Youth Violence and the Changing African Family in an Urban

Township: The case of Umlazi

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DECLARATION

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I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science (Anthropology) in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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GOD BLESS YOU ALL

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Abstract

My interest in pursuing this study is based on the response to the frequent media reports with regard to antisocial behaviour in schools and a virtual breakdown of the moral fibre in society. There is a growing interest globally in the study of youth, especially because of the rise in anti social behaviour, with particular reference to crime and violence. Crime and violence being a cause for concern is also a subject of entertainment (films, novels), this is a reflection of the strong public interest they provoke. Crime and violence in South Africa understandably gives rise to anxiety and fear. Therefore it is important to gain perspective on the youths own perceptions of violence, crime and safety issues. This study is an attempt to analyse the changing nature of African youth in the township, with particular reference to Umlazi location. This thesis gives the details of youths and communities perception on the awareness of crime, perceptions of the level and degree of crime and violence and how these inform and influence people's feelings of safety. The objectives of this thesis are to answer questions relating to:

- Individual and community perceptions of the level of crime in the community
- The role of the family in shaping and determining youth values and discipline
- The impact of the changing family and youth behaviour
- The perceptions of ordinary people, of the level of anti social behaviour

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This study is about African youth living in Umlazi Township, located fifteen kilometres south of Durban CBD. This thesis is a response to the frequent media reports of late with regard to antisocial behaviour in schools and the growing perception of a virtual breakdown of the moral fibre in society. Some of the damaging headlines that appeared in the popular South African press over the first few months of 2008 when this research first began include: ―Students dealing in drugs at school," "Pupil shot for cell phone on school premises," "Depression might have led to suicide of 11-year-old boy, " Principal shot in front of students," "Students seek revenge for teacher killing." In these reports youth gangs are alleged to be intruding into the schools of vulnerable communities, using them as markets for drugs, alcohol, and weapons. Schools have become the location for settling violent disputes and young girls are being sexually harassed, abducted and raped.

This study is an exploratory and descriptive analysis of the conceptualisation of interdependent issues of schooling, learning, socialisation, and value patterns among middle class African youth in three schools in the Umlazi Township. It focuses on African youth, delinquency (including violence) and the changing African family. All of the above have a direct link to the family and community influence and shape how the youth view themselves, their relationship with others, and the world. The educational institution, besides the family, plays an important role in socialisation and discipline of youth, preparing young people for adulthood, the development of physical or cognitive skills, the acquisition of knowledge and shaping of values, attitudes, and beliefs. However, going to school does not necessarily equate to learning, especially when children's demeanour and attitude to life does not embody the refinement and ambition that schooling offers to them. Therefore, children's conceptualisation of schooling and learning is essential for understanding issues that constitute a crisis among school going youth.

Contextualising Youth and delinquency

There is a growing interest globally in the study of youth, especially because of the rise in anti-social behaviour, such as the rapid increase of crime, violence, teen pregnancy, drugs, vandalism and the other problems are social ills that are not only found in schools, but are also reflections of what is happening in the community as well. Violence is a human universal. Interpersonal violence perpetrated by youth is a problem in every society. Youth violence can take many forms: from bullying, gender, and racial harassment, to sexual assault, and rape, to gang violence, gun use, and ‗hate‘ crimes. Media reports on South African television shows such as Special Assignment, Third Degree and the Public Interest have highlighted (increased?) parental and church organisations concern about youth involvement in violent behaviour and blame the mass media, particularly music, sports, and video games, for glorifying violence and desensitising its viewers. Knight[1] visited several schools in the KwaZulu Natal area and spoke to teachers who expressed that it is South Africa‘s culture of violence and uncertainties about the future that have created such criminal and deviant youth.

Existing literature has researched a diversity of issues facing youth: from youth growing up in a racially divided society focusing on the experiences of youth from different backgrounds (need to finish the sentence?) Integration among different social or racial groups in the schooling environment has been the cause for ethnic tension and violence in schools (see, Vally, et.al., 1999). On an international scale existing literature has covered youth issues through investigating how globalisation affects disadvantaged youth, focusing specifically on street children, and children of the ghetto (see, Behera and Trawick, 2007). The focus has been on comparing the experiences of youth growing up in cities in different countries of the world. The common factor in these accounts points to the hardships, challenges and experiences youth face on a daily basis. The problems mentioned in these accounts include the youth being perceived as invisible; thus failing to give account of the youths‘ own experiences. Other accounts of youth being perceived as invisible include the impact globalisation has on disadvantaged youth. According to Anthropologists Behera and Trawick, (2007:6), ‒Street children, factory children, and children of the ghetto do not belong in such a central and powerful place; they are its outcastes, or its unfortunate spin-offs. And even if they entered it, how could they survive the maelstrom?" This study examined to what extent these hardships and challenges are experienced and if so it is important to focus on the youths

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[1] S Knight is a pathogenic control expert and chairperson of the Youth Community Policing Forum, SA.

own perceptions of their situation, thus enabling an accurate assessment of what is going on in their lives. The study will examine the youth's conceptualisation of violence, schooling, learning, socialisation, and values against the background of the changing African family structure. It will aim to locate the youth in the context of the family and their communities. Against this background, it will examine the youth, their families and their communities through the following broad issues:

- Individual and community perceptions of the level of crime (and violence) in the community

- The role of the family in shaping and determining youth values and discipline.

- The impact of the changing family and youth behaviour.

- Its manifestations in the wider community (including school)

- The perceptions of ordinary people, of the level of antisocial behaviour in the township.

While the phenomena of violence are pervasive in every society and are easily evoked in full dramatic force, the issue of how to explain what violence _is' or does, remains one of the most thorny and challenging ones. At the same time, these are becoming questions most frequently posed to and within the social sciences, and to which instant answers and solutions are demanded from wider, non-academic audiences. The problem starts with defining violence. The conception of inter-personal violence underlying the information in this study is based on the following four, minimally defining elements: firstly, the contested use of damaging physical force against other humans (Riches 1991:295), with possibly fatal consequences and with purposeful humiliation of other humans. Secondly, usually this use of force, or its threats, is pre-emptive and aimed at gaining dominance over others. Thirdly, this is affected and symbolically communicates these intentions and threats to others. Such a description shows that it is always, by nature, ambiguous interaction (Riches 1986). Fourthly, apart from the definition, another challenge is to disentangle the study and explanation of violence from the public media discussion and popular opinion. Not that media discussion is unimportant, but as they tend to demand instant moral response, judgement, and taking a stand, one has to view them in reserve. This study intends to take a step back and look briefly, at what historical and cultural factors are at issue in situations and meanings of violent behaviour of either a personal or a collective nature. This does, however, not entail a view that culture, in

whatever definition, is any way explanatory of violence. It gives a reflection and (changing) pattern of violence. In studying phenomena of violence in their social and cultural effects, it is necessary to suspend moral and legal judgment while describing the empirical diversity of its manifestations. In addition, violence is contingent and context-dependent and not a straightforward urge present in all humans bubbling to the surface. Violent actions have much more underlying meaning than reports lead us to believe. From my observation in many instances of youth violence, it has the effect of creating or is at least a constituent force in social relations, deconstructing, redefining or reshaping a social order, whether intended or not.

The issues: justification for the study

According to Allison (1998), the nature of the social institution of youth is an actively negotiated set of social relationships within which the early years of human life are constituted. Youth is understood as a social construct, as it provides an interpretive frame for conceptualising the early development years of human life. In addition Jenson (2003) states that, ―Youth, as distinctive from biological immaturity, is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component in many societies". Youth is a variable of social analysis. It can never be entirely divorced from other variables such as class, gender, or ethnicity. Comparative and cross-cultural analysis has a variety of concepts on youth rather than a single or universal phenomenon. For the past decade, reports have been appearing in the literature and in media reports, expressing concern about the exposure of youth to violence in their homes, schools, and their neighbourhoods.

The rationale for choosing this topic is based on recent media reports of the increased levels of violence in schools and their surrounding communities. While the issues have been highlighted by several attacks against learners in American schools over the last few years, South Africa has not escaped this problem. The purpose here will be to investigate the reason for the perceived high levels of violence in South African schools – using one African dominated township for this research viz. Umlazi – since most of the reports centre around violence in African townships. The purpose of this research will be to ascertain the accuracy of media reports that create the impression of an atmosphere of rampant violence in school. That is, does individual and community perceptions and experiences of crime and violence in

the community compare to those of media reports. However, the main focus is on the family as the root of adolescent delinquency, including violent behaviour.

According to media reports for the most part of 2008 and 2009, educators, parents, and students alike have been murdered in South African schools. The high level of violence in schools reflects a complicated combination of past history and recent stresses on individual, family, school, and community levels in a society marked by deep inequities and massive uncertainty and change within school operations. South African schools are in crisis and authorities are becoming increasingly concerned about the general state of lawlessness (*Independent on Saturday*, April 1 2006). Knight also states that violence in KwaZulu-Natal schools is spiralling out of control and only sterner action can curtail it, (cited in the *Independent on Saturday* 11th April 2006).   The rapid increase of crime, teen pregnancy, drugs, vandalism and the other problems are social ills that are not only found in schools, but are also a reflection of what is happening in the community as well. The above statement suggests that there is a serious breakdown in programs in institutions of learning, schooling, socialisation and values.   A total lack of discipline and hygiene seemed to have a correlation to the shocking number of incidences of vandalism, drugs, crime, bullying, rape, gangsterism, assault, pregnancy and murder in schools (Knight, cited in *Independent on Saturday* on 1st April 2006).   The Independent on Saturday concludes their report in an extremely provocative way stating that: ―There is a total breakdown in the discipline of children and the results are horrendous". The point of view here is that adolescent delinquency is the product of interpersonal ways that are indigenous to a family. These ways are established in the inherited familial values and attitudes and are interwoven with emotions. The emotions and their expression are the crux of individual personality and behaviour. In the words of Perez (1978) ―how love, anger, and joy are communicated is a critical determinant for how a family will get along or if indeed, it will get along at all"; this is done subtly, unconsciously and imperceptibly.

The issue of youth and violence in South Africa has long been a prickly one. This is evident in early publications that documented on youth and violence in the time and context of apartheid. For instance, during apartheid young black high school children were the barometers of systematic marginalization and disempowerment. The schooling environment was oppressive, but it also became a site of highly politicised struggle, a vehicle through which young black people could draw attention to their plight in society.   Many youths

resisted oppression through direct involvement in the struggle against apartheid, which included violence. Violence was socially approved in the name of liberation. However, during the transition to democracy, a snail pace of transformation means that little or nothing has actually changed in the classroom. The poor or non-existent facilities, lack of educational resources, the under-qualified teachers who are often over-burdened with work and the virtual failure of racial integration stood as powerful symbols of ongoing marginalization. In addition Africans were for the first time being affirmed as legitimate members of South Africa's urban environment. This change came at a cost, resulting in the erosion of the social fabric that made up household and community structures. The change that their migration had to absorb must have impacted upon the institution that regulated values and behaviour among the youth. In place of the political resistance movement, marginalised, frustrated youth appear to have found an alternative place of belonging and social cohesion within criminal youth gangs.

This project begins with the assumption that violence is often rooted in society (family) and prevalent value systems. It reflects historical conditions, environmental circumstances, as well as the way it impacts on the social norm and values in society.

But it is not easily definable: ―the concept of violence, as well as the narrower concept of violent crime or behaviour, is neither easily nor precisely measured. There is no single way to define, classify and measure the domain of violent events, because each system involves some evaluation of peoples observations and reports of what they perceive as violent events"(Reiss and Roth; 1993). That is, we do not always agree on

· How to define violence
· When and how to identify particular acts or actions as violent
· When to recognise a behaviour or activity we do define as violent, as a social problem.

The above highlight that meaning and measure of violence and violent crime in society is socially constructed. How an act is perceived influences how people respond and deal with it. Some definitions are broad and encompassing such as Graeme Newman's definition of violence, cited in Bailey and Hale (1998: 40-56), as the use of force to gain dominance over another or others. Others are more limited in scope, such as the National Research Council's definition on understanding and prevention of violence, which confined its attention to violent behaviour, and interpersonal violence and therefore defined violence as behaviour by persons

against persons that threaten, attempts, or actually inflicts personal harm. Neil Alan Weiner concluded the definition of violence as ―the threat, attempt, or use of physical force by one or more persons that results in physical or non-physical harm to one or more persons" (cited in Brownstein (2000:6)). The above definitions help to illustrate what can be understood through notions of violence or violent crime but do not specify the conditions that are necessary and sufficient for members of a society to agree that particular acts, actions, or activity are violent. However from these definitions it is possible to conclude that violence refers to something that involves social activity; the threat, attempt, or use of physical force and the intent to gain dominance over another or others. However there are many forms of social activity that may or may not be defined as violent in terms of the above criteria. According to Newman (1979), these definitions suggest that many natural or accidental events that cannot be described as social or intentional may be viewed as violent. Newman raises a number of questions about the meaning of violence that envisages a broader definition.

- Must violence be inclusive of physical force and, to the extent that it must, what constitutes physical force?
- Are violent consequences of acts of nature distinct from human acts of violence?
- To what extent must violent acts by humans be related to violent emotions such as anger, hate, rage and controversially sexual assaults?

These issues will be used to reflect upon the anthropological interests of value systems, family and household structures and the social fabric in community life.

In addition, its aim will be to illustrate the relationship between schooling, learning, socialisation and values and violence in Umlazi township schools. This study also briefly touches on the following:

- How social activity is defined as violence. What is violence and what constitutes violence?
- School violence needs to be examined against the background of the broader patterns of violence that have recently affected township society.
- The ways in which violence currently impacts on schools in the township.
- Effects of violence on teachers and the resulting impact of violence on the classroom practice of teachers
- How students articulate their personal situations in their school performance.

- How the social structure (in the form of community and school) reproduces youth perceptions of identity. Roth (2006) explains ―Social structure provides platforms for action and therefore platforms to the reproduction of identity". That is, the social structure is a background for how they express themselves.

History of area of fieldwork in Umlazi

The name Umlazi is attributed to the legendary Zulu warrior-king, Shaka. The story goes that when his army passed through the area, he thirsted and drank from a river in the area. He did not like the taste, claiming it tasted like bad milk or Umlaza (a Zulu word for the fatty layer that rises to the top of unhomogenised milk). Located approximately 15km south of the Durban CBD, Umlazi Township is a predominantly Zulu speaking township, and is believed to be the second largest township in South Africa.

Umlazi was built in the 1950s as an African township to house African labourers, many of whom were needed to work in white-owned industries in the South Durban industrial area. In addition, the population that was relocated from Cato Manor in terms of the 1950 Group Areas Act was largely absorbed into Umlazi. The emphasis was placed not upon building a viable community, with necessary social and economic infrastructure or community enhancement, but rather on merely creating a storage space for labour (this is according to the RDP Urban Renewal Report, November 1998).

Demographic characteristics

According to the 1991 census, the population estimate for Umlazi was 300 000, and approximately at present is estimated at double the estimate of 1991. It is suggested that with the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the population may have decreased slightly between 1991 and 1998, a decrease as much as ten percent. Umlazi has an extremely youthful population with one-third being under fourteen years of age, and forty-five percent of the population is between the ages of fifteen and thirty four. Of the total population, forty-eight percent is economically active, of which sixty three percent is male. Despite this, it is reasonable to assume by mere observation during the day that a high level of unemployment exists in Umlazi.

Land and housing

Umlazi comprises twenty nine neighbourhoods containing mostly the standard four roomed township houses. Umlazi also has informal settlements as well as privately built upper income houses. Housing development in Umlazi includes formal, informal houses and large single-sex hostels, many of which are located in "Section T". Families have permeated the hostels, originally intended for single men. The major problem in Umlazi revolves around shortage of available land. The problem is compounded by lack of security of tenure and an inadequate subsidy, denying people wishing to build their own homes the opportunity to do so. This has resulted in overcrowding and excessive informal settlements. However, Informal settlement areas such as Malukazi developed even before the Umlazi Township. Since the mid-1980s, the number and size of informal settlements have increased. Overall, the existing structure of Umlazi is such that it inhibits the development of a sense of community, of sharing and working together. The area has been racked by political and criminal violence during the mid 1980s and early 1990s; protests erupted in Umlazi in August 1985, sparked by the assassination of human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge outside her home in Umlazi. Through periods of greater and lesser violence after that time, the KwaZulu homeland administration, the police, and Inkatha supporters, on the one hand, and ANC supporters on the other maintained a tense co-existence. Tension and violence continued after South Africa's first democratic election in 1994.

Community

Whilst Umlazi contains multiple high order facilities, such as a university, technikon and a hospital, it is not really well serviced in terms of social facilities. The education system in Umlazi has been found to be affected by a variety of factors viz: overcrowding resulting in a shortage of schools, vandalism, inadequate facilities in existing schools, lack of school transport, and at times poor standards of education, culminating in low employment and low affordability level in a high degree of cases. The previous traditional ‗Bantu' education approach meant that, facility standards, administrative and professional capacity, and necessary funding were and still is strictly limited. In addition, whilst electricity is connected to all formal areas, a major problem is that of sudden and frequent power cuts without prior notification; in some areas street lights are non- existent or vandalised. This has serious implications for crime and effective policing, as well as the use of existing facilities such as schools at night for multi- purposes. One of the major strategies compiled by the RDP Urban

Renewal Report (1998) stated that ―Umlazi appears to be the most optimistic and promising in its mission of development, described as a ‗pathfinder' in pioneering post- apartheid reconstruction and development and constituting a model for other areas in the metro region to emulate". The report also stated promoting social stability and fostering social integration as part of their major strategies in strengthening this community post-apartheid.

Literature survey

This thesis uses a socio-demographic perspective to examine the aspects of family life in South Africa in light of the transformation in the society's social structure since the democratic transition of 1994. We will examine the social structure of the country both before and after the transition to serve as a broad context for the analyses of families and households in the Umlazi Township.

Families and households in Pre- transition society

The institution of the family is multifaceted in nature in that it affects and is affected by various social, economic, cultural and political institutions which together form the social structure of any society. In addition, changes in the structure and function of the family are influenced by changes in other structures in the family environment. Hence, social change is influenced by both internal and external factors. According to Adegboyega (1994), African social organisation has always been a heterogeneous one since pre-colonial times; he has traced the source of the variation in family forms to the variations in environmental conditions.

For example Adegboyega (1994) argued that ecological factors played a major role in determining the form the family assumed in different parts across the continent. He observed that among pastoralists like the Masai of eastern Africa, the family tended to be more nuclear compared to the extended family form found among more sedentary horticulturalists like the Akan of western Africa. Overall, the existence of different rules of organisation observed amongst different people in Africa is evidence of the diversity observed in pre-colonial African family. While the above are internal stressors there are also exogenous factors that influence family change, for instance there seems to be a consensus among African writers that globalisation (the incorporation of African societies into the international capitalist economy) through colonialism has been one of the major causes of family change on the

continent (see for example, Mazrui 1986; Russel 2002). Family patterns often cited as being influenced by globalisation are changes in the rules of kinship which were essentially the backbone of society itself, but also changes in relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children and between members of the conjugal family and their kin (Amoateng and Richter 2007). These changes were facilitated by systems such as wage employment, adoption of western belief systems, formal education and the direct transfer of the western nuclear family system through the European settlers. In particular reference to South Africa, the importation of Indian and Malay indentured labour by white settlers brought about other types of family systems. Several western scholars are in accord with the general observation about changes in social institutions as a result of increased interaction of different cultures (see for example, Giddens 2000; Turner 2002).

Giddens (2000) has argued that globalising forces are impacting on the family in ways such as more egalitarian relationships between men and women, the increasing participation of women in the work outside of the home, with the intimate couples being the primary family unit and the growing tendency for family relations to be based on sentiments of love rather than economic or social concerns. Giddens sentiments are rather romanticised and picturesque but barely resembles real life situations, in particular the African family, where family relationships are still based on social and economic concerns, where participation of black women in work force has meant longer and longer hours away from home and from their children who are left without any care because of the ―primary family unit‖ described by Giddens. The disintegration of the extended family structure has had some negative effects on the nuclear or ―primary family unit‖ as described by Giddens. In South Africa, colonialism and its extension in the form of apartheid were responsible for the disintegration of the extended family structure among Africans through systems such as land expropriation, denial/deprivation of civil privileges of the majority of indigenous populations, and the organisation of wage labour through industrial developments. These restrictions negatively affected family and household formation patterns in society, especially among Africans, who bore the brunt of such policies.

For instance, large numbers of African people left homesteads and migrated to earn cash income to meet imposed taxes, to supplement declining agricultural resources and to support their relocation. Changing family patterns were exacerbated by the institutionalisation of racism through the apartheid policy (1948 to 1994) and by separate developments in critical

domains such as education, employment, health care and housing. In unequal distribution of resources for example, the Central Statistical Services (1992) reported that between January and June 1992, there was a forty-five per cent decrease in the number of formal houses built for Africans, while there was a thirty one per cent increase in the number of formal houses built for white people during the same period. Among Africans, the limitations on geographical mobility reinforce dual urban-rural homesteads and circular migration as organisational mechanisms of economic and social adaptation (Okoth-Ogendo 1989). With limitations on geographical mobility came limitations on social mobility in areas such as education, and employment which in turn had profound implications for family life. For instance, in the words of (Amoateng and Richter 2007) ‟urban bound migration, which resulted from the lack of opportunities for farming in the country, impacted the family life of Africans in a number of ways".

The migration labour system forced males from their rural homesteads and into urban areas, which meant the postponement or complete elimination of marriage among Africans. In addition, financial stressors such as remittance and the dual homestead mobility coupled with high rates of unemployment in the money economy and minimum wages paid to African workers, in the face of increasing commercialisation of the lobolo[2] ensured that a large number of African males were simply unable to afford to get married, a situation that led to such family patterns such as out of wedlock births. In cases where marriage was contracted, economic necessity meant that the man left his wife and children behind to participate in the migrant labour system, a situation that led to such family patterns as female headed households, and unstable household composition (Pasha and Lodhi 1994; Oberai 1991; Pick and Cooper 1997; Seager and Dlamini 1992).

Similar economic rationale underlay other family patterns observed among the various groups in the society. One example is the formation of complex households, which is usually associated with Africans and often attributed to the communalist ethos found in many African cultures; that is, the wealthier, the patriarch, the more complex the household tended to be in the pre-colonial systems. A wealthy, powerful man would tend to have more wives, more

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[2] Lobolo or Lobola in Zulu, Xhosa and Ndebele (sometimes translated as bride price) is a traditional Southern African custom whereby the man pays the family of his fiancée for her hand in marriage (Compare with the European dowry custom where the woman brings assets). The custom is aimed at bringing the two families together, fostering mutual respect, and indicating that the man is capable of supporting his wife financially and emotionally.

children and other dependants than a poor man (Amoateng and Richter 2007:5). Empirical studies in certain African societies have found that households of the elite in African towns and cities tend to be complex due to poverty and perhaps the high incidence of fosterage in these cultures (Oppong 1974). In the South African case, apartheid era restrictions on the African housing may have contributed significantly to the formation of complex households especially in urban areas. However, empirical based studies conducted in Africa and among other African groups outside of the continent suggest that the formation of complex households was as much a function of poverty as it was of culture (Stack 1974). It was argued that as formal education spread among Africans the nuclear replaced the complex extended family as the model family type among these educated elite. In the context of apartheid South Africa, political factors interacted with economic ones to prevent the formation of the extended family structure among Africans. Specifically, Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act 1945; a housing policy that facilitated single family units of three or four rooms and compelled the reduction of the family size from extended families and household to nuclear families. In addition, job reservation as legislated by the apartheid state meant that black women had very few job opportunities other than domestic work; this meant that women were away from home for longer hours and had to transfer childcare responsibilities through extended kin.

Pre 1994 family scholarship in South Africa

In the 1950s and 1960s modernisation theory became popular in the explanation of the evolution of families and households (UN 1995). According to this interpretation, before industrialisation the size of the family was relatively large, usually extended by the presence of several relatives. However, as society developed, the extended family gave way to the nuclear family, a process that naturally reduced the size of the household (Giddens 1987). Using this theoretical perspective several early empirical studies of black and white domestic organisations in South Africa concluded that the family patterns of both groups were converging in the direction of the nuclear family system, (Clark and van Heerden 1992; Nzimande 1987; Steyn 1993). In a study examining the relationship between exposure to urban life and patterns of domestic organisation in African townships near Johannesburg, Marwick (1978) found that the patterns of domestic organisation change to resemble those normally found in industrial societies. Specifically he found that forty eight per cent of the households in his sample were of the nuclear type. In addition Pauw (1953) found that fifty eight percent of his respondents in a study of Duncan village lived in extended family

households. However, twelve years later he observed that among his respondents the incidence of extended family households had dropped significantly. It was in reference to these and other similar studies that Simkins (1986) was led to suggest newer African settlements appeared to resemble higher proportions of nuclear family units(see also, Preston-Whyte 1978; Steyn et al. 1987; Simkins1986).

Family in post-transition scholarship in South Africa

Modernisation has become a popular perspective in the illustration of the evolution of families and households, especially in South African family studies. However, this perspective of family change has misleadingly substituted demographic reports as empirical evidence in the explanation of living arrangements that convey the evolution of the household as more complex than previously thought (see for example UN 1995). Most of these studies use demographic reports to put forward generalisations that the size of the household has declined linearly with economic development.

Methodology

In the 1960s psychologists and sociologists looked at youth as a stage in the life cycle arguing that it was a time of _identity crisis', a period labelled as _Sturm und Drang,'[3] to capture the emotional troubles and anti-social behaviour associated with young people (Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). This categorisation was closely linked to the development of research on youth along twin themes: _youth as a problem' as an undisciplined and potentially unruly group in public space (Pearson, 1983); and youth as a distinctive consumer group with specific tastes in a range of goods and services including magazines, music, clothing and so on (Abrams, 1961; Hebdige, 1988). In this regard youth researchers were looking at issues of identity before _identity' was on the academic agenda. Yet, the focus was very much on identity conceptualised in fixed or static terms. In particular, between the 1960s and 1980s the emphasis was squarely on young working class men. This research ranged from the delinquency studies of the 1950s and 1960s (see for example, Cohen, 1955; Matza, 1969) which looked at gangs, arguing they were a disturbing reflection on dominant culture; to work on specific sub-cultural identities such as rockers, skinheads and punks (see also, Hall and Jeffordson, 1976) which focused on young men's attempts to resist and subvert dominant

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[3] Sturm and Drang literally means, storm and stress. It also translates as a time of turmoil. A period labelled by German writers and has been adapted from a 18th century German literary movement characterised by works containing violent action and high emotionalism that often deals with individuals revolt against society.

culture by creating their own meanings (Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). The transition from industrial to post industrial economy has been characterised as a period of rapid economic, social, and cultural change in which there has been a process of change in older patterns of life, a rise in the significance of consumption and the proliferation of lifestyles (Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). ―New forms of globalisation are attributed with creating opportunities for the emergence of new identities and social movements (for example, the rise of the lesbian and gay movement) while throwing up uncertainties as former collective identities, for example class solidarities, are eroded" (Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). Thus Giddens (1991) argues that emancipatory politics (based on class, gender, and so on) has been replaced by ‗life politics' strategies to enhance the self rather than collective control. Within youth research there is now a growing interest in the intersection of class, gender, race, sexuality and so on (in addition, see, Hooghiemstra, 1997). Identity is now conceptualised as relational, as only developing and operating in relation to other identities. At the forefront of this theorisation is the work of Back (1996), Brah (1994, 1996), Gillespie (1995) and Dwyer (1998, 1999). Another two issues of increasing concern are social exclusion and marginalisation, which youth often express in different ways. Allatt (1997: 90) argues that all young people are vulnerable to becoming marginalised because vulnerability is implicit in the notion of transition. Marginality is often conceptualised in terms of exclusion. Allatt (1997) argues that researchers need to explore some of the more complex processes through which young people are socially excluded and how these may be thrown into reverse.

