whereby humans express the world as meaningful. It further serves as a means for thinking about, storing memory, and communicating what we perceive. The principal aim of language is to accurately describe the images that loom in our awareness. Furthermore, the use of spoken language constructs meaning; it is not necessarily found in the external world, but it is the pointers to our neural excitation or thoughts.



Thus human experience, narrative and meaning, is conveyed through the use of the spoken language, which is often referred to as discourse. In the social science discipline, it plays a central function to study the discourse and the role that language plays in the construction of human meaning. Meaning comes from the one who speaks the language and the person who is able to understand it and thus together, they construct reality. Thus, Polkinghorne, (1988) describes that language is considered both a possession and a product of a community which is a central argument derived from the social constructionist approach that language and meaning is a result of social interaction (Burr, 2003; Crossley, 2000b).

### 3.8.8 Analysis of narrative Vs. Narrative analysis

Polkinghorne (1995, cited in Bailey & Jackson 2003) further differentiates between analysis of narrative and narrative analysis, the two approaches to narrative inquiry. In summary, the analysis of narrative is focused upon paradigmatic reasoning and is the inductive approach. The data that is usually collected as stories and are analysed according to categorical illustrations, such as a coding system. The limitation of this approach is that it produces knowledge of general concepts that aim to find commonalities among instances of individuals (Bailey & Jackson, 2003). In contrast, narrative analysis is focused on narrative reasoning. The data is collected in story form but with more detailed descriptions of occurrences, events and actions and is analysed into storied accounts. The essential element of this approach is that it produces knowledge of a certain person, and describes the person with an in-depth understanding of his/her situation and life.



### 3.8.9 Methods of narrative analysis

A narrative analysis would be appropriate in understanding the events and contextual factors since it is embedded in the social constructionist approach, which aims to explore cultural structure of the individual's experience (Crossley, 2000b). Thus this method would be adequate in exploring the factors that lead young adults specifically from high risk areas, crystal methamphetamine use. This method illuminates the intersection of the autobiography, history and society (Reissmann, 2003). There are several approaches in analysing narratives (Merriam, 2002) and thus narrative analysis as a research approach does not have a single heritage, a standard methodology or specific theoretical orientation. Various scholars (such as Emden 1998; McLoed & Balamoutsou 2001; Priest *et al.* 2002; Riesmann, 1993, cited in Kelly & Howie, 2007) across different disciplines have contributed to the development of

data analysis procedures that are used in narrative analysis. This resulted in several techniques, approaches as well as uses of narrative analysis within qualitative research. However, McLoed and Balamoutsou (2001, cited in Kelly & Howie, 2007) suggested that researchers should construct their own method data analysis with regards to narrative analysis.

For a holistic understanding and profusion of rich entities of the data, based on the objective of the study, the data was analysed using a combination narrative analysis methods. The data was analysed using a narrative analytic approach proposed by Crossley (2000a), which was adapted from the original methodological and theoretical approach by McAdams. The additional step, viz. Dollard's criteria for extracting life history was included because it aided in a more comprehensive analysis of meaning. However, the primary method of analysis utilised is Crossley's (2000a) narrative analysis which incorporates several theoretical perspectives and the primarily integrated ideas of Polkinghorne (1998), Labov (as cited in Polkinghorne, 1988) and previous studies conducted by Kelly & Howie (2007).

### **Step 1: Reading and familiarising**

During the first step, Crossley (2000a) emphasises that the listener repetitively listens to the audio recording and reads the transcriptions. The researcher read the transcripts approximately five to six times, thus allowing her to familiarise herself with the data in order to get a preliminary idea of what possible themes might materialise.

## **Step 2: Identifying important concepts**

In step two the researcher should get an understanding of the cardinal elements of the personal narrative that should be identified. Based on the model presented by McAdams (as cited in Crossley, 2000a), there are three elements namely, (1) narrative tone, (2) imagery and (3) themes.

### **(1) Narrative Tone**

According to Crossley (2000a), the most essential feature of a personal narrative is in the manner in which it transpires in content as well as the manner in which it is told. The tone can be said to be either pessimistic or optimistic. When a tone is pessimistic, the narrative content usually consists of a series of bad and/or good events perceived in a bad light.

Whereas an optimistic tone of the narrative includes good and bad events the narrator remains hopeful that things will ameliorate. Crossley (2000a) purports that formative influence on the narrative tone often derive from the achievement of insecure or secure attachment relationships during the narrators' childhood years. The researcher paid attention to the tone of each interview session. Some plots in the respondents' narrative were both pessimistic as well as optimistic depending on the context and events.

### **(2) Imagery**

According to Crossley (2000a) all personal narratives subsume and express an idiosyncratic set of images. In order to understand narratives an exploration of the manner in which we use imagery to make sense of ourselves should be employed. The researcher paid rigorous attention to the variety of language that is applied when describing or characterising key events or chapters in the respondent's life. Through this process the researcher was able to elicit meaningful images, metaphors or symbols. This imagery is contracted and discovered by employing raw materials such as language that was shared.

### (3) Themes

When interpreting the transcripts the researcher should remain mindful about the central themes throughout the narrative (Crossley, 2000a).

#### **Step 3: Identifying narrative tone**

Crossley (2000a) advised that during this stage of the analysis the narrative analyst should identify narrative tone, drawing on their personal and past experiences. Thus narrative analyst should identify whether the tone is pessimistic or optimistic (Crossley, 2000a).

#### **Step 4: Identifying imagery and themes**

It is beneficial for the researcher when analysing the narrative to look for the imagery and the themes simultaneously. Since there is co-occurrence of several images or imagery, it tends to be indicative of particular themes. Crossley (2000a) thus advises that the best way to identify imagery and themes, is to analyse the transcript in a systematic fashion, commencing with the life chapters and then proceeding to rest of the data. Thus, both the imagery and themes should be identified within each plot. At this phase of the analysis the researcher should only try to get a general overview of the narrative data and attempt to draw on what Crossley (2000a) refers to as a rough map of the picture emerging from the interview.

Succeeding the general overview, the researcher worked through the data for key events by identifying the themes and images. It is important to note that central people will feature throughout the narrative data. The same procedures should thus be applied to identify the themes and imagery for the case study of participant. Throughout the process the researcher continued to identify symbols and themes in relation to the narrator's future script. Crossley

(2000a) included that further stress, problems and personal ideologies should be identified. This stage was also followed throughout. For further extraction of meaning within the context of life history, this guide of narrative analysis was adapted using Dollard's steps of extracting life history. Therefore the following step in the research process was included in the analysis of the narrative data of the current study for the purpose of extraction of meaning:

### **Step 5: Attention to Dollard's criteria for life history**

During this phase the researcher attempted to scrutinise the significant life events reported by the research participant. Kelly and Howie (2007) recommend that the researcher now analyses the data using the Dollard's (1949) criteria for life history. According to Polkinghorne (1995, cited in Kelly & Howie, 2007), this method was formerly developed to assess life history, but the technique could also be employed as a guide to the development of narrative. The research considered the following criteria, as presented by Dollard. These factors included the following:

- “The contextual features including ‘cultural context... values, social rules [and] meaning systems’ (p. 16)
- The ‘embodied nature’ of the central character including factors that may influence their ‘personal goals’ and ‘life concerns’ (p. 17)
- The influence of ‘significant other people in affecting the actions and goals’ of the character (p. 17)
- The ‘choices and actions’ of the character and their movement ‘toward an outcome’ (p. 17)
- The ‘historical continuity’ of the character and the cohort (p. 17)
- A requisite ‘bounded temporal period... it needs a beginning, middle and end’ (p. 17)

- The provision of a plot that configures ‘data elements into a meaningful explanation of the [character’s] responses and actions’ (p. 18)” (Kelly & Howie, 2007, p.139).

Kelly and Howie (2007) advise that during this phase the researcher should utilize this criterion as a lens to view the narrative from raw data. Although there is an overlap in various steps, the rationale for applying this criteria, at this stage of the analysis, is to provide the researcher with an alternative perspective to familiarise herself with the data and also to intensify her understanding of the narrator’s meanings intrinsic in the data.

#### **Step 6: Weaving this all together into a coherent story**

At this phase of the analysis, the researcher has constructed a map of the diverse images and themes that emerged from the data and weaved all of the identified diverse images into a coherent narrative (Crossley, 2000a). (See Appendix F for the Chronological order of the respondent’s narrative).

#### **Step 7: Writing up the research report**

During this stage, it is expected that the researcher has identified, analysed and further constructed a coherent account of the narrative. The next step is to write up the report.

According to Smith (1995 as cited in Crossley, 2000a), with qualitative analysis, the writing up and analysis should remain ambient, since narrative analysis continues throughout the narrative process. The research report, i.e. this mini-thesis, was written up according to the following outline: (i) Introduction, (ii) Method, (iii) Results (iv) Analysis/Discussion, (v) Reflection, (vi) Biography.



The narrative analysis that was utilised was adapted using the methods proposed by Crossley (2000a) as well as Kelly and Howie (2007). Since the method Crossley (2000a) employed was developed for personal narrative, it allowed the researcher to extract things essential to Polkinghorne's theory of narrative such as plots, imagery, themes and narrative tone.

### 3.9 Validity Issues in Narrative Research

The study of narrative is in essence the study of stories, told by people about their lives and the lives of others via conversation. The aim of the narrative research is to solicit from the participants through request, oral stories through interviews as well as written autobiographies (Polkinghorne, 2007). The issue of validity in qualitative research often emerges, and should remain central to research conducted in both paradigms, and more specifically in qualitative research, according to Polkinghorne (2007, p. 4):

**The general notion of validity concerns the believability of a statement or knowledge claim... Thus, a statement or knowledge claim is not intrinsically valid; rather, its validity is a function of intersubjective judgement. A statement's validity rests on a consensus within a community of speakers. The validation process takes place in the realm of symbolic interaction, and validity judgements make use of a kind of communicative rationality that is nonrule governed.**

According to Polkinghorne (2007) validating the knowledge obtained is not a mechanical process; it is considered an argumentative practice focused on convincing the reader of the probability that the support for whatever claim is made, is strong enough to serve as a foundation for understanding of the human realm. The aim is to provide sufficient

justification and arguments to illustrate the truthfulness of the knowledge claims. Thus the researcher should structure the argument based on the characteristics presented by Perelman (1982, cited in Polkinghorne, 2007, p.8), Firstly, the researcher should proceed informally, and not according to a quantitative formula or rules that consist of strict induction and deduction processes. Secondly the findings presented to the audiences must focus on inducing as well as increasing their observance to the claim that is presented. Lastly “...they nearly always involve ambiguity because their language is inevitably equivocal in some degree and because the terms that are available are often open to more than a single interpretation.”

However, to validate the narrative and truth claims, the deconstruction of narrative is important. The deconstruction of the internalised narrative produces the truth claims of what constitutes the metanarrative. The deconstruction allows the research to identify the truth by weaving the narrative into a coherent story, thereby filling the gaps within the story. This provides an inclination for narrative flow, but also validates the truth claims as well as the narrator’s self-identity (1998).

Since, the process is subjective in nature the researcher should remain mindful of their argument. Polkinghorne (2007) asserts that clear data be represented for the statement that is being made. For each thematic conclusion made, the researcher should present grounded evidence and connect the evidence to the conclusion. This evidence should be presented in storied text and the meanings articulated by the teller. The researcher remained mindful of the limitations of the validity of narrative research. Several sources of data should be obtained to triangulate the research findings of a study (Glesne, 2006). For the current study indepth

interviews were the primary source of information, however, undocumented information was attained in order to triangulate findings.

### **3.10 Reflexivity**

Qualitative researchers study human action and how they experience the world from the perspective of the social actors themselves, in other words they are concerned with meaning (Willig, 2001). Qualitative methodologies place great emphasis on reflexivity and the role of language. Within qualitative research the researcher is considered to be the main instrument in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Reflexivity therefore requires acknowledgement of personal contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and it is impractical to believe that the researcher could remain outside of the subject matter (Parker, 2005). In other words reflexivity is a means of working with subjectivity which would allow the researcher to escape the self-referential circle which is characteristic of the majority of academic work.

Considering that the researcher is a university graduate, originating from a working class community exposed to crystal methamphetamine and other drugs on a regular basis, she will be particularly mindful of the social setting and preconceived notions within the research process. Hence it is unavoidable to consider that there would be times that the researcher could affect the research negatively. When the research employs a data collection method such as narrative interviewing, the researcher ascends to an empathetic and supportive role to the participant. Narrative analysis makes use of interpretation as a vehicle for describing individual experience. It is therefore very important that the case study investigator remains

self-aware of his or her own worldviews, preconceptions, and biases. Therefore a reflective journal was kept by the researcher throughout the research process.

### **3.11 Ethical consideration**

The research study was conducted in an ethical manner. Ethical issues constantly emerge within all research studies; therefore the primary purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of the research participants (Wassenaar, 1999). The researcher recognised the importance of the considerations of honesty, fairness, candidness of intent, the admission of method and the execution of the research. The participant was presented with an information sheet that clearly explained the nature of the study. (See Appendix A for the Information Sheet that was provided to the respondent). Participation was on a voluntary basis and the participant provided informed consent. (Attached to Appendix B is an example of the Consent Form that the participant signed).

The researcher attended to her obligation to guarantee unambiguous individual privacy to the research participants and obtained informed consent therefore guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity. In addition the participant was ensured of the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process as prescribed by Lutabingwa and Nethozhe (2006).

The research study was of a very sensitive nature; therefore the researcher remained mindful of the possible harms that could emerge. The basic ethical principles were applied namely; respect of the participant, beneficence (direct benefits to the participants or society through knowledge gained in the study), non-maleficence (research minimized or complete avoidance of harms or wrongs) and justice (fair and just treatment of the research participants)

(Wassenaar, 1999). If indeed, any emotional harm had to arise; the participant was assured that access to professional counselling services will be provided for the participant after the research process. In conclusion, I acknowledge the importance of the ethical principles in research which will not only secure that no harm will be caused by the study, but will also guarantee a quality and rigorous study in relation to its dependability and credibility as recommended by Halai (2006).

### **3.12 Conclusion**

The increase of crystal methamphetamine in high risk areas in Cape Town could be due to a number of factors which include its inexpensive manufacturing, the drug's effects on self-image and self-perception amongst the young people living in poverty. This study was aimed at contributing to the South African literature and research exploring the perceptions of a young crystal methamphetamine user with reference to contributing factors of crystal methamphetamine abuse amongst the adolescents in the Cape Flats region.

Currently, there has not been case studies conducted describing crystal methamphetamine addiction. An intensive case study of this nature could therefore be viewed as a revelatory case as it provided the opportunity to investigate a phenomenon within its context (Yin, 1994). This chapter outlined the methodology that was utilised in this research study. It included a comprehensive overview of the qualitative approach, a detailed discussion of the research design, a detailed description of the participants, the procedures, method of data analysis, the importance of reflexivity and trustworthiness of research validity, as well as the ethical considerations. The following chapter will discuss the findings of the research study.

## Chapter 4: Findings

### 4.1 Introduction

The current study aimed to provide an understanding of the interaction of the social and historical contexts in relation to the life experiences and perceptions of a young person residing in the Cape Flats. The primary focus was to understand how the emerging factors ultimately influenced the respondent to use crystal methamphetamine. The aim was not to generalise the findings, instead, given the inimitability of this phenomenon, provide a contextual understanding approach from a post-modernist paradigm. Thus, through the social construction of reality, the research was able to facilitate an attainment of knowledge that produced meaning. Theorists in this approach postulate that it is impossible to study the individual in vacuity, since our experience and choices are embedded in historical, social, cultural, political and practical contexts (Crossley, 2003).

Several local research studies on crystal methamphetamine focus on the effects, the cohort of users, as well as influential factors. However, many of these studies are located within only one or two of the ecosystemic levels, hence lacking a holistic understanding of the epidemic. Thus, the current study was theoretically located in Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological systems theory in order to sanction a detailed understanding of the individual in their development process on all five levels. As a result the study provided the platform where influential factors emerged on all levels viz. the individual as well as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem.

Crossley (2003) argues that to effectively produce an understanding especially in narrative, the researcher has to account for the individual's historical truth, since their historical truth defines where they come from as well as where they are going. Their historical background has power over the decisions they make as well as the decisions they have made in the past. Therefore, the historical context of South Africa is a critical aspect to consider in understanding crystal methamphetamine abuse especially on the Cape Flats, as it has detrimental psychological, cultural, social and economical manifestations for the individual.

#### **4.2 Manichean psychology of the historical context of South Africa**

Drug use on the Cape Flats has been affiliated with gangsterism or gang related activities. The aspect of gangsterism, drug abuse and other social evils on the Cape Flats should be understood within the context of the series of historical events entrenched in the Apartheid era. The South African apartheid government was a violent oppressive system which Bulhan (1985) described in terms of Frantz Fanon's theoretical perspective as:

**... the ruling authority relentlessly strives to divide its population into, as it were, four distinct "species" differentiated on the basis of race. Wealth, power, and privilege are distributed accordingly and so are rates of preventable death and disability. Apartheid is indeed structural violence in its crudest form.**

(Bulhan, 1985, p. 166)

The apartheid regime was a system deeply rooted in Manichean thinking. Fanon theorised Manichean psychology, as a view of people separated into two distinct species, the oppressed and the oppressor or more specifically white and black or good and evil. The oppressor

identifies himself as superior while the oppressed is regarded as inferior (Bulhan, 1985). It was regarded as polar opposites. At the one end were the poor oppressed black people living in pitiable conditions whilst at the other end were wealthy white oppressors who lived in privileged conditions. This Manichean thinking underlies the violence and oppression rooted in society. In the context of apartheid, the white were the oppressors who institutionalised apartheid and imposed violence to maintain this segregation or status quo (Bulhan, 1985).

The apartheid regime was a legalised form of racial oppression that violently enforced segregation and domination over the non-white majority (Krantz, 2008). The pillars of apartheid consisted of a number of institutions and violently enforced laws that ruled the black labour, land and activities (Bulhan, 1985). The small minority of ‘white Afrikaansers’ controlled the non-white majority through application of these pillars by means of the police, the pass laws, the migratory labour system, the influx control, the prisons, as well as the educational system. These systems were positioned to deracinate non-white people, subject them to absolute control, which consequently transformed them into obedient, insecure and underpaid labourers. Fanon (as cited in Bulhan, 1985) described the system as undisguised modern day slavery, where ‘misconduct’ was subdued by different forms of violence. Bulhan (1985) described them as being “... flagged with a *sjambok*<sup>12</sup>, for any behaviour, word, or attitude their *baas*<sup>13</sup> finds unacceptable. The physical and psychological scars of these cruelties can be easily surmised...” (Bulhan, 1985: p. 166-168).

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<sup>12</sup> *Sjambok* is the Afrikaans word for a leather whip that was used to punish black people during the apartheid regime. (Jansen, 1990)

<sup>13</sup> *Baas* is the Afrikaans word for boss. According to Steingo (2005) black employees were demanded to use this word during the apartheid era, because they were not allowed to call their white employers by their first or last names.



According to Fanon (cited in Bulhan, 1985) the non-white people became the victims of prolonged oppression. He further postulated that when the oppressed succumb to oppression, they patiently tolerate these dictions and violent assaults of their oppressor. Their demeaning submission and compliance to their oppressor becomes ego-dystonic. Thus, based on the growing brunt of this position, they internalise their anger and frustration against themselves or their people. According to Fanon, this then results in infirmity, substance addiction, homicide and mental illness (Bulhan, 1985). This development of horizontal violence manifested itself through the internalisation of the oppressor and was evident amongst the coloured people in the Cape Flats.

In the wake of, the 1960's, Group Areas Act, coloured people were relocated from a well settled vibrant community of Cape Town, to a desolate Cape Flats of monotonous planned townships. This relocation caused incalculable psychological and social damage (Jeppie, 1999). Based on Fanon's theory, this resulted in horizontal violence amongst the people in the Cape Flats. The people faced poverty, high crime, youth unemployment, high interpersonal violence (domestic violence), rampant gangsterism and narcotic addiction. The oppressed became the oppressors and enforced violence on themselves and their people (Fanon as cited in Bulhan, 1985). The gang-related conduct became an organised affiliation, due to unemployment. Ultimately, structured gangs paved the way for drug merchants bartering mandrax and marijuana during the 1980's (Standing, 2006). Thus the lucrative mandrax industry in the Western Cape eventually paved the way for crystal methamphetamine and other illicit substances.

Post-apartheid South Africa then experienced a considerable increase in drug use and drug trafficking of crystal methamphetamine, marijuana, heroin, cocaine and club-drugs since its first democratic election in 1994 and its subsequent re-entry into the global economy (Parry & Pithey, 2006). South Africa's incorporation into the global economy removed many protective trade barriers that once sheltered it (Chopra & Saunders, 2004). In addition the changes in the socio-political, economic situation and production, marketing, as well as the distribution of illicit substances were contributing factors (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006). According to Parry and Pithey (2004), South Africa then became a primary marketing venue for the import and export of illicit drugs. Illegal drugs such as heroin, mandrax, cocaine and later crystal methamphetamine were imported from Asian and South American countries into South Africa and further exported to other western countries.

Even though the colour barriers and laws were removed, there remained a basis of neurosis of the infantile trauma shared by the collective society. Thus, there remained a shared conscious and collective catharsis of externalising the violence, frustration and aggression (Hook, 2004). A point that is often forgotten is that although the oppressive system had been renounced, the transition to a democratic country further facilitated the cataleptic of the past to resonate into further substance abuse (Visser & Routledge, 2007).

With this reverberation of the legacy of apartheid, and its devastating consequences, the case study findings will further create an understanding of the individual's experience of crystal methamphetamine epidemic and the meaning attached to it by young adults living in the Cape Flats. The findings will be discussed within a narrative chronological order<sup>14</sup> of the

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<sup>14</sup> See APPENDIX G for the chronological structure of the narrative.

participant's life, referring to the influential factors and significant events that contributed to the understanding and the meaning making process in her imagery and in her narrative of her crystal methamphetamine use.

## **THE BEGINNING**

### **Theme 1: Childhood Trauma**

According to Hook (2004) symptoms of neurosis are more likely to be linked to some type of childhood physical trauma which situates itself in the individuals' character, and often dominates their future and has power over the choices they make. He further postulates that these physically traumatic events are usually a series of events which is often the cause of their neuroticism and is frequently similar and recurrent throughout their lives (Hook, 2004). His understanding of traumatic neuroticism sets the tone for understanding how the accumulations of traumatic life events in her history impacted her decision to use crystal methamphetamine.

#### **Infantile Helplessness in a hostile environment**

*In the Western Cape but I don't know which hospital. I was a 7 month premature baby. (Page*

1) *The 27<sup>th</sup> of April '82. (Page 1)*

Slayer<sup>15</sup> was born at a time when the apartheid regime was capitulating. Nevertheless, she was born into a society that had been deeply affected emotionally, psychologically and socially. She was born 'coloured' and on the Cape Flats which already determined her social

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<sup>15</sup> The participant requested that her street name Slayer should be used as the pseudonym in the text. Through adopting this nickname Slayer, she essentially identifies herself in her gang name. This indicates of identity confusion late in her life.

class, viz. working class. The Cape Flats at that time was beleaguered by gangsterism, gangster-related culture, gang warfare, other criminal behaviours pertaining drug abuse, and narcotics and other drug trafficking. Soon after the apartheid regime relinquished its power of oppression, the political changes further exacerbated the drug epidemic. After Slayer's birth, she experienced ill-health which led to further emotional strain.

*I got sick and she couldn't handle me so she gave me to my grandmother she couldn't handle that I was sick cause handle hospital in hospital out hospital in cause at the age the baby should be taken care of... (page 27)*

*Meningitis, I don't remember the others. All I can remember is that I could fit in a shoebox [giggle]. I could fit in a shoebox that's what they told me. (page 28)*

In Slayer's narrative, she creates a scene of her as a premature, vulnerable baby. She specifically highlighted the fact that she needed to be taken care of, she lacked control and was unable to protect herself. However, in her discourse, it is evident that she blames herself and her illness for her mother being unable to take care of her and eventually neglected her.

Discursively, she constructs her reality as existing within a dangerous and hostile social and family environment. Horney (as cited in Allen, 2006) theorised that a child's development at this stage, is hindered in this social hostile environment. This creates a sense of basic anxiety, causing further feelings of loneliness and helplessness. These feelings are consistently present in the participant's narrative. Based on Horney's theory of a hostile environment, further familial domain factors contribute to these feelings of insecurity. This is evident in the history of this case study.

## **Abandonment**

*My mother could not handle me she left me at my grandmother. (page 48)*

*...I was seventh I was a kangaroo baby so I so my mother use to brag to her friends then I got sick and she couldn't handle me so she gave me to my grandmother she couldn't handle that I was sick cause handle hospital in hospital out hospital in cause at the age the baby should be taken care of and then my granny she gave me to my granny. (page 28)*

An essential theme that emerged in Slayer's narrative is her maternal abandonment. Due to her mothers' inability to cope with the severity of Slayer's illness as a premature baby, she bestowed the maternal responsibilities onto the grandmother. The premature birth of Slayer could have been due to a number of factors. Research has indicated a relationship between preterm birth and high levels of maternal stress, nutrition and environmental stressors such as alcohol use, drug use and poverty (Feldman, Minkoff, McCalla & Salwen, 1992; Glynn, Shetter, Hobel & Sandmand, 2008; Goldenberg, Culhane, Iams & Romero, 2008).

Nevertheless, the aetiology of the preterm birth is undetermined but the ceding of the maternal responsibilities could have occurred due to a number of reasons.

A multiple-case study research conducted by Issoupova (2000) found a number of reasons for mothers relinquishing their children. Amongst the themes that emerged analogous to the context of this case study, included a lack of paternal support, economic problems, psychological as well as child health-related problems. The findings further indicated that when there were concerns related to the paternal figure, mothers were less reluctant to cede the rights of their children. In the case of Slayer, her father was in prison during the time she

was born. In addition, she was sick and her mother relinquishing her soon after birth could possibly have been a result of a combination of unclear factors.

