An exploration of the psychosocial risk factors that lead to antisocial behaviour and delinquent group (gang) membership amongst a cohort of youth living in Wentworth, Durban, South Africa

by

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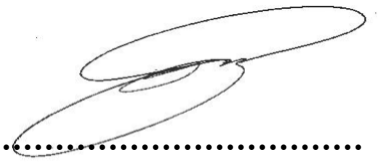
Plagiarism Declaration

I declare that the content contained within this research project is my original work, except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise or made reference to other academic literature.



Signed ……. **June 2019**
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Abstract

Researchers have identified a number of risk factors that increase vulnerability amongst young people, and coerce them towards engaging in antisocial behaviour, substance use, and gang membership. Drawing from an Ecological Systems Model, these risk factors are considered across five influential domains, including (1) the individual's personal characteristics, (2) the family, (3) the peer group, (4) the school, and (5) the community. Inherent risks within these domains include a history of family instability, poverty, living within a marginalized community, neighbourhood criminality, and the pressures experienced from delinquent peers.

This thesis utilizes Interactional Theory as a lens through which to explore the bidirectional interaction of these risk factors across the five influential domains, as experienced by adolescents living in Wentworth, Durban.

Q Methodology was employed as a quali-quantitative research tool to explore the perceptions of adolescents from two schools in Wentworth. This process involved holding one-hour classroom-based sessions with four different groups of adolescents who made up the sample of 117 people. In these sessions respondents engaged in a 'Q-Sorting' exercise, which involved comparing and arranging a series of 44 statements onto a 'Q-Sort Matrix Board' to reflect individual perceptions about each of the domains mentioned above. Factor Analysis was used to evaluate these Q-Sorts, which yielded five unique factors, each of which represented a cluster (or group) of similar-minded adolescents. Narrative explanations were developed to make sense of these factors.

The findings revealed central themes of risk that are considered indicative and predictive of antisocial behaviour and delinquent group and/or gang affiliation amongst youth living in Wentworth. These include (1) the dominant influence of the family; (2) low socio-economic status and associated financial stress; (3) living within a marginalized community; and (4) peer influences relating to the use of illicit substances, especially cannabis and Lenazine© (Codeine-containing cough syrup).

The bidirectional interaction between these central themes indicates that when an adolescent experiences an accumulation of the effects of disadvantage from across a range of risk factors, so the likelihood of stress and insecurity increases. This increases vulnerability, and coerces adolescents towards antisocial behaviour, substance use, delinquent peer group association, and gangsterism.

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Chapter 1: Crime, Drugs and Gangs

1.1 Introduction

South Africa experiences a near-crippling crime rate (Mtati, 2012), and with nearly half the population under 20 years-old (Statssa.gov.za, 2015), many young people are being lured into a world of criminality.

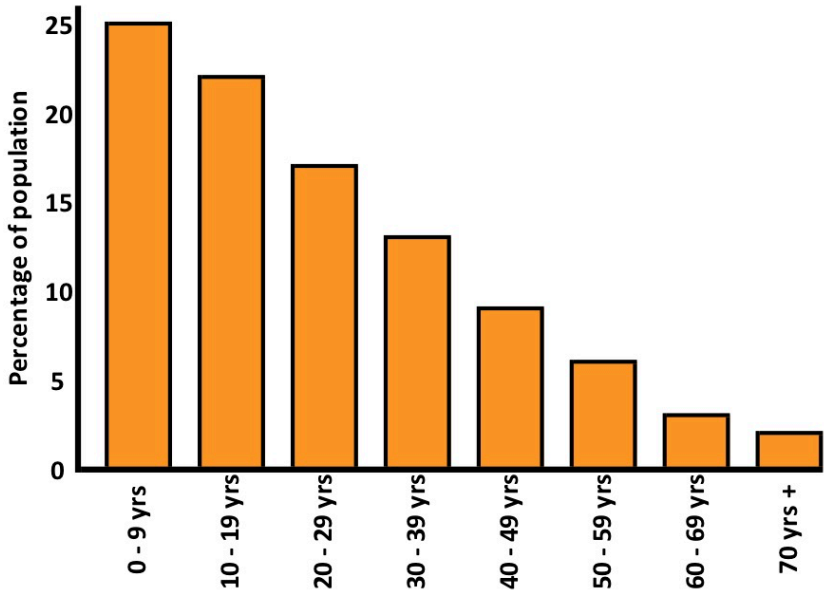

Figure 1: Age distribution across South Africa (adapted from Parry, 1998)

Substance abuse, property crime, violence, robbery and homicide have enormous costs to the country and its citizens. According to estimates of a study carried out by Alda and Cuesta (2007), the cost of crime in South Africa amounted to US$ 22.1 billion, or 7.8% of the national GDP, in 2007. Furthermore, the impact of crime on the personal and social lived experiences of everyday individuals in the community can be extremely damaging. Crime has been shown to reduce happiness and a sense of well-being (Powdthavee, 2005); result in a post-traumatic stress response (Krakow et al., 2001); and in South Africa crime has been shown to undermine confidence in the State, and has become the most frequently cited reason for emigration (Shaw & Gastrow, 2001).

Since crime has is often associated with gangs, a wide gamut of research has investigated the relationship between gangsterism and criminality (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996: cited in Hawkins, 1996; Melde, Taylor & Esbensen, 2009; Hill, Howell, Hawkins & Battin-Pearson, 1999; Howell & Egley, 2005; Thornberry, 1987).

To date, research on gangs in South Africa has predominantly focused on the Western Cape region however, with a number of published studies reporting about the politics of gangsterism in the Cape Flats suburbs (Jensen, 2008); the patterns of the development of Cape Town street gangs and their involvement in the organisation of crime (Kinnes, 2000); the psychological distress caused by gang-related community violence on children in Cape Town (Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008); and the increase in gang-related violence in Cape Town in a post-apartheid South Africa (Pinnock, 2016).

In contrast, research on Durban-based gangs is sparse, and whilst much attention has been placed on examining the socio-political history of gangs in the region (Kynoch, 1999; La Hausse, 1984, 1990), contemporary research about Durban's gang culture has focused on townships (Buthelezi, 2007) and the relationship between gangs and masculinity (Anderson, 2009; Maphanga, 2004).

Indeed, in the suburb of Wentworth in Durban, gang related crime has frequented news articles and caused concern for several members of the local community. As a result of Wentworth being situated so close to the City's harbour and trucking route, the area has been dubbed the 'Mecca' of drugs in Durban with drug-trafficking gangs being notoriously common (eNCA, 2016). In 2015, 629 drug related crimes were reported in Wentworth alone, and between January and June of 2016, community leaders claimed there had been approximately 30 related shootings in the area (ibid.).

The media often reports on gang-wars in Wentworth (Merebank, 2018; Thambiran & George, 2017). There are reports of rival gangs in gun wars with each other in public places resulting in the injury and death of civilians; targeted assassinations of innocent family members have been conducted in acts of gang-related vengeance; and calls have been made for the establishment of an elite drug- and crime-fighting unit in the suburb of Wentworth (Dawood, 2018; Jagmohan, 2018; Rall, 2018).

Concerned mothers are worried for their children's safety claiming that their children are increasingly becoming victims of ruthless gang violence in the community. A recent newspaper article described the streets of Wentworth as: "battlefields with gangs claiming territory, recruiting young children into a life of thuggery, violence and drugs" (Merebank, 2018).

Gangs are typically given attention by politicians, the police force, criminologists and journalists, but we know little about the complexities, nuances and psychosocial influences that drive adolescents towards gang membership and associated substance use and delinquency in South Africa (Kinnes, 2017).

Internationally, and as far back as the 1920s, American sociologist Frederic Thrasher began investigating gangs, and is today hailed as one of the subject's research pioneers. For decades since, researchers have tried to make sense of the reasons that so many young people are attracted towards joining gangs. The two most common types of research that have investigated the reasons that young people join gangs are longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. Whilst they have their limitations, longitudinal studies have generally been advocated as being able to make a stronger case for the causal relationships across several influential domains (Gilman, Hill, Hawkins, Howell & Kosterman, 2014).

Drawing from longitudinal research on adolescent delinquent groups/gangs in Denver, Colorado (*Denver Youth Survey*), Rochester, New York (*Rochester Youth Development Study*), Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (*Pittsburgh Youth Study*), and Seattle, Washington (*Seattle Social Development Project*), Howell and Egley (2005) identified a number of risk factors associated with delinquency. They developed these risk factors using a developmental psychology model by examining essential aspects of development, from birth through childhood, adolescence, and into adulthood (Howell & Egley, 2005).

In order to understand their association with delinquency and gang membership, a number of cross-sectional studies have explored several of these risk factors, including low socio-economic status (SES), dysfunctional family life, history of abuse and violence, family criminality, school truancy, peer pressure, and substance use (Hay, Forston, Hollist, Altheimer & Schaible, 2006; Christle, Jolivette, & Nelson, 2005; Gershoff, 2002; Maphanga, 2004; Melde, Taylor & Esbensen, 2009).

Primary limitations of longitudinal research are that they typically take a long time to conduct and the associated costs can be very high. They also usually require very large sample groups, and often experience high rates of participant drop-out. Cross-sectional studies, on the other hand, are typically more efficient and are usually simple enough to repeat (Farrington, 1991). By focusing on a specific moment in time, cross-sectional studies are able to test the current impact of risk factors, and are thus arguably better suited towards a more qualitative research approach that is able to produce richer meanings about specific sample groups.

In this thesis I employed a cross-sectional research design to identify both risk and protective factors that are driving adolescents to join gangs and use substances, and to understand the bidirectional *interaction* between the primary domains that influence and create risk for adolescents, in Wentworth, Durban. To do this, I explored the interrelationship between juvenile delinquency, peer group identification, substance use and gangsterism within the context of schools in Wentworth.

In 2008 I conducted similar research through Middlesex University in London, England, which explored the interpersonal relationships and inherent peer pressures within adolescent gangs in a south London suburb. Inspired by my supervisor at the time, Prof Jonathan Sigger[1], I utilized Q Methodology as a research and data gathering tool. By its nature, Q Methodology offers a unique quali-quantitative approach that is efficient and easy to use, as well as engaging to participants (Watts & Stenner, 2005). Owing to the success of my London-based study, Q Methodology was considered an ideal approach for my target population group in Durban, South Africa, and so the research design from the London study was adapted to fit the South African context.

In 2017 I interviewed teachers from two Secondary schools in Wentworth, Durban. These teachers alleged that several of their school pupils associate with gangs inside and outside of the schools, and many sell illicit substances to other students within the school premises. Some of these school-based gangs, the teachers report, have reputations for selling cigarettes, cannabis, Lenazine©[2], and also more worrying kinds of drugs[3]. Delinquent peer groups such as these assert territorial rights within certain areas of the school grounds from where they are known to sell their products. 'Team Lean', for instance, are a well-known school-gang in Wentworth, who sell Lenazine© to other fellow students.

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[1] Jonathan Sigger is a Senior lecturer in Psychology at Middlesex University, London, England. He has a teaching and research background in social psychology, and a keen interest in Q Methodology as a research tool.

[2] Lenazine Forte Syrup© is a medicine that is used to treat coughs, amongst a number of other medical ailments. It contains the opiate Codeine, used to treat pain, as well as sympathomimetic agents Promethazine and Ephedrine, each of which are addictive central nervous system stimulants (Dada et al., 2015). Research indicates that the combination of opioids with sympathomimetic agents, as found in codeine-containing cough syrups (CCS), may cause a unique and distinctive euphoretic effect. Together with the low cost and easy access of CCS, opioid addiction amongst scholars is a growing concern in many parts of the world, including South Africa (Mattoo, Basu, Sharma, Balaji & Malhotra, 1997; Parry, 1998). Furthermore, addiction to Lenazine© is recognized under the DSM-5 (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual – edition 5) classification as *opioid use disorder* (p. 541).

[3] For instance, 'Whoonga' is a highly addictive heroin-based drug that is usually mixed with cannabis. It is also frequently laced with a cocktail of other ingredients, potentially even anti-retrovirals (ARVs), specifically efavirenz. It can have devastating effects on student learning and mental health (Grelotti et al., 2014; Shembe, 2013).

These concerned teachers expressed their worry that school gangs like 'Team Lean' are just the beginning, and that many of these youngsters are heading for a life of gangsterism, crime and drug addiction. According to these teachers, there are many criminal street gangs operating in the area of which the teachers named a few: YDS (the Young Destroyers), the OGBs (Ogel Road Glamour Boys), the Drain Rats, and the Weekend Spoilers. Substance use (& abuse) is common amongst these street gangs, and the teachers alleged that drug-lords within the gangs have begun infiltrating their schools turning the school playgrounds into marketplaces where drugs are being sold.

1.2 Rationale

Since minimal research about delinquent peers groups, gangs and substance use amongst adolescents has been conducted in the eThekweni region, these concerning allegations provided the impetus to investigate further.

It is essential that any meaningful discussions about the possible causes of crime consider the psychosocial origins of juvenile delinquency (Pelser, 2008). To do this, a systematic examination of the risk factors that drive delinquency amongst youth is necessary if we are to properly address the problem.

Based on research conducted in the suburb of Wentworth in Durban, South Africa, this research explores the psychosocial and environmental factors, and the dynamics within interpersonal relationships amongst adolescents and their families, friends, schools, and communities, that put adolescents at risk of becoming involved in delinquent or antisocial behaviour, using substances, and joining gangs. Drawing from developmental, social psychological and criminological theory, this research aims to deepen our understanding of these particular circumstances, which is important if we are to try and interrupt this process with any kind of constructive and effective intervention.

1.3 Outline of the Chapters

In **Chapter 2**, I delve into historic and contemporary research, and explore emerging theories relating to antisocial behaviour and gangsterism.

In **Chapter 3**, I draw from renowned developmental and social psychological theories to augment my argument that environmental factors have a significant influence on identity formation, and that disruptions during these formative years increases risk and often leads to the normalization of antisocial behaviour.

In **Chapter 4,** I discuss the importance of holistically exploring the multidimensional nature of environmental factors together with their inherent risk and protective influences. To do this, I introduce an Ecological Systems Model and present Interactional Theory, which provide a focused theoretical lens and a speculative foundation for my research.

Chapter 5 outlines the research questions and the key objectives of the study. I introduce the value of Q methodology as an appropriate *quali-quantitative* research tool, which I use for the collection and analysis of my research data. I discuss my sample group and the implementation of Q methodology, and conclude by outlining relevant ethical considerations, as well as the challenges and limitations that were faced.

Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of the data, and explains how Q Methodology was used to analyse and extrapolate a series of factors that represented groups (or clusters) of respondents with similar responses. Interpretation involved making sense of each factor by developing narratives to represent the best possible theoretical explanation for the opinions, feelings, and attitudes of adherents to these extracted factors (Watts & Stenner, 2012). By comparing these narratives in relation to the respondent's particular demographic details, central themes were identified that helped to understand pathways to adolescent delinquency, substance use and gang membership.

Chapter 7 reviews the research questions and key objectives in light of the literature, and draws conclusions about the bidirectional interaction between biopsychosocial influences, attitudes and beliefs identified within the sample group. This reveals an interplay of risk and protective factors that predict antisocial behaviour, substance use and gangsterism amongst young people growing up in Wentworth.

Chapter 2: Risk Factors

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I offer a brief account of the research into gangs, I discuss and propose an operational definition of gangs, and I outline the risk factors associated with juvenile delinquency and gang membership.

2.2 Research about Gangs

There is a long history of research into gangs that has been conducted in various parts of the world. In the 1920s, American sociologists from the University of Chicago pioneered this research by trying to understand the reasons why certain adolescents slide into a life of crime. Initially studying adolescent boys and gangs, their research attempted to provide solutions to the problems associated with delinquency.

Since then much scholarship has been dedicated to defining, understanding, and interrupting the operations of deviant subcultures (Kinnes, 2017; Thornberry, 1987; Cohen & Short, 1958; Howell & Egley, 2005). As a result, we now know a considerable amount about different kinds of gangs, what brings them together, how they are organised, what they do, and why they exist.

Indeed, gangs exist across a diversity of situations including prisons (Steinberg, 2005), amongst bikers (Barker, 2011), in drug trafficking syndicates (Bennett & Holloway, 2004), on the streets (Howell & Egley, 2005; Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, & Chard-Wierschem, 1993) and within schools (Maphanga, 2004).

In their research, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) defined three divergent subcultures which they suggest lead to the emergence of gangs:

1. The *criminal* subculture that includes theft, extortion and other illegal means of securing income;
2. The *conflict* subculture where violence dictates the acquisition of status and power; and
3. The *retreatist* subculture in which gangs use (& abuse) drugs, and also profit from their sale.

Cloward and Ohlin defined these features more than fifty years ago however, and contemporary research within a postmodern world asserts that gangs have undergone major transitions since then (cited in Kinnes, 2017). As such, the urban gangs of the 2000s often appear to be more integrated within modern society and therefore frequently transcend the traditional subcultural boundaries that Cloward and Ohlin portrayed (ibid.).

For instance, the notorious gangs that operate in the suburb known as the Cape Flats in Cape Town, South Africa, have been described as *social bandits* that have arisen in defiance of state power, rather than as a separate subculture isolated from it. Rule-breakers with a social conscience, many of these gang-leaders consider themselves, and their gangs, to represent a kind of post-modern *Robin Hood and his Merry Men* assemblage, who oppose the system in the name of the urban poor (Kinnes, 2017).

In a similar vein, Hagerdorn (2005) described the functional value that gangs often play in marginalized communities, showing how by virtue of their resistance to the exploitation by dominant institutions and customary practices, gangs often strengthen cultural identities. Hagerdorn uses the example of hip-hop music, which he says encourages gangsterism and yet propositions it in a socially acceptable manner.

As we can see, the perception we have of gangs has indeed evolved over the years. Whilst contemporary research indicates that certain modern-day gangs provide a valuable outlet for the expression of social identity amongst the marginalised sections of urban youth (Brotherton, 2008), there is evidence that gangs are becoming more organised (Kinnes; 2000), more violent (Kinnes, 2017; Kontos, Brotherton & Barrios, 2003; Rodgers, 2007), and more threatening to the social order (Davis, 1992: cited in Kinnes, 2017).

Whilst not all gangs are necessarily bad and that not all gang members are delinquent, and indeed, not all delinquents are gang members, the link between gangs and delinquency is profound and cannot be ignored. Undeniably, it has been shown that adolescents engage in higher levels of delinquency during gang membership, which decreases substantially when they leave the gang (Wood & Alleyne, 2010).

What is not clear is whether delinquent adolescents feel drawn towards gangs, or if adolescents join gangs for other reasons, and as a result, slide into delinquency. It is important therefore that we explore these as separate paradigms and yet acknowledge that they frequently run in parallel together.

2.3 Definition of a Gang

There is no *one-size-fits-all* definition of a gang, and indeed the function of gangs appears to vary widely according to context. In preparation for any examination on adolescent gangs and youth delinquency, and to avoid ambiguity and contextual meaninglessness, we first need to define the concept.

In 1927, Thrasher defined the gang as:

> "an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict ... The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory."
>
> (Thrasher, 1927: p. 46)

In their research, Brotherton and Barrios propose the following definition of a gang:

> "A group formed largely by youth and adults of a socially marginalised social class which aims to provide its members with a resistant identity, an opportunity to be individually and collectively empowered, a voice to speak back to and challenge the dominant culture, a refuge from the stresses and strains of barrio or ghetto life, and a spiritual enclave within which its own sacred rituals can be generated and practiced."
>
> (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004: cited in Kinnes, 2017: p. 13)

And in 2005, Hagerdon defined gangs as:

> "...organisations of the socially excluded, most of whom come and go as their wild, teenage peer group ages. But a substantial number institutionalize on the streets, either through self-generated processes or with the assistance of already institutionalized armed groups."
>
> (Hagerdon, 2005: p. 169: cited in Kinnes, 2017: p. 13)

Whilst it may be impossible to come to an absolute consensus, the following definition of an *adolescent* gang was adapted from research carried out by Young, FitzGerald, Hallsworth and Joseph (2007) for the Youth Justice Service in London, England. The adaptation involved a synchronization of this research together with the findings from focus group discussions with adolescent gang members in London (Clayton, 2008). As a result, the following definition is proposed as an operational definition for the purposes of this research:

> *An adolescent gang is a self-formed association of peers who share a recognizable hierarchy or someone they look up to. They frequently share symbols, such as items of clothing or graffiti tags, and identify by a common group name. They hang around in a particular geographic territory, have regular meeting patterns, and share common practices and habits. Many gangs (but not all) engage in antisocial behaviour.*

It is also worth mentioning that not all delinquent peer groups would identify themselves as a 'gang'. For instance, amongst British youth, the term 'crew' has become a popular alternative to describe rebellious peer groups (Clayton, 2008). In this sense, we might consider peer groups to exist along a continuum, with gangs at one end, defiant or delinquent peer groups (e.g. crews) in the middle, and conformist peer groups at the opposite end of the spectrum.

2.4 Risk Factors, Juvenile Delinquency and Gang Membership

Young people have always been subject to the influences of peer pressure, which curbs their behaviour as they strive towards developing self-esteem and positive social identities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In most friendships, a sense of belonging unites the group since their association helps form social identity, which bolsters self-esteem. Spurred on by media's *gangster* hip hop icons, such as Tupac, Dr Dre, and Snoop Dog, young people are influenced by this apparent idealization of gang culture, and dressing like a 'hip hop gangster' and even joining a real gang may be alluring as a means to gain popularity and status (Hagerdon, 2005; Young et al, 2007).