Research Approach

Qualitative research approach was chosen for the design of this study. Qualitative design allows the researcher to explore the meaning, describe and promote understanding of human experiences such as pain, grief, hope, caring and so on (Brink, 1996). The focus of this method is on identifying the qualitative features, characteristics or attributes that create and influence the event or experience. Qualitative research is often described as holistic in that it is concerned with human interaction in their environment with all its complexities. Anthropological study of human behaviour is a holistic approach in that it operates on the premise that knowledge about humans is not possible without describing human experience as it is lived and as the individual defines it. The use of qualitative design in this study was intended to describe the experiences, perceptions and attitudes of African youth from the township of violence, crime and the changing African family and the impacts of these on their

social, physical and mental life. Most importantly describing their experiences and sense they give to the phenomenon in their life.

In addition, I have chosen to use a two- fold approach for data collection, by utilising individual interviews and supplementing them with focus group discussions[4]. Focus groups are a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate data. People are encouraged to talk to one another: asking questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on each other's experiences and points of view. The method is particularly useful for exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way. Group discussion was particularly appropriate as I the interviewer had a series of open ended questions and wished to encourage research participants to explore the issues of importance to them, in their own vocabulary, generating their own questions and pursuing their own priorities. The participants worked alongside the researcher, taking the research in new and often unexpected directions. Group work also helps researchers tap into the many different forms of communication that people use in day to day interaction, including jokes, anecdotes, teasing, and arguing. Gaining access to such variety of communication is useful because people's knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions. Everyday forms of communication may tell us as much, if not more, about what people know or experience. In this sense focus groups reach the parts that other methods cannot reach, revealing dimensions of understanding that often remain untapped by other data collection techniques.

Target population

The target population was African school going youth, both male and female from Umlazi Township, from diverse family backgrounds. It was presupposed that the target group would have knowledge on the life conditions in the area of study. Adult members, including teachers and community members of the population were also included as secondary informants on the life conditions in the Township understudy.

Sampling and size

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[4] A two-fold approach here means that both aspects have equal weighting and play an import role in aiding each other in knowledge production.

The student group. Initially a notice at the schools assembly made students aware of a request for their participation in a research project. They were then advised to put their names on a register if they were willing to participate in the research. In addition, other pupils were identified through the school register, particularly those who were identified by the head master to live in areas with high concentration of violence. Altogether there were eighty students identified, who agreed to participate. The interview process was explained to all the willing participants and they were subsequently asked to confirm that they agree to be part of the interview process. The eighty students identified were informed that sixty students were needed for individual interviews, and the remainder will be included during focus group discussions. Students were then pre-selected into the different segments. The reason for the particular selection was justified to the learners after which the participants were asked if they were happy in the segment presented to them, if not which segment they preferred to be in and then adjusted accordingly. Details for future contact were obtained, in the form of telephone numbers, grades and class teacher's names as well as classroom door numbers. Initially a time-table for interviews was arranged alphabetically and was attempted to be conducted as such. However, the timetable was checked for student's approval and had to be changed according to student availability. To make matters easier, the first section of the interview, which required participants to provide information on their personal and family background was administered (printed and handed out) to all identified individual participants in advance. These were to be handed into a box at the principal's office and were to be collected at the end of the week, or alternatively they were permitted to bring it with them for the face to face interview.

A request was made to the headmaster for classrooms to be made available for this segment of the interview process during lunch time and after school hours. Although the interviews were initially planned to take place in classrooms, some interviews were conducted in the school grounds. All of the interviews with the female respondents were conducted in classrooms, because it was convenient, private and allowed for better recording clarity indoors. While most of the male students agreed to a classroom interview, a handful preferred or rather insisted the discussion take place outdoors (in and around school grounds): under a tree for shade, on a bench and on the corridor veranda. For instance I interviewed several boys during their soccer practice, under a shady tree. Conducting interviews outdoors proved a bit difficult to control at times, due to distractions such as interruptions by passers- by. The open

air tampered with quality of sound in the voice recordings, so this had to be supplemented with a lot of note taking. Hence, transcribing proved a bit onerous and lengthy.

The participants were allowed to skim through the interview guide if they wished to, so as to allow them the opportunity to continue or withdraw from the interview. Most participants were enthusiastic about responding, feeling that their views would be heard and regarded as important. The interview process generally ran smoothly and respondents were usually relaxed in their responses. We discussed in depth issues that were significant to their lives, through which some females cried, when relaying their stories and or experiences. With regard to perceptions and attitudes towards the level of crime and violence female responses were similar. Concerns revolved around sexual harassment, assault, robbery, rape and expressions of threatening experiences in the community and at school.

Girls only group discussions.   Some of the female students who participated in the individual interviews were invited to also participate in group discussions and subsequently asked about which segment they were interested in participating. An inclusion was made for the remainder of students who were not included for the individual interviews, who were contacted using the same procedure as stated above. Schedules for discussions were arranged depending on the availability of students. Since there were two focus group discussions to take place in this segment, a request was made for the school hall as well as classrooms to be made available.

Concerns brought forward during the individual interviews were the same echoed in the girls only group discussions. Girls spoke about what bothered them; there was a lot of clapping in unison, symbolising agreement and solidarity. There was a seriousness in the atmosphere, sometimes coupled with laughter, (and sometimes producing a silence) though not in the joyous sense but rather a communicative statement between the members of the group and also to me as a female researcher. Laughter expressed the possibility of a range of shared experiences (a form of re-affirming) as well as hiding something. The latter was particularly the case in the mixed group discussions.

Boys only group discussions. Participants for this group were obtained in one of several ways; those who did not wish to participate in the individual interview, but showed

willingness to participate in boys only group discussions were contacted and were also asked to recommend peers they knew were interested. Participants who were interviewed for the individual segment were also invited to participate in this segment. Other participants accessed were those who were not originally used in the individual interview segment, but were originally identified through the school register. All students were asked if they were satisfied with the group segments to which they were allocated, if not they were rearranged accordingly. Those who were willing to participate were given printed slips with the details of the focus group they should attend, the date, venue, and time.

Permission was granted for the use of the school hall and class rooms. The first and second group interviews in this segment were held in the school halls of two of the three schools, while the third school interviews were conducted in the classrooms as the school hall was still under renovation. All group discussions in this segment were held after school hours (due to the length of interview). This group segment was usually noisy, chaotic, with boys cheering each other on when a provocative statement or gesture was made. However, not all of the male group discussions were this way, others were calm and relaxed. Some of the reactions were motivated by bravado, competition and looking for agreement statements. Many of the enactments which were centred on sexual harassment were related in a candid, non apologetic and provocative manner, that displayed a denial and or rejection of sexual harassment being labelled as a form of violence and or crime, but rather was viewed as harmless ―fun". The responses enacted reflected their attitudes in statements like: ―it is only natural for men to make a pass at women, that's nature: we men were made that way". ―Women invite sexual harassment by the way they dress". If girls go to places they are not welcome they should expect to be harassed". ―Girls should tell us they don't like it". The male respondents also expressed uncertainty about how to interact with the opposite sex because of all the tricky boundaries of sexual harassment, assault among other issues. The lines between flirtation, sexual harassment and assault were blurred. Men feel judged with labels such as powerful, villain, harasser, oppressor, while women are cast as powerless victims. Sometimes those labels are what are expected of them, sometimes by women themselves and are called wimp, gay, if they do not comply with a particular standard of female ideology on masculinity. Male participants partially blamed females for the prevalence of male violence, because most of the violent conflicts in schools centre on fighting over girls. Boys tend to prove their masculinity through acts of violence.

Mixed group discussions. The selection process for this segment was carried out in much the same way as that of the single sex group discussions. The setting was also played out in much the same way as that of the single sex group discussion. In the beginning the atmosphere was energetic, and full of anticipation, however, responses in some instances came across as nervous especially on part of the females, sometimes due to the nature of brutish responses from their male counterparts on opposing issues. However there was adequate debate around issues discussed with occasional agreement on issues affecting them as young people. There was some ambiguity and confusion in what constituted violence or violent behaviour between the sexes, the level of crime and violence in the community as well as safety concerns. The different sexes responded in expected patterns in line with gender socialisation based on masculine and feminine ideas that encourage aggressive and passive behaviours. For instance, boys hide their emotions and take control of situations, while girls act in well mannered ways and respond in passive expressions when in confrontation with their male counterparts. The male responses followed an expected pattern: rejection of perception of high level of crime in the community, safety was not an issue. Situational factors such as provoking, taunting and demeaning interactions among boys sometimes sparked conflict especially in the presence of females, in some occasions females were verbally threatened when the discussions got heated and then turned to pointing fingers at each other, while others spoke in a light hearted manner. But to the best of my knowledge these views were not taken further.

Trends

Information gathered through these processes often brought out differing responses from students. For instance, among female students a number of their experiences about sexual harassment were often spoken about more freely when individually interviewed or in girls-only focus groups, while mixed group discussions tended to bring about giggling and shyness that forced many to remain quiet about experiences that they would otherwise have thought of as unpleasant. A sense of unsafeness, together with feelings of powerlessness, shame and a kind of acceptance of this experience as part of life lurked in the discussions with female interviewees and in girls-only group discussions. With respect to perceptions of criminal and violent behaviour among all four segments of interviewees, there was a general agreement that violence is a perennial problem and that it affects all of the suburbs' residents even by virtue of perception. However, what constitutes violence was perceived differently between

males and females. Other male participants who in individual and boys only group discussions were negative in their response, were suddenly more sensitive to the issue.

All four learner segments agreed that the family and household composition and structure was an important guide to the type of individual produced. There is an assumption that children's upbringing and home life shape their behaviour and attitudes. Home life determines the life path an individual chooses for him, as a result is important in understanding violent behaviour among the youth. According to Murdock (1949: 2), a family is a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. Kinship relations are also included in most definitions of the family. For some participants in this study living arrangements in an extended family type of household is viewed as a convenience for the individual families involved, which like Murdock's definition of the family is categorised by common residence and economic cooperation as the only element bringing these groups together. The extended family household was viewed as a source for contention within the household. On the other hand some participants recognised the importance of the extended family in the development of a child. Findings also revealed that living arrangements tend to bring about conflict, hostility towards each other as well as competition in the household. In some cases the extended family is no longer an expression of bonding, as was previously the case and purpose for an extended family household. The role of the extended family and household is no longer viewed as having great value and influence in helping in the development of a child. ―It takes a village to raise a child" no longer applies to the modern day context. If anything in some instances, it is expressed as interference, and an unnecessary nuisance. However, some of the respondents did argue that children suffered most, through neglect, which was due to disharmonious family and marital relations, incompleteness of the family, and deficiencies in the attitude of parents to the upbringing of their children. It was against this background that I investigated these factors as cause for youth delinquency.

The educators. In addition to the student interviews, the headmaster in each of the three schools was informed that educators were also required to gain insight into their perceptions of violence and crime in their community. Educator interviewees were initially selected through a request made to the headmasters for volunteers who were interested in participating in the research. The researcher was given permission to address the educators and inform them on the purpose of my research project. The educators were informed that they could withdraw from the interview at anytime. Upon an agreement a schedule was drawn up in

order to arrive at an availability time-table in order to conduct the individual interviews and focus group discussions. Some educators were not too forthcoming in their willingness to participate in the individual interviews, but showed more willingness to participate in the focus group discussions. The headmasters of all three schools felt obliged to participate in the interview process. Although some interviewees were voluntary, others were selected by the principal of each school, based on various factors viz. gender, various levels of experience in the teaching profession, as well as the type of subjects they taught, so as to make the group more representative. The criterion for the selection of interviewees was to identify those who reside in the community under study.

The interview process was conducted through focus group discussions in a semi structured form, as well as in an individual casual and conversational way with those interviewees who were keen. The process of trying to organise the focus group discussion proved particularly arduous because of time constraints and unforeseen commitments on the participants' side. In two of the schools, the discussion dates for the focus group changed three times, while the third school's date was postponed once before the actual discussion took place. Obtaining individual interviews also proved a bit arduous in some cases. For instance, arranged appointments had to be postponed due to unforeseen events. All these unforeseen changes meant that the timetable was disrupted and changed frequently. All interviews took place in two settings viz. in the classroom and in the staff room, conducted at different times during the day depending on the availability of participants. The individual interviews took place anytime between free periods, to lunchtime and after school hours depending on the availability of the interviewees. Individual interviews lasted thirty to forty-five minutes, while the focus group discussion lasted an hour. Individual interviews were intended to identify as well as understand educators' individual perceptions on the level of violence and crime in the community. In addition to gain an understanding their experiences of violence and or crime within the community and what bearing this has on their attitudes towards violence and crime. The mixed group discussions on the other hand were intended to collaborate as well as find trends in the main issues raised in the individual interviews. The study also intended to examine male and female experiences and how these experiences shape their attitudes towards violence and crime.

Information gathering during research proved onerous, especially from some male participants who were reluctant respondents, who questioned my motives for carrying out my

research which included accusations of having predisposed intentions on the outcome. After much persuasion many of the male teachers were more forthcoming, while a few remained apprehensive in their responses. With regard to the responses on perceptions on criminal and violent behaviour I found there to be a possible link in gender, experience and perception. Main trends raised in the individual interviews were that among females there was a general concern for their personal safety being threatened. A number of the female educators had received threats from male students and they felt powerless, incapable of diffusing a conflict situation especially between male learners. Some of the responses presented themselves as contradictory and or ambiguous. For instance, although youth were seen as the major perpetrators of violent and criminal behaviour, this was not always seen as a social problem, some viewed it as external forces at play. That is, nature was involved in this process, it is called transition, teenagers have to contend with moving from no longer being viewed as children but not yet adults and so they are caught in the middle. Youth violence is positioned in the context of socialisation which allows boys to get away with such behaviour, under the guise of masculine ideology that supports patriarchal declarations such as ‗boys will be boys', ‗proving ones manhood', a necessary evil, and a learning curve as mentioned by a lot of the male interviewee responses. It is a time of figuring out and establishing one's identity and most times through masculine ideology, which means that boys have to prove themselves through violent behaviour. There is a consensus to the idea that boys need to work through this process in order to become well adjusted adults. The premise here was that most of these boys don't grow up to be violent adults, if the process of transition is successful. On the other hand female educators felt is was these very attitudes held by society that promote anti social behaviour in boys, because communities were quick to forgive and excuse such violent and criminal behaviours.

Another link between gender and experience came out in the response to experiences of violence and crime in connection with feelings of safety. There was no correlation between experience of violence and crime with feelings of safety among the male respondents. For instance, although some of the male teachers stated that they have experienced violence and crime they still feel safe in their neighbourhoods. For instance, a statement made by one of the male teachers ―if men are afraid, what will happen to the women?‗', was echoed by many of the male educators. Responses in the above regard were similar to that of the male student respondents. Female teacher responses on the other hand indicated major differences from their male counterparts. Female teacher interviewees along with female student interviewees

seemed to be both suffering from fear of violence. For instance, female teachers and female students interviewed who had not experienced violence or crime still expressed urgent unsafeness by virtue of perception. That is, they express that although they have not experienced violence and crime it was inevitable that it would occur at some point.

Trends

Fear of violence is usually constituted as a public space phenomenon. Gender is the most important variable explaining different rates of fear, with women reporting fear at rates greater than men. All the female interviewees in this study reported avoiding certain streets or areas, transport, going out alone because of fear of sexual assault. In addition, fear of attack affected every aspect of their lives such as, leisure activities and social lives. For the women interviewed in this study fear of violence might also be affected by previous experiences of violence in their lives, while it claimed the opposite in the case of men. Some of the common daily _sub-violent' experiences of unpredictable situations, that could potentially turn violent include, sexual derogatory statements and gestures, being repeatedly harassed for a date despite saying _no', being approached or shouted at by a man on the street or in public transport. Others described experiences of childhood and sexual violence in the home as having an impact on their sense of fear in public space. Female interview subjects reported more worry about being sexually assaulted _outside' by strangers than in their homes by someone they knew. Many of the experiences of assault took place outside the home; and were experienced in a public space such as at school for young girls.

The community members. The third group of interviewees were community members, both male and female groups. The twenty identified interviewees were contacted using a community calendar that gives notice of meetings to take place every month. Focus group discussions were chosen as method of operation, and the interview time-table dependent on what group was available at the time. I contacted a wide range of community members, from mothers groups, men's social drinking gatherings, neighbourhood watch meetings, and stockvel meetings. The significance and objectives of the study were explained to potential participants, so that they could freely agree to participate or not. The group discussions took place at different venues, mostly at people's houses, with the exception of the men's social drinking group which took place in a tavern. All discussions took place in the afternoon or early evening after the group meetings had been concluded, with the exception of the men's social drinking group which was interviewed at random. I soon discovered from the

information gathered that there were a variety of responses on the perceptions of violence and crime. For instance, the mothers group had different views on the level of crime and violence in the community to those of the social drinking group.

The mothers group.   The purpose of interviewing the mothers group was to discuss the moral direction the community is taking as a collective, as well as to discuss the role of the family in shaping how the youth articulate their personal situations in their interaction with the outside world. The group also counsels families and identified delinquent children through prayer. The group began out of concern for the degeneration of the moral fibre of the community as a collective. The mothers group was identified using the snowballing method. The discussion took place on one Sunday afternoon, after the mothers group had concluded their meeting. Those who wished to stay behind did so. For this group, reaction to the discussion centred on concerns of violent crime as a social problem, stated lack of consequence for violent behaviour as a lending factor for the perpetuation of antisocial behaviour. Many mothers labelled the township as an unsafe terrain. The group were in consensus with the fact that there is an extensive breakdown in the discipline of children and the results are horrendous. They also suggested that the community should return to the principle that every adult in the community plays the role of parent to every child in the community, and the return of the extended family. They call for a return in the spirit of ‗ubuntu'[5].

The men's social drinking group.   The men‘s social drinking group was identified at random; the group discussion meeting was not pre-arranged as the discussion took place in a tavern. That is, I addressed the group and requested permission to facilitate a discussion on their perceptions and attitudes towards the level of crime and violence in their community. I was granted permission and the discussion began immediately. The views of this group were very different to those of the other three groups. All of the other groups with the exception of the men‘s social drinking group expressed crime and violence as a social problem. The group lambasted the media for unnecessarily instilling fear in people about the high levels of crime and violence. The group continued to express that violent behaviour is at minimum a harmless

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[5] Ubuntu: "I am what I am because of who we all are." Ubuntu is an ethic or humanist philosophy focusing on people's interconnectedness and relations with each other. The word has its origin in the Bantu languages of southern Africa. Ubuntu is seen as a classical African concept. ―Ubuntu is the essence of being human. Ubuntu speaks particularly about the fact that you can't exist as a human being in isolation. It speaks about our interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality, Ubuntu - you are known for your generosity" (quoting, Archbishop Desmond Tutu).

misdemeanour, and that some level of violence is inevitable. According to one respondent, ―terrorism and war are social problems, not petty crime issues, such as kids fighting or stealing‖. The main focus of concern for the above group revolved around awareness of crime and defining violence, as well as what constitutes violent behaviour. That is, sexual harassment and fist fighting for instance were not considered violent acts; instead the term sexual harassment was labelled as ‗the white mans ideology‘. The group rather described the act as ‗wimpish‘ behaviour, by wimpish boys who could never approach a woman secretly, and so he tries to prove to himself and others of his bravado, by sometimes using lewd gestures and comments. The lewd gestures are considered harmless and are more a sign of insecurity of the part of the perpetrator.

The Neighbourhood Watch group. Contact with the neighbourhood watch group was not pre-arranged; hence potential participants were only identified and addressed on the day of the interview (which was during their meetings), at random. This is a male group. The interview took place at the house of one of the members. Major reactions here were towards discussions on safety issues and violence as a social problem. Members of this group think the level of crime and violence has expanded and is indeed a social problem, that‘s why they as a neighbourhood watch are functioning. This group blamed the prevalence of violence and crime on the youth in the community. ―Our own children are involved in violence and crime, because they are high on drugs‖. ―The wealthier you are perceived to be, the more you are vulnerable to violent and criminal attacks‖, a view expressed by this group.

The Stockvel group. The stockvel group meeting was prearranged, with the group chairperson and I was given permission to address the group. This was a women‘s group. The stockvel group is a savings club and poverty alleviation plan. Poverty was viewed as one of the major reasons for youth engaging in crimes such as theft and robbery. In this group the women put aside money each month and take turns in getting a lump sum to alleviate financial constraints. The funds are also collected and kept in the bank until around Christmas time when financial constraints are most prominent, the money is then distributed evenly among the members. The group claims that this method ensures that all the members of the community are taken care of, so there is no jealousy, conflict and bitterness because all families are equal. However the practice is waning in member numbers due to the economic crises, making short supply of available funds. So each family is hiding their financial misfortune from each other in the community, which leads back to jealousy, conflict and

bitterness. Reactions in this group were of discussions particularly on factors conducive to criminal and violent behaviour as well as identifying violence as a social problem. The group echoed that poverty was one of the major reasons for the existence of violence and crime. And that the stockvel plan was a way of making sure that their neighbourhood does not go down the path of crime and violence. Other factors mentioned were, the breakdown of the extended family, and the breakdown of parental guidance for childcare.

Conclusion

The family is the child's primary environment. It is the first milieu in which the child finds himself and for many years the child remains a member of the family where, he or she is expected to enjoy the protection and loving care of the parents. The family plays an important role in the child's educational process. In the safety of this environment, where the child is provided with love, the child gradually explores the foreign world of the adult and discovers structure and order in it. However, when the family fails to fulfil its educative function adequately, the child suffers from a lack of educational support which manifests itself in juvenile misconduct in school. When the family fails to provide adequate training for its children, the children are left vulnerable to outside influences for support.

CHAPTER TWO

Understanding the problem of violence, violent behaviour and crime among adolescents

Violent behaviour and misconduct

This chapter is concerned with applications, or threats, of physical force against a person, which can give rise to criminal or civil liability, whether severe or not and whether weapons are involved or not. When more severe, such violence may be associated with intimate violations of the person or the potential to cause serious physical pain, injury or death, making this is both a legal and social definition of violence. The definition provided is therefore a definition of both violent crime and violent behaviour, including negligent actions causing injury or pain that may give rise to civil but not criminal liability. Criminal violence and violent behaviour in this study will also include crimes that do not involve violence as well as those that involve violence. This approach of describing violence partly overlaps with a wide variety of definitions, but will only include definitions relevant for the understanding of youth violence (youth as perpetrators and victims of violence). Violent and non-violent crime will be interchangeably referred to as juvenile misconduct or delinquency. The attempt here is to analyse the nature of crime and misconduct, the violation of healthy human relationships (acquaintance violence).

Analysis of academic literature on the reporting of crime and violence in South Africa

The issue of violence in South Africa has extended over many decades. This is evident in early publications that documented youth and violence in the time and context of apartheid. For instance, under the apartheid regime, young black high school children were the barometers of systematic marginalisation and powerlessness. The schooling environment was oppressive, but it also became a site of highly politicised struggle, a vehicle through which young black people could draw attention to their plight in society. Many youths resisted oppression through direct involvement in the struggle against apartheid, which included violence. Violence was socially approved in the name of liberation. Existing Psychological literature expressed concern on environmental safety and understanding the exposure of youth to violence and the negative consequences this has on their psychological development, while historians focused on rejecting approaches labelling violence as an expression of savagery.

This sheds light on the historical configuration in which violence arises. In the post-apartheid era, most South African literature drew on the experiences of youth in the context of racism in schools. The literature examined the cause for racial discrimination, and examined overt racial manifestations and practices that prevented integration in schools. Findings centred on understanding the legacy of apartheid in order to effectively provide strategies for the prevention of violence in schools.

All these approaches address violence in the context in which it arises. There is a general agreement of violence being the result of political, cultural and economic struggles. There is also agreement on the definition of violence, ranging from the visible to the invisible, physical to non-physical and even symbolic violence. Violence is also mentioned as a tool for communication for the youth.

Trends in the reporting of crime and violence in South African academic literature

A number of theories for the high levels of violence and crime, among young people are commonly postulated about in public and academic literature. Some of the trends include, exposure to violence at every level causing entrenchment of violent behaviour, for example, in the news, TV, radio, film as well as computer games. On the other hand, Apartheid led to the alienated generation for whom violence was the only legitimate means of achieving change. The negative effects of apartheid have been theoretically linked to contemporary problems faced by Africans, such as family instability, low achievement motivation, and high rates of juvenile delinquency and youth violence. The fundamental dislocation of society and family (under apartheid) resulted in a generation of future parents who themselves were products of an abnormal society and fragmented family structure, thus lacking the vital parental skills required to raise healthy children. The effects of increasingly available drugs and alcohol, is also blamed for the violence and crime South Africa is witnessing among its young people.

Models for explaining juvenile delinquency

When discussing the explanatory models for juvenile delinquency (in the school and home as the institution that educates through teaching) it is of particular importance to note the institution through which the delinquent child passes in terms of the interrelationship of diverse models for explaining delinquent behaviour. The intention here is to show that these

models can explain this phenomenon when applied collectively. The theoretical models for explaining juvenile delinquency that will be utilised are social disorganisation theory, differential association and social control theory.

Social disorganisation theory

The general assumption of this theory is that delinquency is primarily caused by social factors. That is, structures and institutions of society are assumed to be in disarray or disorganisation. Specifically, the family (for the case of this study) is assumed to be in a state of disorganisation. In addition, uncertainty and confusion which are associated with social disorganisation are said to place youth in a vulnerable position or it makes them more susceptible to delinquent behaviour. In essence it is assumed that social factors control delinquency and when these factors become unstable, juveniles are rendered less able to resist deviant temptations or they become more vulnerable to non-favourable influences (Shoemaker, 1990). Social disorganisation theory also implies that the erosion of stability in social structure is most pronounced among lower classes- an assumption made because the theory was developed to explain a disproportionate rate of delinquency (including violent behaviour) among working and lower class (Shoemaker, 1990: 82).

Diagram

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│ instability in    │ │ confusion         │ │ effectiveness of  │
│ social structure  │ │ concerning        │ │ social structures │
│ and institutions  │ │ appropriate       │ │ and institutions  │
│                   │ │ behaviour and the │ │ as controls of    │
│                   │ │ connection        │ │ delinquent        │
│                   │ │ between present   │ │ behaviour         │
│                   │ │ conforming        │ │                   │
│                   │ │ behaviour and     │ │                   │
│                   │ │ future rewards    │ │                   │
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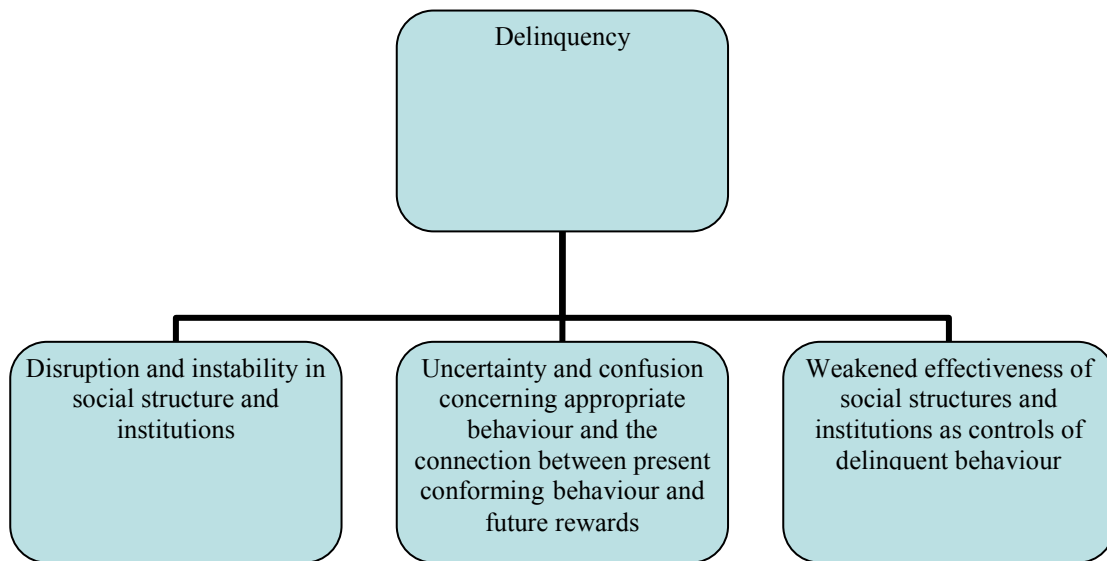
It is apparent in the above discussion that social disorganisations are partly social control theories of delinquency (Shoemaker, 1990). That is, it assumed that delinquency results partly from the lack of significant attachment to social institutions, such as the family and school. Shoemaker (1990) observes that the force of the above explanations is on the social forces that produce weakened controls on delinquency and that is where control theories come into play. A specific hypothesis is of social disorganisation as an explanation of delinquency as primarily the result of a breakdown of institutional, community based controls. The individuals who live in such situations are not necessary themselves personally disoriented; instead they are viewed as responding naturally to disorganised environmental conditions (Shoemaker, 1990). The social disorganisation approach to delinquency is that disorganisation community based institution is often caused by rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and the immigration process, which occur primarily in urban areas. This is especially true in the South African Apartheid system which has contributed to the breakdown of traditional family values, and living.