Furthermore, Issoupova (2000) found an overarching factor of male attention and acceptance by the women as motivators for relinquishment of their children. Although not applicable to the current context of the case, it has presumable legitimacy later in Slayer's life. Although there may be a number of possibilities for the neglect of Slayer after birth, the ceding of maternal responsibilities had dire developmental consequences.

The relinquishment of a child at a young age has harmful consequences when they are given up by their biological maternal figure (Issoupova, 2000). The deleterious sequelae of child neglect as well as abuse emerge in the child's behavioural, cognitive, psychological, physical, and socio-emotional development (Hildyard & Wolfe, 2002). According to the child development theory of Adler (as cited in Allen, 2006, p.85), children who are neglected at a young age are unable to "... experience love, cooperation, or friendship, and seldom find a trustworthy other-person. Throughout life, problems are too difficult and problem-solving resources are too limited. Neglected children may be described as cold, suspicious, untrusting, hard, envious, and hateful." These outcomes are evident later in the participant's life.

Research studies on early developmental effects on childhood abandonment found that the psychological implications highlighted were problems that manifested as high-risk behaviours (Chapple & Vaske, 2010; Silverman, Reinherz, & Giaconia, 1996). The long-term study of child neglect found that the anxiety and depression creates the possibility of the child

resorting to alcohol, illicit drugs and other high-risk behaviours (Silverman, Reinherz & Giaconia, 1996). Findings in this domain of research further indicate that children with a history of neglect and abuse were more likely to resort to substance abuse than children who were not abused.

Based on the ecological systems theory, a healthy microsystem is based on reciprocity within relations. When the reciprocity is negatively altered, the quality of the microsystem and development of the individual, is negatively affected (Muuss, 1988). Slayer's microsystem was tarnished the day her mother relinquished her parental rights which, as previously alluded to, had dismal consequences later in her life.

Wilson and Widon (2008) found that women who were neglected as children had a higher likelihood of drug abuse in adulthood. The study found that they were more prone to delinquent behaviours, prostitution and homelessness which further acted as mediating factors in illicit drug use. These findings are consistent with the findings of the current case study and will be discussed later. As a consequence of the relinquishing of maternal responsibilities, and Slayer's father incarceration, both parents were uninvolved and relatively absent throughout her life.

### **Uninvolved biological parents**

*Cause of probably because I was a premature baby right That was the time my father went to prison ...I was seventh I was a kangaroo baby so I so my mother use to brag to her friends then I got sick and she couldn't handle me so she gave me to my grandmother she couldn't*

*handle that I was sick cause handle hospital in hospital out hospital in cause at the age the baby should be taken care of and then my granny she gave me to my granny. (page 28)*

*I was not raised by my parents. (page 4)*

*I grew up without parents (page 25)*

In Slayer's narrative it emerged that, because of the abovementioned constraints, both her parents were uninvolved in her life. She asserted that she was not raised by her parents, but by her grandmother and other relatives. Throughout the scheme of the narrative of her childhood, her mother and father were relatively absent and uninvolved. The reasons, as previously mentioned, were the incarceration of her father and her mother's inability to cope with Slayer's illness. It is important to note that Slayer's mother privately handed over custody to her grandmother. Why she never reclaimed responsibility is not clear, but she collected her on weekends in an attempt to build a relationship with Slayer. However this represented the onset of the sexual abuse in Slayer's childhood.

It was found that 75% of mothers, who had neglected their children, were alcohol and drug users (Goodman, Potts, Poszter & Scorzo, 2004; Metzger, 2008). Again, parents who remain absent and uninvolved in the lives of the children adversely affect the development of their children.

Uninvolved parenting is defined as parental figures that have little communication, low responsiveness with their children and often, in extreme cases, they neglect and reject their children's needs. Research study by Sutherland and Shepherd (2001) found that adolescents who did not live with their biological parents were at a greater risk for drugs than those who



did. Moreover, they found children who were raised with uninvolved parents obtained lower scores on their functioning across life domains (Darling, 1999). It is postulated that these children had low self-esteem, lack self-control, and were less competent than their peers (Goodman, Potts, Pasztor & Scorzo, 2004). These findings are consistent with Slayer's narrative. Slayer, further narrated that, as a result of the private relinquishment of guardianship by her mother, she lived with her grandmother and other relatives for the first few years of her life.

### **Several custodial parents**

*My gran, I can't remember but like I said my life is totally I grew up without parents I grew up with my grandmother. (page 25)*

*I grew up with my granny. Cause I grew up as a Muslim, my grandmother was a Muslim and I grew up as a Muslim. (page 6)*

*...It was lekker. She actually raised me as her own, that I can say like her own daughter cause I got spoiled everything was done for me I could evens until I was big my granny did my washing made up okay I made up my bed now she would feed me and she would do my dishes everything was done for me so my granny spoiled me... (page 28)*

*Now she's the one that raised me ne, when my mother threw me away. I was not raised by my parents. My grandmother raised me. That's why I say she's my role model. (page 4)*

*My granny worked for me okay. My granny bought me stuff and my Aunty buys me stuff for me (page 33)*

She reported in the above quotes that, her grandmother raised her as her 'own'. She claimed that her grandmother spoiled her. It is possible that her grandmother overcompensated for the

past neglect Slayer had suffered. Research indicated that the grandparents, especially the grandmothers, usually assumed the role of the child's informal care giver because of the parents' incapacity, which was predominantly due to substance abuse, child neglect or financial need (Goodman, Potts, Pasztor & Scorzo, 2004). It often occurs that the grandparents were unable to sustain the children's needs due to financial constraints. This was the case with Slayer. Her grandmother had to move, and then further relinquished her custodial rights to her sister.

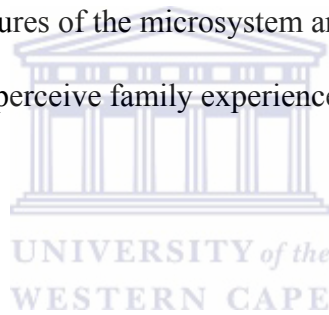
*...the house in Bonteheuwel that that I got my aunty-them, my granny's sister that I call 'mammie' ons se huis was elke dag geskiet op eventually we had to get bulletproof windows in cause every day I was laying under my Aunty's bed... (page 25)*

*Erm, from standard two till standard four I lived in Bonteheuwel, ten, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, five or six years. (page 31)*

Slayer then moved to Bonteheuwel where she lived for approximately six years. During this time she built attachment bonds with her great aunt and adopted her as a maternal figure. However, had there been an opportunity for parental visitation, while Slayer was in placement, it would have alleviated the possible negative effects of the placement separation and would have functioned to promote or maintain some sense of well-being. However, this did not transpire in Slayer's narrative. Since factors in Slayer's microsystem were affected, she sought out a stable maternal figure, which she had for a few years. She experienced numerous ecological transitions kindled by her search for stability.

Research findings postulated that when children are raised by relatives and experience ecological transition, their attachment bond with others weakens. Since these bonds were unavailable, the child displays a lack of necessary confidence in herself and her self-concept is compromised in this manner (Chalfie, 1994). Throughout Slayer's narrative the plot was pessimistic. She highlighted her parents' frequent absence and associated the time they spent together as negative events.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) theorised that the family's involvement and support has a central impact on a child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). However, the mesosystem provides the connection between the structures of the microsystem and the person, which thereby indicate the extent to which they perceive family experiences to impact on an individual's choices.



### **Childhood disequilibrium**

*We stayed in Kensington at that time and I went to Gateway crèche that was also in Kensington. The first primary school I went to was HJ Krugerberg that was only until standard one, that school only goes to standard one. (page 10)*

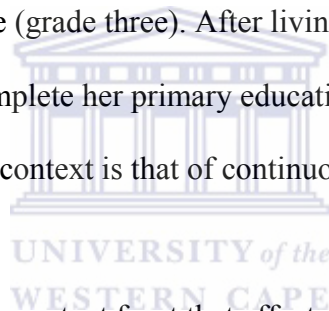
*Primary school I attended, Arcadia Primary in Bonteheuwel. That was until standard four. Standard four I came to live with my granny here in Eerste River, where I attended Tuscany Glen Primary till standard five and Malibu high was my high school. (page 6)*

*Then standard four, I finished at Arcadia Primary I came back I moved back with my grandmother in Eerste River in standard five... (page 11)*

*Then from there I moved to Bonteheuwel where I went to Arcadia Primary because AJ Krugenberg only went till standard one and then from Arcadia primary I went from standard two until standard four. (page 25)*

*...from Bonteheuwel I couldn't wait to leave there so I became a tomboy and I went to my granny to there in Eerste River and standard five I was at Tuscany Glen... (page 26)*

Since a very young age, Slayer relocated to many different homes, different social locations and different schools. At the beginning she lived in Kensington; her grandmother then moved to Eerste River. She completed her first few years of primary school at HJ Krugenberg, up until standard one (grade three). After living there for a short period of time, she moved to Bonteheuwel to complete her primary education under the custodial care of an aunt. The emerging theme in this context is that of continuous relocation.



This relocation is considered an important facet that affects the development of the individual, and is understood in terms of Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological transition as a mesosystemic influence. Bronfenbrenner (1994) claimed that when ecological transition transpires and when the mesosystem is disrupted, previous microsystems are either obsolete or new microsystems emerge in the individual's life. Here however what is apparent, is that after Slayer's location, she had to relocate from her previous home and school (proximal systems in her microsystem) and adapt to new microsystems. Bronfenbrenner theorised that when this transition occurs, healthy adaption based on the individual's wellbeing of their microsystem and nuclear family occurs (Muss, 1988). This was not necessarily the case for Slayer since she did not have a stable home, or a stable nuclear family. Thus, she was unable

to form attachments with people and was more inclined to high-risk behaviour which became evident later in her life.

Her childhood disequilibrium and trauma affected all aspects of her identity and sense of self. Her private aspects of self, hampered her decision making processes, her self-esteem as well as her self-perception. Throughout her life, she made decisions that lead to self destructive behaviours. These behaviours include substance abuse, delinquent acts, as well as early sexual promiscuity. She continuously sought a sense of belonging and approval, which might all attributed to her destructive behaviours. Her childhood disequilibrium weakened the resolve of the self that lead to identity crisis and seeking a sense of belonging to a group.



## **Theme 2: Sexual Abuse during childhood**

The current theme is not necessarily the middle of the narrative, but is an overarching theme throughout the life of the participant. It dominated or was the centre of much of the decisions Slayer made in later life. Slayer's life history was pervaded by the sexual abuse during her childhood. She claimed that:

*"...always just leads back to the same things when I was small."* (page 5)

The part of her narrative started during her pre-school years. During this time Slayer had the opportunity to spend time with her biological mother. This was the first time she was sexual

violated. The first perpetrator was her biological mother's boyfriend who abused her on multiple occasions. It is evident in her discourse that she refers to these events as things. She objectifies these experiences as a means to cope with the reality of the situation. Furthermore, these events became the central influence in her life, her decisions as well as her actions.

Hattery (2009) stated that once a child is sexually exploited, their self-esteem is diminished which creates a pathway for further abuse. The second sexual abuse episode occurred at the house of her grandmother's friend where she was sexually abused by the friend's two sons. Throughout her life there was a continuing cycle of sexual abuse.

*But all I things, that although she threw me away and gave me to my granny then she came to fetch me when I was still in crèche, I can still remember, and the things that happened that with her on that weekend that I turned my heart and I told myself that I don't have a mother.*  
(page 4)

*Sexual abuse by her boyfriend.* (page 4)

*six-seven-eight, about six, seven years old.* (page 4)

*I can't remember what day I just know I was sleeping me and my mother had an argument and then I can't know what happened next and the next thing I remember he were busy with his fingers here at the bottom and I was crying I asked him to stop I started crying and turned I looked up and I saw she was sitting there on the other bed looking at me she was smiling. Telling me I mustn't cry everything will be alright stuff like that and then the following weekend just happened the same thing, make me suck his dinges or he will put his... in here by me stuff like that. Like bad memories [crying] (page 30)*

*Not always one weekend, It was Saturday, every weekend she came to fetch me and she would bring me back on a Monday and Monday I will never be in school on Tuesday I'll go to school (page29).*

*Helpless, If I can still uhm... If I can remember that is the time I turned away and said I that I don't have a mother anymore... (page 5)*

*I still feel exactly the same way cause it all started with her and while I was growing up things that always just leads back the same things when I was small. (page 5)*

*The first primary school I went to was HJ Krugerberg that was only until standard one, that school only goes to standard one. While staying there, that was the time my granny-them moved to Eerste River (page 10) Cause she mos stayed by my Aunty. Cause my Aunty-them wanted to move and she had to go with my Aunty-them (page 30)...and the lady that lived opposite my granny was my granny's best friend. I use to stay there by them and her two sons also use to abuse me while I was little. They would make me suck their... their 'dings'... their move. (page 10)*

Slayer graphically paints a picture of her first sexual encounter which she describes as a traumatic event. She depicted both her mother and the perpetrator as antagonists in the plot of the narrative. She mentioned several times that her mother did not help her when she cried out for help. Her mother neglect to help her, reinforced the feelings of abandonment.

According to Alexander (1992), in understanding the occurrence of sexual abuse, the family relationships and characteristics should be taken into account. Sexual abuse amongst children usually occur when there is an absence of a biological parent, parental neglect, maternal unavailability, poor relationship with parents, uninvolved parents and guardians, as well as the presence of a step fatherly figure.

As postulated by many, when a child experiences any sexual interaction with an adult, the child then becomes exposed to premature sexualisation which may have unconstructive long-term effects. In the first place, Slayer lost her privacy, independence, rights as well as the control of her body. She is now exposed to something that had no meaning to her and assigns a subconscious meaning to this sexual act. As a child she internalised (absorption and processing of the meaning of) this outer experience as they relate to herself and her self-identity. The information that has been internalised influences the child's behaviour and has a cardinal impact on her life decisions (Spies, 2006).

The first experience of sexual abuse for Slayer involved her mother who neglected her. She vividly remembers this experience during the time she spent with her mother who had abandoned her. However she had a consistent urge for belonging and acceptance since she had no stable home. Slayer remembers the fact she and her mother had an argument earlier that day. Through her narrative she rationalises that the sexual violation might have been her punishment for the argument she had had with her mother. However unlike other sexual experiences Slayer's experience did not include violent coercion and this confused her. She cried because she was not comfortable with the experience. Her mother tried to calm her down whilst she was being violated. Because of this Slayer interpreted that the sexual act was acceptable. The meaning that Slayer attached to her experience of sex, was a means to fulfil her emotional needs, belonging and intimacy. She attached meaning of her self-worth to sex; especially when she thought that she deserved it. This meaning of sex and sexual abuse transpires throughout her life, through her experience of child sexual abuse, her abusive relationships and her relationship with crystal methamphetamine.



According to Alexander (1992) the long term effects of childhood sexual abuse is often associated with variables beyond the effects of the abuse. The effects are either emotional, cognitive (perceptual), psychological etc. The impact of the child's sexual abuse differs from child to child based on their experience of the abuse. Research indicates that the long-term effects of child sexual abuse include oversexualisation, sexual dysfunction, promiscuity and risky behaviour such as drug abuse (Sanderson, 2006; Kinnear, 2007). In the research conducted by Freeman, Collier and Parillo (2002), they found a strong correlation between a history of child abuse and illicit drug use. All these effects came to the fore in Slayer's life story, and will be discussed with more depth later in the text.

### **Theme 3: Social Milieu and Norms**



The ubiquity and socialisation of delinquent behaviour, high-risk behaviour, drug abuse and gangsterism all had an impact in the participant's life. The social milieu and socialisation of norms specifically refers to the deliberate social environment of the individual, including the social norms of the community as well as the home setting. According to Bronfenbrenner (1994), different layers of the environment have an effect on the individual's development (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Social milieu is located on the microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem namely the peers, family and community influences. In Slayer's life experience, exposure to these phenomena on a daily basis was, considered the social norm.

Located in the microsystem and the mesosystem of the ecological systems theory, the family forms part of the individuals interpersonal relationships and has direct contact with the adolescent (Visser, 2007). Based within the microsystem, the family's involvement and

support has a central impact on the development of an adolescent (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Parents' influenced their children's behaviour by modelling particular actions as well as defining certain norms (Fields, 1998). Slayer witnessed the substance abuse and criminal behaviour of both her parents as a child and as a young adult. She observed and learned certain behaviours through her parents' modelling of substance abuse and violent behaviours.

### **(a) Substance abuse**

*For a fifty-two year old man, he smokes R800 tik a day out and R400 tablets a day out. (page 10)*

*...my uncle started to show his true colours. My friends couldn't come there, I couldn't go out I couldn't smoke I couldn't drink I. Six-o-clock was the latest we had to be washed and in bed already. He treated me as a small one. But whenever he is gerook then ooh the she's my daughter then I must do this for him then I must do that for him... (page 32)*

*"What she was like. [silence] ooh, I really don't know. But I know she was a drinker and she was a smoker. A button-kop. Say rather maar that and she hang out with most of the guys. Ja, that how I can remember my mother. A drinker and a button-kop." (page 44)*

*My mother was a drinker and a smoker of drugs. (page 48)*

### **(b) Delinquency**

*In Lavender Hill. My father is a gangster. He is a '28'. Hy is 'n groot smokkel. He smokkel big there in Lavender Hill. And I said never again. (page 9)*

*He is a merchant. (page 10)*

*Drugs, guns, stolen cars, tattoos anything. (page 9)*

*Cause of probable because I was a premature baby right That was the time my father went to prison ... (page 28)*

**(c) Violent behaviours**

*Tomboy [silence] She did everything that a guy, guys does man. A tomboy, like, the other like a tomboy. You know what a guy use to do my mother use to do. That was the person she was. She can stand on her own two feet and where fighting was involved with one of the family, she was the one that, that always interfere, don't mess with my family then you mess with me [silence]. (page 44)*

Through observing their parents' behaviours children learn and imitate such behaviours. These behaviours include alcohol and drug abuse, violent behaviour and criminal behaviours (Fields, 1998). In the narrative, Slayer recounts that both her parents had used drugs or were drug addicts. Her father was incarcerated for gang-related involvement. She spoke about her mother with an element of pride, when she said that her mother could defend herself and that she was as an aggressive individual. She creates an image of a physically and emotionally strong woman. These attitudes and behaviours influenced Slayer's attitude towards drug use and delinquent behaviour.

As alluded to previously, parental modelling plays an important role in a child's learning of aggression or any other risky and delinquent behaviour. "Observation not only allows the individual to learn the directly modeled behavior, but individuals also expand on observed behaviors to develop innovative but related behavior" (Snethen & Van Puymbroeck, 2008, p.347). Based on the social learning theory by Bandura, children learn behaviour from those

in his/her microsystem, more specifically their parents, peers and community members. This behaviour is situated in violent as well as the delinquent behaviour which Slayer displayed throughout her life.

The most influential factors of exposure are situated within the family domain. Slayer reiterated in her narrative that she was exposed to substance use at an early age. Parental substance use was identified in previous studies as a high risk factor. Young children become highly vulnerable when they are physically exposed to parents who use crystal methamphetamine or other illicit drugs. In addition, the research reveals that some parents involve their children in their drug using activities. Embry, Hankins, Biglan and Boles (2009) found that family history of illicit substance abuse appeared to be the most prominent factor in the development of drug abuse. Further studies confirm that parental drug use was significantly related to adolescent use (Brook, Morojele, Pahl & Brook, 2006; Russell *et al.*, 2008; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006). Adolescent drug use behaviour was acquired by some through the modelling of the behaviour of their parents, siblings, as well as other family members (Brook, *et al.*, 2000).

Past research findings confirmed that parental modelling and social learning was one of the strongest predictors for criminal behaviour (Snethen & Van Puymbroeck, 2008). However Mäki, *et al.* (2003) found that delinquent behaviour was most prevalent amongst adolescents who were separated from their families at birth. Adolescent boys were the highest cohorts for violent crimes. These findings have relevance to the case study of Slayer who was separated from her mother at a very young age. However, social learning and parental modelling could account for the possibility of her displaying similar behaviour. Slayer adopted many of the

learned behaviours displayed by her parents. She used different types of drugs; she was involved in gang-related activities and displayed violent and criminal behaviour later in her life.

### **Normalised Gangsterism**

*Then from there I moved to Bonteheuwel where I went to Arcadia Primary because AJ Krugenberg only went till standard one and then from Arcadia primary I went from standard two until standard four. That's where I met a whole different life gangsterism and smoking.*  
(page 25)

*...house in Bonteheuwel that that I got my aunty-them, my granny's sister that I call 'mammie' ons se huis was elke dag geskiet op eventually we had to get bulletproof windows in cause every day I was laying under my Aunty's bed because of the bullets that went through the house the gangsters hoe kan ek sê het kring daar gesit because when you open lift up my Aunty's ceiling just lift it up you can feel the... (page 25) guns the bullets that lay there the knives even in the yard in the backyard also I knew I knew where the bullets were stuff like that and from Bonteheuwel I couldn't wait to leave there... (page 26)*

*[silence] I met okay my granny took me to my father cause he was in Brandvlei prison in Worcester every second Sunday we use to go with the bus and like I said my father was a father. I didn't know he was a gangster at that time and that but I loved him. He gave me chocolates his friends would buy me chocolates in jail paintings he made me a boat because he was a father cause he didn't know my daddy was a my daddy was my daddy until what he told me recently my father cause I always had the respect for him to say that he was a gangster and all that. Me and my daddy's relationship was very tight. (page 29)*

*Not actually that's only when I started to learn about the gangsters only about the age of eleven and up. (page 30)*

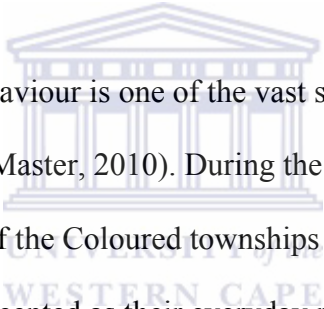
*It was gangsters paradise cause we, my Aunty stays in Bonteheuwel like I said was everyday. Die Dixi boys het altyd daar kom skiet. Because that was the Yakees and the Funkies. My aunty's my nephew was a Yakee. (page 31)*

*Erm, or its JCY or JFK's. Junior [inaudible]. Yakee and the Juncky Funky kids. (page 31)*

*Cause my nephew was a gangster and my nephew made a Dixi the leaders of the Dixi-boys sister pregnant Shahieda. Thats why he couldn't he couldn't crash and... (page 31) Shahieda het elke. Not only because of that only because the other gangsters use to come to sit there by my aunty-them. The Funkies and the Yakees that was actually die kring plek. The gathering place for the gangsters and then other gangsters would come and shoot on them and there were times me and my cousin stand by the gate then the Dixies would stand on the left hand side and the and the Funkies Yakees would stand on the right hand side. And we would make bets who would die first and the bullets would go just so past us. Then we would say he is going to die now that one is going to die. (page 32)*

*When I first experienced gangsterism was in Bonteheuwel and how it happened first we became friends. I use to hang out with the group saam kring gesit at the gameshop with the Yakees and the Funkies territory was the gamshop now. It was just when one of the Yakees tried their luck with me man. I don't know what they wanted to take my money or something like that. Ek't my man gestaan, I hit him with the pool stick over his head and I threw him with the eight ball in his testicles and that's when the others saw I can stand up for myself and so they ask me do you want to be part of the girls? So the girls asked me do I want to be part of the girls. So I figured why not cause I can can stand up for myself that time. (page 35)*

In her narrative, Slayer portrays gangsterism as the norm in the communities she resided in. From a young age she was exposed to her father being in prison, and visiting him on Sundays became the norm. She was further more explicitly exposed to gangsterism when she lived in Bonteheuwel, where she was directly exposed to gang violence, illegal weapons and illicit drugs. Based on the ecological systems theory these factors are entrenched within the exosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, cited in Visser, 2007) since it does not influence the individual directly. The ubiquity of drugs and gang proliferation was one of the risk factors at the community level, although it had both a direct and indirect impact on the user (Sherman *et al.*, 2008).



Gangsterism and gang-related behaviour is one of the vast social challenges in South Africa especially in the Cape Flats (MacMaster, 2010). During the 1980s gangsterism became a sprawling phenomenon in many of the Coloured townships in the Cape Flats and eventually became the norm which people accepted as their everyday reality. MacMaster (2010) further explained that often the young people residing in these areas and living with the reality of gangsterism, romanticised it and hero-worshipped gang members and gang leaders. Consequently, with gang proliferation, there was an increase of illicit drug use and trading. Aside from the historical political influence of gangsterism, understanding the possible motives for the young coloured youth to join a gang should be understood in terms of criminology theory.

Wood and Alleyne (2010) provided possible theories to understand gangsterism. According to the theory of social disorganisation, the economic destabilisation was a contributing factor to social disorganisation which led to the collapse of conventional social institutions. These

conventional social institutions such as family, government, religious institutions and education, fail to hold their interest or neglect them, which eventually compel young people to join the gang related activities.

Subsequent theories, identified by Wood and Alleyne (2010) are the theory of differential association and more importantly the theory of cultural transmission. Thrasher (1927 as cited in Wood & Alleyne, 2010) claimed that socially disorganised neighbourhoods, such as the townships in the Cape Flats, culturally transmitted criminal traditions that are easily transmissible like any other cultural elements in a society. When there are family dysfunctions and low levels of authority the youngsters who are exposed to these delinquent traditions, submit to these delinquent behaviours. “In such a cultural climate gang membership becomes a satisfying alternative to unsatisfactory legitimate conventions. If the family, school, church and government all fail to adequately provide for young people young people will form indigenous groups such as gangs which provide a social support system in socially disorganized communities...”(Wood & Alleyen, 2010, p.102). Empirical research has been conducted to verify these theoretical claims.

Gangsterism was likely to emerge in poverty-stricken areas, areas of historical victimisation, and that of low socioeconomic status where social disorganisation occurs (Wood & Alleyen). Most importantly, and relevant to the current context, gang membership had a positive correlation with individuals who had parents and sibling involved in gangsterism or who were gang members themselves (Eitel, Gunkel & van Gundy, 2004). Other risk factors that were found were those of early onset of alcohol and drug use, early violence, parental



attitudes favouring violence, as well as peer involvement in criminal activities (Hill, Lui & Hawkins, 2001).

