Children's representations of sources of safety in a high violence community

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: ……………………………. **Date: ……………………………….**

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ABSTRACT

South African youth are at risk for injury and victimisation and those living in high violence contexts are particularly vulnerable to physical threats. Insight into how children keep themselves safe has immense practical relevance, however little has been documented regarding children's perceived sources of safety. Using the methodology of Photovoice, ten children were recruited from a high violence community to take photographs of 'things', 'people' and 'places' that made them feel safe. Interviews were then conducted with the children about their photographs. Using thematic analysis, photographs were first categorised to identify which sources of safety were most commonly represented by participants. Thereafter, the narratives of participants' photographs were analysed to develop an understanding of how and why these sources of safety were salient. In the analysis of the photographs, public spaces were more frequently represented as safe than private ones. Other children were more frequently identified as sources of safety than adults and there was a prominent concern with physical barriers and home security mechanisms. The analysis of participants' narratives revealed that the above places, people and items afford safety by providing (1) physical security (2) interpersonal connectedness (3) spiritual connectedness; and (4) the improvement of social conditions through the development of infrastructure. These findings are considered in relation to existing literature and recommendations for child safety promotion strategies and for future research are offered.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This research focuses on the safety of young people who live amidst violence and other sources of injury on a continuous basis. Injuries stemming from accidents and violence are one of the greatest sources of harm currently affecting children world-wide. At a glance, road traffic injuries cause an estimated 700 young people to die every day, and approximately 430 people aged 10 to 24 die every day through interpersonal violence (Krug, Dahlberg, Merci, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002). Children are, therefore, extremely vulnerable to physical danger. Inevitably, children from violence-prone areas are at increased risk.

In South Africa, children have only recently become recognised as one of the most neglected and overtly oppressed sectors of society (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000). Results from The South African National Youth Victimisation study found that young people are almost twice as likely to be victimized as adults and that young people are surrounded by violence and crime in all spheres they occupy, including the home, school and their wider communities (Burton, 2006). In their review of trauma affecting South Africans, Kaminer and Eagle (2010) conclude that South Africa is a dangerous society, with those exposed to poverty and disempowerment currently experiencing the greatest burden of trauma exposure, often as a result of violence. Their protection is therefore a major concern, both globally and within economically developing contexts, such as South Africa.

Some of the dominant sources of violence affecting children in South Africa stem from physical and sexual forms of abuse, often associated with the home context and perpetrated by family members (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla, & Ratele, 2009). In addition, children's peers also play a role in causing physical harm through gang involvement, bullying and abusive dating. Children are also exposed to violence in their communities through their schools, extensive neighbourhood violence and police violence (Seedat et al., 2009; Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008). Finally, homicide occurs in high rates amongst youth in South Africa, who are affected as both perpetrators and as victims (Seedat et al., 2009).

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In terms of injury, children and adolescents also are particularly vulnerable to accidents (ie, unintentional injuries) (Seedat et al., 2009; WHO, 2008), with traffic and burn injuries being the most common forms to affect children in the region (Burrows, Swart, Laflamme, 2009). The reduction of injury risk to children, therefore, is an important public health challenge in South Africa.

Child safety is currently dominated by the public health approach, which focuses on measures to reduce injury. Despite some research on protective factors, the public health approach to safety is predominantly concerned with understanding risk: what constitutes risk, the factors that exacerbate risk, and developing strategies that reduce risk or the effects of exposure to risk. In this sense, from a public health perspective, the safety of youth is often explored from a problem-centered angle, where children are investigated as subjects of risk. In addition, much of the research on child and adolescent safety is constructed by adults without the consultation of young people (Williams, 2007). Criticism has been voiced that there is a distinct lack of involvement of young people in issues that implicate them and their well-being (Bolzak, 2011; Langhout & Annear, 2011). Indeed, much of what we know about sources of child protection and safety has not been directly elicited from, or constructed by, children themselves.

In contrast, the field of Positive Youth Development embraces a positive youth paradigm and attempts to shift from a problem-centered approach aimed at reacting to negative youth behaviours, to strategies that collaborate with and empower youth and support activities that promote their development. Approaches to child safety within this paradigm would work *with* children in a bid to understand their safety needs and priorities, placing them as an integral part of the research process.

1.2 Research aims

In accordance with positive approaches to understanding and enhancing youth wellness, the aim of the current study is to examine youth perceptions of sources of safety in a violence prone community. The emphasis is placed on hearing young people's voices and exploring their representations of safety which are relevant to the realities of youth life in their community. This will hopefully highlight youth appropriate resources and assets that could

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enhance the safety of children in this, and potentially other, violence-prone communities in South Africa.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two aims to examine the relevant literature pertaining to children's safety in South Africa and elsewhere.

The third chapter presents the qualitative research design employed in this study to explore children's representations of safety. Specifically, the methodology of Photovoice is described with a view to contextualising its use in this research.

The fourth chapter presents the results of the analysis of the photographs and narratives derived from the Photovoice process. In addition, the findings are discussed in relation to existing literature on children's safety.

The fifth and final chapter presents a summary of the findings as well as a discussion of the practical implications of the findings. Finally, the chapter explores the strengths and limitations of the current research as well as recommendations for future research in the field of child safety.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide a context in which to frame South African children's representations of sources of safety, this chapter examines both the causes of harm affecting children in South Africa and the protective factors that may reduce risk of harm. The review is split into three broad sections. The first section presents rates of injury, violence and victimisation affecting South African youth, while the second section examines protective factors known to reduce risk of injury and violence. Finally, the last section will offer a critical evaluation of this research on the basis that the public health approach to research about protective factors for children's safety has generally failed to explore children's own constructions of safety. The value of the Positive Youth Development paradigm as a framework for research on children's sources of safety will be examined.

2.1 VIOLENCE, VICTIMISATION AND INJURY PREVALENCE RATES AMONGST SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

> *"South Africa, a country not at war, faces an unprecedented burden of morbidity and mortality arising from violence and injury."* (Seedat, et al., 2009, p. 1011).

As the above quotation highlights, violence and injury are key issues currently affecting South Africans. Young people in the country are twice as likely to be victims of crime as adults, resulting in a higher likelihood of violence and injury (Burton, 2006). Children in this context therefore constitute a particularly vulnerable group at risk for physical harm, making their safety a core public health issue in contemporary South Africa. Sources of physical harm include both intentional and unintentional injury, each of which is discussed below.

2.1.1 Intentional Injuries

The World Health Organisation (WHO) refers to violence as a global health problem and intentional injuries (i.e., the deliberate infliction of physical harm) are the leading cause of death worldwide for people aged 15-44 years (Krug et al., 2002). Child victimisation currently occurs at alarming rates and the South African context is no exception. Kaminer

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and Eagle (2010) estimate that at least half of South Africa's child population has been exposed to a traumatic event, either as a witness or as a direct victim, hence increasing their chances of experiencing physical harm. Violence has been recognised as one of the most pressing issues affecting the well-being of South African children for some time now (Richter & Higson-Smith, 2004). The following section considers the prevalence rates of key forms of violence affecting South African youth.

2.1.1.1 Familial and Sexual Violence

Two of the dominant sources of intentional injuries affecting children stem from direct child abuse (both physical and sexual) and indirect abuse through injuries incurred via the abuse of one intimate partner against another [commonly referred to as intimate partner violence (IPV), or domestic violence (DV)] (Seedat et al., 2009). In the latter instance, injuries occur as a result of unintentional harm in the midst of "cross-fire" exposure of the child to the abuse, although as will be highlighted, the presence of domestic violence often increases the simultaneous chance and presence of child abuse.

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In terms of physical child abuse, Seedat et al. (2009) state that, "violence against children is ubiquitous. Beatings take place daily or every week. Sticks, belts, or other weapons are used and injury is common" (p.1013). In addition, sexual offences against children have been identified as the key form of abuse resulting in physical injuries (Richter & Higson-Smith, 2004). Specific incidence rates of physical and sexual child abuse are frequently lacking, particularly for developing countries (Krug et al., 2002) and few studies exist documenting the prevalence of child abuse in South Africa (Swart, 2007). However, it has been acknowledged that violence against women and children has been rising in the country (Meel, 2006).

For example, in their review of medical records of child sexual assault victims in the country from 2003-2005, Cox, Andrade, Lungelow, Schloetelburg and Rode (2007) found that both cases and severity of injuries increased annually. In 2004, almost 25,000 reported rapes and indecent assaults were perpetrated against children; however, these figures have been estimated to have more realistically stood at around 400,000 to 500,000 actual incidents, since only about one in twenty cases of child sexual abuse are reported (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). With this information in mind, recent statistics reported by the South African Police

Services (SAPS) paint a particularly grim picture. The following statistics reflect the most recent formal statistics published in the South African Police Services (SAPS) official annual report for the period 2009-2010. Despite some small decline in figures following 2004 and leading up to more recent years, they indicate a 36.1% increase on all sexual offences reported against children between the 2008-2009 (N = 20 141) and 2009-2010 (N = 27 417) periods. It is also noteworthy that in 2008-2009, 39.5% of sexual offences committed against children were against those in the age group of 15-17 years. However, of the 27 417 sexual offences committed against children in the 2009-2010 period, 60% were committed against children below the age of 15 years and 29.4% of these sexual offences involved children aged 0-10 years.

In terms of common assault committed against children, South African Police statistics reflect a slight increase of 3% on reported rates between the 2008-2009 (N = 14 544) and 2009-2010 (N = 14 982) periods. The only form of crime committed against children to reflect a slight decline in reported figures is the category of assault (GBH). For the 2008-2009 period, there were 12 422 reports, whilst in 2009-2010, this figure stood at 12 062, reflecting a decline of 2.9%.

In terms of indirect forms of child abuse, studies have shown an association between IPV and childhood maltreatment (Seedat et al., 2005), reinforcing that exposure to one form of violence puts children at risk for other forms of violence (Ward, Flisher, Zissis, Muller, & Lombard, 2001). In fact, the mere presence of domestic abuse has been found to be a risk factor for child physical abuse. One piece of international research, for example, suggests that children who are exposed to domestic violence are 15 times more likely to be physically abused than those who are not (Osofsky, 1999, cited in Cox et al., 2007). Studies have therefore concluded that children who are exposed to IPV have a higher risk of immediate physical injury (Krug et al., 2002; Swart, 2007).

Because family violence occurs behind closed doors, some have referred to family and home violence as “hidden phenomena” (Gilbert, 1996, p. 878). Domestic violence therefore often constitutes a particularly oppressive form of abuse. Accordingly, the home has been described by some as potentially one of the most dangerous places for children, with them having more to fear from family than from strangers (Gilbert, 1996). Again, this suggests

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that previously cited statistics are probably a severe under-estimation of the extent to which children are enduring injury at home.

2.1.1.2 Peer Violence

Another source of interpersonal injury, particularly in South Africa, stems from adolescents' own peer relationships. Bullying amongst peer groups has been found to be a common source of violence and victimisation for young South Africans. Based on a survey of 5074 adolescent school children in grade 8 and grade 11 (mean age 14.2 years) from 72 Government schools in Cape Town and Durban, Liang, Flisher and Lombard (2007) found that 36.3% of the students were involved in bullying behaviour. The highest percentage of victims (19.3%) were males, with younger boys being more vulnerable to victimization. Furthermore, the study showed that those involved in bullying (either as perpetrator, victim or both) were significantly more likely to be involved in violent and anti-social behaviours compared to that of the control group (Liang, et al., 2007).

Violent behaviour also manifests, and is fuelled through, peer relationships in gangs. Gang culture and gang related problems have become recognised as a major public health concern since the early 1990's and have become specifically linked to violent injury (Katz & Fox, 2010). Gang warfare is particularly prolific in communities historically classified as 'coloured'[1], particularly in the Western Cape region of South Africa (Gilbert, 1996), and this may account in part for why adolescent exposure to violence in these areas has been found to be so high (Ward et al., 2001).

Many South African romantic relationships also demonstrate a high level of violence. In a study of heterosexual adolescent dating violence among secondary school students from a South African community, for example, Swart et al. (2002) found that approximately half of males and just over half of females reported involvement in a physically abusive relationship, either as a perpetrator or victim of the abuse.

[1]The term 'coloured' constitutes one of the legally recognised population groupings used under the apartheid system to refer to people of mixed heritage and is currently still socially recognised and used in South Africa.

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More concerning is the acceptance from both girls and boys that physical abuse constitutes an acceptable form of dating behaviour and that violence is a demonstration of love (Swart, et al., 2002), thus increasing the likeliness of its perpetuation.

2.1.1.3 Community violence

In a South African study examining the effects of community violence on children (aged 8-13 years), Shields et al. (2008) found that out of 185 children from five Cape Town schools, all were exposed to a significant amount of community violence and the majority to severe forms of violence. Specifically, these were; school violence, neighbourhood violence, gang violence and police violence. Some of the more serious forms included witnessing people being seriously beaten up, themselves being threatened with a knife or sharp object or gun, being shot at, and witnessing homicides. Results from over 4,000 adolescents from The National Youth Victimisation Survey mentioned previously, indicate that 9 per cent had been robbed and 10 per cent had experienced a car hijacking (Burton, 2006), whilst results from a school survey of Grade 10 learners in the Western Cape found that a third of the sample had been mugged (Seedat, van Noord, Vythilingum, Stein, & Kaminer, 2000).

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Homicide occurs in high rates amongst South Africa youth, who are affected as both perpetrators and as victims (Seedat et al., 2009). According to RAPCAN, in the 2006-2007 period, 19 202 people were murdered nationally. Of those murders, 1 152 were committed against children. The 2007-2008 period saw a decline in national figures to 18 487; however, of those figures for that year, 1 410 were against children, showing a 7.6% increase on the previous year for murder committed against children. Despite a slight decline on these previous years, SAPS statistics in their 2009-2010 annual report indicate an increase of 42.3% in the incidence of attempted murder between the 2008-2009 (N = 782) and 2009-2010 (N = 1 113) periods and a 14.5% increase in the incidence of murder against children between the 2008-2009 (N = 843) and 2009-2010 (N = 965) periods, which suggests a growing trend. Seedat et al. (2009) report that the highest homicide victimisation rates predominantly affect men aged 15-29 years (184 per 100 000) and that in areas such as Cape Town these rates can be double.

2.1.2 Unintentional injury

Children and adolescents are also particularly vulnerable to accidents, or unintentional injuries (Seedat et al., 2009; WHO, 2008). A recent report by the WHO (2008) presents road traffic accidents, burns, drowning, falls and poisonings as the five most common forms of unintentional injuries affecting young people globally. South African studies corroborate all aforementioned injuries as problematic in the country (Burrows et al., 2009; Munro, Van Niekerk, & Seedat, 2006). Currently, traffic and burn injuries are the most common forms of unintentional injuries to children in South Africa (Burrows et al., 2009), and will be discussed separately below.

2.1.2.1 Road traffic injuries

Currently, 93 per cent of child road deaths occur in low-to-middle income countries (LMICs), with global morbidity statistics indicating that the highest rates of road traffic death are found in the African and Eastern Mediterranean regions (WHO, 2008). Currently, traffic injuries constitute the leading cause of death for both very young children (ages 5-14) and the latter teens (ages 15-19), reinforcing this issue as one affecting children across the spectrum of their developmental years (WHO, 2008). The precise number of children affected by traffic injuries is unknown but the World Health Organisation estimates this to be around 10 million per year. In South Africa, pedestrian deaths are specifically a concern; in 2007, 40 per cent of traffic related deaths were pedestrians and, of these, 17 per cent affected children (Seedat, et al., 2009).