Another belief of this approach is that socially disorganised areas lead to the development of criminal values and traditions, which replace conventional ones and that this process is self-perpetuating.

Differential Association

This approach is derived from interpersonal theory of delinquency. The generic assumption of interpersonal theories of delinquent behaviour is fluid and not fixed. That is, behavioural proclivity is dependent on circumstance or situation. Sutherland (1939) observed that delinquency arises from the same social conditions as ~~do~~ non-delinquent behaviour and the same person may be committing the same kinds of acts at different times. According to differential association, most delinquent behaviour is committed in groups or gang context. While the particular situation in which delinquent behaviour appears may fluctuate, the general setting will most typically include group norms and behavioural patterns. In the words of Sagarin (1975), proper terminology to use in connection with these theories is delinquent behaviour, because such activity is presumed to be situational and not indicative of long term behavioural patterns or personal character. That is, the behaviour is delinquent, but the individual ought not to be characterised as delinquent, in the sense of continuity of identity. The major foundation for this approach is that all behaviour is learned and not genetically programmed; hence delinquent acts are learned behaviour.

In addition, learning of delinquent behaviour develops from collective experiences as well as from specific situational current events. So according to the concept of differential association, a youth commits an act of delinquency in response to an excess of attitudes favouring law or norm violation, at that time, and that a youth has attained this excess in association with others. Norms, values and behaviour patterns are differentially organised in that a juvenile will be more or less likely to come into contact with and be influenced by delinquent values.

Control theories

Control theories of delinquency cover a wide range of topics. Empey (1982) characterises ninetieth- century and early twentieth-century individualistic theories of delinquency as control theories, focusing on psychoanalytical explanations. However, for the case of this study I will utilise Hirsch's (1969) proposition of control theory which traces delinquency through self- concept research and social mechanisms, such as the family and school experience. Control theories assume one basic point, that, human beings must be held in check, or somehow controlled if criminal or delinquent tendencies are to be repressed. Another proposition of this approach is that delinquency is a result of a deficiency in something, the absence of a working control mechanism. The specific type of control factor

or system judged absent or faulty among delinquents is what distinguishes various types of control theories. There are two general types of control systems, personal and social (for the purpose of this thesis my study will utilise the social control system.

Social bond

The structures of the family as well as the nature of relationships occurring within the family are equated with delinquent or non-delinquent behaviour. The common factor in the models for explaining juvenile delinquency, the primary focus is on the institution of the family as a possible cause in explaining juvenile delinquency. The evaluation of selected delinquency theories will be conducted according to the relationship between delinquency and the institution of the family: family factors, broken homes, family relationships. Evaluation will explore briefly school experiences and delinquency, as well as other considerations that might arise.

When do violence and violent behaviour become criminal? The concept of crime can be defined in two ways, namely a legal definition[6] and a non legal definition[7]. When offences are committed by person's younger than 12 years their offences are regarded as juvenile delinquency and the offenders labelled juvenile delinquents. Criminal behaviour is labelled as such when it is in conflict with the interests, norms and customs of the community and or the law. Crime is an anti- social act or misconduct which is a threat to, and a violation of the basic human relationships which ensure the stability, security, health and positive functioning of a community and its individual members. Depending on the circumstances, violence may be considered acceptable, unacceptable, lawful or unlawful. How an act is labelled also depends on the context in which it occurs. This process of labelling affects whether the behaviour comes to the attention of someone authorised to intervene and to assist the victim or the offender (Stanko, et.al; 2002: 3). For instance, a problem that people who have been concerned with domestic violence have highlighted is a tendency on the part of some police to regard this as a ―family matter" and not something that the police need to deal with. Participants in domestic violence also may not see such violence as ―crime". A British study indicates that particularly where men are assaulted by their intimate partners they are unlikely

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[6] In a legal sense a crime is any act which is prohibited by law, or the omission of an act which is dictated by law. ―The law thus states that certain forms of undesirable behaviour are punishable and therefore offences" (Stats SA, 2000).
[7] In a non-legal sense an offence is any anti-social act, misconduct or deviant behaviour which is harmful and detrimental to the healthy, normal existence of the individual, his next of kin and the community (Cloete and Conradie, 1983).

to see such violence as crime (Mirrlees-Black, 1999, quoted in Heidensohn, 2002: 495). Similarly, bullying at schools and fights between school children or other children are often regarded as a normal or trivial part of childhood and may not be regarded as meriting intervention by anyone. In addition, much violence between men takes place in the form of fights where there is a level of aggression from both sides. Even if severely beaten the ―loser‖ may not see himself as a victim (of crime and or violence). In addition, depending on the context in which this occurs, bystanders may also view such a fight as a spectacle. Similarly, the police may not necessarily see this as a matter that requires their attention.

The law provides certain objective definitions in terms of which acts are identified as crime as well as violence. However, culture in some ways shapes the interpretation and application of the law by victims and perpetrators, by community members and by personnel employed by official agencies charged with implementing the law. In addition, legal definitions are themselves subject to change so that certain types of acts may be criminalised or decriminalised, defined as violent or in other ways redefined so that they come to be seen as more serious or, alternatively, more justifiable. For instance, over recent years there have been a number of court cases that have dealt with charges of murder against women who have killed their abusive partners. In some cases, where the woman is able to provide persuasive evidence that the abuse was of a serious nature, and that other measures for protecting herself had repeatedly failed so that she reasonably believed that she had no other way of escaping from the situation, the courts have accepted this as evidence that mitigates against a punitive sentence (See, for instance, Vetten, 2007: 428).

Offences and forms of violence

Offences: Violent crime is dealt with by the criminal justice system as specific offences such as assault, murder, rape or robbery. For this study, offences will also be defined as those acts that may be punishable and defined by law as such, even though sometimes the cases are never reported or if reported are dismissed or labelled by authorities (handling the case) as ―minor‖, ―a family matter‖, and or ―a normal part of life‖ de-meriting any intervention on the matter. In addition, there is the problem of inaccurate statistics of violence in that many acts of violence are not reported to the police. For instance, in relation to rape, factors such as the intimate nature of the offence, fear of shame and humiliation, fear of the perpetrator, and the power relationships between victim and perpetrator more generally may add to the problem of underreporting of the offence.

Forms of violence: Different forms of violence can be distinguished from each other, depending upon the circumstances in which they take place. For instance, people are accustomed to hearing about sexual violence (a form of violence) while sexual violence may be prosecuted as an offence such as indecent assault. Violence can be categorised as murder, attempted murder, culpable homicide, assault, GBH, common or aggravated robbery, rape, indecent assault or public violence, or possibly the illegal pointing of a firearm or other offences. From the information that is currently available it appears reasonable to say that the forms of violence (―assaults related to arguments", ―robbery and other violent property crime", and ―rape and sexual assault") account for most violent crime in South Africa (SAPS report, 2003).

Perpetrator and victim

In most literature in recent decades, there has been increasing interest and attention in distinguishing the victim-perpetrator role, this is according to the report by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR 2007). Similarly, when thinking about violence we may tend to imagine acts of violence as involving a person who can be described as the ―perpetrator" and another person who can be described as the ―victim". In many incidents of violence it is reasonable to describe the two role-players in these terms and straightforward to identify which is which. However, some incidents of violence do not lend themselves so easily to such a description. In particular, some incidents of violence appear to be related to an escalating argument between two ―opponents". The standard use of the words ―victim" and ―perpetrator" in some ways misrepresents and oversimplifies some incidents of violence. Similarly, in cases of retaliatory or defensive violence, victim and offender are interchangeable. That is, victim becomes perpetrator and vice versa. However, looking on the surface of cases of retaliatory or defensive violence, it looks easy to identify the perpetrator and victim roles, but understanding the context in which the violent behaviour takes place we are able to understand differences in identifying each of them. In this study I generally use the terms ―victim" and ―perpetrator", as well as opponents and discuss in more detail the circumstances where the use of these terms can be problematic.

Stranger and Acquaintance violence

Available evidence indicates that a substantial proportion of violence in South Africa takes place between people who are known to each other. I therefore distinguish "acquaintance violence" from violence where the perpetrators are unknown to the victim, which can be referred to as "stranger violence". In this paper the term "acquaintance violence" refers to all violence where the victim and perpetrator (acquaintance) are known to each other, including where they are, for example, intimate partners, family members, friends, neighbours or other acquaintances. There are some relationships that can be regarded as falling into a grey area between "acquaintances" and "strangers", such as people who are merely "known by sight". Acquaintance violence has sometimes been referred to in South Africa as "social fabric crime" or "social crime". These terms highlight the fact that this type of violence takes place in the context of ordinary day-to-day relationships between people.

Geographical and demographic aspects of violence and crime

In South Africa, as in other countries, the risk of an individual becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence or other crime is partly associated with factors such as socioeconomic status, area of residence, sex, race and age. In relation to geographic area, for instance, over half of all murders (51%) were concentrated in 11 (25%) of the 43 policing areas, and 20% of murders occurring in only 2% of police station areas (23 out of the roughly 1 100 stations) (SAPS, 2003: 28; see also Altbeker, 2003: 21–23). However, there is not a direct correlation between income and violence victimisation or perpetration risk. For instance, British research suggests that levels of violence correlate with the "type of area or housing lived in". According to a report compiled by the Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation (2007), the geographic areas that are most prone to violence in South Africa are not the poorest geographic areas in the country. Related to this, it must be emphasised that the profile of crime and violence varies quite dramatically between different areas, so that some areas may, for instance, have a much higher proportion of violence related to conflict between groups or to assaults, while others will have a higher proportion of violence related to other forms of crime, such as robbery or rape. In particular, it seems that one can distinguish between high-crime middle-class and wealthier communities: A very high proportion of the overall numbers of aggravated robberies (as well as property crimes, such as housebreaking) take place in Gauteng Province. Poorer violence-prone communities: the communities that are worst-affected by violence are generally poorer rather than more affluent communities.

These communities may also be affected by high levels of robbery and other stranger[8] violence, but are also likely to be affected by high levels of acquaintance[9] violence. As emphasised, these communities are likely to be among the poorer communities, but are not necessarily the poorest (Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007).

The age profile of victims and perpetrators

Age of victims

The age profile of victims of violent crime may vary partly related to the type of violent crime. Data from victimisation surveys suggests that children and youth may be more vulnerable to crimes such as assault and robbery than older people. Victimisation rates reported in the 2005 National Youth Victimisation Study (NYVS), which covered 12–22year-olds, were significantly higher than those reflected in the 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey (NVCS), which covered persons 16 years and older. For instance: for assault, the rates in the NYVS were 17% while those in the NVCS were 2%. For robbery, the rates in the NYVS were 9% while in the NVCS they were 2% (see Burton, 2006). However, caution should be exercised in interpreting this data as the difference is related to different reporting trends in the two surveys. The report of the NVCS, for instance, indicates that respondents to this survey probably tended to only report more serious assaults (Burton, et al, 2004: 128). On the other hand, it appears that respondents to the NYVS may have tended to report a wider range of assaults and not merely the more serious ones. While comparison of the NVCS and NYVS suggests that youth are more at risk of violence than older people, among youth the risk of violent victimisation appears to increase with age. In the NYVS, 17% of 12–14 years olds reported assault and 5% reported robbery, while among 21-22 year-olds 19% reported assault and 15% reported robbery. In most of the cases of assault the victim and perpetrator are known to each other (acquaintance violence).

*Age of perpetrators***:**

Many people engage in some form of criminal behaviour at some point in their lives, particularly during their early years. For instance, British Home Office research in the mid-1990s found that over half of males and almost one-third of females aged between 14 and 25

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[8] Violence where perpetrator/s is unknown to the victim or the opponents are unknown to each other they are referred to as stranger violence (cited in the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007: 39).

[9] Acquaintance violence refers to violence where the victim and perpetrator or opponents are known to each other. ―In South Africa acquaintance violence is sometimes referred to as social fabric crime or social crime‖ (CSVR, 2007: 39).

admitted to committing one or more criminal offence at some point in their lives (Newburn, 1992: 540). However, research in South Africa suggests that early offending up to the age of 16 is far more likely to be property-related, including burglaries, theft and criminal damage to property. From roughly 16 years of age there is a dramatic escalation in violent offences, most notably in involvement in robbery, but also in relation to general assaults and sexual offences. Assaults and robbery peaked in the 16–20 age categories, while sexual offences peaked at this age but remained stable up to the age of 25 years, tailing off slowly after that (CSVR, 2007).

Young people up to the age of 25 constitute the majority (54, 6%) of the national population of South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2003). One estimate is that approximately 15% of all criminal offences in South Africa are committed by children under the age of 18 (Pereira, 2002). However, the contribution of children to the overall levels of crime is likely to be much higher. British statistics of a few years ago, for instance, ―suggest that at least one-quarter of all recorded crime in the United Kingdom is committed by ten to seventeen-year-olds, and that over two-fifths is committed by those under twenty-one" (Newburn, 2002: 540). The number of children arrested rose by 47% in just three years (from 114 773 in 1999 to 170 224 in 2002) (Muntingh, 2003). However, this increase may reflect an increase in the number of police stations, better recording and computerisation of statistics, and an overall increase of arrests during this period. According to a report by the Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation, while many children commit crimes of one kind or another, serious offending tends not to be associated with children in the early teenage years. Children less than 18 years make up 1, 2% of the entire prison population, partly reflecting the policy that seeks to avoid incarcerating children in prisons. Children are generally held in places of safety that fall under the Department of Social Development rather than the Department of Correctional Services, and therefore most ―children in conflict with the law" are not held in prisons (Department of Correctional Services, 4/03/09, personal communication received by e-mail).

Youth as victims and perpetrators

Figures in the 2005–06 SAPS annual report indicate that, for crimes reported in the 2004–05 year, roughly 43% of victims of rape (23 453), 48% of victims of indecent assault (4 726), 9% of victims of assault GBH (20 879) and 11% of victims of common assault (25 941) were children (under 18 years), (South African Police Service, 2006:57). Data discussed above also highlights that patterns of criminal and particularly violent offences to a significant degree originate in childhood. This applies both to ―life-course-persistent" and ―adolescence-

limited" offending. A survey of 1 370 young men aged 15–26 years who were drawn from Eastern Cape villages found that roughly 21% (287) admitted to participating in rape of one kind or another. Among those who reported raping an intimate partner, the age of first rape ranged from 9–21 years, with an average of 16 years old. (The average age of the volunteers was 19.) Data on a small group of respondents (51) among those who admitted to raping a non-partner was that the average age at which this had first occurred was 17, with 31 (61%) of these men indicating that they had raped a non-partner once, 17 (33%) indicating that they had done so a few times, and three (6%) indicating that they had done so many times (Jewkes, et al., 2006: 2 953). Children are dramatically affected by acquaintance violence. In the NYVS, 93% of victims of assault indicated that the assailants were known to them. Key categories of assailants included ‑school mates" (22%), ‑other relative or household member" (16%), ‑other friends or acquaintances" (10%), ‑boss or teacher" (7%) or ‑boyfriend or girlfriend" (6%).

The careers in violence of perpetrators

Do children who commit offences at a young age go on to become adult offenders? Is there a natural progression from being a child offender to more serious and violent offences as a child grows into adulthood? To what extent do children and youth who commit violent offences tend to persist in committing such offences over a sustained period of time? Alternatively, to what extent might violent offences, including some such offences of a relatively serious nature, be isolated incidents in an individual's life, which is otherwise mostly free of violence? Overall, is there a pattern of violence and violent behaviour in an individual's life cycle?

Broad patterns in violent or criminal behaviour of perpetrators

According to Moffitt, (1993, 1997, quoted in Smith, 2002: 734), a certain group of offenders are life course persistent or ‑chronic offenders". While there are many perpetrators who are repeatedly involved in acts of violence, this is not necessarily the norm among perpetrators of violence; this is according to the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, (2007). ‑While the information on these questions is inadequate in South Africa, the information cited does not contradict research in other countries, which indicate that many people who are convicted of serious acts of violence do not have criminal records for violence (and possibly for other offences), quoted from a report from the CSVR, (2007).

Longitudinal surveys conducted in Western countries indicate that a small group of children born each year will account for a very large proportion of offences. These surveys indicate that roughly 5%–10% of children account for 50%–70% of all the offences admitted by the children or known to the police as the children grow up and become young adults (Waller, 2006: 23, cited in a Report by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007: 124). The majority of people who commit offences of violence do not necessarily engage in violence on an ongoing basis, although they may have a history of involvement in other forms of criminality. The "chronic offender" group tends to be more changeable than stable, tending to move from one cluster to another over the life cycle. Increasing specialisation with age is more likely to occur in some crime types such as, fraud and general theft, serious assault and shoplifting than others, such as aggressive property offending and car theft (Smith, 2002: 713, citing Soothill, 2002). On the other hand, a substantial number of those who become involved in crime follow a criminal career, which may be described as "adolescence limited". The involvement of the above group in criminality would account for the peak in levels of offending across the 16–25 years age categories. A relatively small group may therefore account for a large proportion of violent offences.

Violent victimisation and perpetration appear in more concentrated in African and Coloured than in white and Indian communities, (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007). In addition, perpetrators of violence are overwhelmingly (African) males. Consistent with patterns documented in many studies, most violent behaviour involves violence committed between people of the same race and in some cases class rather than directed at members of other races or classes, and in many cases it is acquaintance violence. Mistry, et al., (2001), examined dockets with cases of types of violent crime associated with acquaintance violence in Northern Cape found that in the vast majority of cases there was no evidence of previous convictions in the docket.

The idea of "careers in violence" may therefore be far more relevant to some violent offenders than to others. In so far as individual offenders are a focus of attention, some may demonstrate a strong pattern of violent offending, perhaps along with other criminal behaviour. But for others, possibly even the majority of perpetrators of violence, there may be some type of disposition to violence, but it may be more useful to focus on what it was that prompted their involvement in violence in specific circumstances, rather than seeing them as

strongly and generally disposed towards its use. It is also important to find out what factors led to curbing continued involvement in such behaviour.

Analysis of media reports on violence and crime in South Africa

A perusal of any South African newspaper headlines over the past few years would reveal that reports of crime and violence constitute a significant proportion of daily news feed.   A more in-depth reading would reveal that more than just mere victims, in many of the cases reported young people are involved as perpetrators of violence and crime.   The overall levels of murder, rape, assault and robbery are cause for general concern. But among the large number of incidents of violence reported in the media and elsewhere in South Africa, certain incidents provoke particular public shock and alarm such as the captions on crime cited in the first Chapter. Crime and violence are clearly a priority concern to the state in South Africa. Of particular concern is the fact that the youth (ages 12- 24) constitute a considerable percentage of both victims and perpetrators of crime and violence, and in a particular violent crime in the country.

Trends in the reporting on violence and crime in South Africa

The aggressors of violence and crime are identified as youth between the ages of 12 and 21, (school going age and peak years for both offending and victimisation). Young people up to the age of 25 constitute the majority (54, 6%) of the national population of South Africa (Statistics SA; 2003). One estimate is that approximately 15% of all criminal offences in South Africa are committed by children under the age of eighteen (Pereira, 2002). **The number of children arrested rose by 47% in just three years (from 114 773 in 1999 to 170 224 in 2002) (Muntingh, 2003). However, this increase may reflect an increase in the number of police stations, better recording and computerisation of statistics, and an overall increase of arrests during this period.** *You've already written this paragraph on page 12.* The 2001 census indicates that twenty -six percent of the country's population is twenty- four years or younger. It is clear that a large proportion of South Africa's population falls within this ‗high risk' age cohort, therefore the 12 to 21 age group is the most likely to be involved in violence and crime. Seventeen per cent (17%) of perpetrators were between the ages of 10 and 19. Most of the offenders in the 10–19-year age category would probably be 16 years and older. While many children commit crimes of one kind or another, serious

offending tends not to be associated with children in the early teenage years (SAPS, 2004*b*: 16).

Instances of crime and violence are increasingly occurring in realms previously considered safe (schools and homes) from that usually occurs in the _outside world' (public and private space). Acts of violence against children by children are seen as random and senseless acts, pathological or deviant behaviour and is reaching endemic heights. Portrayal of youth as perpetrators (against each other) or the victim and perpetrator scenario is played out; therefore the emphasis is on the violent act and not about the parties involved. This creates a bias and one sided reporting, which discredits the accuracy of the act (of violence), because it does not state the conditions under which the violence takes place.

The use of headlines and news reporting as social commentary
The reports of some news stories take on the hallmark of fiction (read like a novel), deploying narrative, melodrama and plot in which the forces of good and evil were played out to a reading public who may have had little direct experience of (interpersonal) violence and or crime. These fictional renditions are aimed at attracting an audience and creating interest in the articles. Hence, language, content, narrative form and the initial eye catcher of the story, the headline come to be important. The headline has an important function as a tone setter, signpost, and story précis. In these functions it has become an enduring feature of crime reportage, so much so that in the case of murders the headline can become the label or title by which the incident is referred to thereafter by both the police and the newspapers (Soothill 1991:39).

The headlines could be both a summary of an event or a direct quotation from the main report, it offers an indication of the news contained in the body of the report, and in so doing it could shift the focus away from the actual story of the violence towards the interpretation of that violence. The headline is loaded with judgment and set in defining an incident. Common headlines, _taxi set alight in Umlazi' alerts the readers to the violent crime having taken place in the township. The headline gives the exact location in which the incident occurred, and provides insight into the violence. Another common headline, _high jacking in Umlazi a norm', goes a step further by implying that a violent crime, for which the township is famous for, is becoming a problem and or a way of life. The headline has the power to convey,

promote and emphasise value systems that the newspaper regards as respectable, worthwhile and healthy. The stories are becoming more and more sensational, even moralising and judgmental in tone, by labelling violent acts as senseless, random and meaningless acts. Applying such labels to violent and criminal behaviour provides biased interpretation of the events, or moves the focus away from the conditions under which the violence takes place.

The use of words like ―monstrous" and ―brutal" to describe the perpetrators behaviour are signposting accountability or asking the reader to feel outrage or shock with one or the other (victim or perpetrator scenario). Newspapers often play a role identifying and branding certain areas as dangerous, reinforcing and confirming to readers preconceived perceptions of the ‗Township' (in this case) criminality and violence. To the outsider the rough neighbourhoods appear alien, threatening, dangerous and criminal. This could range from headlines such as: ‗*moves to curb school violence'* to, ‗*is your school a crime hot spot'* - such captions are meant to invoke fear and signal alarming danger.

Conclusion

Through its construction and language, the headline and the article is able to convey social comment or raise fears concerning the prevalence of particular violent crimes, such as the growth in reporting of school violence in the past few years. Hence, media reports should be viewed with caution because although sometimes factual, reports can be emotionally charged and judgmental in tone, and in so doing shift the focus away from the actual story of the violence towards the interpretation of that violence. Academic expertise and media have played an essential role in the construction of juvenile (youth) violence as a social problem. Violence as an intimate and social phenomenon often associated with youth is understood in both objective and subjective terms. Its importance can be measured by its multiple expressions in the public sphere (media). On the other hand many control theories for instance have looked beyond the act of violence in isolation but have focused on looking at the conditions under which such event takes place. The premise of most control theories is based on the explanation of delinquency as primarily the result of a breakdown of institutional and community based controls, with primary focus on the institution of the family.

CHAPTER THREE

Perceptions, experiences and responses to Crime and violence in the Township

Introduction

Crime and violence is featured in newspapers, appears on television and is talked about by friends. Government reports and criminologists point out that statistically most of us are likely to be a victim of crime once in our lives.   In the words of McShane and Williams (2007) ―crime is such a constant in society that we can easily say that it is part of our daily lives". However, African children in working class areas have an existential difference to the lifestyles of their counterparts in White and Indian middle class suburbs. Much of these are clearly visible not only by the provisions of roads, type of transport, quality of housing and the quality of their learning environment, particularly their schools, but also in the ways in which learners travel to school and who is there to meet them upon their return home from school. Most school going children walk to and from school, leaving them vulnerable to influences and dangers that can impact upon their daily experiences, especially with respect to their personal safety.

Media reports about crime and violence in the Township perceive it to be an ongoing problem.   School going children, teachers and the community at large (from Umlazi township) for this project have been asked at least three questions that provide us with an insight into what their experiences and perceptions are: questions began from covering broad issues and led into the more specific experiences of individual school going children, teachers and community members.   These questions cover: their awareness about crime and violence in Umlazi, the safety they feel in their neighbourhoods, and whether they have personally been witness to any form of crime and violence. The questions that covered the broad issues, aimed at eliciting information on how they got to learn about crime in their area. As well as what influences peoples perceptions, in this case how perceptions influence how one responds to their environment. The issue of violence and crime remains a pressing facet of South African society that affects many aspects of their lives.

Table 3.1: Awareness of crime in Umlazi among sixty school going children

"How do you know about crime and violence"?

Category	Number of students	Percentage
Media	21	35%
Hearsay	15	25%
Personal experience or witnessed crime	24	40%

Table 3.1 above indicates that the majority of the sixty students who were interviewed viz. 40% (24 out of 60) had actually first learned about crime and violence through personally experiencing or witnessing it. In addition, about ninety eight percent of female respondents reported receiving verbal abuse such as personalised, sexualised threats or other forms of verbal intimidation. This is reported as an everyday occurrence for young girls. The other category either learnt about crime and violence from the media or through hearsay, twenty five percent of the respondents knew someone who had been physically hurt or injured through violent crime. A large proportion of the respondents know about crime and or violence through the media, which is viewed as a method of creating awareness of crime and labelling it as a problem in the township. However, there is debate as to the true representation of the level and degree of crime reported in the media.

Threats and attacks on students

Threats and attacks on students at school were common, and students reported being worried about violence at their school.

Case: Nhlanhla's experience of school bullying

Nhlanhla is a fifteen year old boy. He recounts his experience of school bullying, and the effects it had on him, his attitude towards violent behaviour as well as his coping strategy to prevent future experiences of being a victim.

