Another Future in our Hands?

The role of schools in responding to youth challenges in crime affected communities in post-apartheid South Africa

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Abstract

There is a concern that South African youth growing up in underprivileged communities will internalize and replicate violent lessons from the past. When exposure to criminal activities and violent conducts becomes an everyday occurrence both in the community and in schools, positive youth development becomes challenged.

Education is regarded as a fundamental building block in the society and provides youth with opportunities for the future which their parents never had during the apartheid years. Education in South Africa is considered as a key tool to promote positive youth development to benefit the individual as well as the society. Though the country has managed to achieve universal education, access to quality education remains an issue. Quality education is associated with a child-centred approach to teaching where one of the goals is to promote gainful and meaningful learning outcomes to prepare children for the future world of work. Inequalities in South African schools still exist and the majority of South African pupils attend schools with inadequate resources to fully meet their needs.

School is pointed out as an arena where positive youth development can be promoted by focusing on development of the individuals' full potential. It is also identified as an important location for intervention and a place where teachers as well as pupils can work together in promoting positive, democratic values.

This study set out to examine the everyday lives of teenage boys in two of Cape Town's township communities. The study seeks to explore what challenges male youth recognize in their neighbourhoods and the role of school in responding to them.

By looking at a Waldorf school and a public school, representing two different approaches to teaching, the study seeks to examine how teaching can help youth respond to the challenges they face. The Waldorf school represents a humanistic child-centred approach to teaching and the study set out to examine whether or not this school, compared to a public school, differed in their views and strategies in responding to their pupil's needs.

The findings suggest similar community challenges between the boys in the two schools. The main challenge pointed out among the boys was the issue of gangs which they associated with fear, threat, the likelihood of doing drugs, and group pressure. The boys reported being

bullied as well as the risk of getting killed if they said no to gangs, and identified limited opportunities to stay safe. School and homes was acknowledged as safe venues, but moving around within the neighbourhood often required support and protection of a gang or a group.

The teachers who participated in this study were asked about their vision of school and how they thought school could respond to the challenges faced by teenagers. The teachers differed in their responses; those from the public school focused on collaboration with other stakeholders in the community when solving issues related to gangs and violence, while the Waldorf teachers emphasized their approach to teaching itself as a strategy to help the pupils. The Waldorf teachers emphasized humanistic values and the importance of fulfilling the pupil's needs by responding to them as central points in their teaching.

All the boys participating in the study enjoyed school and the opportunities it could provide. They all acknowledged the importance of education and showed awareness of what opportunities it might bring. The boys showed no lack of ambitions and saw their future roles as beneficial to their community.

Though all the boys appreciated school, the boys in the public school reported being beaten by their teachers. This suggests that even though corporal punishment is prohibited in South Africa, it remains a daily experience for some pupils.

It can be argued that corporal punishment in school contributes to the normalization of violence in youth's environment. If teachers – pointed out as role models and transmitters of knowledge and values – contribute to this normalization, it is important to ask what values exists within their teaching. The aim of this study is not to explore whether or not corporal punishment contributes to a culture of violence; rather, it looks at what kind of values and vision are represented in two different schools and how they can have an influence on youth when it comes to dealing with the challenges they face.

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List of acronyms

CSVR: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DoE : Department of Education

LIDC: London International Development Centre

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

NYDF: National Youth Development Forum

NGO: Non-govermental Organization

NSD: Norwegian Social Data Service

NSNP: National School Nutrition Programme

OBE: Outcomes Based Education

RNCS: Revised National Curriculum Statement

SHAWCO: Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organization

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations Children´s Fund

WHO: World Health Organization

ZAR: South African Rand

1 Introduction

No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite (Mandela 1995:622).

Township youth South Africa. *The Real Dancers.* (London International Development Centre (LIDC) 2012).

Diversity is one of the first words that come to mind when I think of South Africa. The country reveals its range both in regards to people, culture, languages, race, as well as in the outstanding landscape, wildlife and flora surrounding this southern part of the African continent. "Where the two oceans meet" is often used when describing the southern part of the country in which this study was set out. Cape Town is exceptional with its beautiful coastline and mighty mountains.

But behind the beauty of this country lies a history that has come to shape diversity also in regards to class and socio-economic status among its citizens. South Africa is among the most unequal countries in the world (Foster 2012; Kubow & Fossum 2007) when it comes to the distribution of resources and where the black and colored population – constituting the majority of the population – lives in poverty. In the urban and underprivileged communities of Cape Town one of the major challenges facing citizens is poverty, unemployment, crime and violence. Foster (2012) point to a

link between income inequality and rates of crime. Inequalities are also an issue within education, especially when it comes to quality education (Republic of South Africa 2010).

1.1 Background

Violence is regarded as a major problem in South Africa (Foster 2012; Pinnock 1997; Pelser 2008) and it is deeply rooted in the country's history (Ward, Dawes, Matzopoulos 2012).

On June 16, 1976 more than 15000 students age 10-20 rose up against the apartheid government's legislation of using Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in South African schools by gathering in a mass demonstration in Soweto, Johannesburg (Davie 2012). Instead of getting a chance to negotiate their terms, the police responded with gunshots causing the death of hundreds of students. The protesters answered with bottles and stones, demanding to be heard. The protests and violence spread across the country, and two days later schools were shut down by the authorities. The demonstration, known as the Soweto Uprising, was one of the first steps in the massive apartheid-resistance that followed throughout the 1980s (Davie 2012). Panday, Ranchod, Ngcaweni and Seedat (2012) refers to the central role of the youth sector in South Africa during the anti-apartheid struggle and how this gave youth reason to hope for development of policies responding to their socio-economic needs, as the country moved towards democracy in the early 1990s. They report that the vision of the National Youth Development Forum (NYDF) was to look at the young generation as promoting positive development rather than target them as "out of control" and a "lost generation". Panday et al. (2012) argue that despite the hopes and efforts, youth development was given scant attention in the post-apartheid policy frameworks. Ebata, Izzi, Lenton, Ngjela & Sampson (2006) discuss the role of youth during the apartheid era, also recognizing the insufficient attention given them despite their participation and significant role they led in the anti-apartheid campaign:

> (..) the young generation was central to the anti-apartheid struggle, but once the armed struggle subsided and peace talks began, they were instructed to stand-down and return to pursuits deemed more appropriate for their age group, and the political negotiations were taken over by older leaders, returning from prison and exile. (..) While this practice reflected in part a sensible recognition of the special needs of youth (particularly education), young people felt cheated. In the long run, this marginalization of youth during the peace process has arguably translated into the development of criminal gangs and other violent youth behaviour (Ebata et al. 2006:26).

The quote illustrates how youth were excluded from taking part in the peace process. This marginalization of youth is given as a reason for development of criminal gangs and youth

violence that continue to exist today. Panday et al. (2012) highlight the changing role of youth when they argue that:

> as the political struggle shifted towards negotiating a new democracy rather than fighting against the apartheid regime, political shifts in the early to mid-90s drew some young people away from 'street protests' to 'street corners' – from participation in the anti-apartheid struggle to deviance and delinquency. Time and energy that was previously consumed in the struggle suddenly became available or other pursuits, but there were too few apparent avenues to channel this energy constructively (Panday et al. 2012:98).

Rather than fighting for their rights, youth were now fighting each other in the streets. South Africa is faced with a crisis when it comes to young people's involvement in violence (Ward et al. 2012) and Nelson Mandela points out his concern for the younger generation when he maintains that:

> We owe our children – the most vulnerable citizens in any society – a life free from violence and fear. In order to ensure this, we must be tireless in our efforts not only to attain peace, justice and prosperity for countries, but also for communities and members of the same family. We must address the roots of violence. Only then will we transform the past century's legacy from a crushing burden into a cautionary lesson (Mandela in WHO 2002: foreword).

He also point to the legacy of day-to-day individual suffering, and contends that "no country, no city, no community is immune" (Mandela in WHO 2002:foreword). Mandela (2002) argues that in the absence of democracy, respect for human rights and good governance, violence increases. Mandela's words bear a significant link to his own experiences with South Africa's history and how violence has become so dominant in the new democracy.

Not responding to the needs of the young generation cannot only harm young individuals; it can come to harm the society at large. One scenario being that youngster join criminal gangs and harm innocent community members as a result of a lack of support for the challenges they face, a broader scenario being the development of a violent culture, as well as the loss of potential leaders and thinkers in the society.

Ward et al. (2012) stress the historical aspect as underlying factors of youth violence, emphasizing that exposure to violence is not new for young people growing up in the marginalized communities of South Africa. Jansen (2011) argues that the apartheid regime made violence a part of the societal culture and that it became institutionalized in the society. Mandela raises the issue of day-to-day individual suffering stating that "the legacy reproduces itself as the new generation learn violence from the past, victims will learn from victimizers, and social conditions that nurture violence are allowed to continue" (Mandela in WHO 2002:foreword). He also raises his concern

of a *culture of violence* taking root. Pelser (2008) claims that a substantial part of South Africa's youth have internalised and consequently replicated criminal and violent behaviour as they have been exposed to it regularly in their socialisation process, pointing out key institutions like schools and homes.

While the literature I have referred to this far has pointed to the history of apartheid and the struggle against it as contributing to violence and youth violence and crime in particular, Pinnock (1997) points to socio-political factors like poverty, poor education, broken families and the massive relocations of people of colour under the apartheid regime as factors explaining youth gangs and crime in Cape Town. Similar explanations are given by Schönteich and Louw (2001) who recognize political and socio-economic transition, a culture of violence, and a young population as explanations for the high crime rate in South Africa. Schönteich and Louw (2001) further argue that "crime tends to increase during periods of political transition coupled with instability and violence. (..) routine policing activities are diverted towards controlling violence, and crime consequently increases" (Schönteich & Louw 2001:paragraph 11). The transition into something new creates room for instability, and violence may occur. Pinnock (1997) relates to "institutional violence" and how family lives were disrupted under the apartheid policies of mass removals[1] and migrant labour. The weakening of the family unit and parental control may be another factor leading to criminal behaviour among youth (Schönteich & Louw 2001, Pinnock 1997). Jansen (2011) expresses his concern about producing and reproducing dangerous "post-apartheid youth". His reference to some of these youths as potential killers and not "learners" is linked to history;

> Our finest historians will tell you that dangerous behaviour does not just happen. (..) This deadly behaviour comes from deep within our history and (..) it is carried intergenerationally unless there is drastic intervention that breaks or interrupts the rhythms of destructive actions (Jansen 2011:81).

As most of the above literature points out, violent acts and the way many young South Africans possess an anti-social behaviour that can harm both themselves and others in their wider society, is connected to history and how history has come to shape present South Africa. Disadvantages exist in communities today as a result of what the previous regime created. This does not only manifest itself in visible factors like poverty and inequality, but also how history might have come to lay deep roots in the mind of people, influencing their thoughts and actions. Jansen (2011) points to the bitterness and deep-seated anger of people, saying that it comes from "something deep within

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[1] Under apartheid, people of color were forced out of the city and into underdeveloped areas (Kubow & Fossum 2007:132).

our selves and our history" (p.5). He argues that people´s need for revenge contributes to the conditions for institutionalized violence that remain today. His writing stresses the need of a new way of thinking about each other; not categorizing people after class or race like the old regime did, but rather focus on humanity (Jansen 2011). He highlights reconciliation and forgiveness as the only way to solve the major issues South Africa is facing today (Jansen 2011).

