THE YOUTH OF ATLANTIS: CAN FOUND YOUTH BE LOST? PROBLEMS, NEEDS AND PSYCHODYNAMICS AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology)
University of Cape Town

September 1994

ABSTRACT

Objective: There is an urgent need to conduct community based research into the issue of youth development in a post-apartheid South Africa. The aim of this study is to explore the problems, needs and experiences of youth in Atlantis using an action research approach. **Method:** A purposive convenience sample of 15 youth between the ages of 12 and 21 were interviewed using semi-structured in-depth interviews (average length 70 minutes). In addition, two focus groups were held. The data were analysed using descriptive analysis and open coding. The descriptive results were fed back at a workshop open to all youth in Atlantis. **Results:** The problems cited most frequently included the lack of recreational facilities, unemployment and family disintegration. These problems were validated at the workshop and a process designed to address the problems was set in motion. Needs identified included the need for a teen-centre and various inter-relational needs. **Conclusions:** Some features of this sample of youth are considered and recommendations for the implementation of results and further research are offered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I offer my gratitude to the following people:

The youth who shared their lives so generously and openly.
The members of the Atlantis Development Forum, the Mamre Community Health Project, and Basil Kivedo who gave so willingly of their time and guidance.

My family, Tony, Adrian and Anthony, and my friends, Anat Yakuel, Jenny Kooy, Karen Morris, Derek Shirley and Gary Koen for their loving and generous support and encouragement at various times during my masters.
My mother, Val, for her unfailing, generosity and love throughout my student days (and for proof reading).
A very special acknowledgement to Suki Jaffee, for her rare understanding and care.

My precious companions, Geordie, Chelsea and Sky for their constant presence.
Carol Richardson, for her kindness and patience.

My final acknowledgement is to, my supervisor, Leslie Swartz, for his enthusiasm, warmth and encouragement. Thank you, Leslie, for so much...

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development is gratefully acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this dissertation and conclusions arrived at, are my own and should not be attributed to the CSD.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF ORGANISATIONS

(if not stated in text of dissertation)

ACS	Association for Christian Students.
ADF	Atlantis Development Forum.
ANC	African National Congress - liberation movement formed in 1912 and unbanned in SA in 1990. In the first ever democratic election in SA held in April 1994, the ANC was elected by the overwhelming majority of SA voters to be the ruling party in the government of national unity (in Atlantis, out of 35 000 voters, approximately 5000 (14%), voted for the ANC; Basil Kivedo, personal communication).
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League.
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry - an independent research and training resource begun in 1986.
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions.
CPA	Cape Provincial Administration.
CT	Cape Town.
CWD	Catholic Welfare and Development - a non- governmental organisation controlled by the Catholic Church. It provides a social service run by social workers and acts as a referral agency for all other welfare organisations in Atlantis.
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa.
FCR	Foundation for Contemporary Research.
JEP	Joint Enrichment Project - founded in 1986 by the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference in response to the alienation of black youth from the education system.
MAMRE PEERS	A group of adolescents being trained as peer counsellors by members of the MCHP.
MCHP	Mamre Community Health Project.
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders.
NP	National Party - party in power in SA from 1948 to 1994 and originally responsible for apartheid policy. Currently, the Western Cape, is the only region where they have an electoral majority. This includes Atlantis and Mamre (Basil Kivedo, personal communication).
NYDCC	National Youth Development Coordinating Committee.

NYDF	National Youth Development Forum.
PEACE VISIONS	A non-governmental initiative focusing on training youth from different cultural backgrounds in conflict resolution skills.
RALI	Race Relations and Leadership Initiative - emerged in 1987 out of the awareness that the SA education system has isolated children of different communities from one another and does not provide education in life skills, social responsibility and career choices. RALI therefore selects adolescents with leadership potential from different communities and provides them with a forum for interaction and learning in these areas. Monthly meetings are held for a period of 8 to 10 months including 2 weekend camps. The projects are sponsored by business organisation in the areas from which the children are chosen. In 1994, a group of teenagers was chosen from schools in Atlantis. It has recently (1994) started to link up with youth organisations in other African countries.
SANCA	South African National Council for Alcohol and Drug Dependence - organisation in which counselling is provided by social workers for people who abuse or depend on drugs or alcohol.
SFC	Social Fabric Commission.
SRC	Student Representative Council - student body elected in schools.
TADA	Teenagers Against Drug Abuse - a SANCA initiative which is offered at schools and involves peer counselling on drugs and alcohol abuse.
UCT	University of Cape Town.
UDP	Urban Development Plan.
UK	United Kingdom.
USA	United States of America.
UWC	University of the Western Cape.
WCRSC	Western Cape Regional Services Council - The community services section employs a Social Worker who coordinates casework, group work and community projects with the aim of improving quality of life.
WHO	World Health Organisation.
YDF	Youth Development Forum.
YOUTH CLUB	Clubs for adolescents which are run by various churches.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"According to me, Atlantis is a sweet place. You will never find a place that is so calm. With its problems or without its problems, this place is nice .. I'm doing my best. I'm not negative. To think about Atlantis as a lost city? It's not. Not to me. It's a city with a lot of problems, that's true. But not lost (youth[1] [footnotes end of ch. 1] from Atlantis, Jan 1994)."

"[N]o adolescent, at any station of his journey, can develop optimally without societal structures standing ready to receive him, offering him that *authentic credibility* with which he can identify or polarize ...the psychic structure of the individual is critically affected, for better or for worse, by the structure of society.. *the successful course of adolescence depends intrinsically on the degree of intactness and cohesion which societal structures obtain* (Blos, 1971, 975 in Kroger, 1989, 75, my emphasis)."

The situation in which children and youth in South Africa find themselves has been identified as a national crisis (Allwood, 1991). Consequently, there has been a growing body of discourse referring to the existence of a 'lost generation[2]' (Bundy, 1993). This label has been applied to youth who have apparently slipped through the cracks of society, live a life of crime and violence (Mokwena, 1992) and embody such notions as a 'culture of violence', 'entitlement' or 'intolerance' (Marais, 1993).

This is seen by many as an exaggerated and oversimplified version of the state of South African youth which is fundamentally incorrect (Sisulu, 1992). What is suggested, however, is that large numbers of youth are 'at risk' for being, or have been, 'marginalised[2]' from society (Everatt & Orkin, 1993) and in a post-apartheid settlement require urgent social and economic intervention (JEP, 1991 in Freeman, 1993). In the past, the need for research concerning children and youth in South Africa was largely neglected (Robertson & Berger, 1994; Wilson & Ramphele, 1989). This study recognises the urgent need for youth development and social reconstruction and is an attempt to contribute to the knowledge required for this process.

The research took place in the town of Atlantis, a town in which significantly large numbers of youth have dropped out of school, are unemployed and/or belong to gangs. As a result of its current social and economic crisis and as a result of its name, Atlantis is often referred to as 'the lost city'.

Background and motivation for this study

This study arose out of research needs that were identified by Atlantis community members with whom I[3] had contact during my placement as clinical psychology intern at the Mamre Community Health Project (MCHP). The MCHP is located in Mamre, a town about 2 kms away from Atlantis. Started in 1986, the MCHP is a collaborative venture by researchers, academics and community members whose purpose is to determine the needs and health status of people in Mamre with the aim of developing appropriate health interventions (Carolissen, 1993). Though the staff at the MCHP at the time of my placement did not have direct contact with 'patients' in Atlantis, increasingly stronger links were being

forged with health workers in Atlantis interested in mental health issues. It was one of these links which led to this research. In brief, I had been invited to a meeting at the Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD) office in Atlantis, by a Regional Services Council creche worker in Mamre, to discuss the idea of starting a 'teen-centre' for adolescents in Atlantis. At this meeting I met the social worker from CWD who invited me to a workshop designed to address the crisis in Atlantis. Out of this workshop emerged my involvement in the Atlantis community and this dissertation.

Aim

Mandated by the community of Atlantis, this *exploratory* study, aims to investigate the problems, needs and experiences of youth in Atlantis.

Objectives

The objectives of this study may be summarised as follows:

1. To highlight the various problems facing youth in South Africa in order to determine the research needed in this area.
2. To gather preliminary information on the problems and needs experienced by youth in a particular context, Atlantis, and to document and feed back this information for further use by the community and the university.
3. To gather and document the ideas which youth have on the establishment of a teen-centre (a centre designed to meet the needs of youth) and to feed this back to the community.
4. To comment on the efficacy and appropriateness of the methodology used in this study and to reflect on my experience as a qualitative researcher.
5. To explore the experiences of the youth sampled in this study.
6. To make recommendations for the implementation of my results.

Outline of the dissertation

Following the introduction (Chapter 1), I have provided a profile of the Atlantis community in order to contextualise the research situation (Chapter 2). This is followed by a review of literature in Chapter 3. I begin with an introduction to the concept of adolescence as a developmental phase which cannot be separated from its context (society). I then focus on the socioeconomic and psychological issues which concern youth in South Africa. The chapter ends with a discussion of certain research recommendations for addressing the problems of youth, namely the need for specific, community-based, dialectical, youth-centred research. These recommendations inform my methods of research which are discussed in Chapter 4. Action research (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985), needs assessment (Innes & Heflinger, 1989) and aspects of the qualitative grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) are outlined in this chapter. The analysis and findings of the study are presented in chapter 5. Chapter 6 will constitute a discussion on the validity of the study. Finally, a discussion of the results which draws on the work of

Erikson (1963, 1968) and a proposed model by Gibson (1993) will constitute Chapter 7. Everatt and Orkin's (1993) study of 'marginalisation' in youth has provided a framework for the discussion.

Notes

1. It is acknowledged that the term "youth" is somewhat complex and laden with meaning of a political rather than a strictly age-related nature (Bundy, 1993; Cullinan, 1993; Seekings, 1993). For the purposes of this paper, however, 'youth' shall refer simply and in the broadest sense to any person between the age of 12 and 30 (Riordan, 1992). 'Adolescence' will refer to those years falling between the onset of puberty and age 20. I use the word childhood loosely to indicate any person falling below the age of 20 years.

2. I acknowledge that the youth themselves reject the concepts 'lost generation' and 'marginalised youth' as products of the ruling class media (Bundy, 1993). I also acknowledge that these terms are socially located concepts and, as such, they are used cautiously and descriptively. Working definition will be provided in chapter 3.

3. The use of the third person will not be used rigorously throughout this dissertation as it creates artificial objectivity and distance between the reader, the text and the researcher (Sless, 1986 in Southey, 1994).

CHAPTER 2: PROFILE OF THE ATLANTIS COMMUNITY

The 'transferability' of qualitative studies necessitates 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973 in Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As such, a profile of the Atlantis community at the time of study (November 1993 to February 1994) is provided.

THE COMMUNITY

Situation

Atlantis is situated on the West Coast 45 kms north of Cape Town and is one of a few small towns in this area surrounded by a semi-arid, sandy landscape with poor agricultural potential. Its closest neighbour, the mission settlement of Mamre, lies less than 5 kms away. To the south, the Koeberg Nuclear Power station lies between Atlantis and Cape Town severely restricting future expansion towards Cape Town (Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR), 1992).

Historical background

Atlantis was created in 1975. Seen at first as part of an overall state strategy of industrial decentralisation to remove people from congested areas, it later became increasingly clear that the development in Atlantis was ideologically inspired (Newton, 1988; FCR, 1992). Consistent with the aims of apartheid (Cullinan, 1992; FCR, 1992) and separate development (Newton, 1988), Atlantis was designed to provide opportunities for employment which would attract 'coloured' labour and so curtail the growth of the 'coloured' community in Cape Town (FCR, 1992).

Demographic information

Atlantis was planned to accommodate half a million people (Ebrahim *et al*, 1986) and provide at least 170 000 jobs. The present population is estimated to be 68 064 (FCR, 1992, 20), 44% of which is under 19 years. Males and females are equally distributed (FCR, 1992). Atlantis provides approximately 15 900 jobs with unemployment estimated to be 46% (2.32% higher than the national average; FCR, 1992, 83). Six towns were originally designed; only one of these has been constructed. Three of its neighbourhood units are complete, the remaining three requiring various community facilities (FCR, 1992).

Community facilities

(i) *Educational facilities*

Atlantis has ten primary schools, four secondary schools and one school of industry (FCR, 1992). Forty two percent of Atlantis residents have completed secondary school. Of the 12792 children attending school in 1992, 3% (383) were in standard 10. The school drop out rate is high. Of 120 pupils starting school, 8 are likely to finish standard 10 (FCR, 1992, 24).

There is a Technical Institute run by the Department of Education and Culture, 13 creches, and an Adult Education Centre.

(ii) *Recreational facilities*

Apart from the facilities offered by schools (4 Rugby fields, 14 Netball fields and 3 sports halls), there are 6 Soccer/Rugby fields, 1 golf course, one netball court and various tennis courts in Atlantis. There is a Sports complex which includes a swimming pool, one hotel, two computer games and pool centres, and seven cafes with computer games. There are two discotheques and no cinema (FCR, 1992).

(iii) *Health and welfare facilities*

Atlantis accommodates one Day Hospital (controlled by the Cape Provincial Administration) and two clinics. Thirty five health practitioners operate in private practice in the community, one of whom is a psychologist (FCR, 1992, 43). There are formal and informal welfare organisations in operation and a ratio of 1 social worker to 3350 residents (FCR, 1992, 45) (the national ratio is 1:5200; Freeman, 1992, 8).

(iv) *General facilities*

There is one temporary police station and a new one under construction. Crime is high. In Cape Town in 1992 there were 245 recorded assaults with intent to do bodily harm. In Atlantis there were 405 (FCR, 1992, 39).

There are three post offices, two libraries and an estimated 14 religious institutions in Atlantis. Churches run various outreach programmes in the community such as creches and soup kitchens (FCR, 1992).

Buses and taxi's transport people between Atlantis and Cape Town. The rail link with Cape Town is used solely for the transportation of goods (FCR, 1992).

THE CRISIS IN ATLANTIS

The inherent weakness in Atlantis as a product of apartheid development has negatively affected its growth. In 1989 the national political crisis, a deepening economic recession, and the restructuring of industrial development subsidies threw Atlantis into a severe crisis (FCR, 1993b).

This was reflected by a failing economy with a loan debt of R250 million, a divided and unrepresentative local government (FCR, 1993a) and social conditions characterised by increased family violence, substance abuse and school drop-out. Though there are many organisations in Atlantis which serve the community, there is distrust amongst them and little democracy within them. There is no organisation which caters specifically for the youth and for the problems which they face as a group (FCR, 1993c)

The Atlantis Development Forum (ADF)

The ADF is a broadly focused local forum. Like most forums, it arose with the acknowledgement that no single group (e.g. capital or labour) was able to mobilise and deliver the resources needed to address the crisis. Working in opposition to one another created a stalemate which intensified the crisis (FCR, 1993b).

In 1991, this stalemate was recognized by community based organisations, trade unions, commerce and industry and the local authorities (FCR, 1992). The ADF, consisting of 23 such organisations, was formed to address the development impasse (FCR, 1993b).

On the advice of the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA), the ADF launched the 'Urban Development Plan' (UDP) which was then advised by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR, 1993b). This plan resulted in the formation of five community based commissions intended to address various aspects of the crisis (additional details of this process are provided in Appendix B).

The Social Fabric Commission (SFC)

The aims of this commission (one of the five mentioned above) may be summarised by their vision statement:

> "The main objective of the commission is to improve the social position of all the Atlantis people. We hope to achieve this by addressing the needs of the people, involving the people in decision making, providing better services, removing barriers and increasing the morale of people in the community" (FCR, 1993c, 3).

The recommendations of this commission were presented at a workshop held in March 1994. At this workshop, the SFC divided into various sub-commissions one of which aimed to conduct a needs assessment in Atlantis. As a participant in the workshop, I became involved in this *research sub-commission*. Further discussion of my involvement in this process appears in chapter 4.

SUMMARY

This profile has highlighted the historical background, geographical isolation and socioeconomic problems of Atlantis. This dissertation will be concerned with the relationship between these problems and the youth in Atlantis. In order to contextualise the problem within the broader South African situation, the following chapter will outline the issues facing youth generally in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA: A GENERATION OF LOSS?

This chapter forms part of my first research objective (see chapter 1); that is, to provide an overview of the various problems facing youth in South Africa and to comment on appropriate ways for conducting the much needed research into these problems. This forms the background to my study.

A brief discussion of adolescence will preface the review.

ADOLESCENCE AS A CONCEPT

The concept of adolescence emerged around the 1900s as a socially constructed life stage marking the transition from childhood to adulthood. In Britain, during the 18th century, children of the 'lower classes' had been introduced early to adulthood whilst the children of the 'upper classes' enjoyed a prolonged dependence on education. The introduction of compulsory education in 1870 fostered a growing recognition of the psychological aspects of childhood. This was accompanied by a fast developing interest in child development in both Europe and America (Parry-Jones, 1994). Twentieth century childhood theories and practices have been influenced largely by the theories of Piaget (1926), Kohlberg (1964), Vygotsky (1962), Werner (1948), Erikson (1959) and the Freuds (all cited in Parry-Jones, 1994).