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2.1.2.2 Burns

Globally, children are at a high risk for death from burns, ranked as the eleventh most frequent cause of death for children aged 1-9 years (WHO, 2008). This death rate has been found to be eleven times higher in developing countries, with most deaths occurring in particularly impoverished areas like sub-Saharan Africa (WHO, 2008). It is estimated that at least 300 000, and maybe nearly as many as 17 million, cases of childhood burn injuries occur in Africa each year (Hyder, Kashyap, Fishman, & Vali, 2004, cited in Van Niekerk, 2007). In accordance, burns have been found to be the main cause of injury in children aged one to four in South Africa (Seedat, et al., 2009; Van Niekerk, Rode, & Laflamme, 2004). A

high incidence of burn-related deaths has been found to affect children in the Western Cape region of South Africa (Van Niekerk et al., 2004) with a mortality rate of 158 per 100 000 African children in the Western Cape, with poorer living conditions impacting the higher occurrence of burn injuries (Van Niekerk, Reimers, & Laflamme, 2006).

The following section considers the different sources of protection that have been important for children's safety.

2.2 PROTECTIVE FACTORS FOR INTENTIONAL AND UNINTENTIONAL INJURIES

Injury prevention is often explored from a risk perspective, meaning that the reduction of injury is approached by initially exploring hazardous factors known to increase injury, which is followed by the development of practical measures and intervention strategies that avert or prevent these risk factors. This approach has been widely applied to reduce risk of unintentional injuries. For example, in the case of road traffic accidents, there is a practical emphasis on increasing infrastructural measures, such as speed bumps and designated pedestrian crossings (WHO, 2008). Specifically in terms of child safety, there has been an increase in awareness of creating safe play areas, creating safe routes to school and increasing and enforcing child safety equipment, such as child restraint systems, seat belts and bicycle helmets (WHO, 2008). These remain viable and effective measures that serve to curtail injury incidence.

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However, the reduction of risk for interpersonal violence remains a more challenging endeavour. Some of the risk factors for violence are known, yet interventions to prevent such risks remain fraught with complexities and challenges (WHO, 2008) and are also frequently protracted in their effects (WHO, 2008). In such instances, the identification of factors that offer protection or enhance safety may offer more practical and viable solutions towards managing intentional forms of injury.

In accordance, there has recently been more of a drive within the field of children's safety toward understanding protective factors that safeguard children from being exposed to, or involved in, violence and injury. The implications of such a focus for children in vulnerable contexts is important as it marks an attempt to move from a more passive-reactive position,

where interventions develop in response to negative activities occurring in the child’s environment, to a more pro-active one, where the resources of the child, be they internal or external, are recognised and capitalised on to enhance the child’s safety (Benson, Leffert, Scales, & Blyth, 1998).

One example of an attempt to incorporate protective factors in research about violence is the Structured Assessment of Violence Risk in Youth (SAVRY). Developed in the United States, as the name suggests, the SAVRY was specifically designed for the assessment of risk in adolescents (Borum, 2000). The assessment tool considers the following six factors as protective against the development of violence in an adolescent’s life; 1) pro-social involvement, 2) strong social support, 3) strong attachments and bonds, 4) a positive attitude (towards interventions and authority), 5) strong commitment to school, and 6) resilient personality traits. The first three factors, as well as factor five, encompass the now well recognised effect that social connections play in installing well-being and security in a person’s life, as reflected in the concept of social capital, discussed further below.

2.2.1 Social Capital

The concept of social capital embraces the value that human connections play in a person’s life. Social capital refers to the “cultural practices, norms, networks, links, know-how and tradition, through which people conduct informal interactions of all kinds” (Jack & Jordan, 1999, p.243). Social capital, therefore, encompasses more than the obvious physical and emotional benefits that people offer each other, and recognises the more subtle and positive effects that the process of interacting with other people has on a person’s well-being. Some examples of both the explicit and implicit processes that constitute social capital are, “participation in networks, reciprocity, mutual trust, shared recognition of social norms of behaviour, shared ownership of common resources, and collective efficacy” ([illegible]an, Littlefield, Valladolid, Tapping, & West, 2005, p.1185).

The relevance of social capital in terms of safety is apparent. On the one hand, it means the potential for increased physical protection. On the other, with increased trust and knowledge of reliable social connections, one’s sense of safety in the world begins to increase. Studies have found, for example, that increased perceptions of neighbourhood social capital have been found to significantly reduce fear of crime (Kruger, Hutchison, Monroe, Reischl, &

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Morrel-Samuels, 2007). In one study, it was found that by relocating low-income residents from a public housing development, their levels of social capital became reduced, which in turn affected families' perceptions of safety (Clampet-Lundquist, 2010).

The notion that adequate social capital enhances children's feelings of safety has been explored. In an international study of 13 different countries comparing youth perceptions of the communities in which they live, Dallago, Perkins, Santinello, Boyce, Molcho and Morgan (2009) found that, despite cultural and geographic differences, the presence of social capital was one of the key common elements across the different countries that played a pivotal role in making youths feel safer. In addition, they found that social capital was important to both individual social development as well as community development. Jack and Jordan (1999) argue that children's welfare and the prevention of harm to children is primarily related to the social capital of their communities. They suggest that children thrive in an environment which fosters trust and co-operation and promotes strong associations between community members. They argue that building social capital in poor communities is a more effective way of promoting children's welfare than the current predominant focus on increasing family support services and parenting skills and responsibilities.

Adequate social capital, therefore, not only affords children physical protection in the event of potential harm, but provides a psychological sense of social cohesion (Lazarus, 2007), which in turn fosters feelings of security and trust (Eriksson, Hochwälder & Sellström (2011). Indeed, communities that lack social cohesion have been associated with higher rates of violence (Krug et al., 2002).

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Social capital can manifest through different relationships. It has been found that for children living in conditions of threat and violence, adult social capital plays a vital role in creating a safe environment by adults establishing themselves as sources of protection and authority (Garbarino, 1999). It has been argued that parents are "the most salient figures in the lives of most young children and have the greatest potential to protect them from the ill effects of community violence" (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004, p.718). Young people themselves appear to endorse this statement. In one study in the United Kingdom, a group of adolescents identified parents as one of the most important sources of support in their lives (Morrow, 2004). In an international study examining children's (aged 4-11) perceptions of safe spaces

in school, safe places were deemed places that were more likely to have an adult present (Langhout & Annear, 2011).

More specifically, looking at the potential effect that father's play in keeping children safe, a study examining the strategies that African American fathers employ to protect their pre-schooling children from community violence found they engaged in three core strategies: regular and consistent supervision of their children, teaching their children about safety, and improving community life by confronting neighbourhood violence or challenging troublemakers in their community (for example, chasing away drug dealers). Some fathers also attempted to build or restore neighbourhood social bonds through participation in crime watch or church programmes in their neighbourhoods (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004). Enhancing their family's social capital was, therefore, key to enhancing their children's safety.

In terms of mothers' potential to protect their children, one study found that some mothers living in high violence contexts employ similar tactics to those of fathers in the safeguarding of their children. Speaking out against drug-dealers who potentially had access to their children and reaching out to neighbours who shared their experiences, were just a few of the strategies mothers employed. In an examination of mother's protective strategies towards their toddlers, Diamond, Bowes and Robertson (2006) found that mothers tended to use methods that employ control of the child, education of the child, or control of the environment by eliminating risk in the home. In fact, mothers potentially play a key role in unintentional injury prevention, with one study finding that higher maternal involvement in a child's life means better attendance to and care of unintentional injuries (de Lourdes Drachler et al., 2007).

Research also indicates that children's peers play a significant role in their lives, featuring in many of their activities outside of school and providing important sources of emotional support (Morrow, 2004). Additionally, peers play a potentially important role in maintaining each other's safety. Despite the negative potential of peer influence as recognised previously, particularly in the South African context through factors such as gang membership, the effects of pro-social peers in youths' lives have been linked to a number of positive associations, including less involvement with gangs (Katz & Fox, 2010) and hence, potential violence. Schemes that educate young people about bullying have been shown to be effective

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in supporting youths who experience bullying (Cowie, 2011) and peer tutoring to prevent fire-play has also been shown to be successful (Jostad, Miltenberger, Kelso & Knudson, 2008). Notwithstanding the number of other factors potentially influencing children's risk taking behaviours, the results of one study found that positive verbal interactions with peers are potentially effective in persuading children not to engage in behaviours that threaten their physical safety (Christensen & Morrongiello, 1997).

Overall, a positive response has been found from youth with regards to peer-led programs to encourage safety (Erhard, 1999; Jostad et al., 2008; Tindall, 1995; Tobler et al., 2000, cited in Bell, Baker, Falb, & Roberts-Gray, 2005). For example, Bell et al., (2005) found positive responses from youth and positive results following a peer-led intervention aiming to prevent alcohol use and increase traffic safety amongst the youth. Similarly, a school-based programme using peers to encourage students to adopt normative-based protective behaviours was deemed successful in encouraging children to wear helmets when riding bicycles (Hall, Cross, Howat, Stevenson, & Shaw, 2004).

Institutions too offer access to powerful forms of protective social capital. Schools and school-related factors, for example, have been examined for their protective capacity against violence. Specifically, students exposed to violence who report higher identification with school and who perceive more support from teachers, report higher levels of hope and lower levels of psychological problems than students exposed to the same amount of violence who feel unconnected or unsupported at school (Ludwig & Warren, 2009), reinforcing that even in the midst of violence, teaching personnel have a powerful role to play in sustaining a child's sense of safety. Similarly, Escribano (2011) found a positive association between school environments that are experienced as supportive and caring and school engagement and achievement, specifically acting as a buffer against gang involvement, which has been noted to be associated with violence in South Africa (Ward, et al., 2001). Mothers from high violence contexts too have endorsed this, suggesting that schools are safe havens for their children, protecting them from contextual violence (Mohr, Fantuzzo, & Abdul-Kabir, 2001). Higher levels of school connectedness have also been linked to decreased reports of transport and violence-related injuries as a result of less involvement in risk behaviours (Chapman, Buckley, Sheehan, Shochet, & Romaniuk, 2011). Of course in South Africa, it must be highlighted that schools are also primary sites of inter-personal conflict and victimisation, such as sexual abuse by teachers (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002), bullying (Liang et al., 2007),

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peer violence (Seedat, et al., 2009), and corporal punishment (Maree, Maree & Cherian, 2004) and so cannot necessarily be relied upon to be, or assumed to represent, a safe place for youth.

In addition, churches have a powerful role to play in enabling a sense of being connected, both to other people on a physical level, and also on a more personal level through spiritual beliefs. In the previously mentioned study examining the strategies that mothers living in a high-violence context use to ensure their children's safety, it was found that the women also used churches as places of safety. In particular, the bonds they formed with people in church assisted by providing shared experiences with those who lived in the same violent community. In this sense, the church served as a place in which mothers could gather and unite together around safety issues. This encouraged a sense of cohesion between them with also aided their sense of security in the community (Mohr et al., 2001).

The positive effect of a spiritual connectedness and church involvement has been seen to assist families in preventing high risk adolescent behaviours, such as substance use, and exposing youths to less harm (Sim, Jordan-Green & Wolfman, 2005; Van der Meer Sanchez, Garcia De Oliveira & Aparecida Nappo, 2008). Some students have also found that a belief in moral order is associated with less self-reported gang membership (Katz & Fox, 2010), reducing the potential for violent injury in adolescence.

Religious institutions, therefore, can potentially provide both physical capital (in the form of physically safe spaces) and access to social capital. Physical capital as a form of protection for children is discussed further below.

2.2.2 Physical capital

In addition to the safety provided by positive social interactions and relationships, physical capital has been recognised for its protective capacity in people's lives'. Physical capital is used in this review to refer both to the potential of places and institutions, as well as the role of physical measures and interventions, to protect individuals, with the latter currently dominating much of the public health research on safety. The role of places and institutions is examined first, followed by the role that measures and interventions play in offering children protection.

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2.2.2.1 Places and institutions of safety

In terms of places of safety, homes have been deemed protective. Ownership of a home for lower-income families has been shown to be negatively associated with violence perpetration (Page-Adams, 1995, cited in Page-Adams & Sherraden, 1997). In addition, home ownership has been shown to reduce risk factors for violence, such as economic strain and alcoholism (Page-Adams & Foster, 1995, cited in Page-Adams & Sherraden, 1997), and to increase protective factors for safety, such as neighbourhood association and involvement (Rohe & Stegman, 1994b, cited in Page-Adams & Sherraden, 1997). Similarly, it has also been shown to increase people's access to social capital via increased ties to others (Manturuk, Lindblad & Quercia, 2010). In terms of children's safety, home ownership has also been linked to preventing drop-out from school (Green & White, 1997, cited in Page-Adams & Sherraden, 1997) and hence also potential involvement in risky behaviours.

Castonguay and Jutras (2009) worked with children aged 7-12 years of age living in a poor Canadian neighbourhood to gain an understanding of which outdoor places these children like in their surroundings. The children photographed outdoor places where they liked to go in their neighbourhood and discussed these, alongside areas they disliked, in individual interviews. Overall, children identified parks and playgrounds most often both as liked and disliked places, and spaces near an acquaintance's home (on the basis of familiarity) as their favourite places. The children deemed parks likeable on the basis of activities they offered, but also unlikeable on the basis of safety threats, such as danger from strangers. This highlights the ambiguity related to space, whereby places can be simultaneously both safe and unsafe. Despite this, these findings reinforce the role that outdoor spaces potentially play for children from lower-income contexts.

In another study from the United States, parks were more intensely utilised by low-income, inner city children compared to more wealthy children who resided in the suburbs. The study proposes that this is likely due to the fact that such children have few alternatives for activities that require open space (Loukaitou-Sideris & Sideris, 2010). The study also highlighted the differences between child views and adult's perceptions of safe space, with 44.5% of the inner-city parents and 34% of rural parents not considering their neighbourhood park safe, whilst the majority of children in both the rural (79%) and inner city (70%) areas felt safe at the park (Loukaitou-Sideris & Sideris, 2010). Aside from the complexity of

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space, this study highlights the potential differences that exist between adult and child opinions regarding spaces that are safe for children.

The value of youth opinion with respect to children's safety was also highlighted in another study. Findings from a Tasmanian survey of adolescents' favourite places revealed that out of 1,436 respondents from a range of socio-economic and urban/rural backgrounds, a large percentage rated their own bedrooms, their friend's house and places in nature as their favourite spaces over places in town and interstate or overseas trips (Abbott-Chapman, 2006). These findings were unexpected, given the assumption that adolescents would like more exciting environments and again, highlighted the importance of gaining youth's own views.

Institutions also carry the potential to assist communities to thrive, providing people with the physical spaces for employment, education, recreation and general development. Hence, businesses, libraries, parks, police and fire stations, represent key assets (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996) that help create and sustain a safe and productive community. Police stations are an obvious and immediate example of such an institutional asset. However, in South Africa representations of the police are marred by ineffective policing, police mis-conduct and at times, police brutality. Shields et al. (2008) describe police brutality as "the excessive use of force by police" (p. 590). It has become a particular concern in South Africa and has particular relevance for safety work as it has the potential to weaken efforts that try to increase community safety (Shields et al., 2008).

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2.2.2.2 Safety measures

In terms of the role that physical measures play in securing safety, the public health model particularly focuses on advancing physical resources and infrastructure in a bid to prevent unintentional forms of child injuries (WHO, 2008). For example, the development of safety equipment (for example, child restraint systems and the use of seat-belts in motor vehicles) has been the focus for some mechanisms of traffic safety (WHO, 2008). Additionally, traffic safety promotion has also entailed developing and modifying engineering and urban planning strategies to equip the environment to better meet the needs of child pedestrians (WHO, 2008). This latter category includes measures to reduce driver speed (including roundabouts, speed humps and designated pedestrian crossings), the growth of safe play areas, and methods of establishing safe routes for children walking to school.

Responses to burn accidents have received similar types of intervention. Specifically, engineering measures such as smoke alarms and residential sprinkler systems have been introduced in more developed countries, whilst the encouragement of safer lamps and stoves, has been the feature of some fire safety interventions, particularly in lower-resourced countries (WHO, 2008). In terms of the South African context, interventions have focussed on the home environment, including, "improved housing provision, subsidised electrification, and promotion of safe cooking appliances" (Seedat et al, 2009, p.1018).