1.1.1 Educational situation in South Africa

Education is seen as a central tool in the democratic development of South Africa (The Department of Education South Africa (DoE 2002) where role-modelling among educators is seen as an educational strategy to promote democratic values in young South Africans (DoE 2001). The country have made education a core focus of their agenda and can now be showed to having achieved the goal of universal primary education (MDG2, Millennium Development Goals) before the year 2015 (Republic of South Africa 2010). The importance of school is highly recognized in South Africa in general, especially since the majority of the population suffered major deprivation of educational opportunities during apartheid. After the first democratic election in 1994, the curriculum became a tool to strengthen and develop equal opportunities for all as opposed to reinforcing the inequalities as it did under the apartheid regime (DoE 2002). The government of South Africa points out the right to education (for all), and can show an increase in both the literacy rate among both male and female youth; enrolment; and completion rate of primary education in the year of 2009 compared to 2002 (Republic of South Africa 2010). DoE (2012) associates education and lifelong learning with the building and development of a peaceful democratic South Africa in their vision statement:

> Our vision is of a South Africa in which all our people have access to lifelong learning, as well as education and training, which will, in turn, contribute towards improving the quality of life and building a peaceful, prosperous and democratic South Africa (DoE 2012).

Although South Africa have accomplished improvements in education, especially in regards to equality, the MDG Report of 2010 points out the need to improve quality and functionality of education further, especially within "the historically black and chronically underperforming section of South Africa's schooling system" (Republic of South Africa 2010). The government has pointed out education as a top priority to work on towards in their 2011-2014 strategic plan, and states that improved quality of basic education is central (DoE 2011). Access to quality education for all is still a challenge, and the National Youth Policy 2009-2014 (NYP) points out that in the context of youth development, poor quality education is one of the key issues that need more attention (Presidency 2008). Even though the government prioritizes the bigger share of their

budget to education, South African schools are still faced with deficiencies in resources which places high demands on educators, school staff and infrastructure (Gevers & Flisher 2012). Jansen points out the existing inequalities among schools when he says that:

> (..) there is a racial trouble ahead if we do not solve the crisis of having two school systems in a sea of inequality – a small, elite, well-functioning system for the black and white middle classes, and a massive, dysfunctional, impoverished system for the majority of poor black children (Jansen 2011:10-11).

He emphasizes the urgent need to deal with the "underlying distress among the poor" and points to the education system in particular.

Gevers and Flisher (2012) point out another challenge regarding education, namely the high levels of violence in school. They argue that "the high levels of school violence suggest that we are not adequately protecting and promoting the best interests of children" (p.175) and that schools has come to reflect the high levels of violence in South African society (Gevers & Flisher 2012).

1.2 The Study: relevance and aim

Dealing with youth in a crime affected context this study set out in two of Cape Town's underprivileged townships, seeks to examine what challenges young boys experience in their community and how the challenges can come to influence their lives. According to Pinnock (1997) we need to understand what adolescence *is* in order to understand what is meaningful for them. In this regard, the study takes a qualitative approach in understanding how male youth relate to their environmental issues, and how (if) their school experiences can come to play a role in responding to the difficulties they face. By looking at two approaches to teaching represented in two different schools, the study seeks to examine whether or not the two schools differ in their response on how to deal with youth challenges.

1.2.1 Relevance of study

As mentioned in section 1.1, crime and violence is a prominent issue in South Africa, and Cape Town is among the top three cities with the highest crime rates in the country (Schönteich & Louw 2001). South Africa also has a largely youthful population (Presidency 2008) and young people are pointed out as the group most likely to be the perpetrators as well as victims of violence on both an international and national scale (Ward et al. 2012:2). The level of violence among youth remains extraordinarily high in South Africa (Ward et al. 2012). Ward and Bakhuis (2010) recognize the need for qualitative research on this particular issue (gangs, youth violence) as they

report that "most, if not all, programs and policies to combat gangs in Cape Town have been developed without any reference to the views of the young people at whom many of these programs are targeted" (Ward & Bakhuis 2009:51). Ward et al. focus on early and multilevel intervention in preventing violence in South Africa (Ward et al. 2012). They point out the challenging situation of South African children and youth when they say that

> We are concerned that too many South African children are growing up in dysfunctional families, poorly performing schools and violent neighbourhoods – and that unless we address these problems we will raise another generation of children who do not know any other way to solve a problem than to resort to violence (Ward et al. 2012:1).

Pointing out factors concerning children and their environment, Ward et al. (2012) take on an ecological approach (see section 2.2, chapter 2 for further discussion on contextual dimensions) in their discussion on how to prevent youth violence. Panday et al. (2012) identify the context in which young people grow up in as the root cause of violence. The NYP points out the importance of making opportunities available for young people to enable them to deal with the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. The goal of the policy is to;

> Intentionally enhance the capacities for young people through addressing their needs, promoting positive outcomes and providing integrated coordinated package of service, opportunities, choices, relationships and support necessary for holistic development of all young people (..) (Presidency 2008:7).

The policy argues that "disadvantaged youth must be empowered to overcome conditions which disadvantage them", and point out holistic development of youth as essential (Presidency 2008:7). In this regard, school can play a role. According to Panday et al. (2012) education is a fundamental building block in the society, and is central in the development of youth (Panday et al. 2012:102). Ward and Bakhuis (2009) in Ward et al. 2012 recognize the importance of early intervention as people already in the age of 11-12 start joining gangs. In this respect, this study examines what young boys in Grade 7, living in crime affected communities in Cape Town, recognize as challenging in their environment.

1.2.2 Aim of study

This study aims to reach a deeper understanding of the main challenges teenagers are facing in their environment presented from their point of view. It seeks to explore what role school can play at this specific stage in life, in particular when it comes to dealing with challenges. Some of the key concepts in this study regarding participants are young boys´ self-esteem, independent thinking, decision making, problem solving, and vision of future (their future roles in community).

The study will focus on school as a key role actor in the development of youth and prevention of crime.

1.2.3 Research Questions

Main Research Question:

How can school respond to teenagers´ needs in a crime-affected context? (alternative versus traditional teaching).

Key Research Questions:

1. *What challenges are teenage boys facing in urban townships in Cape Town and how can they affect their lives?*

2. *What role does education play in the lives of teenage boys in these communities?*

1.3 Context: setting the scene

Map South Africa (source: ezilon.com).

Crime and violence is recognized as a universal challenge (WHO 2002), and although similar explanations can be drawn on a comparative basis, each country's situation is unique in regards to culture, history, economy and development. In order to reach an understanding of crime and violence, - and respond to it, we need to consider the contextual dimensions (see chapter 2). South Africa has one of the highest rates of violence, and is also one of the most unequal countries in the world (Foster 2012). On a national level, Gauteng and the Western Cape represents the most unequal provinces in the country, with the highest violence rates (Foster 2012).

A township can be defined as "a suburb or city of predominantly black occupation, formerly officially designated for black occupation by apartheid legislation" (Oxford Dictionaries 2012). Entering any township in South Africa, you are immediately faced with the inequalities that exist among people. Townships in post-apartheid South Africa are often characterized by high unemployment rates, low income per household, inadequate infrastructure, and poor education, illiteracy, and other socio-economic inequalities (Dissel 1997).

The study was set out in two of the many townships in Cape Town. Due to ethical considerations, the names of the townships will not be revealed as it causes a threat to one of the school's anonymity. The two townships both represent black communities, where the mother tongue language is isiXhosa.

1.3.1 Research site: The schools

Public school 1.

Public school 1 has 1200 pupils from Grade R-9. It is categorized as a quintile 2[2] school, on a scale where quintile 6 represents the wealthiest schools and quintile 1 the most underprivileged schools. All pupils attending public schools in South Africa, including pupils at Public school 1, benefit from The National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP). The NSNP is a government funded feeding program implemented to increase learning capacity; promote and support food production and improve food security in school communities, and strengthen nutrition education (DoE 2012).

The Waldorf school

The Waldorf school I visited represents the only Waldorf school located in a underprivileged community in the Western Cape. The school had 300 pupils in Grades R-7. This private school has limited resources and struggle financially as most parents can not afford to pay school fees for their children attending the school[3]. The school receives some funding from the government, but generally depends on fundraising and school fees. The center, founding the school in 1999, does fundraising and receives volunteers every year supporting their work (information received in the field October 2011).

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[2] "A system of ranking and funding schools taking into account the socio-economic circumstances of learners (inequality and poverty). For example, the poorest quintiles (1 and 2) receive more funding in terms of the Norms and Standards for Funding Schools" (DoE 2011:8).

[3] The annual fee per child is ZAR200 (approximately 17 Euro or 22 USD).

1.4 Outline of thesis

Chapter 1 has briefly presented some of the historical aspects necessary to better understand the situation of youth and the issue of crime and violence in South Africa. I have introduced the context in which the majority of young people grow up in, as well as some of the educational challenges in South Africa, and pointed out the relevance and aim of the study. In *chapter 2* I will explain the concepts of youth, education, and crime and violence. I will look at the concepts in relation to contextual dimensions, and present my research framework. *Chapter 3* will discuss the concepts further in relation to literature and look at how they relate to each other. I will give a brief introduction of the humanistic approach to teaching in section 3.4 before presenting Waldorf education in section 3.5. The last section of chapter 3 will present the theory of Multiple Intelligences by Howard Gardner which ideas serve as my theoretical framework. The research strategy and methods employed in this qualitative study will be accounted for in *chapter 4* before presenting the data collected in the field in *chapter 5*. Finally, the data will be discussed and analysed in relation to literature in *chapter 6*. An analytical framework will be presented towards the end of the chapter as to summarize the main areas of investigation and how it relates to some of Gardner's ideas.

2 Conceptual framework

In this chapter I will present and explain the concepts relevant for the study. I will look at how literature defines the concepts *youth*, *education*, *crime and violence*, and there after present how the concepts relate to my study. Figure 1 and figure 2 presented in this chapter serve as conceptual framework and were developed in order to get an overview and a structured setting of the areas that have been investigated, in addition to showing how they relate to one another. The various concepts will be explained in more detail as they are presented in the figures.

Bryman (2008) describes concepts as "the building blocks of theory [which] represent[s] the points around which social research is conducted" (p.143) and that they are part of the *landscape* in qualitative research (p.373).

When it comes to defining concepts, Blumer (n.d.) distinguishes between *definitive* and *sensitizing* concepts. The latter provides us with a general sense of what the study is looking for compared to a "fixed" way of viewing them (Blumer n.d., cited in Bryman 2008:373). How I choose to adopt this notion in my own study, is that it allows the researcher to describe the concepts in his/her own way in relation to the specific study, without eliminating other possible definitions of the same concept. This will be significant in my study due to the broad definitions and various understandings of the concepts used.

2.1 Understanding the concepts

Three broad themes represent the main focus of my study: *Youth*, *Crime and Violence* (seen as one), and *Education*. These are illustrated in Figure 2.1:

Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework
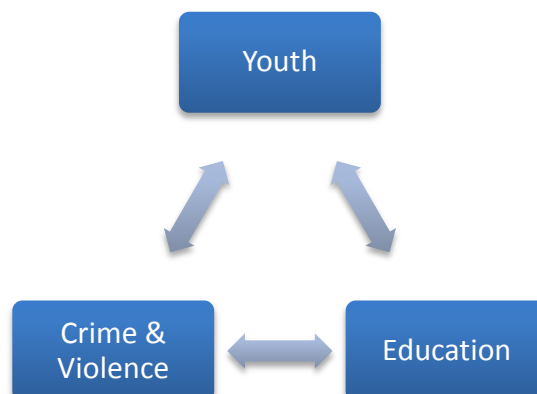
Figure 2.1 suggests an interconnection between the three concepts youth, crime & violence, and education. My study will focus on the intersection between these concepts, and look at *how* they are related and how they can affect each other.