Psychoanalysts understand adolescence to be a crucial period in character formation in which the adolescent must individuate or disengage from parental internalizations, rework and master psychic trauma sustained during childhood, and establish a sense of ego continuity through time and a sexual identity (Blos, 1967).

In providing a context for this process, Erikson's (1963, 1968) psychosocial developmental theory usefully links psychoanalytic (individualistic) and social approaches. Erikson postulates the negotiating of eight stages in the individual's life. Each stage represents a unique social problem requiring an adaptive resolution. The adolescent conflict focuses on a struggle between identity attainment and role confusion. The conflict is resolved with the formation of an identity which involves the commitment to a specific role. This implies knowing who one is and in what one believes (Germond, 1988). Experimental role playing in areas of sexuality, ideology and leadership characterise this process (Dare, 1985). Later theorists (Kroger, 1989) include age, gender, culture and historical differences as salient identity defining issues (Germond, 1988).

Adolescence is believed by most western theorists to be a stressful stage of life accompanied by doubts, depression, inner conflicts and fears. Consequently, the behaviour of the adolescent is often characterised by hostility, impulsiveness and maladjustment (Van Engeland, 1990). There is much

cultural variation in the symbols and rituals which aid this transformation (Burman, 1988; Rodgers, 1993). It is generally accepted, however, that the adolescent requires familial and societal structures and institutions which are intact and cohesive (Kroger, 1989; Friedman, 1989), in order to facilitate his or her passage into adulthood.

Many of the world's children are not afforded these ideal conditions. In 'less developed' countries, children comprise approximately 50% of the population (Richman, 1993). Many deal with starvation, neglect, disintegration of their family structures, lack of education, ill health (Ennew & Milne, 1989), and political violence (Cohn, 1994; Richman, 1993). As such, they are constructed by the media as passive objects needing assistance and protection; the truth is that most of these children, like their 18th century English counterparts (Parry-Jones, 1994), take on adult responsibilities from an early age (Ennew & Milne, 1989). The recognition of the complexities surrounding notions of childhood has necessitated the exploration of paradigms other than the liberal humanist ethos (Dawes, 1992; Straker, 1989; Swartz & Levett, 1989) from which to understand this phase of life.

A discussion of the social construction of childhood is not intended in this review. Instead, it is noted that the child is continually constructed and defined by culture and psychologists. Simultaneously, the child continually defines him or herself (Kessel, 1983; Walkerdine, 1984).

With its alleged combination of 'first' and 'third world' features (see Sharp, 1988) and its previously entrenched racial segregation, South Africa has produced a unique and problematic environment in which to negotiate the path from childhood to adolescence. A discussion of this follows.

THE ADOLESCENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has a large young population. In 1991 out of a population of 37.7 million (ANC, 1994, 27), 17.5 million were children and adolescents under the age of 19 years. Eighty percent of these children are African, 8.8% white, 8.3% coloured and 2.3% Indian. Seventy five percent of children are under the age of 15 years and 36% under the age of 5 years. The majority (58%) of children live in the largely black areas previously known as 'homelands', with 83% of these children living in rural areas (UNICEF, 1993, 2).

'Marginalisation'

'Marginalisation' is a (controversial) term which is used to refer to the "systematic disempowerment of people (Mokwena, 1992, 43)" which results in their "inability to develop psychologically, economically and otherwise (ibid)". Increasing national awareness of the 'marginalisation' of South African youth has been based primarily on a concern for their potential to destabilise the country (Ramphele, 1992).

A recent study by the Community for Social Enquiry (CASE) (Everatt & Orkin, 1993) has attempted to investigate this concern. It is, arguably, difficult to measure mental health empirically (Miller & Swartz, 1992 in Freeman, 1993). However, apart from Straker *et al* (1992) who have *qualitatively* identified youth in their study (as leaders, followers and casualties etc), the CASE study represents the first systematic attempt to *quantify* degrees of 'marginalisation' in South African youth as a group (Bundy, 1993). Applying various 'dimensions of concern' (such as exposure to violence or abuse, political alienation, and generational conflict) to a nationally representative sample of youth, CASE has identified four categories of 'marginalisation'. At one end of the spectrum are the 25% of youth who, by virtue of their full engagement with society, are defined as 'fine'. Needing little intervention themselves, they could potentially play significant roles as leaders and trainers of other youth. Conversely, 'marginalised' youth are defined as those youth who: perceive themselves as having no future, are alienated from their schools, work or families, are out of touch or hostile to the changes taking place in South Africa, are victims of abuse and/or violence, have a poor self-image, and are not involved in any organisation or structure (Everatt & Orkin, 1993, 3). Of the estimated 27% of youth between 16 and 30 years who are 'marginalised', African youth form the largest proportion followed by 'coloured' youth. The remaining two categories include youth 'at risk' (43%) for 'marginalisation' (they show signs of alienation in various areas of concern) and youth who have been 'lost' (5%) to society (they are no longer engaged with society and may be found in prisons etc; Everatt & Orkin, 1993). This study will inform part of my discussion in chapter 7.

Historically, 'marginalisation' is seen to have its roots in the legacy of apartheid (Mokwena, 1992), but its escalation in the 1990s may be contextualised within the general social disintegration of South African society (Ramphele, 1992). The relationship between apartheid and 'marginalisation' will be mentioned again below.

Social disintegration

It has been suggested previously that the primary requirement for a successful transition from childhood to adulthood, is the presence of a cohesive and supportive environment, without which, the full extent of adult psychological well-being cannot be attained. Historically, South Africa has not afforded the majority of its youth these optimal conditions. Ramphele (1992) has commented on the disintegration of South African society *as a whole* which is evident in behavioural patterns such as high levels of family breakdown, substance abuse, crime, corruption and violence.

General patterns of South African youth along these various social indicators are briefly outlined.

Family breakdown

The breakdown of family structures has occurred through high rates of divorce in whites (Bundy, 1993), and migrancy, urbanisation, and previously, detention and exile in blacks (Straker *et al*, 1988). As a result

many households are headed only by women (Bundy, 1993) or children (Robertson, Ensink & Parry, in progress). Child sexual abuse (Anderson, 1993, Collings, 1993; Westaway, 1993) and physical abuse are common. Prevalence rates for child molestation are estimated at around 80% (De Mause in Levett, 1994). Further contributors to family breakdown include intergenerational hostility (Everatt and Orkin, 1993) resulting from young peoples' rejection of their elders' acceptance of apartheid (Schärf, 1990; Van Kessel, 1993) and high rates of teenage pregnancy (Bundy, 1993; Loening, 1991; Mokwena, 1992; Nash, 1990). It is estimated that 15-20% of births in the Western Cape are to teenage mothers, a figure 5-10% higher than that of the USA (Harrison, 1991 in Carolissen, 1993).

Unemployment

Unemployment is widespread (Chisholm, 1993). In 1989, formal unemployment was estimated to be 40% (Riordan, 1992, 75) compared to 6.5% in 1987 in the USA (Riordan, 1992, 72). Eighty five percent of those unemployed in South Africa are black (Riordan, 1992, 76). Ninety percent are estimated to be below 30 years (Bundy, 1993, 7). In 1992, 52% of potentially employable people between 16 and 30 were unemployed, with unemployment in African youth at 57%, coloured youth at 46%, Indian youth at 11% and white youth at 4% (Chisholm, 1993, 462).

Historically, unemployment in South African youth is a complex ideological issue (Chisholm, 1993). Space constraints do not permit a discussion thereof; however, solutions need to be viewed within a holistic approach to youth development in which psychological services, health, life-skills, vocational training and education all play an important role (Everatt, 1993 in Chisholm, 1993).

The education crisis

Sociopolitical and economic practices are generally reflected and perpetuated in schooling systems (Hartshorne, 1992). The consequences of this in the South African school system, viz the youth revolt, has been well-documented (Schärf, 1990; Seekings, 1993; Truscott, 1993). The crisis in education is severe. It is estimated that in 1988, 2 million children between 7 and 16 were not at school. Each year approximately 330 000 young South Africans leave school before completing standard 4, significantly contributing in numbers to the estimated 5 or 6 million people who are illiterate (Hartshorne, 1992, 59). Even those who reach standard 10 are not guaranteed a certificate; between 1980 and 1989, roughly half (515 000 out of 1 036 370) of standard 10 pupils failed their final exams (Hartshorne, 1992, 60).

Various committees have been set up to address this crisis (Donald, 1994; Truscott, 1993). Perhaps the most crucial factors determining the success of a new policy, however, are the reintegration of a 'culture of learning' (*Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 6 May 1994) and the education of 'marginalised' youth (Hartshorne, 1992).

Political violence

There is a multi-disciplinary abundance of literature documenting the involvement of youth, particularly African youth, in the liberation struggle (Seekings, 1993; Van Kessel, 1993). Of concern to researchers are the effects, on youth, of exposure to and participation in political violence; and the extent to which political violence has become a part of their lives (Chikane, 1987; Dawes, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1994; Gibson, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1993; Mokwena, 1992; Skinner, 1989; Smith & Holford, 1993; Straker *et al*, 1988; Straker *et al*, 1992; Vogelman, 1990). In a review of the literature, Dawes (1994) concludes that it is not necessarily the exposure to and participation in political violence *in itself* which leads to generalised violent conduct. Rather, it is the *identity* which is invested in the politically violent behaviour which determines post-conflict violence. The notion of continuing cycles of violence is complex. Dawes (1994) stresses the need to examine the type of violence, the context of the violence and, later, at the nature of the post-conflict society in order to determine the factors likely to facilitate the "survival of social identities invested in violent reputations (p.216)".

Social violence and gangsterism

Adolescent violence has become a worldwide problem (Flisher *et al*, 1993). In South Africa, between 1984 and 1986, assault was found to be the leading cause of death among 'coloured' and black adolescents between 15 and 19 years (Flisher, Joubert & Yach, 1992).

Recently, the media has emphasised the high incidence of gang warfare in the largely 'coloured' areas of the Western Cape (*South Newspaper*, 3 June 1994; *Sunday Times*, 29 May 1994). Gangsterism in these areas has reached crisis proportions with politicians, thus far, unable to negotiate an end to the violence (*Argus*, 9 June 1994).

In his examination of youth gangs in Soweto, Mokwena (1991) notes the paucity of empirical research and theoretical work on gangs in South Africa. Pinnock (1984, in Mokwena, 1991) and Glaser (1990 in Mokwena, 1991) have argued that gangs represent a type of resistance to the dominant hegemony; they arise out of politically hostile environments and, in some ways, constitute a response to political domination (Mokwena, 1991). The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) (1990) has focused on the search for self-respect which youth, historically unable to find in apartheid society, find to some extent in the experience of belonging to a gang (Mokwena, 1991).

It is adolescents from socially 'marginalised' groups, where families and communities have been dislocated, that are more likely to participate in violent behaviour. Gangs are likely to arise as a result of the breakdown of community structures and a worsening economy (Flisher *et al*, 1993). Schärf (1990) has suggested that a full understanding of gangsterism in the Western Cape requires a contextual analysis of the different African and 'coloured' societies out of which the gangs originate. Tracing the history of attempts to counteract gang activity in the 'coloured' areas, he concludes that existing social

and political networks have proven too weak to challenge gangs, which remain the most powerful organized social force in the 'coloured' communities. Flisher *et al* (1993) recommend preventive strategies aimed at primary school children. Future research should explore the relationships between recreation and employment (see Maclean, 1990), and gangsterism (Schärf, 1990).

Substance abuse

The abuse of substances (drugs and alcohol) is a major public health concern (Bailey, 1988). Much research into this issue has focused on adolescents, whose drinking and drug-taking behaviour over the last 40 years has increased in quantity and decreased in age of onset (Flisher, *et al*, 1993). A recent epidemiological study in the Cape Peninsula found that 26.2% of high school students had used alcohol at least once in the preceding week. In the USA, prevalence rates for current alcohol use in a similar age group are estimated to be 40% (Wagenaar *et al*, 1993). Though the use of alcohol and drugs by South African youth has not reached international proportions, there remains a need for intervention which takes into consideration the meaning of drinking within its cultural context (Flisher *et al*, 1993), and the individual underlying reasons for adolescent substance use and abuse (Ziervogel, 1986). Qualitative studies (Emery *et al*, 1993; Toumbourou, 1994; Wagenaar *et al*, 1993) are helpful in providing researchers with greater insight into the experience of substance abuse.

Lack of recreational facilities

It is widely accepted that leisure can play a significant role in the identity formation of young people (Moller, 1990). The inner world of fantasy exists in all humans, and interests which include the use of imagination are, for many, as important as interpersonal relationships in providing meaning in life. In extreme situations such as the concentration camp, interests such as music are believed to have prevented complete psychological disintegration (Storr, 1989). Winnicott (1974) has identified playing as being the only activity in which the child or adult is able to be creative, and in so doing, discover and develop the self.

As a means of social development, leisure still needs to be recognised in South Africa where the provision of basic needs such as education and health is considered a priority. Consequently, there has been little research into the leisure needs of youth and how these can be satisfied (Moller, 1990). A study by Moller (1990) into the leisure experiences of black South Africans suggests that leisure may be a crucial factor which adds to quality of life and provides black youth with confidence in coping with the future. Furthermore, the concept of leisure, as perceived by respondents, was found to include more than recreation and play. Semi-leisure activities such as educational experiences are attractive to youth, and may well serve as uniting activities for South Africa's deeply divided youth (Moller, 1991).

Mental illness

There is widespread concern that South African youth are significantly more at risk for certain mental disorders than youth in more stable, historically democratic countries with less conflict (Smith & Holford, 1993). World figures estimate a one year prevalence of psychiatric disorder in adolescence to be between 10% and 20% (McGee *et al*, 1990; Steinberg, 1994). The WHO (1993) maintains that nearly one in five children and adolescents will have an emotional or behavioural disorder at some time during their youth, regardless of their geographic or socioeconomic region.

In South Africa there has been little focus on the mental health of black children and adolescents. There presently exist no authoritative data on the prevalence and nature of psychopatholgy in South African children and adolescents (Robertson & Berger, 1994). Though attempts have been made to obtain epidemiological data on psychiatric disorder (see Robertson, Ensink, Parry, & Van Schalkwyk, in press; Robertson, Ensink, Parry & MacKintosh, in press), figures are difficult to obtain because of the lack of documentation of African children in general, and because the cultural diversity in South Africa consistently challenges Western notions of psychiatric disorder. As such, indigenous views of childhood and mental illness need understanding before epidemiological studies can successfully be undertaken (Robertson, 1991).

THE NEED FOR INTERVENTION

The above review of the abundance of problems facing the majority of South African youth clearly iterates the need for:

(i) the development of social and economic services aimed at addressing the situation (see JEP, 1991 in Freeman, 1993), and

(ii) improved psychiatric service provision (Robertson & Berger, 1994).

A full discussion of improved mental health services for youth will remain outside the limits of this dissertation. The final part of this review will consider what is needed to begin to address the problem: namely, the research required for the design and implementation of appropriate services.

Social reconstruction and development: issues in research

The terms 'social reconstruction' and 'development' have gained popularity in South Africa and relate to redressing the needs of communities who have suffered under apartheid (Taylor, 1994). The need for youth development is crucial to national social reconstruction (Freeman, 1993). Addressing the needs of youth in an historically divided society, however, is no easy task. The cultural diversity of this country renders it impossible to consider South African youth as a homogeneous entity. A full recognition of the individual, socioeconomic, political and regional differences between the various 'racial' groups is required (Vogelman, 1990).

Furthermore, the diversity of class and culture offered by South Africa, demands the exploration and questioning of basic theoretical and methodological issues (Donald & Dawes, 1994) surrounding research into childhood and adolescent issues. This review identifies three such issues.

As contributing determinants of the methods used in the present study (see chapter 4), these issues are briefly highlighted:

(i) *The need for preventive and promotive mental health*

The World Health Organisation's (WHO) model for integrating mental health into primary health care, emphasises the importance of socioeconomic development in the decrease of mental health problems. It maintains that certain mental disorders can be prevented, and that mental health can be promoted at 'grassroots' level (Parry, 1993).

As defined in the Declaration of *Alma Ata*, the African National Congress (ANC) has recently adopted the primary health care approach to the delivery of health services in South Africa. Mental Health policy aims to ensure the psychological well being of all South Africans by: promoting services at community level wherever possible, promoting healthy life styles and the prevention of mental disorder, fostering respect for the rights of people with mental illness, and promoting mental health in children, especially those who are considered vulnerable (ANC, 1994, 46). In following the principles of primary health care, the need to consider the social and political contexts of mental health problems, and the need for interventions designed with self-conscious political sensitivity has been suggested (Freeman & de Beer, 1992).

Preventive approaches to mental illness in youth are evident in international (Bosma, 1991; WHO, 1993) and local trends. A national conference in South Africa on implementing mental health in schools was recently held in Cape Town (July 1994) . The rationale behind this trend lies in the strengthening of children's abilities to cope with environmental stressors and disadvantages which they may encounter (Bosma, 1993). The necessity of educating children about the hazards of risk taking behaviours (such as violence and substance abuse) before they become entrenched patterns is also recognised (see Flisher *et al*, 1993). The obvious shortcomings of these programmes is that they do not address the needs of 'marginalised' youth, who have already dropped out of school.