"In 2008 I started high school, at a different school not in the one I am currently attending. As a new kid I got picked on a lot by the older kids (boys) in higher grades. The older boys took my lunch and pocket money everyday. They also confiscated my other possessions such as my fancy calculator, my colour pens, my watch and even my shoe laces. And if I didn't have anything to offer I was in big trouble, they would smack me around; make me shine their

shoes with my shirt. So everyday I had the burden of bringing them (older boys) lunch. My mom thought I had built up a huge appetite, what with carrying two lunch boxes filled with sandwiches; she was happy that I was eating so much food. I would also be forced to copy down their homework that they got from their classmates (who they probably bullied them into as well); I was also the messenger boy. They would send us (other victims) out to the shops during lunch time to go buy cigarettes, which we are not allowed to do, leaving the school premises. So we had to sneak out and risk being caught by the authorities. I hated doing all those things; I was a joke to my classmates, who were fortunate not to be bullied. I was perceived as weak and soft among my peers, who claimed that's why I got bullied. My mother started to notice a change about me, I was looking thin and ill, I was depressed most of the time and I was feeling sick all the time, which meant many days away from school. I didn't want to go to school anymore. My mother eventually heard from a neighbour's child that I was being bullied at school, so she confronted me and I confessed. She wanted to go to school and report the case. I pleaded with her not to, because if she reported it I would get into serious trouble with "those" boys, if they got reprimanded at school. I feared for my safety if I sold them out. Those boys would surely hurt me bad. I know this because they carried knives to school and threatened us into compliance. My mom took me out of the school and put me in my current school. I learned my lesson as the victim. I didn't want to be one (victim) anymore. I had to put on a new persona of being rough and tough, the kids at my current school didn't know me before I arrived at the school, so I could get away with the new me. I had to become the bully myself, so as not to get bullied. You bully them before they bully you. I am now considered a lion. I like my current school; I don't get bullied at all and I'm part of the cool and mach- gang".

Fights and safety at school

In terms of safety at school, eighty percent of the respondents knew of students who carried weapons such as knives or blades to school. Some of the male students' also reported to carrying weapons themselves. The common reasons for carrying a weapon were protection (64%), to gain respect (30%), or to threaten and or hurt students from other gangs (40%). Most students (70%) said that they had witnessed class —fights often or sometimes". While (60%) of students said they were worried about violence in their school.

Table 3.2 Reflecting sixty responses to the following question:
"Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood (including at school)"?

Category	Total number	Total %	Female	Male
Yes	24	40%	2	22
No	23	38%	20	3
Sometimes	13	22%	8	5
Total	**60**	**100%**	**30**	**30**

Table 3.2 shows that close to forty percent of the respondents reported concern for their safety, the majority being female. Count analysis of the responses to the above question showed that 40% of the student respondents expressed feeling safe in their neighbourhood. However, these feelings of safety did not necessarily translate to the feeling that the community as a whole is a safe environment. A large proportion of the female students expressed being worried about being sexually attacked, as verbal abuse and intimidation are daily occurrences for girls. In addition, many girls describe the potential threat of physical violence and sexual assault as a pervasive feature in their daily lives and their worries are expressed mainly in terms of safety issues. The risk of witnessing crime and or violence and also being a victim are generally associated with the public sphere, viz. the streets, and school playgrounds, where there is no adult supervision and the youth dominate these spaces. In accordance with the above statement, feelings of safety were also dependent on place and time, where day is associated with ease in feelings of safety, while dark or night was associated with danger. Certain areas in the neighbourhood were also considered no go areas, for notoriety of crime and violence. No go areas or danger zones are those areas that are known to be potential threats to a person's safety such as alley ways, dark streets, bars, squatter camp dwelling areas, deserted parks and taverns. An example of a no go area is the case of Mrs Dube (discussed later on in this chapter), who was attacked at knife point in the vacant grounds of a neighbourhood school. During school hours the grounds are bustling with activity with students and teachers, and sometimes after school hours with sporting events. But during certain hours and days the premises is notorious as a hot spot for criminal activity, because the area is deserted, the grass is bushy. The school cuts across and divides two neighbourhoods, one with middle class status and the other consisting of a mix of low class (majority) as well as middle class status. Criminals are aware of the area as a short route and that people pass through the premises to get to the other side. The respondents expressed concern for their safety when they left their neighbourhood territory to move across to other areas where gangs were reportedly always on the prowl for outsiders. Various researchers (see, DuBow, McCabe and Kaplan, 1979; Kilburn and Shrum, 1998; Lavrakas, 1981) have discussed numerous ways that people alter their lives in the hope of providing security or protection against criminal victimisation. Many individuals take precautionary measures such as avoiding going out at night, staying away from high risk places, using home security measures and carrying guns for protection. In addition some neighbourhoods have combined resources to provide protection for their members, such as neighbourhood watches.

Experiences of violence outside the school

Case: Zama's personal experience of violence

Zama, a sixteen year old grade ten pupil recounts her story. *"I will never forget that day, I was walking home from school, after choir practice, my friends and I had just parted way: I was walking alone in the late afternoon, about four o' clock, but it wasn't dark and home wasn't too far, so I thought I was safe. Anyway I am minding my business, rehearsing the songs we sang at choir to myself, when a group of boys walk-up behind me. These boys start whistling at me; making offensive comments and jokes; commenting on my body and making sexual gestures with their hands and body about what they would like to do to me. I ignored their banter, picked up pace and continued my walk home. I could hear them whispering, when suddenly one of the boys' is walking next to me; he then puts his arm around me and tries to kiss me on the cheek, with all my might I push him away, he falls on the grass nearby and all his friends laugh at him. They keep commenting on how he is a wimp and gets rejected and pushed by a girl. That must have made him angry, because the next thing I knew, he was speaking vulgar language at me, so I walk faster and then he trips me. I fall to the ground, and then he starts to kick me, slap and punch me while I am on the floor. He kept speaking vulgar at me, and saying that I think I am too pretty and he is going to teach me a lesson so that the next time he talks to me I should respect him. All the while this is happening I am screaming for help, but people just walk on by and don't help me, until a Taxi driver stops the taxi, and comes to my rescue. He (taxi driver), pulls out his gun and yanks this boy off of me; he starts kicking, and punching this boy (my attacker), his friends run away. Now everyone is standing by and watching this display as if it's a movie or something. People start cheering the taxi driver on, I can hear "yes, teach him a lesson, he shouldn't go around hitting girls". The taxi driver tells me to go home, which I do. Later that day our maid informed me that some people, who witnessed the incident of victimisation, claimed that they assumed that the boy beating me up was my boyfriend and they didn't want to interfere. As if a man has a right to attack a woman if she is his girlfriend. I mean that's just sick, what if he dragged me off somewhere and raped me or even killed me".*

Zama questions why people just walked on and did not come to her rescue before the taxi driver did. How could people just walk away and not help, no matter what the circumstances? *"No man has a right to beat up women, period".* It's puzzling how people turned a blind eye, continued to walk away and did not stop to help Zama. However, as soon as the taxi driver came to her rescue, it was interesting how people quickly gathered around to watch when the taxi driver attacked the attacker. People were happy that the perpetrator had got his turn as victim, but nobody else wanted to help.

Experience of violence at school

Case: Sipho's story on fighting and assaults

Boys interviewed for my project were reluctant to talk about their experiences of violence if they are the victims. However, they were more than willing to recount incidences of retaliation, and or self defence. According to their statements it made them appear weak if

they were perceived as the victim. They preferred the use of the term opponents, instead of perpetrator and or victim. This is evident in how Sipho recounts his story of fighting and assaults

"If you say one party is the victim, you imply that he is lacking in something. That he (the victim) is not a man'.
"If we have 'beef' with each other we sort it out, through fist or stick fighting, so it's a fair fight, no one has advantage over the other. The loser accepts defeat and walks away and that the end of the story".

Sipho's story demonstrates how an innocent joke can turn into a violent assault in an instant. Sipho's story is one of many incidents of violence in the classroom (as well as outside the classroom), through fighting and assaults.

Sipho: "I had just had a haircut over the weekend; so on my way to school with a friend from my neighbourhood, I mentioned to him that I wasn't particularly pleased with my new haircut. We joked and laughed about my haircut on the way to school, I made fun of myself, but it was just between the two of us. Then I am surprised when we get to class he brings up my haircut story to the attention of the class. Now the whole class starts to notice and make fun of me, with Busani (friend) repeating the jokes we made on our way to school. The jokes that were shared between us now occur as if they are his jokes (when in fact I was the one who made those jokes about me). At first it was funny and I joined in the laughing, but then he took it too far. I warned him to stop, but he continued, so I was now the class joke. I was getting really irritated and I lost it, I went to him and I shoved him, and punched him really hard in the stomach. He was shocked, and then we got into a fist fight, but he soon backed down, because he realised he was at fault".

Sipho claimed that the attack was warranted because he felt threatened and was beginning to look like a wimp in front of his peers, so he had to retaliate to gain his power back. Sipho felt that if he didn't retaliate he would have been perceived as weak and it would allow others to think he was an easy target for being bullied.

Table 3.3: The table below is a comparison of students who have witnessed crime or have experienced crime and their feelings of safety.

Respondent	Safe	Not safe	Sometimes	Total
Female	1	14	3	**18**
Male	3	-	3	**6**

We observe people acting and then see the act as violent when we reflect on it as an act of brutality or coercive domination. That is, we define a social act as violent when we recognise

and understand it as an attempt by one or more people to force their dominance over others. But who holds the lenses to the action so that its reflection appears to us as violent? This project reveals that violence as well as the narrower concept of violent crime, is neither easily nor precisely measured. There is no single way to define or classify and measure the domain of violent events, because each classification system involves some evaluation of peoples observations and reports of what people perceive as violent events, as well as when violence is acceptable behaviour. The findings in this project show that people do not always agree on how they define violence as well as when and how to identify particular acts or actions as violent. How an act is perceived influences how people respond to and deal with it, as in the case of Zama's attack. Acts and actions take on different meanings in different contexts.

Table 3.3 shows that more than half the female respondents have been affected in terms of their feelings of safety with having witnessed crime and/or violence, and expressed concern for their safety, regardless of whether or not they have experienced crime and/or violence. Female respondents also expressed feeling ill-equipped to handle potential conflict situations. My findings revealed that forty one percent of females had someone deliberately punching, hitting or kicking them. Age and gender are important factors in risk assessment, as fear of being sexually assaulted grows as girls get older. This could be due to the fact that female youth experience victimisation throughout their lives, starting in adolescence and continuing into adulthood. According to Goldbaum, Craig, Pepler and Connolly (2003), youth who tend to experience victimisation tend to fall within identifiable categories, such as being perceived as weak, being socially isolated and being female.

An important variation is that the majority of the male students interviewed reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood, regardless of having witnessed or experienced violence themselves. Goldbaum, (et al., 2003), also states that male youth experience high levels of victimisation at an early stage, but their levels of victimisation gradually decline over time. The majority of the male respondents also claimed they felt equipped to manage potential conflict situations. Strategies for handling conflict situations include talking their way out, walking away, the use of humour and when necessary, violence. Residents and/or groups in a specific geographical location develop their own norms and definitions about appropriate actions. Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1982) claim that some portions of the population of a region develop values like those who are more tolerant of violent acts. I will refer here to the ―Male code", which amounts to a set of informal rules governing interpersonal relations in a

public domain, particularly violence. The rules prescribe both proper comportment and the proper way to respond if challenged. They regulate the use of violence and so supply a rationale allowing those who are inclined to aggression to precipitate violent encounters in an approved way. The rules have been established and are enforced in interpersonal public behaviour. Knowledge of the code is largely defensive, and it is considered necessary for operating in public, and in order to enable a person to negotiate their environment. Violence is perceived as an effective and socially appropriate means of conflict resolution. Gender is a pivotal component of an individual's identity. Being female or a male is a fundamental aspect of any individual's identity since men and women essentially define themselves in terms of their feminine and masculine characteristics. Girls and boys come to learn about their masculinity and femininity through socialisation. That is, the process by which children and youth come to learn what is socially expected of them through their interactions with others in their environments. During my discussions with the young males, one of the traditional male gendered norms was reflected in how they measure violence and or crime. Aggression and the expression ‒rough and tough" they reported is a societal expectation for men. As a result, the majority of the men have a preference for violent tactics such as pushing, shoving and fist fighting when resolving disagreements. These tactics are defined by the male youth as a fundamental aspect of masculine characteristics. This is echoed by many of the boys in the focus group discussions.

"No girl wants a weak man, and no other man respects a weak man, so you must not allow your manhood to be threatened or weakened through sissy boy acts".
"Real men resolve issues through fist fighting, the loser accepts defeat gracefully, but being defeated doesn't make him less of a man, the fact that he stood his ground and fought it out gains him more respect than if he cowered out of a fight".

What constitutes "violence?"
The major differences in students' responses to questions on violence, crime and safety could be attributed to what students labelled as violence. Thomas (1966) emphasised the importance of definitions and meanings in social behaviour and its consequences. He suggested that humans respond to their definition of a situation rather than to the objective situation itself. The responses to the above question were divided mainly into two parts: violence was viewed as a physical act only and inclusive of both physical and verbal or sexual threats (seen as the foundation for physical violence. There was consensus among all the female students interviewed that violence is inclusive of verbal and sexual threats, because they are the foundations of the physical act of violence. While eighty one percent of male

students communicated that verbal or sexual threat were not necessarily a prerequisite for physical violence. Verbal and sexual threats were seen as just threats. The male students (81%) also communicated that a weapon had to be used in order for the act to be considered violent. A fist fight was observed as a natural way to resolve any dispute, and it is not labelled as violence. What was communicated was that it is not the act itself that defines violence, but what the act represents. For instance, hurting someone in self- defence was not considered violence among seventy five percent of the male respondents.

Perceptions of normal behaviour

Insecurities are reinforced by challenges to traditional male roles in the workplace and the family as a result of the impact of gender equality, contributing to a type of insecure and threatened masculinity. Beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be a man, about male sexuality, and about women and male rights of authority over women, also contribute to the motivations for and legitimisation of violence in various ways. For instance, roughly one in five boys (19%) and one in 10 girls (9%) agreed that it was sometimes acceptable for a man to hit his wife or girlfriend. These beliefs and attitudes, and their interaction with feelings of insecurity and low self-worth, are not only relevant to understanding violence against women but contribute to violence more broadly, so that beliefs legitimate violence. But violence is also a defence against internal pain and doubt, a means of trying to retain control, and pursuing acquisitive and other avenues that, it is hoped, will help to restore dignity. For instance, boys will use sexual threats and/or violent attack as a scare tactic on a girl who has rejected his advances, as a way to redeem his dignity in front of his peers.

The high levels of acquaintance and other violence reflect a situation where violence is regarded as a viable and legitimate way of resolving problems and asserting or protecting one's interests. The idea that ―violence breeds violence‖ is something of a cliché and is often used to explain violence that is perceived as defensive or retaliatory. But the first level at which ―violence breeds violence‖ is at the level where people, often in their early years, internalise the idea that violence is a viable and legitimate way of asserting or protecting one's interests, along with the emotional habits, such as a ready disposition to anger and aggression that are associated with these ideas. Violence between parents in the home, and violence against children by parents or siblings, are factors that contribute to the normalisation of violence.

The tolerance of violence among children in the school environment, and in the community more generally, are also facets of the normalisation of violence. Among these young boys violence has come to be regarded as a valid means of self-assertion, and obtaining cooperation, respect and compliance from others.

The normalisation of violence may also be said to contribute to a type of collective cumulative trauma, according to the CSVR in South Africa (2007:169). Many people have been exposed to violence in their domestic or community environments, have been victims of violence, or themselves have been involved in perpetrating acts of violence. The overall impact of this is that people feel overwhelmed by violence, and resigned to its inevitability, and find it difficult to remember or imagine a state of being that is not characterised by fear and violence.

Awareness of crime in Umlazi among teachers

Table: 3.4: "How do you know about crime"?

Category	Number of teachers	Percentage
Media	10	30%
Hearsay	10	30%
Personal experience or witnessed crime	6	40%

Table 3.4 indicates an alarming response, expressed by the teachers. It is clear that they have been witnessing bullying and /or aggressive behaviour in the class room and regarded it as acceptable adolescent behaviour. A significant proportion of female teachers claimed to have witnessed classroom violence, and been aware of school bullying, fighting and assaults.

Types of school violence include classroom violence, which is often associated with behavioural and psychological disorders and/or a lack of social skills (Evans and Evans, 1985). This, along with larger classroom sizes challenges teachers to manage a variety of non academic barriers in the classroom. Unfortunately many teachers do not receive adequate training to identify these non-academic ―warning signs" for unsafe classrooms, leaving them ill equipped to counter risk factors for violence in their classrooms. Bullying is a common

form of violence in the classroom and other areas of the school. A student is the victim of bullying when he or she is repeatedly exposed to hurtful actions (physical or psychological) by one or more youths (Olweus, 1991; 1993). Prevalence studies have found that approximately fifteen percent of students report bullying others (Kaltial-Heino et al, 1999). Of those students who report engaging in bullying and or aggressive behaviours, approximately fifty percent come from disrupted families or homes. According to DeBernado and McGee (1999), victims of bullying who have no support from others to stop the bullying may retaliate against the perpetrators, perpetuating the cycle of violence. Repeated verbal and psychological harassment is a form of bullying behaviour (Olweus, 1993). Verbal and psychological harassment can include threatening, taunting, teasing, calling others names, and dirty or derogatory gestures. Fighting and assaults are often precipitated by interpersonal disputes between students and usually escalate into punching, shoving, and hitting events. Less frequently the assault involves weapons, such as a gun, knife or club. Approximately 13.6% of learners have reported being threatened or injured by a weapon on school property (South Africa National Youth Risk Survey, 2002).

Case: A typical day in Miss Ngwenya's classroom

Miss Ngwenya is a young and slender female grade 10 teacher. She says teaching in a high school can prove challenging at times, especially with teaching the higher grades as teenage boys can get a little wild in and out of the classroom. She claims fights ‗break out at the drop of a hat', that is they are daily occurrences. The male teachers reassure her it is normal for teenage boys to act out violent behaviour, as it is the way adolescent boys communicate and they will soon grow out of it. ―So who am I to argue differently", she says. Sometimes there are so many fights during the day; it becomes tedious to report the incidences to the Headmaster. ―If they haven't harmed each other ‗bloody', then we let it slide.

A typical day in Miss Ngwenya's class involves breaking up fights, assaults, solving cases of theft and calming potential threatening situations, while trying to teach, most of which she feels ill equipped to handle. ―If the situation gets out of hand, I have to call on male teachers to intervene". ―I would be teacher (writing on the board), with my back towards the class, I turn around to witness a brawl, between two boys, fist fighting, slamming each other on desks. Each fight means a disruption to learning, because time is spent trying to interrupt the fight. She has to reprimand the boys involved in the fight by sending them out the class to cool off or the Headmasters office, so these boys miss out on learning. The whole class is

also affected during the whole situation. The teacher sometimes detains them by making the culprits wash the classroom windows, after school or during lunch break.   Sometimes this method of discipline works, as the number of fights in that week would be few. Other times the method of discipline makes no difference.   Miss Ngwenya also attributes the high incidents of fights in her class to the higher number of male students in her class compared to female students.   She also says that most fights result in minor injuries, such as light bruises, bloody noses and busted lips, but no one has been seriously injured, or hospitalised (in her class at least) by use of a weapon.   She had once witnessed a stick fight on the school grounds, which she says was brutal. ―The boys came off bloody, it was painful to watch, and the Headmaster arrived shortly to intervene. However, none of the boys were suspended from school because it was revealed that the fight was pre arranged and no one was the victim or attacker, just opponents, as if that changes things".

Although sixty six percent of the teacher respondents learned about the level and degree of crime in their community through the media, they also lambasted the media for arousing false fear in people, as a result influencing people's perceptions about the level and degree of crime in the township. That is, they questioned media accuracy in the reporting of violence and crime in the township and therefore, the media did not influence their perceptions and attitudes towards violence and crime in their communities. All of the six female teachers interviewed mentioned personal experiences of crime. All but one of the ten of the teachers has witnessed crime. Hearing from other peoples (close to them) stories about violence and crime were included in the knowledge of crime in the township. Experiences included mugging, house robberies, and car jacking.

Table: 3.5: Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood?

Category	Total number	Total %	Female	Male
Yes	6	40%	-	6
No	8	53%	8	-
Sometimes	1	7%	1	-
Total	**15**	**100%**	**9**	**6**

Table 3.5 shows all male teachers interviewed said they feel safe in their neighbourhood, even in the event of threatening circumstances. Reasons mentioned for feeling safe were that some of the thugs or criminals are former students so there is a kind of reluctance from the thugs to cause any threat or harm. ―They know, we know where they live so they have no chance‖, was how some teachers put it. While female teachers said they don't always feel safe, there are certain ―no go areas‖ or ―danger zones‖, which are notorious for crime. Most of the responses about personal experience from women, was telling of their frustration, and feelings of unsafeness.

―We don't feel safe in our own neighbourhood, amongst our own people, constantly worrying and viewing every young man as a thug‖. The quote is a summary of the general feeling of most of the female teachers interviewed. Female teachers and female students are most vulnerable to violent and criminal attacks; sometimes it is their very own students that they are afraid of. Female teachers expressed that driving around at night and in notorious areas, aggravate feelings of unsafeness. Of the six teachers interviewed, all female teachers reported not feeling safe in their community regardless of having experienced violence or not, while all the male teachers expressed feeing safe in their community regardless of having experienced violence or not. .

Research findings reveal that witnessing and or experiencing violence and crime among female teacher respondents influences their feelings of safety or lack of. While male respondents influences on feelings of safety are not affected by their experience of crime and or violence. The male teachers, like the male students, expressed feeling equipped to manage potential conflict situations. Female teachers, like their female students, expressed being unable to manage potential conflict situations, especially among male students (and often have to call male teachers to intervene).

Awareness of crime in Umlazi among community members

Table: 3.6: How do you know about crime?

Category	Number of community	Percentage
Media	20	96%
Hearsay	5	1%
Personal experience or witnessed crime	15	3%

Table 3.6 indicates that fifteen of the twenty participants were discovered to have had a personal experience of violent crime. All the female participants involved said they had a personal experience of violence and or crime. Fifteen of the twenty participants also mentioned witnessing crime (more than once). Below are the expressions of some of the community members on neighbourhood violence.

"We know about crime from personal experience; we have been robbed, our houses broken into, we have witnessed other people being robbed". (Interview with a female community member)
"I have been high jacked at gunpoint right outside my own house". (Interview with a male community member)

Case: Mrs Dube's experience of crime and violence

Mrs Dube is a resident of the community, here is her story.

"One day after work, I passed by a friends' house (she wasn't well so I went to keep her company). Around 5pm I decided to make my journey back home as it was getting late, it wasn't dark, but the street light had come on. I decided to take the short cut home, as the normal route is a stretch. The short route cut through a school field, which separates my neighbourhood (middle class housing scheme) from that of my friends which previously consisted of low class housing schemes, however, some of the houses have been upgraded, so now the neighbourhood is a mix of low cost housing, including informal settlement dwellings as well as middle class income housing. I didn't think much of walking this path as people walk the path all the time. Two young boys, clean looking were approaching my way. I didn't think any harm from them as they looked like decent boys. They looked as though they were going to walk past me, when suddenly one of the boys took out a knife and held it to my neck. I froze, while the one boy held a knife to my neck, the other snatched my bag out off my hand, asked for my gold watch, earrings and asked where I put my phone. I lied and said the phone was in my bag, so he opened my bag and started throwing its content on the ground looking for the phone, he yells it is not in here repeatedly. The boy with the knife slaps me hard across the face, and begins to put his hand down my shirt saying we know you women hide your phones in your bra. And he fishes out my phone. So they take off with my phone, wallet and identity document as well as my jewellery. While my bag and the rest of my belongings are strewn all over the ground. It all happened so fast, I was so distraught, plus there were other people following me at a distance, and they claimed they didn't see anything. I ran to the school caretaker for assistance, but to no avail, as he said it's not his problem and couldn't help me because I crossed through the school field at my own risk. And he continued to say that, I had learned my lesson and would not cross this path again. I didn't even bother to report the case to the police because it wouldn't have made a difference".

Table: 3.7: Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood?

Category	Total number	Total %	Female	Male
Yes	6	30%	0	6
No	10	50%	10	0
Sometimes	4	20%	2	2
Total	**20**	**100%**	**12**	**8**

Table 3.7 shows that the highest proportion of the respondents mentioned increasing feelings of safety concerns. One of the reasons for the increasing insecurity levels was that there seems to be a growing lack of trust in the police and judicial services. Other reasons mentioned were the contrast between the ―Haves‖ and the ―Have-nots‖, creating tension and conflict, making the ―Haves‖ targets and more vulnerable to violent and criminal attacks. Blau and Blau (1982) argue that the frustration over income inequality can lead to tensions that create conditions for violence. LaFree (1999), who studied trends of violence over the long term, notes that circumstances influencing crime and violence rates change over time. According to LaFree (1999), frustrations are not always due to an individual lacking economic well being, but instead are due to having less than others. In other words, it may not be low- income status, per se, that predisposes one to crime and violence, but rather coming from low income background and feeling resentment when viewing others from high-income background. Only two out of a total of eight men interviewed hinted on feelings of insecurity. Those that differed to the majority response of feelings of insecurity claimed that it was the media‗s fault for instilling unnecessary fear in people about the high levels of crime that supposedly exists in the township. ―Because of this perceived threat people go out there and buy guns to protect themselves from this so called danger, then we have a number of people walking around ready to shoot to protect themselves from this danger‖.

Table: 3.8: **The table below is a comparison of community members who have witnessed crime or have experienced crime and their feelings of safety.**

Respondent	Safe	Not safe	Sometimes	Total
Female	-	6	2	**10**
Male	4	-	1	**5**

Table 3.8 figures show results which are almost identical to that of the other teacher and student groups interviewed, that is, there is a correlation between experiencing crime and violence and feelings of safety among female respondents, to the contrary of their male counterparts. The majority of respondents continued to express the belief that crime is worsening in South Africa. Male respondents across all groups feel able to manage potential conflict situations, without any worry or fear. According to Rivadeneyra (2006), personal experience or witnessing of crime and violence are not the only factors that influence peoples perceptions of safety, but that, images presented in the media endorse stereotypes about violence and crime. As a result of media stereotypes, certain areas and groups of people are labelled as perpetrators of violence and crime, creating a fear of violence.

Making sense of the data

In day-to-day conversations and discussions about crime, media often refer to the problem of violence as a problem of gratuitous violence. Describing violence as gratuitous violence implies that it is carried out for nothing, a senseless act or purely for its own sake. It may also be called ―unnecessary‖ violence. When people describe violence as gratuitous or unnecessary, this is often a moral judgement or reflects their feelings that much of the violence defies comprehension. It appears that in some cases it may be analytically correct to describe acts of violence as in many ways gratuitous. In some cases people may resort to violence for little purpose and with indifference to its consequences. This is probably not true for most incidents of violence, but an incident of violence that is low on both instrumental and expressive motivation can possibly be classified as gratuitous, incidents such as serial killings. However, in most cases what may seem a senseless act on the surface has underlying motives or purpose. For instance, even a serial killer is motivated by some force, although most of the time the killings seem random, these acts are well planned, have a purpose but these are usually pathological cases. In gratuitous violence the person is indifferent to the feelings of others as well as possibly largely unaware of his or her own emotions. Such indifference may also be on the level of indifference relating to the consequences of violence for him/herself or for another person. It may also be related to an inability to distinguish right from wrong. Acts of violence may therefore be carried out by such a person without a strong practical or emotional motivation, but partly just because an opportunity presents itself.

Instrumental and expressive violence

In many cases of violence the violence has some practical and emotional purpose (Centre for the study of Violence and Reconciliation, SA, 2007). When an act of violence has a practical purpose it can be labelled as expressive violence, on the other hand if an act of violence has an emotional purpose driving it, it can be classified as instrumental violence. Expressive violence, is usually carried out as a threat or intimidation with or without the potential to carry out a violent act, they yield a sense of power over the victim because of the potential threat of physical violence. Hence, the purpose of expressive violence is to obtain compliance from the victim. In expressive violence the person has strong feelings of anger or other motives that orientate him or her towards violence, such as strong vindictive or sadistic urges, or a strong impulse to dominate or humiliate others. These negative emotions cloud their interactions with other people, and undermine the capacity to allow awareness of the harm or injury done to restrain him or her from violence.

In instrumental violence the perpetrator of violence is strongly invested in achieving one or another type of purpose, whether this is of a material nature or not, such as self-enrichment or self-gratification or recognition from others. Such motivation may tend to be quite impulsive in nature, but whether it is not, it excludes consideration of the harm done to others. For this person the fact that others are victimised in pursuit of his or her own self-enrichment or gratification is a secondary concern, and he or she manages to rationalise his or her actions to justify the enrichment or gratification at the expense of others.