2.1.1 Sensitizing the concept of Youth

There are various definitions and terms used when describing the stage between childhood and adulthood. *Teenagers*, *adolescence*, *juveniles*, and *youth* are all terms labeling the early years in the development of becoming an adult – a stage often associated with change and confusion. When defining the term youth the literature often suggests members of the population within a certain age group. Global actors like the World Bank and the UN define *youth* as the age between 15 and 24 (World Bank 2011), whereas the NYP applies a broader age range, defining youth as members of the population between 14 and 35. NYP's inclusive definition of youth relates specifically to the South African context in which the historical as well as the present-day conditions must be taken into account (Presidency 2008). Under apartheid many (foremost black and colored people) were denied opportunities[4], thus an expanded understanding of youth in South Africa is needed to compensate for the lack of opportunities under the previous regime (Panday et al. 2012). Expanding the age range would allow people not defined as "young" anymore to benefit from the development policies set out in the new-democratic South Africa, especially in regards to educational opportunities (Ward et al. 2012).

Ward et al. (2012) refer to youth as members of the population between the ages of 12 and 24 years. They include the age of 12 in their definition of youth instead of *children* as they recognize that early involvement in gangs and other activities can put them at risk. Palmary (2003) includes all young people below the age of 25 due to the likelihood of crime involvement in this specific age group and successful implementation of crime prevention projects, especially for the group below 14 year olds. With regards to violence in particular, the World Health Organization (WHO) (2002) refers to *youth violence* as acts involving people between 10 and 29 years of age, pointing out that "young males [are] both the principal perpetrators and victims of homicide"(WHO 2002:12).

As my study focuses on early involvement and experience with crime and violence, it therefore agrees with the importance of early intervention. Though, a definition of this vast concept would have to be considered in relation to the context, meaning that a 12 year old in one culture may not have the same status, experience, responsibilities or "references" as a 12 year old in another

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[4] The law of segregation allowed only the white population access to quality education (Bray et al. 2010).

culture. A 12 year old in one culture might already have had to adopt a role as an adult/parent, as loss of caretakers result in him taking care of his younger siblings, whilst a 12 year old in another context might still be regarded as a child. In South Africa, youth play an important role in the family and economy, and they are often parents themselves from a very young age (Palmary 2003). Poverty and health issues like HIV/AIDS may also lead to increased responsibility to take care of family members (Palmary 2003).

It is significant to point out the various physical and cognitive changes taking place when a child moves towards adulthood. These changes may play a role in how the person views him/her self in relation to their environment and others. Gouws, Kruger and Burger (2008) write about *adolescence* as a stage that refers to a development phase situated between childhood and adulthood. They argue that when viewing adolescence as a transition to adulthood, one must keep in mind that adolescents are "not simply in the process of becoming someone else; they are individuals in their own right" (Gouws, Kruger & Burger 2008:4). As my study takes a humanistic approach, I will include some definitions of the concept describing youth as a *stage* and *process* rather than only framing it within an age group. Pinnock (1997) uses various terms (young people, teenagers, and adolescence) in his study on youth gangs in Cape Town. When referring to his participants, he most often uses the term adolescence which he describes as the most confusing time in our lives, but also hugely creative and

> (..) a time for anticipation for something indescribably other - a longing for magical transformation and a rejection of the mundane. (..) a time and place where young men and women can become introduced to the unknown man and woman inside themselves (Pinnock 1997:7-8).

My thesis seeks to grasp this "sensitive" period in life as a variety of factors might come to influence the choices made at this stage. My participants were all pupils in Grade 7 age 12-15. According to Jansen (2011) Grade 7 is the stage where big decisions are made.

2.1.2 Sensitizing the concept of Crime and Violence

Crime and violence is a vast, broad, and complex phenomenon with various definitions, depending on the context and legislations within a specific context. WHO (2002) defines violence as

> The intentional use of power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (WHO 2002:4).

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) refers to violence as

> (..) applications, or threats, of physical force against a person, which can give rise to criminal or civil liability, whether severe or not and whether with or without a weapon. When more severe such violence may be associated with intimate violations of the person or the potential to cause serious physical pain, injury or death (CSVR 2007:33).

Although a large portion of crime committed by youth in South Africa can be referred to as "petty crime" – which involves property crimes, shoplifting, theft and other "victimless offences", – the importance of targeting this kind of crime is significant to prevent more serious crime in the future (Sherman 1998, cited in Palmary 2003: paragraph 10). It is important not to underestimate these types of crime, as they might come to influence young teenage lives and cause severe harm especially in regards to choices, education and opportunities. In my study, the concept of crime encompasses crime and violence in townships with a focus on street gangs (gangsters) – youth crime activity, and anti-social behavior. Anti-social behavior can refer to both use of drugs and alcohol, as well as crime related activity and violence such as theft, robbery, fighting and assault (van der Merwe et al. 2012).

Though the issue of crime and violence in large expand to the wider context of South Africa, I wanted to examine how teenagers in certain areas of Cape Town relate to this issue in their local context. I did not investigate crime and gangs specifically, but the notion of the existence of crime and the likelihood of falling into that type of milieu. As my study does not collect data from outside the school environments (i.e. gang members or the local community), the study is primarily concerned with the participants´ view on crime and violence in their community and in what way it may come to affect them. In the interviews, the type of crime that was discussed relate to gangsters, but the notion of drugs, alcohol as well as criminal activity committed by adults in their community were topics that were touched upon. Due to the complexity of the concept, I will highlight one of the main categories related to criminal activity and the notion of violence that occurred in my research; the issue of gangs.

Gangs

The notion of gangs will, in this study, first and foremost be discussed as it is perceived by the teenagers participating in the study, and will not necessarily refer to the more structured, organized crime. Pinnock (1980, cited in Ward et al. 2012:242) uses the term "corner kids" when describing informal groups of young people who might cause a threat to their community by committing antisocial acts and claiming territories in their neighborhood. By referring to Legget (2005) and Standing (2005), Cooper and Ward 2012 point out that several of the larger gangs in

South Africa have links to organized crime, and will recruit young people already from the age of 12 (Legget 2005; Standing 2005, cited in Cooper & Ward 2012:242). Cooper and Ward (2012) say that "youth gangs may range from heavily militarised groups, which have immense power over communities, are heavily armed and control the local economy, to informal groups of young people hanging around on street corners, committing petty crimes" (p. 243). My thesis seeks to include the latter notion as to keep in mind the severe damage that can result from what has been described as petty crimes. An additional definition of gangs will be presented in chapter 6 as it is relevant to the discussion and analysis of my findings.

2.1.3 Sensitizing the concept of Education

Taking a humanistic approach to education, the study aims to examine the role of education in the lives of male youth and how they deal with challenges they face both inside and outside school. The study looks at two approaches to teaching; Waldorf education versus traditional schooling. My study did not intend to investigate the South African education system per se, but rather to look at the role of education and how it can be used in problem solving, and dealing with challenges. The mutual relationship between pupils and teachers; how the school staff relates to the issue of crime; their vision of education; teaching; and development of their pupils, stand out as crucial points as these issues can be used to understand how the school environment can influence the pupils. My study aims to point out if and how education might play a role in young boys' lives when exposed to the issues of crime and violence, by focusing on two types of educational approaches. As mentioned earlier, a major concern of Ward et al. (2012) is the setting many children grow up in. How they are taught to solve problems may become a key issue and in this regard my study aims to look deeper into the approach of teaching and what values and knowledge are formed in two different types of schools. In my comparison I look at if and how Waldorf education can respond to the needs of their pupils by offering pedagogy based on fulfilling the inner gifts of the children, which uses a teaching model based on Gardner's (2008) theory of Multiple Intelligences.

2.2 The Research Framework

It's important to consider the contextual dimensions when investigating the concepts of youth, education, crime and violence. The complexity of the South African context comprises a variety of cultures, languages, political and socio-economic factors, in which all can be tied up to the history of the country. The concepts and areas of investigation in my study, and the interrelation between them, are emphasized by Ward et al. who argues that

Regardless of the historical period, and even prior to the 1940s, socio-economic factors including unemployment and deep long-term poverty in a context of significant economic inequality, together with poor-quality schooling, high levels of drop out and family vulnerability, have been regarded as important in explaining how the youth are drawn into crime, violence and gang membership (Ward et al. 2012:4).

The quote points at some of the main factors that can influence teenager's involvement in crime-related behavior (for example poverty, inequality, poor education and family disruption). These factors create the framework of my study presented in Figure 2.2. Townships in post-apartheid South Africa are often characterized by high unemployment rates, low income per household and other socio-economic inequalities. These factors may come to challenge the educational opportunities of the younger generation in various ways. Besides restricting educational provision with regards to teachers (number of teachers); classrooms; and supply of resources needed at school like food, material and transport, low or no family-income might force children and youth to work in order to support their families. For some, criminal activity and joining gangs might seem like "the only solution" to gain income (Ward et.al 2012; Ward & Bakhuis 2010). In figure 2.2, the arrow suggests that contextual dimensions might come to influence the lives of youth living in the area where this study took place. Within their community are challenges that might come to limit youth's educational opportunities, development and future goals. The arrow also suggests that youth can influence their context. Figure 2.2 serves as the research framework, representing the focus and context of my study.

Figure 2.2
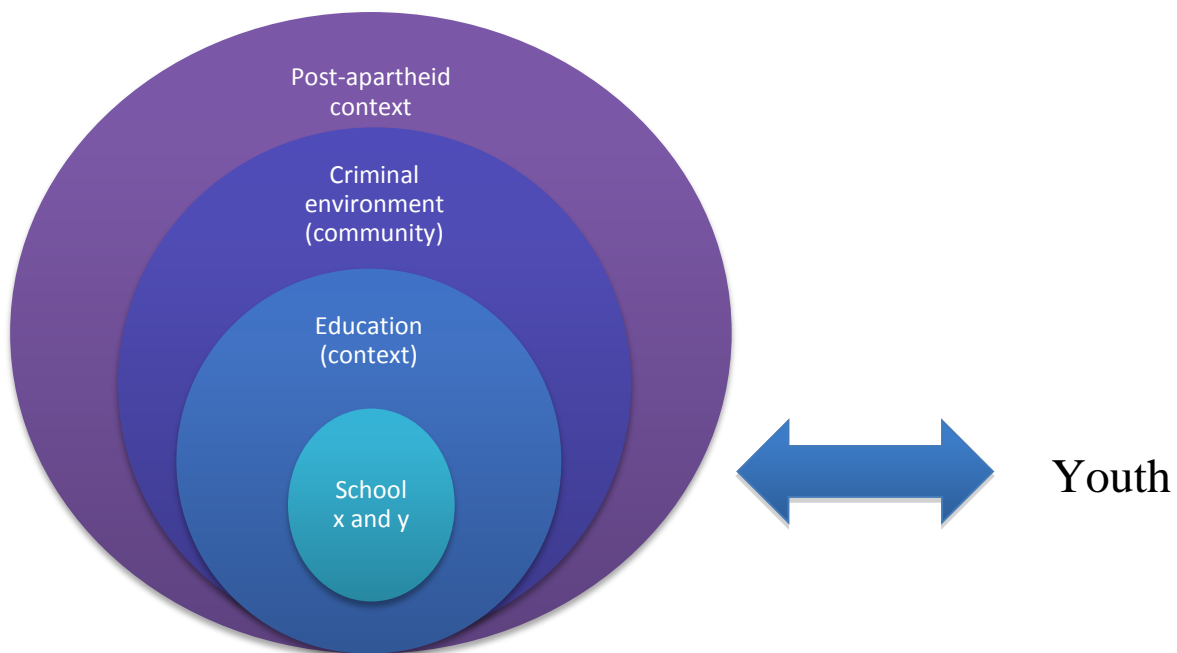
The outer circle in figure 2.2 represents the historical-political past of apartheid and how it has come to shape the lives of South Africans today. Those who were particularly affected by the apartheid system are still struggling. South Africa is a young democracy and even though political law no longer separates people in terms of race and class, the old regime has affected peoples' lives in various ways. The historical legacy contributes to our understanding of the context in which the study took place. Shaw (2012) recognizes the importance of local context when it comes to dealing with youth violence arguing that:

> (..) youth violence is much more complex than being about a group of violent individuals, or their close family dynamics, but is also a product of the historical, social and economic contexts into which they are born and grow up (Shaw 2012:373).