Alternative solutions to making mental health accessible to all youth may be found in initiatives such as youth centres, clinics, outreach programmes and peer counselling (see CSD, 1992; Gordon, 1994; Letsebe, 1988; Moller, 1991; Pollard & Fair, 1982; Springer, 1991; Yach, 1991).

As a conceptual framework for trying to make sense of the complexity of adolescent problems and the diversity of possible interventions, Steinberg's (1994) categorisation of approaches to intervention is

useful. He distinguishes between the following concepts: treatment (which involves identifying and treating abnormality), education and training (which involves providing an environment in which adolescents can reach their potential), care (which involves upbringing and having basic physical, psychological and social needs provided), and control (which involves discipline and limit setting). These approaches are often confused by service providers and, as such, the need for a distinction between medical and social models of response (Steinberg, 1994) exists. These categories may be useful in delineating the various types of youth development interventions that are needed in South Africa. This dissertation is implicitly concerned with social (as opposed to medical) models of response, and issues of care, education and training, rather than treatment and control. As such, psychiatric services will not be considered.

(ii) *Youth driven interventions and research*

In the past, South African society has been severely criticised for its treatment of its children. Harsher critics have referred to the existence of state supported child abuse and neglect (Straker *et al*, 1988). Historically, little has been done to include youth in decisions which affect them. The resultant dissatisfaction with this hegemony culminated in the well-known Soweto uprisings of 1976 in which school children publicly refused to be taught in Afrikaans (Seekings, 1993). This revolt served to nurture a widespread defiance of authority (Seekings, 1993), both state and parental, in which youth increasingly took their future into their own hands. One could argue that the recent transition to democracy is largely a result of this defiance (see Bundy, 1993). Clearly, the problems experienced by young people in South Africa today need to be addressed in ways which differ from the authoritarian solutions of the past.

The National Youth Development Coordinating Committee (NYDCC) is a broad-based non-partisan organisation which believes that youth have the right to participate in every aspect of society which concerns them. Their involvement in the issue of youth development began in June 1991 with the convening of an inaugural conference on 'marginalised' youth by the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP). The JEP emphasised the urgency, complexity and severity of problems facing South African youth (Bundy, 1993) and commissioned a number of research projects focusing on demographic data (see Everatt & Orkin, 1993), employment, AIDS, education and youth resources. In addition, regional consultations aimed at identifying specific regional problems and needs were set in motion (JEP, 1993).

The results of the research projects were presented at the second National Youth Development Conference in March 1993. A National Youth Development Forum (NYDF) was established (JEP, 1993) with the mandate to facilitate youth development policies and programmes which should be "youth-centred" and "needs-driven" (JEP, 1993). The guiding principle of the NYDF states that "research needs should be initiated by communities and by the youth and feedback given to them (JEP, 1993, 13)".

Though not directly mandated by youth, this study is a response to a community identified need, and focuses on youth.

(iii) *The individual psyche in the social context: the problem of the One and the Many*

Apart from their own personal and developmental tasks, adolescents in South Africa are confronted with massive social and political changes (Flisher, Joubert & Yach, 1992). Projects providing social and economic services have been implemented in various other African countries (e.g. Botswana, Uganda, Nigeria and Malawi) following independence. However, Freeman (1993) has noted the lack of a focus on psychological development from most African initiatives. He further contends that, in the development of policies aimed at the social reconstruction of South African society, all groupings have neglected the "importance of the psyche of ordinary people to social development (p.157)".

Community psychology has been criticised for its rejection of the intrapsychic focus (Watts, 1993). Rappaport (1981) has cautioned against the practice of turning away from the individual in the implementing of social policies. The failure to attend both to the community and the individual, results in a one-sided approach to problems which are, it could be argued, dialectical in nature. One-sidedness precludes the creation of divergent solutions and results in interventions which are likely to be ineffective (Rappaport, 1981).

Though desirable, such an approach is conceptually difficult. Gibson (1993) has noted the difficulties in attempting to understand phenomena in terms of the complex inter-relationships between social and intrapsychic factors. Whilst some researchers have attempted to explain social phenomena using psychoanalytic theory (see Van Zyl, 1990), Gibson (1993) argues that society and individual psychology are two different objects of study requiring different methods of analysis. Whilst society can become part of the individual, the laws of society cannot be reduced to the psychological.

Furthermore, any attempt to understand the individual South African psyche needs to incorporate apartheid in some way (see Freeman, 1993; Germond, 1988). A study by Germond (1988) into the aspirations of adolescents in South Africa has stressed the necessity of determining the effects of the ideological climate on the adolescent's identity formation. Because it is difficult to separate the psychological effects of apartheid from those of other forms of adversity, this is by no means easy (Robertson & Berger, 1994; Swartz & Levett, 1989). This issue is further complicated by the notion of 'causality'.

From an *interactionist* perspective the relationship between adversity (the 'cause') and its effects, is determined by various mediating factors (see Dawes, 1987; McWhirter, 1983 in Gibson, 1993). Gibson (1993) has identified problems herein, and in moving beyond this approach to causality, draws on the work of Mestrovic (1985 in Gibson, 1993). Mestrovic (*ibid*) has shifted from a dualistic to a dialectical

stance with regard to the relationship between inner responses and outer events. Internal and external processes are understood dialectically to transform one another according to invisible laws and structures, a process which is facilitated by conflict within in the psyche. It is the focus on psychic conflict which separates this position from an interactionist one (Gibson, 1993).

Gibson (1993) has used this position to develop an understanding (and later a theoretical model) of the psychological possibilities and constraints which allow violence to emerge from violence, and which constitute the experience of violence and reactions to it. This understanding may then be used to explain a "relationship between the experience of violence and violent behaviour (p.169)". The issue of causality therefore becomes redundant.

Perhaps a similar position may be applied to the question of incorporating apartheid into an understanding of the psyche of the individual South African adolescent (see Freeman, 1993). I have noted the high degree of 'marginalisation' and risk for 'marginalisation' in youth in South Africa (see Everatt & Orkin, 1993). Mokwena (1992) has suggested a strong relationship between 'marginalisation', as an expression of powerlessness and the legacy of apartheid. Because 'marginalisation' is believed to occur in varying degrees and relate to an individual's level of engagement with society (see Everatt & Orkin, 1993), it could, therefore, be argued that full engagement with society also has a relationship with apartheid. Examining the experience of being fully engaged with society ('fine'), rather than being 'marginalised' from society, could then reasonably be expected to shed light on the relationship between 'marginalisation' and apartheid. The rationale behind examining the 'fine' rather than 'marginalised' youth is pragmatic; firstly, 'fine' youth are sometimes more amenable to talking with researchers, and secondly, the concept of 'fine' is simpler to operationalise than the concept of 'marginalisation'. (Having said that, I would also like to state that I am not, by any means, advocating this as an equable alternative to engaging, as a researcher, with 'marginalised' youth.)

In using the dialectical perspective (after Gibson, 1993), to address the issue of researching 'apartheid' psychologically, one would aim to analyse the possibilities and constraints which provide the framework, through which a relationship between the experience of apartheid, and the experience of being 'marginalised' (or, as I suggest, being fully engaged with society) could be understood. As Gibson (1993) suggests, these possibilities and constraints can be understood in terms of the structures and laws of psychological and social functioning.

Freeman (1993) has used Erikson's (1968) dialectical (individual-society) approach to identity formation as a framework for understanding the behaviour and dynamics of township youth. In a similar way, this approach may provide a suitable framework from which to understand the psychological possibilities and constraints mentioned above. Aspects of this hypothesis will be used in chapter 7 of this discussion in order to begin to make sense of the experience of Atlantis youth in terms of the ideology of apartheid.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Adolescence is acknowledged to be a socially constructed concept. 'Western' adolescents are believed to struggle with issues of identity, independence and maturity. Adolescents ideally require a supportive and consistent environment within which to develop. It is noted that in many 'developing' countries this is not provided and youth take on adult roles prematurely. The South African situation has produced a unique and problematic environment in which to negotiate the path from childhood to adolescence. As a result, youth in South Africa are believed to be in a crisis situation with 32% of youth 'lost' or 'marginalised' from society and 47% of youth 'at risk' for this (Everatt & Orkin, 1993). The various indicators of social disintegration as they apply to youth have been outlined, and the need for appropriate intervention noted.

I conclude that for the successful social reconstruction and development of the youth, future research needs to:

(i) develop preventive and promotive initiatives,
(ii) work in collaboration with youth and/or communities, and
(iii) maintain a dialectical position which includes the community and the individual in his or her ideological context.

The following chapter will focus on the methodology used in the present study. This methodology has been designed to satisfy, as far as possible, the recommendations outlined above.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY FOR THIS RESEARCH

RESEARCH DESIGN

This is a single-site qualitative exploratory study of the problems, needs and experiences of a sample of adolescents living in Atlantis.

APPROACHES TO RESEARCH, OBJECTIVES AND UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

This study follows an action research approach which rests upon the principles underlying community psychology (see Gibbs, 1992; Trickett & Mitchell, 1992). Whilst providing certain guiding principles, this approach does not prescribe any particular methodology. The methodology is best informed by the research objectives (Heller *et al*, 1984).

Research objectives

This study has two objectives; *exploration* and *the seeking of information as a guide to action.*

(i) *Exploration*

The goal of the Atlantis Development Forum was to conduct a quantitative needs assessment of the Atlantis youth. It was decided not to go ahead with this for pragmatic reasons; namely, a lack of funding. Paradigmatic considerations were also taken into account; it was felt that the construction of a needs analysis questionnaire would be premature without initial exploration into the problems, experiences and needs of youth. Thus, it was both difficult and undesirable to specify the boundaries of the phenomena under investigation and, as such the research was of an exploratory nature. To this end, qualitative unstructured in-depth interviews and focus groups were chosen as methods of data collection.

(ii) *The seeking of information as a guide to action*

This research was undertaken in response to a community identified need for action, viz the providing of solutions to the problems experienced by the youth. The second objective therefore lent itself to the use of *action research* (described below).

Research assumptions

Assumptions about the nature of both the phenomenon of interest and the relationship between researcher and community are implicit in methodologies for community research. These may be listed along dimensions of *collaboration*, *control* and *action orientation* (Heller *et al*, 1984).

During this study, I collaborated closely with the Social Fabric Commission in general and an ex-sociology lecturer and leader of the research team in particular; exerting a moderate amount of control

in my choice of the phenomenon under study. The methods of data collection and analysis were chosen by me, though the assessment of needs, and the collection of information pertaining to the establishment of a teen-centre was negotiated with the Social Fabric Commission, as was the sample selection. The research was both analytic- and action-oriented, for it aimed both to understand experiences theoretically and implement some form of change within a community.

Approaches

(i) *The needs assessment*

The needs assessment is a collection of techniques for gathering and analysing data in order to identify the constituency, the magnitude of needs, and the gap between available services and needs (Innes & Heflinger, 1989). Needs are related to problems and sometimes the two are inextricably interconnected (Sarason, 1978 in Meissen et al, 1991). There are differing views surrounding the practice of assessing needs. These concern ethical, ideological and methodological issues (see Rappaport, 1981). Furthermore, various definitions of 'needs' exist. Normative, expressed, relative, felt and perceived needs have been described in the literature (Jaffee, 1982; Moroney, 1987 in Innes & Heflinger, 1989). There are needs for survival and needs for fulfillment; and needs defined in opposition to other concepts such as 'desires' (see Freud, 1900 in Henriques *et al*, 1984) or 'rights' (see Rappaport, 1981). For the purposes of this dissertation, neither debate will be entered into. Instead, I accept that needs are socially located and constructed; that various constituencies bring knowledge, values and perspectives to the process of needs assessment, and that these should be explicated as part of this process (Innes & Heflinger, 1989; Thompson *et al*, 1994). Innes & Heflinger's (1989) expanded model of community needs assessment attempts to include the value component of needs. Pragmatically, this involves, at the outset, the identification of the information needs and common values among the various constituencies involved in the study. Aspects of this model were used as a guide for the assessment of needs in this study (see Appendix A).

(ii) *Action Research*

Though the idea of using research to facilitate social change was utilised amongst social reformers prior to World War II, the term, 'action research', was introduced by Lewin (1946 in D'Aunno *et al*, 1985). Many researchers consider action research to be the most appropriate and valuable approach to community research. It may be distinguished from other research approaches in that:

> "Community members work with action researchers to identify needs and to carry out ameliorative or preventive interventions. When clients are participants in research rather than "subjects", they are more likely to contribute to the design of the overall project, be familiar with the practical problems of implementation, utilize the findings of the research, and contribute to the understanding of implications of the findings for both action and theory" (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985, 423).

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The model

Various models of action research exist (see Whyte, 1991a&b). My research closely approximates the action research model outlined by D'Aunno *et al* (1985). This model moves through stages of diagnosis, data gathering, feed back, action and evaluation. A detailed description of my intervention in terms of this model is provided in Appendix A. Appendix B provides a description of the preceding cycle undertaken by the Foundation for Contemporary Research.

Study population

The population was defined as any youth between the 12 and 25 years, who live in Atlantis or, if not, attend or had attended high school in Atlantis.

Sampling procedures

Respondents were *purposively* sampled in order to maximise variation (Patton, 1980 in Binedell, 1993). Youth were selected on account of their involvement in various activities (see table of demographic data below). It was felt that being involved in youth activities would sensitise them to the problems and needs of youth in Atlantis and, in this way, they would act as key informants.

My sample may also be described as a *convenience* sample in that the respondents were chosen on account of their easy accessibility. In other words, they were known to the Atlantis Development Forum members or to one another and were accessed through that route. Convenience sampling was useful and desirable for two reasons. Firstly there was a ready-made link between the respondent and me, which helped to bridge the differences existing in age, place of residence and 'race' and so facilitated the respondents' trust in me. Secondly, because of this link, I could feel safer in an unfamiliar home in a town which is known for its violence, and where most of the female respondents did not feel safe to walk alone. In this way it facilitated my trust in them.

The sample

The sample consisted of 23 youth 12 and 21 years (mean age 17.4. years). Fifteen of them were individually interviewed and eight (2+6) of them were interviewed in two focus groups.
The demographic data are tabulated below. For a description of the youth organisations, the reader is referred to the glossary.

Table 1: Demographic data of respondents

	Age	Sex	Daily occupation 1994	Organisation/s	Language
(i) *Youth individuals interviewed* (1-15)					
1.	18	F	1st year technicon	RALI[+]	Afrikaans
2.	17	F	Std 10 (in Cape Town)	RALI	English
3.	15	M	Std 9	RALI	Afrikaans
4.	18	M	Std 10	RALI	Afrikaans
5.	16	M	Std 10	RALI	Afrikaans
6.	17	F	Std 9	RALI	English
7.	17	F	Std 10	RALI, YOUTH CLUB	Afrikaans
8.	19	M	salesman (m)[*]	ANCYL, SRC, ACS	Afrikaans
9.	19	F	Std 10	EX-GANGSTER	Afrikaans
10.	18	M	clerk (m)	TADA, PEACE VISIONS	Afrikaans
11.	14	F	Std 7	TADA	Afrikaans
12.	20	M	1st year technicon (m)	ANCYL, TADA	Afrikaans
13.	17	F	Std 10 (in Cape Town)	YOUTH GROUP	Afrikaans
14.	17	F	Std 10	YOUTH GROUP	Afrikaans
15.	13	F	Std 5	NONE	Afrikaans
(ii) *Focus Group A* (16-17)					
16.	19	M	drop out '94 in Std 8	RUGBY TEAM	Afrikaans
17.	17	M	drop out '93 in Std 8	RUGBY TEAM	Afrikaans
(iii) *Focus Group B* (18-23)					
18.	18	F	casual work (m)	MAMRE PEER	Afrikaans
19.	18	F	unemployed (m)	MAMRE PEER	Afrikaans
20.	19	M	unemployed (m)	MAMRE PEER	Afrikaans
21.	17	M	Std 10	MAMRE PEER, PEACE VISIONS	Afrikaans
22.	18	M	Std 10	MAMRE PEER	Afrikaans
23.	20	M	unemployed (m)	MAMRE PEER	Afrikaans

[+] It may be noted that the first 7 respondents were from the same organisation; the Race Relations and Leadership Initiative (RALI) project. One of the SFC researchers had participated in this project and it was decided that they would be useful to interview as a representative group who were accessible to me. After 7 interviews it became clear that they were not providing enough variety of response. It was therefore decided to include other youth which increased the purposiveness of the sampling method (as described above). Miles & Huberman (1984) note that it is common for the samples in qualitative studies to change as ones initial choices lead to recommendations for new respondents.

[*] (m) indicates that the respondent has completed matriculation

Methods Of Data Collection

Data were collected both formally and informally:

(i) *In-depth interviews (formal)*

This in an "intensive process on the part of the interviewer to explore thoroughly ... the views and dynamics or the interviewee (Massarik, 1981 in Lazarus, 1983, 84)". In keeping with the research

objective, exploration (mentioned above), I initially conducted a pilot interview which was completely open-ended and unstructured. I simply asked the respondent to speak about the problems and needs of youth in Atlantis, asking for detail where I felt it was appropriate. At this stage I was struck by the richness of the emerging data. I decided at this point to follow up and explore various ideas and their relationships that emerged during this interview (and later, in subsequent interviews). This process facilitated the use of grounded theory data analysis (discussed later). Thus, apart from the demographic data obtained, all of the first halves of my interviews were conducted without any structure in order to allow for the widest variety of answers. The respondents were asked simply to talk about their problems and needs and how they understood them. This approach is in keeping with Orford's (1992) premise that during the early stages of the research the enquiry should be as open-ended as possible in order to obtain the widest variety of answers to the original question, as well as to allow for the possible raising of new questions previously not thought of. The latter halves of the interviews became more structured in order to explore issues which I had gleaned from other sources; namely, other respondents, experts or from the literature. In this way the data collection and analysis took place simultaneously. The interview schedule is provided in Appendix C.