But this is only one reason that young people may be tempted to join a gang. For decades research has examined the risk factors associated with delinquency and gangsterism amongst young people, and has developed theories and models with which to predict (& hopefully reduce) criminal behaviour. Consensus of causality is difficult to achieve since within each context, a unique set of sociocultural and political determinants prevail.

Nevertheless, causality has underpinned the majority of research, and in 1958 Miller reasoned that gangs emerge from *subcultures of poverty*. Similarly, Cohen and Short (1958) described how delinquency arises predominantly in response to the hardships of living in marginalized communities. Indeed, research has consistently shown how the effects of living in impoverished or marginalized communities can be a strong predictor for delinquent behaviour and gang membership (Hay et al., 2006; Gilman et al., 2014; Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, Smith & Tobin, 2003).

Within such communities, low parental education is common and in their longitudinal study entitled: "Long-term effects of parents' education on children's educational and occupational success", Dubow, Boxer and Huesmann (2009) claim that parental education is an important and significant predictor of a child's future educational achievement. Drawing from Eccles's *expectancy-value model* (1998), they point out how children are socialized towards higher levels of educational achievement and occupational success by modelling their parents' achievement-related behaviours, which fosters positive expectations for academic performance. Where parents have not achieved educationally themselves, their children are also unlikely to do so.

Research conducted by Bjerregaard and Smith (1993) and Craig, Vitaro and Tremblay (2002) indicates that low academic achievement is a significant risk factor for juvenile delinquency, whereas on the other hand in their paper: "Breaking the school to prison pipeline", Christle, Jolivette, and Nelson (2005) identify successful schooling and education as an important protective factor against youth delinquency. As Dubow, Boxer and Huesmann put it: "Parental education is an important index of socioeconomic status, and as noted it predicts children's educational and behavioural outcomes" (2009, p. 226).

South Africa's high unemployment rate is indelibly linked with the challenges of large numbers of poorly educated youth, and in urban environments a lack of money can tear families apart (Lam, Leibbrandt, & Mlatsheni, 2007). Wells and Rankin (1991) provide an extensive review of 50 different studies and found consistent relationships between single-parent or 'broken' families and juvenile delinquency. They argued that it is not the number of parents or caregivers that is important, but rather the limited amount of time and energy that only one caretaker is able to devote to supporting, nurturing and correcting the child's behaviour (ibid.). According to Orme and Buehler (2001), whilst there may be enough time available to devote to child-rearing amongst children who are raised by relatives and/or foster families, often there simply isn't the will, and these children are more likely to experience neglect and even abuse. In his research, Hirschi (1969) pointed out that high levels of parental corporal punishment (especially abuse) erodes the parent–child relationship and thus decreases the child's motivation to internalize his or her parents' values systems, as well as that of society's.

Eitlea, Gunkel and Gundy (2004) add that the lack of a nurturing relationship between parent and child puts adolescents at risk of delinquency and gang membership. Similarly, a study conducted by

the Seattle Social Development Project concluded that poor family care and management poses a significant risk factor for delinquency and gang membership (Hill et al., 1999).

In 1993, Warr showed how the quality of the relationship adolescents have with their parents can affect the kind of friends that they choose, which therefore indirectly influences their behaviour and likelihood of engaging in delinquency. According to research on street gangs in Philadelphia, from a very young age these children become integrated into gang subculture through family and friends. In their early years, as a result of watching and copying their older siblings who are already gang members, these children frequently engage in violent roleplay games such as acting out a robbery or a street shooting. As they grow older, this behaviour turns into a reality. Hence, deviant or antisocial value systems are internalized, normalized, and become automatic responses within daily interactions (Brown, 1978).

In their study entitled: "Gun ownership and gang membership", Bjerregaard and Lizotte (1995) examined the relationship between gangs and guns. They concluded that a causal relationship exists in both directions, meaning that young people who engage in delinquent behaviour and have access to guns are more likely to join a gang; and vice versa, gangs attract young people towards membership with the lure of owning a gun. Once integrated into the gang, these youth are very likely to become delinquent (& to use guns).

Similar findings are evidenced with access to drugs. According to research conducted by Hill et al. (1999), drug use amongst adolescent gangs is common. Exposure to these practices from a young age is considered to be a strong precursor to using these drugs oneself, and to remaining a gang member. The reverse is also true in that young people who use substances may find themselves buying their drugs from gang members who sell drugs, which may entice them to join the gang.

According to a nationwide study in South Africa that examined trends in alcohol and other drug use, cannabis was found to be the most widely misused substance by South African adolescents, with alcohol being the second (Parry et al., 2004). Similar findings were revealed in a research study within the Pietersburg area of South Africa, where Madu and Matla (2003) found that 40% of learners were using alcohol and 20% were using illicit drugs.

Indeed cannabis has frequently been described as a "gateway drug" and as a precursor to more serious substance use and abuse, as well as to other forms of delinquency (DeSimone, 1998; Hill et al., 1999; Morral, McCaffrey, & Paddock, 2002; Tarter, Vanyukov, Kirisci, Reynolds & Clark, 2006). Furthermore, substance use impacts on educational success, and research by Hallfors (2002) indicates a clear correlation between truancy and substance use with students bunking off from school to use substances.

In 2008, research compiled by the Youth Justice Board in London, England explored all of these risk factors and confirmed that low socioeconomic status (SES), dysfunctional family life, history of neglect or abuse, truancy from school and peer pressure, all correlate with delinquency and gang membership (Arnull et al., 2005).

2.5 Conclusion

Chapter 2 provided a focused literature review of the research about adolescent delinquency and gang subcultures. Briefly exploring the diversity of environments in which gangs exist, together with the array of reasons that gangs come together, I focused this research by proposing an operational definition of adolescent gangs.

Researchers have identified several risk factors in order to predict juvenile delinquency, as well as gang membership. Many of these risk factors are determined by the nature of the relationships between the child or adolescent and his or her parents, friends, school and/or the community. In the following section I present a brief account of the theoretical underpinnings of childhood development and the social sciences of human developmental behaviour in order to add value to our understanding of how these risk factors influence young people growing up.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework

Perspectives from Developmental Psychological Theory

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a summary of relevant developmental and psychosocial theories of human development, which provides a foundation for understanding the enduring nature of environmental and social risk factors that begin in the earliest phases of childhood development.

I also introduce concepts from social psychology, including social identity theory and class theory, which expands the notion of identity formation from the micro (family) to the macro (community).

3.2 Attachment Theory

John Bowlby's (2005) *attachment theory* describes the formation of intimate social bonds with at least one primary caregiver as important for healthy childhood development. Emotional intelligence is developed during these early years and is mediated by the close relationships formed between the child and his or her parent or primary caregiver. According to Fonagy and Target (1997), secure early attachment to a parent (or alternatively to a primary caregiver) enables and encourages peer competence. Such relationships are essential for the development of the *reflective function*, which involves imagining and making sense of our own mental states and thereby being able to infer the mental states of others. Thus, we become socially orientated, develop healthy coping strategies, learn reciprocity and acquire empathy.

Bowlby (2005) claims that children who are not afforded these early secure attachments are likely to develop maladaptive *reflective functioning*, which puts them at risk of a continuation of dysfunctional relationships in the future. Furthermore, insecure early attachment relationships often lead to insecurity and low self-esteem, which gives rise to a number of vulnerabilities later in life and may result in protest and delinquency (Fraley, 2004). According to Bowlby (1951), when individuals lack meaningful family bonds, they are likely to develop a predisposition towards *affectionless psychopathy*, which leads to emotional instability, aggression and delinquency (Follan & Minnis, 2010). Furthermore, they are at greater risk of sliding into antisocial behaviour and substance use/abuse (Evren, Evren, Dalbudak, Ozcelik & Oncu, 2009).

3.3 Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

Erikson (1968) identified eight transitional stages of human development. In each stage he described how the individual confronts and ideally masters new challenges, which allows successful

transition into the next stage; whereas failure to overcome certain challenges results in problems with psychosocial integration. Erikson's Stage Theory portrays an individual advancing through life as a function of negotiating biological and sociocultural influences.

For the purposes of this study, we consider only two of these Stages: the one that is relevant to the age of the participants in the sample, and the developmental stage prior to this, which is considered foundational. Each stage, according to Erikson, is characterized by a psychosocial crisis of two conflicting forces.

Stage 4: Industry vs. Inferiority (6 – 12 yrs.):

Children in this age group develop either a sense of pride and accomplishment, or they feel inferior and inadequate because they feel that they don't measure up. Largely dependent on their parents or caregivers at this stage, when children are encouraged and commended, they develop feelings of competence and they learn to believe in their skills. On the other hand, when they receive unnecessary criticism and no encouragement, self-doubt emerges. During these prepubescent years, teachers and peer groups also begin to gain significance, and positive feedback from these sources supports the development of self-esteem. By receiving approval for the demonstration of specific and valuable competencies, a sense of self-pride develops. Without approval, the child often gives up and may fail to develop the necessary skills and abilities that society demands, which can lead to feelings of inferiority and societal rejection (McLeod, 2008).

Stage 5: Identity vs. Role confusion (12 - 18 yrs.):

During the transitional years of adolescence, the body matures into puberty, sexuality emerges, new social and academic expectations arise, self-image typically suffers, and life can be very stressful. The primary goal during this stage involves distinguishing oneself from one's family and assuming a unique identity in the context of several influential domains, including peers, the school, and the community at large (McLeod, 2008).

Self-conscious adolescents are pressured to learn who they are, and to develop of a sense of self within, and by virtue of, these domains. This contemplative journey typically involves tremendous social comparison and the exploration of various roles in an attempt to discover and establish one's own identity. A common way to achieve this is to identify with role models, who may be school teachers, coaches, film stars, musicians, athletes, peers and sometimes even 'outlaws' ('ibid.).

This important transitional period also usually requires that teenagers try out new things, which can involve pushing social boundaries and even experimenting with temptations such as alcohol, drugs, sexuality, and sometimes hanging out with the 'wrong crowd'. These adolescent years are indeed a time of identity crisis, or as Erikson described it: "a turning point of increased vulnerability and heightened potential" (1968, p. 96).

When adolescents are unable to fulfil their goals of industry during their formative years however, their lowered self-esteem can result in a poorly formed sense of self, a lack of surety about identity, and confusion about the future. The core pathology, according to Erikson (1968), is repudiation of healthy role formation, which may lead to the defiance of authority, the rebellious denial of the expectations of parents or society, and sometimes the over-identification with peers who are perceived to represent a stronger identity than one's own (such as a gang).

In other cases, feelings of hopelessness, apathy and despair may emerge, which can lead to a rejection of social institutions and also substance abuse (Fleming, 2004; McLeod, 2008).

3.4 Conclusion

This brief account of pertinent childhood developmental theories provides the foundation for our understanding of the longitudinal nature that many delinquency risk factors have in association with, for instance, family relationships and upbringing. These theories also touch on the influential nature of peer group relationships in childhood development, which brings us to a brief exploration of the social theories surrounding identity formation. We conclude this section by touching on the influences that our community environment, and specifically our social class, has on our sense of personal identity.

Perspectives from Social Psychological Theory

3.5 Social Identity Theory

In most friendship circles a sense of belonging unites its members, and acceptance from the group helps form social identity, which enables self-conceptualization and positive self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In 1950, Festinger's *Social Comparison Theory* (cited in Goethals & Darley, 1987) claimed that we affiliate with others in order to validate our opinions, attitudes and beliefs; and the perception that we are similar, or good enough, in comparison to others gives us confidence that our views are correct and that our lives are meaningful. This reduces uncertainty and satisfies our basic need for positive self-evaluation, which helps us develop self-esteem (Goethals & Darley, 1987).

Developing this further, in 1970 Tajfel proposed his *Social Identity Theory*, asserting that we make sense of ourselves and form perceptions of who we are based on the groups we ascribe membership to. Whereas some social identities are based on biological attributes (such as gender), others are based on differences in ethnicity, class, belief system, and cultural or social practice. Whilst we cannot choose our biological attributes, we do choose our social groups, such as when we join a football club, or join a gang.

Generalizations about people's group membership effectively circumscribes individual members with identical qualities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). It is natural, according to Tajfel, to strive towards improving our self-image by ascribing a positive status to the group to whom we belong, and by discriminating against the groups to whom we don't belong. This *homogenization effect* tends to positively evaluate the in-group, whilst the out-group seems negatively divergent. Thus we learn to stereotype, dividing the world into "us" versus "them", or as *social identity theory* describes it: the *in-group* versus the *out-group*. These processes lead to an automatic accentuation of in-group similarities and outgroup differences, which amplifies group solidarity and cohesiveness (Kidder & Stewart, 1975). According to Tajfel, in- and out-group prejudice and chauvinism is natural and reflects the intrinsic individual need for positive self-identity (Tajfel, 1970).

Where weak conventional child-parent bonds exist, feelings of inferiority exacerbate the need for acceptance and may give rise to a psychological attachment to one's peers. In pursuit of self-esteem through social identity, young people who grow up in vulnerable situations, such as marginalized communities or under the care of people other than their immediate families, are more likely to over-identify with peer groups or gangs (Warr, 1993).

Contemporary social psychologies are indelibly marked with the ideas and developments of early forebears. Two of the most influential of these includes Sigmund Freud and William McDougall. Inevitably therefore, an understanding of social psychology should include a brief account of their synopses.

Sigmund Freud's theories have been enormously influential in social psychology. In 1921 Freud published *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1975), in which he outlines the Oedipus Complex, a renowned psychological theory that involves a process of identification (& internalization) of the same-sex parent as the ego-ideal. Freud postulated that when the father is

absent, or indeed the relationship with the father is damaged, primary identification may be projected onto alternative father figures instead, such as influential peers, especially peer-group leaders.

In this sense, Freud (1975) believed that a group leader (or idealized group member) embodies the role of the super-ego, which relieves the rest of the group members from the burden of self-criticism and doubt. This may be experienced as a liberation from personal responsibility and decision making; which in the first instance has the effect of raising self-esteem; but in the second, may lead to a loss of individual moral sense and judgement (Main, 2001).

In 1921 McDougall outlined a similar argument that "the group...is more than the sum of the individuals and has its own life, proceeding according to the laws of group life, which are not the laws of individual life" (cited in Hogg, 1992: p.14). McDougall speaks of the *group mind* that emerges from organized social groups (such as gangs) that involve the continuity of membership, traditions, customs and habits; organization into different roles and functions; and the existence of group self-consciousness that shares a common identity and purpose. Group self-consciousness leads to attachment, which necessitates trust, pride and respect. When these factors are met, the individual has less need for personal autonomy and is led by *group mind* (ibid.)

The *rational choice perspective* (Clarke & Cornish, 2013; Markiewicz, 1999) asserts that under such conditions, based on perceived personal benefits, antisocial values and aberrant beliefs that exist within the social group are assimilated, internalized, and deviant behaviours are normalized (a.k.a. *group mind*). Thus, as these subcultures emerge, deviancy becomes the logical and sensible option (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996: cited in Hawkins, 1996).

3.6 Social Class Theory

The American anthropologist Walter Miller, known for his research on adolescent gangs, described *subcultures of poverty* that are born out of the class system. Disgruntled by their predicament, Miller argued, these subcultures oppose the dominant culture's established social value system. Lacking the resources to achieve excitement, autonomy, status and a sense of belonging, members of these subcultures frequently engage in uniquely identifiable forms of behaviour to accomplish their aspirations (Miller, 1958: cited in Nofziger, 2001).

Kornhauser (1978) argued that family and social stability often lacks within these divergent subcultures causing young people to be drawn towards delinquent groups. As a result of the *homogenization effect* mentioned previously, conflict with the dominant value system emerges.

Although subcultural theories have been criticised for their emphasis on class (Tittle, 1983), what they do highlight is that within subcultures, norms and values often deviate from wider society and become normalized by the group.

3.7 Conclusion

In Chapter 3, I introduced psychosocial developmental theories in order to substantiate the enormous psychological and sociological influences that families (& peer groups) have on social identity and the choices young people make. I expanded on these theories by exploring the social determinants of identity including the influence of social class and community environment.

In the next section, it is important that we delve deeper into an understanding of how the risk (& protective) factors that have been identified in previous research models are associated across the multitude of domains of psychosocial influences. Furthermore, with consideration of developmental theories of identity, it is important that we consider how these influences interact with each other over time in a bidirectional fashion. This holistic and multidimensional framework, that is referenced within Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Model* (1979) and also in Thornberry's *Interactional Theory* (1994), is advantageous in that it seeks to understand criminality as a dynamic, rather than as a static concept.

In agreement with Thornberry (1987), this is important because most predominant theories about delinquency are limited:

1. They tend to rely on unidirectional (rather than reciprocal) structures and pathways that consider delinquency to be developmentally static (rather than dynamic). Thus, most theories fail to acknowledge the counter effects and interactive processes that manifest within these domains of influence.
2. Most theories ignore developmental progressions and examine causal models for only a narrow age range, usually mid-adolescence. Thus, they ignore early childhood developmental models, which may explain the initiation, maintenance, and also the desistance of delinquency.
3. Most theories do not consider the young person's societal position within his or her community, and therefore ignore how social structure may have causal effects on delinquency.

Following in Thornberry's footsteps, I concentrate on the bidirectional influence that the identified risk factors have on individuals growing up, and consider the inherent reciprocity of social

pressures. I point out how these risk factors range across several domains of influence, each one resulting in an accumulation of the effects of disadvantage, and each one having a bidirectional influence on one another. In essence, I introduce Thornberry's *Interactional Theory* as a framework and as a lens through which I have viewed the findings of this research (Thornberry, Lizotte, Krohn, Farnworth & Jang, 1994).

Chapter 4 – Ecological and Interactional Theory

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I introduce an *Ecological Systems Model* and then present Thornberry's *Interactional Theory*, which I utilize as a theoretical lens to understand delinquency and gangsterism in each of the substantive chapters.

4.2 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model

Realizing the importance of applying a multidimensional approach to understanding the development of young people and how they behave, developmental psychologist Bronfenbrenner's (1979) formulated his *Ecological Systems Model* in which he identified three domains of primary influence during childhood development:

1. the family,
2. the school, and
3. the peer group.

Expanding this theory, researchers have included two other influential domains:

4. individual characteristics, and
5. community conditions.

(Howell & Egley, 2005; Thornberry, 1987)

The *Ecological Systems Model* illustrates how these five influential domains are holistically responsible for shaping individual beliefs and value systems. Depicted as closest to the individual in the middle, the influence of the family is considered paramount (microsystem), followed by the school (microsystem), then peers (mesosystem), and finally the community (exosystem). As a combined whole, these influences represent the broader ideology, values and social norms of society (macrosystem).

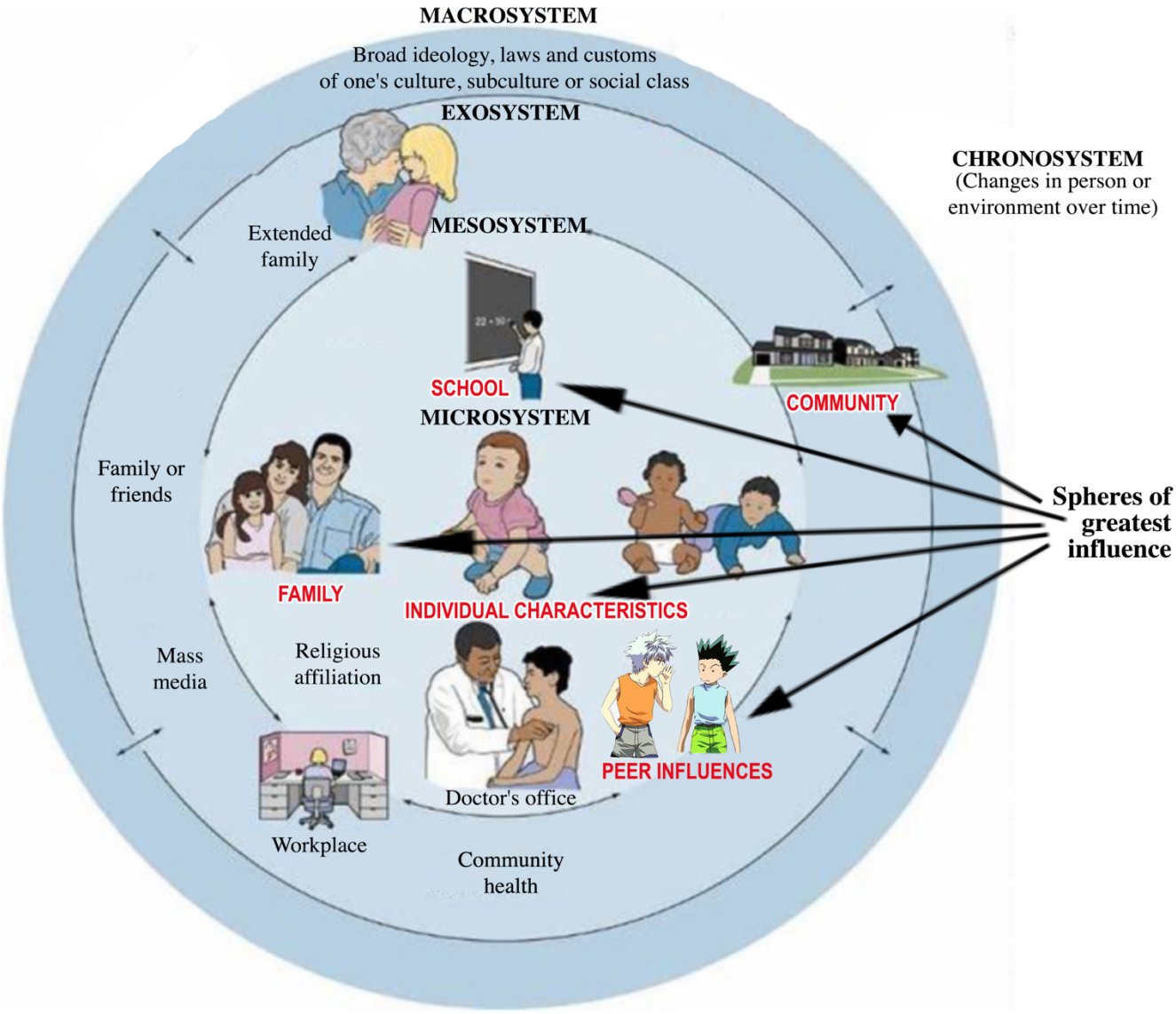

Figure 2: Bronfenbrenner's (adapted) Ecological Systems Model that includes five dominant influential domains.