Shaw reminds us of the overarching set of factors that influence youths' upbringing and that there is more to it than just individual acts and choices. A history of violence and the daily exposure to it can challenge young peoples' perceptions and individual choices. Considering the contextual dimensions is also important in regards to cognitive development. Gardner (2004) mentions that he is fascinated by the "ways in which societal activities and domains of knowledge emerge and become periodically reconfigured" (p.xix). He also argues that "the culturally constructed spheres of knowledge must bear some kind of relation to human brains and minds, and the ways that those brains and minds grow and develop in different cultural settings" (Gardner 2004:xix). Gardner reminds us of the influence of cultural settings and constructed ideas within different settings and how these must be evaluated when discussing cognitive development. The idea of how cognitive activities are shaped by the context and development within that context suggest that we might need to consider what kind of knowledge is needed within different settings. It also suggests what kind of influence different contexts can have on young people's choices and behavior.

The second circle in figure 2.2 presents the kind of environment children and youth grow up in. Although there are several challenges represented in township communities, my study will focus on the experiences of crime and antisocial behavior among the boys participating in the study. As noted above, and as I will discuss in the findings, these challenges are often related to the issue of gangs. Within the second circle we can also place the role of family, friends, and local community who may have a direct influence on young people`s lives in regards to thinking, decisions, and development.

The third circle represents the role of education and how education can influence youth both in regards to knowledge, personal development, dealing with the challenges they face, and how it can provide future opportunities. The two different approaches to teaching in the two types of schools are presented in the inner circle in figure 2.2. This serves as the comparative aspect of the study.

As a whole, figure 2.2 suggests that all the circles can have an affect on youth. Their lives are affected by a context characterized by poverty, weakening of family ties, and a criminal environment. What they experience in school might come to play a crucial role in their individual development. The arrow shows how also youth can have an affect on all the circles in the model. Through education they can benefit themselves as well as others given the opportunity to do so; i.e. their engagement and future roles can reach out beyond the field of education and they can come to play an important role both for the development of their community as well as for the wider society. I will discuss the role of youth in more detail in chapter 3 where I will look deeper into the concepts and their interconnection by discussing them in relation to literature.

3   Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter will look deeper into the concepts presented in chapter 2 and discuss them in relation to literature. It aims to reach a deeper understanding of the interconnection between the main concepts of the study, as well as point out the relevance and focus of the study.

The first section will point out the issue of youth and crime in South Africa, as well as the participation of males in violent and criminal activities. In section 3.2 I will briefly present literature discussing violence in school, before I present literature on education in section 3.3. This section will first and foremost present some of the focal areas regarding education in South Africa, and highlight the importance of quality education. I would like to point out that I do not seek to define and discuss in detail what quality education is, but rather point to how it is recognized in education in South Africa. The literature presented in this chapter indicates how the Department of Education South Africa views quality education – or rather the importance of it – and will be seen in relation to Waldorf education and the humanistic approach. Section 3.4 deals with the humanistic approach to education presented from Carl Rogers theory, followed by a presentation of Waldorf education in section 3.5. In the last section of this chapter I will present the theory of multiple intelligences by Howard Gardner which will serve as a theoretical framework for my study.

3.1   Youth and crime

Several factors need to be considered when analyzing the causes of youth's involvement in crime, some of which can be traced to the contextual factors of apartheid and the unequal distribution of resources in South Africa. As mentioned in chapter 2, in order to gain a deeper understanding of what South African youth are dealing with today, we need to consider the context in which youth are situated and the factors surrounding them in their everyday lives of their communities.

Schönteich and Louw (2001) recognize South Africa's youthful population and the strong relationship between age and crime. The NYP points to youth as the largest population group in South Africa and therefore stress the need to focus on youth for the development of the country (Presidency 2008). Ward et al. refer to several authors when they justify their choice of addressing youth and they specifically point out that "young people are most likely to be both the victims and perpetrators of violence, worldwide and in South Africa"(Ward et al. 2012:2). Already at the age of 11-12 young people might begin joining gangs and engage in activities that can pose a risk for

involvement in crime and violence (Ward et al. 2012; Ward & Bakhuis 2010). Ward et al. (2012) stress the importance of early intervention when it comes to prevention programmes for youth violence. They say that although violence is nothing new, the levels of violence among youth in South Africa remain extraordinarily high. They exemplify this with a cross-national comparison from the year 2000 showing that the homicide rate among South African males (age 15-29) was more than nine times the global average (Norman et al. 2007, cited in Ward et al. 2012:5). They also report that 41% of convicted prisoners in 2004 were under the age of 25 (Kane-Berman & Cronjé 2007, cited in Ward et al. 2012:6).

Cooper and Ward (2012) discuss youth's involvement in gangs and identify the high proportion of young people in South Africa as one factor increasing the existence of gangs. Other risk factors that increase the likelihood of gang involvement are identified in the society, community, and the child's everyday contexts and include things such as parents' attitudes, poverty, access to drugs, poor school attachment and commitment, low levels of education, high levels of unemployment, limited state services, state corruption, inequality, and that the state itself is violent. Among risk factors related to the individual, Cooper and Ward point out drug use, violent and aggression, not being able to resist others who draw them into delinquent activities, and learning disabilities (Cooper & Ward 2012). In his paper on youth crime, Pelser (2008) maintains that South Africa's youth are victimized at twice the rate as for adults arguing that:

> youth crime, indeed, crime in South Africa, is a function of the development and replication, over the past 30 years of a 'culture of violence', a 'normalisation of crime and violence', amongst an 'underclass' of negatively socialised and socially excluded youth who constitute a significant proportion of South Africa's population. (..) The children of yesterday's 'lost generation' have not, as yet, been found and given relief – rather, they are now learning to be lost (Pelser 2008:1).

In his paper he employs various figures representing youth's experience of crime both in school, home, and community to demonstrate that crime and violence is a common experience among South Africa's youth, pointing to the impact this can have on their social and individual development (Pelser 2008). Pelser refers to social development theory (Bandura 1977) and how "local experience" comes to shape the development of identity, adapting and reproducing others behaviour as a "normal" way of doing things. Other's behaviour shape ones own view on what is "normal" and will provide a framework for developing self-identity. Pelser (2008) maintains that this is how a culture develops and is replicated. The relationship between the social context and individual criminality is seen trough Bandura's social learning theory in "which criminality is learned through exposure, modelling or imitation and both internal and external reinforcement of behaviour" (Pelser 2008:7). Pelser's viewpoint correlates with the literature presented in chapter 1,

where Mandela (2002), Jansen (2011) and Ward et al. (2012) all argue how violence has become institutionalized in the South African society, and the concern about a culture of violence taking place. Ebata et al. (2006) recognize the importance of focusing on youth both because it can pose a security risk and because they can act as peace-builders[5]. These researchers say that supporting the integration of young people is necessary because it could be beneficial to the whole of society (Ebata et al. 2006).

In 1995 the United Nations adopted *The World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond* in order to respond to the challenges of youth, to work more effectively with the problems they are facing, and "to increase opportunities for their participation in society" (UN 1997:paragraph 3). The main themes identified for this programme were participation, development and peace. The UN points out different elements that could help young people live a full life in their societies: ensuring education and (access to) employment opportunities; adequate food and nutrition; a physical and social environment that promotes healthiness and protection from disease, human rights and fundamental freedoms, participation in decision-making processes, and access to recreation and sports activities (UN 1997:paragraph 5).

3.1.1 Male youth and crime

According to Schönteich and Louw (2001), crime is mainly committed by teenagers and young adults, and young boys are more likely to fall into criminal activities than older males and females of any age group. They argue that young, poor township residents are more likely to become victims of interpersonal violent crime (Schönteich & Louw 2001). Foster shares this assumption, pointing to young men with disadvantaged class, education and family backgrounds as the main perpetrators of serious violent crimes both in developed and developing societies (referring to United States and United Kingdom, and South Africa) (Foster 2012). In addition he discusses the term masculinity and refers to studies on young violent boys in Cape Town showing how gang-inspired macho masculinities could be a way of achieving a positive male identity. Foster (2012) also says that "an extremely toxic form of masculinity operates in nearly a third of young South African men" (p.43), pointing to shocking results of a study[6] conducted in 2009 where 27.6% out of 1738 men (70% under 30 years) in Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal admitted rape of a woman

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[5] Referring to and agreeing with Marc Sommers who argues for the importance of focusing on youth in his study on urban youth in Africa (2001; 2003a; 2003b, in Ebata et al. 2006).

[6] The study was conducted by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle in 2009. The participants were taken from city, rural and urban areas and included all racial groups. The study showed that among men who admitted rape, 46% admitted raping more than one victim and 75% of the rapists first raped before turning 20 years of age (Foster 2012).

or a girl. The study showed how rape had associations with great trauma, poor emotional relations and parental absence in childhood (Foster 2012).

Referring to the concept of youth as a social construct, Ebata et al. (2006) mentions the transition stage between childhood and adulthood, and how youth as a transition concept links with rites of passage of some kind. Pinnock (1997) discusses the concept rites of passage further and argues the loss of traditional rituals marking the passage from childhood to adulthood as a possible explanation for teenage crime in South Africa. He argues that in the absence of such rituals young people create their own. Characteristics of these "new" rituals are found in street-gangs who offer young boys a sense of belonging, acceptance and a passage into another stage in life. Pinnock (1997) explains how different cultures[7] let young boys become "men" in the form of rituals (for example hunting). He points to the need of a ritual to mark the passage from childhood to adulthood, and the role of adult guidance. In a post-apartheid context where family bonds have weakened, these rituals seem to be replaced by criminal gangs (Pinnock 1997).

Palmary (2003) emphasizes family support and positive relationships within the family as important resilience factors when dealing with crime and violence. She also points out the importance of attending school and that a positive school experience plays a role in crime prevention as it can add positive value to the sense of self-value and increase the opportunities for future employment (Palmary 2003).

3.2 Education and Crime/Violence

Provision of a safe and supportive learning environment is recognized on an international level (UNESCO 2004) and in the local context of South Africa. The NYP points out that;

> The department of education and social development should ensure that schools and community centers are accessible and safe places for young people throughout the day to reduce the risk of young people being victimized (Presidency 2008:28).

Despite the desire to portray schools as safe places, Pelser (2008) refers to studies showing that many of the crimes young people are exposed to happen in places considered to be safe such as school and home. He announces that more recent research points to school a key site of crime and

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[7] Pinnock refers to knowledge in pre-industrial cultures where needs and excesses had to be dealt with by ritual guidance and initiation; socially cohesive cultures where boys i.e. "(..) face an ordeal or trial where they earn and affirm their passage to manhood" (p.9) involving them in a transformation; traditional societies where hunting is still considered as a necessary milestone in becoming an adult (Pinnock 1997).

violence and that the primary perpetrators of school violence are classmates[8] (Pelser 2008). Pelser argues that "what is happening in the schools is, really, an extension of the crime and violence that pervades South African homes and their immediate environments" (Pelser 2008:4). A study on children's involvement in gangs in Cape Town showed that "schools were identified as an important location for intervention, both to improve safety and as venues for educational interventions" (Ward & Bakhuis 2010:57).