Interviews were telephonically arranged by me and took place in the respondents' homes. They lasted between 30 minutes and 120 minutes (the average time was 70 minutes). I started out by stating clearly who I was, what I was studying, and how I came to be part of the ADF. I tried to relieve anxiety by asking them at the beginning how they felt about being recorded and at the end, how they had felt about talking to me. Confidentiality was negotiated at the beginning of each interview and interviews were conducted in English and Afrikaans. When I could not understand the Afrikaans, the respondent would translate into English what had been said in Afrikaans. Though not ideal, this method allowed the respondents to translate their own interviews. I also found that my less-than-fluent Afrikaans, instead of being alienating, was a shared experience in that many of the respondents spoke poor English and we could laugh about it together. In this way it was often rapport-building and in some way addressed the power imbalance.

(ii) *Focus group interviews (formal)*

This formal method of data collection is useful to gain multiple perspectives on a focused topic. To some extent, it approximates a social situation and therefore elicits data somewhat different from that gleaned from the in-depth interview (Binedell, 1993; Lankshear, 1993). My aim in embarking on focused group interviews was to explore theories which had begun to emerge in the data from the individual interviews. The selection of these groups was in keeping with the purposive sampling aimed at maximising variation in case selection.

Two focus group interviews took place:

Group A: This group comprised two adolescents who had dropped out of school but played rugby for a club in Mamre. Access to them was gained through a member of the Mamre Community Health Project who knew that both adolescents were staying with friends in Mamre in order to avoid the violence in Atlantis. The interview took place in my car and lasted 75 minutes.

Group B: The second focus group interview comprised six adolescents who live in Mamre and go (or went) to school in Atlantis. In addition the six are part of a group related to the Mamre Community Health Project who call themselves "the peers". They are currently being trained as peer counsellors. It was felt that the "peers" could give a different perspective to the needs and problems of youth in Atlantis. The interview took place at the Mamre Community Health Project house and lasted 90 minutes.

Both groups were asked to discuss the problems and needs of the youth in Atlantis. Neither group was asked questions about a teen-centre.

(iii) *Networking with key informants (informal)*

Prior to the actual collection of data, and in order to clarify the research question and avoid duplication, I interviewed key informants. The backgrounds of these informants and a summary of their responses can be found in Appendix A.

This method of data collection was used, mainly, to guide the other two methods. Networking is a crucial aspect of community research where the researcher is not working alone but has a close and collaborative relationship (see Kelly, 1990 in Rappaport, 1994) with many key figures in the community under research.

(iv) *Feedback workshop (formal)*

The descriptive results of the individual and 2 focus group interviews (see chapter 5) were presented at a workshop open to all youth in Atlantis. The data collected using this method, constituted insights gained during the workshop and a post-workshop evaluation. For a fuller description of the workshop process, please refer to Appendices A,D and E).

Methods of analysis

Two methods of analysis were used:

(i) *Method 1: descriptive coding*

Data from the 15 interviews and two focus groups were descriptively coded. Only data constituting problems and needs were counted in order to give an empirical grounding. These results cannot be

analysed statistically. They simply give a qualitative idea of the problems and needs identified as well as what the youth say they would like from a teen-centre.

(ii) *Method 2: open coding*

The second method of data analysis involved the initial stage of the grounded theory methodology described by Strauss & Corbin (1990) known as open coding. It was introduced as a form of method triangulation in order to improve objectivity and internal validity (Krefting, 1991; Smaling, 1992a). This point will be elaborated in chapter 6.

Grounded theory

A grounded theory is one which is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. In other words, the researcher does not systematically test a known theory, but chooses an area of study and allows what is relevant to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Grounded theory differs from descriptive analysis in that data are grouped, interpreted and given conceptual labels which are related by means of statements of relationship. In pure description, data are organised according to themes which are likely to be summaries of words taken directly from the raw data. There is little interpretation of the data and no attempt to relate the themes to form a conceptual scheme (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The first data analysis procedure used in this study was descriptive.

During grounded theory research, there is an increasing theoretical sensitivity (the ability to recognise what is important in data and to give it meaning; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to concepts, their meanings and relationships. It is therefore desirable to interweave data selection with data analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Before I describe this dual process, I shall briefly describe the process of open coding.

Open coding

At its most simplistic level, a theory is a relationship between two concepts. In this way concepts may be seen as the basic building blocks of theory. Open coding is the first step in grounded theory method and is concerned with identifying and developing concepts. Instead of merely counting raw data, open coding is a process of conceptualising the data or naming the phenomena which are then grouped into categories. Categorising is a further conceptual process which involves the grouping of concepts that pertain to a similar phenomenon. Categories are given names which seem most logically related to the data they represent. Names of category are more abstract than those of the concepts grouped under them and arise from the researcher's experience. Categories are then examined for their properties and dimensions. Properties refer to the characteristics or attributes of a category, and dimensions refer to the situating of that property along a continuum. Both properties and dimensions form the basis for making relationships between categories and subcategories and later for creating a grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Because of the limited foci of this dissertation, the community mandate, and my own lack of experience with regard to qualitative research, I chose not to proceed beyond open coding analysis. I believe that the insights gained in this stage of grounded theory alone are substantial; a view which is supported by other researchers (see Emery *et al*, 1993; Lankshear, 1993).

Analysis procedure: Data selection and Data analysis

As discussed earlier in this chapter, my sampling procedure and my questions in the interviews reflected my process of trying to understand, not only at a descriptive level, but at an interpretive level, what the youth were saying. I would specifically test out theories which I had begun to formulate. For example, I wondered whether the idea of political discipline such as that found in the ANC youth league was a protective factor against gangsterism. This idea emerged in an early interview and was tested in subsequent interviews and in focus group b. In this way, the results and analysis are not readily separable and as such will be presented together in the next chapter.

The 15 interviews and 2 focus groups were transcribed after each interview. After the workshop, where the descriptive results were presented to the youth, the tapes were then re-listened to for non-verbal cues (such as intonation, anxiety and emotional expression) and in order to again follow my own thought processes during the interviews. Each unit of data (i.e. a quotation from a respondent) was labelled according to the concept which it represented. Thirty eight concepts emerged (see appendix F). These were then grouped under two categories with various properties and dimensions. Consensus was obtained from a second person who listened to two of the interviews, and later agreed with the categories and properties chosen. An edited version of these results is displayed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

The results of the 15 in-depth and 8 focus group interviews (2 prior to the workshop and 6 during the workshop) are quantitatively tabulated below.

Table 2: Perceived problems

PERCEIVED PROBLEM	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS# (n = 15)	FOCUS GROUPS (n = 2)	W'SHOP GROUPS (n=6)
Lack of recreation, boredom	14 (93.33%)	2	6+
Substance abuse, shebeens	13 (86.66%)	2	6
Gangsterism, crime and violence	12 (80%)	2	6
Family problems	11 (73.33%)	2	6
"Boring" church youth groups	10 (66.66%)	-	6
School: high drop-out rate	9 (60%)	1	6
Teenage pregnancy	9 (60%)	1	6
Depression and suicide	9 (60%)	2	6
Lack of physical safety	8 (53.33%)	2	6
Unemployment, financial problems	6 (40%)	2	6
Problems with teachers	6 (40%)	2	6
Lack of facilities at school	6 (40%)	1	6
Isolation from CT/other "races"	6 (40%)	2	6
Poor variety of school subjects	4 (26.66%)	2	6
Poverty	3 (20%)	1	6
Lack of discipline at school	2 (13.33%)	-	6
Aesthetically unappealing city	2 (13.33%)	-	6
Lack of community role models	2 (13.33%)	1	6
Lack of community spirit	1 (6.66%)	2	6
Job insecurity	1 (6.66%)	-	6
Overpopulation	1 (6.66%)	-	6
Judgmental attitudes of church	1 (6.66%)	-	6
Satanism	1 (6.66%)	-	6
Police attitudes and behaviour	1 (6.66%)	1	6
Lack of housing	1 (6.66%)	-	6
Government promises not delivered	1 (6.66%)	2	6
Apathy of youth	-	2	6
Attitude of professionals at clinics	-	1	6
Illiteracy	-	1	6
Intimidation by sports teams	-	1	6

#The sources of data are shown from left to right along the top of the graph, i.e.: the individually interviewed youth, the 2 focus groups which took place prior to the workshop and the 6 workshop groups.

+ The workshop groups were asked to agree or disagree with the problems and needs identified in the interviews and 2 original focus groups (where applicable) and then to add additional needs or problems. For this reason, if none of the 6 groups present at the workshop disagreed with the findings presented to them, it was assumed that they were in agreement. This explains the predominance of the 100% agreement in the last column which must be interpreted cautiously.

Table 3: Perceived Needs

PERCEIVED NEED	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (n = 13)*	WORK SHOP GROUPS (n=6)
Educational workshops	4 (31%)	6+
Closer community relations	3 (23%)	6
Career guidance in schools	2 (15%)	6
Lifeskills training in schools	2 (15%)	6
More sports in schools	2 (15%)	6
Improved social services	2 (15%)	6
Exposure to other races	2 (15%)	6
A Cinema	1 (8%)	6
Better student leaders	1 (8%)	6
Support from parents	1 (8%)	6
More practical skills taught in schools	1 (8%)	6
Political tolerance	1 (8%)	6
After-care facilities	1 (8%)	6
Conflict resolution training	1 (8%)	6
Recreation without substance abuse	1 (8%)	6
Crisis clinic	-	1
Ongoing evaluation of teachers	-	1
Home for pregnant teenagers	-	1
Cheaper transport	-	1
Youth representation	-	1
Small business development for youth	-	1
Rehabilitation centre (drugs & alcohol)	-	1
A Teen Centre–	13 (100%)	6

* Two individuals and focus groups A & B were not asked about the teen centre

+ Refer to key for Table 2.

- Further information is provided in Table 4.

During the interviews, the concept of a teen-centre was introduced by me (if not spontaneously mentioned by the respondent). This was done to fulfill the information needs of one of the community

members who had mandated the research. The youth were then asked to say what they would like/need from such a centre. Their requests are listed in the following table.

Table 4: Facilities and services that the youth would like a teen-centre to provide.

FACILITIES AND SERVICES	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (n = 13)*	WORK SHOP GROUPS (n=6)
Sport	5 (39%)	6+
Dancing	4 (31%)	6
Facilities for pregnant teenagers	3 (23%)	6
Sex education	2 (15%)	6
Study Methods	2 (15%)	6
Pool tables	2 (15%)	6
Parent counselling	2 (15%)	6
Games	2 (15%)	6
Outings	2 (15%)	6
Entertainment and excitement	2 (15%)	6
Lifeskills	1 (8%)	6
A place to study	1 (8%)	6
Aerobics	1 (8%)	6
Computers and computer courses	1 (8%)	6
Body building	1 (8%)	6
Drawing classes	1 (8%)	6
Snacks	1 (8%)	6
Aids testing	1 (8%)	6
Programs for young mothers	1 (8%)	6
Adventure camps	1 (8%)	6
Drama	1 (8%)	6
Singing	1 (8%)	6
Social gatherings	-	3
Career guidance	-	2
Self-awareness workshops	-	2
Special interest clubs	-	1
Travel guidance	-	1
Political education	-	1
Youth restaurant	-	1
After school classes	-	1
Family recreation	-	1
Communication skills	-	1
Training in a trade	-	1
Fund raising	-	1
Counselling		
by other teenagers	8 (62%)	6
by professionals	2 (15%)	6

* Two individuals and focus groups A & B were not asked about the teen centre.

+ Refer to key for Table 2.

OPEN CODING RESULTS

From the transcriptions of the 15 individual interviews and two focus groups (a & b), 38 concepts were conceived (see Appendix F). Out of these concepts two categories emerged which related to: (i) a state being ("who we are") and (ii) a state of needing ("what we need"). These two categories were further analysed for their properties and dimensions and are displayed below under the labels of their properties. The raw data are displayed in bold type, and some full stops have been deliberately ommitted in order to improve readability. Square brackets are used to indicate separate quotes. Though this section originally consisted of 13 single-spaced typed pages, I have been forced to discard much of the raw data in order to comply with the space constraints. As such, I have attempted to limit myself as often as possible to the use of one or two quotes to illustrate a point.

CATEGORY 1: WHO WE ARE

The properties which emerged concerned identity, emotions and isolation. The dimensions of these properties concerned the extent to which these states of being were experienced by the youth. Again, the spatial constraints dictate that the dimensions remain implicit in the data.

Property 1: Identity

The respondents spoke about various roles teenagers experiment with **[Drugs are a big problem in Atlantis; most teenagers use them to find their identity and then they maintain that identity with friends who also use drugs].**

The need for a political identity was seen to be important **[It's important to have a political identity; teachers must teach kids about politics so they can make their own decisions]**. The lack of political activism was noted by some youth **[most youth are uninvolved in the struggle]**.

The majority of youth interviewed (78%) said they were not involved in politics but for various, reasons aligned themselves with the National Party (NP) **[I'm not involved. I don't like politics. Its just a bunch of people arguing about something they will never get right. I wouldn't vote for the ANC] [I'm not involved, I would vote for the NP, not the ANC, we don't want another leader, I have no ANC friends]**.

Youth who had identified themselves with the ANC (22%) and were involved in the ANC Youth League understood this NP alignment to be a result of ignorance and propaganda **[Other youth watch TV and listen to their parents, therefore they will vote NP 'cause they are not enlightened, they don't look at the past] [They think that the ANC is only black. When Mandela came here they didn't know - they are not enlightened]**.

One politically uninvolved respondent considered joining the ANC **[I'm not involved - have never been involved in boycotts. I like the ANC though, if they are looking for people, maybe I'll join]**. Two supporters of the ANC felt they could not be open about this for fear of alienating the youth they work with **[I stay neutral, my vote is my personal business, I was an ANC member but after joining Peace Visions I decided to stay outwardly neutral so I could arbitrate between parties] [If I was involved in the ANCYL then people would discriminate and not feel free to come to me with their problems. I'll vote ANC, of course!]**.

Having a political identity was felt by some youth to contribute to discipline and constructive engagement with society **[There are no gangsters in the youth league, the leaders say we must discipline ourselves so there are no disruptions in the meetings] [There is youth all over the country who just go with the stream and have no identity, gangsters do not have a political identity and take advantage of marching and cause trouble]**. One youth disagreed that it was the political nature of the activity which was constructive **[You can't tell people what to belong to, just keep them off the street with a normal group, not a political group]**.

The youth did not speak explicitly about a religious identity; however, their involvement with religious activities ranged from finding the youth groups boring **[people only go to them to make fun of them or to get out of the house, they don't enjoy it]** to being actively involved **[I keep myself busy with my school work and my church meetings, we work together to get other youth involved]**.

No matter whether actively engaged with religious activities or not, most of the youth had internalised certain "Christian" values **[...the Lord, then school work, then home, then girlfriend, then sport] [...getting a good husband, a job, finishing school and studying further] [...think of others, do unto others...] [...education...] [...self-respect, to appreciate one another, make friends and you mustn't kill one another]**.

In terms of identifying with their community, the majority of youth expressed ambivalence **[I feel okay about living here; sometimes I'm pleased we came, but it would be easier to live in town because it's near to many places]**. Some explicitly distanced themselves from Atlantis **[In five years time I'll be at university and I'll be living in town] [I don't fit in to Atlantis anymore. I've changed. Atlantis - its just you and your community, in Cape Town there are more opportunities. Everything for me is out there in Cape Town]**.

The ambivalence may be related to a belief that Atlantis is an inferior place **[Atlantis is going down, it's as if there's a curse on this place]**, which the community did not care for **[people don't take care of this place, it used to be clean and have trees. It used to be the best place to live. Now they're cutting down the trees. Why are they cutting down the trees? They're not going to build houses]**.

One respondent dealt with this ambivalence by consciously dividing her loyalties **[Basically I'm a bit divided, six days a week I'm out there (CT). I only spend nights and weekends here but I guess for the kids living here, this will be their community - Atlantis. For me it's partly Cape Town and partly Atlantis now]**. Many youth defended Atlantis to outsiders (including myself) **[There are some areas in town that are worse than Atlantis] [People are not ashamed of Atlantis, they only want to leave because there's nothing to do] [I try to put in a good word for Atlantis] [People tease you 'cause you come from Atlantis but that's because it's an isolated area and people don't know how big it is]**.

Sometimes their personal feelings differed from their expressed opinions **[When people say "That place - it's a boring place, it's a rough place", I cover up, I have to be proud of it no matter how I really feel 'cause I live here]**. The youth felt that Atlantis was misunderstood by the rest of society **[The violence is exaggerated] [People think its a wild place, they're too scared to come here]**.