4.3 Interactional Theory: A Reciprocal Model

Expanding Bronfenbrenner's model, Thornberry (1987) highlighted how the interaction between each of these influential domains results in the reciprocity of related social pressures.

Thornberry's argument unfolds as he outlines primary sociological models that underpin his theories about delinquency, and as such he envisages a spectrum with the *socialization model* at one end and the *selection model* at the other (Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski, Griswold & Roberts, 1981). Put simply, the *socialization model* considers that delinquent beliefs are primarily learnt (from families, friends & the community), and that these are causally prior to delinquent behaviour; whereas the

selection model argues that delinquency emerges first and leads to the association with delinquent peers, who reinforce delinquent beliefs. Thornberry's *interactional model* combines aspects of both these models, and suggests that all influential variables have a bidirectional effect on one another over time (Thornberry, 1987).

Instead of understanding childhood development as a unidirectional pathway that leads from infancy through to either adolescent delinquency or conformity, Thornberry points out that young people continuously interact with a range of people, institutions and experiences in constantly changing and dynamic interactive processes. For instance, a growing boy's behaviour is most certainly influenced by how his parents raise him, and by how he is treated at school. But Thornberry asserts that these relationships involve bidirectional interactions, in that how the boy reacts influences the behaviour of his parents and teachers, which may indeed alter the way these two influential domains interact with each other. If this boy, for instance, is given school detention as a penalty for talking in class, he has the choice to concede and attend his detention, or he could play truant by hanging out in his neighbourhood and smoking cannabis with his friends. Naturally, the reactions his family have when he returns home will influence how the school follows up with his punishment. And similarly how his community respond to his smoking cannabis with his peers in the local neighbourhood influences his family's responses. Thornberry points out how the bidirectional interaction of these domains impacts how the boy chooses to respond overall.

Although the *interactional model* agrees that the weakening of social constraints provides increased opportunity for delinquency, unlike the *selection model,* it does not agree that this necessarily leads to delinquency. Instead *Interactional Theory* considers that the weakening of social constraints increases choices, which may include conventional law-abiding behaviour, but may also result in school truancy and dropout, delinquency or substance abuse. What is important however is the interactive process where behaviour is learned and performed, and then reinforced by the people and social parameters within the community.

In simple terms, *Interactional Theory* positions itself as a reciprocal model asserting that when adolescents are strongly attached to their families, and especially their primary caregivers (or parents), who are in their own right committed to conventional institutions and moral values, these individuals are unlikely to choose to associate with delinquent peers, nor are they likely to adopt antisocial beliefs or behave antisocially. Whereas on the other hand, adolescents who come from families that lack adequate control measures tend to associate with delinquent peer groups from

whom they typically receive reinforcement for delinquent ideas, codes of conduct, and behaviours, which are consequentially normalized (a.k.a *rational choice perspective*).

Interactional Theory is therefore interested in how the weakening of social constraints can, in some circumstances, create a space for uncharted freedom without appropriate reciprocal feedback that puts young people at risk of channelling their choices into patterns of delinquent behaviour.

Howell and Egley (2005) develop their model of risk factors in the context of Thornberry's *Interactional Theory* (Thornberry, 1987), and outline how several risk factors precede involvement with delinquent groups by many years.

For the purposes of this study, Howell and Egley's (2005) risk factors are summarized in Appendix A and have been used to guide the development of the statements within the Q-Sort questionnaires.

The identification of these risk factors implies the existence of protective factors too. For instance, if availability and use of drugs in the neighbourhood is considered a risk factor (Thornberry et al., 2003), then by implication a neighbourhood free from drugs provides protection. Hawkins, Catalano and Miller (1992) argue that the timing and quality of protective factors within their respective domains, combined with the severity of risk, function as a predictor of juvenile delinquency.

We have seen how *Interactional Theory* helped understand the predictability of delinquency based on risk factors across a number of influential domains of development (Howell & Egley, 2005; Thornberry, 1994). Stated briefly, *Interactional Theory* considers how the impact of an accumulation of disadvantage across the range of inherent risk factors, from the distal to the immediate, increases stress, causes insecurity, and hence often leads to delinquency. Family-structural variables, peer association variables, educational variables, and community-level variables exemplify the quality or the lack of prosocial bonds, which influences individual character formation, and the choices that individuals make with regards to delinquent behaviour (Howell & Egley, 2005; Thornberry et al., 2003).

4.4 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, I explored Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Model* (1979) to demonstrate the multidimensional nature of the influences that young people experience during their developmental years. I then introduced Thornberry's *Interactional Theory* (1987), which expands Bronfenbrenner's Model and emphasises the reciprocity of social pressures experienced by adolescents growing up.

I utilize these approaches as a theoretical lens to understand the experiences of the participants involved in this research. This helps demonstrate how criminality and gang membership result from an accumulation of the effects of disadvantage (risk), and captures the bidirectional complexity of such an intersection.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 focuses the research questions and key objectives of the study, and then introduces and provides a foundation for the research design. Sampling, data collection, ethical considerations and research limitations are also discussed.

5.2 Research question and key objectives

This research explores the psychosocial and environmental factors, and the dynamics within interpersonal relationships amongst adolescents and their families, friends, schools, and their communities, and correlates these with their involvement in gangs, substance use, antisocial behaviour, and criminality.

In essence, the research questions ask:

- How do young people's perceptions of their families, their schools, their peer groups, and their communities influence their propensity to join delinquent peer groups and/or gangs?
- What demographic variables put young people at risk of substance use, delinquency and gang membership?
- What are the primary psychosocial and developmental influences that result in young people using substances and joining delinquent peer groups and/or gangs?

5.3 Research Design: Introducing Q Methodology

Since this is a study of human relationships and behaviour, it would not make sense to employ a strictly quantitative design. Much of the richness of human experience may be ignored unless a qualitative emphasis is also included. Rather than triangulating the research design, Q methodology utilizes aspects of both quantitative and qualitative research to form a *quali-quantological* research tool (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This exploratory technique adopts a multiple-participant format to make sense of feelings, perceptions and attitudes from the point of view of the participants.

Q-Sorting is Q methodology's useful testing tool that has been used to assess attitudes, perceptions, and personality elsewhere (Block, 1961; Funder, 2000; Van IJzendoorn, 2004; Waters & Dean, 1985).

By its nature, Q-Sorting is an engaging exercise that is simple to understand. Unlike questionnaires that utilize a Likert Scale[4] response style, which often results in respondents rushing through and simply selecting "Neutral" to be done with the item quickly (Chimi & Russell, 2009), Q-Sorting is an engaging exercise that avoids this kind of rushed response. Similar to the Likert Scale, Q-Sorting is essentially a scaled response that involves rating one's agreement or disagreement with a series of statements on a ranging scale. Unlike a Likert Scale questionnaire however, wherein each statement is answered (or rated) independently, Q-Sorting combines the entire 'questionnaire' into one exercise, which involves not only agreeing or disagreeing with individual statements, but also an ongoing comparison where each statement is considered in relation to all the other statements. This avoids choosing "Neutral" as a default to speed up the exercise by encouraging a deeper consideration of each statement.

Furthermore, like questionnaire-style research, Q Methodology's simplicity and uniformity make it easy to generate quantitative results, and in addition, by virtue of ongoing inter-statement comparison, Q Methodology simultaneously produces a richer more qualitative result. Moreover, test validity and reliability are also enhanced through this quali-quantitative approach (Amin, 2000; Brown, 1996; Landreneau & Creek, 2009).

This means that all the statements are dependent on one another, and each complete Q-Sort reflects a unique and holistic expression of attitudes, perception and opinions of the participant.

To understand Q methodology, we should recognize it as a *gestalt* procedure, which means that it does not divide its subject matter into constituent themes, but instead reveals interplays of theme interconnectedness. Q methodology offers a unique form of qualitative analysis that exercises a degree of quantification and statistical analysis (Brown, 1996).

The Q-Sort statements were developed by drawing from the delinquency risk factors identified by Howell and Egley's (2005). These risk factors were re-phrased to produce a series of 44 simple statements (Appendix A). Since the Q-Sorting exercise required the statements to be sorted along a continuum from "Nothing like me" to "A lot like me", it was important that there were roughly an even number of *positive* as well as *negative* statements so as to avoid the clustering of statements on

[4] Likert Scales are the most widely used approach to scaling responses in survey research and involve answering questions with the use of a ranged response (Allen and Seaman, 2007).

either side of the Q-Sort matrix board. (See Appendix B for a copy of the matrix board). By adjusting some of the statement phrases from a negative to a positive form, some risk factors were naturally transformed into protective factors. For example, Howell and Egley (ibid.) identify low parental educational as a risk factor for delinquency. An obvious statement that would reflect this risk factor might be: "My parents do not have a good education". In the study however, this statement was rephrased into its opposite, thus transforming it into a protective factor: "My parents have a good education".

In consultation with two senior educators who worked at the schools where the sample was drawn, each statement was revised for appropriateness in terms of local slang and colloquialism, as well as to ensure pertinence to the issues in question.

5.4 Sampling and Participants

Thomas and Watson (2002) argue that a sample of at least forty participants is sufficient for Q-Sort Methodology. An overly large sample (more than 120) is problematic in that it easily negates many of the subtle nuances, complexities, and hence the essential qualities contained within the data (ibid.).

A total sample of 117 students between the ages of 13 and 18 were drawn from two Secondary schools in Wentworth, Durban. The head principals and senior teachers from these schools identified specific Grade 10 classes whom they felt comprised individuals who were at high risk for delinquency and gang membership. These teachers also recommended that those students who are voluntarily involved in the Wentworth-based FAR Programme[5] be included in the sample group since these individuals are a self-proclaimed high risk group. (It was noted that, as a volunteer group, FAR members were not necessarily of the same age group or school grade.)

The head principals' felt confident that these classes and grades represented a fair spread across gender and race, and the teachers asserted that they also constituted a fair representation of socio-economic background.

[5] The FAR Programme is based at one of the two Secondary schools in Wentworth where this research was carried out. It was established by one of the concerned teachers at the school, and comprises student volunteers who engage with the Programme in order to access the necessary support in order to give up using substances and engaging in delinquent behaviour.

5.5 Ethical considerations and informed consent

Prior to the data collection phase, ethical approval was sought and granted via the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Consent from the Education Department, the two schools involved and from the respondent's parents was also granted before any intervention with the sample group occurred. (See Appendix D for copies of these consent forms.)

The Q-Sorting took place in group interventions lasting about an hour each. Before commencement, participants were briefed and asked to sign their consent to participate. The University of KwaZulu-Natal's Code of Ethics was strictly adhered to, and its primary principles of respect, competence, responsibility, and integrity was upheld. Informed written consent was gained from each research participant before they were handed the Q-Sort matrix boards and statements. (See Appendix D for copies of the respective consent forms).

Strict confidentiality was assured and participants were reminded that their names were not required anywhere on the forms. It was explained that the only identifying aspect of their personal Q-Sort was the reference number assigned to each unique Q-Sort matrix board, that matched the reference number on their demographics questionnaire form.

The respondents were given the opportunity to clarify any misunderstandings, and they were provided with the appropriate contact information for the University in case they had any concerns or queries thereafter. After each session participants were de-briefed and offered further support in the form of a follow-up session or referral to the Psychology Clinic at UKZN.

5.6 Data Collection

Both schools identified their Life Skills classroom period as an appropriate slot for me to present the Q-Sorting (data collection) exercise. The teachers responsible for these classes supported me in conducting the exercises on the day. Arriving early, I prepared by writing a brief introduction about the research, together with basic instructions, on the blackboard. I included my name, my role, an outline of the purpose of the study, and a few examples of how it works. At the sound of the school bell, the students filed into the classroom where they were briefed about the background of the study and its research value. The voluntary nature of the study was highlighted, and the students were informed that they had the right not to take part at all or to withdraw at any point without penalty or

prejudice. [6] Participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and to clarify any misunderstandings before commencing with the Q-Sorting task.

Each participant was provided with an A3 sized laminated Q-Sort matrix board that depicted 44 demarcated squares where the statements were to be sorted (Appendix B). Participants were also provided with a small plastic bag that contained 44 individual statement cards (See Appendix A for the list of statements). Each demarcated square on the matrix board had a female (soft) Velcro tab stuck inside, and each statement card had a male (rough) Velcro tab stuck on the back, which enabled the participants to adhere each statement to their individual Q-Sort matrix board. Participants were asked to arrange the statement cards onto the Q-Sort matrix board into an order that best represented their attitudes, opinions and feelings along a continuum ranging from "Nothing like me" to "A lot like me".

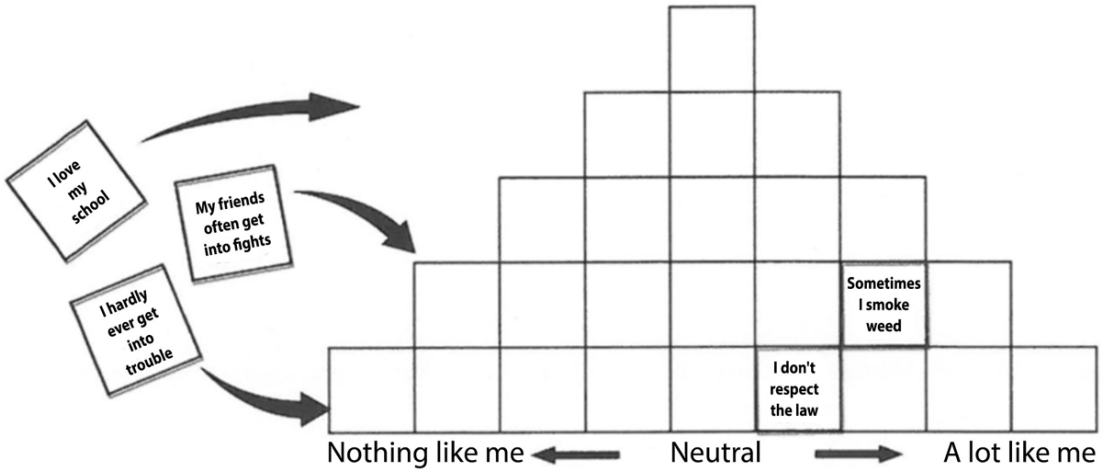

Figure 3: Illustration depicting how Q-Sorting works

As previously mentioned, Q-Sorting compares the perceived value or importance of each statement with each other statement, which is achieved through a process of Factor Analysis. One might imagine stacking each completed Q-Sort on top of one another, and then looking through the stack of sorts from the top to reveal all the statements that share the same (or similar) values. These are known as Factors. The next stage involves identifying each respondent with a correspondingly

[6] Only one respondent opted out and decided not to take part. I met with him briefly, accepted his resignation, and asked if he had alternative work that would occupy his time. He agreed to remain at his desk and catch up with his school work.

similar Q-Sort ('flagging'), which produces a final set of identifiable *clusters* of respondents who are represented by the Factors and therefore by similar perceptions. This analysis is achieved using a software package known as PQMethod (version 2.35), designed specifically for use with Q Methodology (Schmolck, 2014).

Each participant was also asked to complete a demographics information form (Appendix C) that had been allocated the same reference number as their Q-Sort matrix board. This enabled each Q-Sort to be linked and associated with the participant's personal demographic information, which allowed a demographic comparison across the Factors.

After working independently, the Q-Sort matrix boards were collected, the participants were de-briefed, and they were provided with the opportunity to explore any issues that may have arisen during the research exercise. No concerns were raised however, and the feedback was overwhelmingly positive.

My regret is that I didn't build in an adequate focus group component to explore these themes further and to enhance the qualitative components of my Q Methodological approach.

5.7 Validity and Reliability

Strategies that were implemented to ensure validity and reliability of the research included:

***Transferability*:** the methodological approach was modelled on a similar research project that was conducted through Middlesex University in London, England. Comparable to this research, the London-study explored the interpersonal relationships and inherent peer pressures within adolescent gangs in a south London suburb (Slevin & Sines, 1999).

***Statement development*:** originating from the series of risk factors identified by Howell and Egley (2005), I adopted a reflective and consultative stance with my supervisor in order to develop the statements appropriately and to ensure relativity to Howell and Egley's original risk factors. Once the statements were developed, I discussed the suitability and relativity of each statement with senior staff members from both schools where the research was conducted to ensure consensual validation.

Respondent validation: immediately after the Q Sorting exercises were conducted, participants were invited to comment and provide feedback about the content of the statements. In general, the

responses indicated that the exercise was thought provoking, and that the statements raised pertinent themes and issues that the respondents felt were important and worthy of discussion (Rolfe, 2006).

***Data analysis*:** to ensure accuracy and reliability of the output analyses, feedback was requested from Dr Neil Herrington[7], a research expert in Q Methodology. To this end, the full raw data set, including the demographic details database, and the final output analyses were emailed to Dr Herrington prior to interpretation. Dr Herrington provided positive and reassuring feedback, and offered advice regarding interpretation (Herrington & Coogan, 2011).

***Interpretation of data using narratives*:** once again I adopted a reflective and consultative stance with my supervisor with regards to the descriptive narratives for each factor. Furthermore, these narratives were compared with the findings of similar and comparable research to ensure trustworthiness and validity (Clayton, 2008; Rolfe, 2006).

5.8 Research limitations

Generalizability

A non-probability convenience sample strategy was used to identify the sample group. Whilst it is recognized that this sample group cannot therefore be argued to represent the cross-section of youth in Durban, or indeed in South Africa, since Q-Sorting incorporates such a strong qualitative component, this is not thought to threaten its validity (Amin, 2000; Landreneau & Creek, 2009).

Hoping for generalizability across the population of young people living in Wentworth, Durban, the sample was selected based on referrals provided by the head principals and senior teachers within the schools, who considered this group to be fair and representative across gender, race, socio-economic background, and level of affiliation with delinquent and/or gang groups.

This study did not involve any form of triangulation with regards to data gathering. Whilst this may be considered a research limitation, by its nature Q methodology employs a *quali-quantological* research tool to overcome the need for triangulation (Watts & Stenner, 2005).

[7] Dr Neil Herrington is a Principal Lecturer at the University of East London, England, where he teaches and supervises post-grad students in the School of Education.

Pressure to participate

Participation in the study was entirely voluntary, however it is acknowledged that the respondents' sense of freedom to choose whether or not to take part may have been hindered by the setting: i.e. it was being offered within a school environment as part of a Life Skills period, which implied an expectation (or at least encouragement) from the school, the teacher, and myself to participate. To overcome this, the voluntary nature of the study was emphasized, and students were reminded about their right to refuse to participate without penalty or prejudice.

Honesty

The data was based on self-reporting exercises, which means that there is the possibility that certain responses were either under- or over-reported. Self-reports have however been widely used and advocated in research on delinquency and on gangs (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Kinnes, 2017; Thornberry, 1987).

Considering the sensitive nature contained in some of the statements, such as those that assessed substance use, response honesty was difficult to guarantee. As a result of issues around social desirability (i.e. wanting to report what they thought was expected of them), it is acknowledged that respondents may have felt pressured to avoid telling the truth. Q Methodology aims to overcome this however by using an interactive and engaging technique that requires ongoing intra-test comparison between statements, which is believed to increase the robustness of the results. To encourage truthfulness, confidentiality and anonymity were stressed, and the respondents were reminded about the value of their unique and honest responses.

Due to time constraints, the Q-Sorting exercises were done in the classroom rather than on a one-to-one basis. Space was limited, and although each respondent had his or her own desk, it was difficult to guarantee a large enough space between respondents to prevent them from copying from each other. As a result of issues around social desirability (i.e. wanting to respond in the same way their friends were responding), there were concerns that this could have skewed the results. To counteract this effect, before engaging in the Q-Sorting exercise, the respondents were spread around the classroom to ensure optimal use of the available space. In addition, the respondents were reminded of the confidentiality of the study, the value of their unique opinion, and they were encouraged to work quietly and independently. They were also closely monitored during the exercise.

Response confusion

As mentioned, in order to discourage the possibility of loading too many statements onto either side of the Q-Sort matrix board (i.e. '*Nothing like me'* or *'A lot like me'*), it was necessary to phrase a number of statements as negatives. For instance *"My friends never get into trouble"* as opposed to *"My friends always get into trouble"*. In the case that respondents disagreed with a negatively phrased statement, a 'double-negative' could have led to confusion. To minimize error, clear instructions (with examples) were provided to explain and avoid this confusion.

Accuracy of narratives

In the *analysis and interpretation* section (Chapter 4), factors were extracted from the sample that represented clusters of respondents who tended to agree with particular Q-Sort statements. In this chapter I developed narratives about each factor in order to make sense of the attitudes, opinions and perceptions of the respective participants. Whilst efforts were made to ensure accuracy and true representations of respondents within these narratives, including discussion and consensual validation from my supervisor, the possibility of researcher subjectivity and bias is acknowledged (Phoenix, 2008).