In Slayer's context, she explains that she was exposed to gangsterism by her father, family members and the neighbourhood. There are many possible risk factors that led her to gangsterism, gang related activities and drug use. More specifically, Slayer's abandonment at a young age led to a continuous search for identity and a sense of belonging throughout her life (Baumeister, 1995). During the time that she lived in Bonteheuwel, she joined one of the gangs in the neighbourhood.

### **Uniting to Gangsterism**

*"I became a Satanist went out with gangsters. Joh..." (Page 11)*

*Didn't do my homework didn't do this became a gangster on school a BBT, still a Satanist, I actually ruled Malibu High I'd rather say everybody knew I was a Satanist evens the principal also sacrifices on school we did a lot of things I fought on school I had a boyfriend on school my high school love from standard six to standard nine. Okay then he started hitting me like I said like my ex boyfriends start abuse hitting me I couldn't talk to this guy jealousy all that but then ek het ook my dinge gedoen hy het my geleer om dagga te rook om groen (page 26)*

*When I first experienced gangsterism was in Bonteheuwel and how it happened first we became friends. I use to hang out with the group saam kring gesit at the gameshop with the Yakees and the Funkies territory was the gamshop now. It was just when one of the Yakees tried their luck with me man. I don't know what they wanted to take my money or something like that. Ek't my man gestaan, I hit him with the pool stick over his head and I threw him*

*with the eight ball in his testicles and that's when the others saw I can stand up for myself and so they ask me do you want to be part of the girls? So the girls asked me do I want to be part of the girls. So I figured why not cause I can stand up for myself that time. (Page 35)*

*We were the mama Yakees. Mama Yakees. (page 35)*

*Okay shoot gun, mes gestiek if the guy had problems with other gangsters then we use to go under cover for them and lure now one of the Dixi boys to away from his group to a place where no-one will know and then the Yakees and the Funkies will save us and I'll give them a sign this and that now and then one, two, three, then they will do their thing and I will go. (page 35)*

*Okay I've stabbed a lots of people yes. Shot I shot a girl in the ankle once [giggle] this was on a field on the met. (page 36)*

*The met its an open field where they play soccer and rugby man they call it the met and shot on cars yes other gangs cars other people's houses for fun sometimes at night and like that all. (page 36)*

As discussed above, the behaviours of a parent and the influence from mesosystem impact the individual. Throughout Slayer's life, gangsterism was the norm in certain townships. She was socialised into a culture of drugs and gangsterism, joined a gang and adopted their modus operandi. As stated above, the distal influences in joining gangs included the social modelling of such behaviour by family and the normalisation of gangsterism in society. During her life of gangsterism, she created a plot as a temptation, where she was directly persuaded to join a gang. Her attitude of gangsterism was idealistic, and she constructed her plot of her narrative gangster period as ascension, which is analogous to the romanticised notion of gangsterism.

#### **Theme 4: Adolescent delinquency**

Greydanus and Patel (2005) argued that the adolescent stage is a period marked with biological and physiological change in preparation for adulthood. Adolescence is characterised by the individuals' search for identity, experimentation and curiosity. During this transitional period adolescents could be left feeling vulnerable and with a sense of immortality, which are influencing factors to risky behaviour such as drug use, especially in this context of sprawling gangsterism (Greydanus & Patel, 2005).

On a psychological level of development, adolescents have a need to be "liberated" from their parents and to discover their own identity. This is a crucial period for internalising social norms and values (Greydanus & Patel, 2005). During adolescence, they acquire a sense of belonging, moreover belonging to a family and peer group (Chubb & Fertman, 1992).

Slayer survived her childhood, although she claimed she was helpless and alone, but later in life she enters the noxious interpersonal relationships seeking affection, attention, intimacy and love. As iterated throughout her narratives her mother rejected her. Once her mother showed some interest; the demoralising acts of sexual violation, distracts from the person Slayer could have been. In Slayer's narrative, she implicitly recognised her urge to fulfil these human needs. Her needs discernible in her narrative, were those for love, safety, a sense of belonging as well as her esteem needs. However since her collective self was weakened and with a lack of strong family ties, Slayer was on a continuous search for a group or sense of belonging (Baumeister (1995).

### **Peer groups and Peer Influence: Satanist group**

*Because I was a Satanist also. (page 6)*

*...there in Eerste River and standard five I was at Tuscany Glen, everything went smooth it just me and my uncle couldn't get together. Ek en my uncle het altyd gestry thats when I came mixed up with the wrong friends, the Satanist group. I became a Satanist that where I actually found love to be honest. They gave me love that not even my own family gave me...(page 26)*

*Not school friends, friends outside school. Okay there were people that were on school like a part of my few friends, it was at a club. I went to a club with one of my friends and this is how I met this guy and through this guy he introduced me to part of this group and I felt like group. They told me a lot of interested stuff, interesting stuff, the fun and all that. But min te weet it is only to get more people to come to the group and stuff like that. (page 37)*

*As the months past I ended up with the wrong friends the Satanist but there I got Loved and I could do anything I wanted to. I was there for a couple of years when I just left them ...(page 49)*

*Not now. I can tell anyone but then they are listening to what I am saying do you understand? Im not that totally out of it. But there is someone that's gonna help me get out of the group. He lives here in Greenfields. (page 38)*

*Once you've signed your name with blood in a book you can't come completely out. (page 38)*

*I know some of the people die yes. That's the only way. But then you already sold your soul. (page 38)*

*I did but I don't think, now I don't believe it anymore. I still have my soul. Not just that also my children's life is also ineffect [inaudible] (page 38)*

Slayer claims that she converted to a Satanist cultural group, where she found love. In her discourse she emphasises that this is where she ‘actually found love’. This implicitly indicated that she had been seeking love, affection and attention, and more so, a sense of belonging, which she had not experienced before. It became apparent that she then found a sense of identity and belonging to a group iterated by her words: “*I was a Satanist also*”.

### **Peer Influence: Delinquent behaviour**

The bulk of ecological systems theory research has focused on the microsystem and found that the microsystemic influences were the strongest predictors. However, in an individual’s life the proximal process in relation to peers and family are the strongest. Numerous research studies found that peer involvement and support had a huge impact on an individual’s development (Paquette & Ryan, 2001). Based on the current research findings, peer influences emerged as the single salient, influential risk factors that lead Slayer to delinquent behaviour and substance use.

*Okay. On high school we were five, we came together, five girls. We were called the BBT’s.*  
(page 6)

*And for then [inaudible recording] called us bal byters. I don’t know one of my friends called us that I don’t know why. But we were five best friends on high school from standard six. Joh all the nonsense we caught on. We were everyday in the principal’s office everyone was afraid of us, especially me. Because I was a Satanist also. (page 6)*

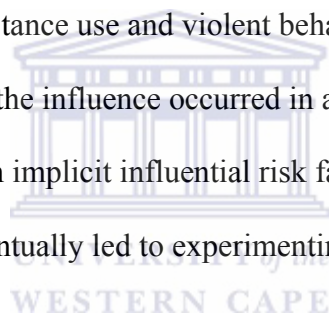
*We were five best friends. We went out together. Okay we smoked together smoked dagga together we went to clubs together we went to..... Everywhere we went we were the five of us and anything would happen to my friends like their boyfriends would use to hit them. I am the*

*one that always use to hit the guys cause I didn't like it. To do it to my friends I couldn't handle it I couldn't take it, stuff like that. But we were five best friends until we all separated.*

(page 34)

*We all decide together, not it was me, Macky and Danielle. But me and Danielle was actually... More into the dagga than the other three girls [giggle] (page 34)*

As discussed in the previous theme, the parents modelling of behaviour is learned by their children. According to Bronfenbrenner (1994) the family and peers have the strongest influence on an individual. In the above quotes, Slayer talked about her peers and their delinquent activities, such as substance use and violent behaviour. Although she did not make direct reference to peer pressure, the influence occurred in a salient manner. The exposure of substance use by her peers was an implicit influential risk factor, which consequently led to curiosity and exploration and eventually led to experimenting with drugs such as marijuana.



The research findings of Russell, *et al.* (2008), confirmed that associating with peers who use or provide illicit drugs was considered a leading influential factor with illicit drug use.

According to Embry, Hankins, Biglan and Boles (2009) associating with peers with deviant behaviour was found to be an imperative risk factor, although not as influential as engaging in such behaviours.

## **Theme 5: The cycle of abuse**

### **(a) Rape**

*...and I fell pregnant with my first son It was also through a kamma-like he said he was my boyfriend he and his friends overdosed me can't remember the anything but he said nothing*

*happened but my friend said one of his friends know but they had a group sex thing with me.*

*(page 26)*

*Look at January this year when I got raped also. (page 11)*

*That is where I stay, and not that also I see the rapist every single day. I go to a shop he is there, if I go, I walk just maybe around the block, he is there, I always see him. He is there [silence]. (page 12)*

*It was a whole planned thing; I was on my way to the garage, to go buy me cigarettes. Me and my friends. So they ask me for cigarette. So I told them when I come back from the garage I will give them the cigarette when I come back so He told me Nicole and Simoné is sitting there this other two girls who sat there, that was (page 12) 12, I won't 12 'o' clock he left. But then I left my scarf and my cap there, so I went to go fetch it the following day. So his friend came to call me. Ja, Sam het gesê jy moet jou goed kom haal netnou gaan Bernie weer skel. Toe sê ek okay ek wil nou nie moeilikheid he nie. I don't want to cause any trouble I'd rather go fetch it. Sam opened the door, I was in the middle and his friend was at the back and when he opened the door he pushed me in and when they locked the door. I know this is now something to kill me rape and kill me or just rape me. But I know something was going to happen. (page 13) Joh... I lost everything. My pride, dignity, my strength, my humanness. Everything, he took away, Joh.. [silence: crying] (page 13) It happened on a Sunday. I begged him to let, me go and all that. I didn't sleep, that night I was awake whole morning. He was laying in front under the blanket and I was on top of the blanket in the corner and I was crying, I knew something was going to happen. I prayed to Allah to protect me then I don't know what happened here was 6 o'clock, to six. I just closed my eyes for 5 minutes, when I opened it the knife was here by my throat. My hands were tight (strapped) and then he started getting busy and for a fine cheek he still told me ja that he loves me. How can you say you*

*love someone... joh... I couldn't even walk properly... [silence] (page 13) He told me that I can't I mustn't shout mustn't cry and if I cry he will cut my throat, I was just laying there crying inside. I just said he must get done so I can just get up and get out. Then he went to the toilet so I was looking for the key, I lit my last cigarette and looked under the bed the key was in the middle of the bed and the handle of the door this was also there in the middle. I took it out, I struggled a little bit, eventually I came and I unlocked the door and I left and I banged the door closed and I saw nobody in the road. When I saw my two friends I start to burst out and I fainted. And when I came back they asked me what happened and I told them what happened. (page 14)*

According to the narrative of Slayer, she was a victim of premeditated rape on numerous occasions. As a result of past abuse, she became sexually promiscuous at a very early age. Her promiscuity and low self-esteem created an opportunity for continued sexual abuse. As previously mentioned, when children have been prematurely introduced to sex, it reduces their self-esteem and, according to Alexander (1992), provides a path-way for further abuse. Hattery (2009) asserted that research findings indicated that women who were sexually harassed or raped during childhood were found to be twice as likely to be raped later in adulthood.

Kinnear (2007, p. 362), stated that the impact of childhood sexual abuse could result in adult promiscuity and was labelled as a “repertoire of sexually stylised behaviour...”. This implied that the victims of child sexual abuse often use sex as a means to gain attention and affection. In the next section further sexual abuse in Slayer’s life will be discussed.



**(b) Sexual Abuse**

*16, 17, 18, 19, When I were part of gansterism. They use to hit me a lot. Sexual abuse me a lot. Ja. They use to verbal abuse me. Sê me out in front of their friends. Stuff like that ja was also about the abuse. Tell me they love me they will always be there for me they'll protect me, but it was just the opposite. (page 16)*

*Sexual abuse also through the gangsters... (page 25)*

*... you asked me a question about what I really wanted to talk about ne? I just wanted to know, is, how can people say and tell you that they love you and that they'll always be there for you be there through thick and thin, in the bad times and good times but then they are not there no matter what you can come to then they will always be there for you but then they are really not. (page 22)*

*Like my granny and my husband not actually my granny my father. My father because like I told you I cut him I cut him out of my life did I tell you that one? When I stayed there for a week and I regret it cause this is what he told me he loves me as his daughter and that he will always be there for me as his daughter before this he told me that if I need anything I can just phone him that he will always help me through this no matter what I need I can always ask him. But that specific Friday he asked me this, a few questions. Like he told me that he loves me as his daughter that he will have sex with me and that he will lick my private parts and that I will come back for more even though I have children I know what a penis means stuff like that I know what a penis is. I got raped and what does it make it for you, I can't sleep with him. He is blood stuff like that and its how can that is why I say how can you say that you... (page 22) ... love this person but then you ask such nonsense and my father's fifty-two year old. (page 23)*

*Also my stepfather also me and my husband stayed at their place for the time being. But he disliked my husband. He didn't like my husband didn't want my husband to come He said there is place for me and my two kids but not my husband. But then my aunties my mothers sisters-them said when she called dat hy myself wil beet kry and he tried it once and I kicked him in his balls. So and he also said no I'll be there for you and I'll love you as my own daughter and stuff like that. But see now, what they are trying to do.[silence] (page 23)*

As discussed in the above extract, sexual abuses during childhood as well as long-term impacts, are now observable in the later stage of Slayer's life. Firstly, she was sexually and verbally harassed on numerous occasions by intimate partners as well as by a family member. Research found that the long-term effects of sexual abuse during childhood were invariably harmful to the child when they reach adulthood (Sanderson, 2006). Children, who were neglected, experienced loneliness and were emotionally deprived, eventually led to them seeking attention even if it was sexual in nature. Sanderson (2006) further claimed that these children have, what is termed, oversexualisation. The meaning they have attached to their experience played an important role in future relationships or sexual encounters. The victims were unable to separate or distinguish between affection and sex. This was due to the childhood sexual survivors' confusion of parental love and sexuality during their childhood. They thus had a compulsive need for sex, love and approval which may have been conditioned during their childhood sexual experience and during adulthood. Furthermore, the childhood sexual abuse survivors became involved in brief, unsatisfying, abusive and destructive relationships.

**(c) Verbal and physical abuse**

*If it was like that then they use to... Okay it first started verbal, they would call me a slut ja. I'm like this, I sleep with that one, I sleep with this one and if I try to defend myself I would get a smack or a vyshou in my face or then I get threatened. Then would get pushed down to the floor and then they get their way. Or they'll hit me it me unconscious and do what they want to do or they use to drug me, stuff like that. (page 16) ... but then I say it's probably for my own good I always use to blame myself for it [giggle]. (page 16)*

*I guess the boys use to the their plains, fall in love with one guy and then they take you for a joke, they just use you and then throw you away, like a piece of crap. How can I say now; in the bubble gum you get flavour when it's out of the bubblegum. They throw you out or they shit you out. Just so. (page 2)*

*Play with your feelings, tell you that they love you always be there for you. It's all that bunch of crap at the end of the day. (page 2)*

*He is not like my other ex-boyfriends that use to hit me or mistreated me. (page 9)*

*Okay then he started hitting me like I said like my ex boyfriends start abuse hitting me I couldn't talk to this guy jealousy all that but then ek het ook my dinge ...(page 26)*

In the same narrative plot, she claimed to have been in numerous abusive relationships.

Hattery (2009) found that women who were abused as children tend to end up with violent intimate partners, particularly women who come from lower-income backgrounds. In her narrative she described that her partners physically and sexually abuse her. Subsequent to these abusive events, she'd blame herself. Research found that women who endured sexual abuse during childhood were more prone to end up in abusive relationships. Just as was the case with Slayer, they endured the abuse and ended up blaming themselves for the abuse.

This could be understood in terms of the attachment theory. According to Alexander (1992) the attachment theory asserts that women, who were abused as children, idealised their partner and had a negative self perception.

## **THE END**

The narrative of the life history of Slayer was an exemplar of the interaction of the numerous facts that influence an individual to use drugs such as crystal methamphetamine. The narrative primarily held a plot of an escape from previous life experiences. There was a mass of personal demons from which the victim attempted to escape. Her demons were those of the abuse, violence, neglect, gangsterism and eventually, rape. She described her escape as the 'calming feeling' when she gets to use the crystal methamphetamine. Her onset of crystal methamphetamine originated from the interaction of all the factors in all the systems of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. As described, the microsystem was influenced by factors such as parental modelling, peer influence, and the lack of a family structure. The mesosystemic influences included the relocation of school and homes, past abuse, the abandonment at birth and a lack of positive value systems. The exosystemic influences included the norms and culture of violence, gangsterism and drug use. The macrosystemic influence was an important influence, such as the long term effects of apartheid.

### **Theme 6: Understanding crystal methamphetamine use**

#### **(a) Onset of drug (tik) use**

*We were five best friends. We went out together. Okay we smoked together smoked dagga together we went to clubs together we went to... (page 34)*

*me I couldn't talk to this guy jealousy all that but then ek het ook my dinge gedoen hy het my geleer om dagga te rook om groen [inaudible recording] te rook en skool gebank en... (page 26)*

*I smoked dagga, ek het genoeg ge-drug ne, Ecstasy. I popped E's Uhm ja just that. (page 45)*

*Before I met my husband, I met my ex boyfriend he is the one that introduced me to the tik thats when I started using 'tik'. That's when I threw my life away for four years [silence].*

*Joh... That's a lot hey... (page 11)*

*Tik. If I am lus for now, I'll smoke a slowboat with one of my friends but when lus for tik.*

*(page 18)*

*That time I use to work at Spur, I use to work late hours, then he would come fetch me and I would throw petrol in, I would buy me a beer and I would give him money to buy them tik.*

*Then I have to tell them moenie don't blow the smoke here by me, you will get me addicted.*

*Nah it will never happen and all that and just one Saturday they bought yellow tail and I told him come let me try. I was still uitgevreet ook nog cause I took the thing and did it myself.*

*Yoh that experience it made me totally high cause then I got hot-flushes, then I got cold, then*

*I got hot, then I got cold again then I got hot again stuff like that. That's how I started with yellow tail. (page 39)*

*I'm not as heavy into drugs as the first 3 years when I've started, I was addicted. I use to do it, I worked at Spur ne. It was my last job, I was a waitress. Tips they would give me goes in my pocket and the other would go on the computer than at the end of the day then they keep record for my granny to see how many tips I made on a little paper. But they don't know how*

*many tips I've kept behind. Sometime R300 to R340 and ill smoke every night. I had to smoke every single day. But now I'm not like that anymore. I do it now and then. (page 19)*

The onset of drug use in Slayer's case can be accounted for by the numerous negative events and influences that emerged throughout her narrative. Although her substance abuse behaviour commenced during the time that she spent with her friends at high school, her actual crystal methamphetamine use could be said to have been triggered by other factors as well. Firstly, the ubiquity of the drug use and the overt pressure by her peers were influential factors for crystal methamphetamine use. She started using other substances such as alcohol and cigarettes which created a pathway for illicit drugs. She further claimed that she used other illicit drugs such as ecstasy and marijuana but that she wasn't addicted to it. She claimed that her addiction started with her use of crystal methamphetamine.

According to the gateway theory as formulated and researched by Kendall, the onset of illicit drug use often occur through a particular pathway, namely from "soft to hard drugs" (Kane & Yacoubian, 1999). In other words the theory states that the progression of illicit drug use such as crystal methamphetamine is sequential. It is an escalation in potency from licit drug use such as cigarette smoking or alcohol consumption and subsequently illicit drugs such as marijuana. The final step in the pathway is when the individual progresses to highly addictive central nervous system stimulants such as crystal methamphetamine (Ginzler, Cochran, Domenech-Rodríguez, Cauce & Whitbeck, 2003). Slayer described that she started using alcohol during high school with her peers. She then started experimenting with marijuana and other illicit drugs, including ecstasy. She was eventually introduced to crystal methamphetamine where she proclaimed to have become addicted.

**(b) Excitation and stimulation**

*Tik? It relax me a little, it makes me very hyperactive but when I'm see now like this né when I'm crying and all that I will go smoke a pipe all that. It's actually for me to calm myself down. I know that is not the right way to do it but that's what makes me very hyperactive then I can't sleep. Like I told them inside earlier in the session the last time I that I slept or was it now last month or was it, I was up for the whole week actually awake. I couldn't sleep ate nothing for this whole week from to Sunday to the Sunday I was awake. (page 18)*

*Is skoon werk clean work. There is a difference also you can taste it also there is a difference in taste as well. That is where I started off with yellow tail and Joh that Saturday I will never forget [giggle]because it made me hard and it made me a totally different person it made me like then I got hot flushes, feelings and flushes that I never got before with my exes [giggle] I got it with him with was totally different and that from there then I use to come from work then me and him go up we go to my friends house in Gaylee before I go home I would smoke a few pipes three bags and that's where I met my husband cause he was also a 'tikker'. (page 27)*

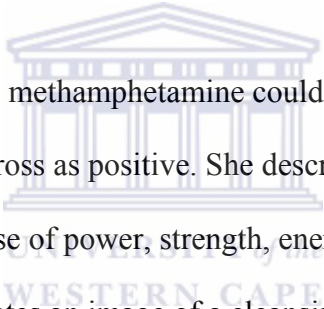
*I like the feeling [giggle] and I got addicted to it that time. It felt like it made me feel lekker. But once the stuff is out of your system then you feel very, lekker there is a whole in your stomach. You just want to eat, you feel moody, you feel helpless. It makes you hyperactive and than all the hyperactive is not there anymore. You did things you clean the house from top to bottom and stuff like that. And now that it is out of your system you feel helpless dan wil jy niks meer doen nie. You just want to lay and sleep. That's why I would go back for more just to get that rhythm that hyperactive rhythm back again that's why. (page 40)*

*Anxious, there is not actually reasons but thats why I just had a feeling before I go use.*

*Excited I can say actually I couldn't wait, lets maar say rather that I couldn't wait. I couldn't wait to get at home just to do it. (page 40)*

*For the fun of it because like I said my eldest son's father he use to come pick me up every night when I use to work late at Spur. Then I'll buy me a beer and I'll buy him a bag for him and his friends and they'll blow the smoke in my face [inaudible] and just one Saturday I decided okay, too see what the fun was all about, let me try it. (page 45)*

*Some things that I went through. Family problems, friends, the whole crowd. Peer pressure, depression, alone, lonely. Ja, stuff like that. Family problems [silence] (page 45)*



The plot in her narrative of crystal methamphetamine could be classified as pessimistic. Her narrative about the drug comes across as positive. She describes the drug in a favourable sphere, whereby it gives her a sense of power, strength, energy, and an escape from reality. The 'clean works' description creates an image of a cleansing feeling that the drug creates when you use it. The narrative creates an image of the escape from her demons (personal problems). She builds a relationship with the drug, but has a sexual meaning attached and based her continued use on this symbolism of sex and sexuality. This was found to be the most dominating theme in her life.

As postulated by many, when a child experiences any sexual interaction with an adult, the child then becomes exposed to premature sexualisation which has destructive long-term effects. In the first place, Slayer lost her privacy, independence, the rights as well as the control of her body. She was exposed to something that had no meaning to her. She therefore assigned a subconscious meaning to this sexual act. As iterated earlier as a child she



internalised this outer experience as they relate to her-‘self’. The information that has been internalised, influenced the child’s behaviour and had a cardinal impact in her life regarding all her decisions. The first event was initially traumatic and abusive. She then associated affection and nurturance, with sexual acts, especially since it was the only time she would spend with her mother/maternal figure. She then became more promiscuous and subconsciously lured men to abuse her. Later, she sexualised all her needs subconsciously. Her crystal methamphetamine use intensified a sexual feeling she never had before during sex.

Past research have indicated that individuals use crystal methamphetamine for the effects it produces, such as the pleasurable highs, hyper activeness, and feelings of satisfaction and to induce weight loss. It is documented that crystal methamphetamine’s physiological effects include the sense of increased alertness, increased energy, euphoria and amongst others suppressed appetite which results in weight loss (McGuinness & Pollack, 2008; Homer, *et al.*, 2008). The ‘beneficial’ properties that crystal methamphetamine produced, functioned as a risk factor for crystal methamphetamine initiation and its continuous use. This result was compatible to the research results of the qualitative study conducted by Sherman and colleagues (2008; Sattah, *et al.*, 2002). The study based on the perceptions of risk factors for crystal methamphetamine, found that crystal methamphetamine initiations serves several purposes such as increasing productivity, weight loss and desired surge in energy.

Furthermore, a study conducted based on perceptions of crystal methamphetamine by Bubar, Winokur and Bartlemay (2007) also include weight loss, the extended euphoric high and the increased energy were leading factor for crystal methamphetamine use.

**(c) Theory of escapism**

*I met my ex boyfriend he is the one that introduced me to the tik thats when I started using 'tik'. That's when I threw my life away for four years [silence]. (page 11)*

*Only when I feel, the way I'm feeling now then I'll do it. But I know it's not the way to go man. Seeing that I lost my husband my kids is not with me I'm sleeping in my auntie's backyard due to drugs. I know this is not the way out. I will be off it I know I will. (page 19)*

*Ja, here in Gaylee and I cursed every single person in Gaylee and before that for three years I was heavy on tik. Then I left the smoking then I started the smoking again. Cause I couldn't I can't take it anymore. Then, I never, my granny was always the one that was there for me. This wasn't my life. Living like this skarreling for food stuff like that. But eventually I said Huh-uh, I give up hope already, because I can't do it anymore. After all that I am keeping everything inside and it started eating me up. Day-by day, I am just afraid I might lose it and just do something. I might do something I'm going to regret doing. (page 11)*

*Depression, alonesome, friends that I had. All my problems that I had that I kept inside was eating me up and I needed something to calm me down. That is why I did it. (page 45)*

*A bad day, stressful, fragile depression. How can I say now, it all works up inside of me and it starts eating me, and I'm just afraid that I might do something stupid; break in or steal and lie again, and I'll go for that it would just relax me now. Because all of that is now going through my mind it is actually that for the rush time a hyper time. Then I would go use it and for exactly why I would go use. I'd be in my own world. Then I won't think about why I might. Before I use it, I want to kill myself. All that depression is coming up now I go look for it now. After that, I am back where I want to be, my world. It actually calms me a little down, relieves a little pain. Not all the pain but five percent of the pain of all there is and I'm back to myself again. (page 46)*

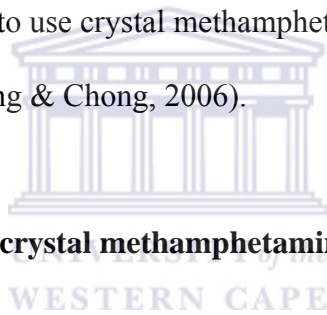
In her relationship with crystal methamphetamine she previously described the 'benefits' it had in a favourable light. The plot projects as a romantic genre, where she had a love hate relationship with the drug, although, her discourse later implies that there were more destructive effects of the drug. In her narrative, she creates a plot of her drug use as negative and later projects the malevolence of her drug addiction. After she started to use crystal methamphetamine, she created an imagery of 'love' for the drug which however led to devastating consequences. She described her stages of being in love in which case she would do anything to have the drug. She said in the above quotes that she would lie and steal just to have the same feeling, the orgasm it created when she first used the drug. However, she claimed that using crystal methamphetamine results in long term consequences.