However, many LMICs have been unable, or unwilling, to accommodate infrastructural strategies, instead focusing on individual behaviour modification strategies. In South Africa, for example, Seedat et al. (2009) indicate that, "there has been remarkably little evidence of attempts to introduce sustainable, upstream, road safety interventions, such as those that restructure the road and adjacent environment, rather than targeting road user behaviour alone" (p.1018). In a study examining care-givers perceptions of road design in the Western Cape, participants stated that road design was, "very small" (p.274) in the area and that there were insufficient numbers of speed bumps to reduce traffic speed (Munro et al., 2006). Certainly, policies to enhance road and traffic safety have been a focus in South Africa; however, practical strategies to advance such policies remain thin (Seedat et al, 2009) and almost non-existent in terms of addressing child specific issues.

In a similar vein, for fire-related injuries, heating equipment, equipment condition and living environment have been noted as key factors increasing risk for burns in the South African context (Van Niekerk et al., 2004; Seedat, et al., 2009; WHO, 2008). In relation to children specifically, South African care-givers have voiced concern about children "play[ing] with fire" (Munro et al., 2006, p.273) to keep warm, since only faulty heaters and highly dangerous methods of heat production are accessible in their area. Similarly, children were reported to be found playing with wires from shared electricity sources as a means of recreation.

Compared with unintentional injury, physical safety measures to reduce various form of interpersonal violence have received little attention in the public health literature.

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2.3 A POSITIVE YOUTH FOCUSSED RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE ON SAFETY

The above highlights that, from a public health perspective, the safety of youth is often explored from a problem-centered angle. For example, high injury incidence amongst youth can easily be linked to problem behaviours (such as high risk-taking behaviours in adolescence). In contrast, interventions embracing a positive youth paradigm attempt to shift from a problem-centered approach aimed at reacting to negative youth behaviours to strategies that work together with youth and support activities that promote their development. This is particularly embraced in the field of Positive Youth Development (PYD).

2.3.1 Positive Youth Development

The paradigm of Positive Youth Development aims to build the capacity of young people (Ersing, 2008). PYD "rejects labelling young people as "at risk" for a host of social, emotional, and behavioural problems and instead embraces a philosophy that views youths as capable individuals striving to reach their full potential" (Ersing, 2008, p.27). In terms of safety, PYD would focus on youths' capacities' to resist problematic behaviour associated with harm and potential injury, and embrace their abilities to promote their own safe and thriving behaviours. In addition, PYD would perceive youth as insightful and capable of understanding their own safety needs, arguing that they possess vital local knowledge into their own experiences and views on safety (Taylor et al., 2002).

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2.3.1.1 Developmental Assets

According to PYD, young people's capacities to promote their own safety result from the accumulation of assets that youth possess (Taylor et al., 2002). These assets, termed developmental assets, are constituted by particular experiences, relationships, skills and values that have found to be associated with optimal adolescent development, particularly if capitalised on at developmentally opportune moments (Mannes, Roehlkepartain, & Benson, 2005). An underlying principle of PYD is that, with sufficient support and opportunities from their families, neighbourhood and communities, youths can be assisted to identify, utilise, and develop these assets, to prevent problem behaviours (that lead to injury and risk) and to promote healthy development (Kegler, et al., 2005).

Developmental assets were formulated out of an evidence based list of forty developmental benefits deemed important to the maturation of children (Benson, 2002; 2003; Benson, Scales & Mannes, 2003). These are divided into external and internal assets. External assets consist of: (1) support (including parental, school and neighbourhood), (2) empowerment (referring to community values, youth as resources, service to others and safety), (3) boundaries and expectations (including family, school neighbourhood boundaries, adult role models and positive peer influence), and (4) constructive use of time (creative activities, youth programmes, religious community and time spent at home). Internal assets consist of: (1) commitment to learning (such as achievement motivation and school engagement), (2) positive values (such as caring, integrity and responsibility), (3) social competencies, and (4) positive identity. Within this paradigm, safety as a construct is understood in a broader sense: in addition to encouraging physical well-being, it promotes mental and social well-being and therefore takes a broader approach to youth safety, one associated more with general wellness, as opposed to just the absence of physical injury.

In terms of safety promotion, developmental assets have been found to reduce the chance of risk behaviours and increase thriving behaviours (Benson, 2002; 2003; Chew, Osseck, Raygor, Eldridge-Houser, & Cox, 2010; Mannes et al., 2005). Additionally, in a longitudinal study of two sets of high-risk youths in the United States; one derived from volunteer gang members and the other from a community-based organisation, researchers found that both individual and ecological assets were particularly significant in fostering change in the gang group (Taylor, et al. (2002). They conclude that positive development for high risk youths, such as gang members, may be possible in an "asset rich developmental system" (p. 69). Conversely, in a study with youth in a juvenile justice facility, Chew et al. (2010) found that youth who lack these protective assets, particularly those who do not feel committed to their community, are more likely to be involved in risk behaviours and substance abuse, increasing their chance of violent injury.

2.3.2 Eliciting youth voices in safety promotion

Despite the recognition that youth hold capacities, knowledges and assets to promote their own well-being, much of what we know about sources of protection and safety for children has not been directly elicited from, or constructed by, children themselves. Indeed, much of the research involving child and adolescent safety (most of which involves checklists of pre-

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identified risk and protective factors), is developed hierarchically by adults without the active consultation of young people (Williams, 2007). Criticism has therefore been voiced that there is a distinct lack of involvement of young people in issues that affect them and their well-being (Bolzak, 2011; Langhout & Annear, 2011).

This bias towards valuing adult opinions about children reflects what Watts and Flanagan (2007) term, "adultism" (p. 782), which is the tendency by adults to negatively stereotype adolescents as immature and silly. In contrast, the PYD paradigm asserts that children generally know what assists them in times of need, however, they often lack the opportunities to express these views (Williams, 2007). Many youth, for example, feel that they lack physical spaces to make their voices heard (O'Donoghue & Strobel, 2007). Although some organisations provide that space in contemporary society, these are limited. In South Africa, this is particularly pertinent, with many communities lacking even basic resources. O'Donoghue and Strobel (2007) draw attention to the frustration and sense of helplessness that not being taken seriously can evoke in youth, resulting in a feeling of "learned powerlessness" (p. 812), possibly contributing towards inaction or even risk behaviours. A feeling of having no voice in contemporary society suggests that youth may perceive themselves as less active agents with less power to effect change.

2.3.2.1 Youth's voices on safety

Some authors, however, have attempted to include children's views and perceptions about safety in the research process. Such studies highlight the different perspectives between adult opinions and those of children relating to safety. For example, in a bid to understand young people's perceptions of safety in a school setting, Langhout and Annear (2011) examined 225 young learners' (aged 4-11) perceptions of what constitutes safe space in an American school. Using a questionnaire based design, students were asked in age appropriate ways to indicate safe and unsafe spaces. By correlating their responses with existing safety measures, the findings revealed that children's perceptions of safety differed to existing ideas in the school. Ultimately, the results brought into question some common safety interventions in schools. By listening to children and understanding what they perceive as 'safe', research can gain a very different perspective of what is needed for children's safety. The authors conclude that the development of safety interventions designed for children necessitates working collaboratively with children.

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The home has been identified as a potentially unsafe space for children, given the potential for sexual abuse (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998, cited in Leonard, 2007) and domestic violence (Cheal, 1991, cited in Harden, 2000). However, another study highlights that some children's perspectives differ. As part of a Scottish study to explore the ways in which children and parents deal with risk, safety and danger in their lives, Harden (2000) found that children (aged 9-15 years) distinguished between the immediate safety of their private space (the inside sphere of the home) and more broader forms of public space safe as less safe. The home was deemed a safe haven by children because they associated their homes with people that were known (Harden 2000). Additionally, the children associated the home with the familiar. For example, knowing their way around their own home or their friends' home, as well as being able to predict someone's behaviour, were all positive aspects associated with the home that made them feel safe (Harden, 2000).

2.4 CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The above literature review highlights some of the common sources of harm resulting in physical injury to children in violence-prone contexts in South Africa. Intentional forms of harm predominantly stem from familial, sexual, peer and community violence, whilst unintentional injury in South Africa predominantly stems from road traffic and burn injuries.

In the absence of immediate prevention measures, identifying sources of protection and safety is important for understanding and promoting child safety. Research has identified several factors that may serve to enhance children's safety in contexts of adversity, including a thriving literature on the role of social capital in boosting children's welfare, as well as more limited insights into the role of places of safety. However, limited knowledge exists regarding what specific sources of safety children themselves value and prioritise in keeping themselves safe in the midst of violence. A youth-focussed research paradigm, in which the perspectives of children are valued as part of the research process, may enable new insights into the sources of protection and safety that children themselves deem important, which can serve to supplement and complement existing knowledge surrounding sources of safety and protection for children.

The following chapter elucidates the research aims and methodological approach of the current study.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 AIM OF CURRENT RESEARCH

The aim of the current study is to explore youth perceptions of sources of safety in a violence prone community in the Western Cape, South Africa. The emphasis is placed on hearing young people's voices and exploring their representations of safety which are relevant to the realities of youth life in their community. This will hopefully highlight youth-appropriate resources and assets that could enhance the safety of children in this community and potentially in other violence-prone communities in South Africa.

This study forms part of a broader study examining youth representations of safety in several communities on the African continent, which is being run by the MRC / UNISA Safety and Peace Promotion Research Unit (SAPPRU), which is a World Health Organisation Collaborating Centre for Violence and Injury Prevention Research and Training.

3.2 STUDY DESIGN AND TECHNIQUE

3.2.1 Community-Based Participatory Action Research

The study is located within a community based participatory action research (CBPR) paradigm. CBPR incorporates research approaches deeply committed towards social improvement as an outcome. As Stoudt (2007) elaborates, "participatory action research is a framework for using the processes and outcomes of research to build the social and material infrastructure necessary for institutional change." (p.281). Research, therefore, acts as a precursor to practical intervention. The principal aim of the current research is to identify children's perceived sources of safety; however, as part of the larger project, an underlying aim is to develop and implement practical strategies that enhance children's safety in vulnerable contexts. In this sense, there is an action-orientated goal to the research, consistent with CBPR.

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A further key principal of CBPR is to provide research that empowers participants. In accordance, an attempt is made to make the research process a reciprocal one, in which participants are valued and respected for their knowledge and input to the research process, as opposed to treating them as mere objects to be studied or utislied as a means to data collection ends. Indeed, participants own insight and approaches – their local knowledge – is considered a basis through which to empower research participants. As Van Vlaenderen (1993, cited in Kelly & van der Riet, 2001) explains, participator research "assumes that communities have well established systems of knowledge and information, and carefully developed techniques of management and problem solving, which have been their survival resource in harsh conditions" (p.173). The current research aims to give credence to this statement by hearing the perspectives of young people from a violence-prone community surrounding their perceived sources of safety, thereby enabling their voices to be both heard and given credibility. It is hoped that the children participating in this project will experience this implicit recognition and that this may provide them with some degree of empowerment and agency in thinking about their own safety.

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As the term 'participatory' suggests, the research process reflects a collaborative one in which there aims to be an engagement between researcher and participants. The participants form an integral part of the research, from inception of the research idea towards completion and application of results (Viljoen & Eskell-Blokland, 2007). Challenging the power dynamics between the researcher and the research participant (often seen in more positivist forms of research) is, therefore, an explicit part of the research process. There is a radical methodological shift from researchers as owners of the research process to an exchange of ideas between researchers and research participants. Practically, this might manifest as participants facilitating the negotiation of research objectives and outcomes of the research, for example (Kelly & van der Riet, 2001). In this study, the effect of the researcher's power/role in the data collection process was diminished through using photographs taken by the participants to elicit data (see description under 3.2.2) as opposed to a question/answer format solely developed by the researcher. In addition, participants collaborated actively with researchers to generate ideas for actions to improve child safety in their community, and worked with the researchers and relevant community partners to implement these strategies.

True collaboration necessitates that the researcher also reflect on his/her powerful role. The researcher must interrogate their traditional, privileged position as the expert owner of

knowledge, and instead recognise the participants as equal contributors who have vital local knowledge and insight into their own lives', and ways of knowing the world that the researcher is unacquainted with. In turn, the researcher brings his/her skills and experiences to the process. In addition, true collaboration means that the researcher is forced to confront his/her own history, bias and experiences that he/she brings to the research process. Visser (2007) argues that "researchers cannot be value free and objective. The researcher is present in the research because his or her personality, values, way of relating and understanding play a role in the research process" (Visser, 2007, p.84). It is, therefore, relevant for the researcher to reflect on his/her own life and experiences; how these affect their own view and experience in the world, and how these views and experiences might in turn influence the research process.

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3.2.2 Photovoice

Methodologically, it follows that CBPR embraces methods that enable the shifting of roles and, more specifically, the reduction of power dynamics between researcher and participant throughout the process. The use of photographs in data collection, as seen through methods such as, auto-photography (Noland, 2006), photo mapping (Dennis, Gaulocher, Carpiano, & Brown, 2009), reflexive photography (Wang & Burris, 1997) and photo-elicitation (Cappello, 2005; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2006), reflect attempts to do this by providing images that stimulate, evoke and promote participants' reflections and dialogue in the research process. Photographic images provide an immediately accessible and familiar medium to engage with and are familiar to participants from a range of backgrounds in a way that Likert scales and other forms of structured questionnaires might not be. The argument for the use of photographs in CBPR approaches is, therefore, gaining increased attention in various disciplines, including nursing, social work, psychology, education and geography (Epstein et al., 2006).

As opposed to being provided with already existing photographs, Photovoice is a technique (like reflexive and auto-photography) in which participants take the photographs themselves. Berger (1972, cited in Noland, 2006) notes the potentially powerful effects of this: "photographs are not, as often assumed, a mechanical record. Every time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting that sight from an infinity of other possible sights… The photographer's way of seeing is reflected in his choice

of subject" (p. 9-10). Photovoice, therefore, enables participants' voices' to be heard from their own visual and verbal perspective, resulting in what Noland (2006) argues is "more authentic data" (p. 2). In this sense, Photovoice also represents a deeply collaborative process, consistent with the goals of CBPR, in that participants involve themselves deeply in data collection, enabling both researcher and community members "to become co-learners" (Hergenrather, Rhodes & Bardhoshi, 2009). On completion of capturing their images, participants' own selected photographs' are then used to elicit discussion around a particular topic. Their very representations, therefore, become the primary source of data upon which subsequent data collection stages (for example, semi-structured interviews) may be built.

Originally developed to understand the lives and challenges of village women in China, Photovoice operates on the central premise that people are experts in their own lives (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Lee Bell, & Pestronk, 2004). The specific aim of Photovoice is to "engage community members whose voices are typically not heard – in a participatory process [that] identif[ies], represent[s], and change[s] their community through photography, dialogue, and action" (Strack, Lovelace, Jordan, & Holmes, 2010, p.630). According to Wang and Burris (1997), Photovoice has three main goals. These are to 1) in accordance with a strength-based model, enable people to record and reflect on their community strengths and concerns 2) promote critical dialogue and knowledge about issues through discussion of photographs; and finally 3) reach policymakers. Photovoice therefore holds the potential to facilitate change at an individual, group and community level (Morsillo & Prilleltensky, 2007).

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In their review of the use of Photovoice, Hergenrather et al. (2009) note its wide and varied application and a consistent overall finding that the technique enables communities to voice their concerns and priorities to effect change. Others have found it effective in identifying community assets (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). Indeed, in her exploration of the plight of single mothers, Duffy (2008) indicates, "Photovoice is a grassroots and novel approach that helps uncover the often hidden and unhealthy aspects of our respective settings. It also can identify strengths and assets of those who struggle daily to do more than survive" (p.796). Its application with other marginalised groups and topics in society, including, homeless people (Bulkowski & Buetow, 2011), Aboriginal women suffering from cancer (Poudrier & Mac-Lean, 2009) women living amidst violence (McIntyre, 2003), illiterate female farmers in

China (Wang & Burris, 1994), and masculinity studies with young men (Langa & Eagle, 2008; Langa, 2010) is, therefore, apparent.