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the limitations identified above, Q-Sorting incorporates quantitative analysis with a strong qualitative component (Amin, 2000; Landreneau & Creek, 2009). The results of this study should thus be understood as a *quali-quantitatively* focused research project within the context of the growing body of research on juvenile delinquency and gang membership.

Chapter 6: The story unfolds

Analysis and Interpretation

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6, I guide the reader through the process of data analysis and the identification of factors. This leads to the development of narratives about five clusters or groups of participants (as represented by the factors), which helps make sense of the responses to the research exercise.

6.2 Analysis

The demographic details of the sample were analysed using STATA (edition 15) in order to identify frequencies and contingencies (StataCorp, 2017). A breakdown of the initial sample group is provided in the table below:

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
13 yrs.	1	1%
14 yrs.	11	9%
15 yrs.	40	34%
16 yrs.	36	31%
17 yrs.	22	19%
18 yrs.	7	6%
Gender		
Female	82	70%
Male	35	30%
Race		
Black	49	42%
Mixed race	67	57%
White	1	1%
Grade		
Gr 8	9	8%
Gr 9	7	6%
Gr 10	90	77%
Gr 11	10	9%
Gr 12	1	1%
Total	**117**	**100%**

Table 1: Sample Breakdown

The large majority (77%) of this initial sample group are in Grade 10. Any other grades represented comprised volunteers from the FAR Programme. Race groups comprised 42% black, 57% mixed race, and 1% white participants. It was noted that there were more females (70%) than males (30%) in this initial sample group. This is interesting because after conducting a Factor Analysis of the sample group, the extracted factors were represented by a different ratio of females to males. (I return to this point in the Demographic Comparison section.)

PQMethod (version 2.35) was used to analyze the Q-Sorts (data). Each statement was assigned an identifying reference number, and then entered into the PQMethod (version 2.35) software application. The respondents' individual Q-Sort results were then entered into the programme so that each statement reference number corresponded with its orientation on each participant's individual matrix board. For example, respondent 4's Q-Sort was entered as such:

Respondent 4

Column Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Statement Number	16	3	9	2	4	1	7	21	6	24	10	26
	25	29	18	8	5	11	28	31	14	39	15	33
			20	22	12	17	30	32	34	43		
				27	13	19	41	35	36			
					23	37	42	38				
						40	44					

Nothing like me — Neutral — A lot like me

Figure 4: Example of Q-Sort entry into PQMethod

A centroid factor analysis[8] (Schmolck, 2014) was conducted as the first step necessary for extracting factors. This process computes and outputs a correlation matrix, which represents the unrotated factor loadings. Factors with eigenvalues[9] less than 1.00 are not considered to be stable because they account for less variability than does a single variable and are not retained in the analysis. Therefore only eigenvalues greater than 1.00 are considered significant (Girden, 2001).

Seven factors were extracted and all were considered significant based on the eigenvalues produced for this series of unrotated factor groupings. The table below shows the frequency distribution and percentage representation across the seven rotated factors:

[8] Centroid factor analysis is a statistical technique used in Q Methodology to reduce large numbers of variables into fewer numbers of factors. This is done by extracting (unrotated) factors (Brown, 1980; Schmolck, 2014).
[9] An eigenvalue is a number that informs how much variance there is in the data in that direction. Essentially measuring the uniqueness of the variable, eigenvalues measure the amount of variation in the total sample accounted for by each factor (Dallas, 2017).

Factor	Frequency	Percentage
1	28	43%
2	8	12%
3	10	15%
4	6	9%
5	6	9%
6	3	5%
7	4	6%
Total	**65**	**100%**

Table 2: Frequency distribution across seven factors.

After several rotations to optimize the factor loadings, all seven factors were selected for varimax rotation[10] (Schmolck, 2014), a process that involves identifying sorts to be 'flagged'. 'Flagging' involves associating particular respondents with particular factors, which is important for the final stage of analysis whereby respondents were grouped distinctly into factors. A table of the factor matrix indicating the defining ('flagged') sorts is available in Appendix E (Flagged factors are marked with an 'X'.).

Multiple sorts compose each factor and because sorts represent the self-referent responses of individuals, the factors can be taken as groupings (or clusters) of respondents with similar responses. According to Watts and Stenner (2005), the personal value participants subscribe to their unique gestalt accords psychological significance to each participant (A table of the factor scores with their corresponding ranks is available in Appendix F.).

By taking into account only those eigenvalue factor scores greater than or equal to 1, a measure of the relative strength of importance attached to statements within each factor was extrapolated. By retaining only those statements with eigenvalue factor scores greater than or equal to 1 (Schmolck, 2014), each factor produced differing numbers of significant and distinguishing statements. (See Appendix G for a full list of all the distinguishing statements across the five factors.) Due to the small sample size however, two of the factors were deemed only marginally representative. Specifically, factors 6 and 7 comprised only 3 and 4 respondents respectively. The lack of weight that these small numbers of respondents had was considered negligible and therefore uninterpretable for analysis. Consequently, only factors 1 through 5 were taken into consideration.

[10] Varimax rotation is a process that alters the coordinates used in factor analysis to maximize the sum of the variances so as to associate each variable to at most one factor (Brown, 1980).

The adjusted table below shows the frequency distribution and percentage representation across these five rotated factors:

Factor	Frequency	Percentage
1	28	48%
2	8	14%
3	10	17%
4	6	10%
5	6	10%
Total	**58**	**100%**

Table 3: Frequency distribution across five factors.

We can assume high levels of consensus amongst adherents to each factor, so in essence, each factor represents the unique opinions and attitudes reflected by the cluster of adherents to that particular factor. By virtue of agreeing with particular statements, these clusters or groups of young people seem to share similar views. Analysis and interpretation of the distinguishing statements within each factor involved developing a narrative account, or best possible theoretical explanation, for each factor whilst continuously comparing and contrasting the demographic similarities and/or differences particular to the respondents within each factor (Watts & Stenner, 2012). .

6.3 Demographic information comparison

Since Q Methodology traditionally investigates small sample sizes, when analysing the demographic differences across the sample group, the Fisher's Exact Test, which is recommended for use in small sample sizes (McDonald, 2009), was employed to identify frequencies and contingencies for categorical variables. The Fisher's Exact Test uses contingency tables to provide a basic picture of the interrelation between variables and helps find interactions between them. The is achieved by examining the association (contingency) between categorical demographic data (ibid.).

In the case of continuous variables, such as age, the mean for each factor was calculated (with a 95% confidence interval), in order to compare the different factors and to assess for any overlap between confidence intervals.

Age

No significant differences between age were found across the factors, and the average age of the respondents was 15.8 years.

Gender

60% of the sample were male and 40% were female.

Factor	Male	Female
1	17	11
2	5	3
3	5	5
4	4	2
5	4	2
Total	**35**	**23**
Percentage	**60%**	**40%**

Table 4: Gender frequency distribution across five factors.

The initial sample group of 117 respondents comprised 35 males and 82 females. After conducting a factor analysis and then omitting Factors 6 and 7 due to negligibility, it is interesting to note that there are still 35 males represented by the five remaining factors. This indicates that *every* male participant in the initial sample of 117 is represented by at least one of these five factors, whereas many of the female participants are not. From this we may infer that the males produced a more homogenous response style, which is indicative of greater homogeneity amongst their social groups (Kidder & Stewart, 1975; Tajfel, 1970).

Disability

3% of the total sample reported being disabled.

Factor	No	Yes
1	28	0
2	7	1
3	10	0
4	5	1
5	6	0
Total	**56**	**2**
Percentage	**97%**	**3%**

Table 5: Disability frequency distribution across five factors.

Race

43% of the sample identified as black, 56% as mixed-race, and 1% as white.

Factor	Black	Mixed-race	White
1	13	14	1
2	5	3	0
3	3	7	0
4	4	2	0
5	0	6	0
Total	**25**	**32**	**1**
Percentage	**43%**	**56%**	**1%**

Table 6: Race frequency distribution across five factors.

The initial sample group of 117 respondents comprised 42% black, 57% mixed race, and 1% white participants, which is similar to breakdown of the extracted factors.

Living situation / Caretakers

33% of the sample reported living with their mother only, 7% with their father only, 41% with both parents, 16% with a relative, and 3% with a foster family.

Factor	Mum only	Dad only	Both parents	Relative	Foster
1	9	4	12	2	1
2	2	0	4	2	0
3	5	0	3	1	1
4	1	0	4	1	0
5	2	0	1	3	0
Total	**19**	**4**	**24**	**9**	**2**
Percentage	**33%**	**7%**	**41%**	**16%**	**3%**

Table 7: Living situation frequency distribution across five factors.

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

A subsection of the demographic information questionnaire assessed SES based on access to basic resources (hot water, electricity, & food). For the purposes of this study, access to hot water, electricity and food (three meals per day) were considered basic needs and therefore served as a

rough measure of SES. From the distribution across factors, as indicated in the table below, we can deduce that Factor 2[11] represented the most disadvantaged group, followed by Factor 3, and then Factor 4.

	Access to hot water	Access to electricity	Access to 3 meals/day
Factor 1	96%	100%	93%
Factor 2	63%	75%	75%
Factor 3	100%	100%	50%
Factor 4	100%	83%	66%
Factor 5	100%	100%	100%
P Value	0,06	0.078	0,038
Significance	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 8: Basic needs frequency distribution across five factors.

Degrees of Delinquency

A comparison across the factors revealed that individuals with a Factor 5 constellation were identified as the most delinquent group with respondents reporting the highest rates of truancy, history of crime, being in custody, criminal conviction, and gang membership. They also reported the highest number of family members involved in a gang. The table below shows the distribution across degrees of delinquency for the five factors.

	Truancy	Expelled	Committed crime	Convicted	Custody	Gang member	Family in gang
Factor 1	40%	4%	11%	4%	0%	7%	26%
Factor 2	75%	14%	13%	0%	13%	13%	25%
Factor 3	44%	20%	11%	0%	0%	11%	33%
Factor 4	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%
Factor 5	83%	0%	83%	50%	50%	50%	50%

Table 9: Degrees of delinquency frequency distribution across five factors.

[11] The qualities and characteristics of each of the factors will be discussed in the next section.

6.4 Narrative Interpretation

Analysis of the significant and distinguishing statements represented in each factor, in association with the similarities amongst the demographic details of each respondent represented by that factor, provided insight into the various risk and protective influences surrounding the different clusters of young people in the sample. Cross examining these with Howell and Egley's (2005) identified risk factors, and based on the 'second wave of narrative analysis', which involves the study of narratives-in-context (Georgakopoulou, 2006), I developed contextually sensitive narratives about each factor in order to make sense of the attitudes, opinions and perceptions of the respective participants. A central theme in the construction of these narratives was the consideration of the contextual meaning of the distinguishing statements that represented each factor, and how these central themes interacted (Thornberry, 1987), which was regarded as a projection of social identity (Phoenix, 2008).

As such, the following narratives have been developed in order to make sense of the factors using the best possible theoretical explanations (Watts & Stenner, 2012). For the sake of continuity, instead of summarizing every factor in the concluding chapter, I have included a brief summary immediately after each narrative.

Each factor has been renamed according to the strongest themes that emerged from these narratives. (When choosing the names for each of these factors, I adopted a reflective & consultative stance with my supervisor in order to address any pitfalls that may have led to the stereotyping of the different factors.)

The mainstreams (Factor 1)

As expected, Factor 1 represents the largest proportion of the sample, which explains 48% of the factors extracted. For this reason, this factor has been renamed '*the mainstreams*'. The demographic information provided revealed the following representation across gender and race:

Gender	Male	Female
Number	61%	39%

Table 10: Factor 1 Gender distribution.

Race	Black	Mixed-race	White
Number	46%	50%	4%

Table 11: Factor 1 Race distribution.

As indicated by the demographic information provided, deviant behaviour amongst *the mainstreams* appears to be low: school truancy rates were the second lowest amongst all the factors, history of having committed a crime was also the second lowest, and only one participant had ever been criminally convicted. None of the participants in this factor had ever been incarcerated and only 7% of *the mainstreams* admitted to being involved in a gang.

With regards to living arrangements, 43% of *the mainstreams* reported that they live with both of their parents, 32% said they live with their mother only, and 14% reported to live only with their fathers. The remaining 11% reported that they live with either a relative or a foster family. Compared to the other factors, these participants represent the highest group who live with at least one of their parents.

The distinguishing statements below help to make sense of the intergroup dynamics relevant to this particular factor. It is important to note that across all the factors, statements with a positive eigenvalue greater than 1 represents **agreement** with the statement (i.e. "A lot like me"), whereas a negative eigenvalue represents **disagreement** with the statement (i.e. "Nothing like me").

Distinguishing Statements	Eigenvalues
I am very close to my mother	2.075
I am very close to my father	1.539
I think getting good marks at school is important	1.521
My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day	1.298
I am very close to the people I live with	1.284
I have had a very stable family life	1.252
I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1.219
My parents have a good education	1.113
I got good marks in Junior school	1.102
I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1.029
I don't respect the law	-1.067
I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1.103
Sometimes I drink alcohol	-1.145
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1.3
Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1.314
Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1.336
My family sometimes treats me badly	-1.375
My family don't really care what I do	-1.611
Sometimes I smoke weed	-1.614
I am sexually active	-1.8

Table 12: Distinguishing statements for Factor 1.

The two most significant distinguishing statements for *the mainstreams* suggest strong bonds within these family units: "I am very close to my mother" and "I am very close to my father". Furthermore, agreement with the statement: "I am very close to the people I live with" also substantiates this idea of strong and supportive emotional bonds within the home environment. These intimate bonds are indicative of strong attachment relationships, which are important for healthy childhood and social development (Bowlby, 2005; Fonagy & Target, 1997), and are considered protective against delinquency and gang membership (Eitlea, Gunkel & Gundy, 2004; Kornhauser, 1978).

The mainstreams were in agreement with the statement: "I have had a very stable family life", and they disagreed with the statements: "My family sometimes treats me badly" and "My family don't really care what I do". A picture begins to emerge of this *mainstream group* having benefitted from fairly stable and balanced upbringings with caring and supportive families and close

relationships that have protected them from delinquency and/or gang membership (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry et al., 2003; Warr, 1993).

The mainstreams were in agreement with "My parents have a good education", which implies the likelihood of their parents being involved in skilled employment. By comparing the demographic reports, which implied socioeconomic stability[12], we can assume that these families are likely to earn an adequate and stable income. (Furthermore, none of the distinguishing statements made reference to financial stress amongst these families.)

Parental education is also considered an important and significant predictor of children's future educational achievement (Dubow, Boxer & Huesmann, 2009). Correspondingly, *the mainstreams* agreement with the statement: "My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day" highlights positive academic expectations within the family and reminds us of Eccles's *expectancy-value model* (1998) that explains the socialization process of academic success. Consistent with this, *the mainstreams* agreed with the statement: "Getting good marks at school is really important to me", and they reported getting "good marks in Junior school".

Another protective factor for *the mainstreams* was identified by their agreement with the statement: "I have a lot of respect for my teachers". According to Thornberry et al. (2003), the presence of positive role models within family environments is likely to be transferred onto other significant adults, such as teachers, which increases the likelihood of academic success within the school environment.

The sentiments outlined above indicate high academic aspirations within educated families, and are considered protective against delinquent behaviour and predictive of educational success (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Christle, Jolivette & Nelson, 2005; Craig, Vitaro & Tremblay, 2002).

The mainstreams disagreed with the statements: "Sometimes I smoke weed", "Sometimes I drink Lenazine", "Sometimes I drink alcohol", and "Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs". This apparent strong opposition to substance use reported by this group is considered to represent prosocial attitudes to substance use and is also predictive of restraint from future substance use/abuse.

[12] Access to: hot water = 96%; electricity = 100%; three meals per day = 93% .

We can also assume that these adolescents are currently unlikely to identify or associate with substance using peer groups (Hill et al., 1999).

The mainstreams disagreed with the statement: "I don't respect the law", which suggests that they tend to uphold conventional, prosocial belief systems, and generally oppose antisocial behaviour. They also disagreed with: "If I wanted to get hold of a gun, I could", suggesting that these individuals are unlikely to be involved in peer groups, or have family members, that have access to firearms. These statements indicate that *the mainstreams* are protected by prosocial family values, and are not exposed to environments that promote the use of weapons, both of which are considered protective against delinquency (Bjerregaard & Lizotte, 1995; Thornberry et al., 2003).

The mainstreams disagreed with the statements: "I have been threatened by people in gangs" and "being involved in a gang keeps you safe". In an interesting piece of research entitled: "I got your back", Melde, Taylor and Esbensen (2009) examine the perceived protective function of gang membership in adolescence. They point out that whilst many studies find the *need for protection* to be a common motivator for adolescents to join gangs (e.g. Kinnes, 2017; Miller, 2001; Vigil, 1988), the reality is that gang members typically experience greater levels of victimization than non-gang-members. Based on this, their disagreement with the statements above implies that *the mainstreams* are not motivated towards joining a gang for the sake of personal safety or protection, and in fact they appear to be relatively unaffected by gangs that may live in their area. These are considered protective against delinquent or antisocial behaviour, and of course, gang-membership.

Finally, *the mainstreams* were in disagreement with: "I am sexually active". According to a study by Armour and Haynie (2007), adolescents who become sexually active at an early age relative to their peers are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour. Furthermore, they point out that adolescents who experience late sexual debut are far less likely to become delinquent. They go on to describe late sexual debut as a protective factor against delinquency that appears to persist for several years (ibid.).

Summary of the mainstreams (Factor 1):

In summary, a picture emerges of a group of adolescents with strong attachment relationships (Bowlby, 2005), relatively secure family backgrounds, and who live within a reasonably financially stable socioeconomic environment. They experience a number of protective factors across the five

influential domains (Howell & Egley, 2005). Furthermore, their distinguishing statements did not reveal any risk factors. What stands out for this group is the protective influence of strong family attachment within nurturing environments. It is construed that prosocial value systems are likely to have evolved from within these safe and secure environments, and that the attitudes, principles, and moral opinions of these adolescents are likely to be fairly conventional and typically respectable. These individuals appear to exist largely outside of the influence of gangs, and they are relatively unaffected by the delinquent behaviour of some of their counterparts. As a result of these protective factors, the lure of gang-membership and delinquency is predicted to be minimal amongst *the mainstreams*.

The have-nots (Factor 2)

Explaining 14% of the factors extracted from the sample, Factors 2 was identified as the most economically disadvantaged group amongst the five factors, with 37% reporting that they do not have regular access to hot water, 25% reporting no electricity, and 25% reporting that they do not eat three meals every day. As such, factor 2 has been renamed: *'the have-nots'*.

The demographic information provided revealed the following representation across gender and race:

Gender	Male	Female
Percentage	63%	37%

Table 13: Factor 2 Gender distribution.

Race	Black	Mixed race	White
Percentage	63%	37%	0%

Table 14: Factor 2 Race distribution.

In comparison to the racial breakdown of the entire sample group across the factors, it is noted that the mixed-race group are slightly underrepresented in Factor 2.

The distinguishing statements below help to make sense of the intergroup dynamics relevant to this particular factor.

Distinguishing Statements	Eigenvalues
Sometimes I smoke weed	2.363
I am very close to my father	2.259
I got good marks in Junior school	1.858
I am very close to my mother	1.611
Sometimes I drink alcohol	1.598
My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day	1.415
I think getting good marks at school is important	1.22
Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-1.009
I don't respect the law	-1.079
My family worry about money a lot	-1.343
I love my school	-1.792
My family don't really care what I do	-1.879

Table 15: Distinguishing statements for Factor 2.

The most distinguishing statement for *the have-nots* was their agreement with the statement: "Sometimes I smoke weed". They also agreed with the statement: "Sometimes I drink alcohol". As previously mentioned, drinking alcohol and smoking cannabis during adolescence are considered strong precursors to further substance use and abuse, as well as to other forms of deviancy (DeSimone, 1998; Hill et al., 1999; Morral, McCaffrey, & Paddock, 2002; Tarter et al., 2006).

According to their demographic information, *the have-nots* reported the second highest truancy rates amongst the factors, with 75% admitted to having "bunked or ducked out from school". In their study that compared substance use with truancy rates, Hallfors, Vevea, Iritani, Cho, Khatapoush & Saxe (2002) indicate a clear correlation between truancy (& therefore low school attachment) and substance use. Correspondingly, *the have-nots* disagreed with the statement: "I love my school", suggesting low school attachment.

We are reminded of Erikson's Stage Theory (1968), which postulates that if children are made to feel inferior in their early years, they are likely to develop low self-esteem and a poorly formed sense of self. Erikson proclaimed that in such situations, feelings of hopelessness, apathy and despair may lead to a rejection of social institutions (Fleming, 2004; McLeod, 2008). We can hypothesize that by virtue of their low SES, *the have-nots* grew up feeling inferior, developed low self-esteem, and

thus came to resent (reject) their schools because these institutions, they believed, represent the unachievable. (*Social Comparison Theory*: Festinger, 1950: cited in Goethals & Darley, 1987).

Erikson also pointed out the likelihood of substance use amongst such individuals (Fleming, 2004; McLeod, 2008), and correspondingly Hallfors et al. (2002) indicated how truancy rates provide a good measure of deviant peer-bonding, and explains that truant peer groups are more likely to use substances when ducking school. Hallfors et al. (ibid.) describe how truant adolescents often constitute a distinct and separate subgroup within schools, who tend to affiliate with substance-using peers and who tend to use substances themselves.