As an adult, she was further sexually violated and raped and used crystal methamphetamine as her escape of the sexual meaning attached to everything in her life. It shifted from a 'pleasurable sexual experience' to the daily coping of her past and continuous sexual violation. Her relationship with the drug has now progressed to destructive stages of her life.

Psychological risk factors and psychological well-being focus on self-concept. In other words, those with poor self-esteem or self-derogation could influence an individual to use substances to 'increase' their self-esteem. Substance abuse was commonly used after any form of emotional distress, including depression or other personal problems causing distress (Clayton, 1992). The psychological well-being and daily functioning of the users was a collective theme that could also be understood with reference to the motivational properties that crystal methamphetamine present. This research finding was based on the individual level of the ecological systems theory (Visser & Routledge, 2007). However, throughout her

narrative, it can be presumed those factors within all the systems permeate the individual and the other five other layers.

The reasons Slayer provides for using crystal methamphetamine is consistent with Sherman, *et al.* (2008) who found that using crystal methamphetamine assisted with the coping of emotional stressors. These stressors included unhappy family relationships, work-related stressors etc. Crystal methamphetamine therefore served as a coping mechanism in response to the individual's daily stressors, emotional voids and interpersonal conflicts located within all the ecological systems. Those with high psychological distresses, including depression, were more likely than their peers to use crystal methamphetamine (Herman-Stahl, Krebs, Kroutin & Heller, 2007; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006).



### **Theme 7: The Consequences of crystal methamphetamine use**

#### **Skarrelkind**

*Nothing. Skarrelhond. Skarrelkind like they say. (page 2)*

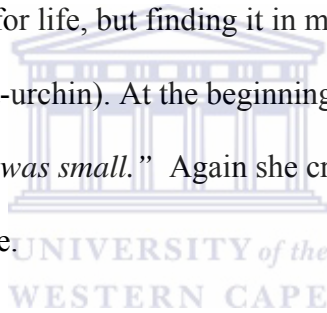
*At the moment I'm sleeping in my Auntie's backyard, ja. Not a really nice thing to say but... (page 3)*

*This wasn't my life. Living like this skarreling for food stuff like that. But eventually I said Huh-uh, I give up hope already, because I can't do it anymore. (page 11)*

*...I slept at parks, garages even's the bush. I must skarrel for food and I can't blame anyone but myself for this. The "Drug Addiction" that I had took control of my life and at first I denied it but now I can admit it. I'm nine months on the streets, sleeping in my Aunty's yard*

*and all of this I'm not use to it. And I'm going through this every-day and I'm scared, alone because I don't know what is laying for me ahead. (page 50)*

The drug addiction had calamitous consequences for Slayer. She is now homeless and addicted to a highly addictive drug. She has lost everything of importantant, including her husband, her children, friends, family and her job. She begs for food to sustain her body and sleeps outside her aunt's house. In her narrative, she identifies herself as a 'skarrelhond' (stray dog), wandering around, lost and with no sense of belonging. She compared herself to a wild dog, endangered and ashamed. On the other hand she paints this canvas of a helpless child, begging for life, searching for life, but finding it in more destructive means - when she called herself a skarrelkind (street-urchin). At the beginning of her narrative, she claimed "that it all lead back to when she was small." Again she creates an imagery of herself being helpless, fragile and hungry to live.



### **The continuing cycle of the neglect and abuse**

*But then there are also my children. Because I grew up without a mother and now my children will go will go through exactly the ... (page 11) same thing and I don't want that.*

*[silence] It's my fault. (page 12)*

*So all my hopes, dreams and promises I made came to an end. I had to take my eldest son to Parkwood, my baby stayed with his father until now. So this year until now is bad luck nothing came out of it. I lost my family. (page 50)*

*So I can prove to my family I can do it, especially my two boys. Because I know what it feels like to grow up without a mother and I don't want that to happen to them. I made them promises and I want to fulfil them... (page 51)*

*Ek het hulle gespoil. I spoiled my kids rotten. My kids knew I did the drug cause they always use... Okay I know it was wrong of me to take them I always use to walk with them to the merchant. But I tell them I'm going to mommy's friend. My eldest son (page 15) knew about it, if I go smoke he would go fetch the thing for me out where his daddy used to hide it. My husband now. Then he brings it. But he knows and he doesn't talk out but my kids always come first. I would first get them stuff and then afterwards if I still have money left, then I would buy the drug. My kids was my everything. I didn't wanted ... Like the life what I went through I didn't want them to go through it. The same to happen to them. But it looks like the same to happen to them. But it looks like the cycle is repeating itself. (page 16)*

The cycle of abuse originated with her mother and father. They relinquished their parental rights to her grandmother due to several reasons. She proclaimed throughout her life that she would not allow the cycle of abuse and neglect, yet due to her crystal methamphetamine use she perpetuated the cycle of abuse. The imagery she creates is that of a hollow, lonely and dark scene caused by the consequences of the drug. She emphasised that she is at the same place where she came from, referring to the young vulnerable girl who was violated and neglected.

### **4.3 Summary of findings**

Crystal methamphetamine abuse has become a global problem and has seen a significant increase amongst the young people in the Cape Flats area (Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2009). In order to comprehend a complete understanding of why this epidemic had a sudden spurt in the coloured youth on the Cape Flats, the current research adopted the case study method. The aim was to produce in-depth data that would provide a holistic understanding of

the phenomena. Thus, the theoretical framework that was applied provided the optimum structure and clarity to the findings. The ecological systems theory developed by Bronfenbrenner was applied looking at the possible influential factors at all levels viz. from the individual up to the chronosystem. Thus the several critical cultural and contextual factors that affect crystal methamphetamine use could then be studied within its entirety.

A factor that is often repudiated is the historical context of South Africa that had perennial effects on the psyche of the marginalised and oppressed. The apartheid regime annihilated the pre-colonial models of family life, and institutionalised a culture of high levels of alcohol consumption which eventually became a norm (Weschberg, Parry & Dewkes, 2010). These effects led to an increase in high-risk patterns of behaviour that are now prevailing in the Cape Flats. This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the effects that the apartheid regime had on the people in South Africa and more specifically on the coloured people from the Cape Flats.

The study focused on a case selection of a crystal methamphetamine user, employing the narrative inquiry and analysis to obtain optimal results of her life history and to understand the influential factors. The critical aspect in this study is to understand the phenomena within its context viz. the historical influence of the Cape Flats and all the other contextual factors. The research study ascertained seven themes that had an impact, with rippling and nuanced effect.

Slayer was prematurely born and as a consequence had a number of illnesses as a baby such as meningitis. Her mother was unable to cope with the severity of her illnesses and informally

handed care to Slayer's grandmother. Her parents were relatively uninvolved and she was raised by her grandmother as well as other family friends and relatives. Later in her childhood, Slayer's mother showed an interest in her and collected her on weekends to spend time with her. During this period, she was sexually harassed by her first perpetrator, her mother's boyfriend, and later by other family friends.

After grade three, she moved to Bonteheuwel and was raised by her great aunt. While she was living in Bonteheuwel she was exposed to the norms of gangsterism, violence, crime and substance use. However, due her past experiences such as child abandonment, lack of family stability and the sexual abuse, Slayer had a weakened sense of self and was continuously searching for a sense of belonging and identity. She then joined gangs and a Satanist religious group where she claimed she actually found love .i.e. some sense of belonging. As a consequence of her childhood sexual abuse and identity search she became delinquent, dropped out of high school and was sexually promiscuous. During adolescence, she started using legal substances such as alcohol, then eventually illicit drugs such as marijuana which created a pathway for central nervous system drugs such as crystal methamphetamine. However, due to a number of reasons including peer pressure, exposure and easy accessibility, Slayer eventually started using crystal methamphetamine.

The case study of Slayer provided a holistic understanding of the influential risk factors of crystal methamphetamine. The research findings indicated that influence of crystal methamphetamine use is not due to a single factor but the interaction of a multitude of factors. This is analogous to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, where he concludes that development and human existence is influenced by numerous factors within the ecological



systems. The following overarching themes in relation to life stages and important events were identified as: (1) Childhood hardships; (2) Sexual abuse during childhood; (3) Adolescent stage; (4) The cycle of abuse; (5) Understanding crystal methamphetamine use; (6) The Consequence of crystal methamphetamine use.

Embedded in each of these themes are numerous influential factors of crystal methamphetamine use that are located and function within the ecological systems. Of the factors that emerged within each domain, one of the most important factors was the family domain factors located at the micro-level of the ecological system. The dysfunctional family or the lack of family structure emerged as an essential theme. This included her mother's ceding of her maternal responsibilities, which had a direct and indirect impact on her development. Furthermore, her parents were uninvolved, there was a lack of supportive relationships, further family stressors as well as her several other custodial parents. However, the parental modelling behaviours emerged, such as alcohol and illicit drug use, violent and criminal behaviours. Slayer later adopted the behaviours modeled by her parents.

The proximal processes with peers as well as family had direct influences of the choice to use crystal methamphetamine (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In the research findings peer pressure emerged as on the predominant theme. Additional factors that emerged within the micro-level of the ecological systems theory is the influence of her peers in the direct environment. This included direct persuasion of drug use, peer exposure of drugs, experimentation, delinquent behaviour, gang-related involvement and peer group acceptance.

The mesosystem provides the connection between the structures of the microsystem and the person. Thus the perception and experience of the participant provides auxiliary evidence for the mesosystem's theory as it functioned as indirect influences. This included lack of emotional support or attachments, lack of social support, lack of structure and the disequilibrium and relocating to numerous schools and homes.

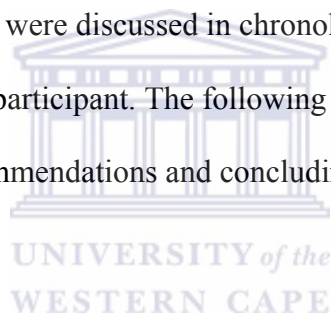
The outer most layers of the ecological system include the exosystem and macrosystem which is the processes and linkages that take place which indirectly influence the individual as well as the broader social conditions (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In this study the exosystemic influences that emerged were the availability and the accessibility of drugs in all of the communities in which she resided. However findings in the macrosystem included the deliberate social environment of the individual, including the social norms of the community as well as the home setting. Further factors included the history of South Africa, the culture and norm of violence, crime and gangsterism. The norms and culture were the cardinal influences of not only the drug use but fuelled many of the other negative influential factors on the other levels of the ecosystem.

According to the research findings the crystal methamphetamine was easily accessible and the availability influenced the choices of the individuals. As aforementioned there were numerous factors that influenced the drug use from all the different levels. However the individual influential factors that stimulated the choice for crystal methamphetamine. A multitude of individual factors emerged as a result of the historical events located in all the ecological systems. The participant identified psychological well-being, depression and negative affectivity (feelings of hopelessness, suicidal ideations, loneliness etc.). Based on

the gateway theoretical understanding her initiation of illicit drug use stemmed from her past abuse of licit drugs. The stage of adolescence emerged as it is a phase in the individual's life that is filled with delinquent behaviours, which fuel illicit drug use. Moreover, the past accounts of sexual abuse had adverse effects on the participant as well as on her future behaviour. In her discourse, this was the most important reason why she used crystal methamphetamine, which is to escape her painful reality.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

This chapter provided an in-depth discussion of the research findings that emerged throughout the study. The themes were discussed in chronological order to illustrate the events and how it influenced the participant. The following chapter will include a basic overview of the limitations, recommendations and concluding comments of the study.



## Chapter 5: Conclusion

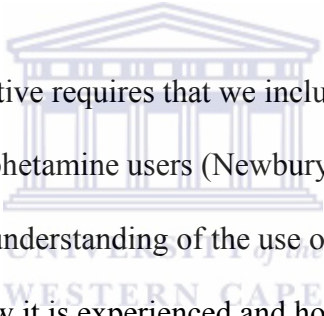
### 5.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this study will provide an overall summary of the findings, the limitations as well as future recommendations. This will be followed by a discussion on some personal experiences as well as views of the researcher in relation to this particular qualitative study.

The Medical Research Council's research findings illustrated that crystal methamphetamine has become the most popular drug of choice amongst 'coloured' youth in the Cape Flats (Plüddemann, Myers & Parry, 2009). Local research on crystal methamphetamine endeavoured to understand the cohorts, influences and adverse impact of the epidemic on the population most affected (Plüddemann, *et al.*, 2008; Simbayi, *et al.*, 2006). There are however, numerous local and international studies that focused on substance abuse and the influential factors in isolation, thus neglecting some critical contextual factors (Degenhardt, *et al.*, 2010). The interest in the crystal methamphetamine epidemic and the influential factors was in relation to its sudden spurt, particularly in one specific high risk group in South Africa. The aim of the study was not only to identify the contiguous factors, but to understand the epidemic in a broader contextual and historical context of a crystal methamphetamine user.

Thus, to augment the current understanding of the epidemic, this study embarked on a research embedded in a philosophical validation that would provide a holistic understanding. A social constructionist perspective was recognised as an ideal approach to embark on such

an exploration. Based on the social constructionist assumption “There is no simple means of separating method from ideology... If inquiry is inevitably ideological, the major challenge is to pursue the research that most deeply express one’s political and valuational investments.” (Gergen & Gergen, 2000, p.1036). Thus in selecting a social constructionist perspective, the decision was based on several considerations including, the aim of the study which is to produce a holistic understanding and convey meaning and reality of the individuals who use crystal methamphetamine. These valuational positions signify the importance of several critical aspects, including the historical, social and developmental contexts within the construction of the reality and meaning of the participant.



The social constructionist perspective requires that we include, but not limit it to the life experience of the crystal methamphetamine users (Newbury & Hoskins, 2008). Thus, it allows for a more contextualised understanding of the use of crystal methamphetamine, how it manifests itself in the youth, how it is experienced and how it should be responded to. Furthermore, the study should subsume the sociohistorical context as well as socio-political change as viable casual factors of the crystal methamphetamine epidemic (Newbury & Hoskins, 2008). Therefore, the South African history of the apartheid regime and its grave psychological and sociological impacts it had were considered. With the aforementioned enmeshed with the analysis, the study was not able to separate the crystal methamphetamine users from their contextual nature and social reality.

Due to the intrinsic nature of contextually and socially rich findings, the methodology became a key element to the entire study. Based on its philosophical vinculum to social constructionism and an exhaustive literature search, the narrative inquiry and analysis seemed

to be appropriate. This method permits an understanding within the discourse of the individual's lived reality and meaning which emerges through the social process of the narrative inquiry. Thus, logically, the narrative analysis made allowances for the ligation of the historical events, emerging themes, meaning assigned to crystal methamphetamine, the contextual factors as well as the reality. The findings included several central themes including childhood hardships, sexual abuse during childhood, adolescent stage, the cycle of abuse, understanding crystal methamphetamine use and the consequence of crystal methamphetamine use.

The findings were illustrated and conducted within Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological systems theory which postulates that human development is influenced and dependent on the five ecological systems. These systems interact and influence one another and different integrated levels infiltrate the individual's existence (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). On the individual level, the current study found that the psychological well-being of an individual acted as a risk factor for crystal methamphetamine use. Psychological well-being, as defined by Visser and Routledge (2007), is an adequate condition measured by the individuals' mental health, happiness and prosperity. Psychological risk factors and psychological well-being includes the individual's self-concept. This however includes individuals with poor self-esteem or self-derogation, which could consequently lead them to use substances to increase their self-esteem. In addition, substances are commonly used after any form of emotional distress, including depression or other personal problems causing distress Clayton (1992). This is analogous to the theory of escapism.

Furthermore, the period of adolescence emerged as an important risk factor for substance use in general. This stage was extensively discussed in the findings, and focused on the need to belonging, delinquent behaviour and a sense of being liberated from their parental figures. In addition, risk taking behaviour is part of the developmental period of adolescence ultimately contributing to independence and maturity. It is during this period that risk-taking behaviour is linked to macro level social factors which include access and exposure to substances, peer pressure, poor educational opportunities and economic status (Greydanus & Patel, 2005; Visser, 2003).

Furthermore, influential factors that emerged within the microsystems, were the influences of the family domain as well as the peer systems. The majority of ecological systems theory research has focused on the microsystem and found that these influences were the strongest predictors. Similarly, this study confirmed that peer influence was a primary influential factor. The study found that direct persuasion and the exposure to crystal methamphetamine by her peers led to curiosity and experimentation. This was comparable to the research findings of Russell, *et al.* (2008) and Embry, Hankins, Biglan and Boles (2009), who confirmed that associating with peers who use or provide illicit drugs, or having extra interaction with such peers, was considered a leading influential factor of illicit drug use.

Further findings of the micro level, was the family domain factors. In the current study the overt and covert factors within the family factors of the participant, were the most prominent factors that influenced her choice to use crystal methamphetamine. The overarching theme of family dysfunction included maternal abandonment, uninvolved parents, parental modelling and socialisation of drug use. Studies confirmed that family influences contribute to an

increase in the risk of substance abuse through environmental exposure and availability of a substance, as well as exposure to marital discord and substance abuse, child neglect, acute and chronic family stress, disrupted family structure, impaired parenting, as well as social deprivation (Brook, *et al.*, 2000; Embry, Hankins, Biglan, & Boles, 2009; Silverman, Reinherz & Giaconia, 1996; Sutherland & Shepherd, 2001; Yen, Yang & Chong, 2006;).

This was followed by the mesosystem factors that emerged in the study. These included lack of emotional support or attachments, social support, structure and the childhood disequilibrium, as well as relocating to several homes and schools. These factors did not have direct effects on the participant but were long-term influential factors (Chalfie, 1994).

According to the study conducted by Chalfie (1994), when the social and emotional bonds were unavailable, the child displayed a lack of necessary confidence and his/her self-concept is in this manner compromised, which led to risky behaviour such as substance abuse.

However, further life events such as the participant's childhood sexual abuse played an essential part in her life and acted as an influential factor with long-term effects. This would be located in the exosystem since it does not have a direct effect. This resonates with literature (see Freeman, Collier & Parillo, 2002) that found a strong correlation between a history of child abuse and illicit drug use.

There were additional findings that emerged in the exosystem, these included the ubiquity and accessibility of the drug in the environment of the individual. Although the ubiquity could be located on all the levels since it is available at home and also in the broader



community. The drug use and gangster culture was implicitly socialised at all levels and affected the community at all levels.

The macrosystemic interaction of the influential factors on other different integrated levels infiltrates the individual's existence, as is visible in the social milieu. This included the deliberate social environment of the individual, as well as the social norms of the community and the home setting. However, the history of crystal methamphetamine on the Cape Flats should be viewed in relation to the culture and ubiquity of gangsterism, entrenched decades ago which was largely a result of apartheid. This was similar to the findings of Hill, Lui and Hawkins (2001) who found that gangsterism was related to crystal methamphetamine use.

Furthermore, the research study highlighted the important theme of the consequences of crystal methamphetamine as it located itself in the micro and meso-level of the ecological systems theory. These consequences were located in the economic, social, family and psychological domains. In conclusion, understanding of the crystal methamphetamine use specifically in the Cape Flats, should be understood in the historical context. As Bulhan (1985), based on Fanon's theory of oppression noted, that apartheid is oppression in its crudest form and used alcohol and substances as a means of oppression. It institutionalised a culture of violence and hatred that had calamitous and long term destructive consequences. Based on these findings the following recommendations will be succinctly discussed.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

As iterated throughout the text, there is a paucity of the literature based on understanding crystal methamphetamine in the Cape Flats. However, research needs to 'push the boundaries

and tap into a less familiar terrain' and attempt to understand hidden causal factors. For instance, in this study, the overarching themes were gangsterism, violence, child abuse and disrupted family life, which are all long-term consequences of apartheid. Furthermore, based on the literature search, a gap in South African literature on a psychological perspective of gangsterism and gangster life style was identified. Therefore, in this current study, it was established that this is one of the facilitating factors that mediated crystal methamphetamine use.

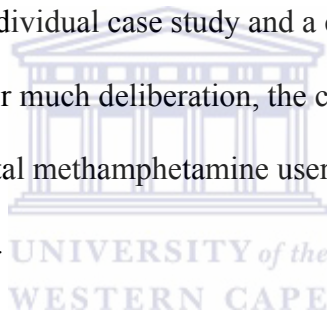
Thus, further qualitative research should be conducted in amalgamation with the quantitative surveillance of the epidemic. However, the research studies should, in addition, shift to understanding the interaction amongst factors, looking at mediating and moderating factors, in order to build a model that is more context-specific for effective interventions and prevention strategies (Myers & Parry, 2005).

However it is important to acknowledge that South Africa is in dire need of psychologists to help with quality interventions (Murray, 2002). According to Petersen (2000) and Pillay and Kriel (2006) South Africa is a multicultural society and intervention should adhere to culturally sensitive practices. Similar to the commonly held beliefs of many local psychologists, a more collectivist orientation, indigenous focus, with more rigorous scholarship would be able to improve the current status (Murray, 2002). There is a need for psychologists, but more specifically community psychologists, to intervene on the crystal methamphetamine epidemic on a broad scale.

### 5.3 Limitations

In this study in particular, methodological as well as logistic limitations came to the fore. The study was evidently a qualitative study, thus the controversy of subjectivity and time constraints transpired. Gaining access to the participant proved to be an intricate task, since the study was based on such a sensitive subject matter. Furthermore, the process of communication for further arrangements was complicated because the participant was homeless at the time.

Based on the methodological constraints, at commencement of the research, there was a personal confusion between an individual case study and a case study of the crystal methamphetamine epidemic. After much deliberation, the conclusion acted as a rationale for an individual case study of a crystal methamphetamine user, which allowed the exploration of her life history with greater depth.



Forethought emerged on how subjectivity will impact when social constructionist thought contests this notion. Since the research was based on a narrative, and analysis was based on subjective interpretation, the role of the researcher amended to that of listener- researcher, narrator and subject. Thus, the reflexivity was approached within the traditional constraints to avoid lack of validity. In addition, several data collection methods improved validation by triangulating the data that was obtained. However, with permission from the participant, the researcher observed an undocumented programme presented at the New Birth Rehabilitation Centre on their life story. Additional time was spent with the research participant in the community programme to create a sense of understanding and to build rapport, prior to the research interviews.

The methodological limitations include the data analysis and writing up of the findings which proved to be rather complex, since Crossley (2000; Polkinghorne, 1988) advises that in writing an individual's life history, the structure should be chronological. Thus extracting the themes was intricate, since it is multifaceted and was based in different stages of the participant's life. However, the study remained focused on proving the sought out information, presented as the "taken for granted knowledge" (Burr, 2003, p.2).

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This study aimed to understand the influential factors that led a youth female from the Cape Flats to use crystal methamphetamine. The study employed a narrative inquiry and method of analysis to produce a holistic understanding of this phenomenon. The factors that emerged were child sexual abuse, gangsterism, peer influence, past substance use, ubiquity of crystal methamphetamine and personal stressors. The aim of the study was to reveal the underlying factors as well as contribute to the dearth of qualitative research on this phenomenon. The chapter provided an overall summary of the research findings. Moreover, based on the current findings, recommendations were made for future research with regard to this phenomenon. Lastly, the chapter included the different limitations the current study was faced with.

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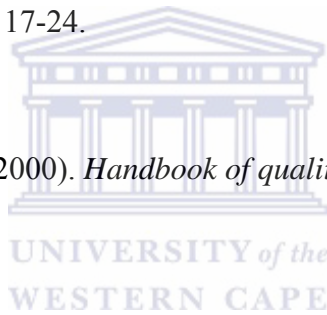
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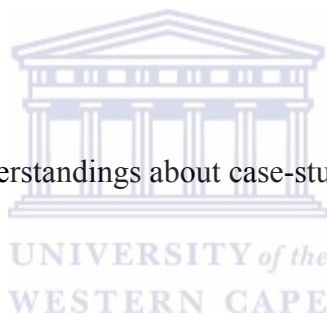
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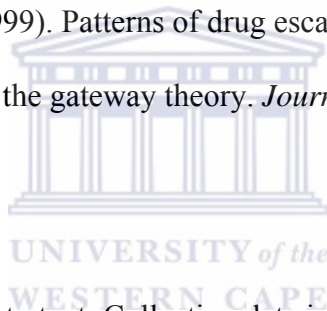
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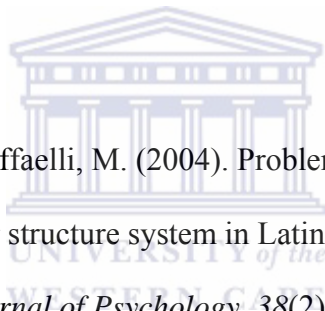
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## APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET



Department of Psychology  
 University of the Western Cape  
 Private Bag X 17  
 Bellville  
 7535  
 Tel: 27 21 959 2283

**UNIVERSITY** *of the*  
**WESTERN CAPE**

**DEAR PARTICIPANT**

**Title of the study:** A narrative of crystal methamphetamine: A case study of young experiences of factors that contribute to the use of crystal methamphetamine within a high-risk area in Cape Town.