Many perpetrators of violent crime will have some combination of these three types of attributes, which, in specific circumstances or in combination with other factors which provide them with a motivation to use violence; and reduce or remove inhibitions against the use of violence.

Broad factors conducive for violent behaviour

Interpersonal skill

The lack of verbal or interpersonal confidence or skills of the perpetrator may also be a factor. A person who is more confident on the interpersonal level may be less likely to see violence as a way to achieve his or her objectives, or to violently lash out at another person as a way of managing a situation of interpersonal conflict.

Notoriety

One purpose of some incidents of extreme violence may also be to obtain publicity or a reputation. For instance, some acts of criminal violence may be motivated by a wish to obtain recognition or notoriety, and may therefore be deliberately carried out in such a way as to ensure that the case receives recognition.

Alcohol and substance abuse

In many incidences of theft and robbery, the perpetrators claimed to be under the influence of alcohol or other drug, whose impact suppress certain aspects of emotional responsiveness, heighten aggression, as well as reduce inhibitions and cloud judgement. Most of the respondents in my study who had engaged in delinquent behaviour claimed that substance abuse played a part in one being able to carry out crimes of theft, such as ‒smash and grab" from cars, muggings and sometimes shoplifting. However, according to South (2002: 936), the effects of the various stimulants do not act alone, but interact with other internal and external variables such as the lack of interpersonal skills and influence of peers. South (2002: 936) continues that although these variables influence behaviour to some extent, they often reinforce or bring to the fore, already existing factors in the individual's personality that is conducive to the individual engaging in violent behaviour.

Anger and Vindictiveness

In some cases, according to reports on violence, anger or vindictiveness directed towards the ‒victim" or ‒opponent" may provide motivation for progression into acting out in violence see for example (see for example, South African Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology). In my findings, sometimes the line between victim and perpetrator were blurred, especially in cases of retaliation or self- defence violence and anger can sometimes be justifiable in this sense.

Peer group

In most crime and violent situations, identified delinquent pupils interviewed in my study often involved peer influence. Some incidences of theft were conducted with group or peer members and were influenced by the need to earn approval from other peers. Most students claimed they have participated in an act that they would not necessarily engage in if they were alone.

Conclusion

There is no information that can provide a basis for identifying how frequent incidents of violence occur. Nevertheless, it can confidently be said that it tends to be the most shocking incidents that are reported by the media and, therefore, that the reporting of high degree of incidents of violence is disproportionately relative to the reporting of more ―typical‖ incidents of violence and crime.   This is, partly related to the fact that violence consistently receives media coverage, incidents of violence play a particularly prominent role in accentuating public fear. When they fear crime, members of the public often have a specific incident of this nature, which they may have heard about from other people or through the media, in mind. Fear is also likely to be accentuated when people identify the victim of a particular incident of violence as ―someone like me‖, and thus feel that ―this could happen to me‖. While they represent a minority of violent incidents, these incidents play a major role in shaping the climate of fear that is associated with high levels of violence and crime. Perception is a critical ingredient in what humans know and how they behave. Moreover, it is not merely perception that is important, but selective perception, (McShane and Williams, 2007). What this means is that as humans we rely on selective perception to understand and resolve problems, which are influenced by pre-existing belief systems or ideologies that dictate what we should observe and how we should process these observations. Reality is, of necessity, a selectively perceived and socially constructed reality, influenced by popular media, government, and our friends and family assist in the selection process. The social reality of crime, violence, justice and other social ills are in essence all interpreted through the filter of selective perception. Media coverage of crime affects out lives, it affects how we perceive crime, and safety on a daily basis. However, the truth is that sometimes media coverage of crime and criminological and social reality usually are in opposition. That is, people may fear crime and perceive there to be a high level of crime, without ever having experienced it themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

The variation and fluidity in household composition in Umlazi Township, Durban

Introduction

The review of literature on family types, family change, and family history has relied largely on demographic statistics. One issue is how family types are identified in demographic surveys. A second issue is that the definition of the family in demographic surveys focuses primarily on the structure of the family and does not provide much information about kin relationships or family networks. During my data collection of media reports it is evident that they have used demographic statistics and have been singing about the changing African family and concluding that there is a decline, breakdown and crisis in the African family. A third issue is the use of demographic surveys to presume a definite converging of the African family towards a nuclear one. In this chapter, my research will attempt to locate the households under study by discussing the three issues above.

Defining family and household

The concepts of family and household are two conceptually distinct terms, although there is a tendency on the part of scholars to use them interchangeably in the investigations of the household structures and processes (see for example, de Vos 1995). However, in the South African context, we can hardly paint an accurate picture of families by equating family with co-residence, for several reasons. Reasons put forward by Amoateng and Richter, (2007) are ―South Africa is a multiracial and multi cultural society. Another reason is that the majority of South Africans subscribe to a patrilineal kinship system that is based on unilineal descent". What this means is that upon marriage a woman does not only move to live with the husband's paternal family, but is legally absorbed into this group (Russell 2002).

What is a family?

One definition of family that has served as a point of reference for anthropology for decades was that of Murdock (1949: 2) who stated: ―The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes and one or more children, own or adopted." This simplistic definition of family has been challenged by some anthropologists (Bohannan, 1963; Goodenough, 1979; Fortes, 1978,

according to Yanagisako (1970) as quoted in Georgas, (2006) who offer evidence from some societies that the basic core of the family is the mother and her dependent children. Specifically, feminist scholars have called into question the universality and stability of the conjugal unit as described by Murdock (1949) and Parsons (1955). Many feminist scholars argue that even in those regions and among social groups where marriage is near universal, women may spend a considerable portion of their lives without a spouse in residence. In South Africa, it is a well-established fact that because of the higher rates of participation in the migrant labour system by African men, desertion and lower rates of marriage, the household unit amongst Africans has become complex. The demographic profile of household and family composition is varied and fluid, where we see household types varying from nuclear type, to the extended type, female headed all female, all male, multigenerational, to skip generation households.

Popenoe's (1988) three-fold definition has challenged Murdock (1949) and Parsons (1955) definition of the family, and has instead revised it as follows: (a) the minimal family composition is one parent and one dependent person, (b) the parents do not have to be of both sexes, (c) the couple does not have to be married. A family as defined in the 1970 Population Census of South Africa has one of four structures: husband and wife; father, mother, and children; father, and children; and mother, and children. This is the most elementary definition possible.

In an attempt to define the family, Rodgers and White (1993) have turned to development theory, which according to this formation, first the family is a social group and second the family social group is part of the institution of marriage and the family. White has suggested the following basic definition of the family: ―A family is an intergenerational social group organised and governed by social norms regarding descent and affinity, reproduction and the nurturing socialisation of children" (1991: 7). Amoateng and Ritcher (2002: 14), recognise that although White's definition may not be adequate in light of the current changes in society, ―the importance of the definition lies in the fact that it views the family as a social institution with both ideational and concrete dimensions".

However, despite variations in the definitions, there appears to be consensus that families are social groups that are related by kinship (blood), marriage, adoption, or affiliation with close emotional ties to each other that persevere over time and go beyond physical residence.

Essentially families have an identity, which may change over time, depending on the context in which the term is used.

What is a household?

Just as the concept of family, the concept of the household has proved challenging as different disciplines have approached the subject on their own terms. For instance, anthropologists have traditionally analysed the household through the prism of family, marriage and kinship, focusing on defining the relationship between the family and household. On the other hand, economists have been primarily concerned with defining the household in relation to production and consumption, at the expense of the kinship group or the family. Feminist scholars have often observed the household through the lens of gender, through the socially ascribed roles and relationships of men and women; however, the classification of households by type is not so simple. Simkins (1986: 19) states that ―typologies used by analysts are not uniform, however most typologies are variations on five of the following types: (i) solidarity; (ii) no family; (iii) nuclear; (iv) extended; and (v) multiple". Simkins typologies are too simplistic, as evidence in my study will show in the discussion later, that there are several variations on the types of households among the sample group in Umlazi. According to the definition given by Simkins (1986: 19) the nuclear household consists of a single family, with no other members present. However, what these definitions reveal is that the concept of families and households is at most complex, as well as varied and fluid. Even these typologies within themselves can be complex and sometimes overlap as certain sets of rules presume certain kinds of arrangements about co-residence and housing, which may come to be as settlement patterns change.

On the other hand, the housing availability for certain people groups, functions as a constraint on building up large households, whereas for other groups, shortages may frustrate desires to live on a nuclear basis. This means that household composition at other times can be defined by constraint rather than choice. Georgas (2006: 5): ―We can come to a conclusion that at this point the issue of the composition of the family and household is controversial at the present time." Simkins (1989) and Georgas' (2006) statements in respect to the living arrangements in the report utilised by the researcher appear to be comparable. A person's living arrangement changes at different stages of life due to many factors, such as divorce, and fostering. In the 1950s and 1960s, modernisation theory became popular in the explanation of the evolution of families and households, especially among family sociologists (UN 1995). According to this interpretation, before industrialization the size of the family was relatively

large, usually extended by the presence of several relatives. However, as society developed, such an extended family gave way to the nuclear family, a process that naturally reduced the household size (Giddens, 1987). In an attempt to standardise the concept of household, the UN recommended the following definition. A household is:

.....either a one- person household, that is, a person who makes provision for his or her own food and other essentials for living without combining with any other person to form a part of a multi person household. Or a multi person household, that is, a group of two or more persons living together who make common provision for food and other essentials for living (UN 1989: 4), cited in Amoateng and Richter, 2007: 17).

Changing African family: A family in decline or adaptation and resilience of the family in a time of adversity

The changes in demographic statistics during the past four decades provide evidence for those who argue about the decline of the family, the crisis of the family, and the breakdown of the family. The decrease of the extended family, the increase in the nuclear family, the increase in one parent families, the increase in divorce rates, the increase in remarriage and families with step parents and step siblings have all provided support to the arguments for the breakdown of the family. The title of Popenoe's book, **"Disturbing the nest: family changes and decline in modern societies"** (1999) is illustrative of the viewpoint ―the decline of the family". He argues that ―although the family structures are changing", he does not believe the family system is disintegrating. In Popenoe's view ―the institution of the family is growing weaker, losing social power and social functions and becoming less important in life". From his studies on changing family conditions in the Swedish family, Popenoe concludes that the size of the family is decreasing globally, with fewer joint activities and diminished quality contact of parent and child, decreased contact with extended family (with increased contact with grandparents). In addition, other changes in the family include a decline in norms, values, symbols and communication in the family as an institution.

The opposite school of thought questions the degree to which many of these changes reflect a disintegration of the family. Cuyvers (2000) for instance, argues that conclusions made by the use of demographic statistics as evidence for the breakdown of the family are weak, in that this type of analysis of the family is synonymous with using the western ideology of the nuclear family to compare other forms of new families globally. In addition, Cuyvers (2000) argues that the idealisation of the nuclear family as a point of reference for the breakdown of the family has major discrepancies, because for one, it denies that problems such as domestic

violence in the household exist in nuclear family set ups. In adding to Cuyver's (2000) statement, Aerts (1993), argues that many children are still raised by parents in the household not matter what the household type, with each functioning saliently. What this means is that fission of the nuclear to a single parented household or any other type of household as a result of divorce or death of one parent does not equate to a breakdown or crisis in the family. Coontz (2000) concludes the family is not a dying but transformed institution.

The direction towards a nuclear family system among black South Africans is very different from their white counterparts. Although, 45 per cent of the households in my study were of the nuclear type, the conditions of this typology are different from those of their white counterparts. In Marwick's case (1978) he failed to point out that conditions were colonialism-induced processes such as urbanisation, industrialisation and subsequent apartheid imposed restrictions through migration policies. These processes negatively affected family and household patterns in the society, especially among Africans, who bore the brunt of such policies. Influx and labour control laws forced large numbers of (African) men and women to live apart from their families, resulting in split households. This has had long-term effects on contemporary African household's structure. Survey evidence collected by Moller and Schlemmer suggest that not all split families would reunite if the laws permitted free choice of place of residence and work (see Moller and Schlemmer 1977: 17-25), as the apartheid structure has had a far reaching impact for many years down the line. The effects of this system are therefore, expected to survive (in dimensioned or attenuated form) the demise of the system itself. Some of the strongest influences changing traditional family life in black communities are poverty, poor housing, urbanization, rising divorce rates, and a decline in traditional institutions, customs, and values (Viljoen 1994). Obedience and respect for parents (or parent- like authority) are among the key values and socialisation processes of traditional black families that are affected in particular. This is why a reformulation of the role of the extended family in the absence of the father (in terms of authority and involvement) is one of the most crucial issues in black family life. Along with these factors is the changing external environment, which, in itself, sets new challenges and presents other values for the younger generation of black families.

Family networks: the role of kin

Using the theory of modernisation several early empirical studies on black African organisations in South Africa concluded that the family patterns of this group were converging in the direction of the nuclear family system (see for example, Clark and van Heerden 1992; Nzimande 1987; Steyn 1993). In a study examining the relationship between exposure to urban life and patterns of domestic organisation in an African township near Johannesburg, Marwick (1978) found that the patterns of domestic organisation changed to resemble those normally found in industrial societies. Specifically he found that 48 per cent of the households in his sample were of the nuclear type. Marwick's study was demographic, survey based, and it failed to specify the conditions under which this seeming convergence took place. It says nothing of the relations and function of the extended kin in these demographic structures. From examining the above simulations, it appears that the family is functioning in isolation, where grandparents do not exist, aunts and uncles have no place and value in this nuclear structure. These demographic and survey based statistics indirectly confirm Parsons (1955) and Murdock's (1949) definition of the family in their conceptualisation of the nuclear family as isolated from the extended kin.

Many factors influence the composition of a household as studies of family networks indicate that the extended family system has not decomposed into isolated nuclear families, but has changed into modified extended family systems with close contact to kin. Despite industrialisation, urbanisation, education, and employment of women, changes have occurred in the de facto structure of the extended family, but not its functional extendedness. Therefore, we can conclude that the extended family is not changing toward a western model of the nuclear family, but toward an adaptive extended family. For instance, working class single parents in the households under study depend on different types of extended family systems, usually maternal kin, to help care for their children. The single parent usually brings in their mother or collateral relatives to live with them or send their children to be cared for by kin. The continuing kin relationships for care of children and economic support are characteristic of working parents (especially in single parented households).

There are two types of households in this study that were prominent in the community: the first type generally includes father and/or mother and biological children, together with one or more relatives. For instance in sixty of the interviews conducted on households during the

course of the study, which ranged in size from three to nine members and housed an average of three children, it was found at least one of either the wife's or husband's relatives was present per household. The second type is a more complex version of the former, where kin shift from one household to another simultaneously, that is being part of two households at the same time. What may appear nuclear like the first household type is actually a more complex extended structure of support networks and function.

As researchers we need to look beyond the nuclear family as set in stone, there is an increase in diversity of household and family types, one parent families (either divorced or unmarried) as well as two parent families and all often seek social and psychological support from kin. With the lifespan of grandparents increasing, this has resulted in many nuclear families living with a grandparent or maintaining close contact with them, in order to support them financially or in periods of their declining health. Uzoka (1979, 1096), reviewed a large number of studies, most in the United States, in which the nuclear family is embedded in a network of extended kin who provide social support and he also writes of the ―myth of the nuclear family… as structurally nuclear but functionally atomistic". For instance, in the households under study for this project, despite financial constraints in some households there was an affinity of closest kin to unemployed siblings, relatives as well as to aging parents. The family network's unwavering responsibility to accommodate the unemployed and financially dependent members demonstrates a noticeable quality in kinship relations. In addition, there is a typical pattern and cultural expectation of the alternation of aging parents between their offspring's houses, as to share responsibility among each other, as sending a parent to an old age home is frowned upon in township society. The structure and function of the households in this study are fluid, shifting from two to three-generation structures, for convenience, and according to resources.

The outlook for the extended family may be unclear, but it is certain that as socioeconomic conditions, technology, and cultural values continue to change, so will the face of the extended family. New constructions of the extended family are inevitable in contemporary society, but they always demonstrate adaptiveness and resilience in the face of adversity.

The Nuclear Family household

The nuclear family household includes a father, mother, and children (biological or adopted). There is a general assumption among many social scientists that as formal education spreads,

especially among Africans, the nuclear family replaced the complex, extended family as the modal family type among the educated elite. In the context of apartheid South Africa, political factors interacted with economic ones to prevent the formation of extended family households among Africans, and they were factors that forced the convergence from an extended household structure to a nuclear household. Specifically, Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1945 and a housing policy that facilitated single-family units of three or four rooms tended to compel nuclear families. However, this analysis of the nuclear family household is not simple. The after effects of these policies are supplemented as reasons for nuclear households. For example, according to the adults interviewed in this study, because these houses were so small, grown up children (along with their children) had no choice but to move out of home because there was practically no space to continue an extended structure. However, their parents maintained their old houses, ―but this does not mean that we have abandoned relations with the extended family", was echoed by many. Most claimed that they were in contact with other kin on a weekly basis, despite the nuclear setting. ―Although the household composition is nuclear, the family relations are still very much extended" as exclaimed by the mothers group in this study, to which all other groups agreed.

Single parented household: female and male headed families

The Single parent household structure includes mother and children; father and children (also in places where the biological mother is absent and or present, a parental figure is substituted and/or added, with for example, an aunt, uncle or grandparent). Male-headed households consist of one (male) parent and children of both sexes. Female-headed households consist of one (female) parent or parental figure and children of both sexes. For this category, all female households are inclusive of female head and female children only. A common trend in this household type is that there is usually a strong reliance on kin; in addition, kin relations tend to be stronger (than the other household types, with the exception of the extended family household). Kin, especially parents were often the most important source of support, where single parents utilise social and economic resources of the extended family to offset (in some cases) the absence of the other parent. The majority lives in close proximity to their family, have daily contact with kin, and report feelings of closeness to and satisfaction with family. The detailed relationships and fluidity within the household reveals that this household type tends to shift from two to three generational structures according to convenience and resources. A child may shift in succession from a single parented household to a skip generation set up and /or extended family structure in succession. Nosipho's living

arrangements for instance, illustrate best the above statements, she lives with her mother and grandmother in their respective households, attends school (and church) near her grandmother's residence, so at times it is convenient to stay with her grandmother as she can walk to school and she would go home to her mother's residence on Fridays. At other times, she would take public transport from her mother's residence to school and stay with her during the week. There is no set time when she would reside with either her mother or grandmother; all three of them decided when this change would occur. In addition, Nosipho and her mother would stay over at her grandmother's for the weekend, holidays and vice versa. Nosipho's living arrangements demonstrate the fluidity and detailed relationships beyond the structural composition of the household. This pattern is also typical of the nuclear household structure.

All female household

An all female household is inclusive of female head and female children only, (inclusion of maternal grandmother or relatives). The all female household here can also be classified under the single parented household, when there is no extended kin in residence. So the household tends to shift from two to three-generation structures according to resources and convenience. The female is the keystone to the family, in an emotional and financial sense. This type of household has a strong extended kin support network as they rely on unemployed kin for support in terms of day-care for children. Some decades ago, Preston- White 1978 used the term matri-focal to characterise the urban African family in South Africa. According to her, there is an increase in co-residence of single parents with their mothers, leading to multigenerational living in African communities especially in the city.

All Male household

The all male household type can also be categorised under the single parented household as this type is inclusive of a male head and male children. The structure of the all male household is usually two generational, which is a father and sons. Kin relations in this category are strong and rely heavily on maternal kin. Detailed relationships within this household reveal that collateral kin play a major role in terms of social and (occasionally financial) support.

Skip generation household

The skip generation household is when the grand parent replaces the biological parent as caregiver altogether and/or including financial responsibilities. The demographics of this household type show that 18 percent of the households under study are arranged according to this household type.

The Extended Family Household

The extended family household in this study consists of one family nuclei plus at least one other relative (such as a grandmother or aunt). The demography of this household type shows that 25 percent of the households under study are arranged according to this household type. With the disintegration of the historic extended family, new extended support networks have emerged; extended family configurations include single parented households; unmarried couples with children; a nuclear family and some form of extended family structure. The disintegration of the historic extended family meant changes in family patterns and structure, as well as changes in values, norms, attitudes and behaviour. Popenoe (1988: 8-9) outlines one kind of change or family crisis: he argues that, family groups are becoming internally deinstitutionalised, carrying out fewer traditional functions, becoming smaller and more unstable and that the cultural value of family is weakening in favour of self-fulfillment and egalitarianism. The families and communities studied for this project do not reverberate with this argument entirely, as families, households here are often gaining and losing resources, and trying to fit in with the wider world system, however, it is not declining in all the senses Popenoe (1998) identifies. The African family circumstance in my study suggests that the institutional structure of the Black African families are becoming more diverse and in most cases still highly salient. Some functions still support and care for the extended family just not in the traditional sense. In some cases the financially successful feel obliged to provide financial assistance to a wide circle of less fortunate relatives, by taking in and providing for a relative's child (and or the relative) in some instances a relative may volunteer to take care of the financial expenses of the child of another struggling family member. Ties with the extended family are still strong as ever as the extended family percentage distribution of household type is twenty-eight percent, the second highest after the nuclear family. The nuclear family itself does not function in isolation and relies on the extended family network (to provide day- care support for children) just as much as single parented households. However, it can be said that the extended family composition and structure has undergone

some major changes, and is a complex composition precipitated by different factors and changes and adapts to the conditions presented.

In addition to the structural changes that have had such a huge impact on families, the role of parents has been altered as parents are absent for the majority of the day and often have long commutes in addition to long, stressful workweeks. Hence, the involvement of extended family has also been lost, as families are required to move to where there are good career or educational opportunities.

For some of the participants in this study living arrangements in an extended family type of household may be viewed as just a convenience for the individual families involved, which like Murdock's definition of the family is categorised by common residence and economic cooperation as the only element bringing these groups together. The extended family household may also be pictured as a source for contention within the household. Findings also revealed the living arrangements (extended household formation) tend to bring about conflict, hostility towards each other as well as competition in the household. The extended family is no longer an expression of bonding, as was previously the case and purpose for an extended family household. The role of the extended family household may no longer be envisioned as having great value and influence in helping in the development of a child. ―It takes a village to raise a child" no longer applies to the modern day context. If anything, it could be expressed as interference or an unnecessary nuisance. There are a different set of rules for each nuclear family in the household, which creates instability and tension for the children and everyone involved. There are also major gender dynamics and unequal power relations, where position in the household affects the role one plays in the household functioning and structure.

Although people in a family differ, fundamentally, they are related and may still treat one another with respect, appreciation, and love based on their common bonds. A strong family provides a social support network that its members are able to rely on in times of stress. The extended family provides a superior alternative to the nuclear family in many cultures, expanding the family dynamic inter-generationally. Grandparents offer a unique form of support to the family, both to the parents and to the children. When a newly married couple moves far away from their parents, establishing their own nuclear family, isolation from their extended family may prove stressful. Families in which three generations interact in close

harmony provide greater support for successfully raising children, connecting them to their family traditions, and giving value to their lineage. Extended family ties and households have often proved remarkably adaptable to changing social conditions. Lee (1999) observed that the extended family is most likely to emerge in contemporary society when young adults face unemployment or divorce or when older adults become widowed or their health declines.

Multiple family household

A multiple family household includes at least two family nuclei, with or without extensions. Three percent of the household type found in my study was of multiple household structures. None of the children in this group had participated in delinquent behaviour; these results are not sufficiently numerous to be able to afford reliable data. However, what I found in my study was that in both cases despite financial constraints, support of closest kin to elders and unemployed siblings was demonstrated by their expressed responsibility to accommodate them. The spirit of child fosterage is also present in this type of household just as in the other types of households, for economic and social reasons. The grandmother is the core holding the families together. In addition, the emergence of multiple family household structures is mainly as an economic necessity.

Family Composition

Children are not randomly assigned to different households as usually tabled in demographic surveys; but they are usually tailored according to a child's needs. For instance, in the event of a divorce, if neither parent is deemed fit at the time to take care of their children, they can then be arranged to live with extended family, until such a time when they can be returned to a parent. It would be desirable to know why children are not living with their parents, as well as additional details on non-resident parents such as whether or not the parent has remarried, his or her education, employment status, and income and how these changes affect the family structure, which most demographic studies fail to report on. The above will be discussed in the next chapter and will discuss the ever changing living arrangements of a (delinquent) child until stability is established. Well over half the pupils had been brought up in varied living arrangements, in which the pupil had moved from one household to the next at different stages in his or her life. It is not uncommon for a child to start off in a nuclear family household, then move to a single parented household as well as find themselves part of a multiple family unit and then to a multigenerational female headed household, simultaneously. It is also common for a child to be part of two households simultaneously.

In some cases the father or mother was deceased, or both were and in some cases one parent had deserted the family. Two out of sixty children had step parents, while some were living with relatives and had never met their father, although they believed them to be alive. A few had no recollection of their mothers either.

The following stories reveal a weak extended family support structure, which is evident through the conflict and hostility in the household, caused by an unwed sister taking in another unwed sister and providing financial and emotional support and lack of tolerance for unemployed extended kin.

Sihle and his mother (a nurse), Ms T Zungu live in a three bedroom house. Sihle's mother's unwed sister and her two children came to live in Ms T Zungu's household. Sihle's mother feels a responsibility towards her sister and therefore accommodates her. However, Ms T Zungu's decision to accommodate one family member (sister) and excluding the others has created conflict and hostility among the extended family members, to the extent that communication has stopped completely between family members and family vacations have ceased. Ties and financial assistance to Sihle's grandparents have also been cut, because they had expressed disapproval with Ms T Zungu choosing to accommodate one sister over others. Communication with the extended family has been banned in the Zungu residence. Before the conflict, communication between the extended family was exceptional, including family visits between family members, and holiday trips to Sihle's grandparents' home were frequent. However, since the incident, Ms T Zungu and her one sister and their children have been excluded from family gatherings.

In another story Sbongile and her mother, Ms G Mlaba, live with her aunt (mothers' cousin) and her two children in a two bedroom rented house. Sbongile's mother was unemployed, and unable to secure employment at the time they moved in with her aunt. According to Sbongile, finances in the household were tight, but they made ends meet. Sbongile stated that they were a single family, although they did not always eat from the same pot. She claimed that although it seemed as if they are a single family to outsiders, (as her aunt had portrayed the situation to outsiders). In truth, her mother is a tenant since her contribution actually is a form of rent, and that she and her mother occupied a separate room from that of her aunt. In addition, since Ms G Mlaba's unemployment, cooking and eating structures are separate, with each family eating from a separate pot. Banding together to support each other financially,

has become outdated, with each parent providing for their own offspring. What seems to outsiders as a happy coexistence is far from accurate. A month after the interview Sbongile informed me that her aunt had given her mother a notice to vacate the premises since she intended putting another family member into their room. The reason cited for the eviction was that Ms G Mlaba was unable to provide a sustainable contribution to the household expenditure.

Although some people recognise ties with grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins, they have less contact and depend less on them. The patterns of interaction are no longer predictable in a _family system'. There are coalitions and alliances in the family with some overlapping and changing overtime. For instance, in the family of orientation, sisters may provide financial support for each other while excluding the brothers, or two unwed sisters may band together financially with the exclusion of the married sister/s. These unpredictable patterns of interaction ―disturb" the family equilibrium, and can create hostility and conflict within the household. The case studies above provide evidence and insight into the complex and sometimes unstable and weakening extended family structure as well as how a strong family network can provide stability and support for young children. It appears that the living arrangements in both household settings are the cause of conflict and tension in the extended family network. These extended living arrangements have caused frustration for the children, who are often caught in the middle. However, extended family living arrangements have great benefit for the children, as will be shown through this study. The purpose of table 4.1 is to examine what kinds of households produce the most number of delinquent children. In addition, chapters five and six will utilise this table to address what it is about the household structure that produces delinquent children.