Property 2: Isolation

The youth from Atlantis spoke about being isolated on many levels. Foremost is the geographical isolation **[I feel isolated in Atlantis] [It's far away from civilization] [Christmas and birthdays are bad 'cause your family has to travel far just to wish you 'Happy Birthday' or 'Merry Christmas']**. This isolation was exacerbated by the lack of recreation (discussed in the second category) **[Atlantis is quiet and boring - there are no activities. It's the same in Kuils Rivier** (a town near CT) **but that's closer to Cape Town so you can go to the ice-rink or the beach, but the place itself (Kuils Rivier) isn't more exciting]**.

'Racial' isolation was felt keenly, especially by those who, through their recent organisational activities, had come to know other 'races' **[Because I'm involved in the ANC I come across 'whites' so I don't notice colour anymore, but other youth who are not involved look at 'whites'] [I went on an adventure camp. For some of us it was the first time we spent a whole week with children of other 'races'. For the first time we felt as one, that we belonged together as youth in South Africa. It felt like we could build a nationality - all for one and one for all - like when Rodney King was killed. You could see the nationalism in people. They stood up for one another. We are a so-called 'coloured' community, there's no other races around] [It** (his participation in Peace Visions) **was the first time I'd been with someone of another 'race'. I began to understand people of other 'races'; "this person has the same ways as me!" Now I have got black friends for the first time] [I have a friend in Melkbosstrand. It's the first time I've had a 'white' friend. We must talk more to other races and get to know them and understand them better] [It would have been better if all 'races' could have been living here because maybe you would understand someone from another 'race' better. It would have contributed to South Africa. We've missed out. At my school in Cape Town there were blacks. I didn't know what their life style was, they're ordinary people like everyone else] [when you get to know blacks better you don't call them**

names. It's nice being at a multiracial school. People in Atlantis don't know what its like being amongst other 'races'. It's a problem.].

Underpinning the feelings of 'racial' and geographical isolation were feelings of psychological alienation experienced especially by youth who live in Atlantis and go to school in Cape Town **[I don't fit in anymore. I feel a bit uncomfortable. You don't know how to act 'cause you've changed and they've changed - you don't know the people she's talking about. If I were talking to my friends in town I would know exactly who they were talking about]**. For others this isolation emphasised the sense of belonging in Atlantis **[I feel safe to go to the games shops because I know everybody - many people know me] [people know each other here, that's the best thing]**.

Property 3: Emotions

Anger towards parents was identified **[Some kids take their anger towards their parents out on teachers]**. Anger towards the state and apartheid was expressed vehemently by youth who supported the ANC **[Atlantis has the same problems as others, but we also have problems that have grown up with us from the start; we were promised work. We all came here. Now the factories have closed down. It was an insult to us. Mrs de Klerk** (the wife of the state president at the time) **comes to have her tea parties - It's insulting. Only teachers and police wives were invited. What was wrong with the factory women, the house wives. They know the problems of the youth but they weren't invited to Mrs de Klerk's tea party. Our policemen were the waiters - it was insulting.] [Our coloured policemen were oppressed themselves during apartheid but wherever there was a march, they would shoot us. We built up anger with the police.]**. Anger towards 'whites' was expressed by one (ANCYL) respondent **[It makes me angry that whites get fancy jobs and we as 'coloureds' with matrics get the dirty jobs. Where's the affirmative action?]**. However, most youth who were not ANC supporters claimed to feel no bitterness or were reluctant to express any anger with regard to apartheid **[It's not necessary to express our anger towards 'whites' before there is peace. It will always be there, but we must control our feelings] [I don't feel anger each person has their own opinion. I think it will be better if everyone stands together and lives without apartheid] [We must forget the past. People must learn to forgive and love each other and strive for peace]**.

Though some respondents were aware of the origins of Atlantis **[People say they just dumped the coloureds here 'cause there were too many people in CT, I've got no feelings towards that]**, others were not so sure **[I don't know how Atlantis came to be but I know the name is from a myth about the lost city under the sea, and it was started in 1976 - all the streets are named after ships and flowers]**.

Fears concerning the future were expressed in terms of employment **[X said only 4 out of 100 matriculants will get jobs, so I am going to study chemical engineering]** and financial security **[The**

factories are closing down in Atlantis. You are unsure if your parents will get retrenched. You don't know what will happen to you].

Many youth feared for their lives because of the violence in Atlantis **[I'm scared to walk in Atlantis - you don't know where the danger is. The gangsters come into your house and break it open and hurt you, at the 'flats'** (an 'inner city' area in Atlantis) **they kill you] [I'm scared to make friends 'cause you don't know if its a gangster or a friend. You don't trust anyone].**

Some youth expressed a fear with regard to the political future **[If the ANC takes over it makes me afraid.... I'm scared of the blacks fighting each other].**

A few youth spoke of a fear of adults **[Shame and fear stops kids going to talk to an adult] [Many teenagers are afraid of adults and don't take the trouble to talk to them. We don't want to talk to adults about sex] [A teen-centre is a good idea but youth will only go to people they trust and respect as some are afraid of older people and will only talk about their problems to their peers, so a peer counselling system is a good idea].**

The fear of experiencing new things or meeting new people was mentioned by two youth **[People would not use a teen-centre. People are afraid to experience new things - they would rather go on as before] [Many youth want to be part of youth organisations but they are too shy].**

CATEGORY 2: WHAT WE NEED

This category was divided into 12 properties which corresponded with 12 needs identified from the raw data.

<u>Property 1:</u> <u>The need for attention</u>

Many youth felt that their families and teachers had not fulfilled their needs for attention **[My parents were too busy working; my sister and I kept to ourselves] [If your parents neglect you, then you become a gangster] [If teachers in Atlantis could give more attention to students then maybe things would turn out better. We need more attention] [No-one's interested in our problems].**

Youth who felt that their parents or teachers had met their needs for attention understood this to be a crucial factor in maintaining their engagement with society **[The biggest problem for youth in Atlantis is not getting enough attention from parents and because they feel neglected, they turn to gangsterism. The situation in homes is not what they want; they don't have close relationships with their mother. They need love. It's a cliche. The meaning is lost. It's just a word. People don't know what it means. Young people really need love and attention. They need all the love and attention they can get].**

Property 2: The need for love and care

Most youth saw the lack of love and care from parents as a general problem for families in Atlantis **[Parents on a Sunday are drinking and they don't worry about their kids. There are many families like this]**. One respondent experienced this directly **[My father's got an alcohol problem. My parents are divorced and he's not supposed to be here. He's made my life a misery. On Saturday he threatened my brother with a knife... He chased us out of the house many times. It's terrible. I can't tolerate it]**. Most youth interviewed felt that their families loved them **[I'm not involved in gangs because my family is strong - we love each other. There's no fighting or drinking]**.

The youth described a range of caring experiences with regard to teachers **[Some teachers are abusive, they have problems of their own and take it out on the kids] [I had a teacher who said things which hurt me deeply and enraged me and then he would laugh. I left school] [Teachers care for us]**.

Property 3: The need for discipline and limit setting

Parents and teachers were seen by many youth to have failed to provide discipline and limit setting **[Kids have problems because parents of kids don't worry about them - let them do whatever they want] [Kids do anything they want at school] [I have a friend with a single mother who comes home late at night. He and his siblings have no parental guidance] [Small kids carry knives. I don't know what to do about it. They won't grow up to experience life the way they should]**.

Property 4: The need for identification

A few spoke of the lack of role models **[Atlantis has problems; there are no leaders who you can identify with, no heroes]**. Some spoke of a lack of positive role models **[Why learn further when there are no jobs? There are unemployed teachers who have studied further and cannot get jobs] [Most kids drink and drug because the parents don't set a good example]**. Those who had role models regarded them highly **[My mother's converted which makes her special and she doesn't drink] [Quinton Newman** (a teacher and community figure) **is the one you can look up to]**.

Property 5: The need for stimulation

All the youth felt that their needs for entertainment and recreation were not being met **[As a youth in Atlantis I get bored and like all other men I want to go out after 8 p.m., but where can I go except to a night club where gangsters who are also bored go] [There's nothing that can excite you as a youth person. The only thing that excites you as a youth is sex]**.

Property 6: The need for self-actualisation

A great majority of the youth interviewed had goals for the future **[I would like to be a lawyer, I'm hard working, and have never known what it is not to study] [I pay more attention to what's going on, not just thinking about parties, but achieving what you want to achieve, being what you want to be]**.

However, many spoke about a failure of the state and the education system to support their aspirations **[We want to learn languages but there are no teachers to teach] [I wanted to study law next year at Stellenbosch but they wanted people with straight A's for bursaries] [It's heart breaking to see someone who leaves school when he has the ability to go far with his studies but there's no money] [In standard 8 they didn't have the subjects I wanted - I'm English medium -I wanted to do economics in English so I went to school in Cape Town]**

Two identified the 'racially' based differences **[We have inferior equipment to the 'white' schools - we have no computers, we have not enough subject choice] [Our schools should offer what the 'white' schools offer].**

Property 7: The need for safety

The need for physical safety was strongly identified **[We're looking for a safe environment].**

Neigbours and police were seen as failing to protect the youth **[Kids get raped and the neighbours don't do anything] [Two gangsters went into her house even though they belong to a neighbourhood watch] [The police are never there when you need them - they may pick up a drunk person but they won't interfere with gangsters. They don't protect the community].**

Property 8: The need for autonomy and mastery

Some youth expressed the desire to be in control of and responsible for their lives **[My parents feel I'm old enough to face my own responsibilities] [People must stop blaming others; we are responsible for our own situation] [It's autocratic for adults to decide on youths' future].** The means of achieving this varied **[To be a gangster is.... For a moment it feels like you've got control over everything but then afterwards it feels like that isn't worth it. You don't know when you're going to die. Life is so short] [The feeling was great; you are your own boss. You can do as you like, smoke drink, walk at night. In the house you have to live by your dad's rules but gangs make you feel mature] [I always wanted to start my own drama group. Drama can convey a message. I don't think we have to wait for the government; we must help ourselves. The youth can do it themselves. I don't believe that we are the leaders of tomorrow, we have to start leading today].** At times this need appeared in a rather grandiose form **[Yes. We can play a role in the Reconstruction and Development Plan. I know more about the politics, the situation. I have an answer for every problem in this country. I have a vision for the future].**

Related to this sense of autonomy and mastery was the overwhelming desire expressed by all youth to help themselves; either completely **[It would be easier for teenagers to be more open and honest with each other than with adults] [Adults get no response from teenagers. But I say, "Listen here, I'm a child. I know what's going on in your life". I always say, "Feel free..I know it will calm them. And then I say, "That's the way, man. Now we can talk". I mean, that's the way it should go. But adults get on your nerves the whole time] [If you counsel a teenager, it has to be another teenager, 'cause a teenager**

will never speak to a grown up. I know. I've been through it. I know. I definitely know 'cause he doesn't feel free. He can't trust the person.... It has to be people who knows what's going on in the community. You know what that person has been going through. If you get a teenager to counsel another teenager, it also has to be a person who knows what's going on] or with the guidance or facilitation of a professional adult or adults **[I talk with people to solve their problems. If I can't solve them, I get a professional to help] [Teenagers should talk to other teenagers, maybe in a group with a professional there to guide them] [People in South Africa must make opportunities for the youth 'cause we are the future leaders and we must be given the opportunity to lead the right way].**

Property 9: The need for self-esteem

This was an important need which was alluded to by many of the youth **[I used to hate my nose and hair and feel inferior to my friends who had better noses. I used to be "teruggetrokke (reserved)" and complexed but when I joined the Association for Christian Students, everyone was hugging. It gave me a "lekker (nice)" feeling. It gave me confidence and I learnt to like myself. If you don't have satisfaction in yourself, then you have teenage problems].**

Parents and teachers were seen to contribute positively or negatively to feelings of self-esteem **[Our parents may be responsible for us not liking ourselves. If they don't like themselves, their children won't] [Teachers make pupils feel bad about themselves; embarrass them in front of the whole class. My brother wanted to leave school because of teachers] [We need education that makes kids feel more positive].**

If parents and teachers failed in this regard, other means were available for gaining self-esteem **[They (gangsters) steal to impress others. Their brothers and fathers are gangsters; they want to be the best: "I want to be an 'ouen (main man)'"] [Girls get pregnant 'cause they don't want to lose their boyfriends. They want to impress their friends] [People drink to get accepted - everyone likes you. But people must respect you if you say "no". It's hard to get accepted if you don't do bad things].**

Property 10: The need for communication and understanding

The respondents described parent-youth communication which ranged on a continuum. At one end, parents had failed **[Communication problems are big - children don't feel free to talk about themselves] [Parents should care more. Many parents drink and don't talk to their children] [Parents and kids don't know how to communicate] [Adults don't understand young people] [Kids can't talk about their boyfriends like they do in town].** At the other end, respondents described the fulfillment of this need **[I can tell my mommy when I'm unhappy or when something is wrong] [My brother, me and my father sit and talk about pregnancy, contraception and sex every night. Sometimes we joke about it but as long as we are talking about it].**

One focus group suggested that the lack of communication was specific to Atlantis **[People in Atlantis came from different communities and all came together. That's where the problem starts] [It's different to parents in Mamre 'cause Mamre was here long before Atlantis. People know each other, and families communicate better]**.

The lack of communication was seen to be responsible for teenage problems **[The problems of the youth are not due to family problems and unemployment directly but due to a lack of communication...from parents] [Teenage pregnancy occurs because parents don't realise how advanced kids are. Life is advanced in this century; sex isn't an issue. A 13 year old knows the details] [There must be openness between mother and daughter] [I could have turned to cigarettes and gangs but I have a mother who is behind me all the time. She's always there for me. I can tell her what I feel, I can talk to her and she will always have an answer. She might not always be right, she might have her faults, but she's always there]**.

Need-fulfilling communication was seen to involve being related to in an age-appropriate manner **[There should be communication between teachers and pupils. Get the problem pupils in one class and talk to them as grown-ups. Don't shout at them. Be reasonable. Be open and give the child a hearing. He's going to get cross eventually and be stuck-up and rude. Respect needs to be on both sides. It also happens like this in the home. We get treated like babies. It's wrong for a child of 18 or 19 - they are close to an adult]**.

One youth expressed a need for communication between the police and youth **[They** (police) **don't listen to us youth. They must learn to communicate with us]**.

Property 11: The need for closeness and unity

The youth identified a lack of, and need for closeness in the family and the community **[Families in Atlantis are not close like in town] [Kids kill themselves when parents don't have money and jobs. One boy in our school did over Christmas. The family was falling apart.... He hanged himself before his exams] [The community needs to get closer, they are very separated - they don't work together]**.

The need for 'racial' unity was identified **[Apartheid has driven the people away from each other; they must make peace with each other] [Atlantis needs to be developed into a multiracial place. It may be difficult at first but people would get used to it]**.

Property 12: The need to be needed

One youth identified not being needed as a problem **[There is lots of depression and feelings of being not needed]**. Others described being involved in activities which perhaps satisfied this need **[I joined TADA because I had an urge to help people and help myself at the same time] [I go out and find**

gangsters to help. Its my "plig (duty)**", I've been doing it for two years. I live for my work. I can always get another boyfriend].**

The above analysis using open coding has provided further insights into the problems and needs of Atlantis youth. It has also provided additional information on the experiences of this sample of youth. This information will be explored in chapter 7 of this dissertation. Prior to this, the ensuing chapter will constitute a methodological evaluation of the study.

CHAPTER 6: AN EVALUATION OF THE STUDY USING THE METHODOLOGICAL CRITERIA OF OBJECTIVITY, VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

It is widely accepted that the reliability and validity criteria used to evaluate quantitative research are not appropriate for examining the detailed nature of qualitative research (Heller *et al*, 1984; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Smaling, 1990). In evaluating this study, I shall refer to Guba's (1981) evaluative model as it is described by Krefting (1991). I shall also refer to Smaling's (1990) concept of objectivity as a methodological norm and Good *et al*'s (1985) notion of reflexivity in research.

OBJECTIVITY

Objective research is research which follows a methodology that maximises the attainment of valid findings (Mouton, 1990). As proposed by Smaling (1990), objectivity is a methodological norm in which one is obliged to *do justice to the 'object' of study* by *letting 'it' speak without distortion*. I believe that the descriptive analysis in this research did only partial justice to the richness of the data produced by the interviews and it was necessary for me as a qualitative researcher with the objectivity-enhancing (Krefting, 1991) tools of theoretical sensitivity (see Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and reflexivity (see Good *et al*, 1985), to *do justice* to other aspects of the *objects* of study. This prompted me to include the open coding method as a second form of data analysis which would improve objectivity and internal validity. This practice facilitated an exploration of the experiences of youth in Atlantis, one of the aims of this research.

INTERNAL VALIDITY

In quantitative studies internal validity suggests that there is a single tangible reality which can be measured. Qualitative researchers accept that there are multiple realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The aim is to reflect these realities adequately (Mouton, 1990) and "show how complex structures of meaning and circumstances interrelate, and how a relatively small group of people understand their world (Matthews, 1992, 52 in Binedell, 1993, 61)". *Credibility* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) or internal validity is obtained by the 'accurate' presentation or interpretation of human experience (Sandelowski, 1986 Krefting, 1991), which implies a 'fidelity to the phenomenon' (Smaling, 1992b). It is the most important criterion for the assessment of qualitative research (Krefting, 1991).