There was also evidence of a number of protective factors for these *underprivileged* adolescents however. Much like *the mainstreams*, their agreement with the statements: "I am close to my mother" and "I am close to my father", and their disagreement with the statement: "My family don't really care what I do", suggests strong parental bonding and caring relationships. Furthermore, *the have-nots* disagreed with the statement: "Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family", which indicates a lack of corporal punishment within the home. This has been shown to promote close family relationship and encourage the internalization of parent's values systems (Hirschi, 1969). Correspondingly, their disagreement with the statement: "I don't respect the law" suggests the adoption of prosocial belief systems that are likely to have been learnt within the home environment.

Also similar to *the mainstreams*, this group agreed with the statement: "My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day", which is considered to be another protective factor (Thornberry et al., 2003; Yoshikawa, 1994). Furthermore, *the have-nots* agreed with the statement: "Getting good marks at school is really important to me", and they reported getting "good marks in Junior school", which are once again considered to be protective factors (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Craig, Vitaro & Tremblay, 2002). (We can surmise however that these academic aspirations are of course in some way dependent on *the have-nots* reducing their substance use and truancy.)

Despite their apparent economically disadvantaged situation, , *the have-nots* disagreed with the statement: "My family worry about money and a lot". This suggests that in spite of this group reporting the lowest SES in comparison to the other four factors, money does not seem to cause

significant worry to the families concerned, and is therefore is considered a weak risk factor (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry et al., 2003).

Summary of Factor 2:

The picture that emerges is of a relatively underprivileged group of adolescents who have close and nurturing family relationships, prosocial value systems, and aspirations towards educational success. Whilst these protective factors shelter them from seeking identification with gangsters, it is postulated that their disadvantaged socioeconomic situation, low school attachment, truant behaviour, and their use of both alcohol and cannabis fosters vulnerability. It is further postulated that this accumulation of risk influences these underprivileged adolescents to identify with substance-using peer groups, which contributes towards the possibility of future (adult) substance use and/or abuse (Eggert & Herting, 1991).

The paternal dissonants (Factor 3)

Explaining 17% of the factors extracted from the sample, Factors 3 appears to be the second most economically disadvantaged group amongst the five factors, with 50% reporting that they do not eat three meals every day. There were however no reported problems with regards to access to hot water, and no distinguishing statements alluding to financial stress. As such, SES is not considered significantly influential with regards to delinquency amongst this factor. According to the demographic information provided, adherents to Factor 3 reported the second lowest involvement in gangs (11%), relatively low levels of delinquent behaviour[13] , and the second lowest rates of truancy (44%).

The demographic information provided revealed the following representation across gender and race:

Gender	Male	Female
Percentage	50%	50%

Table 16: Factor 3 Gender distribution.

[13] 11% reported having committed a crime; and none of the respondents reported ever having been convicted or in custody.

Race	Black	Mixed race	White
Percentage	30%	70%	0%

Table 17: Factor 3 Race distribution.

In comparison to the racial breakdown of the entire sample group across the factors, it is noted that the mixed-race group are slightly overrepresented in Factor 3.

The distinguishing statements below help to make sense of the intergroup dynamics relevant to this particular factor.

Distinguishing Statements	**Eigenvalues**
I am very close to my mother	1.865
My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day	1.784
I got good marks in Junior school	1.762
My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself	1.441
I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1.421
I am very close to the people I live with	1.202
I think getting good marks at school is important	1.094
Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	1.021
I consider my friends to be my real family	1
I don't like living in my neighbourhood	-1.024
My friends often get into fights	-1.131
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1.135
Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-1.398
I don't respect the law	-1.57
My family sometimes treats me badly	-1.587
My family don't really care what I do	-1.665
I am very close to my father	-2.145

Table 18: Distinguishing statements for Factor 3.

It is noted that Factor 3 shares several protective factors with Factor 1, and similarly their most significant distinguishing statement was: "I am very close to my mother". They were also in agreement with the statement: "I am very close to the people I live with", which creates a picture of a positive and supportive family environment. Further evidence of this is found in their disagreement with the statements: "My family don't really care what I do", "My family sometimes treats me badly" and "Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family". Considered together, these substantiate this picture of supportive and caring family environments that are free from parental corporal punishment and/or abuse (Eitlea, Gunkel & Gundy, 2004; Hill et al., 1999; Hirschi, 1969; Thornberry et al., 2003; Warr, 1993).

The majority of Factor 3 (80%) reported to be living with at least one of their parents, and they represented the highest number of respondents living with their mothers (50%). And yet they reported the second lowest numbers of respondents who lived with both of their parents, which indicates a general absence of fathers. Furthermore, this group were in strong disagreement with the statement: "I am very close to my father", which suggests conflicted paternal relationships. For this reason, Factor 3 have been renamed '*the paternal dissonants'*.

In his longitudinal study entitled: "Family relationships, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality", McCord (1991) reasons that a supportive, affectionate, and nonpunitive maternal relationship is the best insulator against criminogenic influences even in deteriorated neighbourhoods. By comparison, McCord argues that the father's relationship with his family is of less importance during the juvenile years, and yet it becomes increasingly instrumental as the child matures. McCord describes how poor paternal relationships may be embroiled with family discord, aggression and even fighting, and in such cases, the father (even unintentionally) represents a role model of antisocial behaviour that authenticates how to behave as an adult. The likelihood of adolescent delinquency, he explains, is influenced primarily by maternal incompetence, whereas the tendency towards adulthood criminality is based largely on role expectations learnt from fathers, even in their absence (ibid). With this in mind, it is hypothesized that despite paternal conflict or distance, *the paternal dissonants'* close maternal relationships enabled *reflective functioning* (Fonagy & Target, 1997), which resulted in the development of healthy coping strategies and safeguarded these adolescents from delinquency.

With reference to peer group relationships however, *the paternal dissonants* agreed with the statement: "I consider my friends to be my real family" and "Sometimes I feel pressured to doing

the wrong thing". A picture emerges of strong and persuasive peer group relationships. Recalling Freud's theoretical stance, in the absence of the father, or indeed when this relationship is damaged, primary identification may be projected onto peer groups, which can lead to a loss of individual moral sense and judgement (Main, 2001).

Indeed, the preadolescent and adolescent years coincide with Erikson's (1950) *industry versus inferiority* and *identity versus role confusion* stages of psychosocial development. Erikson (ibid.) described how it is the parents' responsibility to guide their child / adolescent through these stages by providing support and representing that there is meaning to what they are doing. In the case of an absent parent, especially a father, the gang may provide a salient alternative for guidance, approval and recognition. In such cases, joining a gang may be considered a panacea for acquiring identity and status within one's community (Bracki, Dolson & Maurice, 1997; Taylor, 2013).

Markiewicz (1999), points out how, based on perceived personal benefits such as group acceptance, the decision to commit crime may become both logical and sensible. In this sense, delinquent behaviour is rationalized, normalized, and is not only deemed acceptable, but becomes socially expected (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996: cited in Hawkins, 1996).

It is however unclear what kinds of 'wrong things' *the paternal dissonants* feel pressured into doing. For instance they disagreed with the statement: "My friends often get into fights", which suggests general adherence to non-violent behaviour; they disagreed with: "I don't respect the law", which evidences prosocial attitudes; and they disagreed with the statement: "Sometimes I drink Lenazine", which suggests a lack of identification / association with Lenazine-drinking peer groups. They agreed with the statement: "My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself" however, from which we may infer that despite sometimes feeling pressured into doing the 'wrong thing', these adolescents feel empowered to stand up for their values and what they believe in. This distinguishing statement therefore reflects a protective factor against peer pressure. (Indeed, this is in accordance with the low levels of delinquency found in their demographic information reports.)

Another protective factor against delinquency was identified in their disagreement with the statement: "I don't like living in my neighbourhood", which suggests a sense of attachment to their local neighbourhood environment (Gilman et al., 2014). (Considering the strong peer group

relationships that *the paternal dissonants* describe, attachment to their local neighbourhood, where these friends no doubt also live, is to be expected.)

Their attitudes towards education were also considered protective. For instance they agreed with the statements: "My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day", "I think getting good marks in school is important", "I got good marks in Junior school", and "I have a lot of respect for my teachers" (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Christle, Jolivette & Nelson, 2005; Craig, Vitaro & Tremblay (2002).

Summary of Factor 3:

Apart from their description of having distant relationships with their (mostly absent) fathers, a picture emerges of a group of adolescents who come from relatively stable family home environments. For instance they describe positive relationship with their mothers, and close relationships with other people at home. Consequential to their paternal dissonance, it is construed that this group formed strong relationships with their peer groups (paternal projection), and though they admit to occasionally feeling peer pressured within these relationships, they feel encouraged to stand up for themselves, and are thus able to resist peer pressures. In summary, whilst *the paternal dissonants* are faced with a number of risk factors in their lives, the nature of the protective factors experienced provides sufficient safety and enables them to choose against delinquency.

The law-abiders (Factor 4)

Explaining 10% of the factors extracted from the sample, an interesting observation about Factor 4 is that its adherents testified to having the lowest degrees of delinquency across all factors, with none of them reporting any criminality or ever having been involved in a gang. Factor 4 has therefore been renamed: *'the law-abiders'*. It was also noted that Factor 4 adherents represented the largest percentage of participants living with both of their parents (60%), and of the remainder, a notable proportion reported that they live with their mothers (20%).

The demographic information provided revealed the following representation across gender and race:

Gender	Male	Female
Percentage	67%	33%

Table 19: Factor 4 Gender distribution.

Race	Black	Mixed race	White
Percentage	67%	33%	0%

Table 20: Factor 4 Race distribution.

In comparison to the racial breakdown of the entire sample group across the factors, it is noted that the mixed-race group are slightly underrepresented in Factor 4.

The distinguishing statements below help to make sense of the intergroup dynamics relevant to this particular factor.

Distinguishing Statements	**Eigenvalues**
My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself	1.793
Sometimes I drink alcohol	1.78
Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	1.694
I am very close to my father	1.332
There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	1.279
I got good marks in Junior school	1.256
I think getting good marks at school is important	1.177
My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day	1.148
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1.029
Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1.114
I am sexually active	-1.246
I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1.356
Sometimes I smoke weed	-1.69
Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1.704
I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	-2.248

Table 21: Distinguishing statements for Factor 4.

Commenting on their attitudes and opinions about substance use, *the law-abiders* were in disagreement with the following statements: "Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs", "I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs", "Sometimes I smoke weed", and "Sometimes I drink Lenazine". From this we infer strong opposition to illicit substances, which is considered protective (DeSimone, 1998; Hill et al., 1999; Morral, McCaffrey, & Paddock, 2002; Tarter et al., 2006).

It is interesting to note however, that these same adherents strongly agreed with the statement: "Sometimes I drink alcohol". As previously reported, alcohol use amongst adolescents in South Africa is common and in Durban it has been identified as the second most widely used substance of abuse amongst adolescents in treatment centres (Madu and Matla, 2003; Parry et al., 2004).

As mentioned, *the law-abiders* reported no involvement in gangs. Their disagreement with the statement: "Being in a gang keeps you safe" therefore suggests that not only are these peer groups not involved in gangs, but that gangs do not influence their perception of safety. This is considered to be a protective factor against gang-membership (Melde, Taylor & Esbensen, 2009).

The law-abiders acknowledged the influence of peer group pressure in their agreement with the statement: "Sometimes I feel pressured to doing the wrong thing". Considered together with their agreement with the statement: "There is trust and loyalty amongst my group", a picture emerges of strong friendship groups wherein persuasive peer pressure exist. Comparable to Factor 3, *the law-abiders* strongly agreed with the statement: "My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself", and so in a similar vein, we inferred that *the law-abiders* have been nurtured towards feeling empowered to stand up for their values and what they believe in, and to resist peer pressure. (Like Factor 3, this is congruent with the low levels of delinquency found in their demographic information reports.)

Further analysis of their distinguishing statements reveals more evidence of protective factors for *the law-abiders*. For instance they disagreed with the statement: "I am sexually active" (Armour & Haynie, 2007); and they disagreed with: "If I wanted to get hold of a gun, I could" (Bjerregaard & Lizotte, 1995).

With consideration of their opinions and perceptions about their schools and their education, *the law-abiders* agreed with the statements: "Getting good marks at school is really important to me" and "I got good marks in Junior school". They were also in agreement with the statement: "My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day". These statements indicate high academic aspirations and are considered protective (Christle, Jolivette, & Nelson, 2005).

Summary of Factor 4:

The law-abiders can be distinguished by having the highest proportion of nuclear family living arrangements and by their close relationships with their fathers. Perceiving trust and loyalty amongst their peer groups, *the law-abiders* also acknowledged the influences of peer pressure, and yet they reported the lowest levels of delinquency and gang involvement.

A picture emerges of a small faction of adolescents who's families provide sufficient protective factors that empower them to resist peer pressure, and which shields them from juvenile delinquency and/or gang membership.

The delinquents (Factor 5)

Explaining 10% of the factors extracted from the sample, Factor 5 was comparably the most deviant group of adolescents in the sample. More specifically, 83% admitted to having bunked off (ducked out of) school; 83% alleged to having committed a crime; 50% disclosed a history of having been convicted of a crime; and 50% admitted to having been held in custody. Factor 5 also represents the highest level of gang membership across the factors with 50% reporting involvement in gangs and 50% also reporting that they have a family member involved in a gang. As such they have been renamed: *'the delinquents'*.

The demographic information provided revealed the following representation across gender and race:

Gender	Male	Female
Percentage	67%	33%

Table 22: Factor 5 Gender distribution.

Race	Black	Mixed race	White
Percentage	0%	100%	0%

Table 23: Factor 5 Race distribution.

In comparison to the racial breakdown of the entire sample group across the factors, it is noted that Factor 5 is only represented by the mixed-race group.

The distinguishing statements below help to make sense of the intergroup dynamics relevant to this particular factor.

Distinguishing Statements	**Eigenvalues**
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	1.754
I think getting good marks at school is important	1.551
I got good marks in Junior school	1.446
My family worry about money a lot	1.422
Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	1.395
Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	1.387
Sometimes I smoke weed	1.174
My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day	1.157
I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	1.137
My family have lots of money	-1.087
My friends often get into fights	-1.101
Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1.199
My parents have a good education	-1.211
I don't like living in my neighbourhood	-1.271
My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	-1.378
My family don't really care what I do	-1.382
I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1.565
I am sexually active	-1.682

Table 24: Distinguishing statements for Factor 5.

It was noted that *the delinquents* were in agreement with the statements: "Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested" and "Many people living in my neighbourhood use drugs", which indicates a community environment that poses risks for delinquency and substance use (Thornberry et al., 2003).

Their most significant distinguishing statement was: "Sometimes I drink Lenazine", which suggests positive identification with peer groups that consume Lenazine©[14]. They also agreed with the statement: "Sometimes I smoke weed". Needless to say, these evidence predictability of

[14] The school gang who identify as 'Team Lean' are known to drink and sell (or deal) in Lenazine©.

substance use and abuse (DeSimone, 1998; Hill et al., 1999; Morral, McCaffrey, & Paddock, 2002; Tarter et al., 2006).

Furthermore, although it was not a 'distinguishing' statement (eigenvalue > 1), *the delinquents* disagreed with the statement: "I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs", which suggests the availability of these substances within the community.

Representing the most delinquent group, it was interesting to note that *the delinquents* agreed with the statement: "I always feel safe in my neighbourhood" and disagreed with the statement: "I don't like living in my neighbourhood", which gives the sense that they feel safe and are attached to their neighbourhoods. When we looked towards their demographic reports, *the delinquents* reported the highest rates of living with someone other than their parents, which suggests family instability and/or 'broken' homes[15], and is indicative of emotional instability, delinquency, and substance use/abuse (Eitlea, Gunkel & Gundy, 2004; Evren et al., 2009; Follan & Minnis, 2010; Orme & Buehler, 2001; Warr, 1993; Wells & Rankin, 1991). It is hypothesized therefore that the family instability experienced whilst growing up resulted in these adolescents turning towards social groups within in their communities for a sense of attachment and belonging, and hence their involvement in gangs. Furthermore, it seems this state of affairs has endured over the generations since *the delinquents* also reported the highest numbers of family members involved in gangs (50%).

Regarding their attitudes towards gangs, they disagreed with the statements: "I have been threatened by people in gangs" and "Being in a gang keeps you safe", which provides further evidence of perceptions of neighbourhood safety and a sense of attachment. Correspondingly, they disagreed with the statement: "My friends often get into fights", which suggests a lack of aggressive behaviour amongst their peers (gangs).

As previously discussed, many studies find the *need for protection* to be a common reason that motivates adolescents to join gangs (Melde, Taylor & Esbensen, 2009). Since this is not apparent amongst *the delinquents,* we have to wonder why these adolescents are indeed driven towards gang membership.

[15] 50% live with a relative or a foster family, 33% live with their mothers, and only one of *the deviants* lives with both parents.

Perhaps congruently, they disagreed with the statement: "My brother or sister never gets into any trouble", which suggests that *the delinquents'* siblings are also delinquent, and we may infer that they (or at least some of them) are involved in gangs. Engulfed within a milieu of gangsterism from an early age, we anticipated that these adolescents were naturally socialized in the direction of gang subculture (& delinquency) (Freud, 1975; Sharkey, Shekhtmeyster, Chavez-Lopez, Norris & Sass, 2011), and that as a result, antisocial ideas have been internalized and normalized (Brown, 1978; Clarke & Cornish, 2013; Markiewicz, 1999).

The delinquents disagreed with the statement: "My parents have a good education", which reminds us of Eccles's *expectancy-value model* (1998) that explains how low parental education is an important predictor of the educational and behavioural outcomes of children. Although *the delinquents* did not indicate a lack of access to hot water, electricity or food within their demographic reports, their agreement with the statement: "My family worry about money and a lot" and their disagreement with: "My family has lots of money" suggests low SES, and is predictive of delinquency (Eitlea, Gunkel & Gundy, 2004; Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry et al., 2003).

Evidence of protective factors include *the delinquents* disagreement with the statement: "My family don't really care what I do" and their agreement with: "My parents hope I'll go to college or university one day". However we cannot forget that parental influence may be marginal since many of these parents do not live with their children.

Their disagreement with: "I am sexually active" is considered to be protective. And similarly, their agreement agreed with the statements: "Getting good marks at school is important to me" and "I got good marks in Junior school" are also considered protective.

Summary of Factor 5:

The distinguishing statements for *the delinquents* contain the largest proportion of risk factors versus protective factors across the sample group, with most of these risks emanating from the family. A picture emerges of a homogenous group of mixed-race adolescents who have relatively uneducated parents and who therefore are likely to work in unskilled low-paying jobs, or who are perhaps even unemployed. Reporting somewhat unstable family backgrounds and broken homes with high rates of family gang-membership, it is hypothesized that these individuals have grown up surrounded by gangsterism, and have thus adopted similar antisocial attitudes and behaviours. With so much risk

identified in relationship to their families, it is inferred that these adolescents naturally gravitated towards peer groups to establish a sense of belonging and identity. Considering their reports of high gang membership themselves, we can assume that these peer groups identify as gangs. They also reported prolific substance use, especially Lenazine©, and we may go so far as to assume that we have identified members of 'Team Lean' amongst this sample.

6.5 Second Level Analysis

In Chapter 3 I indicated how the 44 Q-Sort statements were developed by drawing from the risk factors identified by Howell and Egley (2005) to predict delinquency. These risk factors were regarded across five influential domains, namely individual characteristics, the family, the school, peer groups, and the community.

Employing a 'second wave' narrative analysis approach to develop contextually sensitive narratives about each factor, I focused on how the central themes within each factor were bidirectionally interactive. Regarding these narratives as projections of social identity (Phoenix, 2008), Thornberry's (1987) *Interactional Theory* was used as a lens through which to understand these narratives (of social identity) and to explain how the accumulation of the effects of advantage and disadvantage affected one another in a bidirectional manner, which influenced the decisions these adolescents made with regards to delinquent behaviour and gang membership.

Comparison across the domains of influence

These sentiments above were made clearer using a visual representation that compared the risk and the protective factors that are implied by *agreement* with each of the statements. For example, if a respondent agreed with the statement: "My parents have a good education" (i.e. they felt the statement was 'A lot like me), then this was considered protective. However if they disagreed with the statement (i.e. it was 'Nothing like me'), then this was considered a risk. Similarly, if a respondent agreed with the statement: "I don't respect the law" (i.e. they felt the statement was 'A lot like me), then this was considered a risk. However if they disagreed with the statement (i.e. it was 'Nothing like me'), then this was considered protective.

By deciding which statements posed risk, and which indicated protection (using Howell & Egley's interpretation), a table that compares the risk versus protection of risk factors illustrates the effects of the accumulation of advantage and disadvantage across the five different domains. This valuable comparison identified numbers of risk versus numbers of protective factors, which revealed

higher or lower risk (or protection) within each domain across the five factors. The full comparison is represented in the Domains of Influence table (Appendix H).

The table below provides a summary of this comparison and highlights the interaction between, and the accumulation of, both risk and protective factors within each of the domains and across the five different factors.