The Department of Psychology at the University of the Western Cape is conducting a research study on crystal methamphetamine use. The aim is find out what the factors that influence substance uses amongst youth. This is an in-depth study using a case study technique. The research will provide valuable insight into the problem of crystal methamphetamine in the Western Cape. Long-term this understanding could aid in the development of effective prevention and intervention services.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in a research interview, consisting of questions regarding crystal methamphetamine. Personal questions bade on life experiences, personal history and their experiences with crystal methamphetamine use. The questions that will be asked are sensitive and might cause emotional discomfort.

This research process will consist of three in-depth interviews of approximately 30- 60 minutes long. You will remain anonymous which means that no-one will know your name and your responses on the questionnaire. The research process is guided by strict ethical considerations of the University of the Western Cape and will be adhered to at all times.

## APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



Department of Psychology  
University of the Western Cape  
Private Bag X 17  
Bellville  
7535  
Tel: 27 21 959 2283

**UNIVERSITY** *of the*  
**WESTERN CAPE**

### DEAR PARTICIPANT

**Title of the study:** A narrative of crystal methamphetamine: A case study of young people's perceptions of factors that contribute to the use of crystal methamphetamine within a high-risk area in Cape Town.

The Department of Psychology at the University of the Western Cape is conducting a research study on crystal methamphetamine use. The aim is find out what the factors is that influencing substance use amongst youth. This is an in-depth study using a case study technique. The research will provide valuable insight into the problem of crystal methamphetamine in the Western Cape. Long-term this understanding could aid in the development of effective prevention and intervention services.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in a research interview, consisting of questions regarding crystal methamphetamine. Personal questions bade on life experiences, personal history and their experiences with crystal methamphetamine use. The questions that will be asked are sensitive and might cause emotional discomfort. This research process will consist of series of in-depth interviews of approximately 30- 60 minutes long. You will remain anonymous which means that no-one will know your name and your responses on the questionnaire. The research process is guided by strict ethical considerations of the University of the Western Cape and will be adhered to at all times.

If the interview or any part of this process results in any emotional discomfort counselling will be arranged by the researcher without any cost. Should you have any further queries, please feel free to contact **Ms J Jantjies** or **Mr. S. Savahl**

**PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING**

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

**5.5****5.6 Participant's name** .....**5.7 Participant's signature** .....**5.8 Date** .....**Ms. Janine Jantjies (MA Research Student)****Dr. S. Savahl (Supervising Psychologist)****Department of Psychology****University of the Western Cape****(c) 073 808 5469**

## APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT PROFILE

### PARTICIPANT PROFILE

**Name (Pseudonym):** Slayer

**Age:** 28

**D.O.B:** 27 April 1982

**Gender:** Female

**Occupation:** Unemployed

**Duration of drug use:** Approximately 5 years

**Hometown:** Blackheath

**Home language:** English

**Religion:** Islamic

**Race:** Coloured





## **APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES**

### **Interview Schedule**

#### **Introduction**

Introduce research topic

Inform participant of:

- i. Objective of the study.
- ii. Possible harms.
- iii. Basic ethical consideration: Guarantee **unambiguous** individual privacy to each of the research participants and informed consent therefore guaranteeing **confidentiality and anonymity**. The participant will be ensured their right to **withdraw** at any stage of the research process.

Sign of consent forms.

#### **Discussion Guide**

General Questions (Aim: To build rapport and to put participants at ease)

*What is your name? Do you have any nicknames? (If so, why do they call you that?)*

*When and where were you born?*

*What language do you speak at home or on a daily basis?*

*What do you do for a living? Are you enjoying what you're doing?*

*Do you have any hobbies, talents? Or maybe just something that your good at?*

*- explore*

*What do you do for fun? (Example what do you do on weekends?)*

*Where do you stay? Do you like the area in which you live in?*

*Who is your idol or role model in life? Why?*

*What organisations/groups are/were you a member of? This might include your church, charities, social clubs, etc.*

*Do you attend church or religious services?*

*What church denomination do you belong to?*

*Where did you go to school?*

*What was school like for you? Any special memories?*

*Do you have a best friend or someone you confide in?*

*Are you married? Or do you have a girlfriend or boyfriend?*

*How long have you known each other/ been together?*

*Do you have any siblings? How many siblings do you have?*

### **BNIM (Biographical Narrative interview model)**

(Wengraf, 2001)

### **INTERVIEW 1**

#### **Subsession 1: Initial elaboration of story around topics**

##### I. SQUIN (Single question aimed at inducing narrative)

*I would like you to tell me your life story, all your experiences and events which were important to you.*

- *Start wherever you like and take all the time you need.*
- *Can you remember your childhood? Are there any special memories you would like to tell me about?*
- *How was primary school like for you?*
- *Can you remember the time when you became a teenager? Do you mind telling me about that period in time of your life?*
- *What was high school like for you? Do you mind telling me about that time in your life?*

## **Interview Schedule 2**

### **Introduction**

Introduce research topic

Reaffirm participant of the following:

- iv. Objective of the study.
- v. Possible harms.
- vi. Basic ethical consideration: Guarantee **unambiguous** individual privacy to each of the research participants and informed consent therefore guaranteeing **confidentiality and anonymity**. The participant will be ensured their right to **withdraw** at any stage of the research process.

Recap on previous discuss.

### **Discussion Guide**

General Questions (Aim: To build rapport and to put participants at ease)

How are you today?

How have the last couple of days been here at the New Birth Centre?

What are some of the activities you have done here this week?

### **BNIM (Biographical Narrative interview model)**

(Wengraf, 2001)

### **INTERVIEW 2**

Subsession 2a: Extracting more story from the topics

- Construct lightly structured depth interview questions about topics that were raised in the in the initial narrative.

II. TQUIN (Topic Questions aimed at inducing narrative)

Possible Questions

*There are a few questions that I'd like to discuss from the previous interview discussion we had. I would like you to tell me the life story of ....., all your experiences and events which were important to you.*

- *I'd like you start off telling me based on what you know the life of your parents before you were born.*
- *Did your grandmother ever talk about her life? Where was your grandmother from?*
- *Did you know your grandfather?*
- *If you can remember, would you tell me about your life in Kensington?*
- *Would you maybe tell me more about the possible reasons for your grandmother raising you?*
- *Would you tell me what your relationship with your grandmother was like at the time? .... with father?... with mother?*
- *Can you remember the first few years living with your grandmother? Can you tell me how the experience was for you?*
- *When you were around the age of 7 you said you mother came to fetch you, can you remember everything that happened and would you tell me what happened?*
- *Why did you and your grandmother move to Eerste River? How was it living there?*
- *In the previous session, you said you moved to Bonteheuwel, why did you move there?*
- *Who did you go live with? Would you tell me about your experience when you lived in Bonteheuwel?*
- *Please tell me about your life experience during primary school?*
- *In the previous interview session you spoke about your friends the BBT's, can you tell me about the 5 years you spent with them. What this did you do?*
- *You also mentioned going to the principal's office almost everyday .... Why was that? What were the sort things you did that you were summonsed there?*
- *Your said you were exposed to gangsters, Would you maybe tell me more about the time that?*
- *Previously you said that you were gang raped, how old were you? Would you please tell me what happened that day?*
- *You said you fell pregnant after that, what did your family when they found out?*
- *Tell me about the time you initially got involved with Satanism. How were you introduced to it?*
- *What happened after you left school?*
- *Tell me about the jobs you've had and the experiences with each?*

- *In the previous discussion, you said that your ex-boyfriend introduced you to tik... what was your first experience when you used it?*
- *Did you use any other drugs before this? If so what drugs did you use?*
- *Why do you think you used at first?*
- *Why do you think you continued to use the drug?*
- *Can you remember any events before you used it the first time?*
- *Is there any particular reason you would go and use tik?*
- *How and where did you meet your Husband?*
- *Can you tell me about the day you got married?*
- *What is your relationship like with your husband's family?*
- *You said that you turned your back on your family for husband... what did you mean by that? Can you tell me more about your family/friends?*
- *You said in the last session, that you used with your husband, how long has he been using drugs?*
- *Have you used since Friday?*
- *Would you tell me about the period in your life as you referred to in the previous session when you were heavy on drugs?*
- *You said in the past you, would steal or lie just to get tik... who would you steal from and what would the lies be...*
- *You also mentioned the person you were before you started using? Who was she and how was life for her?*
- *Times you were abused by your ex boyfriends... you said you blamed yourself for it... Why did you blame yourself?*
- *I would like you to tell me about your experiences of using (tik) crystal methamphetamine since you've started using it?*
- *You said that you use the drug to calm you down, what is it that you have to calm...*
- *Please tell me about your experiences as a skarrelkind.*
- *What made you decide to come to the New Birth Centre?*
- *Is this the first time you seek help?*

## **Interview Schedule 3**

### **Introduction**

Introduce research topic

Reaffirm participant of the following:

vii. Objective of the study.

viii. Possible harms.

ix. Basic ethical consideration: Guarantee **unambiguous** individual privacy to each of the research participants and informed consent therefore guaranteeing **confidentiality and anonymity**. The participant will be ensured their right to **withdraw** at any stage of the research process.

2. Recap on previous discuss.

### **Discussion Guide**

General Questions (Aim: To build rapport and to put participants at ease)

How are you today?

How have the last couple of days been here at the New Birth Centre?

What are some of the activities you have done here this week?

### **BNIM (Biographical Narrative interview model)**

(Wengraf, 2001)

### **INTERVIEW 3**

Subsession 2a: Extracting more story from the topics

- Construct lightly structured depth interview questions about topics that were raised in the in the initial narrative.

III. TQUIN (Topic Questions aimed at inducing narrative)

Possible Questions

*There are a few questions that I'd like to discuss from the previous interview discussion we had. I would like you to tell me the life story of ....., all your experiences and events which were important to you.*

- *How are you doing today?*
- *Anything you want to talk about?*
- *The time you have experienced with your mother, do you mind telling me about that time?*
- *Would you tell me about your mother? What type of person she was.*
- *Can you tell me did you use any other drugs before you started using tik?*
- *Why do you think you used at first?*
- *Would you mind telling me what some of the reasons are you have started using tik?*
- *Why do you think you continued to use the drug?*
- *Can you remember any events before you used it the first time?*
- *Is there any particular reason you would go and use tik?*
- *I would like you to tell me about your experiences of using (tik) crystal methamphetamine since you've started using it?*
- *You said that you use the drug to calm you down, what is it that you have to calm...*
- *Can you tell me are there a lot of people in your area that use tik?*
- *What kind of people use tik?*
- *Can you tell me about possible reasons why people use tik?*
- *Do you prefer tik to other drugs? If so why?*

## APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPTIONS

### Participant , Interview 1

**Interviewer:**     **Janine Jantjies**

**Narrator:**        **Slayer**

**Date:**             **16/08/2010**

**Place of interview:** **New Birth, Gaylee Blackheath**

**(P1.Int1.R1)**

Interviewer: Do you have any nicknames?

Respondent: Yes, Slayer.

Interviewer: Okay, so why do they call you slayer?

Respondent: Like I said I like to slay the boys (Giggle).

Interviewer: So what does slaying mean?

Respondent: Like that boys use to take us girls for a joke, now I use to do the opposite.

Interviewer: Oh ok, you use to joke with them?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Erm, so when and where were you born?

Respondent: In the Western Cape but I don't know which hospital. I was a 7 month premature baby.

Interviewer: Oh.                             [silence]

Respondent: So, and the date? What day were you born?

Interviewer: The 27<sup>th</sup> of April '82.

Respondent: April baby. Taurus.

Interviewer: I am an April baby. Okay so, uhm... [ss] Do you think there was any reason why you use to make fun of the boys?

Respondent: Oh... Probably the relationships that hurt a lot.

Interviewer: Relationships that hurt a lot... the relationship. What do mean when you say you were "relationships that hurt a lot"?

Respondent: I guess the boys use to the their plains, fall in love with one guy and then they take you for a joke, they just use you and then throw you away, like a piece of crap. How can I say now; in the bubble gum you get flavour when it's out of the bubblegum. They throw you out or they shit you out. Just so.



- Interviewer: Okay, [ss] what do you mean when you say that they would use you?
- Respondent: Play with your feelings, tell you that they love you always be there for you. It's all that bunch of crap at the end of the day.
- Interviewer: Okay, so what language do you speak, English or Afrikaans?
- Respondent: English.
- Interviewer: Uhm, what do you do for a living currently?
- Respondent: At the moment?
- Interviewer: Yes.
- Respondent: Nothing. Skarrelhond. Skarrelkind like they say.
- Interviewer: Skarrelkind. Have you tried looking for work?
- Respondent: I've tried but with no luck.
- Interviewer: Okay, can you tell me what talents do you have?
- Respondent: I like dancing, freestyle, drawing graffiti.
- Interviewer: Yes.
- Respondent: But mostly I like the dancing freestyle. [background noise]  
Okay so you say you like drawing graffiti... do you have any work or something that you have drawn before?
- Respondent: Not here.
- Interviewer: Not here, okay I am meeting you again Wednesday is that fine with you?
- Respondent: Yes, Hmm.
- Interviewer: If I give you equipment and you take it do you mind drawing something for me?
- Respondent: Hmm...
- Interviewer: Uhm, so, what do you know what you are very good at?
- Respondent: Probably the dance.
- Interviewer: Dancing.
- Respondent: Mmm...
- Interviewer: Okay, Tell me where do you stay at the moment.
- Respondent: At the moment I'm sleeping in my Auntie's backyard, ja. Not a really nice thing to say but...
- Interviewer: Tell me what is it like there?
- Respondent: [silence] Heartless, cold, no love, nothing.
- Interviewer: So are you there on your own?

Respondent: At the moment yes. My cousin use to live there with me, but she somewhere. I don't know where she is. I'm alone now.

Interviewer: Is there any particular reason why you stay there and didn't leave with your cousin?

Respondent: It's because of the things she done. She caught on nonsense 2 weeks back that is why they threw her out. She can't come back on the premises. That is why I am still there and the reason why I am sleeping in my auntie's yard is because of the things that I did in the past. Like the drug problem, lying stealing like that.

[Silence]

Interviewer: Do you live here in the Dennemere area?

Respondent: No, Gaylee.

Interviewer: You live in Gaylee, what part of Gaylee?

Respondent: I live in Marolon Street.

Interviewer: [ss] So, uhm, how do you feed sustain yourself?

Respondent: Loaf [giggle]. Ask people who I know to help. But I won't ask people for money. I'll always ask something to eat.

Interviewer: Okay, so uhm, who is your idol or role model in life and why?

Respondent: My role model. I don't have a role model

Interviewer: Is there anybody you look up to?

Respondent: My granny yes.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about her?

Respondent: Now she's the one that raised me ne, when my mother threw me away. I was not raised by my parents. My grandmother raised me. That's why I say she's my role model.

Interviewer: You said you were thrown away by my parents... or your mother. When you think about it, how does make you feel?

Respondent: Joh [ss] I can't think now. I dunno. Although she passed away now couple of weeks back ne but.

Interviewer: Who passed away?

Respondent: My mother, she had cancer. But all I things, that although she threw me away and gave me to my granny then she came to fetch me when I was still in crèche, I can still remember, and the things that happened that with her on that weekend that I turned my heart and I told myself that I don't have a mother.

Interviewer: Things that weekend, can you explain what the things are that happened?

Respondent: Sexual abuse by her boyfriend.

Interviewer: Sexual abuse by her boyfriend and how old were you?

Respondent: six-seven-eight, about six, seven years old.

Interviewer: When did this happen?

Respondent: When I was that age.

[Knock on door]

P2.Int1.R2

Interviewer: Let's go back to the time you were sexually harassed by your mother's boyfriend, could you tell me and would you tell me about that experience?

Respondent: [ss]

Interviewer: If you don't feel comfortable about...

Respondent: Ha-ah no. I must talk about it. But I haven't even told my granny about it. None of my friends knows about it. Not even my granny knows about it. It is just while she was in the room sitting there on the bed then he would come and abuse me. She would say nothing and do nothing. Although I would cry out help me... Hmmm nothing.

Interviewer: And she knew about all of this?

Respondent: She knew all about it and she did nothing and she was in the same room sitting on the other side [ss]

Interviewer: And during that time how did you feel?

Respondent: Helpless, If I can still uhm... If I can remember that is the time I turned away and said I that I don't have a mother anymore...

Interviewer: How do you feel about it now?

Respondent: I still feel exactly the same way cause it all started with her and while I was growing up things that always just leads back the same things when I was small.

Interviewer: When you were small. If you talk about your feelings towards her, what feelings would they be?

Respondent: Hatred.

Interviewer: Did she have a funeral?

Respondent: Hmm...

Interviewer: And did you attend the funeral?

Respondent: [Shake head in agreement]

Interviewer: So, uhm, what groups or organisation or group. This is a group or organisation right?

Respondent: It's a youth group.

Interviewer: And you belong to them?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: What's the group's name?

Respondent: To be honest, I don't know at all [giggle]

Interviewer: Okay, I'll ask the pastor then and do you go to... You turned Muslim?

Respondent: I turned Muslim but didn't go to Muslim school. I use to go but then I left.

Interviewer: Okay, so why did you turn Muslim and?

Respondent: Cause I grew up as a Muslim, my grandmother was a Muslim and I grew up as a Muslim.

Interviewer: Where did you go to school?

Respondent: Primary school I attended, Arcadia Primary in Bonteheuwel. That was until standard four. Standard four I came to live with my granny here in Eerste River, where I attended Tuscany Glen Primary till standard five and Malibu high was my high school.

Interviewer: What was school like for you, any special memories?

Respondent: Ooh, a lot of memories, primary school a lot fun. High school ooh I liked high school [giggle] all the stuff that I did on high school.

Interviewer: So tell me about what you did on high school?

Respondent: Okay. On high school we were five, we came together, five girls. We were called the BBT's.

Interviewer: BBD's?

Respondent: BBT's, Bad bitches in town but for the principle it was Brave beautiful teenagers.

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: And for then [inaudible recording] called us bal byters. I don't know one of my friends called us that I don't know why. But we were five best friends on high school from standard six. Joh all the nonsense we caught on. We were everyday in the principal's office everyone was afraid of us, especially me. Because I was a Satanist also.

Interviewer: Okay.

Respondent: But it was mostly over that, that they were scared.

Interviewer: They were scared because you were Satanist?

Respondent: Em.

Interviewer: And did you uhm practice Satanism?

Respondent: I didn't practice, just got use to it.

Interviewer: Okay, was there any group that you belong to that are Satanist?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Which group was that?

Respondent: [Indicate that she cannot talk about it]

Interviewer: Okay it is understandable.

Respondent: Okay.

Interviewer: Of those friends, you were five girls right, where are they now and are you still in contact them?

Respondent: I really don't know where they are. Cause we all split up the day we left school. After high school we went our own ways.

Interviewer: Okay and at the moment do you have a best friend? Or anyone you talk to?

Respondent: At the moment... I've got no friends. I'm not interested in friends. Nothing.

Interviewer: Okay, so uhm, at the moment are you married?

Respondent: I'm still married, its been four years.

Interviewer: Okay and your husband where is he?

Respondent: He stays also here in Gaylee. I was Friday night there by them, I was sleeping there by them I started to talk to him, to take me back and but he stays with his grandmother, he and the little one [cough].

Interviewer: The little one... Do you want a tissue perhaps?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Okay so uhm... The little one who is that?

Respondent: That is my baby.

Interviewer: How old is your baby?

Respondent: He is three years old.

Interviewer: When was the last time you saw him?

Respondent: Friday, Saturday, no ha-ah Sunday sorry Sunday.

Interviewer: Do you miss him at all?

Respondent: Ooh I miss both of my kids a lot.

Interviewer: Oh you have two children?

Respondent: Two boys. My eldest one stays with my stepfather in Parkhood.

Interviewer: Okay, is there any reason why he stays there?

Respondent: My eldest?

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Since January when I started staying on the streets, I couldn't let my son also go through this. 'Skarrel' food and all that with no place to sleep. So that time my mother was still alive so I asked her to take him so she took him and they got very fond of him and...

Interviewer: That's your mother? Now these days who is taking care of him?

Respondent: It was our mothers dying wish, that he must stay there and that my stepfather must take care of him as my own.

Interviewer: And your stepfather is he the man that sexually, uhm, touched you in anyway? Or was that another boyfriend?

Respondent: Was another boyfriend.

Interviewer: Two little boys, You have been married for how long?

Respondent: Four years.

Interviewer: Four years. Can you tell me about your marriage? How it was and how it came about that you separated.

Respondent: We stay with the in-laws, by his granny, January, they gave me an ultimatum. He and my baby can stay there but I must go, I must understand.

Interviewer: How do you feel about the fact that they, that he stayed with his family.

Respondent: Heartbroken, I couldn't believe it. Cause I turned my back against my family for him and he just did the opposite. Choose his family and left me.

Interviewer: And how do you feel about him?

Respondent: His is my soul mate.

Interviewer: When you say soul mate what do you mean?

Respondent: He is the person I have been waiting for so long. He is not like my other exboyfriends that use to hit me or mistreated me. He knew my husband knew how to treat a girl. He knew... we were friends, we were best friends.

Interviewer: Okay, and was he Muslim as well?

Interviewer: Okay. Do you have any brothers and sisters?

Respondent: I do have yes.

Interviewer: How many?

Respondent: I'm the eldest then there is Sharon my stepsister, Ashwin my stepbrother, Brandon my stepbrother. Then there's Jason, Chanté and Ethan. Jason, Chanté and Ethan is now, are my brothers and sisters from my father.

Interviewer: Do you see your father at all? When was the last time you saw him?

Respondent: The last time I saw him was a couple of months back and ... I said never again.

Interviewer: Where was this?

Respondent: In Lavender Hill. My father is a gangster. He is a '28'. Hy is 'n groot smokkel. He smokkel big there in Lavender Hill. And I said never again.

Interviewer: When you say smokkel, what does he sell?

Respondent: Drugs, guns, stolen cars, tattoos anything.

Interviewer: So is he?

Respondent: He is a merchant.

Interviewer: So nothing other than that. Does he use those drugs?

Respondent: For a fifty-two year old man, he smokes R800 tik a day out and R400 tablets a day out.

Interviewer: By tablets you mean?

Respondent: Pille...

Interviewer: Madrax?

Respondent: Ja, You know the cream in the dagga, that stuff, Ja.

Interviewer: Okay, [Slayer, name changed due to anonymity constraints] I want you to tell me your whole life story, everything and anything that comes to your mind and you can start anywhere you want.

Respondent: Joh, where do I begin.

Interviewer: Anything that is important to you? I remember that all this information will stay confidential with me and you will remain anonymous at all times.

Respondent: I don't remember where to begin. Joh. Okay like I said né I grew up with my granny. We stayed in Kensington at that time and I went to Gateway crèche that was also in Kensington. The first primary school I went to was HJ Krugerberg that was only until standard one, that school only goes to standard one. While staying there, that was the time my granny-them moved to Eerste River and the lady that lived opposite my

granny was my granny's best friend. I use to stay there by them and her two sons also use to abuse me while I was little. They would make me suck their... their 'dinges' ... their move. I told no-one about it then I didn't want to stay there anymore so, I moved to Bonteheuwel where my aunty lives. My grandmother's sister. She is the one I call mammie. The one that stays here in Gaylee now. I call her mommy. There I became a tomboy, I played with boys. I also got sexual abused by the gangsters... [ss] ... Ja... The standard four, I finished at Arcadia Primary I came back I moved back with my grandmother in Eerste River in standard five... [cough]... sorry... Okay everything was going smooth but me and my uncle couldn't stand each other, I don't know why. Only when he was 'gerook', when he was 'gerook' I like was his daughter, make me this and all that. Other than that ek en hy het altyd vasgesit things like that. That's when I started high school, that's when my life started on my own. I became a Satanist went out with gangsters. Joh... I fell pregnant for the before the time. I lied and stole from my family. Joh alot of things joh. This is not even half of it. That's when like I said, I fell pregnant also with the gang rape. Got my first son. My uncle, threw me out and I came to stay with my aunty in Gaylee. Then I met my husband. Before I met my husband, I met my ex boyfriend he is the one that introduced me to the tik thats when I started using 'tik'. That's when I threw my life away for four years [silence]. Joh... That's a lot hey... What else... I can't evens think straight anymore, just to go back and no-one knows about it joh. Not evens my family, not eves my granny knows all the stuff I went through. Look at January this year when I got raped also.

Interviewer: Is it January this year?

Respondent: Ja, here in Gaylee and I cursed every single person in Gaylee and before that for three years I was heavy on tik. Then I left the smoking then I started the smoking again. Cause I couldn't I can't take it anymore. Then, I never, my granny was always the one that was there for me. This wasn't my life. Living like this skarreling for food stuff like that. But eventually I said Huh-uh, I give up hope already, because I can't do it anymore. After all that I am keeping everything inside and it started eating me up. Day-by day, I am just afraid I might lose it and just do something. I might do something I'm going to regret doing. But then there are also my children. Because I grew up without a mother and now my children will go will go through exactly the



same thing and I don't want that. [silence] It's my fault.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to talk about specifically that is important to you?

Respondent: I can't think joh. That is important? I can't think now, what's important because my mind is going through a lot of things.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about these things?

Respondent: If I leave here, where am I going to... If I go home what am I going to do. What is going to happen? All of that nonsense. Where I am going to eat tonight. Stuff like that. This isn't my life man. And I want to get out of Gaylee. Oh that is most important. I want to get out of Gaylee. This not really one of the nicest places.

Interviewer: Gaylee.

Respondent: That is where I stay, and not that also I see the rapist every single day. I go to a shop he is there, if I go, I walk just maybe around the block, he is there, I always see him. He is there [ss].

Interviewer: Who is this rapist?

Respondent: They call him Sam.

Interviewer: Is he a gangster or?

Respondent: He is a wanna-be gangster, he thinks he is a gangster.

Interviewer: Okay, what is a wanna-be gangster?

Respondent: They say he is a ['7'] sewe a seven-en-twintig. But he is not he is trying to be a gangster cause he was in jail only for three months and his girlfriend came to bail him out.