My research employed the following means for improving *credibility:*

(i) *Member checking* (Smaling, 1992a)

The descriptive results were fed back to the youth and the stakeholders and consensus was obtained. *Credibility* could further be improved by submitting both sets of needs for member checking. This often poses problems when one is working within a hermeneutic framework where the researcher imposes theoretical constructs onto raw data (Krefting, 1991). However, because I completed only the initial phase of grounded theory, I believe that the concepts could be translated into a quantitative instrument that would satisfy, better than before, the member checking test of *credibility*.

(ii) *Triangulation* (Krefting, 1991; Smaling, 1992a)

By seeking to investigate all aspects of a phenomenon, triangulation powerfully enhances *credibility* (Knafl & Breitmayer, 1989, in Krefting, 1991). In this study method triangulation was used; the data were collected by at least two methods (interviews and focus groups) and analysed in at least two ways (descriptive and open coding). Researcher triangulation (Smaling, 1992a) occurred in my working in collaboration with, and discussing my interpretations and findings with a community member who is a sociologist.

(iii) *Checking the representativeness of the data* (Miles & Huberman, 1984) Ideas from earlier interviews were checked in subsequent interviews.

(iv) *Peer examination* (Krefting, 1991)

Results and interpretations were discussed with my supervisor.

(v) *Establishing structural coherence* (Guba, 1981 in Krefting, 1991)

Structural coherence has been improved by integrating the data into a coherent picture during the open coding, and attempting to make sense of the contradictions in the data in the discussion in chapter 7.

Threats to the *credibility* of the study exist in the possibility of youth presenting me with socially desirable responses. I attempted to minimise this threat by increasing rapport and trust between the respondents and myself, and at times, self-disclosure on my part.

THEORETICAL VALIDITY

This refers to the validity of a theory or interpretation used in a particular study, with respect to its scientific standing, logical consistency, range of applicability and explanatory and predictive potential (Mouton, 1990). In the following chapter I have referred to the well-established theories of Erikson (1963, 1968) and Winnicott (1974) to understand the youths' experiences.

INFERENTIAL VALIDITY

This refers to the interpretation of the data which should be validated by sufficient evidence (Mouton, 1990). The lengthy displaying of the raw data in chapter 5 improves the inferential validity.

EXTERNAL VALIDITY

This refers to the meaning which results can have for persons, situations etc that have in fact not been studied (Smaling, 1992a). Like external reliability, external validity is not an unconditional methodological norm but one which the researcher is free to choose or not choose (Smaling, 1992a). The classic concept of generalisability is deficient in many ways and it may be more appropriate for qualitative researchers to strive for *transferability* or *fittingness* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The use of "thick description (see Geertz, 1973 in Lincoln & Guba, 1985)" improves transferability. I have attempted to satisfy this criterion through detailed research reporting on the process, arguments, choices, situation and context (see Smaling, 1992a).

I acknowledge that the transferability of this study is limited owing to the type of sampling used (convenience and purposive), the particular time and context in which it took place (the Atlantis community prior to the first democratic election), and the specific relationship which I had with the community (a collaborative relationship based on trust). This is further exacerbated by the heterogeneous nature of youth in South Africa (Vogelman, 1990; Seekings, 1993) which makes transferability even more difficult. However, in attempting to acknowledge the conditions under which generalizations may hold true (see Dey, 1993) I offer the following comments:
1. It is likely that the problems and needs identified by the descriptive data analysis will hold true for youth in Atlantis generally (population validity). This is suggested by the validation of my results during the workshop by youth not included in my sample. 2. The nature of open coding, itself, because of its abstraction of raw data into more universal concepts, is likely to improve ecological validity (see Smaling, 1992a). Therefore, for example, some of the anger and isolation experienced as a result of apartheid is likely to transfer to the experience of other youth in South Africa.

Even results which are not transferable can still be informative, helpful, usable and useful for other persons, situations and times; an important factor in action-oriented research (Smaling, 1992a).

RELIABILITY

Because reliability presupposes the stability of the object, it cannot be adopted as an unconditional methodological norm but is only worth striving for if the object is stable (Smaling, 1992a). In qualitative research, it is the uniqueness of the human situation which is emphasised (Field & Morse, 1985 in

Krefting, 1991) and therefore, in an exploratory piece of research it is often more valuable to sacrifice reliability for the richness of description (Heller *et al*, 1984).

Notwithstanding; instead of the traditional focus on *repeatability*, Smaling (1992) argues that the core meaning of reliability in qualitative research refers more to the absence of random error. In order to account for 'error', the identification and explanation of sources of variability (Krefting, 1991) known as *trackable variability* or *dependability* (Guba, 1981 in Krefting, 1991) are sought.

In this study I have used thick description, peer examination, triangulation of data methods, and a *code-recode* procedure where I waited two weeks before recoding the same data (Krefting, 1991) to improve *trackable variability*.

A PARADIGMATIC ISSUE

It may be noted that, although largely informed by the hermeneutic paradigm, there are implicit elements of the empirical-analytical and even the critical paradigm with regard to epistemological and methodological issues in this dissertation (see Smaling, 1992b). Whilst purists may have disagreed with it in the past, the practice of 'mixing paradigms' is largely accepted nowadays (see Habermas, 1965; Miles & Huberman, 1984: Smaling, 1987; Suppe, 1977 in Smaling, 1992b). This *perspectivism* (Smaling, 1992b) has been described as a type of *pluralistic constructivism*: the 'object' of study is conceived from different viewpoints. Being aware of the possibility of doing this is valuable: many viewpoints imply richer insights and greater applicability of research in different contexts (*ibid*). My use of different paradigms will be elaborated further in the discussion of results which follows.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS - CAN FOUND YOUTH BE LOST?

The aim of this study was to explore the **needs**, **problems** and **experiences** of youth in Atlantis. In the following discussion, these statements will be dealt with separately (although it is acknowledged that this is an artificial separation).

PROBLEMS

The descriptive results in Table 2 (of chapter 5) indicate that this sample of key informants has identified problems in Atlantis, which reflect those facing youth in South Africa generally (see Bundy, 1993; Ramphele, 1992), and in the Western Cape in particular (see JEP, 1993). Further afield, these problems have been found in African American communities in the USA (see Gibbs, 1989) and in white communities in Ireland and the UK (Ramphele, 1992). All of these communities reveal the underlying social disintegration (Ramphele, 1992) of which these problems are symptomatic. The problems suggested by the open coding will not be discussed here, but will form part of the discussion of youths' experiences.

NEEDS

As stated in chapter 6, I used method triangulation, to improve internal validity. This entailed analysing the results in two ways see chapter 4). With some exceptions, the two methods of analyses have resulted in the articulation of two differing sets of 'needs'.

Method 1 (the descriptive, more empirical-analytical analysis) produced a set of largely concrete, low-inference needs (educational workshops, a cinema, a home for pregnant teenagers etc) which were expressed by the youth in conversation with me. From the descriptive results of perceived needs in Table 3 (of chapter 5), one can see that, relative to the abundance of perceived problems mentioned in Table 2 (of chapter 5), many of the respondents were not readily able to articulate their needs. Though the need for a teen-centre was accepted by everyone, only one respondent mentioned it spontaneously.

Method 2 (the open coding, more interpretive analysis) produced a set of largely high-inference, implicitly inter-relational, or psychological, needs (needs for communication, limit-setting, self-actualisation, mastery etc) which were abstracted from the raw data by me. During the process of open coding, I was not 'looking for' needs. In a sense, this can be seen by looking at the 38 concepts abstracted from the raw data (see Appendix F). As said before, I embarked on this method of analysis in order to explore the experiences of the youth, and during the initial conceptualising, I suspected that the categories would eventually present themselves as "self", "family" and "community". It was only when

abstracting the concepts further that "needs" 'presented itself' as the most logical category which could pull most of the concepts together (For a description of the open coding process, the reader is referred to chapter 4).

As a reflexive researcher, I spent much time attempting to make sense of the differing results, eventually realising that I was grappling with an epistemological issue.

On the one hand, trying to understand the differences from an empirical-analytical position might produce the following reasoning. One might argue that although the youth did not articulate many needs directly, the needs were nevertheless being articulated in a form not directly accessible to a descriptive analysis (method 1). One might then suggest that a better method of uncovering needs (such as method 2) is required. In this respect, one might endeavour, as I did at first, to explore the *construct* validity of the needs assessment procedures. And even to use method 2, to invalidate method 1.

On the other hand, examining the differing results from an interpretive paradigm, as I came to do, de-emphasises the question of construct validity: instead, one might argue that needs are socially located, that they are not necessarily entities which exist in a community waiting to be uncovered by the researcher; but are continuously socially constructed. In my study, whilst most of the 'concrete' (and even some of the inter-relational needs) were explicit in the raw data, and lent themselves to mere description (method 1), others were interpreted from the data (during method 2) using my own experiences and psychological training.
From a social constructionist perspective, one might also argue that some of the needs that were readily articulated by the youth (and are therefore explicit in the data) may have been located in some previous discourse, such as the RALI program or Peace Visions where the youth may have entered discourses about self-awareness and lifeskills, for example.

The validity of both sets of needs has been discussed in chapter 6. My conclusion is that both sets of needs are valid (credible); the difference simply lies in the domain of emphasis: the first set of results emphasised practical needs, and the second set of results emphasised more inter-relational needs.

The way in which one's epistemological position affects the procedures adopted in the needs assessment demands further exploration. This will not be explored in this dissertation. However, one point will be added. Because researchers have remarked upon the difficulties of both community and researcher to 'express' needs (see Vogelman, 1990 in Southey, 1993), 'consciousness-raising' has been noted to be a valuable part of the process of needs assessment (Marti-Costa & Serrano-Garcia, 1983) In the present study I chose not to include 'consciousness-raising' (neither to 'uncover' nor to construct needs); I was not sure that there would be funding to meet potential needs produced by such a process. As it was, the exploration of problems, to some extent, sensitised the respondents to the needs of youth.

Apart from the inter-relational needs falling within the first category of produced by the open coding, this interpretive analysis produced inferences about the experience of 'being'. These inferences fall under the second category of open coding labelled "who we are".

EXPERIENCES

The generally limited *transferability* of qualitative research has been noted in chapter 6, and I have therefore focused my research on maximising 'fidelity to the phenomenon' (Smaling, 1992b) or credibility (Krefting, 1991) which, in an exploratory study, demands a thorough exploration of the experiences of the study sample (Matthews, 1992, in Binedell, 1993).

This exploration motivates the final section of the discussion.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

In the review of literature I have noted the study by Everatt & Orkin (1993) which attempts to define degrees of 'marginalisation' (see chapter 3 for a working definition of 'marginalisation'). Two youth in the sample had dropped out of school, and been unemployed ever since. As such, they could be seen to be 'at risk' for 'marginalisation'. The remainder of the sample (most likely as a result of my purposive sampling for key informants) comprised youth who appear to be fully engaged with society. They have all been or are: being educated to at least matriculation level, all involved in constructive organisations, and all come from families where one or both parents are employed. They could, therefore, feasibly be placed into the category which Everatt and Orkin (1993) describe as 'fine'.

INVOLVING 'FINE' YOUTH IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

As stated in chapter 3, Everatt & Orkin (1993) have proposed that the positive aspects of 'fine' youth be harnessed and used as a resource for implementing youth development programmes. As such, they may be provided with leadership training and encouraged to act as peer educators and role models. In addition, it has been recommended that researchers identify what makes them 'fine' and draw on their ideas and experience. In attempting to address these recommendations, I will focus my discussion on an exploration of the experiences of the youth themselves. As suggested by the literature (see Freeman 1993), this needs to include the experience of apartheid.

UNDERSTANDING FINE' YOUTH

At the end of chapter 3, I hypothesised that Gibson's (1993) proposal for explaining the relationship between the experience of violence, and violent behaviour, could be applied to an understanding of the

relationship between the experience of apartheid, and degree of 'marginalisation' of the youth. I also commented that such a proposal demands a sophisticated analysis. Such an analysis would need the focus of an entire dissertation.

Nevertheless, in exploring the experiences of my sample, I believe it may be useful to focus on an aspect of Gibson's (1993) model. In this respect, exploring and identifying some of the possibilities and constraints which allow for the adolescent's full engagement with society, might serve as a point of departure for this study, which is, after all, an exploratory one (the rationale behind focusing on fully engaged youth is provided in chapter 3). Gibson (1993) suggests that these possibilities and constraints can be understood in terms of the structures and laws of psychological and social functioning. This necessitates an exploration of the psyche of the adolescent, and the ideology of the society (which in effect cannot be separated). Using this model, therefore, provides a dialectical means (see Rappaport, 1981, 1994) for pursuing Everatt & Orkin's (1993) proposal to identify what makes 'fine' youth 'fine'. It also allows for the inclusion of the experience of apartheid ideology as a social process and as a part of human subjectivity (see Foster, 1991).

In order to outline and explore the possibilities and constraints which allow for the full engagement with society, I will make use of:

(i) The psychosocial theory of Erikson (1968) and the psychoanalytic theory of Winnicott (1974), and
(ii) Aspects of various theories of ideology (see Althusser, 1971; Thompson, 1984; in Foster, 1991; Foster, 1991; Henriques *et al*, 1984).

This is not an analysis of constraints and possibilities. It is merely an exploration and, as such, will not explicitly label phenomena as 'possibilities', 'constraints', 'psychological' or 'social'. I believe this would be a premature closure, and should therefore be avoided at this point. Furthermore I am aware that I am dealing with many separate 'psyches' in my sample, and not one psyche (which might have more readily allowed for a psychodynamic formulation similar to that used in case studies). I acknowledge that there are potential problems in this. As such, my interpretations in this next section are offered tentatively and with little generalisability.

EXPLORING AND IDENTIFYING SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES AND CONSTRAINTS WHICH ALLOW FOR THE ADOLESCENT'S FULL ENGAGEMENT WITH SOCIETY

I have mentioned Erikson's work in highlighting the normative struggles of adolescents with regard to issues of identity and role confusion. The adolescent typically goes through a period which Erikson (1968) calls the *psychosocial moratorium* in which adult commitments are delayed and role experimentation takes place. These activities usually coincide with the societal values and may include: academic life, self-sacrifice, pranks or juvenile delinquency.

The results of my research bear testimony to Erikson's theory. Youth speak of "what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared to what they feel they are (Erikson, 1963, 253)" in terms of gaining acceptance through sexual acting-out, substance abuse and gangsterism. These activities are causally attributed to the need to impress and be liked by others. Though these activities are listed as primary problems by most of the respondents, it is notable that most of the youth in the sample claim not to engage in these activities.

What is it, then, that keeps them from these activities?

Using the interactionist position: protective factors

In answering the above question, I am immediately aware of the presence of 'protective' factors identified in the literature on resilience (see Ramphele, 1992; Rutter 1985); the most salient in this study are the following three:

(i) *A strong supportive family*

A common reason cited for not engaging in self-destructive behaviour was related to the family **[I'm not involved in gangs because my family is strong, we love each other. There is no fighting or drinking] [if your parents neglect you, then you become a gangster] [most kids drink and drug because their parents don't set a good example].**

Research into the variables that contribute to successful psychosocial development in persistent low income, predominantly black rural communities supports this finding (see Lee, 1989). Lee (1989) suggests that the physical distance separating rural communities forces people to spend a great deal of time in the family setting. He therefore maintains that the family is the dominant socializing environment. This rural situation bears a similarity to Atlantis which is also geographically isolated. However, whilst the rural situation has united generations of families (Lee, 1989), Atlantis has not **[Christmas and birthdays are bad 'cause your family has to travel far just to wish you..]**. Many families who settled in Atlantis left their extended families behind **[my parents came here 15 years ago 'cause we wanted our own house, we were living with family]**. Families came from various places, an observation that youth from Mamre with its historical community ties found to be a significant contribution to the social problems of Atlantis **[people in Atlantis came from different communities and all came together. That's where the problem starts]**. Indeed, 80% of respondents individually interviewed, felt that family breakdown was generally a major problem in Atlantis, whether it affected them or not.

(ii) *A supportive organisation*

Where the family was unable to provide support, the organisation often functioned as a substitute. One youth described the ameliorating experience of being involved in a Christian society which provided him with a sense of belonging and self-esteem **[I used to be "teruggetrokke** (reserved)**" and complexed but**

when I joined the Association for Christian Students, everyone was hugging. It gave me a "lekker (nice)" feeling. It gave me confidence and I learnt to like myself. If you don't have satisfaction in yourself, then you have teenage problems].

Erikson (1968) mentions the way in which adolescents assist one another through discomforts associated with this phase of development and with the overwhelming possibilities presented by the future. They typically form cliques, "stereotyping themselves, their ideals and their enemies" and testing each other's capacity for loyalty (p.133)".

Almost all of the youth in the sample had been, or were still involved in organisations which validated their engagement with society and exposed them to a meaningful peer group. One youth described her experience in the RALI programme in this way **[I used to go to discos but not anymore because I want to live a good life since doing the RALI programme and you can't think like a RALI person and go to disco's]**. Being involved with TADA helped one youth to resist the peer pressure to drink alcohol **[People drink to get accepted - everyone likes you. But people must respect you if you say "no". Its hard to get accepted if you don't do bad things]**.