DOMAINS OF INFLUENCE	Factor 1 (The Mainstreams)	Factor 2 (The Have-Nots)	Factor 3 (The Paternal Dissonants)	Factor 4 (The Law-Abiders)	Factor 5 (The Delinquents)	ACCUMULATED Risk vs Protect
Individual Domain RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS	0 vs 5	2 vs 1	0 vs 2	2 vs 3	2 vs 1	6 vs 12 TOTAL = 18
Family Domain RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS	0 vs 7	0 vs 5	1 vs 6	0 vs 2	4 vs 1	5 vs 21 TOTAL = 26
School Domain RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS	0 vs 4	1 vs 3	0 vs 4	0 vs 3	0 vs 3	1 vs 17 TOTAL = 18
Peer Domain RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS	0 vs 3	0 vs 0	2 vs 1	1 vs 3	0 vs 3	3 vs 10 TOTAL = 13
Community Domain RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS	0 vs 1	0 vs 0	0 vs 1	1 vs 1	2 vs 2	3 vs 5 TOTAL = 8

Table 25: Comparison across domains

In this table, the relative weight of influence of each *domain* becomes illustratively more transparent. For instance, *the mainstreams* reported zero risk across any of the domains, with an accumulation of protection coming from factors within each domain. Factors 2, 3 and 4 (namely *the have-nots, the paternal dissonants, & the law-abiders*) yielded comparative results in that they reported approximately three times as many protective factors than risk factors across the domains. *The delinquents*, by comparison, reported the greatest number of accumulated risk factors when compared to protective factors (8 Risk vs 10 Protective) with the majority emanating from their family environments.

A quick glance at the total (accumulated) risk versus protection factors within each domain reveals that:

1. The total (accumulated) risk plus protective factors for '*The Family'* were the highest (Total = 26), which indicates that the statements relating to family influence were the most significant across the factors. We can therefore deduce that the domain of *The Family* represented the most influential domain across the factors.

2. Although domains of '*Individual Characteristics'* and *'The School'* both carried an equal amount of accumulated risk plus protective factor influence (Totals = 18), the '*Individual Characteristics'* domain contained a higher degree of overall risk versus protective factors (6 vs 12) than did the domain of '*The School'* (1 vs 17). Recalling previously discussed theoretical formulations of childhood development (Bowlby, 2005; Erikson, 1968), we saw how identity (individual characteristics) forms primarily from the influence of family relationships (attachment), which indicates high levels of interaction between these two domains. We can therefore infer that the greater the risk that is placed on an individual by his or her family, the more likely that this person will develop individual characteristics that maintain or increase their risk of delinquency and/or gang membership.

3. *'The School'* was considered the third most influential domain (Total = 18). Interestingly very few associated risk factors were identified, and the protective factors were fairly unanimous across the five factors, with every factor agreeing with the statements about academic success and aspirations for tertiary education. It is hypothesized that this theme highlights the widespread narrative that is particularly predominant within the South African context, which considers education to offer redemption from poverty and liberation from social class immobility (Allais, 2012).

4. The consensus was that '*Peer'* groups had fairly minimal influence, and the only associated risk factors within this domain related directly to peer pressure. Although this seemed surprising at first, it is hypothesized that when young people identify strongly with their peer groups (as is the case with gangs), the *homogenization effect* cultivates a kind of group-consciousness that reduces the need for personal autonomy (Kidder & Stewart, 1975; McDougall, 1921), and thus the ability to recognize risk amongst peer groups is hindered. This suggests that where no peer

domain risk was identified (as was the case with *the delinquents*), *homogenization* amongst these peers is strong enough to conceal inherent risk (Tajfel, 1970).

5. Lastly, '*The Community'* was deemed to be the least influential of all the domains across the factors. Notwithstanding, *the delinquents* were the only group who identified neighbourhood drug use and arrest rates, which evidenced strong community risk in this case, and pointed towards a prevalence of neighbourhood gangsterism.

Referring back to Thornberry's *Interactional Theory* (1987), which recognizes how young people continuously interact with a range of variables, including people, institutions and behavioural experiences that are constantly changing and influencing one another via dynamic interactive processes. For instance Thornberry points out how the behaviour of an adolescent influences how others will respond, and that these individuals are also influenced by a number of variables. Their responses, in turn, influence how the adolescent chooses to respond and behave going forward.

In this sense, the importance of reciprocation is emphasized, especially with regards to family units (and/or primary caregivers) from whom adolescents receive the most immediate influence. If these units, in their own right, uphold prosocial moralistic attitudes and beliefs and are committed to conventional institutions, then their (adolescent) children are unlikely to choose to engage in delinquent behaviour. If they do engage in delinquent behaviour however, the responses they receive from their Families will in turn influence their propensity to continue being delinquent. For instance they may seek out delinquent peers, bunk out of school, join a gang, or experiment with substances. And indeed, this bidirectional model applies to the other domains too, including Schools, Peer Groups, and the Community, all of which shape the characteristics of the Individual.

Essentially, *Interactional Theory* is interested in how a lack of appropriate reciprocal feedback from each and any of the domains can lead to a weakening of social constraints, which creates a space for uncharted freedom that puts young people at risk and greater influence for directing their choices into patterns of delinquent behaviour.

Central themes

1. The protective family

The comparison across domains table above (table 25) illustrates how the Family represents the most influential domain across the factors. Based on common themes that emerged (especially amongst factors 1, 2 & 3) it seems that close family bonds, stability at home, and caring nonpunitive families were considered highly protective against delinquency and gang membership. From this we infer that when adolescents from these (protected) households do behave badly (delinquently), their family's responses are generally fair (not overly punitive), which encourages the internalization of fair and respectful attitudes and leads to the adoption of prosocial attitudes about the laws of society. In this sense, the bidirectional interaction between the domains of the *family* and *individual characteristics* is highlighted.

Interestingly, poor paternal relations did not seem to significantly influence delinquent behaviour, as in factor 3, however it was surmised that these dissonant relationships resulted in strong peer group identification and the perception of intense peer pressures. In the case of factor 3 however, it was presumed that the presence of strong maternal relationships acted as a kind of safeguard, empowering these young people to resist the pressures experienced from their peers.

A strong indicator of risk within the *family* domain was the nature of the actual relationships between the caregivers and the adolescents. For instance in the case of factor 5 (*the delinquents*), who displayed the highest rates of delinquency and gang membership, several of them reported to live with someone other than their parents, and furthermore many of these young people's fathers were reported to be absent (Kornhauser, 1978).

2. Low socio-economic status, financial stress and marginalized communities

Another strong indicator of risk was the level of education of parents (or caregivers), and the financial stressors felt within the households, both of which suggested low socio-economic status. This association between crime and low SES has been found elsewhere (Cheteni, Mah, & Yohane, 2018; Tittle, 1983). *The delinquents* reported low parental education, low SES, and high rates of community arrest and drug use. They also reported having family members involved in gangs, as well as siblings involved in delinquency. For *the delinquents* it is hypothesized that the interactive processes between their families and the community led to increased risk of delinquency, which influenced their personal choices within the individual domain. Seemingly growing up in unstable environments within a milieu of gangsterism, these adolescents reported the highest rates of gang

involvement, criminal history, delinquent behaviour and substance use. The bidirectional interaction between these variables was considered to be a strong predictor of adolescent delinquency and gang membership. This finding was supported in the research carried out by Hay et al. (2006).

3. Substance use and Lenazine© addiction

Low SES was also considered a predictor of illicit substance use amongst adolescents. For instance, factors 2 and 5, both of whom reported low SES, admitted to using (smoking) cannabis. In the case of factor 5, Lenazine© was also reportedly used, which based on their accounts of gang involvement suggested the likelihood of substance use amongst peers who identify as gangs (e.g. 'Team Lean').

This is of concern because according to research, Lenazine© (Codeine) addiction amongst school students is a growing concern in many parts of the world, including South Africa (Mattoo et al., 1997; Parry, 1998). A recent article in the Daily News in South Africa mirrors this concern, with teachers from Wentworth Schools expressing their alarm about so-called 'Lean Parties' where adolescents (some as young as 10 years old) are drinking cocktails of Lenazine© (Codeine) mixed with soft-drinks at home, in community parks and also at school (Rall, 2017). (See Appendix I for a copy of this news article.)

The combination of opioids (Codeine) together with sympathomimetic agents (such as Promethazine & Ephedrine), which is found in codeine-containing cough syrups (CCS) such as Lenazine© may cause a unique and distinctive euphoretic effect. The low cost and easy access of CCS makes this addiction a growing problem, and in a study that was rolled out across South Africa, Ireland and the United Kingdom, pharmacists reported several challenges with regards to the regulation and dispensing of CCS, as well as negotiating customer awareness and compliance (Carney et al., 2016).

As was the case with all the factors, aspirations for achievement and success within the school environment were considered protective. It is hypothesized that this reflects a general narrative amongst adolescents in South Africa, and may be understood within the context of high rates of unemployment and by the consensus that education represents hope for future vocational success and financial security (Allais, 2012).

6.6 Conclusion

The central themes that emerged from the narrative analyses of these factors shows clear bidirectional interaction between the different domains of influence. For factor 5 (*the delinquents*) what stands out is the significant amount of risk associated across the five domains with these respondents reporting nearly as much risk as they did protective factors. In accordance with *Interactional Theory* (Thornberry, 1987), when an individual experience an accumulation of the effects of disadvantage across the range of inherent risk factors, from the distal to the immediate, so the likelihood of stress, insecurity, and subsequent delinquency increases.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Reviewing the research questions

The key objectives of this study involved an assessment of both the risk and the protective factors that uniquely predicted delinquent peer group and/or gang membership amongst the sample.

Question 1- How do young people's perceptions of their families, their schools, their peer groups, and their communities influence their propensity to join delinquent peer groups and/or gangs?

It was postulated that the perception of accumulated risk that *the have-nots* (Factor 2) reported, particularly in relation to their disadvantaged socioeconomic situation, low school attachment, truant behaviour, and their use of both alcohol and cannabis, fostered a sense of vulnerability and led to their identification with substance-using peer groups.

*The delinquents (*Factor 5) were identified as the having the highest rates of gang membership, antisocial behaviour and criminality. Perceiving significant risk across at least three domains, *the delinquents* reported unstable family backgrounds and broken homes with high rates of family gang-membership. They also reported delinquent siblings, low parental education, and perceptions of family financial stress, all of which contributed towards an accumulation of risk.

In general, perceptions of prosocial family environments were considered to serve as a protective function, and were associated with reduced rates of delinquent peer group and/or gang membership. However the accumulation of low SES, financial stressors and living within marginalized communities was associated with identifying with substance-using peer groups. Involvement with antisocial peers, particularly gangs, was associated with elevated substance use, and pointed to social identity formation through the use of these substances (i.e. 'Team Lean').

Question 2 – What demographic variables put young people at risk of substance use, delinquency and gang membership?

A comparison of the demographics across the factors revealed no significant differences across age or race. With regards to gender however, it was noteworthy that the initial gender breakdown comprised a majority of female respondents (70%), whereas after extracting factors, the gender representation had shifted to a majority male (60%) representation. This indicated greater adherence to the significant statements by the males respondents, from which we can deduce that greater

homogeneity exists amongst the male social groups represented within the five factors (Kidder & Stewart, 1975; Tajfel, 1970).

With regards to the respondents' living situation, it was noted that the highest degrees of delinquency were evident amongst Factor 5 (*The Delinquents*), who also reported the highest rate of living with someone other than their biological families. Whilst it is important to remain cautious when interpreting causality between these two factors, a simple observation of the risk factors reported by *The Delinquents* revealed the highest risk emanating from the Family domain.

Lastly, based on reports of access to hot water, electricity and three meals per day, which we considered to be a basic measure of socioeconomic status (SES), it was noted that Factor 2 (*The Have-Nots*) represented the most disadvantaged group. This group also indicated low school attachment, truant behaviour, and prevalent use of both alcohol and cannabis. It is was postulated therefore, that that, amongst other risk factors, low SES contributes towards the likelihood of substance use and/or abuse (Eggert & Herting, 1991).

Question 3 - What are the primary psychosocial and developmental influences that result in young people using substances and joining delinquent peer groups and/or gangs?

A comparison of risk across the five domains revealed that the family was the most influential component of psychosocial development, which influenced identify formation, and thus decision making (*individual characteristics* domain). Whilst the school was considered third most influential, this was generally positive and protective. Peer groups were identified as the fourth most influential, but the likelihood of the effects of homogenization was believed to hinder the ability to recognize and thus acknowledge the reality of peer influence. And lastly, the community was deemed least influential, with the exception of *the delinquents* who identified neighbourhood drug use and arrest rates, which evidenced strong community risk in this case.

7.2 Concluding Thoughts

The Wentworth area of Durban, South Africa has a history of violence, crime and drug trafficking, much of which has been associated with gangs that operate in the area. Parents and teachers are concerned for their children's safety and about the influences these gangs have on luring young people towards a life of crime. It seems that adolescents are increasingly at risk of getting involved in gangs and substance use, especially in the more marginalized areas of Wentworth.

Numerous researchers have tried to identify the reasons why young people join gangs and become criminal. These studies have led to the identification of a number risk factors, such as broken homes, family instability, poverty, living in marginalized communities, neighbourhood criminality, and peer pressure. Depending on the context, and on the nature of the relationships between the individual and his or her family, friends, school and community, these risk factors differ in how much influence they have on the individual.

For instance, as is the case for *the delinquents* (Factor 5), low parental education and family financial stress sustained the marginalization of these families. Existing neighbourhood drug use and criminality had already fostered a subculture of gangsterism within these communities, which negatively impacted on family functioning. These disruptions exposed *the delinquents* to ongoing antisocial behaviour from a young age within the community. Without the stability and protection of the family, there was a natural tendency towards peer group identification and susceptibility of community influences, and thus the likelihood of sliding into gangsterism, crime and substance use was inexorable.

This example highlights the need for an ecological understanding of childhood and adolescent development, and points out how social and environmental influences do not operate in isolation, but instead interact with bidirectional reciprocity. The accumulation of the effects of disadvantage across a range of risk factors therefore increases stress, insecurity, and subsequent delinquency.

7.3 Suggestion for future research

In closing, this paper aimed to enhance the current body of knowledge of the causality of adolescent delinquency, substance use, and gangs by examining the influence of key environmental domains. Findings suggest that there is no one-type-fits-all predictor of teenage behaviour, but instead a continuous and bidirectional influence across all the domains. Intervention programmes to curb antisocial behaviour would be wise to address the issue broadly, focusing on the family, the school, peer groups, and community environments. More specifically, emphasis should be placed on the influences and availability of substances within schools, the prevalence of gang members within family units, antisocial neighbourhood environments, and of course the management of delinquent adolescent peers groups.

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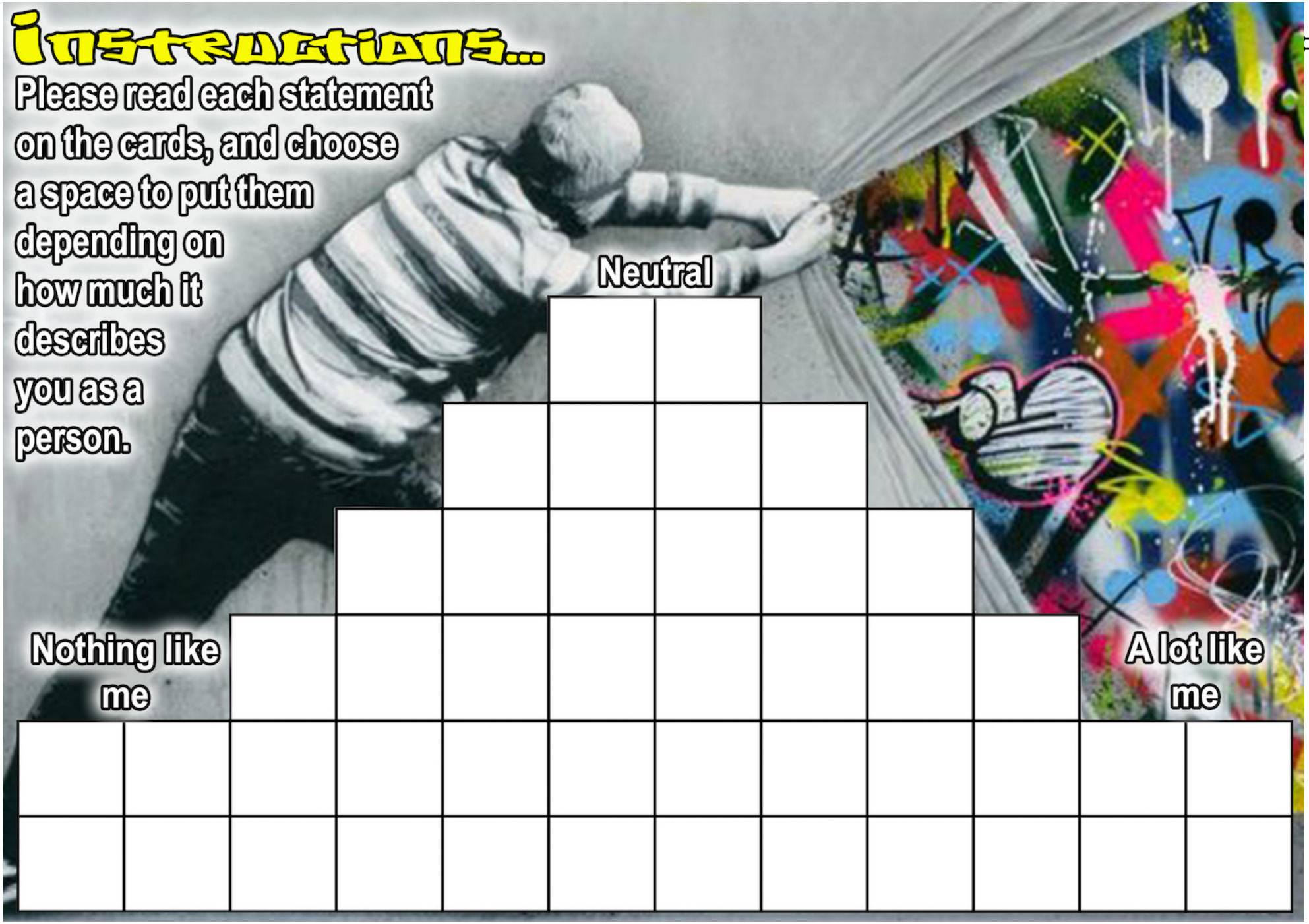
Statements about the Community or Neighbourhood	Community or neighbourhood risk factors
I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	Availability of or perceived access to drugs (Hill, Howell, Hawkins, & Battin-Pearson, 1999)
Many people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	Community arrest rate (Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, Smith, & Tobin, 2003)
I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	Feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood (Kosterman et al., 1996)
I don't like living in my neighbourhood	Low neighborhood attachment (Hill et al., 1999)
Many people in my area are wealthy	Neighborhood residents in poverty or family poverty (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
Many people living my neighbourhood use drugs	Neighborhood drug use (Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
If I wanted to get hold of a gun, I could	Availability of firearms (Bjerregaard & Lizotte, 1995; Lizotte, Krohn, Howell, Tobin, & Howard, 2000; Lizotte, Tesoriero, Thornberry, & Krohn, 1994; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
Statements about the Family	**Family risk factors**
My family worry about money a lot	Family poverty (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I have had a very stable family life	Family transitions (Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)b
My family has lots of money	Family financial stress (Eitle, Gunkel, & Gundy, 2004)
My brother (or sister) never gets into any trouble	Sibling antisocial behavior (Hill et al., 1999)
I am very close to the people I live with	Low attachment to parents or family (Eitle et al., 2004; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I am very close to my father	Low attachment to parents or family (Eitle et al., 2004; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I am very close to my mother	Low attachment to parents or family (Eitle et al., 2004; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
My family sometimes treats me badly	Child maltreatment (Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
Sometimes I get physically punished (hit) by my family	Child maltreatment (Hirschi, 1969; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
My parents have a good education	Low parent education level (Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself	Parent proviolent attitudes (Hill et al., 1999)
My family don't really care what I do	Family management: low parent supervision, control, or monitoring (Hill et al., 1999; Lahey, Gordon, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Farrington, 1999c; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
Statements about the School	**School risk factors**
I got good marks in Junior school	Low achievement in elementary school (Craig, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 2002; Hill et al., 1999)
I think my teachers like me a lot	Negative labeling by teachers (as either bad or disturbed) (Esbensen, Huizinga, & Weiher, 1993)
Getting marks at school is really important to me	Low academic aspirations (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I often get bored at school	Low school attachment (Hill et al., 1999)
I have a lot of respect for my teachers	Low attachment to teachers (Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
My parents hope I'll go to college or university some day	Low parent college expectations for participant (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)

Statements about Peer groups	Peer group risk factors
Being involved in a gang keeps you safe	Danger from gang violence (Melde, Taylor and Esbensen, 2009)
My friends often get into fights	Association with aggressive peers (Craig et al., 2002; Lahey et al., 1999c)
I consider my friends to be my real family	Over-identification with peers (Kidder and Stewart, 1975)
Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	Aggression or fighting (Craig et al., 2002; Lahey et al., 1999c)
The people in my group respect me	Association with aggressive peers (Craig et al., 2002; Lahey et al., 1999c)
I have been threatened by people in gangs	Danger from gang violence (Melde, Taylor and Esbensen, 2009)
I'm not a comber spy (I wouldn't rat on anyone)	Association with aggressive peers (Craig et al., 2002; Lahey et al., 1999c)
My group of friends like to protect our territory	Danger from gang violence (Melde, Taylor and Esbensen, 2009)
There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	Over-identification with peers (Kidder and Stewart, 1975)
My friends never get into trouble	Association with peers who engage in delinquency or other problem behaviors (Bjerregaard & Lizotte, 1995; Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Eitle et al., 2004; Hill et al., 1999; Lahey et al., 1999c)

Statements about the Individual	Individual risk factors
I've witnessed a lot of violence in my life	Violence involvement (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I hardly ever get into trouble	General delinquency involvement (Curry, 2000; Hill et al., 1999; Esbensen & Huizinga, 1993)
I am sexually active	Early sexual debut (Armour and Haynie, 2007)
I don't respect the law	Antisocial or delinquent beliefs (Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003)
I love my school	Hyperactive (Craig et al., 2002; Hill et al., 1999)
Sometimes I smoke weed	Early marijuana use and early drinking (Hill et al., 1999)
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	Use of opioids (Dada et al., 2015; Mattoo et al., 1997)
Sometimes I drink alcohol	Early marijuana use and early drinking (Hill et al., 1999)
Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	Alcohol or drug use (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry, Krohn, et al., 2003; Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, & Chard-Wierschem, 1993)


Instructions...
Please read each statement on the cards, and choose a space to put them depending on how much it describes you as a person.
Neutral
Nothing like me
A lot like me

Appendix C

Information sheet

Age

How old are you?