Interviewer: How did the rape occur? What happened?

Respondent: It was a whole planned thing; I was on my way to the Garage, to go buy me cigarettes. Me and my friends. So they ask me for cigarette. So I told them when I come back from the garage I will give them the cigarette when I come back so He told me Nicole and Simoné is sitting there this other two girls who sat there, that was 12, I won't 12 'o' clock he left. But then I left my scarf and my cap there, so I went to go fetch it the following day. So his friend came to call me. Ja Sam het gesê jy moet jou goed kom haal netnou gaan Bernie weer skel. Toe sê ek okay ek wil nou nie moeilikheid he nie. I don't want to cause any trouble I'd rather go fetch it. Sam opened the door, I was in the middle and his friend was at the back and when he opened the door he pushed me in and when they locked the door. I know this is now

something to kill me rape and kill me or just rape me. But I know something was going to happen.

Interviewer: And nobody helped you?

Respondent: Huh-uh.

Interviewer: How do you feel about it?

Respondent: Joh... I lost everything. My pride, dignity, my strength, my humanness. Everything, he took away, Joh.. [silence: crying]

Interviewer: Tell me do you mind speaking about that time or are you too overwhelmed?

Respondent: I don't mind talking about it. I just can't believe it. Man, I use to say that will never happen to me and look what happened.

Interviewer: Can you describe the day from the beginning?

Respondent: It happened on a Sunday. I begged him to let, me go and all that. I didn't sleep, that night I was awake whole morning. He was laying in front under the blanket and I was on top of the blanket in the corner and I was crying, I knew something was going to happen. I prayed to Allah to protect me then I don't know what happened here was 6 o'clock, to six. I just closed my eyes for 5 minutes, when I opened it the knife was here by my throat. My hands were tight (strapped) and then he started getting busy and for a fine cheek he still told me ja that he loves me. How can you say you love someone... joh... I couldn't even walk properly... [silence]

Respondent: Ten minutes. Ten minutes I would say around ten minutes.

Interviewer: What did you do during the time?

Respondent: He told me that I can't I mustn't shout mustn't cry and if I cry he will cut my throat, I was just laying there crying inside. I just said he must get done so I can just get up and get out. Then he went to the toilet so I was looking for the key, I lit my last cigarette and looked under the bed the key was in the middle of the bed and the handle of the door this was also there in the middle. I took it out, I struggled a little bit, eventually I came and I unlocked the door and I left and I banged the door closed and I saw nobody in the road. When I saw my two friends I start to burst out and I fainted. And when I came back they asked me what happened and I told them what happened.

Interviewer: What did they say?

Respondent: They said I must phone the police station so I said joh, I don't want to phone the

police station because I was scared man. I want to go to my granny. But then they encouraged me that I must go, but then I got the courage and went down to the police station.

Interviewer: And what happened after that?

Respondent: I laid my case, they took me to hospital, they took me to Karlbremmer hospital for tests and all that I went on anti-retroviral (ARV's). But every time I have to go... then I left Gaylee, I didn't come back to Gaylee again. I would go so for 2 weeks then I'd come back when I have to go too hospital, then I must come sleep by my aunty them then I come back when I have to disappear again, the whole time.

Interviewer: What happened to Sam? What happened to him?

Respondent: No he went to prison, He came and out of bail R300 and he told everyone ja that I pulled the case back, but I didn't. So he told me one night yes, while me and my friends were still smoking. So he called me so I told him Ja wat wil jy hê? So he said thank you. Toe sê ek hoekom moet jy vir my dankie sê? Ja want ek het die saak terug getrek maar ek het nie die saak terug getrek nie. Ek moet vir jou dankie sê, want jy het my lewe.. He messed up my whole life. Yes, he said he had a black out, he couldn't help it. Toe sê ek vir hom moenie kak praat saam my nie. But I was a first girl that laid a case against him and I just walked away. He did it to so many other girls already, but I was the first one that he did it to that I went to the police station in Gaylee.

Interviewer: And if you, during the. Did you go to court?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: So there was no court case. Okay. And how do you know about the other girls that he raped?

Respondent: A lot of people told me that knows him now. And not just that also they told me he has AIDS also. That's why when I did a HIV test I could never get a reading. Positive or negative, couldn't get a reading on my HIV- test.

Interviewer: And now?

Respondent: I didn't take one in a very long time [ss].

Interviewer: How do you feel now?

Respondent: Alone, like this morning we had a current session, who you are, how you feel, mine was painful, unloved, alone, uhm fragile, I gave up hope already. [ss]

Interviewer: Is there anything for the future for yourself?

Respondent: For me, just to love my kids. Cause I tried a long time to kill myself already, but then I can't do it. So I'd rather just cry.

Interviewer: Why do you think? How was the time you spend with the children? How was that like?

Respondent: Ek het hulle gespoil. I spoiled my kids rotten. My kids knew I did the drug cause they always use... Okay I know it was wrong of me to take them I always use to walk with them to the merchant. But I tell them I'm going to mommy's friend. My eldest son knew about it, if I go smoke he would go fetch the thing for me out where his daddy used to hide it. My husband now. Then he brings it. But he knows and he doesn't talk out but my kids always come first. I would first get them stuff and then afterwards if I still have money left, then I would buy the drug. My kids was my everything. I didn't wanted ... Like the life what I went through I didn't want them to go through it. The same to happen to them. But it looks like the same to happen to them. But it looks like the cycle is repeating itself.

Interviewer: You said a lot of your ex boyfriends use to hurt you, can talk about that, how many were they, how old were they and how old you were?

Respondent: 16, 17, 18, 19, When I were part of gansterism. They use to hit me a lot. Sexual abuse me a lot. Ja. They use to verbal abuse me. Sê me out in front of their friends. Stuff like that ja was also about the abuse. Tell me they love me they will always be there for me they'll protect me, but it was just the opposite.

Interviewer: And you were saying sexual abuse? What did that involve? What did they do to you?

Respondent: Oral sex, Anal sex, Normal sex.

Interviewer: Was it usually forceful? Were they fights or violence around that?

Respondent: Ja, most of the time.

Interviewer: Okay, Would you mind telling me around any of these times?

Respondent: If it was like that then they use to... Okay it first started verbal, they would call me a slut ja. I'm like this, I sleep with that one, I sleep with this one and if I try to defend myself I would get a smack or a vyshou in my face or then I get threatened. Then would get pushed down to the floor and then they get their way. Or they'll hit me it me unconscious and do what they want to do or they use to drug me, stuff like that.

Interviewer: How would you feel at that time, when they do that?

Respondent: Helpless but then I say it's probably for my own good I always use to blame myself for it [giggle].

Interviewer: Uhm.. How do you feel now?

Respondent: [silence] I don't know, cause everything I shut down. I told myself I'm going to shut everything down. I've got no feelings nothing anymore [ss]

Interviewer: How do you think your children feels?

Respondent: I know they still love me because my eldest son I phone him so now and then he knows and he knows he knows the circumstances I am going through you see he is not dumb he is a very clever child he knows what I am going through he knows that if if I really want to come fetch him I will come fetch him and he tells me that he will always love me. When the other people talk nonsense about me, he doesn't believe it cause he knows I'm his mother my little one also. He is ... joh... he is my always his daddy tried taking him this weekend, hu-uh he go with mommy.

Interviewer: How do you define your love for your children?

Respondent: I can't explain it, it just I'll do anything for them I'll die for them, I'll die for them. I'll do anything.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to talk about?

Respondent: I can't think... [Giggle].. I think straight now. There is a lot I should come out. Cause I keep everything inside and then do something like I said I might do something stupid I am going to regret like most of the people say it leads to depression something like that and it is nogoal starting because then I'm okay this one day I try to be strong, people tell me I must be strong. But then I try I can't, I try to, I try doing it but I always go back and then I'll just start to cry and I'll go lay and cry my heart out and I'll sleep for two days or three days without eating straight and think of no-one else and I'll just cry and cry and cry [ss]

Interviewer: Is there a specific reason why you would do that?

Respondent: For crying? I'm just asking myself why am I going through this, this isn't me. Why am I going through this? I must try to dinges... Crying sometimes help me.

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Not now.

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Respondent: I'm a like someone that have fallen that fall into a hole with nowhere to go. It's a

deep black hole with nowhere to go. It's a deep black whole. Nowhere to go and I don't know how to get out. I'm just sitting there crying. What you call that black hole you fall in? A loophole. I'm stuck between life, I'm stuck between two holes, life and death I'm in the middle. Dunno which way to go, stuff like that. I'm just there. Can't go back and I can't go forward cause I can't go there I just standing there on the same place where I was from the beginning, I dunno [ss].

Interviewer: When was the last time you used?

Respondent: Drugs? On Friday.

Interviewer: Was that when you were at your husband?

Respondent: Yes we did it together.

Interviewer: Okay, so does his family know that he is using drugs and what drug were you using?

Respondent: Tik. If I am lus for now, I'll smoke a slowboat with one of my friends but when lus for tik.

Interviewer: So uhm, when you use how do you feel when you use it?

Respondent: Tik? It relax me a little, it makes me very hyperactive but when I'm see now like this né when I'm crying and all that I will go smoke a pipe all that. It's actually for me to calm myself down. I know that is not the right way to do it but that's what makes me very hyperactive then I can't sleep. Like I told them inside earlier in the session the last time I that I slept or was it now last month or was it, I was up for the whole week actually awake. I couldn't sleep ate nothing for this whole week from to Sunday to the Sunday I was awake.

Interviewer: And you only used on that Sunday or did you use it in between?

Respondent: I used in between for that whole week I used it, Monday we did it no we did it on Wednesday maybe Tuesday one drag then Wednesday we smoke three drags out. Weekends we smoke a half a gram stuff like that.

Interviewer: How did you get the money for it?

Respondent: We work for our money. We wash people's cars or wash the windows or I hang up my auntie's washing for a R20, I'll do it for a R20 or R30. Not like at first where we would make a way, go steal or go lie for money.

Interviewer: Why would you not do that anymore? What made you decide that?

Respondent: I'm not as heavy into drugs as the first 3 years when I've started, I was addicted. I use to do it, I worked at Spur ne. It was my last job, I was a waitress. Tips they would

give me goes in my pocket and the other would go on the computer than at the end of the day then they keep record for my granny to see how many tips I made on a little paper. But they don't know how many tips I've kept behind. Sometime R300 to R340 and ill smoke every night. I had to smoke every single day. But now I'm not like that anymore. I do it now and then.

Interviewer: Why would you think you'll do it now and then?

Respondent: Only when I feel, the way I'm feeling now then I'll do it. But I know it's not the way to go man. Seeing that I lost my husband my kids is not with me I'm sleeping in my auntie's backyard due to drugs. I know this is not the way out. I will be off it I know I will. Can I have a little water please?

Interviewer: Go ahead, I have a lot more.

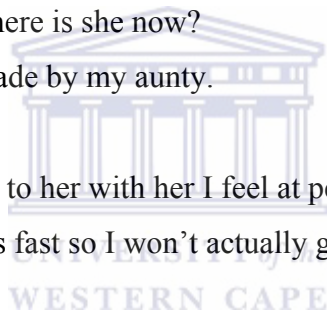
Respondent: Die verkoue het op my longe gebly.

Interviewer: Your grandmother, where is she now?

Respondent: She stays in Forest Glade by my aunty.

Interviewer: Okay, do you see her?

Respondent: Every second day I go to her with her I feel at peace and rest out. I stay there the whole day but now it's fast so I won't actually go to her.



**Participant, Interview 2****Interviewer: Janine Jantjies****Narrator: Slayer****Date: 18/08/2010****Place of interview: New Birth Centre, Gaylee Blackheath**

Interviewer: How are you feeling?

Respondent: A little relaxed.

Interviewer: A little relaxed?

Respondent: Er Erm..

Interviewer: How has the programme been so far?

Respondent: I can't say good and I can't say bad at least I'm getting, I'm getting there.

Interviewer: Getting there

Respondent: Not for every session, but I'm still... I am taking it one step at a time.

Interviewer: How did you feel about the fact that I sat there listening to you guys? We're you uncomfortable.

Respondent: Er Erm, I was comfortable.

Interviewer: Okay so what have you guys been doing the last three days?

Respondent: Okay yesterday we talked we spoke about who we really are. Who am I that is the topic. It tells us who we really are... Defines the person who we, it is actually ... who... really are. Thing that we don't evens know about like the Johares? Would know.

Interviewer: Yes...

Respondent: Né, the open, the blind, then you get the unknown that really help. Because... I saw that we who really are. Things we didn't know about yourself. That other people could see. That we evens know. That nogal helped a lot yesterday and like today about the honesty, about yoh... heard now about the lost and everything. But I felt like I'm still lost... [ss]...

Interviewer: How do you feel different since you started the programme?

Respondent: Still the same. Nothing change a little. Like I said I am taking I am taking it one step at a time one day at a time and joh, joh that is ... The day that I will really change it will be whole last...

Interviewer: Okay, uhm you said now at the beginning of the session there is something you



wanted to talk about.

Respondent: Yes, you asked me a question about what I really wanted to talk about ne? I just wanted to know, is, how can people say and tell you that they love you and that they'll always be there for you be there through thick and thin, in the bad times and good times but then they are not there no matter what you can come to then they will always be there for you but then they are really not.

Interviewer: So where does this question come from? Why do you think you are asking this questions?

Respondent: Like my granny and my husband not actually my granny my father. My father because like I told you I cut him I cut him out of my life did I tell you that one? When I stayed there for a week and I regret it cause this is what he told me he loves me as his daughter and that he will always be there for me as his daughter before this he told me that if I need anything I can just phone him that he will always help me through this no matter what I need I can always ask him. But that specific Friday he asked me this, a few questions. Like he told me that he loves me as his daughter that he will have sex with me and that he will lick my private parts and that I will come back for more even though I have children I know what a penis means stuff like that I know what a penis is. I got raped and what does it make it for you, I can't sleep with him. He is blood stuff like that and its how can that is why I say how can you say that you love this person but then you ask such nonsense and my father's fifty-two syear old.

Interviewer: How did you feel when he said those things?

Respondent: Yoh, I felt very alone, I didn't know him I told myself that is not my father and that was just when I made up my mind I want nothing to do with him anymore. He must not phone me or even contact me or ask how I am I want nothing to do with him because a father that tells that he loves his daughter, will always be there and a father that I respect even though he was in jail for how many years and I respected him. Hy sal, hy sal nie vir my sulke dinge sê nie cause what gave him that idea even like I said I gave him a hug I never like hugged him I always and that not what I did. But I still can't get over it. How can someone they love you but then they ask you such questions they want to do things to you like that.

Interviewer: Do you want me to answer or?

Respondent: If you can answer and you can help me then its fine cause I really don't know. Evens

I told my granny about it my granny was shocked. Also my stepfather also me and my husband stayed at their place for the time being. But he disliked my husband. He didn't like my husband didn't want my husband to come He said there is place for me and my two kids but not my husband. But then my aunties my mothers sisters-them said when she called dat hy myself wil beet kry and he tried it once and I kicked him in his balls. So and he also said no I'll be there for you and I'll love you as my own daughter and stuff like that. But see now, what they are trying to do.[silence]

Interviewer: I don't have an answer to that.

Respondent: See I don't evens have an answer to that joh.

Interviewer: If, I were in your shoes and come to you and ask you these questions to you what would your answer be to me?

Respondent: I really don't know. Honestly I don't know because I would just lay in a corner or just just, just to go to just to be on my own and all the questions just pop in my head why, why me why now someone told me all this stuff happens for a reason seven years of good luck seven years of bad luck and I'm still in the bad luck phase but I can't wait until something good is going to happen like I told pastor earlier on I gave up hope already for me it's like it doesn't its gonna look like its ever gonna happen for me cause I had a good life despite of all the stuff the abuse the sexual abuse that went on I still my life was good but now that I am alone I have all playing coming back to me. Its like a recorder rewind, play, rewind, play and that not something I don't like it I cant handle it its Im not difficult but I'm scared like i told you Im scared Im still trying im 28 years old and I can be afraid I am scared and I do cry but then always question why am I here on earth what was my purpose why did God why did Allah put me here on earth for? To go through this? And I just want to close my eyes and I don't want to open it up again that is what I really wish about sometimes that I can just close my eyes and I don't want to open my eyes again.

Interviewer: Why would you want that?

Respondent: Just to close my eyes and never open it eyes again cause of all the things I've been going through all the people I love my kids have been taken away from me my husband is not with me my family is not with me I'm on my own. Its to much for me and I can't handle it.

Interviewer: And what would your first step be to feel better?

- Respondent: Maybe this is the first step, this new youth life programme, New Youth life programme, maybe it is maybe it's not I really don't know. But this is for Allah to say man. If Pastor can see hope in me why can't I? Cause I still got the negative inside of me everything is still negative inside of me everything is still negative I still don't see the positive side [ss]
- Interviewer: That is what stood out for me when I watched the movie as well that God gave us all the skill and personality we have IQ's and we have abilities to do things and often we just focus on the negative.
- Respondent: Because most of the, for me like the negative took over and pushed the positive aside. So I'm so use to the negative already than the positive so it's going to take a lot of courage and a lot of dinges, belief for me now to say the that positive can actually overtake the negative I've got more negative than positive the negative is actually taking my whole over my whole life and the positive is not ne.
- Interviewer: So tell me we were discussing in the previous session parts of your life things that you were going through and again I want you to tell me your life story. Everything all the experiences you've had so far I want you to start with your parents Have you ever had a conversation with them where they were able to tell you about their life your mother or your father and your grandmother.
- Respondent: My gran, I can't remember but like I said my life is totally I grew up without parents I grew up with my grandmother from Kensington crèche my granny-them moved to Eerste river where I stayed with my granny's friend its where her sons her two sons started to, abuse me let me sucking their private parts and so on and they also made it for me to believe that it was my fault. Then from there I moved to Bonteheuwel where I went to Arcadia Primary because AJ Krugenberg only went till standard one and then from Arcadia primary I went from standard two until standard four. That's where I met a whole different life gangsterism and smoking.
- Interviewer: This was in Bonteheuwel?
- Respondent: Sexual abuse also through the gangsters I learned to shoot gun stuff like that and then because the house in Bonteheuwel that that I got my aunty-them, my granny's sister that I call 'mammie' ons se huis was elke dag geskiet op eventually we had to get bulletproof windows in cause every day I was laying under my Aunty's bed because of the bullets that went through the house the gangsters hoe kan ek sê het kring daar

gesit because when you open lift up my Aunty's ceiling just lift it up you can feel the guns the bullets that lay there the knives even in the yard in the backyard also I knew I knew where the bullets were stuff like that and from Bonteheuwel I couldn't wait to leave there so I became a tomboy and I went to my granny to there in Eerste River and standard five I was at Tuscany Glen, everything went smooth it just me and my uncle couldn't get together. Ek en my uncle het altyd gestry that's when I came mixed up with the wrong friends, the Satanist group. I became a Satanist that where I actually found love to be honest. They gave me love that not even my own family gave me Even though I knew my granny still loved me and that's when I started to slack down on my schoolwork cause I was a straight A student, A's ,B's, A and B but then from standard six, high school I slacked down to D's and E's and F's. Didn't do my homework didn't do this became a gangster on school a BBT, still a Satanist, I actually ruled Malibu High I'd rather say everybody knew I was a Satanist evens the principal also sacrifices on school we did a lot of things I fought on school I had a boyfriend on school my high school love from standard six to standard nine. Okay then he started hitting me like I said like my ex boyfriends start abuse hitting me I couldn't talk to this guy jealousy all that but then ek het ook my dinge gedoen hy het my geleer om dagga te rook om groen [inaudible recording] te rook en skool gebank en Wednesday I left school I didn't look back didn't want to go to school anymore because me and my ex broke up Then I became then I started with my sexual things I was more sexual active I slept with that guy and I fell pregnant with my first son It was also through a kamma-like he said he was my boyfriend he and his friends overdosed me cant remember the anything but he said nothing happened but my friend said one of his friends know but they had a group sex thing with me. Then I fell pregnant I raised my son on my own until three years old and then I moved to Blackheath cause my uncle threw me out I moved there by my Aunty there in Blackheath that is where I met my husband but before that I worked at Spur with my ex boyfriend he and me lived in Beverly Park that's where he taught me how to use tik and that's where I started off with Yellow tail.

Interviewer: Yellow Tail, what is Yellow tails?

Respondent: It's also tik but it is Yellow

Interviewer: Is there a difference?

Respondent: Uhm you get white works you get brown works you can get yellow works. The brown works you call coffee or coco and then the yellow one is yellow tail.

Interviewer: And the white one?

Respondent: Is skoon werk clean work. There is a difference also you can taste it also there is a difference in taste as well. That is where I started off with yellow tail and Joh that Saturday I will never forget [giggle] because it made me hard and it made me a totally different person it made me like then I got hot flushes, feelings and flushes that I never got before with my exes [giggle] I got it with him with was totally different and that from there then I use to come from work then me and him go up we go to my friends house in Gaylee before I go home I would smoke a few pipes three bags and that's where I met my husband cause he was also a 'tikker'. We started getting together I fell pregnant again got married and still using the drug cause I used it as well I used it for four years and he used it more than me but I was more addicted to the stuff than he was I actually planned, lied and stealed from my family and friends to do drugs and now I am here where I am. [ss]

Interviewer: Thank you for telling me that.

Respondent: Pleasure.

Interviewer: I want you to go through your life slowly and step by step is that fine with you? I want you to tell me about the story about your life again at the beginning you said you lived in Kensington right, can you tell me about that time if you can remember.

Respondent: The furtherised that I could remember is just when when my when the abuse started right I use to play in the park the school I know the school took us to a circus yes. So far only that but the other stuff is all a blur all a blur.

Interviewer: Why do you think your grandmother raised you and not your mother?

Respondent: Cause of probable because I was a premature baby right That was the time my father went to prison ...I was seventh I was a kangaroo baby so I so my mother use to brag to her friends then I got sick and she couldn't handle me so she gave me to my grandmother she couldn't handle that I was sick cause handle hospital in hospital out hospital in cause at the age the baby should be taken care of and then my granny she gave me to my granny.

Interviewer: Do you perhaps know what sickness you might have had?

Respondent: I can't pronounce the names properly. Meningitis, I don't remember the others. All I

can remember is that I could fit in a shoebox [giggle]. I could fit in a shoebox that's what they told me.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about your relationship with your grandmother at that time when you lived when you were smaller [ss]. How was things like at home, what did you do what was the relationship like with your grandmother?

Respondent: It was lekker. She actually raised me as her own, that I can say like her own daughter cause I got spoiled everything was done for me I could even until I was big my granny did my washing made up okay I made up my bed now she would feed me and she would do my dishes everything was done for me so my granny spoiled me like my cousins would always get cross is I ask my granny for a two rand if they ask my granny , mammie give a two rand my granny don't have then I'll come mammie give me a two rand my granny will give me a five rand and they would always get cross. They couldn't take the relationship with me and my granny cause we were very close even until now still my granny will skel me all out about this and that I will ask her for money or to buy me something to eat she will always give me she'll even go borrow by her friend opposite the road to give to me she would do it.

Interviewer: So tell me at the time when you were younger how was the relationship like with your father?

Respondent: [silence] I met okay my granny took me to my father cause he was in Brandvlei prison in Worcester every second Sunday we use to go with the bus and like I said my father was a father. I didn't know he was a gangster at that time and that but I loved him. He gave me chocolates his friends would buy me chocolates in jail paintings he made me a boat because he was a father cause he didn't know my daddy was a my daddy was my daddy until what he told me recently my father cause I always had the respect for him to say that he was a gangster and all that. Me and my daddy's relationship was very tight.

Interviewer: And with your mother at that time?

Respondent: I didn't know my mother I didn't wanted to know my mother at that time. Although she use to come fetch me on weekends ne when the after the abuse happened with me and her boyfriend and all that I cut her totally out of my life.

Interviewer: And before that?

Respondent: Like a daughter would share with her mother its mommy that. That's my mother. But

then I cut her I totally cut her out [silence]

Interviewer: Can you go back to when you told me, that about, the age of seven and the time your mother came to fetch you on the weekend.

Respondent: On the weekends yeah.

Interviewer: And that one weekend?

Respondent: Not always one weekend, It was Saturday, every weekend she came to fetch me and she would bring me back on a Monday and Monday I will never be in school on Tuesday I'll go to school

Interviewer: And why wont you be at school on Monday?

Respondent: She'll keep me until Monday morning in Mitchells Plain and then the afternoon she'll bring me back to Bonteheuwel or wherever I am.

Interviewer: Okay go back to the first time the abuse happened. Ok how many times did it happen? Was it a continuous thing?

Respondent: Every weekend.

Interviewer: It happened every weekend and the first time it happened can you remember the day and how it happened can you remember everything that happened that time?

Respondent: I can't remember what day I just know I was sleeping me and my mother had an argument and then I can't know what happened next and the next thing I remember he were busy with his fingers here at the bottom and I was crying I asked him to stop I started crying and turned I looked up and I saw she was sitting there on the other bed looking at me she was smiling. Telling me I mustn't cry everything will be alright stuff like that and then the following weekend just happened the same thing, make me suck his dinges or he will put his... in here by me stuff like that. Like bad memories [crying]

Interviewer: Why, do you think there was a reason she allowed it?

Respondent: I don't know I really don't know.

Interviewer: Okay so after you moved out of Kensington you and your grandmother moved to...?

Respondent: Eerste River she moved to Eerste River I stayed there.

Interviewer: You stayed in Bonteheuwel?

Respondent: Hmm, until standard four.

Interviewer: And at that age were you involved with the gangsters?

Respondent: When I moved to Bonteheuwel?

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: Not actually that's only when I started to learn about the gangsters only about the age of eleven and up.

Interviewer: So your Grandmother moved to Eerste River why did she move?

Respondent: Cause she mos stayed by my Aunty. Cause my Aunty-them wanted to move and she had to go with my Aunty-them.

Interviewer: And who did you stay with?

Respondent: With my Granny's sister and I call her mommy even until now I call her mammie.

Interviewer: And what do you call your mother?

Respondent: Elaine.

Interviewer: And when, how long did you stay in Bonteheuwel before you moved to Eerste River?