A few youth were involved in political organisations (the ANCYL) and one had been involved in a gang. During the interviews I became interested in the relationship between gangsterism and political activism, hypothesising that political activism is a protective factor against gangsterism. Indeed, being actively involved in the ANCYL provided one youth with a sense of containment /discipline and identity. **[There are no gangsters in the youth league, the leaders say we must discipline ourselves so there are no disruptions in the meetings]**. Having a political identity could be seen as protective **[There is youth all over the country who just go with the stream and have no identity, gangsters do not have a political identity and take advantage of marching and cause trouble]**. (The work of Straker *et al* (1992) has included case studies of 'comtsotsis' who may justify criminal behaviour politically.)

Research by Soal (1988 in Schärf, 1990) which attempted to identify the differences between youth who join political organisations and youth who join street gangs, revealed that the major determinant lay in their terrains of interest; youth who joined street gangs were predominantly interested in leisure, and having fun, whereas politically active youth were more interested in political problems. This leads to an examination of one of the major problems cited by 93% of respondents interviewed individually: the lack of recreational facilities in Atlantis.

(iii) *Recreation*

The ability to amuse oneself despite the substantial lack of recreational facilities was cited as a protective factor **[School work used to be boring for me but then I decided that it wasn't school work that was boring, but me that was boring because I did nothing else. So I started taking piano lessons**

and singing and then when I finished my school work I would have something to do which I enjoyed. Other youth don't try and do nice things in their spare time but stand on the streets and form gangs].

Before exploring recreation further, I wish to make the following point. The identification of the above three factors can be situated within the interactionist view of the psychological effects of adversity (Gibson, 1993). From this perspective, it could be said that the results in this study have demonstrated support for the ameliorating effects of the close family and/or organisation, and recreation (Ramphele, 1992; Rutter, 1985).

Using the dialectical position: psychic conflict

These experiences can be explored in another way. The dialectical position, as previously stated, differs from the interactionist position because of its focus on psychic conflict (see chapter 3; Gibson, 1993). Instead of looking at causality, it attempts to understand relationships between events, and, as such, belongs more to the hermeneutical interpretive paradigm (see Smaling, 1992b). Attention, from this position, will be given to two of the above factors: 'recreation' and 'the supportive organisation'.

(i) *Recreation: creativity*

In order to explore the relationship between gangsterism and political activism further (which, I have previously suggested, is related to leisure), Gibson's (1993) model could be used from within which to explore the psychological possibilities and constraints which allow the individual to constructively, amuse him or herself (or not). Winnicott's (1974) psychoanalytic theory of creativity and play is helpful in this regard. According to Winnicott (1974), play, or creative living, takes place in the space (called the potential space) between the inner personal (psychic reality), and the environment. The ability to play is developed in the infant and involves the use of 'objects'. The ability to *use* objects is seen as a developmentally more mature ability than the ability to *relate to* objects. Between these two stages the infant is required to place the object outside of his or her omnipotent control which implies that the object be perceived as an external phenomenon, and not as a projective entity. In other words the object is recognised as an entity in its own right. For this to take place, the object must be destroyed (placed outside omnipotent control) and survive the destruction (which includes not retaliating) so that it has value for the person that destroyed it (the person then lives a life in a world of separate objects or shared reality). Inherent to this process is the experience of trust.

Creativity resides in the individual's whole attitude to external reality and is stifled by illness or unfavourable ongoing environmental factors (Winnicott, 1974). Thus it may be hypothesised that youth who have successfully negotiated the transition between object relating and object use are able to live creatively. Youth who have not internalised the experience of trust and object survival continue to act out this experience, which in adolescence (a time in which childhood trauma surfaces for reworking; Blos, 1967) becomes more pronounced. Winnicott (1974) has noted the necessity for the parent to

survive the adult rebellion. Blos (1971, in Kroger, 1989) has noted the necessity for the societal structures to be cohesive and intact. It has been said that gangsterism is to be found in societies where the community structures are disintegrating (Flisher *et al*, 1993) and furthermore that gangs represent the most organised force in these communities (Schärf, 1990). Thus it could be argued, psychoanalytically, that adolescent gangsterism represents an attempt to act out early conflicts surrounding object destruction and survival and omnipotence.

One of the youth in the sample described the experience of being a gangster as follows: **[To be a gangster is.... For a moment it feels like you've got control over everything but then afterwards it feels like that isn't worth it. You don't know when you're going to die. Life is so short] [The feeling was great; you are your own boss, you can do as you like, smoke drink, walk at night. In the house you have to live by your dad's rules but gangs make you feel mature].**

It was perhaps the containing experience of her father's rules which helped this respondent to leave her gang. Psychoanalytically, this can be likened to the necessary survival of the object. Furthermore her psychological needs for mastery and autonomy, with the help of a guidance teacher she admired, were then constructively used in counselling other gangsters. Psychoanalytically, she was able to be creative with her spare time in a way which was fulfilling for her. The practical implications of this observation will be mentioned in the recommendations below. I turn now to the second factor.

(ii) *A supportive organisation: something and somebody to be true to*

Above, I suggested that the sense of belonging to an organisation could be seen to 'protect' adolescents against 'marginalisation'. This idea can be developed further using the dialectical position and exploring the social and psychological possibilities and constraints which allow for the experience of 'belonging'.

Erikson (1968) has suggested that, in the developmental process of identity formation, the adolescent searches fervently for people and ideas to have faith in. For this reason, the ideology of a society speaks most clearly to the youth (Erikson, 1968).

For the adolescent who is able to identify with the prevailing ideology, identity formation is more readily facilitated. The youth who, for various reasons is unable to, or chooses not to commit (implicitly or explicitly) to the ideology offered by his or her society, suffers a confusion of values. His or her mind becomes more ideologically hungry and s/he searches for alternative ideals with which to identify (Erikson, 1968). These ideals may be found in political revolt or anti-social behaviour. Indeed, Blos has suggested that disaffected youth, though seldom the cause of social revolution, are often its instigators (Blos 1979 in Kroger, 1989).

The ideals internalised by some of the youth in the sample included Christian ideals and the ethic of hard work (see chapter 5), and perhaps influenced their implicit or explicit involvement in certain organisations (such as church youth groups) which, at least superficially, aspired to these ideals. Many of the youth in my sample seem to subscribe to the ideology offered by the NP **[Mandela wants his own way... de Klerk compromises more. My father said that if the ANC rules this land he wants to leave. I like living under the banner of the National Party] [I would vote for the NP, not the ANC. We don't want another leader]**.

However, an interesting theme which seemed to permeate the interviews and the open coding analysis, was the ambivalent and contradictory nature of this alignment with the NP. On the one hand, many of the youth complain about being isolated both racially and geographically whilst, on the other hand, the same youth have aligned themselves with the political party which perpetuated the ideology responsible for the isolation in the first place.

Perhaps this can be understood by elaborating on the concept of ideology. Ideology is seen as a condition for the reproduction of relations of domination. These relations are concealed, denied or presented as something other than what they are (Thompson, 1984 in Foster, 1991). Loosely defined, apartheid as ideology has served to justify 'racist' domination by perpetuating certain ideas about 'race', culture, class, nation, *volk*, Christianity, law and order and [conservative] morality (Foster, 1991, 371). (I acknowledge that the NP, at the time of the study, had publicly rejected the ideology of apartheid. However, this is open to debate: at least one respondent appeared not to accept this to be true **[Other youth** (in Atlantis) **watch TV and listen to their parents, therefore they will vote NP 'cause they are not enlightened. They don't look at the past]**.)

In using the above understanding of ideology to make sense of the contradictory themes in the data, one might argue the following. In looking for something to believe in, in order to satisfy an intrapsychic need heightened during adolescence (see Erikson, 1968); the youth from an employed family, whose job/s, in the first instance, was/were created as a result of apartheid ideology (see chapter 2), has two choices: to accept the family ideals or to reject them. If the family, as significant socializing agent in an isolated area (see Lee, 1989), is strong, close and supportive and so meets the youths inter-relational needs for communication, love and care etc; then the youth may accept their ideals. If not, the youth may search elsewhere. In this way the supportive, close family, does indeed keep the youth engaged with society (see above). However, this may also imply an engagement with the dominant ideology. (Here, I am deliberately generalising, and acknowledge that, of course, there are exceptions to all aspects of this argument.)

The above argument may lead to the following question: what does it mean to accept an ideology which has historically and 'racially' (see Mann, 1963 in Louw & Foster, 1991) oppressed one?

Again, examining the nature of ideology may help to answer this question. Ideology is inscribed with resistances, conflicts and contradictions (Henriques *et al*, 1984) which implies that whilst certain things can be expressed, others must be denied (see Larrain, 1983 in Foster, 1991). Thus, the youth who apparently tacitly accepts an ideology stemming from the party which created apartheid, must deny his or her anger about it **[I don't feel anger** (about apartheid)...] **[We must forget the past]**; deny the 'racist' origins of Atlantis **[I don't know how Atlantis came to be.... All the streets are named after ships and flowers]**; and deny the sociopolitical roots of the crisis in Atlantis **[Atlantis is going down. It's as if there's a curse on this place]**. One might also argue that the knowledge concealed by ideology (see Thompson, 1984 in Foster, 1991), which is an inherently disempowering practice (see Henriques *et al*, 1984), leads to a fear related to not knowing **[If the ANC takes over it makes me afraid.... I'm scared of the blacks fighting each other]**.

In the possible use of denial above, psychic conflict may be kept from consciousness. Because of the psychoanalytic 'laws' of ego defense (see Winnicott, 1974), it could be argued that the ideological experience (in terms of its relationship between the inner and outer processes: the ideology as human subjectivity and the ideology as social practice; Foster, 1991), is even more powerful or determining of social practices (see Foster, 1991).

An area where psychic conflict appears to be conscious, is in the explicitly ambivalent nature of feelings towards Atlantis which many of the youth held. This theme strongly permeated the interviews **[I feel okay about living here, sometimes I'm pleased we came, but it would be easier to live in town because it's near to many places] [I like Atlantis because of the fresh air and lack of pollution. It feels at home away from the city life, but I feel isolated from my friends in Cape Town. There's not much enjoyment over here]**.

Furthermore, many youth were able to identify the crisis at a superficial level, but felt the need to protect the reputation of Atlantis to outsiders **[When people say, "That place. It's a boring place. It's a rough place", I cover up. I have to be proud of it no matter how I really feel 'cause I live here]**. This in spite of the fact that most youth reported that outsiders almost always ridiculed them for living in Atlantis **[People make fun of Atlantis and tease me: "Do you ride in an ox-wagon?", "Go home and feed your chickens - go back to the farm!", "Oh, there's no lights in Atlantis!". They make fun of Atlantis because it's an isolated area. They don't know how big it is. There are places in town that are worse off than Atlantis]**. Later in the same interview: **[I don't fit in to Atlantis anymore.... Everything for me is out there in Cape Town]**.

This may be related to the adolescent's developmental striving for fidelity. Fidelity is the quality of ego strength which arises at the interplay of the adolescent life stage and the social forces of a community. It is evidenced by the adolescent's "search for something and somebody to be true to (Erikson, 1968,

235)". The ego strength of the youth results from the mutual confirmation of the individual and the community; the youth recognised by society, in turn is loyal to the society which demands it (Erikson, 1968).

One might then ask: what is the experience of being loyal to a community/society which is ridiculed by outsiders?

Erikson (1963) has suggested that to avoid becoming "cynically or apathetically lost, young people must somehow be able to convince themselves that those who succeed in their anticipated adult world thereby shoulder the obligation of being the best (p.254)". The lack of role models for the youth in Atlantis has been noted by both youth and community members **[Atlantis has problems; there are no leaders who you can identify with, no heroes]**.

Perhaps, psychoanalytically, the possible identification of some youth with figures who embrace, or have in the past embraced, apartheid is an attempt to avoid apathy, cynicism and role confusion. In addition, there may be sociohistorical reasons and misconceptions for this. One (ANC) youth offered an explanation: **[they** (youth in Atlantis) **think the ANC is only black. When Mandela came here they didn't know - they are not enlightened]**. Whatever the rationale, this possible identification by some of the youth seems to be done at the expense of their own feelings, and with a denial of the 'reality' of the legacy which apartheid has left them (and all South Africans) with. Blos (1971, 975 in Kroger, 1989) has stated that the adolescent can develop optimally only if the societal structures offer "that <u>authentic credibility</u> with which he can identify or polarize (p.75, my emphasis) ".

I hypothesise that many youth (consciously or unconsciously) do not see Atlantis as a place from which to obtain authentic credibility. Some have dealt with this problem by unequivocally distancing themselves from Atlantis, by schooling in Cape Town or planning to leave in the near future. Others have sought alternative ideals found in various practices such as political activism, counselling or anti-social behaviour.

In summary: the above discussion has begun to explore the experience of being an adolescent in Atlantis and presented some themes which emerged from the open coding analysis. This practice has served to contribute further information towards the original research question mandated by the community (i.e. to determine the needs of the youth in Atlantis). It has also begun to explore the experience of being 'fully engaged with society' in this community.

The most salient hypothesis offered is that <u>some</u> 'fine' youth in this sample seem to be struggling with issues of identity which, though age appropriate, are exacerbated by the isolation and social crisis in Atlantis, and its negative image and lack of role models. In addition, it may be the case that remaining

engaged with society, with its inherent ideological contradictions, may have led these 'fine' youth to deny or distort their psychological reality which includes anger and powerlessness/fear. Findings reported in studies of the experiences of black adolescents in contradictory environments (see Danziger, 1975; De Ridder, 1971; Bloom, 1975 in Germond, 1988) suggest the presence of significant role confusion; this can inhibit successful identity formation (Erikson, 1968 in Germond, 1988). These sorts of findings also suggest that further exploration into the whole question of 'marginalisation' and engagement with society is required.

With respect to the sample of youth in my study, I believe that the possible internal conflict of some youth needs further exploration and possible resolution. Perhaps integral to this process is the expression of anger. Unlike many predominantly black youth involved in political activism, many respondents in this sample have not openly expressed their rage towards the 'oppressor' (see Freeman, 1993). Instead, some of these youth feel anger but for various reasons believe it should be repressed.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

This study, in line with certain recommendations outlined in chapter 3 (Freeman, 1993; Germond, 1988; JEP, 1993) has attempted to provide a needs-driven, youth-centred study which also focuses on the psychological aspects of youth and apartheid. In doing so, I have mixed community based methods of research (needs assessment and action research) with hermeneutic data analysis (open coding). I have then loosely applied an aspect of Gibson's (1993) theoretical model. This has served to provide a multi-layered needs assessment which becomes increasingly interpretive. As such, it has contributed information towards understanding the psychological and social needs of youth in Atlantis.

In summary, the following findings are highlighted:

1. The problems of youth in Atlantis were explored against a backdrop of problems facing youth generally in South Africa. Of primary concern to Atlantis youth is the lack or recreation, substance abuse, family breakdown and gangsterism.

2. With respect to these problems I have identified three sets of needs:
   (i) the need for **practical solutions** to the problems such as the creation of a teen-centre which provides educational workshops, entertainment and lifeskills training, and which also provides opportunities to mix with other communities and 'races';
   (ii) **inter-relational needs** which relate strongly to the breakdown in family structures (the needs for limit setting, love, care, communication, understanding); the breakdown in community structures (the need for safety, stimulation, identification, unity) and the enhancement of the self (the need for self-esteem, mastery, self-actualisation, being needed); and finally

(iii) the need for **societal structures and role models** who offer or facilitate the sense of authentic credibility which adolescents seek (see Blos, 1971, in Kroger, 1989).

SUGGESTED IMPLEMENTATION OF FINDINGS AND FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

Other researchers have made recommendations for addressing the problems of youth (see Bundy, 1993; Bosma, 1991; Donald & Dawes, 1994; Freeman, 1993; JEP, 1993; Mokwena, 1992; Moller, 1991; Ramphele' 1992; Straker *et al*, 1992; WHO, 1993). Space does not permit a discussion of these recommendations. Instead, the following points which have arisen directly from this study are offered.

1. Sixty two percent of the youth individually interviewed, as well as the two focus groups believed that peer counselling should be offered by a teen-centre. Many felt that the bulk of counselling should be provided by peers but that professionals should be available for guidance. All of the youth individually interviewed said they would be interested in becoming peer counsellors, and indeed many of them are already engaged in the peer counselling of substance abusers and gangsters. The possibility of establishing a peer counselling system should be explored thoroughly as one of the services offered by a teen-centre. Experiences of Mamre peer counsellors and trainers could be drawn on.

2. In addition to providing a service, the process of being trained as a peer counsellor is often healing. It facilitates the working through of ones own conflicts, which I have suggested is desirable in terms of some of the youth in this sample. As I mentioned, I believe that many of the youth in Atlantis are struggling with identity problems which relate to the lack of role models and the isolation. These youth may need support. Youth, themselves, have requested workshops and lifeskills. Many who were involved in RALI or Peace Visions stressed the value of these programmes in giving them the confidence to resist engaging in self-destructive behaviour. A word of caution, however. Whilst these programmes are beneficial in exposing youth to other communities and alleviating their geographical and 'racial' isolation, they also expose the youth to ridicule concerning the 'lost city of Atlantis'. Their need to defend Atlantis may mean that their internal feelings of shame or anger are not expressed. Perhaps these feelings could be addressed in workshops and programmes which initially include only Atlantis youth.