Photovoice has also been an obvious choice for CBPR projects working with youth. It has not only been found to be an effective means to open dialogue with young people (Bolzak, 2011; Findholt, Michael, & Davis, 2010; Green & Kloos, 2009), but also one that encourages a sense of activism and agency in young people (Moletsane, de Lange, Mitchell, Stuart, Buthelezi, & Taylor, 2007). For example, one group of young people from the United States presented their concerns in photographic form to community leaders and policy makers, which led to them acquiring funding for violence prevention programs in their neighbourhood (Wang et al., 2004), whilst in another Photovoice project in Uganda, a group of 12-16 year olds raised school fees as a result of documenting their concerns (Green & Kloos, 2009). Indeed, Gant et al. (2009) found significant changes in perceived civic engagement among older youth following their participation in a Photovoice project

The application of Photovoice with youth has also been found to be an effective method to identify assets and barriers within their communities, relating to public health topics such as obesity (Findholt et al., 2010; Kramer et al., 2010) and violence (Wang et al, 2004). It has also been successfully used with youth who have little money, power or status in society (Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004). It was therefore deemed a highly appropriate methodology to facilitate young peoples' expressions' about, and encourage dialogue around, issues of safety in low-income, violence prone contexts.

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3.3 RESEARCH SETTING

This study was based in Broadland's Park, one of the locations of SAPPRU's broader site. Broadlands Park is about 4 km from the Strand and 70km east of Cape Town, located in the Helderberg basin in the Western Cape. It is a predominantly Afrikaans speaking community that would historically have been classified as 'coloured'[1]. Broadlands Park has approximately 8234 residents, comprising 5534 adults and 2700 children.

[1] The term 'coloured' constitutes one of the legally recognised population groupings used under the apartheid system to refer to people of mixed heritage and is currently still socially recognised and used in South Africa.

A report by The Unit for Religion and Development Research indicates that up to 16% of the residents from the area live in informal dwellings and that close to 30% of the adult population is unemployed. Those who are employed are engaged in skilled, semi–skilled or domestic work. It is furthermore reported that most residents have not completed secondary schooling, with 6% of adults 20 years and older never having gone to school at all. The report also states that the income per household per annum for Broadlands Park ranges between R0-25 490. As a low-income community, Broadlands Park has minimal infrastructure. The community has a high incidence of both intentional and unintentional injuries (Unit for Religion and Development Research, retrieved on 16 March 2011 from http://stbweb02.stb.sun.ac.za/urdr/downloads/Helderberg.pdf). In 2006, Broadlands Park was designated as a member of the International Safe Communities Network, for which SAPPRU is a certifying centre.

3.4 SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

A sample of ten 12-14 year olds (five female and five male) were recruited for the project from two community-based youth organisations, one of which is a church-based organisation and the other a civic-based one, and both have on on-going collaborative relationship with SAPPRU. Potential participants were identified on the basis of age (12 – 14 years of age) and gender (five males and five females) by the volunteers working in these youth organisations. All participants were first language Afrikaans speaking, but most could additionally speak English fairly well. These youth were provided with verbal information about the study and were invited to volunteer to participate. None of the participants invited to participate in the study declined. All participants attend school. They live in both formal and informal housing structures.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

The study was conducted during the second school term (April-June 2011). Two forms of data were collected:

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(1) Participants were requested to take photographs that represented the theme "Places, people and things that make us feel safe". These photographic images constituted the first form of data.

(2) Participants were also required to select five of their photographs that they felt best represented the theme "Places, people and things that make us feel safe". Researchers then assisted participants to develop narratives about their photographs. These narratives were elicited by the researchers in paired interviews with participants (see Procedure section below).

3.5.1 Procedure

The participants attended six meetings with the researchers. Each lasted a maximum of 90 minutes. In order to accommodate the children and provide familiarity, all meetings, including narrative development of photographs, took place after school hours in a private and secure setting in Broadlands Park belonging to a community organisation affiliated with SAPPRU. The focus groups were facilitated by the researcher and a clinical psychologist associated with SAPPRU. All the meetings were digitally audio recorded. Translators who are employed by SAPPRU assisted with the meetings where required.

The first meeting took the form of a focus group discussion in which the theme of "Places, people and things that make us feel safe" was introduced. The intention of this first meeting was to gain a contextual understanding of participants' lives and of their perceptions and experiences of safety issues. In order to do this, an initial discussion took place in which participants were briefly asked to indicate the things, places, and people they considered scary in their community. This served to both prepare participants for the ensuing discussion of safety and to contextualise risk in the area. When asked to indicate things, places and people that they considered scary in their community, participants indicated words in both English and their mother-tongue, Afrikaans, including 'drugs', 'guns', 'skollies' (bad people), 'alkohol' (alcohol), 'drug addicts', 'murders', 'child abuse' and 'diefstal' (theft). Participants were then asked if they could describe in their own language how they felt when safe from these scary things. Words such as, 'safe', 'happy', 'love', 'hope', 'rejoice' and 'brave' were specified. The words 'safe', 'comfortable', 'excited', 'confident', 'free' and 'brave' were, under group consensus, considered the best words that depict how children feel

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when they are safe from the risks they had identified. Participants were then conscientised to the use of images to symbolically represent safety by showing them different photographs representing aspects of safety, including both concrete and more abstract representations. A subsequent discussion followed in which participants were asked to describe whether, and how, they saw these pictures as representing safety for them.

At the second meeting, a professional photographer provided the participants with some basic training in how to take photographs. This session initially began theoretically by explaining to participants how pictures can convey ideas and represent different feelings. Participants were also explained basic ways in which cameras can be used to create different effects, for example, shooting images closely or from a distance, or from a position of standing as opposed to lying down. Participants were also given an activity aimed at teaching them about how pictures can be used in different ways to tell stories and convey ideas. Finally, guidelines were provided regarding how to take pictures in a way that would protect the safety of the participants as well as the rights of the secondary participants (that is, people who formed the subjects of their photographs). This was followed by a more practical session in which participants were provided with a disposable camera with a 25 image spool. They were also provided with instructions on how to operate it. This included guidelines about how to hold the camera, how to turn the camera on and off, how to use the flash and how to wind the spool on. Each child then performed a practice photograph of another participant. An image was also taken of each child with their camera to enable correct matching of photographs to the photographer once spools were developed. These images were not considered in the analysis. Participants were instructed to use the remaining 23 images to take photographs that represented the theme “Places, people and things that make me feel safe”. All participants were asked to return their cameras to the researchers within two weeks. Films were then developed by the researchers.

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At the following two meetings, participants were asked to select five of their photographs that they felt best represented the given theme. Researchers then assisted all ten participants to develop narratives about their five photographs through an interview process, known as a Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI) (Cappello, 2005; Clark-IbáÑez, 2004; Epstein et al., 2006; Noland, 2006). The principle of PEI is that photographs provide a means to overcome many of the obstacles associated with a traditional style of interviewing children, including boredom, anxiety and a limited capacity to articulate themselves due to their developmental

stage (Cappello, 2005) and instead uses the photograph to permit a more free and fluid conversation. As opposed to the traditional question-answer style of interview, which Clark (1999, cited in Epstein et al., 2006) reasons is not part of a young person's style of communication, the child uses the photograph to determine where and how to direct the conversation based on his or her reaction to the photograph. The process, therefore, permits the child to communicate in ways meaningful to them.

The key purpose of the narrative method of Photovoice is to generate narratives that illustrate what the picture means to the photographer; the attempt is to move beyond mere descriptions of what the photograph is of and to reflect the deeper understanding of what the photographer's motivations were when taking the photo (Wang & Burris, 1997). Banks (2001, cited in Epstein et al., 2006) usefully distinguishes between visual images as possessing both form and content, the former referring to what we see in the photograph (how we read it externally), and the latter referring to the message that is sent to the viewer (the internal aspect of the photograph). The attempt was, therefore, to elicit both the more obvious form and the internal message that each photograph represented, using PEI as a guide. The researcher, therefore, initially began the interview by placing each child's image on a table and asking them to describe in their own way what each photograph was showing. Often answers reflected the more external aspect of the photograph. The researcher subsequently probed to gain an internal understanding, asking participants to explain why they chose to take this photograph, how it enhanced the participant's safety, what it was keeping the participant safe from and what it says about the participant's life in Broadlands Park. Throughout the process, the photograph was consistently looked at by both participant and researcher, which assisted in diffusing the powerful researcher/participant dynamic, instead enabling both collaborators to engage with the image and think together. This also appeared to give children time to think and contemplate their answers, as opposed to feeling immediate pressure as might be felt in a typical question/answer format. If participants grew tired or distracted, the researcher would use a different feature of the photograph to regain the attention of the participant. In this way, the photograph constantly engaged the participant in the process. Although a short semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix A) was used to guide this process, overall it reflected more of a fluid exchange between researcher and participant, with the researcher assisting the participant to describe their feelings and motivations for selecting a particular image.

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In order to diffuse some of the likely tension resulting from being interviewed individually, participants were interviewed in pairs, with each child being consecutively asked about each of their five photographs. The interviews were conducted in English but when needed, participants were encouraged to speak in their mother-tongue, Afrikaans. Interviews needed to be short due to participants' ages' and subsequent limited attention spans; hence an effort was made to restrict each participant's interview to half an hour each. These interviews were audio-recorded. Ideally for reliability, these narratives would have been scribed by the researcher whilst the child narrated; however, both researchers conducting the interviews found this method time-consuming and impractical since researchers were unable to scribe at the rate of expression and participants became restless. The narratives were therefore transcribed via the audio-recordings after the interviews into order to retain the accuracy of participant's words. Where necessary, transcriptions were translated in English by a dual-language translator.

The fifth meeting was a focus group discussion in which each participant exhibited their selected photographs and narratives to the entire group of participants. The group was then asked to identify and discuss the main themes or issues being represented across all the photographs. The discussion was for purposes of collective consciousness-raising, paving the way for exploring participants own agency in affecting change in their community.

The sixth and final meeting was also a focus group discussion, where the group was asked to discuss how they viewed their own role in addressing the main themes and issues that were identified in the previous focus group discussion. The group was also asked to provide some feedback regarding the Photovoice process. As part of the broader SAPPRU project, participants were also asked to explore their own role in possibly advancing safety issues in their community. Some of the participants' ideas included creating a sports club for youth, a safety promotion group (in collaboration with the community and particularly elders from the community), homework classes, an environmental group that attempts to de-litter the community and a soup kitchen. Participants also highlighted the importance of involving the assistance of service providers in safety efforts. In addition, participants agreed to the suggestion of exhibiting their photographs to the community, which occurred successfully some weeks later. Finally, meetings were arranged with local councillors and community leaders to discuss the participants' ideas for safety promotion, which were attended by participants, researchers and community organisations that were part of the project.

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3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis was used to explore the participants' photographs and narratives. Braun and Clarke (2006) cite thematic analysis as the foundation of all qualitative forms of analysis as it provides the most essential tools for qualitative analytic procedures. It was, therefore, deemed the most appropriate form of analysis since it enabled the researcher to identify the most salient and representative perceptions of safety across both sources of data. It can be applied to many forms of qualitative data, including both visual and textual data (Mason, 1996) and is intended to yield a meaningful and representative summary of any one dataset. In contrast to more theoretically founded methods, such as grounded theory, thematic analysis permits the researcher to discover patterns across the data without analysis being specifically focussed towards theory development (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since the investigation into children's perceived sources of safety represented an exploratory task, this was deemed the most appropriate approach towards analysing the data.

3.6.1 Photographs

Since data collection had been guided under the pre-determined themes of 'places', 'things', and 'people' that make us feel safe', these categories were initially used to manually group all images received from participants. Hence, images of fire extinguishers or bibles clearly reflected 'things', schools and homes reflected 'places', and children, adults and police personnel represented 'people'. This sorting process provided an initial overview of the entire corpus of data.

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In the event where the intended focus of safety in the image was unclear and had not been confirmed by participants due to time constraints, all possible sources of safety reflected in the photograph were recorded and coded according to the aforementioned thematic groupings. Although this ran the risk of over-representing some categories (for example, a picture of a friend in the park may have been included under 'places' and 'people' when the picture may have only been intended to represent a friend), it encompassed all possible sources of safety that the photograph represented. It must be acknowledged that this process may have particularly increased the category of 'things', since some images included many items that could have been conceivably linked to safety. Overall, twenty-two out of the total

126 photographs reflected such ambiguous content. It is also noteworthy that only pictures specified by children as depicting their own homes were coded as houses under 'places', whilst all remaining un-confirmed pictures of houses were considered under the category of 'thing'. Similarly, many images reflecting people were unable to be identified, other than those confirmed by the children in their interviews. People were therefore split into 'identified' verses 'unidentified'. Finally, in instances where participants specified that images represented multiple categories (i.e., a place and a thing, for example), these images were coded in both categories.

Once all photographs had been organised under the aforementioned groupings, content was then further organised into higher-order categories. The frequency of each category was explored by determining how many photographs represented each category within the total dataset of 126 photographs, as well as how many participants out of the ten took images of this content.

3.6.2 Narratives

In their six-stage guide towards conducting thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) initially advise that researchers thoroughly immerse themselves with the data in an "active way" (p.87), meaning the researcher must make him or herself familiar with the patterns and meanings occurring in the data through repetitive reading of transcripts, for example. In phase two, the researcher begins generating initial codes, which serve as the initial foundation towards inducing themes. According to Neuman (2003), when coding, the researcher "organises the raw data into conceptual categories and creates themes or concepts, which he or she then uses to analyse data" (p. 441). Corbin (1986) suggests one strategy towards coding is "breaking the data down into bits and pieces…[by] reading the data line by line and paragraph by paragraph, looking for incidents and facts" (p.95). This entails coding as many themes and patterns as possible so the process is an inclusive and comprehensive one and not one based on a few instances of text that stand out to the researchers (i.e., an anecdotal approach) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Many categories can, therefore, be generated in this early stage of the process (Corbin, 1986). In the case of the participants' interview transcripts, for example, sentences were used as the units of analysis to code the data (Flick, 1998) and many codes were therefore developed.

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Phase three moves towards establishing a relationship between codes so themes can be developed. In essence, this is where analysis begins through interpretations of the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Phase four entails the refinement of themes through a two stage process. This occurs firstly at the level of codes by reading all the collated extracts within each theme and establishing if they form a coherent pattern, and secondly, at the level of the entire data set, by comparing themes in relation to the overall data. This two stage process assists in enhancing the validity of the analytic procedure. Phases five and six progress to defining and naming themes, and producing a final analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.7.1 Consent

All meetings took place after school hours and off school property so no permission from the Education Department was required. Assent was sought from those who agreed to participate, informing them of their rights to withdraw from the study at any point (see Appendix B). Parental consent (see Appendix C) was obtained prior to commencement of the study. Afrikaans translations of the assent and consent forms were also provided to parents and participants, respectively (see Appendix D and E). The consent and assent forms indicate that parents and participants grant permission for the researchers to use the photographs taken by the participants as well as the narratives about the photographs (but not the participants' names) in academic publications and presentations, but that their use for any other purpose must be approved by both parents and participants. Participants were informed that they can withdraw from the study at any time.

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3.7.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality of information shared within the focus groups could not be guaranteed, as it was possible that group members could disclose information discussed in the focus groups to non-participants outside the group. Therefore, the importance but also the limits of confidentiality were discussed with the participants in the first session so that they could make an informed decision about what material to disclose to the group.

The anonymity of participants was maintained by using pseudonyms and avoiding the use of identifying information in the writing up of the research.

3.7.3 Risks and benefits

While taking pictures of objects or places presented a low risk to participants, taking photographs of other people potentially incurred risks. In the second session, before the participants were given their cameras, the group facilitators discussed with the participants how to make safe choices about what and who to photograph. This included discussions about the need to obtain verbal consent from people they wished to photograph, the acceptable way to approach someone to take their picture, and how to judge which situations may entail risk.