Demographic profile of households in Umlazi Township

Table 4.1: Distribution of household types in Umlazi Township (2009) - Number of children engaged in delinquent behaviour, distributed according to household type, a sample of girls and boys from three schools in Umlazi Township.

Household type	Total number of household type	Average size of members in household (n)	Number of children engaged in delinquent behaviour
Nuclear	18	5	4
Single parented	11		
Female headed	8	4	2
Male headed	3	4	0
All male	2	3	0
All female	5	3	0
Extended/ multigenerational	12	5	7
Multiple	3	6	0
Skip- generational	9	2	5
Total	60	8	18

Previous contact with the law

Only eighteen of the sixty pupils had engaged in delinquent behaviour, such as shoplifting, theft, housebreaking, and robbery, violent assault, being in possession of stolen property, as well as drugs and alcohol abuse. Of the eighteen pupils, six had committed two or more offences and two of the children, had as many as five offences. This study examined how variables in the family structure such as family stress and conflict, attachment to parents influence (delinquent) behaviour, and attitudes, this will be discussed in case studies in the coming chapters. The figures below in table 4.2 look at the number of children in each household type, and if this could have possible effect on delinquent behaviour.

Table 4.2: Distribution of sample of pupils according to household composition and number of children per household type

Household type	Total number of children	Average number of children	Average number of male children	Average number of female children
Nuclear	52	3	1,6	2
Single parented	25	3	2	2
Female headed	22	3	2	2
Male headed	3	3	2	4
All male	4	2	2	
All female	8	2		2
Extended/ multigenerational	45	3	2	2
Multiple	5	2,5	2	1
Skip- generational	11	1	1	1,6
Total	150	2,4	1,5	1,4

The nature of the offences

Offences ranged from violent and aggressive offences to economically motivated offences such as theft and shoplifting, housebreaking and robbery to drugs and alcohol offences, as well as assault and possession of stolen property. Black children are exposed to an excess of risk factors for delinquent behaviour, including living in a single-parent household, often with no extended family support structure and higher levels of family stress and conflict. Most of these children were often left unsupervised and roamed the streets, hanging out in gangs ―looking for some excitement", as one of the boys put it. Most of the stolen property the children have acquired are usually exchanged among each other or sold to other peers when in need of money. The all male participant groups reported fighting, attacking someone, or have been attacked by someone at school in the past year.

Distribution of offences committed by sample of 18 pupils at three schools in Umlazi Township, (2009)

Type of offence	Number of pupils	Percentage
Theft including shoplifting	5	16.1
Housebreaking, robbery	3	9.7
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm	6	19 .4
Possession of stolen property	8	25.8
Drugs an alcohol offences	9	29.0
Total number of offences committed	31	100

It can be seen that twenty-nine percent of crimes involved violence and aggression, while those involving economic motives accounted for sixty one percent. Substance motivated offences accounted for twenty nine percent. However, it was also important to find out the motivation for such behaviour, whether they were economic, peer pressure or other factors besides those mentioned.

Economic circumstances

A household was categorised as middle or lower class by the parent's earnings, the area in Umlazi from which the student originated, the type of dwelling, as well as how the students classified themselves. The level or class for the household type from which students in the sample originated are presented in the table below. This information has been cross-tabulated with the type of offence in order to assess whether there appeared to be any relation between class and type of offence. With regard to age, area of residence, and other family characteristics, my analyses indicated that living in a non-intact family was a significant risk factor for violent behaviour among black male youth, while attachment to parents was a significant protective factor. Family stress and conflict was a risk factor for violent behaviour common among adolescents. Differences in family socio-economic status are not directly associated with violence. That is not to say that the socio-economic context you grow up in

does not help explain the gap. Nevertheless, in terms of family structure and characteristics, what matters instead of poverty is a family's strong extended support system.

Table 4.3: Distribution of offences committed by sample of pupils reflecting the class category of their household, (2009)

Type of offence	Middle class	Lower class	Total offence
Theft and shoplifting	1	4	5
Housebreaking with theft and robbery	0	3	3
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm	3	3	6
Possession of stolen property	3	5	8
Drugs and alcohol offences	7	2	9
Total number of pupils	14	17	31
Percentage	45.2%	54.8%	100%

Children from households within the lowest income bracket were identified as showing signs of displaying a higher percentage of delinquent behaviour and that ten percent of these pupils committed theft, housebreaking, and robbery, which were economically motivated offences. That is, the three students that committed theft, housebreaking and robbery were from lower class households. Offences such as drugs and alcohol abuse found more in pupils from middle class background, while assault and possession of stolen property offences were prevalent in both pupils from low class and middle class background. It is also worth mentioning that some of the delinquent behaviour occurred when the children were living in peri-urban and rural areas. As a result they were shipped off to extended kin in the township, who, as will be discussed later, were authoritative figures in the extended family network. Findings from my research reveal that children with weak family networks, especially extended family structure, are likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour. The ultimate criteria for a strong family are the quality of its children and security of its aged members.

Conclusion

The extended family network can provide much needed support (financially, emotionally, psychologically and socially) and a sense of connectedness. Twenty years ago, families were closer and grandparents and other family members provided a much-needed buffer for families. With technology, we may be able to keep in touch online or by phone, but it is not the same as active involvement of a grandparent or aunt or uncle. As they evolve, family and community structures adapt to the physical and social conditions of production (Wenke 1984). However, what the study found was that there is a collective nostalgia about traditional values with strong feelings that life was better before the present. Some cases suggest significant continuity and adoptive (adaptive?) resilience in the face of contemporary changes. Although the nuclear family household looks independent in structure, its members usually still have strong ties with the family of origin or other important family members. During problems and in times of crises, members of the extended family are still expected to help and support one another. In many nuclear families a niece, nephew, aunt, or uncle is also present because he or she needs support. The support system in black communities is based upon regulations, values, and socialisation patterns through which a feeling of social responsibility and reciprocal support is created and practiced (Nzimande 1996). The main purpose is to maintain the group's character throughout the extended family. There are indications of a continual decrease of family involvement within the extended family system, which results in a decrease of support resources, especially for those who need them. Although the individual worker becomes economically independent, in some cases, and others not the extended family becomes an increasing supportive factor for his or her survival.

CHAPTER FIVE

The single parent phenomenon and delinquency: the role of the extended family network

Introduction

This chapter looks at the single parent household, including never married parent households and divorced parent households, in terms of how the family experience is linked to delinquent or non- delinquent behaviour. What was particularly significant in the data was that the single parent households had very few delinquent children, in comparison to the ―intact" family households. This was particularly interesting when so much literature has expressed a growing link between single parent households (especially female headed) and youth delinquency (see for example, Morris, 1964; Rosen, 1969; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Shaw and McKay, 1932; Laub and Sampson, 1988). One reason could be that many of these are demographic studies that tell nothing about the context in which such households seem to be producing delinquent behaviour in children. Secondly, cultural differences may be a factor, in that these findings do not hold true in the African context as the stability of the family is not dependent on the stability of a conjugal union but on the stability of the extended family unit. Thirdly, the agenda of the researcher and outcomes to be produced influence the kind of information presented. In this chapter, I propose to examine an alternative perspective on how the extended family networks play a role in providing support for parents in single parented households and how this could be viewed as a preventative factor against delinquency in children. The traditional extended family among black families has changed enormously over the years, but has remained resilient and still functions as a unit providing stability such as emotional and financial support to its members and is involved in the socialisation process of its child members.

Prior research, concerning the relationship between ―broken homes" and delinquency yields only tentative conclusions concerning the strength and nature of the broken home delinquency relationship at the individual level of analysis (see for example, Weeks and Smith, 1939; Mednick et al.; Nye, 1958 and Carr- Saunders et al., 1944). These conclusions however, fall

short to account for the conditions under which any household produces delinquent or non delinquent behaviour in children. Such conclusions stem in part from inadequate conceptualisation of the broken homes construct, in part from the inadequate application of existing theory (for example, using western models to address non western concepts), and in part from inadequate methodology. The present study attempts to address each of these issues. In particular, it employs more precise measures of both family disruption and delinquency than prior research. It incorporates an array of techniques with which to assess the relationships among these measures, and it attempts to explore the adequacy of various explanations for these relationships. In my analysis, single parenthood, per se, does not appear to be associated with delinquency. Rather, certain types of changes in family composition appear related to delinquency. Broadly defined, a ―broken home‖ consists of a family in which at least one biological parent is missing. For decades, researchers and lay people alike have proposed that such homes promote delinquency. On the basis of this intuitively appealing assertion, early delinquency researchers employed a variety of samples to demonstrate that children from such homes are disproportionately represented among delinquents. For example, Browning (1960) found that adolescents adjudicated delinquent for auto theft or truancy were significantly more likely to live without one of their biological parents than was a matched sample of non- delinquents.

Demographic context

According to *Statistics South Africa*, single parent households among Africans counted for 15 percent in 1996, and roughly 13 percent in 2001 (Stats SA, 1996, 2001). Extended households, inclusive of a single parent and relatives accounted for 14 percent in 1996, and 19 percent in 2001. What this means is that there is a decrease in a ―stand alone‖ single parent household to an inclusion of a relative in the household. The findings in my study reflect patterns prevalent in marriage, and divorce as well as differences in norms regarding co-residence with relatives. That is, how family relationships in the setting of marriage, divorce and co residence with the extended family shape the behaviour of children who participate in such household settings. Africans recognise the mother-child dyad as a primary social and effective unit as do most of the world‘s people (Sudarkasa, 1974). Murdock (1949) characterised the mother child or single parent household as a separate nuclear family, independent from the extended family unit. However, it is erroneous to characterise this unit as a separate nuclear family within the African extended family, or to characterise this unit as a ―broken home‖ and a departure from the extended family, as the mother child dyad is

largely dependent on the extended family unit for support and child care. Such formations like those of Murdock (1949) have no clarifying value since none of the normal functions of a family were performed by this unit of socialisation in and of itself, it is not a unit of economic production or consumption in and of itself, it is not an isolated unit of emotional support or mutual aid. ―If there is one thing anthropologists should have learned from the study of African society, it is that large and complex family groupings do not present to Africans the problems that they present to Europeans" (Sudarkasa, 1973). When the word ‗family' is used in the African context, it does not usually refer to the nuclear or elementary family based on the husband- wife relationship, but to the extended family (based on descent), Tetteh (1967: 2001). This observation still resonates with the contemporary African family (case in point, families and households in this study). ―Given the ―naturalness" of the extended family to Africans, one would have thought anthropologists would have sought to explore the implications of this reality rather than obscure it by conceptual analysis that seeks to reduce it to western derived paradigms" (Sudarkasa, 1973). The extended family has always been diverse in nature. During my research I found that although there was some conflict and competition among relatives, the relationships among relatives of the extended family unit were characterised by a significant degree of cooperation and support.

The stability of the family is not dependent on the stability of the conjugal union. In pre-colonial African societies, although divorce was rare, when it did occur, it did not cause the dissolution of the family, as most literature has stated about divorce. Spouses could come and go but the extended family remained intact. When divorce occurred in patrilineal societies like the Zulu, the woman (wife) would return to her natal compound (or move to that of her new husband). The wife's older children would remain behind to be cared for by their paternal grandmother, by the father's other wives or by other women resident in the compound. One of the children could also go live with the father's sister in the compound of her husband. It was ensured that the child's needs were always taken care of. This norm is still present in the community under study; with the variation that matrifocalism has become the organising principle in the extended family structure. According to *Statistics South Africa*, approximately 50 percent of African children under the age of twelve do not live with their biological parents. In this study, I found that 15 percent of the children do not live with their biological parents at present or at some stage in their life. This is due to the fact that parents were unable to care for them (financially, or emotionally). However, they were left in the care of a relative who was deemed capable of providing necessary care for the child. It is

important to note: what my study found was that these networks provided not just economic support, but emotional support. They also involved the socialisation process, which is shared in varying degrees by all members of the group. That is, the adult members share in the upbringing of children. Sudarkasa, (1974: 1975b), Eades (1979), Shimkin and Uchenda (1978), observed that the extended family networks not only embrace members who are co resident, but extended to distant lands. Marriage was a stable institution in traditional African communities; most marriages were life long unions. Although statistics reveal a different picture of the African family in South Africa today, what still remains is the support of the extended family network to its members through processes like divorce, death and child rearing and so on. The point I am making here is not that divorce does not have an impact on the family, but that marriage did not have the primacy of place in kinship that it has in the nuclear family of the west, and the same is true for the community under study. The responsibilities for socialisation and social control are carried out by the extended family, and involve the cooperation of the entire unit. As children belong not only to birth parents but to this kin group as well (Nsamenang, 1992a), it follows that conceptions of _parenthood' are relatively more inclusive than those of nuclear families in the west (Nhlapo, 1993). With this analysis in mind, characterising the single parent household among Africans as _broken' does not hold much truth.

_Motherhood' might be central to the female identity throughout sub-Saharan Africa, but rarely is it assumed that the birth mother alone can raise competent children (Nsamenang, 1992c). Instead, the _motherhood' concept allows various _relatives' to participate in different aspects of nurturing, socialising, and educating children (Harkness and Super, 1995; Lloyd and Blanc, 1996; Tronick et al., 1992; Weisner and Gallimore, 1977). Grandmothers may be involved in feeding children, older _brothers' and _sisters' in instilling cultural values, aunts in introducing them to marketing skills, and wealthier relatives in contributing to their school fees. In this context, it is understandable why the practice of fostering children is rarely questioned (Spiegel, 1986). This analysis if far different from the western patterns of child rearing, where the parents are the sole providers for their children's well being, and this could explain why a single parent household could prove disastrous for a child _s development as the parent has no support in the child rearing process.

 Due to its structure, the extended family unit serves as the society's basic educational facility, imparting both skills and values to the youth. It also functions as an effective agent of

control, source of emotional support, and basic law enforcement agency; settling many disputes without recourse to the courts that did exist (Sudarkasa, 1974; 147). This structure is still very much present as an attribute of the African family today. In addition, the extended family provides social security in the form of solidarity, counselling and emotional reinforcement for the society's youth, adults, and elders. Dissolution of the extended family can have calamitous results, children are deprived of emotional and economic support, and childcare systems are disrupted, leaving sole care of the child to the parent/s. This outcome could be disastrous if the parent is unable to care fully for the child, due to work and travel commitments and does not have the financial capacity to hire external childcare.

The divorced single parent household

Morris (1964) reached similar conclusions about adolescent females in Michigan who had experienced multiple police contacts. Rosen (1969) found that low-income African-American youths in Philadelphia were significantly more likely to have a criminal record if they lived without their biological father. Similar findings characterise most studies that use police court records to measure delinquency (for examples see, Carr-Saunders et al., 1944; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Nye, 1958; Shaw and McKay, 1932; Weeks and Smith, 1939; Laub and Sampson, 1988; Mednick et al., 1987). At the same time, such studies often suffer from two important methodological limitations. First, law enforcement officials may be more prone to dismiss certain types of delinquency among adolescents who live with two biological parents. Juveniles from broken homes may be disproportionately prone to accumulate criminal records even if they do not engage in disproportionate delinquency (example, White et al., 1987). Second, studies measuring delinquency via official records, as well as many self-report studies (example, Austin, 1978; Berger and Simon, 1974; Hennessy et al., 1978; Sokil-Katz et al., 1997), tend to employ small and unrepresentative samples. The few self-report studies that do employ national probability samples generally reveal a statistically significant, although substantively modest broken homes-delinquency relationship (for example, Canter, 1982; Kaufman, 2000; Rankin, 1983).

Although single parent homes seem intuitively conducive to delinquency, it remains possible that single-parenthood, as such, does not contribute to delinquency as much as does the family conflict that often precedes and follows formal family disruption. Several studies in the psychology literature provide indirect support for this assertion. Kurdek and Sinclair (1988), for example, found evidence that family conflict was significantly related to psychopathology,

school problems, and poor goal focus among a sample of 234 junior high school students. Family structure failed to demonstrate a direct association with these same problems. Similarly, although Peterson and Zill (1986) found that disharmonious marital relations were significantly associated with depression, antisocial behaviour, and hyperactivity among a national probability sample of 1,423 adolescents, they found that marital conflict was significantly associated with the same negative outcomes. Although many studies in the psychology literature deal explicitly with the effects of family conflict on problematic childhood outcomes, most do not link family conflict to delinquency, per se.

Similar findings characterise an array of criminological studies (example, Kinard and Reinherz, 1984; Rickel and Langner, 1985; Stolberg and Anker, 1983) and suggest that family conflict may be more relevant to delinquency than is single parenthood. Research concerning the family and delinquency may further refine its conceptualisation and measurement of the ―broken homes" construct. Perhaps because much of the individual level literature cited above fails to reveal a large relationship between family disruption and delinquency, the study of family disruption has been somewhat neglected at the individual level of criminological analysis in recent years. The consensus seems to have been that family disruption is of marginal importance at the social-psychological level. Thus, the study of single parenthood and delinquency has largely become the purview of macro level researchers (Sampson, 1987).

One means by which to compare the relative validity of the single parent and family conflict models is to evaluate delinquency among youths in reconstituted families. To the degree that the absence of one parental figure accounts for the broken homes and delinquency relationship, step parents should serve as a buffer against delinquency. To the degree that family conflict accounts for the relationship, stepparents may actually promote delinquency. Evidence generally supports the latter view. For example; although McCarthy et al. (1982) found adolescents from single parent families to be significantly more delinquent than those from intact families, they also found that those with step parents tended to be the most delinquent. Likewise, Rankin (1983) found that children with stepparents were 2.7 times more likely to run away than were those from intact homes. Children from single parent households were only 1.8 times more likely to run away than were those from intact homes. With few exceptions (see for example, LeFlore, 1988), similar studies tend to suggest that step parents promote, rather than inhibit, delinquent behaviour (example, Flewelling and Bauman, 1990). The present results suggest that family disruption may have different effects on delinquency at

different developmental periods, fully explaining that broken homes and delinquency relationship may require a more detailed life-course analysis (see for example, Sampson and Laub, 1993). The case study below demonstrates the role of the extended family network in providing support to the child, especially in the circumstance of situations like divorce or separation of the parents.

Case: Khanya's domestic history (13 years old at the time of interview)

Khanya spent her earliest years in a home with both her parents. Her parents separated when she was nine, and her mother moved to her maternal home in Transkei. She left her in the care of her father, who sent her to live with her grandmother. Khanya never heard from her mother for two years, until she dropped unannounced to see Khanya. Her mother has not contacted her since, word was received that she (Khanya's mother) had remarried and had given birth to two more children. Upon Khanya's grandmother's death she was sent to live with her aunt in 2009. Khanya's father is still involved in her life, although he does not live in the same household as her; he comes to visit often when he is not working. Khanya expressed gratitude and was happy with her present living arrangement with her aunt. Khanya's domestic history illustrates forcefully the responsibility of the extended kin feel for neglected children and the importance they attach to caring for them.

Extended families ideal in new realities

Extended family networks characterise the urban African family in South Africa. Given that separation, divorce and single parent families are comparatively more common now than in the past, it is possible that children will experience these events in different ways than before. At the same time, with the increase in numbers of parents who were never married and of single parent (divorced) households, children may find their situation to be less of a social abnormality than was the case in the past. The majority of the children from divorced parents were living with their mothers, but 41 percent had moved house since their parents divorce. The extended family network active in the families under study provide the necessary support for the children who are caught in the middle of these situations, as some of the children in the single parent households were previously from nuclear families, and had to adjust to their present household settings. This study looked at children's experiences of change in family life and if this had the delinquent impact like most literature claimed. In cases of divorce, the study found that children adapted best when they felt confident of contact with non-resident parents and received reassurances from both parents of their commitment to their

relationships with children. The findings were established in the direction of children's experiences of change and continuity in family life, both in terms of practical everyday living and in terms of family relationships. The study found evidence of a good deal of continuity for many children in some core aspects of their lives. For example, most children did not move house or school as a result of the separation, and experienced little change in the amount of contact and involvement with members of their extended families, especially grandparents. The majority had high levels of contact with their non-resident parents (in all cases fathers). However, all children had to adjust to living with just one parent, and most found this to be a significant difficulty. The majority of children reported both positive and negative feelings about the separation of their parents. With regard to care giving, the majority of the children continued to live with their mothers following the divorce and most felt that there was little or no change in the source of their primary care giving. While this was a decision that children typically had no role in, they tended to say that they were happy to live with their mothers and visit their fathers. Seven out of eight of the children had expected to live with their mothers after the divorce. In many families, while children said that their fathers had previously been quite involved with childcare; children saw living with their mothers as the only realistic option. Some expressed the view that only their mothers had the capacity to provide the care they needed. The experienced changes in care giving arising from the separation were not dramatic as mothers continued to take the lead role in looking after them on a daily basis, preparing meals, bringing them to school and so on.

Within some descriptions a number of children pointed out that their fathers had actively contributed to the care giving role while living with them and they were sensitive to the fact that their father's absence was a source of additional pressure on their resident parent and understand this as needing to be good, so as not to put added pressure on the mother. One 16 year-old male student, for example, felt that his mother was under more pressure now, with the sole care of three children, and that this had positively affected his relationship with her. He says:

"Before I never took my mother seriously, we did not talk often, but after the divorce we got really close. As the eldest of my siblings I felt it my responsibility to help out around the house and in disciplining my younger siblings if they got out of hand, I saw how much my mother has sacrificed for us".

Few children (from the divorce family background) expressed that they no longer had frequent contact with the non resident parent (usually the father, except for three cases where it was the mother who was non resident). However, that this did not affect them much as the parent was not of much contribution even before the divorce, and they had learned to cope with the situation before the divorce. For children unhappy with the family living and visiting arrangements after divorce, three factors, collectively or singularly, were usually present. First, the divorce took place suddenly, with one of the parents leaving unexpectedly and without explanation. Second, the children had the sense that their non-resident parent's commitment to staying in contact and involved with their lives was diminishing. Third, children worried about the welfare of both parents. The sudden and unexplained absence of a parent was greatly distressing for children and was associated with confusion, sadness and in some cases anger. In two of the cases there was a sudden and unexplained absence of the parent, and this is what drove the children to rebel against their parents and rules. One boy put it this way:

" after my dad left, I was confused and angry because no one explained anything to me, I was hurting inside, so I wanted them to hurt like I was hurting so I did all these horrible things, I played truant from school, I would pick fights with other kids. Also I was hoping maybe my father would come back".

The second child responded as follows:

—One day my mother told me she was leaving, but that I will be fine living with my father, and that she and I will continue to be in contact. I was very upset as I wanted to stay with my mother, she promised that I could visit her during the holidays, as she was living and working in Pretoria. But the holidays came and went, and still no word from my mother, I felt abandoned and angry at my father for sending her away. I thought that he was the one who was preventing me from seeing my mother as he was the one who chased her from the house. My dad is a police man and was working most of the time, even night shift so I was left all by myself. I would invite my friends over, we would drink, and smoke, and we would also abscond from school and go hang out at my house. My friends gave me comfort; they understood how I was feeling".

Quality of relationships with parents

There were significant signs of continuity with regard to parent child relationships that is; such relationships were likely to be good if the relationship had been pleasant pre-separation. There were, however, some notable exceptions. Some children felt closer to their non-resident parent after the separation, although they no longer saw them every day or shared a house with them. However, here too there was evidence of individual variation in the sample, even within families, in how this was experienced and understood by children. Several children mentioned the importance of having the opportunity to spend individual time with

parents, both resident and non-resident. In some cases, children perceive these opportunities as having been created by the divorce, as expressed by one boy, ―*I'm able to talk to my father now, because I wouldn't be able to see him that much because he would just come in from work and then have dinner and go to bed. Now even though I only see him on weekends I feel closer to him because he makes time to spend with me"*. Some of the positive changes in parent child relationships appeared to be explained by the fact that fighting between parents in the home had ceased, and children could see their parents alone. Some children felt that once their parents had resolved their own conflict through separating, their behaviour towards them (the children) had improved:

"My dad never used to care when I was misbehaving, lying and stealing, he used to say he doesn't have time for my behaviour . . . but since he's been away it's made a huge difference; he's really nice to me, he is concerned about my wellbeing, my behaviour and progress at school, it's just better".

The absence of fighting in the home also appeared to be associated with children (especially those who had self reported misbehaviour because of this) feeling more comfortable in their own homes following the divorce. Thus, in situations where continuity of contact was possible, there were, in some cases, marked improvements in parent child relationships and child behaviour following the divorce. The respondents tended to favour the current family arrangements as preferable to living in a family with parents who argue or who do not speak to each other. All these findings are in contrast to what various literatures (see for example, Sampson and Laub, 1993; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Rosen, 1969 and Browning, 1960) on family studies argue about how children from divorce backgrounds are more likely to become delinquent youth. What the study appreciated was that, a child who was in a disharmonious nuclear family structure (with two fighting parents) was more likely to produce delinquency in the child than if the child was in a single- parented household with one ‗sane' parent.

Contact with extended family

There was striking continuity in children‗s contact with their extended families, even when parents‗ relationships continued to be acrimonious. Children who tended to spend a good deal of time with grandparents, aunts and uncles prior to the separation continued to do so afterwards, generally with both sides of the family. Only three children said they had experienced a change in the nature of their involvement or contact with their extended families on the side of the non resident parents. In two of these families, children had little or

no contact with paternal grandparents and in both of these cases, domestic violence had been a factor in the separation. Another child's contact with paternal grandparents broke down when her father moved to back to his home province in Kimberley. There were some positive changes in terms of children seeing more of their relatives, perhaps because they were an important source of support for their parents, who themselves spent more time with them following the divorce. In several families, fathers had returned to live with their own parents following the divorce and children stay overnight while visiting their fathers. These close ties between parents and grandparents facilitated children's contact with their extended families and provided positive child development. Phila's story is illustrative of the positive influence on children who continued contact with the extended family following the divorce of the parents.

"You see with our family we are very close, when my parents got divorced, my grandmother and aunt came to live with us, and because they felt that my mother, we (brother and two sisters) needed some help as we adjust to a new living arrangement without my father. My grandmother was home when we returned from school; my aunt would take us on outings to the park and to the beach, during the weekend. We were each given responsibilities and tasks around the house. For instance, I knew that keeping the garden clean was my responsibility, and I could not go out to play until I made sure it was clean. If I failed to take care of the garden, I will be forbidden from going to play for that week; anyway I like the garden because I take care of it. My aunt buys me flowers so that I can plant them in 'my' garden and make it look prettier".

The never married single parent household

Cultural influences. Most subjects in the present research were reared in traditional Zulu environments. A review of historical factors influencing the development of the Black South African child around the time when the respondents were young children themselves, noted that many Black families consisted of female-headed households (Liddell, et al., 1990). Given the nuclear family organisation of Western families, the absence of the father figure is generally destructive, as a male role model and family stability are lost. However, the authors concluded that such single parent families in a traditional African context did not have the same social significance or deleterious effects as their Western counterparts. They found three reasons for this. Firstly, structures and support systems had been formed to maintain female headed households, given that these had been a predominant feature of Black families for some time. Secondly, traditionally the father in a Black family had even less to do with the young child's everyday life than did his Western counterpart, so he was less likely to be missed. While fathers might be marginally associated with the young child there was no

absence of male role models in single parented households, examples being unmarried uncles, older siblings, and grandfathers. Finally, some female headed households, especially in urban areas, even chose to be minus a dominant male, probably related to alternate patterns of support that had evolved around female headed households in the past. Thus the extended family structure in which the majority of research subjects were reared gave a different interpretation to the negative concept of ―single parent‖ family associated with a life course offending developmental trajectory. While father, mother, or both might be temporarily or permanently absent in the child‗s formative years, grandparents, aunts and uncles usually took over this responsibility[10]. Despite the preceding argument, it was expected that some family demographic features might still serve as discriminators between the two research groups. Single parent in the present study was looked at in terms of continuity of primary caregivers, as well as when this role was passed frequently between different extended family members, each with their own parenting style, rather than the same set of individuals consistently sharing this duty. Supporting this supposition are the different parenting styles (to that of the biological parents) associated with other members of the traditional extended family. For example, grandfathers and uncles are usually less harsh on male children than is the children‗s own father (Vilakazi, 1962). The expectation remained in the present study that differences would be found between life-course and adolescent-limited offender respondents reared in a traditional context, in terms of the consistency of early caregivers, even if these were not his biological parents.