How old is your father?

How old is your mother?

Are you?: (tick box)

Male ☐ **Female** ☐

Do you have a disability? (tick box)

Yes ☐ **No** ☐ **Prefer Not to Say** ☐

Ethnic Origin

Please say to which of these groups you belong (tick box)

- **Black African** ☐
- **Coloured (mixed race)** ☐
- **White** ☐
- **Indian** ☐
- **Other** ☐
- **Prefer not to say** ☐
- **None of these** ☐
- **If Other or None of These, please state** ☐

Living situation

Who do you currently live with?:

- **Mother only** ☐
- **Father only** ☐
- **Mother and father** ☐
- **Another relative** ☐
- **Foster carer** ☐
- **Other (please state below)** ☐

Which area do you live in ?

Please provide the name of your neighbourhood…

Please describe your home and lifestyle:

	Yes	Sometimes	No
We have access to hot water	☐	☐	☐
We have access to electricity	☐	☐	☐
I eat three meals a day	☐	☐	☐
I have my own private bed room	☐	☐	☐
I can afford school clothes	☐	☐	☐

What year are you in?

Grade 7 ☐ **Grade 8** ☐ **Grade 9** ☐ **Grade 10** ☐ **Grade 11** ☐ **Grade 12** ☐

Have you ever?

Been expelled from school ? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Committed a crime ? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Been convicted on an offence ? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Been in custody ? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Bunked or Ducked out from school? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Been involved in a gang? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Are any of your family members involved in a gang? **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Any other comments ….

Thank you for taking the time to complete this page.

Now please begin sorting the *Statement Cards* you have been given onto the triangular graph.

Appendix D

Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences
PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

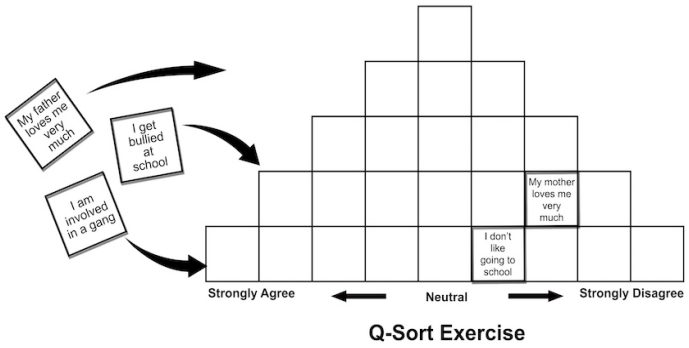
April 2017

Dear Education Department representative,

Request for Education Departmental approval to conduct research at [redacted] and [redacted] Secondary Schools through the University of KwaZulu Natal

In collaboration with the University of KwaZulu Natal, I am conducting research that explores the interpersonal relationships amongst school students, (primarily addressing friendships and peer groups) and how these relate to their potential involvement in anti-social behaviour.

The research will be educative, and will benefit participants by raising awareness in workshop scenarios. Each participant will be given a simple exercise that involves sorting a series of statement-cards in an order that best represents their opinions and feelings.



Q-Sort Exercise

Participation in the research is voluntary and informed consent will be gained from each participant. None of the participant's names will be made public, nor will the research refer to any participant using their real name. The results will remain confidential, however the school and the Education Department may request a copy.

The data-gathering phase (school intervention) is expected to take place in the second school term of 2017. Please sign below to provide Education Departmental consent:

_____ (name) _____(designation)

_____ (signature) _____(date)

For more information, please don't hesitate to contact me in person. Alternatively you may also contact Professor Duncan Cartwright who will be supervising this Project. Duncan can be contacted by phone on 084 097 8229 or emailed on cartwrightd@ukzn.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Neil Clayton
(Psychology Masters Student || Tel. 081 305 7787 || Email neil@amapondo.co.za)

Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences
PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

March 2017

Dear Mr Seidle,

Request for approval to conduct research at [redacted] Secondary School

In collaboration with the University of KwaZulu Natal, I am conducting research that explores the interpersonal relationships amongst school students, (primarily addressing friendships and peer groups) and how these relate to their potential involvement in anti-social behaviour.

Each participant will be given a simple exercise that involves arranging a series of statement-cards in an order that best represents their opinions and feelings.

Participation in the research is voluntary and informed consent will be gained from each participant. None of the participant's names will be made public, nor will the research refer to any participant using their real name. The results will remain confidential, however the school may request a copy.

The data-gathering phase (school intervention) is expected to take place in the second school term of 2017. Please sign below to consent to this research being carried out within [redacted] Secondary School.

_____ (name) _____(designation)

_____ (signature) _____(date)

For more information, please don't hesitate to contact me in person. Alternatively you may also contact Professor Duncan Cartwright who will be supervising this Project. Duncan can be contacted by phone on 084 097 8229 or emailed on cartwrightd@ukzn.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Neil Clayton
(Psychology Masters Student || Tel. 081 305 7787 || Email neil@amapondo.co.za)

Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences
PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

March 2017

Dear Mr Ravishanker,

Request for approval to conduct research at [redacted] Secondary School

In collaboration with the University of KwaZulu Natal, I am conducting research that explores the interpersonal relationships amongst school students, (primarily addressing friendships and peer groups) and how these relate to their potential involvement in anti-social behaviour.

The Life Orientation periods have been allocated for the exercises in which each participant will be given a simple exercise that involves arranging a series of statement-cards in an order that best represents their opinions and feelings. This survey lends itself to the school syllabus and is considered a useful way of educating and raising awareness around the reality of peer-related anti-social behaviour. Two of the Life Orientation sessions will be used to conduct the survey.

Participation in the research is voluntary and informed consent will be gained from each participant. None of the participant's names will be made public, nor will the research refer to any participant using their real name. The results will remain confidential, however the school may request a copy.

The data-gathering phase (school intervention) is expected to take place in the second school term of 2017. Please sign below to consent to this research being carried out within [redacted] Secondary School.

_____ (name) _____(designation)

_____ (signature) _____(date)

For more information, please don't hesitate to contact me in person. Alternatively you may also contact Professor Duncan Cartwright who will be supervising this Project. Duncan can be contacted by phone on 084 097 8229 or emailed on cartwrightd@ukzn.ac.za.

Yours sincerely,

Neil Clayton
(Psychology Masters Student || Tel. 081 305 7787 || Email neil@amapondo.co.za)

Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences
PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

JULY 2017

LIFE ORIENTATION

As part of your Life Orientation lesson, you are invited to take part in a research study to find out more about how young people living in Wentworth relate to their peers. This research is important because many young people are very affected by peer groups and relationships.

If you agree to take part you will be supported to do a task, which involves sorting a group of statements onto a table so that it best represents your feelings. The task should take about 30 minutes. The results will be kept completely confidential, and you do not have to put your name anywhere on any of the forms.

There is no cost or disadvantage to getting involved in this research but it may be a fun educational exercise.

The task requires your honesty. Please remember that this is not a test with right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your truthful answers.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you do not have to take part if you don't want to. You may also withdraw at any time if you do not wish to continue.

If you agree to take part, please sign below stating that you understand what the research is about and that you agree to take part. Please remember that when signing below, we will not match your form up with the answers you provide in the task.

_____

(please sign here)

Thank you for your time and participation

Psychology, School of Applied Human Sciences
PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN 4041, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL: +27 (0)31 260 2527 FAX: +27 (0)31 260 2618.

JULY 2017

Dear Parent,

Request for your child to participate in a life-orientation session at school

In collaboration with the University of KwaZulu Natal, I am conducting research that explores the interpersonal relationships amongst school students, (primarily addressing friendships and peer groups) and how these relate to their potential involvement in anti-social behaviour.

During the life-orientation class, participants will be given a simple exercise that involves arranging a series of statement-cards in an order that best represents their opinions and feelings.

Participation in the research is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw at any time. Informed consent will be gained from each participant prior to the study. None of the participant's names will be made public, nor will the research refer to any participant using their name.

The sessions are expected to take place in the second school term of 2017. Please sign below to consent to your child being involved in this research.

_____ (name) _____(designation)

_____ (signature) _____(date)

Yours sincerely,

Neil Clayton
(Psychology Masters Student || Tel. 081 305 7787 || Email neil@amapondo.co.za)

Appendix E

	FACTORS													
Q sort	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**		**6**		**7**	
1FV	0.22		0.20		0.08		**0.47**	**X**	-0.02		0.08		0.28	
2FV	0.04		0.30		-0.07		-0.04		**0.63**	**X**	-0.08		0.06	
3FV	-0.17		0.06		-0.03		0.01		**0.50**	**X**	0.37		0.14	
4FV	0.13		0.28		0.13		0.18		0.30		0.28		0.27	
5FV	0.08		0.23		0.47		0.13		0.19		0.18		-0.37	
6FV	-0.17		-0.21		0.12		0.50		0.36		0.14		0.12	
7FV	0.39		0.33		-0.07		0.06		0.25		0.08		-0.05	
8FV	**0.77**	**X**	0.21		0.14		0.15		0.03		0.08		0.09	
9FV	0.36		0.37		0.17		0.24		0.11		0.03		-0.02	
10FV	0.07		**0.53**	**X**	0.26		-0.03		0.15		0.01		0.03	
11FV	0.31		0.15		0.24		0.44		0.08		0.15		0.24	
12FV	0.24		0.10		0.08		0.28		0.08		**0.48**	**X**	0.07	
13FV	-0.10		0.11		0.31		-0.11		**0.54**	**X**	0.15		0.02	
14FV	-0.02		0.20		**0.50**	**X**	0.10		0.23		0.30		0.00	
15FV	0.11		0.35		0.00		0.01		0.46		0.16		0.25	
16FV	0.17		0.02		0.18		**0.48**	**X**	0.38		-0.05		0.10	
17FV	0.42		0.23		0.05		0.08		0.32		0.39		-0.16	
18FV	0.45		0.10		0.16		0.49		0.11		0.04		-0.08	
19FV	**0.69**	**X**	0.27		0.14		0.00		0.02		0.27		-0.07	
20FV	0.09		0.04		-0.04		**0.49**	**X**	0.21		-0.15		-0.06	
21FV	**0.52**	**X**	0.13		0.44		0.09		0.12		0.10		0.05	
22FV	0.20		0.28		0.45		0.49		0.00		0.31		0.08	
23FV	-0.03		**0.60**	**X**	-0.01		0.11		0.45		0.11		-0.08	
24FV	0.23		0.36		**0.56**	**X**	0.25		0.21		0.09		0.15	
25FV	0.37		0.19		0.13		0.35		0.23		-0.14		0.19	
26FV	0.30		0.23		0.20		**0.49**	**X**	0.01		0.05		0.09	
27FV	**0.66**	**X**	-0.09		0.53		0.08		0.07		-0.09		-0.05	
28FV	0.47		0.43		0.02		0.21		0.03		-0.07		-0.03	
29FV	0.13		**0.67**	**X**	0.17		0.01		-0.14		0.05		0.05	
30FV	0.50		-0.16		0.09		-0.17		0.46		0.24		0.31	
31FV	0.11		0.11		0.09		-0.01		0.32		0.27		0.31	
32FV	0.35		-0.13		0.17		0.11		0.05		0.37		0.05	
33FV	**0.56**	**X**	0.18		0.30		0.28		0.28		0.07		-0.09	
34FV	0.06		-0.04		0.14		0.15		**0.48**	**X**	0.06		0.04	
35FV	0.46		-0.08		0.47		0.05		0.43		0.03		0.16	
1UM	0.13		**0.53**	**X**	0.07		0.19		0.05		0.04		-0.22	
2UM	0.07		0.33		0.25		0.00		0.26		-0.03		0.14	
3UM	0.16		0.10		0.03		-0.01		0.37		0.44		-0.26	
4UM	0.47		0.27		0.24		0.22		-0.18		0.35		0.10	
5UM	**-0.51**	**X**	0.04		0.24		0.05		0.19		-0.16		0.08	
7UM	0.01		-0.06		0.17		0.33		0.19		-0.10		0.28	
9UM	0.12		**0.50**	**X**	0.16		0.10		0.23		0.14		-0.12	
10UM	0.22		**0.59**	**X**	0.00		-0.12		0.01		0.29		-0.13	
11UM	**0.65**	**X**	0.19		0.18		-0.08		0.11		0.00		-0.07	
13UM	0.23		-0.07		0.28		-0.13		0.38		0.15		-0.23	
14UM	-0.09		0.08		0.26		0.02		0.16		-0.13		-0.13	

16UM	0.32		0.38		0.16		0.28		0.16		0.28		-0.23
17UM	0.38		0.25		0.07		-0.34		-0.06		0.15		-0.06
18UM	0.23		0.16		0.26		-0.36		0.15		**0.67**	**X**	0.05
19UM	0.06		0.12		**0.50**	**X**	-0.10		0.13		0.13		0.17
22UM	0.31		0.18		**0.66**	**X**	0.02		0.07		0.34		-0.01
23UM	0.00		-0.05		0.07		0.14		**0.40**	**X**	0.14		-0.08
6UMZ	0.38		0.08		0.12		0.36		0.18		-0.06		-0.14
8UMZ	0.37		0.05		0.26		-0.03		0.11		0.01		**0.52** **X**
10UMZ	0.37		0.25		0.26		0.42		0.11		0.36		0.25
11UMZ	0.01		0.02		0.02		0.17		0.04		-0.16		**0.44** **X**
12UMZ	**0.73**	**X**	-0.06		0.33		-0.09		0.17		0.11		0.13
13UMZ	**0.70**	**X**	0.29		0.04		0.28		0.17		0.31		-0.08
14UMZ	0.31		0.09		0.20		0.33		-0.07		0.31		0.21
15UMZ	0.23		-0.01		**0.67**	**X**	0.21		0.17		-0.06		0.01
16UMZ	-0.23		0.21		0.06		0.12		0.26		0.26		-0.25
17UMZ	**0.65**	**X**	-0.03		0.23		0.36		-0.15		0.17		0.01
18UMZ	0.02		0.21		0.14		0.01		0.10		**0.49**	**X**	-0.04
19UMZ	0.46		-0.03		0.45		0.08		0.25		0.06		0.16
21UMZ	0.24		**0.60**	**X**	0.16		0.32		-0.08		0.33		0.09
25UMZ	0.44		-0.09		0.25		0.14		0.38		0.10		0.39
26UMZ	**0.65**	**X**	0.26		0.14		0.00		0.04		0.08		0.18
27UMZ	0.28		0.39		0.45		-0.05		0.07		0.00		0.07
28UMZ	0.37		0.42		-0.08		0.11		0.22		0.44		-0.17
29UMZ	-0.05		0.23		0.47		0.13		0.12		0.39		-0.06
30UMZ	0.59		0.03		0.11		0.43		0.23		0.28		-0.17
31UMZ	0.29		0.25		0.18		0.19		0.34		0.51		0.14
32UMZ	**0.55**	**X**	0.03		0.24		0.14		-0.02		0.41		0.11
33UMZ	0.17		0.04		0.07		**0.60**	**X**	-0.13		0.18		0.08
34UMZ	0.22		0.27		0.35		0.06		-0.11		0.14		0.34
35UMZ	0.09		-0.19		-0.19		0.00		0.13		0.02		**0.38** **X**
36UMZ	**0.74**	**X**	0.23		0.22		0.23		0.11		0.09		0.01
37UMZ	**0.53**	**X**	0.37		0.15		0.22		-0.04		0.08		-0.02
38UMZ	0.42		0.12		0.31		0.18		0.14		0.20		0.26
39UMZ	0.30		0.52		-0.10		0.22		0.17		0.47		0.07
40UMZ	0.21		0.25		**0.59**	**X**	0.06		0.11		-0.13		0.03
42UMZ	0.32		0.01		0.35		0.20		-0.29		0.12		-0.11
43UMZ	**0.62**	**X**	0.02		0.07		-0.08		0.06		0.47		-0.21
44UMZ	**0.64**	**X**	0.12		0.11		0.02		0.13		0.16		0.05
45UMZ	0.38		0.02		0.31		0.12		0.50		-0.01		0.24
46UMZ	**0.64**	**X**	0.18		0.10		0.27		0.21		0.07		-0.13
47UMZ	-0.25		0.18		0.14		0.01		0.21		0.26		0.39
48UMZ	**0.50**	**X**	0.08		0.12		0.33		-0.08		0.17		-0.16
49UMZ	0.16		0.11		0.32		0.15		**0.66**	**X**	-0.02		0.00
far2	0.27		0.09		**0.64**	**X**	0.21		0.10		0.10		0.05
far3	**0.55**	**X**	0.30		0.00		0.18		-0.06		0.18		0.18
far4	0.34		0.05		-0.01		0.21		0.11		-0.39		0.23
far5	0.53		-0.30		0.23		0.14		0.11		0.30		-0.18
far6	**0.65**	**X**	0.25		0.24		0.19		-0.30		0.12		0.01

far7	0.36		-0.04		0.44		0.32		0.21		-0.01		-0.06	
far8	0.44		0.02		**0.60**	**X**	0.16		-0.04		0.07		0.01	
far9	0.42		-0.05		0.46		0.04		0.38		0.28		0.02	
far10	0.08		0.23		-0.12		**0.34**	**X**	0.02		0.19		-0.01	
far11	0.41		0.19		0.19		0.22		0.50		-0.02		-0.08	
far12	0.29		0.00		**0.57**	**X**	-0.01		-0.14		0.32		0.04	
far13	**0.72**	**X**	0.00		0.03		0.00		0.06		0.11		0.35	
far14	0.37		-0.06		0.29		0.15		0.27		0.10		0.11	
far15	-0.29		-0.14		0.01		-0.14		0.08		-0.36		0.19	
far16	0.24		0.03		**0.50**	**X**	0.00		0.09		0.38		-0.08	
far17	**0.83**	**X**	0.01		0.06		-0.08		0.02		0.04		0.23	
far18	**0.76**	**X**	0.14		0.19		0.05		0.11		0.03		0.22	
far19	0.28		-0.08		0.23		0.11		0.12		0.33		-0.14	
far20	**0.83**	**X**	0.19		0.18		0.22		-0.03		0.16		0.09	
far21	**0.72**	**X**	0.23		0.13		0.04		0.05		-0.11		0.21	
far22	0.09		-0.12		-0.05		0.08		-0.07		-0.11		**0.51**	**X**
far23	0.04		0.31		0.31		0.17		0.27		-0.04		-0.09	
far24	**0.72**	**X**	0.36		0.15		0.27		0.01		-0.03		0.07	
far25	0.04		**0.27**	**X**	0.12		-0.06		-0.19		0.07		0.12	
far26	0.32		0.24		0.34		0.29		-0.21		0.10		-0.09	
far27	**0.47**	**X**	-0.09		0.07		0.22		0.15		-0.01		0.05	
far28	**0.69**	**X**	0.10		0.20		0.21		0.07		0.01		-0.14	
far29	**0.65**	**X**	0.01		0.14		0.07		-0.10		0.01		0.30	
%Explained Variance	**17%**		**6%**		**7%**		**5%**		**5%**		**5%**		**3%**	

Factor Matrix with Defining Sorts 'X'