Pupil's experience in school can vary not only with regards to exposure to violence in school, but also when it comes to teaching and educational outcomes. As mentioned in section 1.1.1, chapter 1, quality education is pointed out as a focal area that needs to improve in South Africa (Presidency 2008).

3.3 Education in South Africa

Literature presented in chapter 1 discussed how access and equality in education has reached encouraging numbers in South Africa, but despite the increase in enrolment, gender parity and completion of primary education, quality in education remains a challenge (Jansen 2011; Ward et al. 2012; Republic of South Africa 2010). School accounts for a large part of young South African's everyday lives (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses, Seekings 2010). Bray et al. (2010) refer to the matric examination as the only public measure of the quality of education in South Africa and report that "even though the matric exam has probably become easier over time, and the overall pass rate has risen, the pass rates in key subjects remain very low" (p.172). They refer to cross-national studies showing that South African pupils perform poorly in relation to peers in other countries (Bray et al. 2010). Panday et al. (2012) argue that though South Africa has reached an increase in access to education, an increase from 3.6 million in 1975 to 12 million in 1998, the system fails in keeping pupils long enough and engaging them meaningfully enough to prepare them for the world of work and life in general (Panday et al. 2012). Bray et al. (2010) argue that despite new reforms after apartheid focusing on better schooling for all South African children, inequalities in schooling still persist, and they criticize the system for not enabling many – or most children – to reach their full potential. UNESCO (2004) also puts emphasis on the development of the child's full potential when discussing quality in education. Although there is no universal definition of what quality education is, UNESCO points out three principles shared among international stakeholders: the need for more relevance; greater equity of access and outcome; and

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[8] Educators were also identified as perpetrators in 5.8% of thefts, 5% of threats, and 4.6% of the reported robberies while 50.9% of primary school participants said they had been assaulted by their teachers (Pelser 2008).

proper observance of individual rights (UNESCO 2004). A child-centred approach to teaching and learning is emphasized by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989), and its philosophy is recognized by UNESCO (2004) and UNICEF (2000) when identifying dimensions of education quality (UNESCO 2004). UNICEF points to five dimensions in its report Defining Quality from 2000: learners, environments, content, processes and outcomes (cited in UNESCO 2004). Drawing on the definition of quality from international discourse (UNESCO 2004), Motala et al. (2007) in Panday et al. 2012 (p.105) highlight that though improving access to education is a key goal, it is not enough as quality education must be a focus in order to develop meaningful and gainful learning outcomes. They refer to the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) reform, focusing on learning outcomes as a way to stress learning-centred education and improve quality education in South Africa, but the reform showed no improvement in performance (Panday et al. 2012). Jansen (2011) criticizes the South African education system for not providing the kind of teaching young people need in order to succeed in society and in life. He does not trust matric results as a pass rate for what is needed in higher education nor the "outside world". Jansen in fact points to issues in terms of quality education arguing that "children get meaningless school certificates that do not enable them to find jobs or enter higher education" (Jansen 2011:25). Jansen´s critique can relate to Howard Gardner who argues that "the score on an intelligence test does predict one´s ability to handle school subjects, though it foretells little of success in later life" (Gardner 2004:3).

The NYP acknowledges nine factors set out by the South African Human Rights Commission hearings report (2006) that can challenge educational achievements:

- The impact of poverty on education – impacting on accessibility, inability to pay fees and other hidden costs
- HIV and AIDS – creating special needs of which the education system and teachers need to be aware
- Violence and abuse – prevalent in society and spilling over into schools
- Youth with disability – their needs are insufficiently addressed with specific reference to access to the education system
- Lack of infrastructure – impacting on addressing the inequalities of the past
- Teachers – adverse impact due to issues such as the levels of qualification, punctuality and attendance; insufficient training in the new curriculum; using old teaching methods; and being disconnected from the communities in which they teach
- Governance and community participation – many school-governing bodies are ineffective and inoperative (Presidency 2008:20).

The factors point out the need of responsiveness to the special needs of youth and the immediate challenges facing communities in South Africa such as 1) poverty, poor infrastructure, health, violence; 2) lack of qualified, committed teachers; and 3) the use of old teaching methods. The contextualization of educational challenges emphasizes the need for the policy (NYP 2009-2014)

and the role of education as a tool to help young people develop their identity, promote social relations and prepare them for the future world of work "while developing them holistically" (Presidency 2008:20). Pinnock (1997) argues that development of self esteem is critical when working with youth at risk, and is also pointed out by the NYP. The NYP put forward five[9] recommendations for policy interventions, where two of them will be presented here as it relates to the focus of this study. The way it portrays the role of school and education indicates a humanistic approach to teaching, which is the focus of this study. The first recommendation they set out emphasizes what kind of arena school as a learning institution should represent:

> Schools should provide the knowledge and skills for life and work while serving as sites where young people can feel they belong, develop their identity and build their self-esteem through personal discovery and social interaction (Presidency 2008:20).

This recommendation targets the essence of teaching in relation to what knowledge should be transmitted in the development of skills for future life and work, and that schools as learning sites should be a place where youth should feel comfortable, accepted, and where personal development and development of self esteem can take place. Some of the sub-categories presented under this recommendation relate to improvement of quality education – at primary and secondary school level in particular – and ensure the preparedness for further learning and training. The second recommendation I would like to point out relates to the transition stage of youth (discussed in chapter 2) and their further development in relation to personal development, as well as future work opportunities:

> Aid young people in their transition to adulthood by promoting a wider and more flexible range of learning pathways available to them and show how these can impact on their prospects for further learning, personal development and employment (Presidency 2008:21).

This recommendation points to making young people aware of the variety of opportunities they have for their future, and promote diverse, flexible learning paths responding to their different personal developments. One of the subcategories points out the value of further education and training opportunities to not only address the need for future income and sustainable livelihoods, but to also stimulate and promote personal development. The NYP recognizes the need for various skills and personalities and urges the government to "increase the diversity of post-secondary institutions for matriculants, focusing on a variety of career opportunities" (Presidency 2008:21).

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[9]The other recommendations: 14.1.2 Ensure that all young people attain their National Senior Certificate or equivalent qualification with practical and economically valuable skills; 14.1.3 Provide out-of-school youth with second chances to complete education that will enable them to compete in the open labour market; 14.1.4 Increase the prospects for further learning, personal development and employment (Presidency 2008:20-21).

Quality education is pointed out as a target that needs to improve in order to foster positive youth development to benefit the individual as well as the society.

The policies presented so far indicate responsiveness to youth development and education which can be linked to a humanistic approach. Thus the policies indicate a need to develop personal identity and self-esteem, they often emphasize the development of various skills and future opportunities to respond to societal needs and development. An approach focusing on development of the individual to benefit the person is a humanistic approach.

3.4 Humanistic approach to teaching

A humanistic approach to education can, among other things, be represented by Carl Rogers who believed in an individual-centered approach in any situation in "which the development of the person is a goal" (Rogers 1979:1). Within the person him/herself are vast resources for self-understanding, and with the right guidance these resources can be tapped (Rogers 1979). According to Zimring, Rogers believed that "people will act in ways that benefit themselves, if they are freed from having to learn the way the society dictates" (Zimring 1999:paragraph4). Emphasizing a *guiding* role of the teacher, Rogers argued that "we cannot teach another person directly; we can only facilitate his learning" (Rogers 1951, cited in Zimring 1999:paragraph8). Acceptance, emphatic understanding, and basic trust among client/therapist, student/teacher (relationships) are some of the focal areas in his approach (Rogers 1979), all of which are evident in the Waldorf education.

3.5 Waldorf Education

The Waldorf[10] approach to teaching was founded by Rudolf Steiner in 1919 (Uhrmacher 1995). According to Uhrmacher[11] (1995) Steiner argued that education could play an important role in shaping society but that "individuals should be encouraged to develop their own natural talents" rather than being taught in a way set by the needs of the industrial world (Steiner n.d., cited in Uhrmacher 1995:383). The Waldorf approach takes a humanistic perspective to education in which the students' needs, abilities, interests, and learning styles are in focus: "(..) always begin with humanity itself; we should always put people in the center" (Steiner 1995:39). Steiner

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[10] The Waldorf approach to teaching is associated with Steiner as it is based upon Steiner's belief system and theories. Steiner gave his first lecture in the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory in Stuttgart, Germany, and taking the name from this location, the first Waldorf school opened in the fall of 1919 (Uhrmacher 1995). In Norway for example, schools following the Waldorf approach are known as Steiner schools.

[11] In some of the literature presented in this chapter, Steiner's ideas are presented through Uhrmacher.

proposed that there are three stages in a child's development. During the first stage it is important to act morally good as the child imitates adult behavior. In the second stage (age 7-14) children apprehend through images, rhythms and stories. He argued that "the child has the strong desire to experience inwardly in form of beat and rhythm everything that comes toward it [the child]" (Steiner 1986, cited in Urchmacher 1995). In stage two, Steiner also believed that the child finds the need for a sense of authority in their lives, but he points out the importance of not confusing this need with "the adult desire to control the child" (Uhrmacher 1995:390). This correlates with Rogers' emphasis on facilitating learning rather than dictating the child, as mentioned in section 3.4. Steiner's third stage refers to the age around puberty to the age 21 and is recognized by "the release of (..) the body of consciousness" (Uhrmacher 1995:390). Students in the third stage of development are encouraged to form their own opinions (Uhrmacher 1995).

Steiner said that "the true curriculum results from an understanding of the stages of human life" (Steiner 1995:42), also highlighted by Mays and Nordwall:

> The specific methods used in Waldorf schools come from the view that the child develops through a number of basic stages from childhood to adulthood. The Waldorf curriculum is specifically designed to work with the child through these stages of development (Mays and Nordwall 2004-2011).

The teaching of Waldorf, emphasizing artistic work and music, believes that children not only learn through their heads, but also through their heart and hands (Centre for Creative Education, 2010). The Waldorf teachers believe that they are able to teach children with love and respect. Building upon Steiner's theory, Waldorf Education believes in a holistic development of the child, and emphasizes *learning to learn* and to learn from life (Steiner 1919, cited in Southern African Federation of Waldorf Schools 2012). The approach to teaching is centred around the individual, focusing on their different abilities. The teaching is based on three principles; willing, feeling and thinking.

> In a worldview where the intellect is much prized, Waldorf education searches for a more balanced picture of man, as a thinking, feeling and willing being. Every lesson, at every age, aims to address the child and later the student in this three-fold way (Federation of Waldorf schools 2012:section on Creative Responsibility).

Steiner believed that educating people as whole beings could only happen "if we intuitively know what the characteristics of thinking, of feeling, of willing are". Then, he said, "we can allow these powers of the human being to interact correctly in the soul and the spirit" (Steiner 1995:45). Focusing on development in a three-fold way, Waldorf education highlights the importance of a strong cognition to prepare the pupils for the future:

We cannot know the demands which the future will place upon our children, but it is clear that inner strength, intellectual flexibility, empathy and sound independent judgment will be qualities vital to their future. Rudolf Steiner's insight on the inner nature of man and also the physical body has inspired ways in which teachers can methodically work to develop these qualities (Federation of Waldorf schools 2012:section on Creative Responsibility).

Another cognitive theory, sharing the principles of Waldorf education and also focusing on individual development, is Gardner's theory of Multiple Intelligences.

3.6 The Theory of Multiple Intelligences

Howard Gardner first published the theory of Multiple Intelligences in 1984. Armstrong describes the theory as

a cognitive model that seeks to describe how individuals use their intelligences to solve problems and fashion products. (..) Gardner´s approach is particularly geared to how the human mind operates on the contents of the world (Armstrong 2009:18).