Participants were instructed not to trespass on others' property, and not to photograph any illegal activities (stealing was one such example provided). In order to reduce risk to participants with their cameras (particularly considering the high crime levels in the community), participants agreed on a 'buddy system', in which an older friend or family member would always accompany them when embarking on their photographic task outside of their homes or schools. Participants were asked to identify who these potential companions could be, and parents were also informed of this requirement in the parental consent letter. While these requirements may have placed some limitations on the types of photographs that participants captured to represent their communities, ethical concerns regarding participants' safety took priority over methodological preferences.

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Although the themes given to the participants focussed on their broader community rather than on their personal/domestic lives, in order to prepare for the possibility that some of the discussions about their own or others' photographs may have proved distressing, an agreement was made in consultation with the participants that should anyone feel distressed during the course of any of the discussions, they could speak to the principal researcher. Additionally, the clinical psychologist co-facilitating the group monitored participants for any signs of distress, to assess whether a referral for counselling was required, and to facilitate a referral when appropriate. Finally, participants were also provided with a list of local organisations to contact to acquire assistance in case they felt unable to approach researchers or felt distressed outside the sessions.

Benefits from participating in the research included an opportunity for participants to express their feelings and opinions. They also had the opportunity to explore ways to become more actively involved in strengthening their community's resources. This may have led to recognition of themselves as more active participants in their community's welfare, which may in turn have had an effect on their own sense of efficacy. In addition, they learnt some photography skills.

3.7.4 Ethical issues relating to secondary participants

The rights of people who may have been photographed by the participants also needed to be protected. Participants were instructed to obtain verbal consent from people before they photographed them (consent to photograph young children must have been obtained verbally from a parent). Furthermore, it was specified that the faces of all people appearing in the photographs would be obscured in any research reports or publications that include photographs, and no names of photographed persons would be used.

The following chapter presents the analysis and discusses the findings of the current study in relation to existing literature.

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CHAPTER 4

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the analysis of participants' photographic images and of their narratives about selected photographs. First, the content of all the images taken by the children will be analysed to identify which sources of safety are most commonly represented by participants in their photographs. Thereafter, the narratives of participants' photographs will be analysed to develop an understanding of how and why these sources of safety are salient. These findings will be considered in light of the existing literature on child safety.

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4.1 ANALYSIS OF PHOTOGRAPHS

As noted in the method chapter, the 126 images in the dataset were categorised under 'places', 'people' and 'things' that represent safety. Each is discussed in turn below. This overview of the content of the photographic images is intended to provide a context for the analysis of participants' narratives that follows.

4.1.1 Places

Table 1 reports the results for 'places' as sources of safety portrayed in participants' images. The thematic analysis resulted in a distinction being made between public and private spaces; hence these terms were adopted as themes. As Table 1 reports, participants identified more public spaces as safe than private ones. With regard to public spaces, the park received the highest number of pictures (seven), with images of parks being taken by five of the ten participants. Five participants each took one picture of their school, whilst four participants each took an image of their local community hall. Less frequently represented spaces were the church, represented by three participants, the clinic, represented by two participants, and the school playground, which appeared very important for one participant, who chose to take four images of this site. In terms of private space, bedrooms reflected the most number of images (eight) of all places as sources of safety, taken by six participants. A further six participants each captured an image of the external structure of a house, two participants captured that of a front room, whilst another two participants captured images of a back yard.

Table 1: Frequency of places as sources of safety

Images	No of photo-graphs (N=126)	No of partici-pants (N=10)	Sub-category	Definition of sub-category	Total count for sub-category
Park	7	5	Public space	Forms of space shared between the children, friends and the public at large.	26
School	5	5			
Community hall	4	4			
Church	4	3			
School playground	4	1			
Clinic	2	2			
Bedroom	8	6	Private space	Forms of space restricted to each child's domestic sphere.	18
House	6	6			
Front room	2	2			
Back-yard	2	2			
				TOTAL	44

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The identification by participants of more public spaces as safe compared to private ones stands in contrast to some international studies, where children have deemed the home to be safer than public spaces (Harden, 2000). It also stands in contrast to some South African literature which documents a number of dangerous spaces in the public sphere, such as schools and neighbourhoods (Ward et al., 2001).

The participants' prioritisation of the park as a place of safety reinforces findings of some other studies conducted in the Americas that children value this public form of space (Castonguay & Jutras, 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris & Sideris, 2010), despite common sense (often adult) perceptions of parks as potentially dangerous places (Loukaitou-Sideris & Sideris, 2010). Possibly, the participants' interest in the park in this study represents access to viable forms of play, compared to the limitations of a small home, especially for the developmental phase of young adolescence. Considering the high rates of domestic violence and abuse facing many children in South Africa (Seedat et al., 2009), parks may also represent a viable escape from home conflict. Notwithstanding the legitimate concerns regarding public areas, and the importance and value of knowledge surrounding danger for children in the broader community, these participants reinforce that places of safety are complex and cannot necessarily be discarded as unsafe on the basis of adult conceptions. Instead, a better understanding of the ways in which such spaces offer multiple meanings for children should be investigated in order to engage with children's safety on a more comprehensive level.

The high number of images of schools reflected by participants is encouraging, particularly considering the evidence for the positive associations between school connectedness and increased optimism and psychological security (Ludwig & Warren, 2009), less gang involvement (Escribano, 2011) and decreased transport and violence-related injuries as a result of reduced risk taking (Chapman et al., 2011). Participants in this study, therefore, reinforce previous findings of school as a protective factor (Borum et al., 2003, cited in Rennie & Dolan, 2010; Sim, et al., 2005). When considered in conjunction with images of the school playground, these participants perceive schools as representing viable and practical institutions of safety, where safety efforts for children can be promoted and installed. This is particularly important for the South African context where there remains limited institutional support for children's safety needs.

Another key form of public space identified as safe by participants was their community hall. This reinforces the viability of institutions and associations as community assets (Kreztman & McKnight, 1996). The inclusion of pictures such as the church and clinic highlights that both religious and health institutions have an important role to play in children's experiences of safety and not only in their spiritual and health well-being. When all these community forms of space, including that of schools and parks, are considered, the potential that communities play in encouraging and promoting child safety is apparent. This is important as it highlights the potential for communities to utilise their own natural resources to protect their children and that children are likely to engage with these institutions as sources of safety.

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In terms of private space, the depiction by over half of the participants of the external structure of a house suggests their own living space as an important source of perceived safety. This possibly speaks to the importance of basic physical security, considering the economically disadvantaged area in which the participants live. Additionally, houses may represent the emotional security of family. This stands in contrast to research that has identified the home as a potentially dangerous and unsafe space for children as a result of familial violence, such as sexual abuse (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998, cited in Leonard, 2007) and domestic violence (Cheal, 1991, cited in Harden, 2000). However, the importance of the home as a source of safety for participants in this study supports earlier findings that homes also serve as a potentially secure base for children (Hart, 1979, cited in Leonard, 2007).

Again, this offers a discrepancy between some adult-centred research and the perspectives' of children, reinforcing the complexity of space in ensuring children's safety.

Some children deem bedrooms less favourably in terms of their favourite spaces (Abbott-Chapman, 2006; Castonguay & Jutras, 2008), however this study highlights the importance of bedrooms for children's sense of safety. The fact that eight out of ten participants chose to reflect bedrooms in their collection of photographs points to the possible importance of children having access to their own enclosed space as a means of physical safety. The finding also alludes to the possible importance of self-reflective time and that children may perceive solitude (or at least some degree of solitude, as their bedrooms may be shared by other family members) as a strategy for feeling safe.

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4.1.2 People

Table 2 reports the results for 'people' as sources of safety, distinguishing between those people whose identities were confirmed by participants in the interviews and those who remained unidentified. In terms of unidentified images, all ten participants reflected at least one image of a child in their batch of photographs and, in fact, other children were identified as sources of safety nearly twice as often as adults (21 times versus 12 times). Two participants took images reflecting adults holding very young children.

Identified images reflected relationships with friends (seven images) for half of participants, and family (six images) for five participants, as key sources of safety. In contrast to close connections, other people representing safety were police, represented by three participants who took a total of five such images, and security guards who were photographed by a further two participants. On this basis, a distinction was made between people in general versus security personnel as sources of interpersonal safety for participants.

Table 2: Frequency of people as sources of safety

Images		No of photo-graphs (N=126)	No of partici-pants (N=10)	Sub-category	Definition of sub-category	Total count for sub-category
Unidentified	Children	21	10	People	Images of children or adults on their own, or adults holding children	48
	Adults	12	6			
	Adults and children	2	2			
Identified/ Identifiable as:	Friends	7	5			
	Family	6	5			
	Police	5	3	Security personnel	Institutional safety personnel	7
	Security guard	2	2			
					TOTAL	55

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In addition to how adults' perceptions of social capital affect their fear of crime (Kruger et al., 2007), this study suggests that children too rely on social connections to feel safe in a high-violence community. This reinforces that building social capital in children's communities may be an important and useful way in which to enhance children's safety (Jack & Jordan, 1999).

In terms of specific people as sources of safety, participants rated their peers very highly with all ten participants reflecting at least one image of a child in their batch of photographs, which resulted in children being represented as people of safety nearly twice as much as adults. In contrast to an international study in which children aged 12-15 endorsed parents as the most important sources of support in their lives (Morrow, 2004), in this study peers play a more significant role for participants. It was noteworthy that all participants represented at least one image of a child in their collections. This points to the value of certain types of social capital as a source of safety in participants' lives. Notwithstanding the literature on peers as sources of harm in the form of gangs (Katz & Fox , 2010; Ward et al., 2001) and physically abusive romantic relationships (Swart et al., 2008), in some instances it seems, from a child's perspective, peers may be perceived as more viable sources of safety than adults. This reinforces the range of potential roles peers can play in assisting children's safety (Cowie; 2011; Christensen & Morrongiello, 1997; Jostad et al., 2008).

However, participants also indicated that family members offer safety, reinforcing the important role that the family system has to play in a child's safety by helping to increase

children's social capital (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004; Diamond et al., 2006). Similarly, the presence of police personnel highlights the potentially influential role of law enforcement as a source of safety in children's lives'. In this community, at least, some participants perceive security personnel to play a protective role.

4.1.3 Objects

Table 3 reports the results for objects ('things') that participants identified as important for safety. In total, 91 images of objects were taken by the participants, compared with 44 images of places and 55 images of people. Items providing physical security were most common, accounting for 37 per cent of all images of objects. With the obvious exception of the fire extinguisher, there is a notable focus on items that provide physical barriers; for example, walls, fences, security gates, burglar bars and windows. Such items could conceivably be representing safety against crime, which seems likely when considered in relation to other items featuring prominently in the images, such as police representation through vans and posters, and dogs, which are a widely known source of protection, not only to the specific research area, but to the wider country as a whole. With regard to unintentional injury, the recognition of the fire extinguisher by two participants suggests some recognition of the potential for fire in the participants' context.

The category of comfort contained the second highest number of images. However, this may reflect the fact that many photographs reflected ambiguous content and the intended focus of safety by the child was unclear, so multiple items from ambiguous images were included in the analysis. This, therefore, may reflect an over-inclusion of comfort items as opposed to a deliberate preference of participants to reflect such items. Nonetheless, four participants reflected beds as sources of safety in their images, which may reflect a source of comfort. However, when taken into account with other items within this category, such as blankets, pillows, a couch and curtains (relatively 'basic' commodities) and when considered in relation to the inclusion of houses under the subsequent category of 'human dwelling', these items could also possibly represent a concern about basic need fulfilment as opposed to comfort. Since it was unclear, at this stage, what the intended meaning behind the items were, and since both meanings were likely, the label comfort/need fulfilment was used for this category. The inclusion of televisions and a computer reflects more luxury items as

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representing safety, whilst the inclusion of photographs of household pictures of cats and family members may indicate emotional connection as a source of safety.

The third category of significance related to traffic safety, with six, three and two participants reflecting images of vehicle stop signs, pedestrian road crossing signs and a stop street, respectively, indicating traffic safety is a safety priority for many participants. Religious and recreational items, as well as communication infrastructure, also featured as important aspects of safety. Items relating to communication were of nearly equal importance to that of religion for safety, with both images of telephones and telephone poles being represented by four and three participants respectively. Recreation items (round-about and swing) found in the park were the focus of safety for a total of six participants. Less important were symbolic/abstract images (for example, a picture of a rose) and images of road infrastructure.

The frequency of objects as sources of safety dominated over both people and places. In part, this may be an effect of the high number of objects available to identify as sources of safety in the more ambiguous photographs. Despite this potential over-estimation, the objects photographed by participants revealed important issues regarding how children may perceive their own safety. First and foremost, a concern about physical barriers and security mechanisms was evident, with this category reflecting the highest number of overall images (34 in total). Most of these (with the possible exception of the fire extinguisher) seemingly related to the prevention of crime. Indeed, when considered in relation to the poster of the police, the inclusion of police-vans (represented by half of participants) and the inclusion of pictures of dogs, there appears an apparent concern with measures to deter crime, both in their lives' and in their home settings. Existing South African research has seldom explored children's concerns regarding vulnerability to crime at home and perceived sources of protection from this, with a focus on crime in the street rather than crime at home. This study reinforces the need to examine children's fears regarding household break-ins, and their perceived safety needs in this regard. It also highlights the possible importance of access to physical security mechanisms in low-income communities as a way to enhance children's feelings of safety.

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Table 3: Frequency of objects as sources of safety

Images	No of photo-graphs (N=126)	No of partici-pants (N=10)	Sub-Category		Definition of sub-category	Total count for sub-category
Window Security gate Security bars Fence Front door Wall	5 4 4 3 2 2	4 2 2 3 2 1	Physical Barriers	Physical security	Items providing physical protection from harm	34
Police-van Dog Fire extinguisher Poster of police	7 4 2 1	5 4 2 1	Other security mechanisms			
Bed Blanket Television Cat Pillows Curtains Couch Computer Framed picture of family	4 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1	4 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1	Comfort / Need fulfilment		Items enabling comfort and relaxation, or items ensuring that basic needs are accommodated	15
Vehicle stop street sign Pedestrian road crossing sign Stop street	6 3 2	6 3 2	Traffic		Safety measures relating to traffic and pedestrian issues	11
Church altar Cross Bible	4 3 1	4 3 1	Religion		Items associated with a religious connection	8
Telephone Telephone pole	4 3	4 3	Communication infrastructure		Items enabling efficient communication	7
Round-about Swing	3 3	2 2	Recreation		Items assisting play	6
House	4	4	Human dwelling		Structure providing physical shelter	4
Flags Rose	2 1	2 1	Symbolic		Items with an unclear link to safety	3
Road Pavement Street lamp	1 1 1	1 1 1	Road infrastructure		Items enabling pedestrian and vehicle travel	3
					TOTAL	91

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With regard to unintentional injury, pictures of fire extinguishers and traffic and pedestrian signs highlighted traffic and fire-related injuries as perceived sources of danger amongst participants. The inclusion of a vehicle stop street sign from six participants (the most commonly represented item across participants' batches of photographs') indicates an awareness of measures that can promote safety from traffic related injuries.

4.1.4 Summary of findings

The analysis of the content of participants' photographs highlights the important role that public places play in participants' sense of safety. In addition, other children were noted as important human sources of safety, whilst physical security measures formed the most prominent objects drawn on by participants for safety.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

Having established an overview of what participants chose to represent as sources of safety in their photographs, participants' narratives of their five selected photographs were subsequently examined via thematic analysis to explore the meaning behind why these sources were prioritised. The results of this analysis indicated that safety for these participants necessitates the presence of four key elements: (1) physical protection, (2) interpersonal connectedness, (3) religious/spiritual connectedness and (4) access to infrastructure. These four themes are explored below. Participants' names are pseudonyms, indicated in brackets after each quote.