Respondent: I finished standard one in HJ Krugenberg. How old was I that time? Standard one.

Interviewer: Nine?

Respondent: Erm, from standard two till standard four I lived in Bonteheuwel, ten, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, five or six years.

Interviewer: 5 or 6 years so can you go back to the time when you lived in Bonteheuwel. Can you tell me about your experiences and things that happened there?

Respondent: It was gangsters paradise cause we, my Aunty stays in Bonteheuwel like I said was everyday. Die Dixi boys het altyd daar kom skiet. Because that was the Yakees and the Funckies. My aunty's my nephew was a Yakee.

Interviewer: A Yakee, is Y UC KY?

Respondent: No its Y A K E E

Interviewer: And the

Respondent: The Funky

Interviewer: Okay so those were the two groups of gangsters?

Respondent: Erm, or its JCY or JFK's. Junior [inaudible]. Yakee and the Juncky Funky kids.

Interviewer: And so the times that the gangsters would specifically shoot on your aunty's house?

Respondent: Cause my nephew was a gangster and my nephew made a Dixi the leaders of the Dixi-boys sister pregnant Shahieda. Thats why he couldn't he couldn't crash and Shahieda het elke. Not only because of that only because the other gangsters use to come to sit there by my aunty-them. The Funckies and the Yakees that was actually die kring plek. The gathering place for the gangsters and then other gangsters would



come and shoot on them and there were times me and my cousin stand by the gate then the Dixies would stand on the left hand side and the and the Funckies Yakees would stand on the right hand side. And we would make bets who would die first and the bullets would go just so past us. Then we would say he is going to die now that one is going to die.

Interviewer: And you actually watched this?

Respondent: Erm, eventually it became a normal thing for use like watching TV. Because everyday of our life growing up in Bonteheuwel that time.

Interviewer: So why did you move from Bonteheuwel? Is there anything else that happened that you would like to talk about? Because you then moved from there ...

Respondent: To Eerste River to my granny yes.

Interviewer: So why did you move from there?

Respondent: That became like it wasn't for me anymore the gangsters paradise. Huh-uh I thought I was going to die there.

Interviewer: Okay so you moved from there to Eerste River and can you explain to me how life was there in Eerste River at that time?

Respondent: That time it was nice because I was with my Granny. Because I was meant to be with my Granny. Standard five for the first year, for the first half of the year it was cool that's when me and my granny that's when my uncle started to show his true colours. My friends couldn't come there, I couldn't go out I couldn't smoke I couldn't drink I. Six-o-clock was the latest we had to be washed and in bed already. He treated me as a small one. But whenever he is gerook then ooh the she's my daughter then I must do this for him then I must do that for him. But then he would forget about the other time he use to hit me and measure my food plate hy sou altyd geskel het as ek nou in the afternoons I came home from school I make me now, I use to eat four slices of bread with a little coffee with salami or egg. Hy het altyd geskel as ek die salami gevat her of eier gevat het. "Ja ek werk nie vir 'n p- nie." Ja ek werk vir jou but he didn't work for me yet and when I fell pregnant so it was another thing. Toe moet ek weer gehoor het ja hy werk vir my kind en hy het vir my kind nie eers so 'n dingetjie gekoop nie. Not evens a nappy or a wessie that he bought. So, hy't all that times he use to say that I use to keep my mouth. Ek het altyd my mond gehou. But this one day when I was now gatvol, fedup, is when I back chatted to him and I threw my porridge down one

morning on my way to work and I told him. Jy's nie my pa nie en it doesn't give you the... for how many years I kept my mouth for how many months I kept my mouth shut now and enough is enough. And he said he didn't like the way I speak to him and I threw him with the pan in his face the whole time and that was the time he threw me out. En is ja ek werk vir jou vir jou kind so I said, you never worked for me and he never worked for me. My granny worked for me okay. My granny bought me stuff and my Aunty buys me stuff for me and my son you never give me a single thing. So jy kan niks sê nie. So I walked out and banged the door and I went to my granny and I told my Granny that he said I must go I don't belong there. Im not part of his family and all that and said that's fine and I left evens until, until today I don't greet him I don't look at him. Evens until today if I go to my granny I visit my granny. He is always the one that's there for like cause my granny lives at the back in the servant's quarters then my granny would smokkel food for me and make me something to eat then she would like steal it to make something to eat and hide it away and if he finds out then he is bad luck from now until next year [silence].

Interviewer: Okay so what age were you when you fell pregnant and left there, left Eerste River.

Respondent: I fell pregnant at the age of 19. Yes, I gave birth when I turned... No I lie, yes 19 I gave birth when I was 20, when I turned 21 my son turned 1.

Interviewer: Tell me about... The previous session you talked about the BBT's, remember that can you tell me about the type of things you did together?

Respondent: We were five best friends. We went out together. Okay we smoked together smoked dagga together we went to clubs together we went to..... Everywhere we went we were the five of us and anything would happen to my friends like their boyfriends would use to hit them. I am the one that always use to hit the guys cause I didn't like it. To do it to my friends I couldn't handle it I couldn't take it, stuff like that. But we were five best friends until we all separated.

Interviewer: Okay so you said you smoked together, smoked dagga together as well. Who initiated or said that we should start smoking?

Respondent: We tried that for fun.

Interviewer: Okay so you all decided together?

Respondent: We all decide together, not it was me, Macky and Danielle. But me and Danielle was actually... More into the dagga than the other three girls [giggle]

Interviewer: So can you tell me about some of the times that you've spend together?

Respondent: Okay, then we girls how can I say, we started like lesbians became lesbian just between the five of us. Just the five, just the five of us experiment on the five of us now stuff like that. Now that was now times I really enjoyed.

Interviewer: You also mentioned in the previous session that you always went to the principal's office during that time.

Respondent: For catching on nonsense on like in the E-block we, I don't know if it was the C-block or the E-block. The C-block we had our own toilet. Girls toilet okay everyone is welcome but we had our own cubicle that's the last toilet.

Interviewer: And tht's the BBT's toilet.

Respondent: That's the BBT's toilet en daar was groot geskryf. Do not enter and if I catch you here face the consequences. I was hard I was caught fighting on school or swearing at the teachers or catch us with cigarettes or dagga on school stuff like that. We were everday in the principal's office. Rather for fighting or smoking or bunking and they use to come fetch us, the principal use to come fetch us where we are things like that [giggle] or ditching classrooms sitting at the back of the field things like that.

Interviewer: When you first exposed gangsterism, where did this happen and what happened to you?

Respondent: When I first experienced gangsterism was in Bonteheuwel and how it happened first we became friends. I use to hang out with the group saam kring gesit at the gameshop with the Yakees and the Funckies territory was the gamshop now. It was just when one of the Yakees tried their luck with me man. I don't know what they wanted to take my money or something like that. Ek't my man gestaan, I hit him with the pool stick over his head and I threw him with the eight ball in his testicles and that's when the others saw I can stand up for myself and so they ask me do you want to be part of the girls? So the girls asked me do I want to be part of the girls. So I figured why not cause I can can stand up for myself that time.

Interviewer: So which group did you belong to?

Respondent: We were the mama Yakees. Mama Yakees.

Interviewer: And what did you girls do as the Mama Yakees?

Respondent: Okay shoot gun, mes gestiek if the guy had problems with other gangsters then we use to go under cover for them and lure now one of the Dixi boys to away from his

group to a place where no-one will know and then the Yakees and the Funkies will save us and I'll give them a sign this and that now and then one, two, three, then they will do their thing and I will go.

Interviewer: You said you guys would shoot and stab people. Have you ever shot someone or stab someone?

Respondent: Okay I've stabbed a lots of people yes. Shot I shot a girl in the ankle once [giggle] this was on a field on the met.

Interviewer: On the? Met? What a met?

Respondent: The met its an open field where they play soccer and rugby man they call it the met and shot on cars yes other gangs cars other people's houses for fun sometimes at night and like that all.

Interviewer: Okay, so why did you shoot the girl in the ankle?

Respondent: She was a Dixi girl.

Interviewer: Oh the opponent.

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, in the last session on Monday you said you were gang raped. I would like you to talk about that again, but not today next time we meet. But you fell pregnant after that with your first child.

Respondent: That was my first, my first boy.

Interviewer: You do or you don't know who the father is then?

Respondent: Huh uh. But my son looks just like me. Uitgeknip net soos ekke. I can, I can walk in the street and I can tell you this is my brother cause they would believe me if I say this is my brother. But min te weet he is mine.

Interviewer: How old is he now?

Respondent: He is seven, turning eight in October month.

Interviewer: So what did your family say when they found out?

Respondent: At first I didn't tell them [giggle] I hid it away for three months cause I knew when it I was gonna tell them before the three months I was afraid they were going to tell me to go for an abortion. So I kept it away from them for three months until four months. They found out themselves. My granny actually found out. Because the only reason they found out is to do with the onions. The morning my granny still ask one morning to clean the onions. But just that smell of the onions I couldn't take it so I ran to the

toilet and when I came out of the toilet she told me you pregnant ne and so I couldn't lie anymore so I said yes and I had white marks on my face. Now that time my other cousin saw she was a nurse she works in Saudi Arabia that's how she saw I was pregnant the white marks on my face. After that my granny was the ultimate with the onions [laughter].

Interviewer: Okay can you tell me about, who initiated you to a Satanist group or Satanism.

Respondent: The friends I had, before the BBT's.

Interviewer: Ok where did you stay then?

Respondent: There by my Granny, that was the half of standard five.

Interviewer: That was the first time you were exposed?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, were they school friends, how did you meet them?

Respondent: Not school friends, friends outside school. Okay there were people that were on school like a part of my few friends, it was at a club. I went to a club with one of my friends and this is how I met this guy and through this guy he introduced me to part of this group and I felt like group. They told me a lot of interested stuff, interesting stuff, the fun and all that. But min te weet it is only to get more people to come to the group and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Okay so the club that you went to was it during the day or was it at night?

Respondent: At night.

Interviewer: How old were you back then?

Respondent: Standard five, I was 16, 15-16 years old se maar 16, I had my ID that time.

Interviewer: Okay I know it it a very sensitive topic to talk about it but do you mind telling me what happen during those times as a satanist would you talk about it?

Respondent: Can't say.

Interviewer: You can't say?

Respondent: Not now. I can tell anyone but then they are listening to what I am saying do you understand? Im not that totally out of it. But there is someone that's gonna help me get out of the group. He lives here in Greenfields.

Interviewer: What do you mean you need someone to help you get out of the group?

Respondent: Once you've signed your name with blood in a book you can't come completely out.

Interviewer: Okay and how do you get out of it?

Respondent: I know some of the people die yes. That's the only way. But then you already sold your soul.

Interviewer: You think you've sold your soul?

Respondent: I did but I don't think, now I don't believe it anymore. I still have my soul. Not just that also my children's life is also ineffect [inaudible]

Interviewer: Okay so what happened after you left school? What was the highest level you have?

Respondent: Grade 11

Interviewer: Grade 11. What was the reason you left?

Respondent: I didn't want to do matric. Cause they said you had to start wearing your name badges on your shirt and have that SUB A bags with the that layers, so I said Oh no, I am really sorry that's why I left school.

Interviewer: So what happened after school?

Respondent: After school I was at home that year I fell pregnant. I was at home for a year also working on my granny's nerves. Doing work there doing work here then I fell pregnant. Then I stayed at home for another little while and working also here and there.

Interviewer: What kind of work would you do?

Respondent: I did receptionist work, I was a cashier a cleaner and a waiter.

Interviewer: Why did you stop working then at those jobs?

Respondent: The receptionist was actually at my Aunty's place as a casual. The cashier the people moved close the shop down the cleaner it was for Fedex in Parow. That was now recently that was when I started living on the streets in left it maar and the waiter I started with the drugs.

Interviewer: So why did you leave Fedex?

Respondent: Cause then I started staying on the streets, cause I had nowhere to go to nowhere to wash things like that. That is why I left.

Interviewer: Then you went to Spur, you worked at Spur.

Respondent: No, I was first at Spur and then Fedex.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about these jobs you've done, how was your experience doing those jobs.

Respondent: Interesting, I am a really fast learner I can, it was really interesting I must say I did well with my jobs. But when I started my drugs when I was a waiter, everything went

to the downfall.

Interviewer: In the previous discussion, we talked about your ex boyfriend that introduced you or that you talked about now to the different types of tik right. Can you go back and talk about the experience, the first time experience.

Respondent: That time I use to work at Spur, I use to work late hours, then he would come fetch me and I would throw petrol in, I would buy me a beer and I would give him money to buy them tik. Then I have to tell them moenie don't blow the smoke here by me, you will get me addicted. Nah it will never happen and all that and just one Saturday they bought yellow tail and I told him come let me try. I was still uitgevreet ook nog cause I took the thing and did it myself. Yoh that experience it made me totally high cause then I got hot-flushes, then I got cold, then I got hot, then I got cold again then I got hot again stuff like that. That's how I started with yellow tail.

Interviewer: Before you started to use was there any emotions going through you at that time or any particular reason why you would use?

Respondent: Uh uhm

Interviewer: Okay, why do you think you continued to use?

Respondent: I like the feeling [giggle] and I got addicted to it that time. It felt like it made me feel lekker. But once the stuff is out of your system then you feel very, lekker there is a whole in your stomach. You just want to eat, you feel moody, you feel helpless. It makes you hyperactive and than all the hyperactive is not there anymore. You did things you clean the house from top to bottom and stuff like that. And now that it is out of your system you feel helpless dan wil jy niks meer doen nie. You just want to lay and sleep. That's why I would go back for more just to get that rhythm that hyperactive rhythm back again that's why.

Interviewer: And then, every time you would use, do you remember what would happen before you would go use?

Respondent: How you mean?

Interviewer: How would you feel before you use, would there be reasons for you to use?

Respondent: Anxious, there is not actually reasons but thats why I just had a feeling before I go use. Excited I can say actually I couldn't wait, lets maar say rather that I couldn't wait. I couldn't wait to get at home just to do it.

Interviewer: And, how did you meet your husband?

Respondent: I met him at a friends house.

Interviewer: Why did you break-up with this exboyfriend that introduced you to 'tik'.

Respondent: I just stayed away from him.

Interviewer: Why?

Respondent: I dunno, we never got in contact again together, he also, he went to Mitchells Plain somewhere we just went away we just stayed apart from each other and then I met my husband also at a friends house there in Gaylee that is how I met him.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about the day you got married?

Respondent: On a Saturday and it was raining like cats and dogs.

Interviewer: Did you have a wedding?

Respondent: Not a big wedding cause I was pregnant and I had a child. It was just at home his mother and his aunties came and my family came and a few friends.

Interviewer: Okay, tell me about the day.

Respondent: Yoh it was the most incredible and exciting day of my life. Although I wasn't in the same room I was in a separate room him and the Imam and my granny was in the other room it was fine that's the day I will never forget I will always cherish it. I couldn't wait to get married I couldn't wait and everything was just my uncle gave a R300 and with that R300 my aunty gave a R200 with so it was a R500 for cake and food and juice the money made it just-just for everything. I didn't have a wedding dress or nothing. I had on my tarp a white tarp and scarf my cousin did my make-up and plucked my eye-brows but it was nice.

Interviewer: And what was your relationship like after the wedding where did you stay?

Respondent: Here in Gaylee in a separate entrance with my husband. It was alright for a couple of months that's when that true colours started to show. Didn't come home on weekends we use to fight a lot stuff like that.

Interviewer: Where would he be if I didn't come home on weekends?

Respondent: I don't know, until today I really don't know.

Interviewer: What were the things, you said things like that why you would fight and the true colours.

Respondent: That is the, they always say you know your partner until the day you get married dan kom die regte waarheid mos uit. The true colours, so and we would fight over the simplest, the simplest things we mostly to do drugs now if I wanted to do drugs and



then he's drugged and I knows he's drugged and I'm not drugged and he doesn't give me then I'll start an argument so mostly over the drugs that's why.

Interviewer: How was the relationship like with his family?

Respondent: Oh me and his grandmother until now, until today she can't stand me, she doesn't like me cause I'm older than him and have a son that's not his. Like me and his mother but his mother passed away recently were very close I could ask her anything I will ask her anything and she actually would give. She ask me if I would have and I would give. Me and his mother were very close. Daai is nou een skoonma wat ek sal that I will always love.

Interviewer: How was the day that you finally left your husband? What happened that day?

Respondent: Heartbroken, he chose his granny and his uncle they gave him an ultimatum, he and my baby can stay but I must leave. So he chose his family, he chose his family on top of me over me.

Interviewer: What happened after that?

Respondent: I started crying I didn't know where to go to that is the day I finally was alone.

Interviewer: What did you do after that?

Respondent: Skarrel, that how I became a skarrelkind.

Interviewer: Where was the first night you slept?

Respondent: In their yard, without them knowing, before they wake up to go to work then I would leave I would sit at the garage and then the day I would walk up and down, make like nothing is going on but then I'll also have a sad face, but then I'll smile and but then I'll also have a sad face on that sad face, but then I'll smile and but then the night I'll just go again find a place for me.

**Participant, Interview 3**

Interviewer: Janine Jantjies

Narrator: Slayer

Date: 08/09/2010

Place of interview: New Birth Youth Centre, Gaylee Blackheath

Interviewer: So how are you feeling today?

Respondent: Alright, I'm excellent or good, lekker.

Interviewer: How's the groups going?

Respondent: The group is fine; at least we know each other by now. What we've been through and now we know how to handle each other.

Interviewer: And on Friday when you did your mask.

Respondent: Life story.

Interviewer: How was that for you?

Respondent: Okay it was, overwhelming. I had to have the trust with my colleges because its like the Johares window, you know.

Interviewer: The Johares, can you explain that to me?

Respondent: The Johares window, it's got four windows, its open, that's window number one, window number two is blind, window number three is unknown and window number four is hidden. It works anti-clockwise. Clock, Clockwise from one to four.

Interviewer: And how did you learn about this?

Respondent: Through Creswell, about our life story is actually of our Johares witness, cause I actually spoke more about my hidden deepest darkest secrets no-one knows about I shared with the group.

Interviewer: And how do you feel now after you shared that?

Respondent: Enlightening. It relieved some of the pressure of stuff I kept secret for how many years. It's actually a type of relieve I can say.

Interviewer: Okay, so we spoke about last time about what happened to you, we spoke about your life story. So today I am going to ask you more specific questions. But, I want to ask you to... When you go to your grandmother ask her about her life. Do you mind doing that?

Respondent: No, I'll go ask her.

Interviewer: And then next time that I see you that it is not a problem that I ask you.

Respondent: No, I will ask her.

Interviewer: Okay, today, is there anything specific you want to talk about?

Respondent: Not really, you tell me what you want to know. Cause I actually spoke about most of it, everything to you that I that I can remember.

Interviewer: There was something on Friday you spoke about and you said your mother and you. Things you haven't told me yet. Do you mind telling me more about her, what was she like and how was the times you spend together?

Respondent: That time? When I was small?

Interviewer: Yes.

Respondent: What she was like. [silence] ooh, I really don't know. But I know she was a drinker and she was a smoker. A button-kop. Say rather maar that and she hang out with most of the guys. Ja, that how I can remember my mother. A drinker and a button-kop.

Interviewer: Okay, what type of person was she?

Respondent: Tomboy [ss] She did everything that a guy, guys does man. A tomboy, like, the other like a tomboy. You know what a guy use to do my mother use to do. That was the person she was. She can stand on her own two feet and where fighting was involved with one of the family, she was the one that, that always interfere, don't mess with my family then you mess with me [ss].

Interviewer: Tell me what type of drugs did you use? Before you tried tik?

Respondent: Me?

Interviewer: Yes?

Respondent: I smoked dagga, ek het genoeg ge-drug ne, ecstasy. I popped E's Uhm ja just that.

Interviewer: Did you consider yourself addicted to those drugs before the tik?

Respondent: Er- Erm, I only did it for... Not every weekend but, most of the weekends. I used it cause of parties and Friday I wouldn't go out of my way like I did with 'tik'.

Interviewer: Why do you think, You started using tik?

Respondent: For the fun of it because like I said my eldest son's father he use to come pick me up every night when I use to work late at Spur. Then I'll buy me a beer and I'll buy him a bag for him and his friends and they'll blow the smoke in my face [inaudible] and just one Saturday I decided okay, too see what the fun was all about, let me try it.

Interviewer: Why do you think most people continue to use tik?

Respondent: The crowd, the environment, wrong friends and for the fun of it.

Interviewer: Listening to your peers and listening to some of their life stories. What were some of the things that stood out for you of some of the reasons why they use tik?

Respondent: Some things that I went through. Family problems, friends, the whole crowd. Peer pressure, depression, alone, lonely. Ja, stuff like that. Family problems [silence]

Interviewer: Why do you think, like now you would use it? Like you said you used it for fun and after a while why do you think you used it.

Respondent: Experience. To see how it feels like, till the next one, to feel very, how can I say now hyperactive. Others just wanna rook with me.

Interviewer: And after that?

Respondent: Why I kept on doing it?

Interviewer: Ja.

Respondent: Depression, alonesome, friends that I had. All my problems that I had that I kept inside was eating me up and I needed something to calm me down. That is why I did it.

Interviewer: Okay. [silence] You've said that you use tik to calm you down. What are the reasons you need to be calm.

Respondent: A bad day, stressful, fragile depression. How can I say now, it all works up inside of me and it starts eating me, and I'm just afraid that I might do something stupid; break in or steal and lie again, and I'll go for that it would just relax me now. Because all of that is now going through my mind it is actually that for the rush time a hyper time. Then I would go use it and for exactly why I would go use. I'd be in my own world. Then I won't think about why I might. Before I use it, I want to kill myself. All that depression is coming up now I go look for it now. After that, I am back where I want to be, my world. It actually calms me a little down, relieves a little pain. Not all the pain but five percent of the pain of all there is and I'm back to myself again.

Interviewer: Can you tell me are there a lot of people in your area that use tik?

Respondent: Er-erm. Like I said earlier on, Gaylee is a trigger for me because from my Aunty's yard just to walk to the corner of the shop is triggers. 'Koppel a five rand man ek is 'n tien rand voor. The majority, just go stand at the shop, is all tik-koppe is all tik addicts. Left, right, centre, you name it.

Interviewer: The yellow shop around the corner?

Respondent: Ja, that muslim shop.

Interviewer: What do you think what type of people use tik?

Respondent: Gangsters, people that also have problems and some of the people that come out of decent homes only use it for fun and the wrong group of friends. But majority that I've seen are children that come out of decent homes that has parents that have no problems at all but then once they get out of the world then they mix with the wrong friends and they'll do it. So you don't actually have get a right person. You cant actually say what type of person that would use tik. A family, a good family house, the wrong family house either way; you'll get a tik-kop.

Interviewer: Do you prefer 'tik' to other drugs? Do you think tik is better than other drugs?

Respondent: Er-erm. How do you mean?

Interviewer: Do you like it more than other drugs?

Respondent: I can't say I like it more than other drugs. Because tik really destroyed my life, it ruined my life totally. Cause out of everything that I had, family, friends my children, my husband. I won't say it is good than other drugs like marijuana or ecstasy and that. So I won't advise other people that is not a smoker to try it out, because I know what the circumstances and the consequences are of using the drug.

Respondent: It's my granny she doesn't want to disturb her.

Interviewer Thank you very much.