Gardner´s (2004) theory argues that human minds and human brains are highly differentiated entities, and that it is misleading to think about a single mind, a single intelligence, and a single problem-solving capacity. He introduces the idea of eight[12] different intelligences: linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, inter-personal, intra-personal, and naturalist intelligence. Gardner says that human beings "are better described as having a set of relatively autonomous intelligences" and that no one – not even identical twins – possesses exactly the same profile of intelligences (Gardner 2004:xv, xvii). The theory suggests that every individual possesses each of the different intelligences, or at least can develop each of the different intelligences given the opportunity to do so (Gardner 2004), but the way the intelligences function together is unique to each person (Armstrong 2009). No intelligence exists by itself, they are always interacting with each other (Gardner n.d., cited in Armstrong 2009). The different intelligences interact and build upon each other, and will eventually mobilize into different functions and social roles (Gardner 2004). Gardner suggests that if people differ in their intellectual profiles, these variations should also be considered when devising an educational system. In order to formulate more appropriate ways of assessing human intelligence, and more effective ways of educating it [intelligence], "we need to expand and reformulate our view of what

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[12] When Gardner first introduced his theory of Multiple Intelligences (1983) he argued the existence of seven different intelligences. As he extended his theory he added the naturalist intelligence. In his twentieth-anniversary edition he says that he is sticking to eight and a half intelligence, but he foresees the recognition of other intelligences in the future (Gardner 2004).

counts as human intellect" (Gardner 2004:4). Gardner defines intelligence as "the ability to solve problems, or to create products, that are valued within one or more cultural settings" (Gardner 2004:xxiv). Gardner (1999) challenges the traditional view of intelligence as something that can be measured objectively in an IQ test. He suggests that intelligence has to be considered in relation to a context-rich and naturalistic setting, and that it has more to do with the ability to solve problems (Gardner 1999, cited in Armstrong 2009:5-6). In his extended work on the theory, Gardner considers two trends when discussing different intelligences: contextualization and distribution (Gardner 2004:xxvii). The former points out that different contexts have an influence on intelligence, and that there is an interaction between the two. Steinberg argues that "part of intelligence is one´s [the individual's] sensitivity to the varying contents around one [self]" (Steinberg 1985, cited in Gardner 2004:xxvii). Gardner (2004) claims that being a human being in today´s society differs from early historical times. Some of the intelligences presented in the MI theory might have been more valued in pre-historical times (i.e. naturalist and bodily-kinesthetic intelligence for hunting), and some might be more valued in the future (i.e. spatial intelligence for receiving information from digital channels, and naturalist intelligence to respond to the endangered ecosystems) (Armstrong 2009).

The importance of considering the variety of people and their intelligences are shared by the NYP (2008) which argues the need of varied intervention programmes when addressing the diversity of young people:

> Young people are not a homogenous group since they are diverse and have diverse needs. In the same manner, there should be equally varied and unique interventions designed to address those needs. It is crucial therefore, that mainstream policies and programs across all different sectors should work synergically if the needs of young people are to be effectively addressed (Presidency 2008:11).

From Gardner´s view, there is a need for stimulating development of all types of intelligences, become aware of them, respond to them, and learn how to use them to benefit not only the individual itself, but also the society (responding to the needs of and changes in society). The idea of distribution considers a more narrow view of a person´s environment, arguing how a person relates to the objects that exist around him/her. According to the distributed view, a person's intelligence can not be measured in isolation; the different factors that exist in the environment must be taken into account. The ecological approach presented in my research framework, figure 2.2 in chapter 2, receives a new dimension in Gardner´s account of distribution and contextualization, as it focuses not only on how contextual factors can come to affect the *individual,* but also how the individual is *equipped* to relate to the context and to deal with the challenges faced. Gardner (2004) argues that human intelligence and its ability of symbolic

activity is the most crucial part of human development in a world of meaning. He emphasize considering individual´s experiences and how he/she makes sense of the world (Gardner 2004).

Gardner expresses his wish to examine the educational implications of a theory of multiple intelligences.

> Around the world many individuals involved in education are reaching similar conclusions. There is interest in new programs which seek to develop human intelligence for a whole culture, to train individuals in such general skills as 'anticipatory learning', to help individuals to realize their human potential (Gardner 2004:5).

His goal is to influence policy makers and practitioners charged with "the development of other individuals", pointing out the international focus on training and heightening human intellect (Gardner 2004:10). Gardner describes the role of his theory as a tool to help accomplish educational goals and that educational goals should build upon and represent one's own values:

> Multiple intelligences' should not in and of itself be an educational goal. Educational goals need to reflect one's own values, and these can never come simply or directly from a scientific theory. Once one reflects on one's educational values and states one's educational goals, however, then the putative existence of our multiple intelligences can prove very helpful. And, in particular, if one's educational goals encompass disciplinary understanding, then it is possible to mobilize our several intelligences to help achieve that goal (Gardner 2004:xviii).

3.7 Summary of chapter

The literature presented in this chapter has discussed youth's involvement in crime and the need of considering youth's context when approaching this issue. Some of the literature raises a concern on that a culture of violence exists in South Africa and that in order to prevent it a new way of thinking must be developed.

Quality education has been pointed out as one of the main targets that needs to improve in education in South Africa, however literature points to a lack in the provision of quality education. The NYP (2008) put forward recommendations for how the government can improve education, focusing on humanistic aspects such as developing identity, building self-esteem, and that school should be a place where pupils get a sense of belonging and feel accepted (Presidency 2008).

Gardner´s theory of multiple intelligences, found in Waldorf education, presents a child-centred, humanistic approach. The MI theory (Gardner), Waldorf education (Steiner) and Rogers' humanistic approach share the same assumption about the importance of focusing on different abilities (skills, intelligences) that exist within the human being. Although the role of teachers has

not been discussed in detail, all of the above focus on teachers as facilitators in bringing out the child's abilities. The three approaches discuss the need to see development of humans in relation to naturalistic contexts. Among factors in youth's environment, schools may come to play a crucial role in developing young minds. What happens in schools should reflect the kind of future that is wanted for the society and foster the kind of knowledge needed to respond to the demands of society. In addition, as pointed out by the literature presented in this chapter (Steiner, Rogers and the humanistic approach), it should promote and develop the full potential of pupils and make them aware of the abilities they possess in order to live the life they want. Gardner (2004) argues with his MI theory, that intelligence must be seen in the wider context, and that there is no such thing as an isolated intelligence. The way the eight different intelligences he presents are connected to each other is unique to each individual, and he suggests that the education system consider these different variations (of intelligence) when developing an education system.

My study supports Gardner´s approach as it takes a humanistic view on how individuals operate in their surrounding. Arguing that environmental factors can have an influence on youth development, and that these factors may come to challenge their opportunities, my thesis sets out to present the major challenges youth are facing in underdeveloped communities in Cape Town. Gardner's emphasis on contextualization and distribution relates to my research framework presented in figure 2.2, chapter 2. Figure 2.2 summarizes my field of study where the post-apartheid context represents the current context in terms of societal structures largely shaped by the history (seen as contextualization), as well as environmental factors that can come to influence the individuals – in this case, crime related challenges (seen as distribution) (see figure 2.2).

In chapter 5 I will present my findings in relation to the literature presented above, but first I will account for the methodology used in my study.

4 Methodology

Methodology focuses on the best means for gaining knowledge about the world (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:245).

This chapter accounts for the methodology used in the study. Both the approach, aim, and what strategies and methods that were chosen to enable answering the study's research questions will be explained and discussed in relation to literature. Ethical issues and how my study meets the criteria of qualitative research are presented in the last section of the chapter.

4.1 Research strategy and design

Bryman refers to a research strategy as "a general orientation to the conduct of social research", and is represented by the quantitative and the qualitative approach (Bryman 2008:22). The two strategies differ in epistemology (view on knowledge), ontology (view on reality), and how they view the connection between theory and research.

This study takes a qualitative approach, aiming to examine the experiences of the people involved, seeking to reach an understanding of how they view and experience their world. Among the fundamental differences between qualitative and quantitative research, Bryman says that the former takes an *interpretive* stand as opposed to the quantitative approach which seeks to gain knowledge and conduct science in a value-free, objective way (positivism). From an interpretive view, the social scientist is required to grasp the subjective meaning of social action, gain access to people´s common-sense thinking, and to interpret their actions and social world from their point of view (Bryman 2008:16).

> (..) the subject matter of the social sciences – people and their institutions – is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences. The study of the social world therefore requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans against the natural order (Bryman 2008:15).

Social science differs from natural science in that social reality has meaning for people, and therefore understanding human action is meaningful (Bryman 2008). Von Wright (1971, cited in Bryman 2008:15) describes a clash between positivism and *hermeneutics*: a division between *explaining* human behaviour (positivism) and *understanding* human behavior. Yin (2011) points out five features in understanding qualitative research. The first feature is concerned with the study of *meaning* of people's lives under real-world conditions; the second relates to presentation of the *views* and *perspectives* of the people participating in the study; the third feature points out

the importance of exploring the contextual conditions in the lives of the participants; and the fourth is concerned with *existing and emerging concepts* that can contribute to researcher's insight in human behavior and contribute to explain these (Yin 2011:7-8). Building upon these features, my study seeks to *understand* the social world from the participants´ point of view, but in doing so, the study also looks at factors that can influence and explain their lives and way of thinking – what factors contribute to how they think and interact with their world. This can be one way of describing social reality as meaningful to human beings, as it is meaningful to understand the reality in which they live. Yin's fifth feature of qualitative research implies the "use of multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone" (Yin 2011:8) which will increase the study's credibility and trustworthiness (Yin 2011:9). I used varieties of data collection methods in the field which will be presented in section 4.6**.**

My study takes an *inductive* approach, which means allowing theory to emerge from the findings (Bryman 2008). A deductive approach was considered in the early planning of my research, building upon the theories of Gardner (MI theory) and Pinnock (rites of passage). With a deductive approach, hypothesis deriving from these theories could be tested with an outcome of rejecting or confirming the hypothesis. As this is a qualitative study I wanted to be open for possible new, unexpected turns and outcomes and therefore the inductive approach was favored. The deductive approach might also have limited my interpretation while in the field, and I wanted to avoid this though my interpretation of the field and findings is to a certain degree influenced by chosen theories and literature. Bryman explains that "induction represents an alternative strategy for linking theory and research, although it contains a deductive element too" (Bryman 2008:12). To avoid "loosing track", established theories and literature has been kept in mind as the research was carried out, and will also be discussed in relation to the findings in chapter 6.

Yin argues that qualitative research is more flexible in choice of *design* and does not necessarily follow any fixed categories or types of design (Yin 2011). The research design used in my study has elements of a case study. A case study design sets out to investigate one single case intensively – that being a community, an institution, an organization, a family etc. A case study is recognized for its focus and interest on one specific case. Yin (2003, cited in Bryman 2008) points out five different types of cases, one of them being the *exemplifying* case – also known as the representative or typical case where "the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation"(Yin 2003, cited in Bryman 2008:56). My study did not initially aim to investigate one specific unique *case* in that sense but, as mentioned earlier, it seeks to examine the everyday life of teenagers growing up in a typical environment in underprivileged townships of Cape Town. Bryman highlights this aspect when he says that the objective of

choosing a case is that "it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member", and that it may not necessarily represent a unique, extreme or unusual case – but rather "provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered" (Bryman 2008:56). I will look more at this in the next section when I discuss my choice of research site.