4.2.1 Safety as physical protection

In their narratives about their selected photographs, all ten participants spoke of needing physical protection in order to feel safe, and described how places provide this in four different ways. Firstly, physical security represented basic survival and health for half of participants, as illustrated in the following quotes:

> *At home, I feel safe…I get food there… I have a bed, I can sleep well there. I have a sitting room to sit in, electricity and water…..(Derrick)*

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I'm safe because I sleep in my house and I can feel warm (Sam)

I sleep in my bed which makes me feel good (James)

At home I can just relax so that I can feel better. I can get clean and eat so that I am ok. (Sara)

Participants' understandings of safety were therefore inconsistent with the dominant perspectives on safety (for example, The World Health Organisation, 2008), which largely associate the concept with the absence of injury. Instead, participants' equated safety with having their basic survival and health needs met. There was a preoccupation with stable accommodation that represents access to food supplies, water, electricity, sanitation, warmth and shelter. This initial concern with basic survival highlights the low socio-economic context in which participants reside and seems to reflect an awareness by participants of the potential vulnerability of children who live in low-resourced contexts. When considered in combination with the high number of images reflecting the home as a place of safety (section 4.1.1), this suggests that basic need fulfilment is still a priority for these participants. Despite the importance of injury prevention (WHO, 2008), from these children's perspectives meeting basic survival needs is fundamental to feeling safe. This suggests a wider concern surrounding the concept of safety for children from low-resourced contexts: despite the high child injury statistics cited in Chapter Two, conceptions of children's safety promotion may need to broaden from that of merely preventing physical injury to that of ensuring physical well-being, which should encompass basic need fulfilment.

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Secondly, for seven participants, physical protection represented the possibility to prevent personal involvement in crime perpetration. Specifically, spaces such as the home and their bedrooms signified places where they could be occupied with, and distracted by, positive activities, as opposed to being involved in crime and drugs, which in turn were associated with homelessness and harm.

Without my house; I would maybe be on the streets now doing drugs and all that wrong stuff… I think this is the only place that I can feel safe; some places you have to watch over your shoulder all the time. (Taryn)

I can watch TV [in my house] *and no one will disturb me…I'm not on the streets…(David)*

In my bedroom….my homework, I can do that there. I will keep doing it, staying out of trouble, you know. (Taryn)

A similar pattern of protection was offered by schools and the church, as reported by six participants:

I learn at school…if you learn you get a good job and then you look for a job and don't sit on the street or lay at home doing nothing, you can't even help your mother….I need to help my mother because she don't [sic] have money. (Sam)

School is keeping me safe from drugs and stealing, breaking in shops and stealing from the family, especially from wrong friends and also away from criminals. You put effort into your school work and you won't become a skollie, a drug user and a smoker. (James)

This is a picture of kids doing their school work. It reminds me that I don't have to be on the streets with all the drugs and stuff…there is hope, I can try to get further with myself through learning things and doing stuff. You can learn from school work and do great things. (Taryn)

Without the school what would we learn? We would not learn, we would have no education. You need the school, the teachers because without the education and their teachings you will not have a job and how will you provide for your family without a job? With this, I know I can do better in life (Zack)

This is of my school. It's important. It gives rights for people to study and make them become a better person. It keeps us safe from drugs and alcohol and all that stuff and when you have a problem at home, you can always go to school and talk to your teacher about it and they'll always give you an option how to work with the problem. (David)

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This is my church…here they give us food. They keep the children busy for 3-4 hours. They teach us a lot in the Sunday school like how to stay away from drugs. They also keep me away from the bullying people at school (Derrick)

Additionally, parks were described by some as safe places on the basis that they, "keep[s] me away from stealing and drugs". Another child expanded on this stating, "the park stops you from being abused…and getting stolen from people…..drugs, all that bad stuff". The perceptions of participants in this study suggest, therefore, that in the midst of violence, institutional support may have a particularly powerful role to play in sustaining a child's sense of safety (Ludwig & Warren, 2009). Schools and churches were both deemed accessible venues that made children feel safe. A key way in which institutions protect participants is by representing a space through which they can avoid involvement in high risk activities. Being in spaces like the church and school meant to the participants that they were staying out of drugs, that they were off the streets and out of potential gang involvement. In this sense, institutions are perceived by these participants to act as positive bases that discourage personal involvement in crime and risk behaviour, representing a space in which children know they can be otherwise occupied. The positive influence of schools and churches as representing safe places in participants' lives highlights them as valuable assets to both the participants and the larger community (Kretzman & McKnight, 1996).

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Thirdly, for four other participants, physical safety was equated with the prevention of crime, through the structural capacity of space and safety measures to act as a barrier against criminal threat, as the following extracts illustrate:

This is my school…you can see there's fences around but there's also security guards… and there's burglar bars…this is important here….(Zack)

The way this house is built… it is secure with all the safety…[like] fences around…and the doors, it makes me feel very safe as well. It is built for safety. A strong house makes you feel safe from the skollies outside. A lot of things happen outside, like drugs, it is safer to be inside in our house than outside (Rachael)

If I play here, I'm safe in my yard…because they [strangers] *cannot come in because of the fence and the wall…People cannot come into my house and bully me…(David)*

If I'm at home, I feel safe – there is burglar bars...(James)

In contrast with the focus in South African literature on high rates of familial violence and child abuse as a source of interpersonal injury (Krug et al.; Meel, 2006; Richter & Higson-Smith, 2004; Seedat et al., 2009), participants in this study identified criminal threat, in the form of "skollies" or intruders, as a key concern. Compromised physical safety, therefore, was related to a concern with intentional injury by non-family members. Measures that prevent vulnerability to crime and victimisation by intruders, such as bars on windows, fences and walls around houses, were salient for some participants. Certainly, this finding is consistent with the rising crime statistics in the country (Seedat, et al, 2009). The (often fearful) voices of participants regarding this issue, reinforces the very threatening nature and real impact of crime in the lives of both these participants and other children who live in violence-prone contexts. However, little research exists in the South African psychological literature regarding what high crime levels mean for children's sense of safety and well-being. Crime clearly marks a distinct source of risk for these children that warrants further consideration in the research literature, as a sub-set of community violence.

Finally, the presence of physical security in some participant's lives appeared to offer other forms of security. For example, for four participants, the physical protection offered by a house also appeared to foster psychological security by aiding a sense of control. Whether it be through knowledge of ownership of a home, or a specialised knowledge of how one's home is structured, such insider knowledge appeared to empower the children by enabling a feeling of mastery over their environment. This appeared to assist in alleviating fear of physical harm, particularly from intruders, as the following extracts highlight:

I know my house, how things work, I know where everything is and that makes me safe from hurt. (Sharon)

Sometimes people will break in and they doesn't [sic] know there's another room in the background and now they can't hear the voice of my phone and then I can call the police…and then we get them. This makes me feel good, knowing this. (David)

Nobody can come in to the house because this is our private property so I will be ok (Claire)

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My house makes me feel safe because it's ours….no one is allowed to come in if we don't want them…I'll be ok (James)

Access to stable accommodation appeared to offer participants a sense of predictability and stability, and hence also control, in their lives. In this sense, physical safety enabled psychological safety for participants. This is similar to one of Harden's (2000) findings that children favoured their own home, or a friend's home, on the basis of knowing the space and feeling they could predict people's movements within that space. The focus on psychological well-being relating to safety suggests a wider conception of children's safety as comprising of both the physical and psychological. This is more consistent with a positive developmental view of youth (Ersing, 2008) which is concerned with developing both the internal and external resources of children (Benson, 2002; 2003; Benson et al., 2003). On a practical level, the finding also suggests a shift beyond physical measures in terms of injury prevention, to strategies that boost children's sense of control and mastery in the world, and that these might also play a valuable role in child and youth safety promotion.

4.2.2 Safety as interpersonal connectedness

The value of interpersonal support as a source of safety was apparent throughout participants' narratives. In one girl's words, *'Safety is that I don't have to feel that I am alone going through this* [sic] *difficult times'*. People were also recognised as providing love, which not only served as a form of comfort in participants' lives, but also as a protective factor from violence. As one participant indicated, *'Without love, our lives would be upside down. Children sometimes get hurt because there is no love in the house and community. If you don't have love you just want to fight and people get hurt.*

Beyond these general benefits, people were more commonly described as offering safety in four ways. Firstly, there were numerous accounts of people as entertaining and amusing. For example, when asked how friends help keep her safe, one girl indicated, *"We just sit in the park and make jokes"*. This 'light' side, and more specifically, the joyous feelings associated with and derived from interaction with others, was one of the more commonly recognised benefits associated with interpersonal support, as the following five participants highlight.

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"*My friends make me feel safe because we have fun…we chat, we make jokes, but not in a bad way. My friend is good for me, we can play together, we go places together…we do stuff together…this makes me feel good. We know we don't have to be scared of each other and that we'll help each other. A lot of kids have good friends here".* (David)

(2)They [siblings] *make me feel excited. They will bring me flowers on my birthday and bake me sand cookies…They make me laugh.* (Rachael)

She is my best sister! I can talk to her. We have fun, she teases me if my mom scolds me. (David)

With friends, we chat and make jokes but not in a bad way. We don't have to be scared. (Sharon)

(3)She means to me like a mother and like a friend…we talk happy; nice talk until late in the night…she doesn't let me feel bad. All her hard work and love that she gives to people…It means everything. (Sam)

Participants, therefore, highlighted the important role that being happy plays in a child's sense of safety in the world and that the inducement of happiness often requires positive connections with others. Through being connected to others, children can share and experience feelings of enjoyment, happiness and excitement, which can be mirrored and reinforced between people. Therefore, unlike the current literature on youth safety, which examines the role of people (often adults) primarily at the level of physical assistance, instruction and intervention, participants in this study highlighted the emotional role that people (both adults and children) play in generating feelings of safety.

Emphasis by participants on the emotional benefits derived from interaction with others highlights an affective dimension of safety generally unacknowledged in research thus far. These results, therefore, reinforce a wider understanding of the definition of safety, one that moves beyond the confines of physical well-being and the mere absence of injury characterising the public health approach, to that of safety encompassing psychological and emotional well-being. Safety, therefore, once again appears more consistent with general

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conceptions of well-being (Cowen, 2000; Evans & Prinllensky, 2007). Children may, therefore, benefit from emotional connectedness, not just physical measures, as a means to enhancing feelings of safety.

Secondly, the connection to others afforded four participants a sense of predictability in their lives. Reliable interpersonal connections appeared to be a means through which these participants could foster feelings of mutual trust, which enabled feelings of security and safety.

> *He is my best friend in the whole world. He looks out for me and I look out for him. We will never do each other down, this I know… We don't judge each other, we understand each other…My friend is always there for me when I need him. (Zack)*

> *This is my home; I feel safe here because I know my parents are here…my family is here so when I come from school…or when something happens to me, then I know there is people who can help me… (Claire)*

> *We buy things for each other and each person has a chance. We all buy for each other. It's like we're just so there for each other and we know that. (Sharon)*

> *We [friends] know we don't have to be scared of each other and that we'll help each other.(David)*

> *They* [parents] *mean a lot to me because they make me feel safe…you know, they look after me. If boys are a problem in the community I know I can talk to them about them. There was the one time when the man touched me on my leg at school, it was not good but I know my parents could help me so I spoke to them about him. (Sara)*

> *My house makes me feel safe coz my parents and my sisters are always there (David)*

This finding highlights that people have the potential to provide a sense of reliability and trust, which in violence-prone contexts perhaps serves to counter-act unpredictable circumstances in the outside world. This reinforces that trust is an important component of social capital (Pan et al., 2005). For participants, trustworthy connections were accessed

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through family and consistent friends. Whether it was trust in knowing that friends and family will provide affirmation and encouragement, practically assist in life, or look out for one's well-being – be that physical or emotional – the effects appear to contribute towards a psychological sense of social cohesion (Lazarus, 2007), which in turn enhances their individual sense of safety. In accordance with Jack and Jordan's (1999) study, the participants' also highlight that environments that encourage trust and co-operation and that promote strong associations between community members, are ones that also create safer environments for children.

The almost equal balance between descriptions of friends and family offering a basis for trust is probably accounted for by the participants' familial backgrounds, which were ostensibly stable, with each child having at least one primary care-giver. In this sample, therefore, both friends and family were viable sources of trust. This might be different for children from families with a high level of discord; in such cases, friends may be more viable forms of social capital. What is encouraging is that this study suggests, in contexts where familial discord might exist and familial bonds are not as reliable, friendships appear viable opportunities to learn social skills and trust, and therefore, also feel safe. Participants indicated that the principle of trust in a relationship is more important for feelings of safety than the type of relationship that trust develops through. Notwithstanding the potentially negative effect of peer influence, this finding bodes well for those children who face abuse and parental neglect.

However, authority figures such as police and teachers were faulted by three participants for adopting inconsistent positions in the community, which appeared to negate feelings of trust associated with people.

> *The police are there to protect and make sure no one hurts each other…but sometimes they break the rules and stuff and they expect other people to stick to the rules, it's not good* (Claire)

> *Ya, you know like when I see the police at the stop street like that is supposed to stop them like, but I've seen like the police just drive and not stop. It's wrong. What are we supposed to think?* (James)

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School is good but sometimes school don't [sic] let me feel safe. Some teachers will touch the girls. This happens quite a bit. And there's smoking happening both in the school and outside the school grounds, you know dagga and what do they do about it? (Taryn)

Participants reinforce the concern surrounding police mis-conduct in the community (Shields et al., 2008) and sexual mis-conduct by teachers in the school environment (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002) as an issue affecting some children in South Africa. The finding is important as such offences serve to under-mine efforts to create safety (Shields et al., 2008) and promote a sense of community between people (Lazarus, 2007). This serves to undermine the trust deemed important as a basis for solid and strong social capital. In this sense, akin to places of safety, people too are highlighted by participants as potentially representing ambiguous roles, where they can be both safe and harmful to children. Caution is warranted, therefore, in the integration of public representatives to safety promotion initiatives for children.

Thirdly, people were associated with offering moral guidance (being taught the difference between right and wrong behaviour), which appeared linked to feelings of safety, as the following four participants highlight.

Ja, my parents say it's [stealing] *bad for me and that I mustn't do it because it's going to make me a skollie, they [sic] important for that. (David)*

She [sister] *just keeps me safe from doing bad stuff – I must choose my right friends, don't go to wrong places.* (Sam)

My sister's older than me so she can help me along the road. If I feel lost, I will go to her. (David)

My mother will always tell me when I'm wrong and doing wrong stuff like it makes me cross when she does sometimes but I know she does it because she loves me (James)

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*When I want to do wrong stuff, he's [*friend*] always there to tell me it's not worth to do that stuff and I will do the same for him…(Zack)*

He [friend] keep me away from bad children, not to play with them because they are rough, they're going to do bad things. He is a nice person. He's mind is more on the things that is necessary and not the unnecessary stuff. (David)

I would walk past the shops and see the children standing at the shop, standing in front and smoking a cigarette or something and like the police if they see that they will go to the child and the will speak to them and they will give them advice…. They don't just take the cigarette, they will explain to the child why they should not be smoking so that makes the child feel that they don't have to be scared of these people but they do have to respect them. (Zack)

From these children's perspectives, safety also meant a prosperous future with good potential. The means to securing this was through knowing right from wrong and being able to make enriching life choices. From the children's perspectives, this meant receiving moral guidance, which people – both personal and public representatives – were considered to potentially provide. Considering their association with trust, it is unsurprising that family and friends were primarily identified as primary sources of moral guidance. This reinforces the role of family as sources of authority (Garbarino, 1999) and, more specifically, the role that mothers and fathers can play in a child's safety by providing moral guidance for children (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004; Diamond et al., 2006).

Considering the rates of domestic violence and absent parents in South Africa, it is encouraging that moral guidance is also perceived by participants to be available through public figures, such as the police. Despite earlier acknowledgement of 'failing' the participants on several occasions, the children still viewed them as an important source of leadership. Although again highlighting the ambiguous role that people can play in children's lives', the focus on moral figures also reinforces the value and power of role-models in their lives. It also reinforces the potential of both family and key figures in the community to participate in encouraging a sense of safety in children's lives', affirming them as prospective community assets for children living in dangerous communities.

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Finally, friends and family, as well as wider interpersonal sources of support such as teachers, were associated with providing practical safety support by assisting in the midst of potential harm.