Principles governing African family relations

Interpersonal relations within the extended family were guided by a number of ethical principles, as well as by various sanctions that could be brought to bear on those members whose behaviour was considered too deviant to be tolerated, Sudarkasa, (1974:147). In the extended family unit, patterns of authority, decision making and other aspects of interpersonal behaviour were governed by four principles, namely, respect, responsibility, restraint, and reciprocity (see for example, Sudarkasa, 1974; Eades 1979; Shimkin and Uchenda, 1978). The principles of respect and restraint will be discussed in this section as they deal particularly with family relations, while reciprocity is usually held to be a principle governing economic relations and will not be discussed here.

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[10] Personal communication, with N. Mzobe, 11 August 2009.

Respect: is the fundamental conduct principle for behaviour within the family and in the community as a whole. This principle not only controls behaviour of the family members towards the elders within the family, but siblings are expected to keep harmonious relations within the family, by respecting each other as well. Respect was demonstrated through forms of address, children learn to show respect even before they learn to speak. Respect was evident in greetings, curtsies, knowing when to be seen and not heard and other gestures signalling acknowledgement of and submission to seniority.

Restraint: is the principle that makes possible collectivism within the extended structure in its entirety. Restraint intended that an individual could not function in isolation, doing their own thing; the rights of the person must always be harmonious with the requirements of the family as a whole. Family restraint is evident in various aspects of the family function, namely it governs behaviour, verbal communication and patterns of consumptions, the management of the family construction at large. According to Sudarkasa (1974: 147) restraint is related to the notion of sacrifice. For instance, parents exercise restraint over their own desires in order to provide for their children, who in turn repay the sacrifice by putting their parent's needs before their own in many instances. What this study found was that in many of the extended family networks a parent who was found to neglect their children was chastised and the child would be taken to be cared for by another relative who is considered capable to provide necessary care for the child and their needs. For instance, a young mother, who was still interested in dating and put those needs first was assisted with the care of her child, who would be taken to a more stable environment with mature relatives, who were considered essential for the development and socialising of the child into a respecting and responsible individual. The major function of the extended family network is to provide adequate care for the development of its children. The principle of restraint made sure that the parent was responsible in providing proper socialisation for the moral development of the child and she was aided in her journey to do so.

Fostering in the extended family network

In many sub-Saharan communities, for example, children are traditionally not fostered until 6 or 7 years old, when they are believed to _have sense' or are thought able to learn (Brydon, 1979; Goody, 1970). However, when those under 6 are fostered (especially given the needs of increasing numbers of urban working women), they tend to stay with close maternal

relatives or ‗grannies‘ known for their ability to nurture (Bledsoe and Isiugo- Abanihe, 1989; Isaac and Conrad, 1982). In contrast, older children ‗with sense‘ are understood as needing firm discipline from unsentimental adults if they are to ‗develop‘ or advance in life (Bledsoe and Isiugo-Abanihe, 1989; Goody, 1982). Their guardians are generally more educated, more affluent relatives who are not afraid to make children buckle down and learn, and, where the status difference between the child and guardian is great, parents seem willing to tolerate children‘s endurance of significant ‗hardship‘ so they might have a real chance at success (Bledsoe, 1990a; Moran, 1992; Sanjek, 1990). An important feature in the extended family unit, was the role of the extended family in keeping and providing stability in fostering parent-child relationships by providing support namely through emotional counselling to the single parent household. A student‘s story reiterates this point, Sbusiso, for instance, recounts his story as follows:

"My extended family is actually responsible for taking me (and my brothers) out of the situation. They decided my parents' relationship with each other was not good for me and my siblings' wellbeing and recognised it as the source of my behaviour (misconduct) and a form of rebellion. We initially went to live with my grandmother; I was later to live with my father's sister and her husband and children, until my parents sorted out their problems. My parents eventually divorced, and then there was conflict as to whom we should stay with between them. The elders decided we should remain as part of my aunt's family until my parents sorted out their differences and decided our living arrangement based on our well-being. My siblings and I now live with our father in an all male household, I was much calmer after the separation of my parents. After the divorce my mother returned to her hometown of Mpumalanga and we speak to her often on the phone, but my aunt and grandmother have provided us with maternal love, care and support in my mother's absence. They come to help in many ways. As a man, my father sometimes does not know what to do with us, so my grandmother, or aunt would stay with us for a few days to cook us proper food and things like that".

Another boy, Mandla‘s family history provides insight into the role that the extended family as a unit serves as a protective factor in curbing and preventing delinquent behaviour in young children‘s lives, by creating stability and providing support for the children and the family altogether. The well-being of the child affects their behaviour. This is Mandla‘s story:

"After my parents divorce, mother was really struggling to take care of my sisters and I (emotionally that is); she was depressed, she would not eat or talk to us at times, my uncle and his wife as well as my grandparents were of great help during this time. My uncle would relieve my mother on weekends and holidays by taking care of us, this was also great for my mother's mental health, and she could function at her best. My grandmother also came to live with us to support us emotionally. Slowly things started to get better and normal again, my mother started participating in our lives again.
Researcher: Why do you think that is, what do you think prompted the change in your mother?

Mandla: " well I think my grandparents and uncle's presence made a huge difference, I think my mother felt overwhelmed over the divorce, she was suddenly the sole person we were dependent on, I think she did not know how she was going to cope because all our lives my father was in the picture". "I remember she kept saying: how am I going to cope, what will I be without him (my father)". It was a stressful period for us but we got through it, my relatives are still very much part of our lives".

Fostering within the extended family serves as a protective factor for children, against delinquent behaviour. Fostering is inextricably linked to culturally shaped views of family, parenthood, and child development among Africans. Beliefs about child development including the needs of the child at certain stages and how these needs should be met seem to influence which relative is considered most capable of providing the necessary socialisation and child development in the midst of chaos in the child's life. A common observation through the extended family networks was that children were given responsibilities to contribute to the welfare of the household. Children's help with the chores was highly valued and seen as a protective factor against participation of children in the street life. According to Nsamenang (1992c), traditional African families being part of a tight-knit network of family relations is considered central to children's moral development and the more relatives who take an active interest in children, the greater their chances of development and success in a hostile environment, such as in the township.

Conclusion

African families and communities have undergone massive transformation. With increasing urbanisation, labour migration, formal schooling and economic decline, extended family members have found themselves relating to one another in new and different ways. In the face of such massive changes, the role of extended families in raising children has never been more important. Growing numbers of grandparents and distant relatives are coming forward, taking responsibility for children when their biological parents cannot do so. Maternal aunts and grandmothers are compensating for the limited involvement of paternal relatives in patrilineal families, fostering children of sisters and daughters. In spite of growing recognition of the extended family's role in present realities, rarely are the relationships that make up extended families focused upon. Yet as the findings here suggest, children's living arrangements and lives are significantly shaped by how individual kin get along with one another.

CHAPTER SIX

Exploring the link between family experience and youth delinquency

Introduction

The family is the child's primary environment. It is the first setting in which a child is socialised. The family plays an influential part in a child's educational process. It is in the safety of this process that a child begins to learn and form a view of his or her surroundings. However, when the family fails to provide and fulfil its educational function adequately, the child suffers from a lack of instructive foundation which manifests itself in juvenile misconduct in school, at home and on the streets. According to many studies, youth violence is a manifestation of family dysfunction or disintegration. In this chapter, I aim to explore the link between family experience and youth delinquency in the context of three types of family structure viz. the nuclear family, the extended family, and the multiple family to a lesser extent. ―Family" is defined here as biologically related individuals who are of common parents and grandparents.

In many scholarships, especially western literature, nuclear family households have long been associated as ideal conditions for providing healthy development for a child and pleasant childhood experience. On the other hand, the extended family structure is synonymous with especially African cultures, as well as other non western culture and has for decades centred on the existence of the extended family as a buffer against unemployment for poor families around the world. Although some regard the family as an institution in decline, many see changes in family life as dynamic forms of adaptation to changing social and economic conditions. Demographic trends, several scholars and policy-makers have concluded that the research literature clearly supports a two-parent, heterosexual married family as the most appropriate family configuration for raising children (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980). However, other scholars suggest that it is time to look beyond family structure in order to identify, strengthen and support, those parent and family characteristics that are most relevant for the successful nurturing and development of infants and toddlers, children and adolescents, adults and older individuals, and other family members. The findings in this research point to alternatives to the above literature, here we explore not just the structure of the family as a determinant of youth delinquency, rather we explore the family experience holistically, and how it affects youth behaviour. Negative child outcomes associated with

certain family structures may be due to the factors that often accompany them, rather than the family structure itself (Demo and Acock, 1988, Cherlin et. al, 1991; Demo, 1993). In light of this statement, we explore what family factors (accompanying the family structure) that are responsible for negative child outcomes or delinquent behaviour.

The family is envisioned as a key site of personal achievement and identity for children. In many family scholarships, the family function is responsible for providing socialisation and discipline for children, preparing children for adulthood, the development of physical and cognitive skills, and the acquisition of knowledge and shaping of values, attitudes, and beliefs (see, Eastman, 1989; Cloete and Conradie, 1983; Georgas et al., 2006; Mays, 1972). However, on the opposite end studies have also revealed that the family experience is not always as pleasant as idealised, citing family disruptions such as violence in the home, poor parenting, absence of parent-child relationship and many more as having a negative influence on child outcomes (see for example, Amoto, 1993). The ability of the family to perform its function and its access to relevant resources is important in determining the well being and development of the child (Seaberg, 1990; Vogel, 2003). Despite these conclusions, two important issues remain problematic in the existing literature. First, individual studies generally identify only one type of broken home and treat youth from other types as if they came from intact homes. Broadly defined, a ―broken home‖ consists of a family in which at least one biological parent is missing. Such studies may artificially deflate the true magnitude of the broken homes and delinquency relationship, particularly when they employ imprecise measures of family disruption and delinquency. Second, although numerous criminological theories are capable of explaining the relationship between broken homes and delinquency, few studies attempt to unveil the specific mechanism that underlies their relationship.

When the family becomes dysfunctional and discordant, the children are the ones that suffer. Strong, stable and supportive families are acknowledged to provide the optimum framework for children‘s wellbeing and the foundation for becoming responsible adults (Eastman, 1989). Values and behaviours which are assumed to be present in adult members and that are key to the functionality of a society for example, honesty, perseverance, care for vulnerable groups, and so on are acquired during children‘s development, and maintained and reinforced, through experiences in a family group. Functional families also control the behaviour of errant members and provide care for dependent and vulnerable individuals. The importance

of the family is clear from the fact that issues such as stress and ill health, the care and support of children, aged and disabled persons, school retention, labour force stability, substance use, and crime, cannot be considered without due attention to family life.

This research examined the relationship between family characteristics and adolescent deviant behaviour, using social control theory, in order to determine the effect of social control through family structure and parental attachment. In addition, this chapter will look at social and family organisation, through living arrangements, home background, socialising influences, and rules of the home and discipline patterns in the pupils' homes. Due to methodological limitations, prior research may have artificially intensified the magnitude of the broken homes and delinquency relationship and has achieved only limited success in identifying the mechanism through which broken homes may promote delinquency. The broken home phenomenon is often represented as a single parent household problem. This study however, addresses how conventional nuclear family household and extended family composition in itself is not sufficient for determining delinquent behaviour. Untangling the complexities, several studies that went beyond comparing the incidence of broken homes among criminals with the incidence in the general population failed to show a link between broken homes and delinquency. For example, among blacks in St. Louis, USA, boys from broken homes were not more likely to become delinquent than those from two-parent homes (Robins and Hill 1966). Careful analyses of juvenile court cases in the United States during 1969 showed that economic conditions rather than family composition influenced children's delinquency (Chilton and Markle, 1972). In studies of London students and of American schoolchildren of both sexes, within social class, delinquency was not more prevalent among children from single-parent homes.

Using family portraits of six delinquent adolescents from nuclear and the extended family household, this chapter will explore the broken home, (as broadly defined, a ―broken home" consists of a family in which at least one biological parent is missing) and delinquency relationship. Research has yielded several broad conclusions concerning the relationship between broken homes and delinquency at the individual level of analysis. First, from Robins and Hills (1966) research conducted concluded that, despite the perceptive appeal of broken homes and delinquency relationship, youth from broken homes seem only slightly more delinquent than do others. Second, research does not find consistent evidence of a relationship between broken homes and delinquent behaviour than that of delinquents from

─intact" homes. According to Wells and Rankin, (1991) parental divorce and separation, domestic violence and family conflict are more strongly associated with delinquency than are single parent households per se.

Sutherland (1947) corroborates Well and Rankins (1991) statement that normative conflict is translated into individual acts of delinquency through differential association within the family. According to Sutherland (1947), definitions favourable and unfavourable to delinquent behaviour are learned through communication, primarily in intimate groups, such as the family. Whether delinquency occurs depends on the ratio of learned definitions favourable and unfavourable to that act and has less to do with the family structure. Through interactions with others, individuals learn the value and attitudes associated with delinquency as well as techniques and motivations for delinquent behaviour. For instance, social environments (such as family, law, community) reactions, influence whether an act is defined as favourable or not. Therefore, in Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory children who see their parents benefit from crime or live in high crime environments where success is associated with illegal behaviour are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour. Poor socialising process could leave children vulnerable to outside influences especially in neighbourhoods with crime.

The Moral Regeneration Movement in South Africa

Families are considered one of the institutions, together with schools and faith-based organisations, in which values are acquired and reinforced. In South Africa and elsewhere, there is a widespread belief that ─an ebbing civic spirit" and an increase in social problems, is tied up with fundamental changes occurring in family life (Winter, 2000). As such, families are considered a key element of the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), which was launched by (the deputy) President Jacob Zuma in April 2002. The MRM is a multi-sectoral civil society organization, which coordinates the government's moral renewal programme. It has antecedents in the 1998 Moral Summit and the Manifesto on Values, Education, and Democracy produced by the Department of Education. Government and civic concern about high rates of crime, interpersonal violence and abuse, substance abuse, corruption, racism and sexism prompted the MRM. The MRM has a national working committee and provincial structures have been launched in four provinces (Free State, Northern Cape, Mpumulanga, and the Eastern Cape). In January 2003, the MRM launched the Moral Charter campaign, which calls for all South Africans ─to contribute towards the writing of a charter that will lay

the basis for united action towards the building of a moral society". ―It is the responsibility of government to promote values that serve the general good and are in the public interest. One way of doing this is through support for social institutions, such as the family, in which pro-social values can be acquired and reinforced". From this point of view, efforts to promote supportive family life are consistent with the Moral Regeneration Movement. The MRM's Moral charter acknowledges the role the family has on the moral fibre of society, through the support of positive family relationships

Family portrait of six youth
Six of the boys shared some of their life experiences with the researcher. Each pupil was asked whether they would like to talk about themselves and their lives leading up to the present and six subjects were willing, in fact eager to relate their stories. These accounts were taped but are not presented verbatim as individual accounts, because of space. The material was organised as a topic of discussion instead, to see if there were points of similarity, which could be significant. From the boys' own stories of their lives and how they came to be involved in delinquent activities, it was clear that there was a strong extended family influence. The households as the cases below show are fluid, shifting from multigenerational, female headed to nuclear extended, and from single parented to skip generation to multigenerational female headed structure according to resources and convenience.

Nhlanhla (who was sixteen at the time of the interview) told his story[11].

Although Nhlanhla is living in a nuclear family structure, it is also an extended family household because he is living with his uncle, his uncle's wife, and son. Nhlanhla refers to his uncle as father and his uncle's son as brother, since his biological father and uncle are brothers. Nhlanhla was originally living with his grandmother and mother before living at his present residence. He was sent to live with his uncle because his grandmother felt that she and Nhlanhla's mother could not keep him on the straight and narrow path. He narrates his story as follows:

"Back at my previous residence, I was getting involved in some very bad activities, I even got arrested. I met with bad friends who taught me to play truant from school (he was thirteen years old at that time). I would pretend to go to school, but as soon as my grandmother and mother left for work, I came back and took the key from under the doormat. My friends and I would smoke cigarettes, dagga and benzene. My mother and grandmother found out and they would give me a hiding now and then, their attempts to punish and correct me failed. I

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[11] The interview has been translated from Zulu into English

started causing trouble at home, my friends and I started stealing from shops, and runaway, this became a habit until we were caught and threatened with arrest. That is when my mother called my uncle, who suggested I go and live with him and his family. "I have been behaving better and am at school all the time, I play soccer as well. My aunt and uncle are very strict, I would not dare play truant."

Another boy Busani described his drift into delinquency as follows-
"I grew up well at home, without problems. When I was in lower primary I went to stay with my grandmother, my mother was unable to look after me at the time because her work required her to travel and she would be away for days. However, I was well taken care of financially, my mother made sure of that, my "Gogo" (granny) took care of me as well, making my lunch in the morning for school, and everything was fine. Then when I was to start my high school I went to live with my mother in a rented flat in town, I was attending school in town, and my mother worked in Tongaat. She got back home very late (around six or seven o'clock at night), while I was usually home by half past three in the afternoon. That is when the trouble started. After school, I would usually hang around the shops near by home and play video machine games and I would meet other boys. Then I absconded from school, I started shoplifting out of boredom, for fun and because I could get away with it, well that's what I thought until my friends got caught for shoplifting and named me as an accomplice;, we got arrested and later discharged. My mother was weeping, and saying I was getting out of control, my uncles came to our house and they beat me with a whip and fists, saying because I want to act like a criminal they will treat me like one, I could not sit or eat for days, my whole body was bruised. They threatened to do worse if ever I continued. After that incident, my grandmother suggested we move back in with her in the township. Things have changed now after school, I go straight home, start house chores, and help my "Gogo" with the cooking, and on weekends, I play soccer with my neighbour and his soccer team".

Sanele spoke about how he was an orphan raised by his grandmother, when she died he went to live at the Place of Safety in Umlazi then he later moved in with an extended family kin. When he was in primary school he became friendly with some _bad boys' (his term).

"At the age of six my parents died and we were left with my grandmother to care for us. She tried her best to care for us, but she was fragile and old, so it was more as if we had to care for her, she passed on shortly after we came to live with her. We were not very well off so my eldest brother had to leave school and work. During the weekends, I would help with the hawking and selling of fruit and vegetables day and night. It was during my errands on the train that I met with bad friends and together we engaged in mischief. I started smoking dagga, and gambling in order to gain money for my needs. I thought gambling seemed the easiest way to gain money. I started pick pocketing on the train to get more money to gamble and smoke, I also began stealing from cars, snatching women's bags and threatening them with assault if they didn't give me what I wanted. Sometimes I would not attend school. I started feeling ashamed of my poor clothes at school, some children would laugh at the way I looked, and so I left and became seriously involved in delinquency. I was arrested three times before I was sent off to the Place of Safety where I spent a year, until my grandmother's sister, and her daughter took us in and provided a home for us. I am very happy here, life has been hard, but I am happy now. I do not participate in 'bad' behaviour anymore I want to make my new family proud of me".

This is Zakhele's story-

"I grew up with both my parents; my father left for Johannesburg to look for work and thus left me in the care of my mother. My mother sometimes worked night shift, so during those times I had to go to my grandmother's house. Therefore, when my mother was working shifts I would pretend I was going to my granny's house, but instead I would go to a friend's house, where we would drink and smoke, we also started stealing including shoplifting, bag snatching, breaking into cars, housebreaking, and all of that. I was caught and given a suspended sentence my mother and grandmother were convinced my mischief was due to witchcraft and they sent me to a witch doctor, but it did not help. I continued to smoke drugs and then I would feel the courage to steal. On one occasion my friends left me to take the blame by myself, I got arrested again, my grandmother asked that I spend the night in a jail cell to learn a lesson and I was released the next day. The judge warned there would be no third chance if I were caught again. I was really terrified by all that happened; I did not want to spend my life in jail. I am back at school full time now, its difficult though because I am two years behind kids of my age group (17 in grade 10). I am the oldest in my class, so some pupils and teachers call me grandpa, because my grade does not coincide with my age. My parents are willing to send me to finishing school next year if I pass well this year-end".

Family background and relationships

Examining the family background of the pupils was designed to assess the strength of the parent child relations (such as emotional ties, parental supervision) relative to outside influences (especially the peer group) concerning delinquency. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that ineffective parenting is the reason why youngsters fail to develop self-control. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) are clear in their definition as to what constitutes ineffective parenting. Ineffective parenting includes three components: (a) the failure to monitor or track the child's behaviour, (b) the failure to recognise deviant behaviour when it occurs, and (c) the erratic and excessive punishment of deviant behaviour. Inept parenting thus occurs when adults do not monitor, recognise, or sanction misconduct. In short, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) contend that children raised in unstructured environments fail to develop the ability to control their behaviour and therefore are prone to engage in risky behaviours that give them either a short-term reward or relief from momentary irritations (i.e., criminal behaviour). Findings in my study were consistent with Gottfredson and Hirshi's theory.

Parental influence and supervision:

Parental monitoring or supervision describes parental tracking of unacceptable behaviour by their children across space and across time. Hawkins et al. (2000), in his literature review of factors predicting persistent antisocial behaviour, found that parent supervision acted as a

protective factor against future violence. The presence of the parenting style features of warmth and adequate control in the parent child relationship also implies parental monitoring of, or involvement in, the child's activities. Such involvement works against the onset of delinquent behaviour in children raised in disadvantaged, delinquent prone settings (Moffitt's ―criminogenic" environment). In general, it has been found that monitoring, or good supervision, helps parents react appropriately to antisocial behaviours and indirectly reduces the child's exposure to delinquency promoting circumstances, activities or peers (Snyder and Patterson, 1987). Parental supervision reduces the frequency and variety of the antisocial behaviour of young children in the home and at school, and becomes even more important as the child enters adolescence (Wilson and Harbert, 1978). Conversely, a lack of parental interaction and involvement with the child puts him at future risk for violence (Hawkins et al., 2000). Low parental monitoring is also linked to self-reported delinquent acts and police contact in youth, across both home and school settings (Henggeler, 1989). Dishion et al. (1995) found a relationship between antisocial boys' affiliation with other antisocial boys in early adolescence and the absence of caretaker supervision of activities. ―Instructive and affective neglect may be seen as an educational deficiency due to lack of definitive involvement, the clear formation of standards of decorum, and the necessary rendering of assistance and support", quoting Cloete and Conradie, 1983: 48). This form of neglect is closely associated with the pressures of modern life. For instance parent and child may live in the same house but there is a lack of interaction between them. The consequences of neglect can be an affectively neglected child who is incapable of keeping to generally accepted norms and of controlling and limiting his or her impulsive behaviour, resulting in behavioural misconduct. Because the child has a need for recognition and lacks appropriate skill to express their emotions, he or she seeks attention by means of unconventional behaviour patterns. Factors causing parents to be guilty of neglect are inter alia: parents who themselves suffered from a lack of parental love in their upbringing, the arrival of an unwanted child, or the absence of a parental figure.

All pupils in this study mentioned that their parents influenced them towards good behaviour, to go to church, to have respect for other people, regular attendance of school and respect for parents. Other influences included socially approved behaviour and goals. However, in view of the fact that a group of them had become delinquent it seems that this influence had insufficient power, due to that the fact that many parents worked long hours away from home and were unable to provide necessary supervision and nurture parent-child relations in order

to implement necessary influence over their children. In light of this, feelings were also expressed that in certain matters parents did not set the example, which was the reason for the failed power of parental influence. Thus, norms in this regard were not clearly defined by some parents, as a good number of pupils expressed that they were given directions with no special content. In the words of one student "Stay away from bad crowds", was all that followed a scolding for deviant behaviour. Pupils also recognised the influence of the peer group and community as having much influence on them, as is generally recognised of the peer group at the age of adolescence (Sheriff, 1964: 84, Thrasher, 1927, Whyte, 1943). Peer groups become substitute for the family, when the family fails to provide the necessary socialisation, the support from peer group associations seem appealing because of the similarity in age and experiences.

Discipline patterns:

"Appropriate" control refers to sufficient and developmentally appropriate involvement with the child, discipline and monitoring (Baumrind, 1971). This takes the form of enforcing rules and demands, high expectations, and appropriate limits on the child's behaviour. Inappropriate control includes intrusive, harsh and inconsistent discipline and poor monitoring (Patterson et al., 1989). Snyder and Patterson, (1987) found that effective discipline that did not lead to unacceptable levels of aggression and promoted adaptive behaviour in the child contained three elements. These were the accurate definition and labelling of behaviours as excessive or antisocial, consistent tracking of these behaviours over time and across settings, and consistent and contingent use of effective, but not harsh, discipline to inhibit these behaviours. In addition, the above authors found that poor, erratic discipline contributed to the development of antisocial behaviour by not providing a negative outcome clearly linked to unacceptable behaviour and by modelling and reinforcing aggressive modes of problem solving and of relating to others.

In terms of both opportunities and consequences, the family became the training ground for the child to gain skills in coercive ways of dealing with others. An adaptive parenting style is one that combines appropriately the key parenting influences on child development outlined above. Four disciplinary styles have been identified in the literature. These are coercive, lenient, and erratic and "firm but fair" styles (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1987). According to Patterson et al. (1989), the coercive style which combines punitive and erratic discipline with low parent effect (cold and rejecting) is most frequently associated with a life

course offending profile. An overly lenient or lax style is associated with covert antisocial behaviour such as lying and theft, and linked to an adolescent-limited type of antisocial behaviour. Firm but fair discipline leads to the most adaptive development. Colvin concentrated on the type of coercion involved in each of his four parenting types (Colvin, 2000), which are similar to those identified by Patterson. The most adaptive are consistent and non-coercive discipline and the least adaptive, erratic and coercive discipline, with erratic and non-coercive discipline (lax) and consistent and coercive discipline (authoritarian) falling in between. Baumrind's (1971) description of a consistent, non-coercive style, which she coined ―authoritative" parenting, resembled both Patterson and Colvin's adaptive parenting styles. Common features of the four parenting styles are, a) Authoritative: firm, fair and consistent - warm effect, b) Authoritarian: firm, often overly firm, occasionally harsh, but consistent – somewhat cold and or rejecting effect. c) Lax: little discipline generally metered in consequence to antisocial behaviour –warm affect d) Maladaptive: overly firm, often harsh, discipline inconsistently administered – cold or rejecting affect: most of the pupils had received physical punishment to control behaviour. Others were advised and physically punished or had something taken away from them when they misbehaved. Interestingly, none of these measures were consistent, either from misdemeanour to misdemeanour or from both parents.

Mays (1968), West (1968), and Cohen (1955) have all mentioned the importance of consistent discipline in controlling child behaviour. Although discipline was regarded as important in most homes, it was not always stressed, and this was evident in the lack of consistency in discipline measures. Attempts were made sometimes to correct or punish, sometimes to reward the child when appropriate, but lacked consistency. This may be the cause of failure of the discipline system. It should also be noted that even in homes with two parents, they were mostly working long hours away from home. Parents are caught between providing for their family and household economic needs, often impacting upon the emotional needs of the child. Pupils mentioned that because the discipline was so erratic, they often would continue misbehaving, because they knew there was a possibility they could get away with it. One pupil stated, ―When I would misbehave my father would say ‗your mother will deal with you', but sometimes my mother would come back from work and hear about my misbehaviour, she would say she had a long day and was too tired to deal with me and my situation". The pupils were unanimous in their affirmation that adequate discipline will help a child to keep out of trouble. This seems a widely held view, as discipline seems to be equated

in the minds of youth with poor parental care. In addition, the respondents emphasised that a child must be taught what is right and wrong. Pupils also mentioned that in response to the first signs of delinquency, parents should make sure that their children are attending school; parents should monitor their behaviour at school, and should communicate with teachers. Other remarks implied that parents needed the help of other family members in discipline and child supervision. ‖A child should be kept close to their parents so they are not easily influenced by outside sources", a comment echoed by many students. The reply suggests that pupils are now aware of how lack of supervision strengthened delinquent behaviour.