My study can also partly be referred to as a multiple-case design, as it looks at more than one single case (Yin 1994:44; Bryman 2008:60) and it contains a *comparative* aspect as it looks at three different schools representing two different approaches to teaching. In the latter sense it can relate to a *comparative design*, but an important notification is that it must not be confused with a cross-sectional (cross-national, cross-cultural) design. A cross-sectional design would typically be conducted in a quantitative approach, using the same methods and instruments to investigate a phenomenon in different context or nations (Bryman 2008), whereas my study set out to explore differences and similarities in two different schools in the same context. Bryman says that "comparative research should not be treated as solely concerned with comparison between nations" as "the logic of comparison can be applied to a variety of situations" (Bryman 2008:60). Further he says that when a comparative design is applied in qualitative research, it could take a multiple-case approach.

A threat to the multiple-case study is pointed out by Dyer and Wilkins (1991, cited in Bryman 2008:61) who argue that the researcher might loose focus on the specific context being investigated as he/she will be to concerned about pointing out the similarities and differences between the cases. My study consists of two main areas of focus. The first is the lives of teenage boys and what kind of challenges they are facing, which is linked to teaching and the role of school in the lives of these boys as a second part of the study where the comparison is made and where it can be defined as a multiple-case design. The particular case my study is looking at is the lives of teenage boys in general, growing up in a South African township, and the role played by two different approaches to teaching and whether or not school (experience) has an influence on the lives of the boys.

4.2 Research site and access

My study takes place in two neighboring townships in Cape Town. As mentioned in section 1.3, chapter 1, I will not reveal the names of the townships as Waldorf schools are not broadly represented in South African underprivileged communities and revealing the location would cause a threat to the school's anonymity. In the two townships I visited three primary schools representing two approaches to teaching– one Waldorf School, and two public schools. Prior to

the fieldwork I planned to visit only two schools (one public, one Waldorf) but once in the field I decided to visit a second public school in order to increase credibility (validity) and cross-check the tendencies recognized in the other schools, making sure I had a representative sample. The study will focus on the two first schools, and data collected from the third school will be used as supplementary data where relevant.

4.2.1 Justification of choice

The area where research was conducted represents two of several underprivileged communities located outside the city center of Cape Town. As mentioned in the previous section, an exemplifying case could represent a member of a broader category and would be chosen as a site where one is likely to find answers to the research questions. As mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, townships are known for poverty and violent activities, and this might cause challenges for young people growing up there.

The location of the Waldorf school limited my choice of townships as most Waldorf schools are located in more privileged areas. Though similar characteristics exists within colored and black communities (i.e. levels of crime, socio-economic status), I decided to focus on schools within the same area (black communities) as to avoid possible factors like race, culture, and history to influence my data. Colored communities are known to have a longer history of gang activity than black communities (Ward & Bakhuis 2010) and this could be a factor influencing the data.

The townships I chose are known to be two of the biggest townships in South Africa as well the most disadvantaged, with a high crime rate (Foster 2012). My study set out to examine factors related to crime and violence among youth, which were more likely to be found in these communities.

4.2.2 Access

Bryman argues that *informants* and *key informants* gives smooth access to the field and can "direct the ethnographer to situations, events, or people likely to be helpful to the progress of the investigation" (Bryman 2008:409). My supervisor set me in contact with one of her colleagues in Cape Town who served the role as a key informant or a "door opener" in the beginning of my fieldwork and helped me gain access to the first public school (Public school 1). I was recommended to visit a primary school located not far away from the Waldorf school, and was informed that this school, though located in another township, was representative for this township

as well as for similar communities. As noted above, I still decided to visit another public school in order to increase the chances of having a representative sample.

My contact person (door opener) helped me find a student who could translate during interviews if necessary. This student had a car so she could take me to the research site as it might be a risk for my own safety to go there on my own using public transport. Also, my contact person took me to the school (Public school 1) the first week of my fieldwork to introduce me and set up appointments. I was well received at Public school 1 but could unfortunately not access the school the first and second week of my fieldwork as they were busy with tests and final work before the leave in September. We set up appointments, and when I returned after the holiday I was welcome to join whichever classes I saw fit and stay for as long as I needed. The principal and teachers at the school readily assisted me with information, location for interviews as well as selecting pupils for the interviews. I stayed at Public school 1 for one week.

I experienced having a contact person in the field highly beneficial as it provided a sense of trust between the local people – the people you are dependent on in order to do your research – and you as the researcher. You are also dependent on someone who knows the field and whom can give you recommendations and advice.

I got access to the Waldorf school by contacting the center that runs it. At this school I had no contact person ready so my access to the school was dependent on my first meeting set up with the managing director of the center. In my favor she was very accommodating and supportive of my study and she introduced me to the teacher of Grade 7 with whom I made arrangements for the school visits.

Since the translator that assisted me at Public school 1 was unable to help at the Waldorf school, I had make to do without a translator in addition to finding a new way of transportation. Luckily the center had volunteer workers at the school, and I could get a lift with them in their bus from a Cape Town suburb. The lack of translator whilst conducting interviews did not result in significant difficulties since the respondents' acquisition of English was satisfactory comprehensible. Also at this school I was very well received and they allowed me to observe and interview as I saw fit. I stayed at this school for 8 school days. The teacher of Grade 7 was very supportive and helpful during my stay and assisted me with information and arrangements for the interviews.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, an NGO[13] I used to work for in 2009 (SHAWCO[14]) helped me gain access to a second public school (Public school 2), located in the same township as the

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[13] Non-governmental Organization

Waldorf school. SHAWCO[14] set me up with one of their coordinators working in the township, a local that was living there, so once again I could benefit from "inside-help". She took me to the school, introduced me to the staff and we set up appointments for the interview. The school's principal selected the participants for my interview, but due to a minor misunderstanding she selected three boys instead of four. I accepted this as I was grateful for all the help and did not want to ask them to do another selection. Due to time limitation I was not able to do observations at this school; instead I chose to have a focus-group interview as well as questionnaires to compare the data with the two other schools.

Public school 2 was located only a few kilometers from the Waldorf school which could indicate that pupils from both schools are exposed to more or less the same environmental challenges.

4.3 Research Questions

A qualitative research approach allows the researcher to be less specific when developing research questions, as you want to keep an "open-ending" and be open for whatever outcomes of findings. Nevertheless, Bryman warns that being *too* open might cause risks of collecting too much data and confusion about topic. To avoid this it is important to know what exactly it is about your area that is of your interest and that you want answers on (Bryman 2008). I also found the need to reformulate some of my *research questions* (see section 1.2.3, chapter 1) while in the field. In order to reach an answer on the main research question, I needed to find answers to others. The key research questions represent my main field of interest as it stood out from the very beginning and framed the development of the research process. I also kept the research questions in mind whilst developing the interview-guide (see attachment 1).

4.4 Units of analysis

The units of analysis in this study consist of Grade 7 pupils from three primary schools and teachers from two of the schools. I conducted five focus group interviews with the pupils in which 19 boys participated. In addition I interviewed four teachers. Two teachers from Public school 1 were interviewed in a group interview; the other two teachers from the Waldorf school were interviewed individually. In addition I developed a questionnaire (see attachment 2) which was handed out to all pupils in Grade 7 at all three schools, in total 300 possible respondents, and journals were handed out to the boys in Public school 1 and the Waldorf school. The data collection methods and units of analysis are presented in table 4.2 – 4.5 below.

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[14] Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation

Table 4.1 Focus group interviews with the pupils

Schools	Public school 1	Waldorf school	Public school 2
Number of interviews	2	2	1
Number of participants	8 (4 and 4)	8 (4 and 4)	3
Grade	7	7	7

Table 4.2 Teacher interviews

Schools	Public school 1	Waldorf school	Public school 2
Number of interviews	1	2	-
Number of participants	2	2	-
Gender	Male	Female/Male	-
Position at school	Head of Department Grade 7, Main teacher Grade 7.	Teacher Grade 7, teacher Grade 6.	-

Table 4.3 Journals

Schools	Public 1	Waldorf school	Public 2
Number of participants	8	8	-
Number of journals received/collected	8	7	-
Grade	7	7	-

Table 4.4 Unstructured observation

Schools	Public 1	Waldorf	Public 2
Duration of stay	1 week	1 ½ week	-
Grade	7	7	-

Table 4.5 Questionnaires (open-ended questions)

Schools	Public school 1	Waldorf school	Public school 2
Number of respondents	110	19	134
Grade	7	7	7

The majority of the data was collected from interviews, and is therefore the main data collection method. The journals, questionnaires and observation were additional methods used not only to gain a deeper understanding of the field, context, and the participants, but also to supply and cross-check the data in order to increase the validity of study. The use of more than one source in

data collection can be referred to as *triangulation*. Yin describes triangulation as "(..) seeking at least three ways of verifying or corroborating a particular event, description, or fact being reported by a study" (Yin 2011:81). In addition he highlights the strength of confirming the data by using three different kinds of sources, exemplified with direct observation; verbal report from participant; and reading a report or document written on the same topic (Yin 2011:81). This corroboration can strengthen the validity of a study (Yin 2011:81). The use of observation, responses from the field, literature review and analysis of other studies on the same topic (youth and crime) has increased the validity of my findings. The use of these three sources has resulted in a more accurate understanding and image of the field. The use of different sources especially strengthened my information and data in terms of youth and crime and the challenges township youth are experiencing in their everyday lives.

4.5 Approach to sampling

When selecting participants for this study, the first broad category was clear from the beginning: male teenagers living in underprivileged areas in Cape Town. As I narrowed it down, age group was the second consideration. I wanted to investigate teenage boys in their last year of primary school, as this stage in life can be critical in terms of choices for the future; susceptible to impacts from a variety of factors in their community. Also, Grade 7 was the final year of the Waldorf school. In qualitative research, this selection of participants refers to purposive sampling. Bryman explains that "(..) purposive sampling considerations often apply to the sampling of the cases in which the research will be conducted and then to people within those cases" (Bryman 2008:414), and that "the researcher samples with certain research goals in mind" (Bryman 2008:415). The pupils in the three schools were selected on terms of location, age, and gender that would be relevant for my research questions and topic. Bryman defines purposive sampling as a *non-probability* form of sampling where the goal is to sample cases and participants in a strategic way, so that they are relevant to the research questions (Bryman 2008). He further argues that this form of sampling does not allow generalizations. Nonetheless, generalization is not the intention of this study.

The participants in the focus-groups were all randomly selected from Grade 7 by the teachers at both public schools. In the Waldorf school the eight boys selected represented all the boys in Grade 7. In Public school 1 I asked them to select pupils from all three classes; 7a, 7b and 7c. The eight boys at each school were divided into two focus-groups, four in each group. In Public school 2, three boys participated in one focus-group interview. The teachers who were interviewed at

Public school 1 were the Head of the Department and the main teacher of Grade 7. At the Waldorf school I interviewed the teacher of Grade 7 and the teacher of Grade 6.

4.6 Data collection: Research methods

I have used a qualitative research strategy in the form of focus-group interviews, one-on-one interviews, journals, and observations. I also used questionnaires, and I wrote field notes during my stay. As described in section 4.4, data collected from observations and questionnaires will serve as supplementary findings. Table 4.6 shows a layout of the research methods used in the field at the three schools.

Table 4.6 Research methods

Public school 1	Waldorf school	Public school 2
• Classroom observations • Focus-group interviews x 2 (8 pupils in total, male) • Journals (participants from interviews: 8 pupils, male) • Questionnaires (all pupils in Grade 7, both gender, 110 in total) • 1 interview with two teachers (male)	• Classroom observation • Focus-group interviews x 2 (8 pupils in total, male) • Journals (participants from interviews: 8 pupils, male) • Questionnaires (all pupils in Grade 7, both gender, 19 in total) • Interview with teachers x 2 (one male, one female)	• Focus-group interview x 1 (3 pupils, males) • Questionnaires (all pupils in Grade 7, both gender, 135 in total)

The questionnaires were handed out to all pupils in Grade 7 at all three schools. The questionnaires were chosen with the aim to point out patterns and tendencies in regards to challenges and what they think about school to see if whether or not the pupils signalized the same responses as in the interviews.