> *They* [friends] *make me feel safe – if anybody wants to hit me then they'll be there to help (Sara)…*
>
> *If there is trouble then he* [brother] *will come for me. He will call for me. He helps me a lot if I am in trouble. (Rachael)*
>
> *He [brother] makes me feel safe sometimes to be with because when something can maybe happen to me when we're together and he will always tell my mother….and I always talk to him about the stuff I do. (Sharon)*
>
> *There is a lot of teachers [at school] that keep watch over us and see if we are ok. (Derrick)*
>
> *The school makes me feel safe because there's a lot of children around and there's also Bambinani…that's like the protector services for us…that definitely helps make me feel safe. They take the children to the office…to the principal's office and then the principal will sort them out. If it's something big, they will call the police. If people want to hurt them or kidnap them, then the school can stop that or if the parents of other kids want to hurt them, the school can also stop that. (Sara)*

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This finding reinforces the role that adults have to play in creating a safe environment for children by being sources of protection (Garbarino, 1999), as well as the role peers and family have to play in providing practical support in children's lives (Christensen & Morrongiello, 1997; Cowie; 2011; de Lourdes Drachler et al., 2007; Diamond et al., 2006; Jostad et al., 2008; Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004). Participants' words highlight their sense of vulnerability to physical harm and the salience that practical support, such as calling people, problem-solving and monitoring, holds for feeling safe and secure.

4.2.3 Safety as religious/spiritual connectedness

Five participants noted the supportive potential of being spiritually connected in times of fear. God was identified and described as a source of comfort and safety by two of those participants:

> *God is a big and important thing in our community. If I'm not feeling safe, I'm going to pray and ask God to help me to take away that sadness and fear… (Rachael)*

> *If I'm scared I can pray. I know God is listening to me. (Sharon)*

Two other participants also described religion as an additional source of moral guidance to that of social connections:

> *The cross means that Jesus and church is there…they stop young boys from getting into drugs (James)*

> *The police and your parents are there, but God is greater than them all. Words that come from this bible are big and important so we do the right thing (Taryn)*

The church was also described as a base for safety for two participants on the basis of providing reliable and trustworthy sources of social capital that could assist in times of need.

> *It's the church, there's lots of people here. In our church, lots of people mean that they are looking after you. If I do something in the church, they will talk to me. Everybody is friendly, and they will not put you down. (Sam)*

> *This is my church. There is never people that I can't talk to. I feel safe with everyone there – everyone cares for you. We, the young people, also feel safe here. They love you and ask how it goes. We are part of a family here. (Rachael)*

The presence of spiritual connectedness in participants' lives, therefore, was described as a source of comfort and guidance, reinforcing the protective capacity of religion (Sim et al., 2005) In addition to preventing high risk behaviours linked to violence, such as drug use (Sim

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et al., 2005; Van der Meer Sanchez et al., 2008) and gang membership (Katz & Fox, 2010), spirituality may also serve to provide a less direct form of safety through enabling a sense of support and direction and hence a more solid sense of self. This once again supports a broader definition of safety as including a sense of wellness and, once again, indicates that emotional security is imperative to participants' sense of safety and well-being.

Besides the benefits of emotional and moral guidance in children's lives, spiritual connectedness also appeared to facilitate community coherence by uniting members of the community through church gatherings. As a highly viable social space of community life, the value of such spaces as a means to enhance child safety should not be overlooked. Enhancing children's sense of safety may require a move beyond mere neighbourhood cohesion to that of building a broader connection, that of a psychological sense of community (Lazarus, 2007). Accordingly, organisations such as the church appear to stand as potentially vital assets for the community in general and children in particular.

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4.2.4 Safety as infrastructure

In their narratives about selected photographs, participants also voiced that safe communities necessitate infrastructural measures that regulate and monitor behaviours. Traffic safety was one such noted area. One child complained that children are particularly vulnerable to road hazards and bad driving, simply declaring, "they just don't see us". Another specifically faulted young drivers in the area, particularly men, for their dangerous and reckless driving:

> *You know the boys they just like want to show off and be big and they think they're so clever but they drive around too fast…way too fast and it's too dangerous sometimes. (Sara)*

In response, pedestrian crossing signs and stop streets were considered effective strategies to improve road safety in the area:

> *It is a stop street and it makes me feel very safe. I have seen very many accidents. Many of the pavements [here] are not good and the driver's just drive anywhere.*

They drink and drive very badly. But at least with the stop signs the cars must stop. (Rachael)

It's [pedestrian crossing sign] so people can cross the road. They [the cars] have to stop. It's very important to get more [road signs] because…sometimes people just drive crazy...they don't worry, they just drive off. The sign says, you don't have to drive fast – you can take your time. It doesn't matter if you're late – you will get there. (Sharon)

If there wasn't the robot's then the cars would just run and the children would just run over the street but now if there's a robot then the 'lighties' know they must stop and then the children can walk over. (Thakeria)*
(*local colloquialism for 'young people')

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The only significant form of unintentional injury the children spoke of needing to be safe from were traffic related accidents. The importance of traffic awareness was emphasised by half of the participants, reinforcing their need for increased efforts and resources in the area of traffic safety. This is not surprising considering that traffic injuries constitute the leading cause of death for the average age of the sample in this research (WHO, 2008). Hearing participants describe that "they don't see us" reinforces the extreme vulnerability of children to unintentional forms of injury (Seedat et al., 2009; WHO, 2008). The inclusion of infrastructure as a means of traffic safety indicated that participants recognise the vital role these measures play in youth safety promotion.

In accordance with the public health literature (WHO, 2008), children expressed their own developmental vulnerability in terms of ensuring their safety on the roads. However, in accordance with findings from a study examining care-givers perceptions of unintentional injuries in South Africa (Munro et al., 2006), participants from this study also critiqued dangerous drivers and the use of alcohol by drivers as key sources of danger in their community. Additionally, and again consistent with the literature (WHO, 2008), one female participant complained that young men "show-off and be big" when driving, creating serious potential for traffic incidents. These sources of risk were met with a call from three participants for increased infrastructural measures, namely pedestrian crossings and vehicle stop signs. Participants' voices suggest that the physical environment in an already violence-

prone context is not sufficiently equipped to prevent traffic injuries (Munro et al., 2006; WHO, 2008). This reinforces a call to increase such measures, particularly in economically developing contexts, such as South Africa (Seedat et al., 2009). As the WHO (2008) highlights, "motorization and urbanization are proceeding rapidly in much of the world today. Increased and more rapid mobility tend to be the goals, whilst safe mobility – and particularly the safety of children – are rarely taken into account" (p. 41). Hearing from children themselves is also hopefully one step towards reiterating how such methods carry the potential to positively affect children's lives.

In addition to traffic infrastructure, similar needs were also expressed in relation to preventing crime. In particular, police-vans were deemed important by one participant for an efficient police-force response to criminal behaviour, and dogs were considered by another as a key asset that assists in forming a strong home base that can defend against criminals.

> *This is the police van where they pick up all the criminals and stuff – the people that does [sic] bad things in the community – and so they take them to the police station. It is important because you cannot walk to get to the bad people. If something bad were to happen - then they come with the van to respond….they find out who it was and what street they live if they follow in the van. (Sam)*

> *The most thing I love about the dog – it's always there to protect you. It's in your yard like, if someone comes into your yard that don't belong there – the dog will bark and it will attack that person so that when you come outside there, the person is still there when the police comes and somebody tries to hurt you, it protects you as well.* (Zack)

> *Because there's like lots of stuff going down in Broadlands Park – like drug dealers and the dogs is a way of how to keep our children safe from that stuff and also keeping this stuff out of your yards because a dog can smell drugs. I trust the dog and I depend on a dog. (Zack)*

Again, crime was highlighted as an issue through a preoccupation with police-vans and more broadly police personnel, as means to reduce crime levels. Despite some of the concerns about police noted earlier, children's perceptions of police were generally positive and they

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were viewed as an efficient means to challenge crime and keep children safe. However, infrastructural measures were also deemed vital to the effective protection of children and their community more generally. The inclusion of police-vans and dogs suggests that law enforcement has a role to play in child safety and that child safety interventions may benefit from collaboration with police personnel to comfort children, particularly in violence-prone contexts, where crime is prevalent. However, the recent calls in the Western Cape for an investigation into policing failure in Khayelitsha (*Sowetan Newspaper Online, retrieved February 2013 from http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/08/23/spotlight-on-inefficiency*) indicate that the perceived protective role of the police varies widely across different communities.

4.2.5 Concluding Summary

An examination of participants' narratives revealed that the above places, people and objects afford safety to participants by providing them with: (1) physical security (which in turn enables basic survival, the prevention of crime, psychological security and the avoidance of personal involvement in crime); (2) interpersonal connectedness (which in turn enables enjoyment, a sense of predictability in life, moral guidance and practical assistance); (3) spiritual connectedness; and (4) the improvement of social conditions through the development of infrastructure.

The next chapter will consider the limitations of the study as well as the possible implications of these findings for research and policy.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter will present a summary of the findings of the current research and consider the possible practical implications of these findings in terms of working with children's safety. This is followed by a discussion regarding the usefulness and necessity of listening to children's voices by making them an integral part of the research process when involving issues that directly affect them. Finally, the limitations and strengths of the current research will be explored, followed by suggested recommendations for future research in the field of children's safety.

5.1 Summary of findings

The results from the two sets of analyses – one photographic, the other narrative-based – demonstrate that children from a violence-prone context perceive themselves as being able to access places, people and objects that enhance their sense of safety. The results also suggest, however, that ensuring children's safety is a complex task, with people and places potentially representing both sources of safety and harm.

Of particular relevance in the analyses are the participants' foci on institutions as viable places of safety for children. Despite lacking advanced infrastructure, participants' from this study still deemed their community to hold vital local assets of safety. The results from this study, therefore, suggest that working with children's safety in high violence communities may benefit from the development and strengthening of local community assets. The places of safety identified by participants included churches, schools and community groups; therefore, these should be supported to enhance and formalise their capacity to protect children so that children can reliably access them. In this study, children spoke of these spaces as safe, but few safety programs were being operated from these institutions. Establishing bases of safety within organisations that children are aware they can physically go to when they feel unsafe capitalises on and enhances the trust children already have in such places.

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Parks represent more controversial sites of safety in the literature (Loukaitou-Sideris, & Sideris, 2010). However, the views' of participants' from this study suggest that public spaces such as these cannot be simply discarded as dangerous. For children from high violence and lower-income contexts, parks appear to offer vital simultaneous amusement and space from potential un-rest at home. Since they are practical, requiring little or no sophisticated infrastructure, they are reinforced in this study as a rich, viable asset for children's safety. Young adolescents in particular may require safe recreational spaces outside the home, which are appropriate to their developing needs for separation and independence. However, considering the potential for harm in such spaces, the simultaneous monitoring of children when they are present at the park is important. Efforts to sponsor child-friendly parks, where surveillance measures are feasible, may prove beneficial to enhancing children's sense of safety in the community. For example, locating parks next to police stations or community halls where informal adult surveillance can be offered may prove effective.

In addition, the importance of having safety in the form of houses and bedrooms was salient for participants. Houses serve as valuable personal and community assets, functioning to protect through the provision of shelter, warmth and hygiene, and through the potential to shield against crime and inter-personal sources of harm. In contexts such as South Africa, where even basic housing remains a challenge, this research reinforces calls to make the provision of basic housing a priority for families in low-income and impoverished communities.

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Notwithstanding the negative effects of domestic abuse in the home on children, participants in this study represented trustworthy peers and family members – the most immediate and accessible form of human security – as positive sources of protection, reinforcing the value of social capital in children's lives'. Social connectedness, however, was not only deemed important for physical protection from others, but for emotional protection as well. Indeed, participants emphasised that talking and sharing with others enhances feelings of safety. This highlights an affective dimension of safety generally unexplored in the literature. These findings, therefore, appear to enforce a broader definition of safety for children, one that includes *feelings* of safety, as opposed to just the physical safety which is the focus of much of the current literature characterising the public health approach. This suggests that safety

promotion efforts need to move beyond the prevention of physical injury to initiatives that endeavour to promote the emotional, psychological and social safety of children.

In terms of particular types of social capital, trustworthy peers were important to participants in this study. This is appropriate to their developmental level as young adolescents, where the peer group is an increasingly valued source of connection. This suggests the immense value of positive friendships in children's lives' and the potential they have to impact on behavioural outcomes (Christensen & Morrongiello, 1997; Jostad, Miltenberger, Kelso, & Knudson, 2008) and to help youth to make sensible, life-enriching choices. Similarly, police and teachers were more external sources of human capital deemed important for participants' safety, and point to the potential role that external agencies, outside of the immediate family context, may play in enhancing safety in the lives' of children.

The results from this study, therefore, suggest that working with children's safety in high violence communities may benefit from developing the quality of social capital in children's lives' at both a familial and community level. Jack and Jordan (1999) suggest that public sector professionals can assist families in low-resourced communities to rebuild social capital by supporting informal work to improve the quality of their lives; this may prove beneficial to enhancing the safety of children as well. One place to begin such efforts may be through asset mapping exercises (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1996), where representatives from the public sector combine with youth representatives to identify skills, capacities and resources that can contribute towards enhancing the safety of youth in their community. These assets might manifest in the form of services, programmes, meeting places, equipment or communication links that can be offered (Cunningham & Mathie, 2002). In short, asset mapping enables the fostering of new relationships, through which community members – young and old – can come together and discover their combined talents and the potential links between these assets (Cunningham & Mathie, 2002). In addition, the role of family strengthening programs, school promotion efforts building positive relationships between teachers and students and police programs reaching out to youth through youth based organisations, also have an important role to play in children's safety programs. The current research also reinforces, however, that the integration of reliable authority figures in such processes is imperative to the success of such safety interventions.

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At its broadest level, the safety of children in high violence communities may also be enhanced through developing a sense of community cohesion between community members. Akin to studies examining how fathers and mothers protect their children in dangerous communities (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004; Diamond et al., 2006), children from this study suggest that the building of trust between community members is an important aspect to feeling safe in the area in which you live, despite how physically dangerous your immediate surroundings may be. Hence, building a sense of community cohesion through efforts that develop both familial and neighbourhood bonds in the immediate child's context, and social bonds in the broader one, may be a valuable route towards increasing children's sense of safety in high violence communities.

Finally, the inclusion of physical security measures (such as fences and bars on windows) as well as road, traffic and communication-related measures in participants' photographs, emphasises the need to increase infrastructure in low-resourced contexts to prevent unintentional injuries and to assist in protecting children and their families from criminal violence, an issue particularly salient for participants in this study. The call for policy efforts that aim to advance the development of safety measures in lower-resourced contexts is reinforced by the findings of this study.

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5.2 Listening to children's voices

Overall, the images depicted by participants, as well as their narratives, reflect a concern about both intentional and unintentional forms of injury. Insight into the participants' sources of support highlights that the children from this sample intuitively know what is safe for them. Assets known to be associated with thriving and safe behaviour (for example, parental and school support, adult role models, positive peer influence, constructive use of time, and positive values) (Benson, 2002; 2003; Benson et al., 2003), were drawn on by the children in times of needing to feel safe.

In accordance with a Positive Youth Development approach, therefore, the current research highlights that children from this community are aware of safety issues and possess distinct ideas and knowledge about their own safety. This suggests that children from high violence communities display an awareness of and capacity to engage with safety issues in their lives. Children, therefore, need to be seen as active participants in their lives with an ability to make

decisions, even pertaining to their own safety. This reinforces that more time should be spent consulting, listening to and integrating children's voices and opinions into safety research and, ultimately, in decision making relating to safety issues that affect them.

The perspectives of these children appeared to offer a wider definition of the concept of safety to consider, one that moves beyond merely the prevention of injury, as characterised in the public health approach, to one embracing safety as physical, emotional and psychological well-being. In addition, the participants recognised basic human rights in the context of safety. By listening to children's voices', issues such as shelter and nutrition, which affect economically vulnerable children, become framed as safety issues, as opposed to just health concerns, providing an enhanced basis for advocacy and promotion work with this population of children.