Statement	factor 1		factor 2		factor 3		factor 4		factor 5		factor 6		factor 7	
	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank	Z-score	Rank
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	-1.2	37	1.6	5	-0.1	25	1.78	2	0.64	14	0.48	13	-0.1	24
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1.3	38	-0.9	37	-1.1	39	-1	38	1.75	1	0.11	19	-1	36
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	-1.6	43	2.36	1	-0.8	34	-1.7	42	1.17	7	1.29	6	-0.8	34
4 I dont respect the law	-1.1	35	-1.1	41	-1.6	41	-0.9	35	0.38	19	-0.1	23	1.35	5
5 I am very close to my mother	2.08	1	1.61	4	1.87	1	-0.3	26	0.99	10	1.97	1	-1.9	44
6 I am very close to my father	1.54	2	2.26	2	-2.2	44	1.33	4	-0.8	34	-1.3	41	-0.6	31
7 I love my school	0.95	10	-1.8	43	0.18	17	0.41	17	-0.9	35	-0.5	29	0.66	10
8 I often get bored at school	0.09	20	-0.1	18	-0.3	29	0.63	13	0.08	20	1.28	7	0.45	14
9 My friends often get into fights	-0.7	31	-0.9	38	-1.1	38	-0.8	34	-1.1	37	1.06	10	-1.4	41
10 My friends never get into trouble	0.09	21	-0.5	30	-0.3	30	0.26	18	-0.7	30	-1	37	-0.7	33
11 My family have lots of money	0.44	15	0.35	16	-0.1	24	-0.9	36	-1.1	36	1.28	8	-0.1	25
12 My family worry about money alot	-0.2	27	-1.3	42	0.01	20	0.67	12	1.42	4	-0.9	34	-0.2	27
13 My family dont really care what I do	-1.6	42	-1.9	44	-1.7	43	-0.3	28	-1.4	42	-1	36	-0.5	30
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-1.4	41	-0.6	34	-1.6	42	-0.2	24	-0.1	22	-0.8	32	0.77	9
15 My parents have a good education	1.11	8	0.47	15	0.31	16	-0.2	25	-1.2	39	1.39	5	0.65	11
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	-0.3	29	-0.8	36	-0	23	0.73	11	-0.5	27	0	21	-0	22
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1.3	40	-0.6	31	-0.2	26	-1.7	43	-0.7	31	-0.5	30	-0.3	29
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1.3	39	-0.7	35	-0.8	35	-1.1	39	-1.2	38	-1.2	39	-0.9	35
19 The people in my group respect me	0.52	14	-0.3	25	0.63	13	0.49	16	-0.1	21	-0.1	22	0.31	18
20 I am sexually active	-1.8	44	0.55	11	0.14	18	-1.3	40	-1.7	44	-1.3	42	-1.3	40
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	0.68	11	-0.2	20	0.64	12	-1	37	-0.7	32	0.35	15	0.12	21
22 I have had a very stable family life	1.25	6	0.7	9	0.59	14	0.59	15	-0.6	28	1.52	4	-1.1	38
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	0.38	17	-0.1	19	-0.3	27	-0.1	23	-0.5	26	-0.4	27	-0.2	26
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	-0	24	-0.2	21	-0	22	0.19	20	1.14	9	-1.5	43	-1.2	39
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	-0.1	26	-0.4	27	-1	37	0.9	9	-1.3	40	0.35	14	0.19	20
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	0.6	13	-0.6	33	-1	36	-2.3	44	-0.7	33	-1.8	44	1.72	2
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1.1	36	-0.4	28	-0.5	32	-0.7	32	-1.6	43	-0.9	35	-0.3	28
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	0.63	12	0.5	14	1	9	0.81	10	0.66	13	0.13	17	0.42	16

29 I am very close to the people I live with	1.28	5	0.5	12	1.2	6	0.6	14	0.53	16	1.72	3	0.27	19
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1.22	7	0.5	13	1.42	5	0.23	19	0.53	17	0.11	18	1.29	7
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1.1	9	1.86	3	1.76	3	1.26	6	1.45	3	0.82	12	0.39	17
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	-0.2	28	-0.9	39	0.98	10	-0.5	31	0.95	12	0.32	16	0.56	12
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	0.27	19	-0.2	22	-0.3	31	-0.4	29	-1.4	41	-0.2	26	0.43	15
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	0.38	18	0.79	8	1.44	4	1.79	1	-0.3	25	-1.1	38	-0.6	32
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	-0.8	33	0.59	10	1.02	8	1.69	3	-0.2	23	-0.2	24	0.56	13
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-0.7	32	-1	40	-1.4	40	0.1	22	-0.6	29	-1.3	40	1.41	4
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0.1	25	-0.6	32	0.74	11	-0.3	27	-0.3	24	-0.4	28	-1.5	42
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1.52	3	1.22	7	1.09	7	1.18	7	1.55	2	1.28	9	2.21	1
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	0.41	16	-0.4	26	0	21	1.28	5	0.56	15	-0.8	33	-0.1	23
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1	34	-0.5	29	-0.7	33	-1.4	41	0.99	11	0.09	20	-1.8	43
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	0.07	22	-0.3	24	0.01	19	-0.4	30	1.4	5	-0.2	25	1.07	8
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0.05	23	0.32	17	0.51	15	0.17	21	0.52	18	0.83	11	1.29	6
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1.3	4	1.42	6	1.78	2	1.15	8	1.16	8	1.74	2	1.69	3
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0.4	30	-0.2	23	-0.3	28	-0.8	33	1.39	6	-0.6	31	-1.1	37

Factor Scores with Corresponding Ranks

Appendix G

Distinguishing Statements for factor 1

Statement	Z-score
5 I am very close to my mother	2,075
6 I am very close to my father	1,539
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1,521
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,298
29 I am very close to the people I live with	1,284
22 I have had a very stable family life	1,252
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1,219
15 My parents have a good education	1,113
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1,102
7 I love my school	0,951
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	0,683
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	0,629
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	0,6
19 The people in my group respect me	0,521
11 My family have lots of money	0,442
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	0,412
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	0,383
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	0,377
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	0,268
8 I often get bored at school	0,089
10 My friends never get into trouble	0,087
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	0,067
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,053
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	-0,006
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0,05
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	-0,125
12 My family worry about money alot	-0,156
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	-0,191
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	-0,26
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0,389
9 My friends often get into fights	-0,652
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-0,695
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	-0,748
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1,029
4 I dont respect the law	-1,067
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1,103
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	-1,145
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1,3
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1,314
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1,336
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-1,375
13 My family dont really care what I do	-1,611
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	-1,614
20 I am sexually active	-1,8

Distinguishing Statements for factor 2

Statement	Z-score
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	2,363
6 I am very close to my father	2,259
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1,858
5 I am very close to my mother	1,611
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	1,598
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,415
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1,22
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	0,787
22 I have had a very stable family life	0,695
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	0,592
20 I am sexually active	0,546
29 I am very close to the people I live with	0,504
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	0,501
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	0,498
15 My parents have a good education	0,467
11 My family have lots of money	0,354
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,317
8 I often get bored at school	-0,074
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	-0,128
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	-0,158
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	-0,173
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	-0,2
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0,208
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	-0,32
19 The people in my group respect me	-0,34
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	-0,355
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	-0,356
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-0,424
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-0,49
10 My friends never get into trouble	-0,514
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-0,605
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0,617
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	-0,62
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-0,621
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-0,657
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	-0,829
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-0,923
9 My friends often get into fights	-0,928
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	-0,942
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-1,009
4 I dont respect the law	-1,079
12 My family worry about money alot	-1,343
7 I love my school	-1,792
13 My family dont really care what I do	-1,879

Distinguishing Statements for factor 3

Statement	Z-score
5 I am very close to my mother	1,865
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,784
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1,762
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	1,441
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1,421
29 I am very close to the people I live with	1,202
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1,094
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	1,021
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	1
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	0,98
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	0,737
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	0,641
19 The people in my group respect me	0,631
22 I have had a very stable family life	0,588
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,507
15 My parents have a good education	0,309
7 I love my school	0,177
20 I am sexually active	0,138
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	0,014
12 My family worry about money alot	0,012
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	0
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	-0,019
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	-0,037
11 My family have lots of money	-0,063
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	-0,107
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-0,158
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	-0,251
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0,286
8 I often get bored at school	-0,32
10 My friends never get into trouble	-0,338
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	-0,339
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-0,479
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-0,669
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	-0,81
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-0,822
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	-0,967
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	-1,024
9 My friends often get into fights	-1,131
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1,135
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-1,398
4 I dont respect the law	-1,57
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-1,587
13 My family dont really care what I do	-1,665
6 I am very close to my father	-2,145

Distinguishing Statements for factor 4

Statement	Z-score
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	1,793
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	1,78
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	1,694
6 I am very close to my father	1,332
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	1,279
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1,256
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1,177
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,148
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	0,903
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	0,808
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	0,731
12 My family worry about money alot	0,673
8 I often get bored at school	0,634
29 I am very close to the people I live with	0,602
22 I have had a very stable family life	0,586
19 The people in my group respect me	0,488
7 I love my school	0,406
10 My friends never get into trouble	0,261
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	0,228
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	0,188
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,167
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	0,103
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	-0,132
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-0,15
15 My parents have a good education	-0,197
5 I am very close to my mother	-0,299
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0,324
13 My family dont really care what I do	-0,339
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	-0,374
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	-0,432
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	-0,47
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-0,683
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0,796
9 My friends often get into fights	-0,816
4 I dont respect the law	-0,922
11 My family have lots of money	-0,934
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	-0,983
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1,029
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1,114
20 I am sexually active	-1,246
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1,356
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	-1,69
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1,704
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	-2,248

Distinguishing Statements for factor 5

Statement	Z-score
2 Sometimes I drink Lenazine	1,754
38 I think getting good marks at school is important	1,551
31 I got good marks in Junior school	1,446
12 My family worry about money alot	1,422
41 Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	1,395
44 Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	1,387
3 Sometimes I smoke weed	1,174
43 My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,157
24 I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	1,137
5 I am very close to my mother	0,987
40 I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	0,985
32 Ive witnessed a lot of violence in my life	0,952
28 I consider my friends to be my real family	0,658
1 Sometimes I drink alcohol	0,642
39 There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	0,565
29 I am very close to the people I live with	0,532
30 I have a lot of respect for my teachers	0,532
42 My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,524
4 I dont respect the law	0,378
8 I often get bored at school	0,083
19 The people in my group respect me	-0,045
14 My family sometimes treats me badly	-0,131
35 Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	-0,178
37 Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0,278
34 My family encourage me to stand up for myself	-0,307
23 I think my teachers like me a lot	-0,457
16 Many people in my area are wealthy	-0,493
22 I have had a very stable family life	-0,57
36 Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-0,575
10 My friends never get into trouble	-0,662
17 Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-0,678
21 I hardly ever get into trouble	-0,68
26 I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	-0,699
6 I am very close to my father	-0,765
7 I love my school	-0,868
11 My family have lots of money	-1,087
9 My friends often get into fights	-1,101
18 Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1,199
15 My parents have a good education	-1,211
25 I dont like living in my neighbourhood	-1,271
33 My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	-1,378
13 My family dont really care what I do	-1,382
27 I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1,565
20 I am sexually active	-1,682

DOMAINS OF INFLUENCE	factor 1			factor 2			factor 3			factor 4			factor 5		
	The Mainstreams			The Have-Nots			The Paternal Dissonants			The Law-Abiders			The Delinquents		
Sorted by Statement	**Z-score**	**Rank**	**Risk vs Protect**	**Z-score**	**Rank**	**Risk vs Protect**	**Z-score**	**Rank**	**Risk vs Protect**	**Z-score**	**Rank**	**Risk vs Protect**	**Z-score**	**Rank**	**Risk vs Protect**
Individual Domain															
Sometimes I drink alcohol	-1,2	37	Pro	1,6	5	Risk	-0,1	25		1,8	2	Risk	0,6	14	
Sometimes I drink Lenazine	-1,3	38	Pro	-0,9	37		-1,1	39	Pro	-1	38	Pro	1,8	1	Risk
Sometimes I smoke weed	-1,6	43	Pro	2,4	1	Risk	-0,8	34		-1,7	42	Pro	1,2	7	Risk
I don't respect the law	-1,1	35	Pro	-1,1	41	Pro	-1,6	41	Pro	-0,9	35		0,4	19	
I am sexually active	-1,8	44	Pro	0,6	11		0,1	18		-1,3	40	Pro	-1,7	44	Pro
I hardly ever get into trouble	0,7	11		-0,2	20		0,6	12		-1	37	Risk	-0,7	32	
I've witnessed a lot of violence in my life	-0,2	28		-0,9	39		1	10		-0,5	31		1	12	
RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0 vs 5			2 vs 1			0 vs 2			2 vs 3			2 vs 1
Family Domain															
I am very close to my mother	2,1	1	Pro	1,6	4	Pro	1,9	1	Pro	-0,3	26		1	10	
I am very close to my father	1,5	2	Pro	2,3	2	Pro	-2,2	44	Risk	1,3	4	Pro	-0,8	34	
My family have lots of money	0,4	15		0,4	16		-0,1	24		-0,9	36		-1,1	36	Risk
My family worry about money alot	-0,2	27		-1,3	42	Pro	0	20		0,7	12		1,4	4	Risk
My family don't really care what I do	-1,6	42	Pro	-1,9	44	Pro	-1,7	43	Pro	-0,3	28		-1,4	42	Pro
My family sometimes treats me badly	-1,4	41	Pro	-0,6	34		-1,6	42	Pro	-0,2	24		-0,1	22	
My parents have a good education	1,1	8	Pro	0,5	15		0,3	16		-0,2	25		-1,2	39	Risk
I have had a very stable family life	1,3	6	Pro	0,7	9		0,6	14		0,6	15		-0,6	28	
I am very close to the people I live with	1,3	5	Pro	0,5	12		1,2	6	Pro	0,6	14		0,5	16	
My brother or sister never gets into any trouble	0,3	19		-0,2	22		-0,3	31		-0,4	29		-1,4	41	Risk
My family encourage me to fight to stand up for myself	0,4	18		0,8	8		1,4	4	Pro	1,8	1	Pro	-0,3	25	
Sometimes I get physically hit or punished by my family	-0,7	32		-1	40	Pro	-1,4	40	Pro	0,1	22		-0,6	29	
RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0 vs 7			0 vs 5			1 vs 6			0 vs 2			4 vs 1

School Domain																
I love my school	1	10		-1,8	43	Risk	0,2	17		0,4	17		-0,9	35		
I often get bored at school	0,1	20		-0,1	18		-0,3	29		0,6	13		0,1	20		
I think my teachers like me a lot	0,4	17		-0,1	19		-0,3	27		-0,1	23		-0,5	26		
I have a lot of respect for my teachers	1,2	7	Pro	0,5	13		1,4	5	Pro	0,2	19		0,5	17		
I got good marks in Junior school	1,1	9	Pro	1,9	3	Pro	1,8	3	Pro	1,3	6	Pro	1,5	3	Pro	
I think getting good marks at school is important	1,5	3	Pro	1,2	7	Pro	1,1	7	Pro	1,2	7	Pro	1,6	2	Pro	
My parents hope Ill got to college or uni one day	1,3	4	Pro	1,4	6	Pro	1,8	2	Pro	1,2	8	Pro	1,2	8	Pro	
RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0 vs 4			1 vs 3			0 vs 4			0 vs 3			0 vs 3	
Peer Domain																
My friends often get into fights	-0,7	31		-0,9	38		-1,1	38	Pro	-0,8	34		-1,1	37	Pro	
My friends never get into trouble	0,1	21		-0,5	30		-0,3	30		0,3	18		-0,7	30		
Being in a gang keeps you safe	-1,3	39	Pro	-0,7	35		-0,8	35		-1,1	39	Pro	-1,2	38	Pro	
The people in my group respect me	0,5	14		-0,3	25		0,6	13		0,5	16		-0,1	21		
I consider my friends to be my real family	0,6	12		0,5	14		1	9	Risk	0,8	10		0,7	13		
Sometimes I feel pressured into doing the wrong thing	-0,8	33		0,6	10		1	8	Risk	1,7	3	Risk	-0,2	23		
Sometimes I feel pressured to use illegal drugs	-1,3	40	Pro	-0,6	31		-0,2	26		-1,7	43	Pro	-0,7	31		
Im not a comber spy I wouldnt rat on anyone	-0,1	25		-0,6	32		0,7	11		-0,3	27		-0,3	24		
There is trust and loyalty amongst my group	0,4	16		-0,4	26		0	21		1,3	5	Pro	0,6	15		
My group of friends like to protect our territory	0,1	23		0,3	17		0,5	15		0,2	21		0,5	18		
I have been threatened by people in gangs	-1,1	36	Pro	-0,4	28		-0,5	32		-0,7	32		-1,6	43	Pro	
RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0 vs 3			0 vs 0			2 vs 1			1 vs 3			0 vs 3	
Community Domain																
Many people in my area are wealthy	-0,3	29		-0,8	36		-0	23		0,7	11		-0,5	27		
I always feel safe in my neighbourhood	-0	24		-0,2	21		-0	22		0,2	20		1,1	9	Pro	
I don't like living in my neighbourhood	-0,1	26		-0,4	27		-1	37	Pro	0,9	9		-1,3	40	Pro	
I have no idea how to get hold of illegal drugs	0,6	13		-0,6	33		-1	36		-2,3	44	Risk	-0,7	33		
I wanted to get hold of a gun I could	-1	34	Pro	-0,5	29		-0,7	33		-1,4	41	Pro	1	11		
Many people in my neighbourhood use drugs	0,1	22		-0,3	24		0	19		-0,4	30		1,4	5	Risk	
Many young people in my neighbourhood have been arrested	-0,4	30		-0,2	23		-0,3	28		-0,8	33		1,4	6	Risk	
RISK vs PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0 vs 1			0 vs 0			0 vs 1			1 vs 1			2 vs 2	
TOTAL: PROTECTIVE vs RISK FACTORS			0 vs 20			3 vs 9			3 vs 14			4 vs 12			8 vs 10	
TOTAL: RISK AS PERCENTAGE OF PROTECTIVE FACTORS			0%			33%			21%			33%			44%	

Appendix I

Cough medicine alert

Pupils mix syrup with cooldrinks

SE-ANNE RALL

SCHOOL pupils as young as 10 are addicted to a dangerous new craze called "lean parties".

The term originates from rap culture where rappers brag about mixing codeine with various cooldrinks.

The combination is known as "lean" and is usually purple.

Teachers at a Wentworth school told the Daily News they found empty cough-syrup bottles during a clean-up of the school grounds and when they questioned pupils, they made the discovery.

The cough syrup contains codeine, an opiate used to treat pain, as a cough medicine, and for diarrhoea.

A teacher said that while the trend was popular among Grade 7 pupils, those in Grade 5 were also familiar with it.

"They told us there are two kinds of cough syrups that have a higher concentration of codeine and these were the ones they preferred.

"They buy these bottles from a seller in town. There is also another Schedule 2 cough syrup that they use, but I am not sure of that name.

"They mix half the bottle of the syrup with a two-litre cooldrink," the teacher said.

Tracey Williams, founder of Wentworth Angels, conducts drug awareness programmes in the community.

She said she was aware that children were getting one of the cough syrups from spaza shops in the area.

"Pupils are mixing the cough syrup with cold drink and having 'lean parties' at home, in parks and now at school. Teachers and parents are oblivious as the 'cocktail' looks like cooldrink," said Williams.

She explained that codeine was addictive.

"It is extremely dangerous when large amounts are consumed," said Williams.

She said a 13-year-old went into cardiac arrest after consuming the cocktail.

"My message to parents and teachers would be for them to please be vigilant. Know what your children are doing and more importantly, know where they are and who they hang out with," she said.

Williams added that the pharmacies in the area had stopped selling over-the-counter cough syrups to youngsters.

A doctor in the area said cough mixtures could help when treating certain medical conditions. However, they could become dangerous when used in excess of the daily allowed limits.

"The current trend of combining copious amounts of cough mixtures, particularly ones containing codeine and promethazine, together with a cold drink of choice, is extremely risky with multiple side effects.

"Pupils face the risk of going into a coma, suffering from respiratory-related illnesses, cyanosis (turning blue due to lack of oxygen), hypertension, non-reactive pupils and convulsions," said Dr Lana Wilkinson.

Wilkinson added the danger of prolonged consumption of the cocktail could lead to a dependence on codeine, which is an opiate similar to morphine.

Adeshini Naicker, operations manager at Childline KZN, said many young people used this concoction because it was cheaper than alcohol.

"Young people do not understand the dangers of the misuse of the medicine's high codeine content.

Codeine

"Codeine is South Africa's most abused over-the-counter drug, and many consumers are not aware that the seemingly harmless medication they're taking for the flu or for pain relief can be addictive," Naicker said.

"The growing trend is concerning as the usage affects pupils during school sessions.

"Parents need to be extremely vigilant of its use among children and teenagers.

"All parents should be wary of where they store medicines and monitor their usage by their children.

"If you know that your child is misusing medication, as a family you should approach a professional to help your child understand their addiction, and work through it," she said.

Naicker said Childline KZN believed the protection of children was a shared responsibility which required every person to take action.

Women in uniform are expected to parade tomorrow to showcase their skills and abilities in a previously male-dominated environment. About 250 women from the metro police, Fire Department, SANDF, Department of Correctional Services, SAPS, Emergency Medical Services and Road Traffic Inspectorate are expected to participate to mark Women's Month. They will parade down Dr Pixley KaSeme Street to the Durban City Hall in celebration of the important role women play in society. They were pictured yesterday during their dress rehearsal at the DLI Hall in Greyville.

PICTURE: SHELLEY KJONSTAD

Another temple robbery in Durban

ZAINUL DAWOOD

A SECOND temple in Durban has been robbed, this time while language classes were taking place at the Laksmi Narayan Temple in Mobeni Heights.

The incident last night followed a robbery last Monday when the congregation at the Maha Shiv Mandir on Hippo Road in Sea Cow Lake was robbed at gunpoint.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Thulani Zwane said five men walked into the temple in last night's incident and robbed those inside at gunpoint.

They took cellphones, wallets and handbags.

They also took three vehicles which were later recovered in Lamontville.

Shri Luxmi Narayan Temple president Lokesh Maharajh said about 20 students of all ages were attending classes to learn Sanskrit, an Indian language, when the attackers walked in.

"They told learners to sit on the floor and not to look up at them. The robbery was quick and nobody was injured. However, everybody is in a state of shock," he said.

Maharajh said a guard who was on duty was shoved into a corner near the entrance and had a woollen hat pulled over his face.

He said he found it depressing that places of prayer were being targeted by criminals.

Ashwin Trikamjee, president of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, said it was a sad reality that law and order had been diluted to the point where people's safety was threatened in places of workship.

"The long arm of the law needs to re-establish itself if the present state of affairs is going to be halted.

"In the absence of this, it is a sad but harsh reality, that the incidents will continue unabated."

He said that places of worship would now have to consider employing armed security to protect worshippers.

"Religious institutions are soft targets for robbers. Nobody attends services with any kind of threat in mind, security is non-existent for all the right reasons. The robbers clearly see them as soft targets."