## APPENDIX F: NARRATIVE IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In the Western Cape but I don't know which hospital. I was a 7 month premature baby. (Page 1) The 27<sup>th</sup> of April '82. (Page 1)

Now she's the one that raised me ne, when my mother threw me away. I was not raised by my parents. My grandmother raised me. That's why I say she's my role model. (page 4) Cause of probable because I was a premature baby right That was the time my father went to prison I was seventh I was a kangaroo baby so I so my mother use to brag to her friends then I got sick and she couldn't handle me so she gave me to my grandmother she couldn't handle that I was sick cause handle hospital in hospital out hospital in cause at the age the baby should be taken care of and then my granny she gave me to my granny.(page 27-28)

Meningitis, I don't remember the others. All I can remember is that I could fit in a shoebox [giggle]. I could fit in a shoebox thats what they told me. (page 28)I grew up with my granny. Cause I grew up as a Muslim, my grandmother was a Muslim and I grew up as a Muslim. (page 6) It was lekker. She actually raised me as her own, that I can say like her own daughter cause I got spoiled everything was done for me I could evens until I was big my granny did my washing made up okay I made up my bed now she would feed me and she would do my dishes everything was done for me so my granny spoiled me... (page 28)We stayed in Kensington at that time and I went to Gateway crèche that was also in Kensington. (page10) [silence] I met okay my granny took me to my father cause he was in Brandvlei prison in Worcester every second Sunday we use to go with the bus and like I said my father was a father. I didn't know he was a gangster at that time and that but I loved him. He gave me chocolates his friends would buy me chocolates in jail paintings he made me a boat because he was a father cause he didn't know my daddy was a my daddy was my daddy until what he told me recently my father cause I always had the respect for him to say that he was a gangster and all that. Me and my daddy's relationship was very tight. (page 28)

But all I things, that although she threw me away and gave me to my granny then she came to fetch me when I was still in crèche, I can still remember, and the things that happened that with her on that weekend that I turned my heart and I told myself that I don't have a mother. (page 4) What she was like. [silence] ooh, I really don't know. But I know she was a drinker

and she was a smoker. A button-kop. Say rather maar that and she hang out with most of the guys. Ja, that how I can remember my mother. A drinker and a button-kop. Sexual abuse by her boyfriend. (page 4) I can't remember what day I just know I was sleeping me and my mother had an argument and then I can't know what happened next and the next thing I remember he were busy with his fingers here at the bottom and I was crying I asked him to stop I started crying and turned I looked up and I saw she was sitting there on the other bed looking at me she was smiling. Telling me I mustn't cry everything will be alright stuff like that and then the following weekend just happened the same thing, make me suck his dinges or he will put his... in here by me stuff like that. Like bad memories [crying] (page 30) Ha-ah no. I must talk about it. But I haven't even told my granny about it. None of my friends knows about it. Not even my granny knows about. It is just while she was in the room sitting there on the bed then he would come and abuse me. She would say nothing and do nothing. Although I would cry out help me... Hmmm nothing. (page 5) Not always one weekend, It was Saturday, every weekend she came to fetch me and she would bring me back on a Monday and Monday I will never be in school on Tuesday I'll go to school (page29). Helpless, If I can still uhm... If I can remember that is the time I turned away and said I that I don't have a mother anymore... (page 5) I still feel exactly the same way cause it all started with her and while I was growing up things that always just leads back the same things when I was small. (page 5) What she was like. [silence] ooh, I really don't know. But I know she was a drinker and she was a smoker. A button-kop. Say rather maar that and she hang out with most of the guys. Ja, that how I can remember my mother. A drinker and a button-kop.(page 44) Tomboy [ss] She did everything that a guy, guys does man. A tomboy, like, the other like a tomboy. You know what a guy use to do my mother use to do. That was the person she was. She can stand on her own two feet and where fighting was involved with one of the family, she was the one that, that always interfere, don't mess with my family then you mess with me [ss]. (page44)

The first primary school I went to was HJ Krugerberg that was only until standard one, that school only goes to standard one. While staying there, that was the time my granny-them moved to Eerste River (page 10) Cause she mos stayed by my Aunty. Cause my Aunty-them wanted to move and she had to go with my Aunty-them (page 30)...and the lady that lived

opposite my granny was my granny's best friend. I use to stay there by them and her two sons also use to abuse me while I was little. They would make me suck their... their 'dinges' ... their move. (page 10)

I told no-one about it then I didn't want to stay there anymore so, I moved to Bonteheuwel where my aunty lives. My grandmother's sister. She is the one I call mammie. The one that stays here in Gaylee now. I call her mommy. (page 10) That's where I met a whole different life gangsterism and smoking. (page 25) Primary school I attended, Arcadia Primary in Bonteheuwel. That was until standard four. (page 6) Erm, from standard two till standard four I lived in Bonteheuwel, ten, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, five or six years.(page 31)There I became a tomboy, I played with boys. I also got sexual abused by the gangsters..(page10). Not actually that's only when I started to learn about the gangsters only about the age of eleven and up.(page29)

Sexual abuse also through the gangsters I learned to shoot gun stuff like that and then because the house in Bonteheuwel that that I got my aunty-them, my granny's sister that I call 'mammie' ons se huis was elke dag geskiet op eventually we had to get bulletproof windows in cause every day I was laying under my Aunty's bed because of the bullets that went through the house the gangsters hoe kan ek sê het kring daar gesit because when you open lift up my Aunty's ceiling just lift it up you can feel the guns the bullets that lay there the knives even in the yard in the backyard also I knew I knew where the bullets were stuff like that and from Bonteheuwel I couldn't wait to leave there so... (page 25)

It was gangsters paradise cause we, my Aunty stays in Bonteheuwel like I said was everyday. Die Dixi boys het altyd daar kom skiet. Because that was the Yakees and the Funckies. My aunty's my nephew was a Yakee.(page 31) Erm, or its JCY or JFK's. Junior [inaudible]. Yakee and the Juncky Funky kids.(page 31)

Cause my nephew was a gangster and my nephew made a Dixi the leaders of the Dixi-boys sister pregnant Shahieda. Thats why he couldn't he couldn't crash and Shahieda het elke. Not only because of that only because the other gangsters use to come to sit there by my aunty-them. The Funckies and the Yakees that was actually die kring plek. The gathering place for



the gangsters and then other gangsters would come and shoot on them and there were times me and my cousin stand by the gate then the Dixies would stand on the left hand side and the and the Funkies Yakees would stand on the right hand side. And we would make bets who would die first and the bullets would go just so past us. Then we would say he is going to die now that one is going to die.(Page31-page32)

When I first experienced gangsterism was in Bonteheuwel and how it happened first we became friends. I use to hang out with the group saam kring gesit at the gameshop with the Yakees and the Funkies territory was the gameshop now. It was just when one of the Yakees tried their luck with me man. I don't know what they wanted to take my money or something like that. Ek't my man gestaan, I hit him with the pool stick over his head and I threw him with the eight ball in his testicles and that's when the others saw I can stand up for myself and so they ask me do you want to be part of the girls? So the girls asked me do I want to be part of the girls. So I figured why not cause I can can stand up for myself that time.(page 35)

Okay shoot gun, mes gestiek if the guy had problems with other gangsters then we use to go under cover for them and lure now one of the Dixi boys to away from his group to a place where no-one will know and then the Yakees and the Funkies will save us and I'll give them a sign this and that now and then one, two, three, then they will do their thing and I will go. (page 35)Okay I've stabbed a lots of people yes. Shot I shot a girl in the ankle once [giggle] this was on a field on the met. (page 35)She was a Dixi girl.(page 36)The met its an open field where they play soccer and rugby man they call it the met and shot on cars yes other gangs cars other people's houses for fun sometimes at night and like that all.(page 35) That became like it wasn't for me anymore the gangsters paradise. Huh-uh I thought I was going to die there.(page 32)

[ss] ... Ja... The standard four, I finished at Arcadia Primary I came back I moved back with my grandmother in Eerste River in standard five... [cough]... sorry... (page 10) Standard four I came to live with my granny here in Eerste River, where I attended Tuscany Glen Primary till standard five and Malibu high was my high school. (Page6)

I don't remember where to begin. Joh. Okay like I said né Okay everything was going smooth but me and my uncle couldn't stand each other, I don't know why. Only when he was 'gerook', when he was 'gerook' I like was his daughter, make me this and all that. Other than that ek en hy het altyd vasgesit things like that. (page 11)

That's when I started high school, that's when my life started on my own. I became a Satanist went out with gangsters. Joh... (page 11)

Okay. On high school we were five, we came together, five girls. We were called the BBT's. (page 6) BBT's, Bad bitches in town but for the principle it was Brave beautiful teenagers. (page 6) And for then [inaudible recording] called us bal byters. I don't know one of my friends called us that I don't know why. But we were five best friends on high school from standard six. Joh all the nonsense we caught on. We were everyday in the principal's office everyone was afraid of us, especially me. Because I was a Satanist also. (page 6) Not school friends, friends outside school. Okay there were people that were on school like a part of my few friends, it was at a club. I went to a club with one of my friends and this is how I met this guy and through this guy he introduced me to part of this group and I felt like group. They told me a lot of interested stuff, interesting stuff, the fun and all that. But min te weet it is only to get more people to come to the group and stuff like that. (page 37) I came mixed up with the wrong friends, the Satanist group. I became a Satanist that where I actually found love to be honest.

Not now. I can tell anyone but then they are listening to what I am saying do you understand? Im not that totally out of it. But there is someone that's gonna help me get out of the group. He lives here in Greenfields. (page 37) Once you've signed your name with blood in a book you can't come completely out. (page 37) I know some of the people die yes. That's the only way. But then you already sold your soul. (page 37) I did but I don't think, now I don't believe it anymore. I still have my soul. Not just that also my children's life is also ineffect [inaudible] (page 37)

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They gave me love that not even my own family gave me Even though I knew my granny still loved me and that's when I started to slack down on my schoolwork cause I was a straight A student, A's ,B's, A and B but then from standard six, high school I slacked down to D's and E's and F's. Didn't do my homework didn't do this became a gangster on school a BBT, still a Satanist, I actually ruled Malibu High I'd rather say everybody knew I was a Satanist evens the principal also sacrifices on school we did a lot of things I fought on school I had a boyfriend on school my high school love from standard six to standard nine.Okay then he started hitting me like I said like my ex boyfriends start abuse hitting me I couldn't talk to this guy jealousy all that but then ek het ook my dinge gedoen hy het my geleer om dagga te rook om groen [inaudible recording] te rook en skool gebank en Wednesday I left school I didn't look back didn't want to go to school anymore because me and my ex broke up (page 25 – page 26)

We were five best friends. We went out together. Okay we smoked together smoked dagga together we went to clubs together we went to..... Everywhere we went we were the five of us and anything would happen to my friends like their boyfriends would use to hit them. I am the one that always use to hit the guys cause I didn't like it. To do it to my friends I couldn't handle it I couldn't take it, stuff like that. But we were five best friends until we all separated.(page 33-page34) We tried that for fun.(page 34) We all decide together, not it was

me, Macky and Danielle. But me and Danielle was actually... More into the dagga than the other three girls [giggle] (page 34) Okay, then we girls how can I say, we started like lesbians became lesbian just between the five of us. Just the five, just the five of us experiment on the five of us now stuff like that. Now that was now times I really enjoyed.(page 34) For catching on nonsense on like in the E-block we, I don't know if it was the C-block or the E-block. The C-block we had our own toilet. Girls toilet okay everyone is welcome but we had our own cubicle that's the last toilet.(page34) That's the BBT's toilet en daar was groot geskryf. Do not enter and if I catch you here face the consequences. I was hard I was caught fighting on school or swearing at the teachers or catch us with cigarettes or dagga on school stuff like that. We were everyday in the principal's office. Rather for fighting or smoking or bunking and they use to come fetch us, the principal use to come fetch us where we are things like that [giggle] or ditching classrooms sitting at the back of the field things like that. (page 34)

Grade11 (page 38) I didn't want to do matric. Cause they said you had to start wearing your name badges on your shirt and have that SUB A bags with the that layers, so I said Oh no, I am really sorry that's why I left school. (page 38) I really don't know where they are. Cause we all split up the day we left school. After high school we went our own ways. (page6) Standard five for the first year, for the first half of the year it was cool that's when me and my granny that's when my uncle started to show his true colours. My friends couldn't come there, I couldn't go out I couldn't smoke I couldn't drink I. Six-o-clock was the latest we had to be washed and in bed already. He treated me as a small one. But whenever he is gerook then ooh the she's my daughter then I must do this for him then I must do that for him. But then he would forget about the other time he use to hit me and measure my food plate hy sou altyd geskel het as ek nou in the afternoons I came home from school I make me now, I use to eat four slices of bread with a little coffee with salami or egg. Hy het altyd geskel as ek die salami gevat her of eier gevat het. "Ja ek werk nie vir 'n p- nie." Ja ek werk vir jou but he didn't work for me yet and when I fell pregnant so it was another thing. Toe moet ek weer gehoor het ja hy werk vir my kind en hy het vir my kind nie eers so 'n dingetjie gekoop nie. Not evens a nappy or a wessie that he bought. So, hy't all that times he use to say that I use to keep my mouth. Ek het altyd my mond gehou. But this one day when I was now gatvol, fedup, is when I back chatted to him and I threw my porridge down one morning on my way

to work and I told him. Jy's nie my pa nie en it doesn't give you the... for how many years I kept my mouth for how many months I kept my mouth shut now and enough is enough. And he said he didn't like the way I speak to him and I threw him with the pan in his face the whole time and that was the time he threw me out. En is ja ek werk vir jou vir jou kind so I said, you never worked for me and he never worked for me. My granny worked for me okay. My granny bought me stuff and my Aunty buys me stuff for me and my son you never give me a single thing. So jy kan niks sê nie. So I walked out and banged the door and I went to my granny and I told my Granny that he said I must go I don't belong there. Im not part of his family and all that and said that's fine and I left evens until, until today I don't greet him I don't look at him. (page 32-page 33)

Then I fell pregnant I raised my son on my own until three years old and then I moved to Blackheath cause my uncle threw me out I moved there by my Aunty there in Blackheath that is where I met my husband but before that

I fell pregnant for the before the time. I lied and stole from my family. Joh alot of things joh. This is not even half of it. That's when like I said, I fell pregnant also with the gang rape. Got my first son. (page 11) I fell pregnant at the age of 19. Yes, I gave birth when I turned... No I lie, yes 19 I gave birth when I was 20, when I turned 21 my son turned 1. (page 33) My uncle, threw me out and I came to stay with my aunty in Gaylee. (page 33) At first I didn't tell them [giggle] I hid it away for three months cause I knew when it I was gonna tell them before the three months I was afraid they were going to tell me to go for an abortion. So I kept it away from them for three months until four months. They found out themselves. My granny actually found out. Because the only reason they found out is to do with the onions. The morning my granny still ask one morning to clean the onions. But just that smell of the onions I couldn't take it so I ran to the toilet and when I came out of the toilet she told me you pregnant ne and so I couldn't lie anymore so I said yes and I had white marks on my face. Now that time my other cousin saw she was a nurse she works in Saudi Arabia that's how she saw I was pregnant the white marks on my face. After that my granny was the ultimate with the onions [laughter]. (page 36) I met my ex boyfriend he is the one that introduced me to the tik thats when I started using 'tik'. I worked at Spur with my ex boyfriend he and me lived in Beverly Park thats where he taught me how to use tik and that's

where I started off with Yellow tail. I worked at Spur with my ex boyfriend he and me lived in Beverly Park that's where he taught me how to use tik and that's where I started off with Yellow tail. (page 26) That's when I threw my life away for four years [silence]. Is skoon werk clean work. There is a difference also you can taste it also there is a difference in taste as well. That is where I started off with yellow tail and Joh that Saturday I will never forget [giggle] because it made me hard and it made me a totally different person it made me like then I got hot flushes, feelings and flushes that I never got before with my exes [giggle] I got it with him with was totally different and that from there then I use to come from work then me and him go up we go to my friends house in Gaylee before I go home I would smoke a few pipes three bags and that's where I met my husband cause he was also a 'tikker'. We started getting together I fell pregnant again got married and still using the drug cause I used it as well I used it for four years and he used it more than me but I was more addicted to the stuff than he was I actually planned, lied and stealed from my family and friends to do drugs and now I am here where I am. [ss] (page 27) Joh... That's a lot hey... What else... I can't evens think straight anymore, just to go back and no-one knows about it joh. Not evens my family, not eves my granny knows all the stuff I went through.(page 11)

I'm not as heavy into drugs as the first 3 years when I've started, I was addicted. I use to do it, I worked at Spur ne. It was my last job, I was a waitress. Tips they would give me goes in my pocket and the other would go on the computer than at the end of the day then they keep record for my granny to see how many tips I made on a little paper. But they don't know how many tips I've kept behind. Sometime R300 to R340 and ill smoke every night. I had to smoke every single day. But now I'm not like that anymore. I do it now and then.(page 19)

Ek het hulle gespoil. I spoiled my kids rotten. My kids knew I did the drug cause they always use... Okay I know it was wrong of me to take them I always use to walk with them to the merchant. But I tell them I'm going to mommy's friend. My eldest son (page 15) knew about it, if I go smoke he would go fetch the thing for me out where his daddy used to hide it. My husband now. Then he brings it. But he knows and he doesn't talk out but my kids always come first. I would first get them stuff and then afterwards if I still have money left, then I would buy the drug. My kids was my everything. I didn't wanted ... Like the life what I went through I didn't want them to go through it. The same to happen to them. But it looks like the same to happen to them. But it looks like the cycle is repeating itself (page 16)

Look at January this year when I got raped also. (page 11) It was a whole planned thing; I was on my way to the Garage, to go buy me cigarettes. Me and my friends. So they ask me for cigarette. So I told them when I come back from the garage I will give them the cigarette when I come back so He told me Nicole and Simoné is sitting there this other two girls who sat there, that was (page 11) 12, I won't 12 'o' clock he left. But then I left my scarf and my cap there, so I went to go fetch it the following day. So his friend came to call me. Ja Sam het gesê jy moet jou goed kom haal netnou gaan Bernie weer skel. Toe sê ek okay ek wil nou nie moeilikheid he nie. I don't want to cause any trouble I'd rather go fetch it. Sam opened the door, I was in the middle and his friend was at the back and when he opened the door he pushed me in and when they locked the door. I know this is now something to kill me rape and kill me or just rape me. But I know something was going to happen. (page 12)

Ja, here in Gaylee and I cursed every single person in Gaylee and before that for three years I was heavy on tik. Then I left the smoking then I started the smoking again. Cause I couldn't I can't take it anymore. Then, I never, my granny was always the one that was there for me. This wasn't my life. Living like this skarreling for food stuff like that. But eventually I said Huh-uh, I give up hope already, because I can't do it anymore. After all that I am keeping everything inside and it started eating me up. Day-by day, I am just afraid I might lose it and just do something. I might do something I'm going to regret doing. But then there are also my children. Because I grew up without a mother and now my children will go will go through exactly the same thing and I don't want that. [silence] It's my fault. (page 11- page 12) It happened on a Sunday. I begged him to let, me go and all that. I didn't sleep, that night I was awake whole morning. He was laying in front under the blanket and I was on top of the blanket in the corner and I was crying, I knew something was going to happen. I prayed to Allah to protect me then I don't know what happened here was 6 o'clock, to six. I just closed my eyes for 5 minutes, when I opened it the knife was here by my throat. My hands were tight (strapped) and then he started getting busy and for a fine cheek he still told me ja that he loves me. How can you say you love someone... joh... I couldn't even walk properly... [silence] (page 13) He told me that I can't I mustn't shout mustn't cry and if I cry he will cut my throat, I was just laying there crying inside. I just said he must get done so I can just get up and get out. Then he went to the toilet so I was looking for the key, I lit my last cigarette and looked under the bed the key was in the middle of the bed and the handle of the

door this was also there in the middle. I took it out, I struggled a little bit, eventually I came and I unlocked the door and I left and I banged the door closed and I saw nobody in the road. When I saw my two friends I start to burst out and I fainted. And when I came back they asked me what happened and I told them what happened.(page 14) They said I must phone the police station so I said joh, I don't want to phone the police station because I was scared man. I want to go to my granny. But then they encouraged me that I must go, but then I got the courage and went down to the police station. (page14) I laid my case, they took me to hospital, they took me to Karlbremmer hospital for tests and all that I went on anti-retroviral (ARV's). But every time I have to go... then I left Gaylee, I didn't come back to Gaylee again. I would go so for 2 weeks then I'd come back when I have to go too hospital, then I must come sleep by my aunty then then I come back when I have to disappear again, the whole time. (page 14) No he went to prison, He came and out of bail R300 and he told everyone ja that I pulled the case back, but I didn't. So he told me one night yes, while me and my friends were still smoking. So he called me so I told him Ja wat wil jy hê? So he said thank you. Toe sê ek hoekom moet jy vir my dankie sê? Ja want ek het die saak terug (page 14) getrek maar ek het nie die saak terug getrek nie. Ek moet vir jou dankie sê, want jy het my lewe.. He messed up my whole life. Yes, he said he had a black out, he couldn't help it. Toe sê ek vir hom moenie kak praat saam my nie. But I was a first girl that laid a case against him and I just walked away. He did it to so many other girls already, but I was the first one that he did it to that I went to the police station in Gaylee.(page 15) A lot of people told me that knows him now. And not just that also they told me he has AIDS also. That's why when I did a HIV test I could never get a reading. Positive or negative, couldn't get a reading on my HIV- test. (page 15)

My father because like I told you I cut him I cut him out of my life did I tell you that one? When I stayed there for a week and I regret it cause this is what he told me he loves me as his daughter and that he will always be there for me as his daughter before this he told me that if I need anything I can just phone him that he will always help me through this no matter what I need I can always ask him. But that specific Friday he asked me this, a few questions. Like he told me that he loves me as his daughter that he will have sex with me and that he will lick my private parts and that I will come back for more even though I have children I know what a penis means stuff like that I know what a penis is. I got raped and what does it make it for



you, I can't sleep with him. He is blood stuff like that and its how can that is why I say how can you say that you (page22) love this person but then you ask such nonsense and my father's fifty-two years old (page 23) Yoh, I felt very alone, I didn't know him I told myself that is not my father and that was just when I made up my mind I want nothing to do with him anymore. He must not phone me or even contact me or ask how I am I want nothing to do with him because a father that tells that he loves his daughter, will always be there and a father that I respect even though he was in jail for how many years and I respected him. Hy sal, hy sal nie vir my sulke dinge sê nie cause what gave him that idea even like I said I gave him a hug I never like hugged him I always and that not what I did. But I still can't get over it. How can someone they love you but then they ask you such questions they want to do things to you like that. (page 23)

Also my stepfather also me and my husband stayed at their place for the time being. But he disliked my husband. He didn't like my husband didn't want my husband to come He said there is place for me and my two kids but not my husband. But then my aunties my mothers sisters-them said when she called dat hy myself wil beet kry and he tried it once and I kicked him in his balls. So and he also said no I'll be there for you and I'll love you as my own daughter and stuff like that. But see now, what they are trying to do.[silence] (page 23)

Tik? It relax me a little, it makes me very hyperactive but when I'm see now like this né when I'm crying and all that I will go smoke a pipe all that. It's actually for me to calm myself down. I know that is not the right way to do it but that's what makes me very hyperactive then I can't sleep. Like I told them inside earlier in the session the last time I that I slept or was it now last month or was it, I was up for the whole week actually awake. I couldn't sleep ate nothing for this whole week from to Sunday to the Sunday I was awake. (page 18) I used in between for that whole week I used it, Monday we did it no we did it on Wednesday maybe Tuesday one drag then Wednesday we smoke three drags out. Weekends we smoke a half a gram stuff like that.(page 19) We work for our money. We wash people's cars or wash the windows or I hang up my auntie's washing for a R20, I'll do it for a R20 or R30. Not like at first where we would make a way, go steal or go lie for money. (page 19)

But I know it's not the way to go man. Seeing that I lost my husband my kids is not with me I'm sleeping in my auntie's backyard due to drugs. I know this is not the way out. I will be off it I know I will. (page 19) Maybe this is the first step, this new youth life programme, New Youth life programme, maybe it is maybe it's not I really don't know. But this is for Allah to say man. If Pastor can see hope in me why can't I? Cause I still got the negative inside of me everything is still negative inside of me everything is still negative I still don't see the positive side [ss] (page 24)



## APPENDIX G: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

NR	Ecological Systems	Domains	Emerging themes & Primary Theme	Location
1	INDIVIDUAL	Individual Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal problems</li> </ul>	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stress</li> </ul>	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Depression &amp; Negative affectivity               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Feelings of hopelessness</li> <li>○ Suicidal ideations</li> <li>○ Loneliness</li> <li>○ Fear</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>P,17, p.18, p.23, p.24, p.45 &amp; p.46</p> <p>p.15, p. 17, p.18, p.23</p> <p>p. 23, p.46</p> <p>p. 45</p> <p>p. 24</p>
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Past substance use</li> </ul>	<p>p.12, p.34, p.44</p>
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resilience vs. Lack of resilience               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Juvenile Delinquent behaviour</li> <li>○ School dropout</li> <li>○ Teenage Pregnancy and Motherhood</li> <li>○ Sexual promiscuity</li> <li>○ Rebel against authority</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>p.11, p.19, p.25, p.26, p.27, p.34, p.35, p.36 &amp; p.50</p> <p>p.26 &amp; p.38</p> <p>p. 26, p.33, p.34, p.36, p.37, p.38, p.49, p.50</p> <p>p.26</p> <p>p.32 &amp; p.33</p>

2	MICRO	Family Domain Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Imbalanced (Dysfunctional) Family Structure           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maternal abandonment (Cede maternal responsibilities )</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.28 p.28, p.48 & p.51
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uninvolved 'biological' parents</li> <li>• Lack of supportive relationships</li> <li>• Family stressors (her perceptions of drug use)</li> <li>• Custodial Parents           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Grandmother as custodial Parent</li> <li>◆ Other Family relatives as guardians</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.9, p.25 & p.28 p.5, p.22, p.23 & p.29 p.45 p.4, p.10, p.25, p.28. & p.33 p.25, p.31
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Parental Modeling           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcohol and drug use</li> <li>• Violent behaviour</li> <li>• Criminal behaviour</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.11, p.23, p.32, p.44 & p.48 p.44 p.9, p.10, p.23, p.44 & p.48
3	Peer Domain factors		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Peer influence &amp; Delinquent behaviour</li> </ul>	p.6, p.34, p.35 & p.49
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Group acceptance           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satanism</li> <li>• Gang-related involvement</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.6, p.7, p.11, p.26, p.37, p.38 & p.49 p. 11, p. 18, p.26, p.27, p.34 & p.39

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Peer Exposure           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Substance Use</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.11, p.18, p.26, p.34 p.39, p.45 & p.46
4	Mesosystem		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Childhood disequilibrium           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Relocation of schools</li> <li>○ Relocation of homes</li>   <li>○ Lack of emotional attachment</li> <li>○ Lack of support               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Emotional</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p. 6., p.10, p.11, p. 14, p.25, p.26, p.27,p.30, p.31. p.48, p.49, p.50  p.7, p.10
5	Exosystem	Social Milieu	◆ Availability & Accessibility of drugs	p.46
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Ubiquitous/Social Norm           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drugs and alcohol</li> <li>• Gangsterism/ criminology</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.12 & p.25  p.12, p.25, p.26, p.29, p.30, p.31, p.32, p.35 & p.49
			◆ Poor Law enforcement	p.14
6	Macro	Social Support	◆ Poor Social Conditions	p.12 & p.36
7		The cycle of Abuse	◆ Sexual Abuse during childhood	p.5, p.10, p.22, p. 25, p.29, p. 30, p.48, p.49
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Abuse in interpersonal relationship           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Verbal and emotional</li> <li>○ Sexual</li> <li>○ Physical</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	p.2, p.9 & p.16  p.4, p.5, p.16, p.25 & p.27  p.16 & p.26
			◆ Rape (Including Gang rape)	p.11, p.12, p.13 p.14, p.16,p. 26 & p.50
			◆ Sexual Harassment	p. 22 & p.23

8		Meaning of drug use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Symbolic Attribute of Tik (Power, calming effect, sensuality, aphrodisiac, Euphoria &amp; Escapism)</li> </ul>	p. 11, p.12, p.18, p.19, p.27, p.39 p. 40, p.45 & p.46,
9		Consequences of drug use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Homelessness</li> <li>◆ Addiction</li> <li>◆ Estrangement               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Husband</li> </ul> </li> <li>◆ Perpetuating the cycle of abuse               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Uninvolved parent</li> <li>○ Exposing children to drug use</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>p.2, p.3, p.11, p.41 &amp; p.50</p> <p>p.11</p> <p>p. 7, p.9, p. 41, p.42 &amp; p.50</p> <p>p.8, p.11, p.12, p.21, p.23, p.50 &amp; p.51</p> <p>p. 16, p.24, &amp; p.47</p>