5.3 Significance and limitations of the current study

Documenting perceived sources of safety from children who live in a high violence context has both academic and applied relevance. From an academic perspective, as indicated, there is little research generally exploring youth agency in addressing civic issues. The more opportunities that are provided to youth to be heard, the more young people can begin to see themselves, and be seen by adults, as effective contributors towards community change who can engage with efforts to provide safer community spaces. Understanding youth perceptions of community resources and of personal agency through the use of participatory methodologies, such as Photovoice, may be one way towards engaging youth with civic issues and activism more broadly.

However, Wang and Burris (1997) highlight methodological concerns relating to the use of photographs in research and how this affects the type of data ultimately used for analysis. For example, questions relating to who used the camera, what specific images were chosen – and perhaps equally importantly – what images were not chosen to be captured, what photographs were chosen to be discussed, how photographs were discussed and what information was focussed on, are all selective. The methodology of Photovoice is therefore subject to missing or hidden data, which needs to be acknowledged as a limitation of the research within the broader study findings. For example, the fact that participants were

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shown a number of illustrative images depicting safety in session 1, may have influenced the type of images they took, priming or prompting them in particular ways.

Qualitative studies can provide rich textual information in exploratory studies such as this one. However, the process of interpreting textual data is a subjective one, in which the researcher is subject to their own interpretations, which can ultimately compromise the validity of the data obtained (Mason, 1996; Silverman, 2012). It is important, therefore, that the researcher constantly be reflective, and aware, of his /her subjective experience in the analytic process. In this research, for example, my role as a white female from a privileged university background undoubtedly affected the way in which participants' viewed me, the way in which they interacted with me and the responses they provided in the research process. Similarly, these various subject positions of the researcher would have affected the way in which the data was approached and analysed. For example, in the analysis of participant's photographs and narratives, it should be acknowledged that themes across the three groupings are based on the researcher's interpretations; although this is consistent with qualitative forms of data analysis (Mason, 1996), it cannot be verified as to whether participants would have endorsed these groupings.

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Whilst purposive sampling assured the research was conducted with children from a high-violence context, concerns have been acknowledged about many qualitative forms of research regarding the generalizability of findings to other, broader populations (Mason, 1996; Silverman, 2012). Due to the sampling strategy used, the participants in this study reflected a particular type of child – one that would attend a religious or community based youth organisation – and by virtue of this, demonstrated characteristics (confidence, insight, self-efficacy, for example) that might make their responses in the study unique to some extent. However, the sample reflects a group of children that represent children from other, similar high violence communities and as such, despite specific differences, the results may suggest some lessons for other settings (Mason, 1996).

5.4 Recommendations for future research

The participants' drew attention to the need for both basic survival and psychological security as rudimentary requirements for children's safety in violence prone contexts, issues seemingly overlooked in the current literature on children's safety. The extent to which these

issues may compromise or enhance safety and the ways in which they do this, warrants further investigation in such contexts. In addition to the current focus on neighbourhood and community violence in the country, the participants' also highlighted the importance of examining crime in the homes of South African children and how this affects them. Finally, notwithstanding the more widely available research relating to social capital in adult community life, this study suggests that its value and legitimacy in the lives' of children also warrants further investigation and understanding. Finally, there is a need to evaluate the impact of Photovoice research on agency and civic participation amongst youth in the field of safety promotion.

5.5 Conclusion

Considering the range of issues raised by participants in this study, the current foci of child safety dominated by the public health approach appears restricted. This research suggested that ensuring the safety of children in high violence communities is a complex task necessitating a broader concern with the psychological, emotional and spiritual well-being of the child, as opposed to just physical integrity. Notwithstanding the enormous challenges facing community development in contexts such as South Africa, integrating the views of youth in issues that so deeply implicate them appears practical, viable and a necessary task if children's safety is to be approached in a comprehensive and effective manner.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interview guide

A. <u>Description of photo content:</u>

Tell us about this photograph.

If needed, follow up with specific questions:

1) What is happening here?
2) Who is this person? What are they doing?
3) What is this place / thing? Where is it?

(Make sure you know exactly what the content of the photo is before proceeding)

B. <u>Eliciting meaning of the photo:</u>

1) Why did you choose to show us this photo?
2) What does this photo tell us about your life and the lives of other people in Broadlands Park / Nomzamo?

C. <u>Exploring how photo represents safety:</u>

1) How does ____ make you or other children feel safe? What is it about ____ that makes you feel safe?
2) What does _____ keep you safe from?
3) Is it easy for you to get to _____ / find ____ if you need to feel safe? If not, why not?

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APPENDIX B: Participant Assent Form (English version)

The Medical Research Council-University of South Africa (SAPPRU) and the University of Cape Town are doing a research project called:

THINGS, PLACES AND PEOPLE THAT MAKE ME FEEL SAFE IN MY COMMUNITY

What is this study about?

Teenagers don't often get a chance to tell adults what they really think about things! This project is interested in hearing about the things, places and people that make you feel safe in Broadlands Park. We also want to hear your ideas about how to make Broadlands Park safer.

Do I have to take part?

You have been chosen by community leaders to take part in this study. But you do not have to take part in it if you do not want to. And if you decide to join, you can stop taking part at any time. You will not get into trouble if you do not want to be part of this project.

What do I have to do?

If you take part in the project, this is what you will have to do:

1) Meet six times with the two researchers from SAPPRU and the University of Cape Town, and with a small group of other teenagers from Broadlands Park. The meetings will be after school at a time that we all agree on. The meetings will be at the Phambile Development Centre, and will be about 90 minutes long. There will be snacks and cool drinks at all the meetings.

2) Listen to some ideas from a professional photographer about how to take good photographs. The photographer will come to one of the meetings to show you some good photography tricks.

3) Take some photographs of things, places and people that make you feel safe in your community. You will do this after school hours and on weekends or public holidays. For your own safety, you must take someone along with you when you take the photographs. This can be a parent, other family member, friend or community leader. You will be given a free disposable camera (this is a camera that you throw away after you have finished using it). The researchers will pay for developing the photographs after you have taken them.

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4) Tell the researchers and the other members of the group about the photographs you took. What you tell us about the photographs will be used by the researchers to help them understand how young people see safety in Broadlands Park, and to create programmes that can make Broadlands Park a safer place to live.

5) If you want to, you can choose to show your photographs at a community event to be held later this year (for example, the Youth Day campaign), so that everyone can see them. But you can choose NOT to show your photographs if you do not want to.

Will what I say be kept private?

Everything you say in the group meetings will be heard by the other group members. Group meetings will also be recorded on a digital audio recorder and then saved on a computer where it will be stored securely with a password. The stories you tell us about your photographs may be used in the reports that the researchers write or present for other researchers, but your real name will not be used. And if you decide to show your photos at a community event, you do not need to put your name on them if you do not want to.

Who will the photographs belong to?

You will be able to keep a copy of all your photographs. If you agree to take part in this study, this means that you agree to also let the researchers use a copy of your photographs in the reports that they write or present for other researchers. But your real name will not be used with your photographs. If we want to use a copy of your photographs for anything else, we have to get your permission.

Why should I take part in this study?

This is a chance for you to express your opinions about things that are important to you in your community. Your opinions will help us to think of ways that we can help young people to be involved in creating a safer community. It is also a chance for you to learn more about taking photographs and how to use photographs to tell a story.

If you would like to be part of the research project, please sign this form below:

Name:…………………………………………………………………….

Signature:………………………………………………………………..

Thank you!

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APPENDIX C: Parental Consent Form (English version)

Dear Parent

The Medical Research Council - University of South Africa Safety and Peace Promotion Research Unit and the University of Cape Town are conducting a research study with teenagers in Broadlands Park. The aim of the study is to hear what teenagers think about safety in their community. This information will help us to create community projects that will teach young people how to help build a safe and peaceful community in Broadlands Park.

Taking part in the study is voluntary. This means that your child can choose not to take part at all or can stop taking part at any point during the study. Your child will be asked to fill in a form in which they will tell us if they do or do not want to be part of the study.

If your child takes part in this study, they will have to do the following:

1) Receive some training from the researchers about how to take photographs
2) Take some photographs of their neighbourhood with a free disposable camera (after school and on weekends). A friend or family member must go with them when they are taking photographs. The photographs will be printed by the researchers.
3) Attend 6 meetings with the researchers. The meetings will take place at the Phambile Development Centre once a week during April and May 2011, after school hours, and will last for one and a half hours each. The meetings will be tape recorded.

If you give permission for your child to take part in this project, this means that you agree that their photographs (but not their names) can be used by the researchers for research reports and for academic publications or presentations. If the researchers want to use the photographs for any other purposes, you and your child both need to give permission.

If you **agree** that your child can take part in this project, please fill in below:

Your child's name and surname:____

Your name and surname: ____

Your signature: ____

Today's date: __________________________

If you have any questions please contact **Mr Samed Bulbulia on (021) 938-0534 or 082 4671158**

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APPENDIX D: Participant Assent Form (Afrikaans version)

Die Mediese Navorsingsraad-Universiteit van Suid Afrika Veiligheid, Vrede en Promosie Navorsings Eenheid en die Universiteit van Kaapstad doen navorsing oor:

DINGE, PLEKKE EN MENSE WAT JOU LAAT VEILIG VOEL IN JOU GEMEENSKAP

Waaroor handel die studie?

Tieners kry nie dikwels 'n kans om vir volwassenes te vertel wat hulle regtig oor dinge dink nie! Hierdie projek is geïnteresseerd in jou mening van die dinge, plekke en mense wat jou laat veilig voel in Broadlands Park. Ons wil ook graag jou idees hoor oor hoe Broadlands Park ‘n veiliger geemenskap te maak.

Moet ek deelneem?

Jy is gekies deur gemeenskap leiers om deel te neem aan hierdie studie, maar jy is onder geen verpligting om deel te neem nie. As jy wel besluit om deel te neem, kan jy jouself enige tyd onttrek en sal nie in die moeilikheid beland nie.

Wat word van my verwag indien ek sou instem tot deelname?

Indien jy sou instem sal die volgende van jou dus verwag word:

1. Om ses keer met die twee navorsers van SAPPRU en die Universiteit van Kaapstad, asook met 'n klein groepie van ander tieners van Broadlands Park te ontmoet. Hierdie vergaderings sal na skool gehou word op 'n tyd wat vir almal pas.. Die vergaderings sal by die Phambile Development Centre gehou word en sal ongeveer 90 minute lank duur. Daar sal verversings bedien word by al die vergaderings.

2. Om te luister na 'n paar idees van 'n professionele fotograaf oor hoe om goeie fotos te neem. Die fotograaf sal een van die vergaderings by woon om jou 'n paar goeie fotografie wenke te wys.

3. Om 'n paar foto's te neem van dinge, plekke en mense wat jou veilig laat voel in jou gemeenskap. Jy sal dit na skool, oor naweke of openbare vakansiedae moet doen. Vir jou eie veiligheid, moet jy iemand saam met jou neem as jy die fotos gaan neem. Dit kan 'n ouer, ander familielid, vriend of gemeenskap leier wees. Julle sal 'n gratis besteebare kamera (dit is'n kamera wat jy weggooi nadat jy klaar met dit) gegee word en die navorsers sal betaal vir die ontwikkeling van die fotos wat jy geneem het.

4. Om vir die navorsers en die ander lede van die groep oor die fotos wat jy geneem het te vertel. Wat jy ons vertel oor die foto's sal deur die navorsers gebruik word om hulle te help

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om te verstaan hoe jong mense veiligheid in Broadlands Park sien. Dit sal hulle ook help om programme wat Broadlands Park 'n veiliger plek kan omskep te ontwikkel.

5. As jy wil, kan jy kies om jou foto's op 'n gemeenskap vergadering wat gehou sal word later hierdie jaar te vertoon (byvoorbeeld, die Jeugdag-veldtog), sodat almal dit kan sien. Maar jy kan kies om nie jou foto's te wys nie, dis jou keuse.

Sal my deelname aan die studie as vertroulik hanteer word ?

Alles wat jy sê in die groep vergaderings sal deur die ander lede van die groep gehoor word. Groep vergaderings sal ook aangeteken word op 'n digitale klank opneemer en sal dan veilig gestoor word op 'n rekenaar met 'n wagwoord. Die stories wat jy vir ons van jou fotos vertel mag gebruik word in die berig wat die navorsers skryf of voorstel aan ander navorsers, maar jou regte naam sal nie gebruik word nie. As jy besluit om jou fotos op 'n gemeenskap geleentheid uit te stel, hoef jy nie jou naam op hulle te sit as jy wil nie.

Aan wie sal die fotos behoort?

Jy sal kopië van al jou fotos ontvang. As jy daartoe sou instem om deel te neem aan hierdie studie, beteken dit dat jy ook instem dat die navorsers 'n kopie van jou fotos kan gebruik in die verslae wat hulle skryf of voorstelle wat hulle hê vir ander navorsers. Jou regte naam sal nie gebruik word met jou fotos nie en indien ons jou fotos vir enigiets anders gebruik, moet ons jou toestemming kry.

Hoekom moet ek deel neem in hierdie studie?

Dit is 'n kans om jou mening uit te spreek oor dinge wat belangrik is vir jou in jou gemeenskap. Jou opinies sal ons help om aan maniere te dink wat ons kan help om jong mense se betrokkenheid aan te moedig om ‘n veiliger gemeenskap te skep. Dit is ook 'n kans vir jou om meer van fotos neem te leer asook hoe om fotos te gebruik om ‘n storie te vertel.

Indien u instem om deel te neem aan hierdie projek, vul asseblief die vorm in:

Naam en van:..

Handtekening:..

Baie Dankie!

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APPENDIX E: Parental Consent Form (Afrikaans version)

Liewe Ouer

Hierdie navorsingsprojek word uitgevoer deur die Mediese Navorsingsraad – Universiteit van Suid Africa Veiligheid, Vrede en Promosie Navorsings Eenheid (Medical Research Council - University of South Africa Safety and Peace Promotion Research Unit) en die Universiteit van Kaapstad met die jeug van Broadlands Park. Die doel van hierdie projek is om vas te stel wat die jeug van veiligheid in hul gemeenskap dink. Hierdie navorsing sal bydrae tot die ontwikkeling van gemeenskap projekte wat die jeug sal help om n veilige en vreedsame gemeenskap in Broadlands Park te skep.

Deelname aan die navorsing is geheel en al vrywillig en u kind is onder geen verpligting om deel te neem nie. Die inligting wat deur u kind verskaf word sal aan geen ander persoon in die gemeenskap bekend gemaak word nie, tensy u en u kind toestemming daartoe verleen het. U kind sal gevra word om n vorm in te vul indien hy/sy daartoe sou instem om deel te neem aan hierdie projek.

Die volgende sal dus verwag word van u kind:

1) Om opleiding te ontvang wat hom/haar sal leer hoe om fotos te neem.
2) Om fotos te neem van hulle gemeenskap met n weggooi kamera (na skool of naweke). ‘n Vriend of familie lid moet saam gaan om die fotos te neem. Die fotos sal deur die navorsers ontwikkel word.
3) Om 6 vergaderings saam met navorsers by te woon, wat by die Phambile Development Centre een keer n week gedurende April en Mei 2011 gehou sal word. Hiedie vergaderings sal een en n half uur duur en sal opgeneem word.

As u wel in stem dat u kind deel kan neem in hierdie projek, gee u toestemming dat die fotos wat u kind (nie sy naam of besonderhede nie) neem gebruik kan word deur die navorsers vir navorsings verslae, akademiese publikasies en voorstellings. Indien die navorsers die fotos vir enige ander doel wil gebruik, sal u en u kind toestemming moet gee.

Indien u instem om deel te neem aan hierdie projek, vul asseblief die vorm in:

Kind se naam en van: ____

Ouer se naam en van: ____

Our se handtekening: ____

Vandag se datum: ______________________

Indien u enige navrae insake die studie het of enige verwante probleme wat u ondervind wil rapporteer, kontak asseblief vir **Mr Samed Bulbulia op (021) 938-0534 of 082 467 1158**.

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