Students also acknowledged the connection between lack of supervision and delinquency. In the words of one boy: ‖when I stayed with my grandmother, I used to bunk school, I met with other boys, together we went to the shops to steal, but since living with my uncle who is strict, I have stopped. Most of the pupils in this study expressed a need for more communication between adults and their children and that there should be more opportunities for this. This is how a student expressed this: ‖my parents and I hardly spoke, I was told what to do and that was it, no response was required from me, but with my current guardians we communicate, (about the consequence for misbehaviour), I even get to decide on a discipline measure for myself. Another pupil said, ‖My parents didn't even check if I had homework or not, that's why they didn't even notice that I played truant frequently and only found out when I got arrested". It was frequently stated during discussions by both adults and youth that there was little communication between adults and children (in families). A community member stated as follows: ‖In African culture we lack a communication model in connection with our children, parents are the authority figures and children should do as they are told, children should know their place". These pupils felt better communication would increase understanding by adults of adolescent viewpoints and needs. Other factors mentioned by adult respondents were that norms have changed and sometimes parents lack the definition in modern times of how to portray discipline (what is wrong or right) to their children. With, the exercise of corporal punishment restricted parents lack alternative discipline methods, so sometimes parents just do not know how to respond in such matters. It is significant that there is a call for dialogue, as in conventional Zulu norms adults would discuss things together, the men and women separately and then relay decisions to the children. It is possible that there is a certain amount of inability on the part of the parent to verbalise the need for improved behaviour as this is not traditional. So it seems that parents are concerned but lack the knowledge or necessary control over their growing children and are consequently unable to

manage or prevent ventures into delinquency. What these youth are asking for is more opportunity to discuss their problem together with adults as a family.

From my discussion with the students, most of them spent a lot of time on their own or in the presence of peers after school. They had no recreational facilities and were often bored and spent most of their time occupying themselves on the street. Most of the previously delinquent youth mentioned that in their present situation, they participate in household tasks, play sports, and are not idle, and therefore do not have time for delinquent activities associated with hanging around in the streets. In the analysis from the data from South African Time Use Survey (TUS) (2001), the emphasis is on the importance of understanding children's daily activities as a valuable contribution in determining family organisation and its impact on children's outcomes. Several studies have identified the importance of family structure on offending. Events such as separation, divorce and the creation of stepfamilies can have a serious effect on young people's offending behaviour as they change the relationship between parents and children and the degree of parental supervision that children receive (Wadsworth, 1979; Wells and Rankin, 1991).

In this study, twenty- five percent of respondents lived with both natural parents either currently or at the age of 15. Eighteen per cent lived in lone parent families, three percent in all male households, eight percent in all female households, twenty-five percent in the extended family household, three percent in multiple family structure and eleven percent in skip generation households. Those who lived with two parents had no different levels of serious or persistent offending than those living in either lone parent families (divorced or never married), or extended families. Attachment to family can provide protection against deviant behaviour and earlier studies have shown a strong link between offending and having a poor relationship with parents (Boswell, 1995; Graham and Bowling, 1995). Family attachment could explain why there was no difference in the offending levels of youth from different households, as opposed to the family structure. The study measured the quality of family relationships by strength of attachment, amount of time spent with parents and the degree to which parents supervise their children. Having a weak attachment to one's family was defined as either getting on badly with either father or mother, or not being in contact with at least one natural parent (whether present or not). Students were asked about their relationship history with their parents. Based on this definition, 7 out of 9 students could be

classified as having a weak attachment with their family, while ‗Poor parental supervision‘ was defined as parents rarely or never knowing either where their child was or whom they were with when they were out of the house. Based on the definition, all pupils with previous delinquent behaviour were classified as having poor parental supervision.

Well functioning families create and sustain value systems through the socialisation of children and the inhibition and promotion of certain behaviours among all family members. Compliance with agreed systems of right and wrong, the inhibition of violence, values of diligence and achievement at school and in work, respect for elders, and compassion for the weak, are examples of such values. Hence, those who spent a lot of time with their parents were less likely to offend than those who lived with their parents but spent little time with them. Many studies have found a close link between the degree to which parents supervise children‗s activities and offending (e.g. Wilson, 1980; Riley and Shaw, 1985; Farrington, 1992; Graham and Bowling, 1995). In the study, those who reported poor supervision at a young age also self-reported engaging in delinquency and crime. The degree to which teenagers are supervised by their parents is directly related to the number of evenings that they go out: generally, young teens who went out several evenings during the week or who went to taverns, night-clubs or parties were more likely to be offenders. On the other hand, those young people who spent most of their leisure time in the home, for example reading or watching TV, were less likely to be offenders or engage in delinquent behaviour.

Generally, the role of family variables in the major theories on deviance has been minimal, mainly for ideological reasons. As Hirschi (1983) points out, criminologists become interested in people only after they have committed criminal acts, and then it is too late to learn much about the family situation, especially during the child-rearing years. He notes, as a result, many theories of criminal behaviour ignore the family and thus do not explain specific problems in child rearing that may be associated with a likelihood of later deviant behaviour. Hirschi (1983) also argues that a major reason for this neglect of the family is "metaphysical" - criminologists suggest that people would not turn to crime in the first place if something better were available. Thus, they suggest that faulty training or other family shortcomings have nothing to do with crime.

Affective neglect as a cause of juvenile misconduct

This form of neglect prevents the child's emotional being from developing normally. This happens when a child receives too little parental love. Factors causing parents to be guilty of emotional neglect are: parents who themselves suffered from a lack of emotional love in their upbringing, the arrival of an unwanted child and the absence of an active parental figure for the child. All the above factors could result in a parent who is aloof from or ill-disposed towards their children. A lack of maternal love in early adolescence may motivate the following characteristics in the adolescent:

- The child is emotionally deprived and unable to establish any form of intimate relationship with others, which is indicative of a communication disturbance.
- Emotional deprivation also applies to other issues such as lack of problem solving skills, which can for instance be articulated to a lack of interest in schoolwork.
- An insufficiently developed conscience can be observed in the participation of delinquent acts such as lying, thievery and so forth.

The child growing up in such an environment is excluded from the absolutely necessary loving encounters between parent and child. So when there are no affectionate encounters between parent and child or between parent and parent in the family setting, it is to be expected that the child will have difficulty in establishing relationships with others because they have no positive resource to draw from. This implies that the child may possibly build up frustrations (which the child is unable to control) that are revealed in behaviour patterns which are antisocial.

Social change and its impact on child rearing and youth socialisation

 South Africa's recent political transition needs to be situated within the context of broader more long-term processes of upheaval and change. The current era is one of major transformation on a global level. ―This partly involves the institutionalisation of the market economy as the dominant mode for economic relations throughout the world. Accompanying the institutionalisation of the market economy has been a global process of social upheaval associated with a complex range of cultural shifts that have weakened older concepts and systems of authority, and brought to the fore a concept of the individual as free and autonomous (Standing, 2006: 212)". The impact of these shifts varies from country to country, depending on specific factors in these countries, but nevertheless has substantial

impact among others on the types of circumstances in which young people grow up. For example: Delius and Glaser (2000) indicate that, prior to conquest, African communities were relatively open in relation to intergenerational communication on sexual issues. The power of adolescent sexuality was recognised and techniques and controls existed to help minimise its socially destructive dimensions, while peer groups also played a part in monitoring and managing adolescent sexuality. ―In the twentieth century these forms of sexual socialisation crumbled under the combined onslaught of Christianity, conquest, migrant labour, urbanisation and western education. The peer group pressures that had previously restrained adolescent sexuality now urged youth on to greater levels of sexual experimentation, and helped to entrench models of masculinity which celebrated the commodification, conquest and control of women.

Writing in a British context, Smith states that ―in the second half of the twentieth century, as full time education lengthened, so the time when young people started work was postponed for longer and longer. This created a lengthy period during which young people had an ambiguous status, which became thought of as a separate phase of the life cycle for the first time in history. During this adolescent phase, teenagers spent most of their time with their teenagers, and had weak ties to adults or adult institutions in conventional society". Though it does not account for all adolescent offending, peer influence is decisive in explaining why some individuals start offending in adolescence. The way in which global cultural shifts have played themselves out in South Africa has been shaped by the specific history of apartheid and institutionalised racism.

In South Africa the character of urbanisation was shaped by the migrant labour system, influx control and the pass laws. The implementation of these laws accentuated the strain families where subject to, contributing to a historical legacy of a relatively large number of dysfunctional families. While many South Africans―families are nevertheless successful in nurturing emotionally well rounded children, others are characterised by domestic violence or alcoholism, and these in turn have a negative impact on children and tend to be associated with other problems such as inconsistent or uncaring parenting, neglect or other abuse. Girls, who become pregnant in their teenage years, and single mothers, may be ill equipped to provide the type of care and nurturing that supports healthy emotional, mental and physical development. It is not true that all perpetrators of violence necessarily come from families of this kind. But the prevalence of these types of problems is definitely linked to the degree to

which young people in a society grow up with anti social or violent tendencies, often linked to certain types of mental or emotional dispositions or pathologies that are often a product of, or reinforced by, the parenting and family environments from which they emerged.

Control Theory/ the Parental Absence Model and the Family

The basic premise of social control theory is that humans engage in deviant behaviour because norm violation is attractive and exciting. It is natural for youths to strive to meet their needs in the easiest, most direct manner, and they are free to engage in deviant behaviour when social controls are either ineffective or absent. According to Elliot, Huizinga, and Ageton (1985), weak social control may be due to (1) "the failure to develop internal controls during childhood; (2) the breakdown or reawakening of previously established internal controls, particularly during adolescence; and (3) social disorganisation, in particular social units (family) that results in weak external controls." Thus, the family is an important source of both internal and external control. Not only is it important in defining norms for conventional behaviour, but family relationships providing an external source of social control (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958).

There are many ways the family can restrain deviant behaviours. According to Umberson (1987), it can discourage risk-taking behaviours. The lack of family roles and relationships implies an absence of control which increases the probability of engaging in compromising behaviours. Hirschi (1969) and Nye (1958), state, that the role of family ties contributes to the internalization of norms, for conventional behaviour. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) note, those adolescents who become offenders appear to have little control over their desires, and that this lack is largely rooted in family child-rearing practices. They use this notion as the basis of their general theory of crime. Wells (1978) describes this phenomenon as a type of "socialisation-control" where self-control develops with the internalisation of social constraints. Further, persons involved in relationships such as the family are more likely to conform to norms because deviation threatens the relationship. Thus, the structure of family life and the quality of parental attachment determines the likelihood of adolescent engagement in deviant behaviour. Sokol-Katz et al. (p. 212) argued that what is important "is the type and quality of the family relationship" rather than family structure or race, per se.

It is when adolescents are directly exposed to delinquent friends that parental influence is subjected to its most stringent test. Although peer influence appears to be quite strong (Sheriff and Sheriff 1964), there are reasons to believe that parental influence may withstand

direct competition from peers in some cases. Among adolescents with strong bonds to their parents, the potential loss of parental approval or affection may be sufficient to deter delinquency even when pressure from peers is intense. Similarly, adolescents who are close to their parents may be more likely than others to internalize and act on their parents' moral inhibitions against delinquency, providing an obstacle or barrier to peer influence. The general point is that parents may be "psychologically present" (to use Hirsch's 1969 term) even when adolescents are in the company of delinquent peers or otherwise under their influence.

Social control theory postulates that bonds between parents and children provide a basis for children to give up their immediate pleasures in exchange for receiving positive rewards attached to socialised behaviour. Consistent discipline and supervision add social control to the internalized bonds on the route toward forming well-socialized adolescents. The theory gains support from a series of studies, including this study showing absence of parental affection to be linked with delinquency. Warm family relationships appear to reduce the risk of delinquency in a variety of cultures other than those found in the United States. For example, Danish adolescents having warm family interactions were less likely to shoplift or commit vandalism than their peers from a disharmonious family (Arnett; Jeffrey; and Balle-Jensen 1993). In the Netherlands, adolescents between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who had positive relations with their mothers were considerably less likely to have been engaged in delinquent behavior than those who had negative relationships with their mothers (Terlouw and Junger-Tas 1992). Similarly, close bonds reduced the likelihood that Colombian adolescents would engage in delinquency with parents (Brook; Brook; De La Rosa; Whiteman; and Montoya 1999). In Japan (Harada 1995) and in Sweden (Martens 1992) argue that close emotional ties within the family also appeared to reduce the likelihood that children would become delinquents.

Lack of parental attachment may affect the ways in which children regard both themselves and others. Parents who fail to provide consistent guidance deprive their children of opportunities to gain approval by choosing to behave in accordance with parental rules. If parents treat their offspring with disdain, the offspring are likely to regard themselves as unworthy of care. The findings in this were consistent with Hirshi's (1983) theory of social control, that family relations are an important determinant of youth delinquency, rather than the family structure in itself.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most persistent explanations of delinquent behavior is the breakdown of the family. The family has been regarded as a major variable in the presence or absence of delinquent behaviour, from nineteenth century to the present (Platt, 1977). However, it is aberrations in family relationships that are the centrality in the explanation of delinquent behaviour in youth. The data explored in this chapter reveals that the quality of family relationships involves such factors as parental conflict, parent child relationships, and discipline and supervision patterns. What the study has revealed is that western family models of equating the family structure and youth do not relate with family models (of participants) and experiences of family life.

Conclusion

Violence is a human universal and interpersonal violence perpetrated by youth seems to be a problem in every society. There has been a growing interest globally in the study of youth, especially because of the rise in anti- social behaviour such as crime and violence within a school setting. Youth violence can take many forms: bullying, gender, and racial harassment, sexual assault, rape, gang violence, gun use, and _hate' crimes. This thesis focused on African youth, violence and the changing African family in the township of Umlazi. The issue of youth and violence in South Africa has a long history. As stated in previous chapters this is evident in early publications which documented youth and violence in the time and context of apartheid. For instance under the apartheid regime, young black high school children were the barometers of systematic marginalization and powerlessness. The schooling environment was oppressive, but it also became a site of highly politicized struggle, a vehicle through which young black people could draw attention to their plight in society through violence (and delinquency). Many youth resisted oppression through direct involvement in the struggle against apartheid, which included violence and other misconduct. Violence was socially approved in the name of liberation. Delinquency was a form of rebellion under the white regime. However, during the transition to democracy, the snail pace of transformation meant that little had actually changed in the classroom. The poor non-existent facilities, lack of educational resources and over-burdened teachers stood as powerful symbols of ongoing marginalisation. In addition, for the first time Africans were being affirmed as legitimate members of South Africa's urban environment.

This change came at a cost, resulting in the erosion of the social fabric that made up households and community structures. The change that their migration had to endure has impacted upon the institution that has regulated values and behaviour among the youth. The most common view held by many was that changing family and household patterns are largely responsible for the breakdown of moral and ethical standards among African youth. Youth violence and social changes in African family patterns have deeply rooted structural explanations in the township, linked to a long history of colonialism, apartheid, migration labour system and social change. In the process the extended family networks (which were the backbone of African society) and their roles in extending support and discipline to its members of the family were effectively destroyed. Hence, it is important to examine youth

values, ideals and socialisation in the context of the family, thus exploring the link between family experience and delinquent behaviour. This is what this thesis aimed to provide. The objectives of the thesis are to answer questions relating to:

- Individuals and community perceptions of the level of crime (and violence) in the community

- The role of the family in shaping and determining youth values and discipline.

- Its manifestations in the wider community (including school)

- The perceptions of ordinary people, of the level of antisocial behaviour in the township.

Umlazi was originally built as an African township to house African labourers. The emphasis was placed not upon building a viable community, with necessary social and economic infrastructure or community enhancement, but rather on merely creating a storage space for labour. The houses built earliest were those containing a majority of state- built, low cost, four-room township houses. The state- built houses were designed to force a nuclear type family and household structure and in the process denying the continuity of the traditional extended family system. Umlazi comprises twenty- nine neighbourhoods containing a mixture of housing types from the standard four roomed houses, informal settlements as well as privately built upper income houses and large single-sex hostels.

When discussing the concept of crime, I found that the legal and social definition of crime and violence may differ. How an act is labelled also depends on the context in which it occurs. For example, a problem that girls (in my study) who have experienced sexual harassment have highlighted is a tendency on the part of teachers and community to dismiss such experiences as part of growing up or being a female and not a matter for concern. In addition, participants in sexual harassment also may not view such acts as violent or as crime (particularly if it is between acquaintances). Similarly, in this study bullying at schools and fights between school children or other children are often regarded as a normal or trivial part of childhood and may not be regarded as meriting intervention by teachers. Also much violence between boys takes place in the form of arranged fights where there is a level of aggression from both sides. Even if severely beaten the ‑loser" may not see himself as a victim (of crime and or violence). When there is an arranged fight between two people they

refer to each other as opponents, whether they win or lose, rather than victim and perpetrator. In addition, in many instances (depending on the context in which this occurs), bystanders may also view such a fight as a spectacle. Similarly, the police may not necessarily see this as a matter that requires their attention.

The law, also, provides certain objective definitions in terms of which acts are identified as crime as well as violence. However, culture in some ways shapes the interpretation and application of the law by victims and perpetrators, by community members and by personnel employed by official agencies charged with implementing the law. In addition, legal definitions are themselves subject to change so that certain types of acts may be criminalised or decriminalised, defined as violent or in other ways redefined so that they come to be seen as more serious or, alternatively, more justifiable. For male participants in my study some incidents of violence appeared to be related to an escalating argument between two ―opponents‖. The standard use of the words ―victim‖ and ―perpetrator‖, therefore, in some ways misrepresents and oversimplifies some incidents of violence. In cases of retaliatory or defensive violence, victim and offender are interchangeable. That is, victim becomes perpetrator and sometimes the perpetrator becomes the victim in situations of retaliation from the victim. Therefore, understanding the context in which the violent behaviour takes place we are able to understand differences in identifying people‗s responses, attitudes and perceptions towards what seems like violence to an outsider. In addition, because there is a strong indication of acquaintance among the opponents, there is usually a shared culture of understanding the conditions in which violent behaviour is acceptable.

What is interesting is that many of the boys interviewed for this study mentioned that they had engaged in some form of criminal behaviour at some point in their lives, particularly in their early years. However, most of the early offending took place from the ages of seven up to the age of fourteen, and was more likely to be property related, including theft, such as burglaries, and shoplifting. On the other hand, from the ages of fourteen onwards there was a drift into violent behaviour, such as stick fighting to resolve disputes, sexual offences, verbal harassment and both physical and sexual harassment of girls.

However, what is also interesting to note in this study is that children who had committed offences at a young age did not necessarily progress to serious and violent offences in their adolescent years. That is, engaging in delinquent behaviour at an early age did not

predetermine that the child will go on to commit violent offences. Crime and violence have become part of our daily lives; it appears on television, we read about it in newspapers and it is a constant feature at dinner table conversations. So in order to understand the broader issues of crime and violence and how it manifests in the community at large, we need to understand people's perceptions and experiences of crime and violence. We also need to look at what influences peoples perceptions and how they construct an understanding of their experiences. In addition, age and gender play a huge influence in how one perceives and experiences their environment. In my study there was some variation in responses to people's perception and experiences of violence and crime. Firstly, there are huge differences in females and males perceptions and experiences of crime and violence. Secondly, there was some variation in responses about crime and violence between, teachers, community members and students. Male respondents in this study reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood regardless of having experienced violence or not. On the other hand, female respondents in this study reported high feelings of lack of security in their safety, regardless of having experienced violence or not.

The most persistent explanation of delinquent behaviour is a weak, dysfunctional and discordant family network, in terms of parental absence, lack of parental supervision, consistent parental discipline, poor parent-child relations and poor family relations. The family has been regarded as a major variable in the presence or absence of delinquent behaviour. The family plays a huge role in shaping youth values and discipline. In this study I explored the link between family experience and delinquent behaviour in youth. The data explored in this thesis reveals that the quality of family relationships involves such factors as harmonious parental relations, parent child relationships, and discipline and supervision patterns. Quality family relations provide the chid with necessary verbal and interpersonal skills to relate with others and may be less likely to see violence as a way to achieve his or her objectives, or to violently lash out at another person as a way of managing a situation of interpersonal conflict. A persistent explanation for the curbing of the continuation of delinquent behaviour and facilitating non delinquent behaviour is a strong and stable extended family network. For instance, fostering within the extended family serves as a protective factor for children against delinquent behaviour. A strong and stable extended family network plays a role in providing support, child care and socialisation of its members guided by a number of ethical principles, as well as sanctions that manage those members whose behaviour is considered too deviant to be tolerated. To sum it up, western family models

about family structure and delinquency do not always provide adequate explanations in comparison with family models of non western communities experience family life. What this means for instance is that single parent households in western communities, do not provide the same problems that single parent household in non western countries experience.

A review of literature on families and households in previous chapters has relied largely on demographic statistics and has concluded that family and household structure, in particular the single-parented household, produces delinquent children. However, as I have stated previously, such literature has failed to identify what exactly about the household structure produces delinquent children. In addition most of the literature focuses mainly on using western models as tools for interpretation; this can be a major problem because western models do not accurately convey the reality of issues of a non- western country like South Africa. What my study found is that delinquency is not dependent on household structure but on the family experience as a whole. For example, children from nuclear families are just as likely as children from single- parented households to become delinquent. The common trend is that the extended family network plays a huge role in curbing youth delinquency. In addition, economic circumstances were not reflective of whether a child becomes delinquent or not. For instance, in my analysis, single-parenthood, per se, does not appear to be associated with delinquency. Rather, certain types of changes in family composition appear related to delinquency. Broadly defined, a ―broken home‖ consists of a family in which at least one biological parent is missing. In this study the extended family unit serves as the society's basic educational facility, imparting both skills and values to the youth. It also functions as an effective agent of control, source of emotional support, and basic law enforcement agency.

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Appendix A

Appendix A

Observation Sheet

Observation Site: _____

Observation Date and Time: _____

Students involved in activity: _____

_____

Professionals involved in activity: _____

_____

Activity Description:

_____

_____

Observed Behaviours (extend chart as needed):

Time	Objective Description	Subjective Meaning/Interpretation

Reflections:

_____
_____

Semi-Structured Interview Questions: Adolescent version

Interview Questions	Concept Addressed	Possible Prompts
How do you know about crime and violence	Perceptions on crime and violence	Tell me a little more about that… and how do you know it exists?
	Thoughts and feelings about community.	
Do you feel safe at school/ neighbourhood		Are there certain areas where you feel most unsafe or safe?
Which factors do you think are conducive to criminal/ violent behaviour?		
How would you define violence? When does violence become a social problem?		Do you consider verbal/ sexual threats as violent behaviour?
When you think about school how would you finish these sentences?		
1. At school, kids my age see me as… *Teachers see me as………*		
I see myself as……		
2. I am happiest at school when…		
3. The most stressful time at school is…		
4. When I think about _____ school, the first thing that comes to mind is….		
5. I like teachers who….		
6. If I could change one thing that happens at school, it would be…		

Appendix B

Student Questionnaire

Researcher:
Participant:
Sex:
Exact location of interview:
Date of interview:

Basic demographics (tell me a bit about yourself and your family…)

How old are you?
………………………………………………………………………........

What grade are you in?
………………………………………………………………………........

Where is home and who do you live with?
………………………………………………………………………........

What time do you leave school and what time do you get home?
………………………………………………………………………......…

What do you do with your time?
…………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………

What is your relationship with your parents like?
…………………………………………………………………………......

Who does the disciplining?
…………………………………………………………………………......

Are your parents employed? If so what is their occupation?
………………………………………………………………………......…
…………………………………………………………………………......

What is your parent's level of education?
………………………………………………………………………….........…..

What are your parent's views on education?
………………………………………………………………………….............
………………………………………………………………………….......…..
………………………………………………………………………….......…
…………………………………………………………………………….......

 What are their expectations on your academic work?
…………………………………………………………………………......…..
…………………………………………………………………………......…..

Appendix C
Case File Summary

Name:

…………………………………………………………………….................

Birth date:

………………………………………………………………………...........……

Grade:

……………………………………………………………………………………

Schools attended:

……………………………………………………………………...........………

Previous delinquent behaviours:

……………………………………………………………...................…………

Previous contact with the law:

…………………………………………………………………...........…………

The nature of offence:

………………………………………………………………...........……………

Family Background:

……………………………………………………………….............……………

School performance:

……………………………………………………………….............……………

Academic level:

…………………………………………………………………...........…………

Teachers report: on learning, behaviour in classroom, relations with peers:

……………………………………………………………………………………..

Appendix D

Participant-Observations: Summary Session One

Formal observations were conducted at three schools in Umlazi Township on two separate occasions. The first session was on May 6th, 7th and 8th, 2009 between 9:00 and 10:00 am, observing interactions in the classroom during a semi-structured activity and familiar routine. Participant observation described below is an example of one schools activity, with occasional reference to a comparison with the other schools in the study.

The classroom environment was warm and inviting, with student work and posters decorating the walls. Individual desks framed the outskirts of the room, in some classes desks made a central round table in the middle of the classroom. In one school, the teacher's desk was at the back of the class along with filing cabinet. At the time of the observation, there were thirty plus students in each class. In some classes students sat together in the round table format, reading sections of the newspaper together, as part of a lesson. Teacher instructions were for students to read an article, summarize the main ideas, and complete a written response. Following this, students were to write a journal entry.

During this independent work period, the teacher tried to go around the table to meet with students to review their ideas on the newspaper article. The teacher explained to the researcher that the article student focused on social-emotional and behavioural objectives and exploring student's beliefs, attitudes and values.   At the beginning of each week, the student committed to a particular aspect of that overall goal and their progress was reviewed daily. At a time during the lesson, there is an occasional confrontation between two boys, accusing each other of theft, they exchange verbal threats. The teacher had to disrupt the lesson in order to attend to the matter, without saying a word the teacher point a finger to the door, and both boys leave the classroom. During the lunch break the two misbehaving boys were made to clean the classroom windows as part of their punishment.   During this first observation period, three adolescent research participants were in attendance: Nhlanhla, Zakhele and Busani.

Participant-Observations: Summary of Session Two

The second observation session at another school was on the May 13th, 14th, and 15th, 2009 between 12:15 and 1:00 pm, observing loosely structured student activities during the lunch break period. Near the buildings, there was a soccer field at two of the school, and a small basketball hoop on a pole, however, students were not allowed to utilise these during the break. These areas could be easily monitored and observed from the teachers' staffroom. The playing fields of both schools were naturally framed by trees on two sides, and a forested area on the other. The weather on all three observation days was pleasant and warm. The participant observation described below is an example of one school with occasional comparison to the other schools in this study.

During the lunch activities, at one of the three schools the principle would walk around the school talking to students, and observing activity. The teachers of all three schools were not visible on the ground; they were having their lunch break in the staff room. On this day, one female teacher was inside the classroom supporting a student (one of my participants) who was finishing work, and one male teacher was outside supervising two other students (one a participant in my study) who were kneeling on the corridor next to the class, as part of their punishment for misbehaving during class lessons. On this occasion, a new basket ball had been purchased for the school, so on permission o of the principle, four males were involved in a two-on-two basketball game, each pair comprised of one teacher/ principle and one student. The researcher made observations of both the classroom and the outside basketball court from an advantageous window seat within school classroom. Windows were open, which allowed voices from the court to be clearly heard and understood. During the observation, some boys would sneak off to forbidden areas within the school premises to smoke, sometimes drink alcohol and gamble, which are all banned activities at the schools. Occasional altercations (including physical) took place between boys, over money girls and territory. During this second observation period, three adolescent research participants were in attendance: Nhlanhla, Zakhele and Busani.