3. In terms of 'fine' youth being involved as leaders and trainers (see Everatt & Orkin, 1993), my observation at the feedback workshop (see Appendix E) where some of the youth from the study sample interacted with representatives from the NYDF, may be useful. I felt that there were ideological differences between the groups which produced different agendas and different needs, and that many of the sampled youth did not relate to, and possibly felt intimidated by, the predominantly politically-informed needs of the NYDF youth (e.g. needs for youth representation

and political education [refer to Tables 3 & 4, Chapter 5]). (Indeed, it was this observation which led me, after the workshop, to conduct the open coding analysis of the interviews, and by doing so, to improve the internal validity or credibility of the study.) Later, evaluations have revealed that the sampled youth, who attended the workshop, have explicitly chosen not to link up with the NYDF. Therefore, whilst some of the youth in this sample can be involved as peer counsellors, careful exploration of their various values and identities is needed, so that they are not alienated by the ideology of the social reconstruction and development initiatives proposed by the various youth organisations.

4. The needs assessment, summarised above, has demonstrated that the youth have significant inter-relational needs (e.g. needs for communication, love and care from parents). The respondents have suggested that the fulfillment of these needs keeps them from engaging in 'self-destructive' behaviour (involving substance abuse and violence, for example) and have, themselves, recommended various means of ensuring that more youth have these needs fulfilled. Solutions include: facilities for the provision of parent counselling, family recreation, education for teenage mothers, and communication and life skills training. As far as possible, these facilities should be provided, however, preventive solutions should be emphasised. These would include paying attention to the social factors contributing to family breakdown in Atlantis (such as unemployment and adult substance abuse).

5. Prevention programmes in schools which are aimed at the gangster problem in South Africa (Flisher *et al*, 1993) could be explored and perhaps implemented in Atlantis. (These programs might need to consider the needs of teachers who may also require support.) My study has highlighted the social and psychological factors involved in gangsterism. The social roots are to be found in the general social disintegration of the Atlantis community which is a reflection of the broader South African society. Psychologically, the quest for power and autonomy and the lack of creativity is reflected in the study. In developing social reconstruction programmes which target gangsters, the experience of mastery and more creative ways of being empowered might be emphasised. This point relates to all youth who have been 'marginalised'.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. As an exploratory study typical of qualitative research, this study has not attempted to obtain closure beyond the boundaries of what is presented. Nor does it strive to be conclusion-oriented (see Wolcott, 1990). Whilst tentatively answering some questions it raises many more. Most notably, the development of a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between apartheid and 'marginalisation' is required. In no way do I claim to have achieved this. I have merely explored a possible avenue. My exploration lacks a thorough analysis of ideology, identity

and power. What I have started may be developed further by making full use of Gibson's (1993) theoretical model, and possibly, analyses of discursive practices (which I avoided because of language difficulties).

2. A further question produced by this study concerns the role of creativity and leisure in social reconstruction and youth development. There is little research in this area which I believe is a valuable one to explore.

3. The results of this needs assessment could be used to inform a quantitative study of the needs of youth. My study is limited by the lack of focus on service use and provision. Including a service component into the needs assessment would provide a better understanding of what services are required (see Thompson *et al*, 1994) by teenagers and whether they would actually make use of a teen-centre. Though all of the youth in my study agreed with the idea of creating a teen-centre, they also mentioned important reasons why they do not use existing services. Reasons included lack of transport and the fear of gangsters. Perhaps other reasons relate to the degree of involvement of adults in the implementing and running of such services. These potential problems should be explored further.

4. The 'marginalisation' of youth in Atlantis needs attention. There appears to be a high incidence of teenage depression and suicide, however, there are no prevalence figures for these problems. These may be required in order to motivate for and provide appropriate social and psychiatric services. As such, epidemiological studies are recommended.

POSTSCRIPT: The motivation for applying dialectical solutions to community problems stems from the belief that these solutions are more effective (Rappaport, 1981). I believe there is a further benefit. As an intern psychologist originally interested in psychodynamic psychology and the individual psyche, I was initially disheartened by community psychology. I perceived it to be atheoretical and 'unpsychological'. I could not see how a psychologist could use all of his or her skills in addressing community problems. My unexpected placement at the MCHP, led to an interest in community psychology and I embarked upon this dissertation. I was encouraged greatly by Rappaport's (1981) dissatisfaction with 'one-sided' approaches to community problems. I have since come to believe that tackling problems from a dialectical position allows the community psychologist to be challenged not only practically, but also academically and clinically. This might be important in encouraging more psychologists to consider cost-effective and accessible ways of becoming involved in the social reconstruction and healing required in South Africa.

As Newbrough (1992) states with regard to community psychology in the postmodern world:

> "...the duality, identified as the Problem of the One and the Many...has to be transcended into a unitary concept of both The One *and* The Many" (p.11).

What is currently needed is, not a way to show the effects of the environment on the individual (that is the old paradigm); but as Rappaport (1994, 17-18) states:

> "...what we need to show is how it is that the social, political and interpersonal environment becomes incorporated into the hearts, minds and behaviours of individual people -- the oppressors as well as the oppressed. ...When a new paradigm is adopted its adherents must review the accumulated facts so as to try to account for them in new ways.... That is how the process of science works. ...at first the new paradigm will not be able to account as well as the older paradigm for the known facts. It will account better for certain anomalies or problems that led the research community away from the current approach."

By exploring the use of the dialectical approach within action oriented research, and attempting to grapple with the resulting paradigmatic issues, this dissertation has endeavoured to aim in the direction encouraged by Rappaport (1994).

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APPENDIX A: THE PRESENT CYCLE OF ACTION RESEARCH, MY STUDY

Here follows a brief outline (in terms of D'Aunno *et al*'s (1985) action research model of the cycle of action research undertaken by me. This followed on from the PRECEDING cycle undertaken by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (appendix B).

1. DIAGNOSIS

An analysis and diagnosis of the setting is made by client and researcher (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985).

The SFC research sub-commission identified the need for research into the needs of the community (FCR, 1993c). Owing to a lack of funding, I was mandated to conduct an exploratory study of the needs and problems of the youth.

2. PRE-INTERVENTION DATA COLLECTION

Data are collected and analysed firstly to identify changes needed; and secondly to design the means to implement changes (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985).

Prior to the actual collection of data and in order to clarify the research question, avoid duplication, and identify the information needs and values of the stakeholders (see Innes & Heflinger, 1989), I interviewed:

a) various members of the Atlantis and Mamre community who are involved with the youth (members from the ADF SFC, MCHP, SANCA and CWD [see Glossary of Acronyms]),

b) members of the broader community who are involved in other projects or research with youth (social workers from the WCRSC in Atlantis, researchers from a project in Crossroads, the University of the Witwatersrand Centre Health Policy, the Youth Development Forum, the UCT psychology department and RALI), and

c) members of the broader community who are involved in related research or work fields (members from the Regional Services Council and the Medical Research Council, the FCR).

The results of my networking may be summarised as follows:

Although more difficult to sample because of my status as an outsider, I was advised to interview youth rather than teachers and adults involved in the youth (MCHP personnel, MRC). It was believed that it is important to document the problems and needs of youth because although these needs were known informally, documentation was necessary for funding. The research should be exploratory and possibly used to inform a questionnaire which could be used to conduct a more representative needs assessment (TADA, SANCA). In addition, apart from exploring general needs, a member from the CWD required information on the kind of teen-centre the youth would like.

3. DATA GATHERING DURING THE ACTION PHASE

There is a dual process of data collection and feedback thereby allowing the researchers to assess the efficacy of their methods and to modify the means or goals where necessary (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985).

This phase has taken the form of an exploratory needs assessment. Data from the 15 in-depth and 2 focus group interviews were descriptively analysed and the results (see chapter 5) presented to the youth at a workshop held in March 1993. An announcement was made during school assembly in all five high schools and in the local newspaper (see Appendix D) inviting all interested adolescents to attend. In addition, invitations were sent to each of the 23 youth I had interviewed. The format of the workshop was negotiated with members from the MCHP, SANCA, TADA, CWD and the UCT psychology department. The 32 youth who attended the workshop were divided into 6 focus groups with a facilitator from one or more of the above organisations. An outline of the workshop has been appended (see Appendix E).

4. POST INTERVENTION DATA COLLECTION AND EVALUATION

This phase involves the inclusion and evaluation of additional data which has become evident during the intervention process (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985).

During the discussion concerning future action at the end of the workshop, two representatives from the National Youth Development Forum (NYDF) who had heard about the meeting proposed their becoming involved with the project. The youth decided to meet again in a week to discuss, amongst other things, the possibility of linking up with the NYDF. They felt the need to complete the process begun in this workshop before becoming involved in national structures. They also did not feel representative enough of Atlantis youth to make a decision to become involved. It was suggested that they would link up with the Atlantis Development Forum and possibly elect a representative committee of youth.

Following the workshop the following has taken place:

1. The youth themselves have not linked up with the National Youth Development Forum but have continued to meet by themselves.
2. The descriptive results of the study have been used to apply for funding for a teen-centre.
3. An exploratory workshop with mental health service providers was held in Atlantis on 17 March 1994 to identify the difficulties they experience in dealing with adolescent depression and suicide and to plan an intervention strategy. This resulted in a one-day workshop on adolescent suicide and depression aimed at all service providers in Atlantis and Mamre. It was run by a UCT psychologist and the intern clinical psychologist who took my place at the MCHP in February 1994. Training and information workshops have also been planned to coincide with the establishment of a youth counselling centre (Sterling, 1994).

5. THE CYCLE CONTINUES

If the intervention is not completely successful, the process will repeat itself ideally until the objectives of both the action and the research are realised (or abandoned) (D'Aunno *et al*, 1985).

This phase will constitute feeding back to the ADF the results of my dissertation, specifically the needs identified in the open coding and my recommendations for implementation.

APPENDIX B: THE CYCLE OF ACTION RESEARCH PRECEDING MY STUDY

Here follows a brief outline of the action research undertaken by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (refer to chapter 2 for further details). The information is presented in stages which correspond to D'Aunno *et al*'s (1985) model of action research. The stages are explained in Appendix A.

1. DIAGNOSIS

The Crisis in Atlantis was diagnosed by various community organisations, who then formed the Atlantis Development Forum (the client), advised by the Foundation for Contemporary Research (the researchers). In other words the community with the help of the researchers (the FCR) attempted to make a diagnosis of the problems.

2. PRE-INTERVENTION DATA COLLECTION

The "Urban Development Plan" was launched by the ADF. During the first (the "Agreed Perspective") phase of this plan, the FCR compiled various documents consisting of profile data, community analyses and strategy proposals.

3. DATA GATHERING DURING THE ACTION PHASE

The "Activity Formation" or second phase of the Urban Development Plan involved not only the gathering of data, but included feeding back to the community the recommendations produced by each of the five commissions (mentioned in chapter 2) and inviting community members to carry out those recommendations.

The names of the five commissions are as follows:

1. Local Economy commission
2. Popularising the process (or media commission)
3. Planning and environment
4. Social Fabric Commission (SFC)
5. Local Government (FCR, 1993b, 1).

4. POST-INTERVENTION DATA COLLECTION AND EVALUATION

Out of the work of the various commissions and sub-commissions new data which required needs for further action became evident.

5. THE CYCLE CONTINUES

It is evident that by this stage many cycles had been set into motion. However, it is beyond the scope of this work to cover all the aspects of such a broad forum. I have therefore focused only on the present research which arose out of my involvement with the Social Fabric Commission (SFC).

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Prior to the beginning of the interview, I explained who I was and what the Atlantis Development Forum was. Confidentiality, language issues and the use of the tape-recorder were discussed.

Demographic Data

1. What is your full name and date of birth?
2. Who do you live with?
3. What work do your parents do?
4. What school are you at and what standard did you complete in 1993 (if applicable)?
5. What do you do (if not at school)?

Interview

6. How long have you lived in Atlantis?
7. Why did your family come to Atlantis?
8. What is it like living in Atlantis?
9. What do other people say when you tell them that you come from Atlantis?
10. How do you feel when you say that you come from Atlantis?
11. What are the problems and needs of the youth in Atlantis (this was explored at length in an unstructured manner)?
12 How do you spend your leisure time?
13 What are your future goals?
14. What values did your parents teach you were important?
15. If a teen-centre (explain what it is) was started in Atlantis, what do you think it should offer?
16. Is there anything more you would like to say about Atlantis?
17. Would you like to come to a feedback workshop?
18. How have you experienced this interview?
19. Is there anyone else you think I should talk to or anyone you know (youth) who would talk to me?

APPENDIX D: THE ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER, "THE WESKUS NUUS" (THE WEST COAST NEWS) ON 9 FEBRUARY 1994

Weskus Nuus 9/2

Youth work feedback

12/2/94

ATLANTIS - An intern psychologist recently completed an intense study on the youth of Atlantis and will be presenting her findings over the weekend.

Miss Kim Richardson, intern psychologist, said her research was a look at the problems and needs of adolescents in Atlantis.

She was able to compile her findings after many many hours of interviews with people across the spectrum of Atlantis residents. The research took two months to complete.

"Some of the main problems I was able to determine were boredom, unemployment a lack of recreation and the presence of gangs in Atlantis," she said.

Miss Richardson began wotking at the Mamre Health Clinic when she became interested in an information clinic about the Atlantis Development Forum.

In conjunction with the Forum, she did her studies on the youth of Atlantis.

She will be presenting her findings to all interested parties at the Catholic Hall in Sun Road, Avondale in Atlantis. The meeting starts at 14:00.

She will be presenting her information in the form of a workshop, therefore it will be aimed at the youth.

Anyone interested in receiving training as a councillor is invited to attend the workshop.

APPENDIX E: WORKSHOP AGENDA

WORKSHOP ON THE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE YOUTH OF ATLANTIS

DATE: 12 FEBRUARY 1994.
TIME: 2 P.M.
PLACE: CATHOLIC HALL, SUN ROAD, AVONDALE, ATLANTIS.

ENTRANCE

1. Music will be playing from a ghetto blaster.
2. People will come into hall and each receive a name-tag with a number on it (to facilitate getting into small groups).

1. INTRODUCTION TO WORKSHOP

1.1. Welcome to everyone and thank you for coming.
1.2. Facilitators introduce themselves.
1.3. Objectives of workshop outlined. i.e.: discussion of problems and needs and a brainstorming session of possible ways to deal with problems, not the providing of solutions but the start of a process or a forum in which youth can come together and take action.
1.4. Introduction to the Atlantis Development Forum.

2. FEEDBACK ON RESEARCH

2.1. Who I am and how I came to do the research.
2.2. Sample: Who I interviewed and confidentiality.
2.3. Results: Problems
Needs
2.4. Clarify that I will no be longer working in Mamre but that others will be here to continue the process started.

During the feedback, translation will be available and the problems and needs will be written up on the black board in point form.

3. SMALL GROUPS ON NEEDS AND PROBLEMS - 45 MINUTES

AIM: to make sure all needs and problems have been raised.
SMALL GROUP FACILITATORS: members of the MCHP, CWD, SANCA, UCT psychology and social work departments and the WCRSC (n=6).

3.1. Introduce small group process and get into groups according to numbers on stickers.

3.2. Facilitators will be responsible for facilitating discussion and one youth will be responsible for keeping notes and feeding back to the big group.

The following guidelines may be used:

3.2.1. Ice-breaker of facilitator's choice (if necessary).

3.2.2. Any comments about the problems presented by Kim?

3.2.3. Any problems that have been left out?

3.2.4. Any comments about the needs presented by Kim?

3.2.5. Any needs that have been left out?

3.2.4. What should a teen-centre offer?

4. FEEDBACK TO THE BIG GROUP

4.1. Youth to present their comments and additional problems and needs.

5. BREAK - 20 MINUTES

Tea and biscuits provided.

6. GROUP DISCUSSION ON THE WAY FORWARD

6.1. Discussion

6.2. Evaluation

What was useful about today?

What was wrong with today?

7. CLOSING

7.1. Summarise how process will continue.

7.2. Thank you and goodbye.

APPENDIX F: LIST OF 38 CONCEPTS OBTAINED DURING THE INITIAL PHASE OF OPEN CODING

The process of naming these concepts is described in Chapter 4.

Concepts

Youth needs not met by parents
Parental limits
Separating from parents
Role models
Developmental needs not being met
Apathy and boredom
Community not meeting youth needs
Inferior education
Family disintegration
Aspirations
Self-esteem
Autonomy
Helping ourselves
Our problems
Our anger
Our fears
Getting help from others
Political identity
Identity - general
Mastery
Atlantis is inferior
Lack of pride in community
Divided loyalties
Ambivalence about living in Atlantis
Atlantis as a misunderstood place
Communication
Community apathy
Need for unity
Alienation
Racial isolation
Geographical isolation
Distancing self from Atlantis
Fragmented community
Sense of familiarity/belonging

Social isolation

Loyalty to Atlantis

Disillusionment with Atlantis

Atlantis versus Cape Town