4.6.1 Observation

I was immersed in the setting as an observer, of the type Bryman (2008) refers to as *observer-as-participant.* Compared to other roles like a *complete observer* – where the researcher does not interact with people or a *participant-as-observer* where the researcher participates in their daily lives, my role was limited to observe only in the school-setting. I did not interact with the participants outside of the school. This role made it possible to interact with the participants in interviews as well as observing them during school-hours. My role as an observer allowed me to

be an *overt* observer meaning that the participants are aware of your role in the setting as a researcher.

Public school 1 had 112 pupils in Grade 7, divided into three classes after their abilities – the "slowest" learners, "medium", and "faster" learners[15]. During my week of observations I rotated in the three classes choosing one class each day (Monday: 7c, Tuesday: 7b, Wednesday: 7a etc). This school has subject-teachers – different teachers for each subject – and I was able to observe different classes with different teachers each day. At the Waldorf school I stayed with the only Grade 7 the school had, observing them in almost all classes. During my observations I looked at the way of teaching, and teacher-pupil relationships, trying to observe possible differences between the pupils´ attitude and response to creative teaching methods in the Waldorf school versus the pupils receiving more traditional teaching in the public school.

4.6.2 Qualitative interview: Focus group

> (..) qualitative interviewing tends to be flexible, responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphases in the research as a result of significant issues that emerge in the course of the interviews (Bryman 2008:437).

As qualitative research seeks rich, detailed answers, qualitative interviews usually take an unstructured or semi-structured approach (Bryman 2008). These two types of interviews are flexible, allowing the participants to speak freely and give open answers. An unstructured interview is similar to a conversation in which the researcher may prompt only one or a few question for the respondents to elaborate on, whereas a semi-structured interview follows an interview guide with a list of more specific topics or questions (Bryman 2008:438). I chose to have a semi-structured interview approach in the focus group interviews in order to keep my focus on the research topic. In a semi-structured interview, an interview-guide is prepared by the researcher beforehand (see attachment 1), as to guide the interview towards the main topics and interest of the study. The questions in the interview guide permits variation, and the researcher is free to ask follow-up questions at any point (Bryman 2008; Kvale 1996). In the interviews with the teachers, I used an unstructured approach where only a few questions were raised.

I chose to conduct focus group interviews with the boys, as I wanted them to elaborate on the issues and topics that were raised in the interviews and leave the topics open for discussion. I expected this method to be more beneficial as the presence and participation of peers could make

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[15] The references to dividing pupils after their "abilities" and refer to them as the "slowest", "medium" and "faster" learners was used by the Public school 1 teachers. I do not necessarily agree with this kind of reference.

it easier to elaborate on the topics. I was prepared that this method also could risk leaving participants "in the shadow" of other i.e. more extrovert pupils, therefore I chose to have no more than four participants in each group. The number of participants would also be manageable in terms of transcribing the interviews. I found four participants to be enough to open up for discussion, as well as keeping room for each individual to speak up and express themselves. The presence of others might also encourage the participants to raise issues and topics they otherwise would not have thought of if they were interviewed individually. The influence of peers can in this sense be useful (Bryman 2008). The focus group setting might also be perceived as a less formal way of conducting interview, and for teenagers this might seem less intimidating when interacting with a researcher. Bryman argues that "the focus group offers the researcher the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meaning around it" (Bryman 2008:476). The group sessions allowed me the ability to gain insight in how the teenagers engaged in the topics and which themes they expressed more interest in as a group. Because crime and violence might be a sensitive topic, the focus group setting could offer the teenagers a platform to discuss issues they have in common.

All the focus group sessions were conducted at the schools during school hours. Interviews with the teachers were conducted when they had time and were not teaching, usually during breaks, in a staff room or classroom. For my two focus-group interviews with the boys at Public school 1 I was assigned an unused staffroom were we could talk without any interruptions. Yet the room was not isolated from the noise outside during breaks, and this came to create some disturbance on the recordings resulting in minor loss of words when transcribing. Nevertheless, it did not come to challenge the overall content of the discussions. The Waldorf school was less equipped with space[16] and resources, and due to bad weather conditions I conducted the first focus group interview in a car outside the classroom. This setting was more challenging as five people in one car demands the need of air, and when opening the windows we got interrupted by noise from other pupils in the school yard as well other pupils' curiosity and attention. This setting limited the patience among the participants and I had to cut the interview short, nevertheless I still felt that I had gone through the most important topics. The second focus group interview in the Waldorf school was conducted on a day when they finished classes earlier. The teacher had talked to the boys about staying behind so I could interview them. As the classroom was empty we could use it for the interview. The focus group interview at Public school 2 was conducted in a large staff room where were undisturbed.

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[16] The school only had one small staff room, and this room was occupied by staff and volunteers throughout the day.

A recorder was used in all the focus-group interviews after approval of the participants. No one seemed to be affected by the use of this instrument. The use of a recorder was very useful (I would say a must) as it gives you the opportunity to go back and listen repeatedly when needed. This is very helpful when analyzing the data as there could be several things you missed out on when conducting the interview. During the interviews I also took notes, but the recorder allowed me to take a more active role as a moderator and in terms of keeping the conversation running, instead of "pausing" to take notes.

4.6.3 Journals

I also made use of journals in order to give the boys a chance to open up and be more personal about the topic as they were only interviewed in focus-groups. The focus-group setting may exclude certain opinions due to possible group pressure. The participants received notebooks and were asked voluntarily to express their views on being a teenager in their community, and to share stories they might have. They were asked to treat the journals as notebooks; to express what they wanted in whatever way they wished (e.g. writing lyrics, drawings etc.). The material from the journals was not as rich as I was hoping for and most of the writings expressed the same thoughts, stories and opinions as the material I got from the interviews. This could indicate that they were open and honest enough during the interviews and that they actually got to tell the stories they wanted to share, but it could also mean a lack of interest for the journals, reluctance to share more stories, or unfamiliarity with writing journals. Though I did not gain as many answers from the journals as I wanted, they serve as a supplement to the data collected from the interviews.

4.6.4 Questionnaire

The use of questionnaires was a decision I made whilst in the field, and they were handed out towards the end of the stay at each school. Although the use of questionnaires mostly occurs in quantitative research (i.e. surveys), I chose to use it in this study in order to reach a wider selection of participants as well as opening up for other findings not thought of when preparing the interviews. Though the questionnaire was handed out to all the pupils in Grade 7, the study will keep its focus on boys. The questionnaire was open-ended, allowing the pupils to write the answer in their own words. The responses I got from the questionnaire also provided me with some background data on the respondents i.e. living situation, interests, hobbies, likes and dislikes, all of which could enrich my understanding of the lives of teenagers in these communities. Kvale (1996) refers to a study conducted by two psychology students (Hvolbø & Kristensen 1983) to exemplify the use of both interviews and questionnaire to obtain representative and generalizable findings

where he states that "the questionnaire developed on the basis of the interviews could be used to test the generality of the interview findings and the smaller number of qualitative interviews could have been subjected to more penetrating interpretations" (Kvale 1996:94). Although my study does not seek to generalize the findings, my intention with the questionnaire was to use it as back-up data and to hopefully unveil potential patterns related to the focus of the study – not to analyze each respondent in detail. I also wanted to see if any "new" angles of responses would occur from this form of data collection. The questionnaires came to be useful in revealing aspects of the school that were not present during my observations. I will mention these aspects in chapter 5 and 6.

4.7 Ethics

In order to conduct my research I had to get approval from the Norwegian Social Data Services (NSD) as well as research approval from the Western Cape Education Department.

When departing for Cape Town I brought all the documents of approval, including a recommendation letter from the University of Oslo. The documents were presented to the different schools at the point of introduction and copies of the documents were handed out to the staff in each school. In addition to being necessary documentation to be allowed access as a researcher they were valuable in terms of trustworthiness as a researcher.

When in the field I made sure that all the participants were informed about the study and that their participation was strictly voluntary. None of the participants were forced to participate in the study or talk about things they did not feel comfortable with. I brought a consent form to the schools when I made the arrangements, and got an approval from principals and teachers to conduct my research at each school. In all three schools I introduced myself and my study to the participants, informing them who I was and why I was there. I did not share the responses I got from the pupils with the teachers as they were treated as confidential information. All participants were informed that their anonymity would be respected, and that the information they shared would not be traceable back to them by others than me (and in two of the cases, by the translator). I did not ask them about their names during the interviews or on the questionnaires and I was very aware of avoiding asking questions that would make them feel uncomfortable. I tried to keep a conversation running based on what they wanted to tell me about the topics that were raised.

As mentioned in section 1.3, chapter 1, neither of the schools or townships is referred to by name to ensure the anonymity of the schools is protected.

4.8 Criteria in qualitative research

Bryman points out reliability and validity as two of the most prominent criteria in the evaluation of social research (Bryman 2008:31). Reliability deals with the consistency of measures, whereas validity is concerned with whether the concept that was set out to be measured really was measured. Qualitative researchers have recognized the need for alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research, among them Guba and Lincoln's criteria of trustworthiness and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Guba & Lincoln 1994, cited in Bryman 2008). In this section I will discuss how my study responds to trustworthiness.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1985; 1994, cited in Bryman 2008) the first of four criteria that constitute trustworthiness is credibility. Credibility is parallel with internal validity – congruence between the concepts (theoretical ideas) and observations. The criteria of credibility are specifically relevant to qualitative research as it is concerned with the researcher's interpretation of the social setting and whether or not "the investigator has correctly understood that social world" (Bryman 2008:377). Credibility can be ensured by using *respondent validation* – where researcher cross-checks his/her findings with the participants or with *triangulation* where the use of multiple method or source of data can increase the confidence of findings (Webb et al. 1966, cited in Bryman 2008:379; Yin 2011). As noted in section 4.4 and 4.6, I made use of interviews, observations, journals and questionnaires in my data collection in order to gain a deeper understanding of the setting and the participants and to cross-check the data and, as a result I increased the credibility of my findings.

The use of a questionnaire helped me reach a wider range of pupils in Grade 7 which could strengthen the second criteria of trustworthiness: transferability. Bryman argues that "qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the social world being studied" and refers to what Geertz (1973) calls thick description or "rich accounts of the details of a culture" (Geertz 1973, cited in Bryman 2008:378). Although my study aimed to examine specific aspects in the lives of teenagers in only two townships and did not intend to generalize the findings, the responses were similar among the Grade 7 pupils that participated in the study. The responses from the interviews as well as questionnaires provided me with richer details of their lives as teenagers in their communities. Guba and Lincoln (1985) in Bryman 2008 argue that "thick descriptions provide others with what they refer to as a database for making judgments about the possible transferability of findings in other milieu" (p.378). Although the responses were similar for the groups in these schools, they will not necessarily agree with responses from other teenagers in the community i.e. out of school teenagers. As I did not conduct

interviews with teenagers out of school, my study can only allow itself to present the findings as the view of these particular groups of teenagers in these two communities. The responses could also differ according to age groups, and my findings are limited to the views of teenagers age 12-15, all in Grade 7 at the three schools.

4.8.1 Concerns regarding the study

Although I strongly felt the need to collect even more data in order to reach a deeper understanding, the number of interviews and data material had to be selected in accordance with the time schedule, space, and available access, in addition to considerations in regards to transcribing and processing the data.

The language differences could pose some problems, as it may have been difficult for the participants to fully express their own opinions in a second language. The use of translator in the focus group interviews in Public school 1 was helpful in the way that it gave the participants the opportunity to use their mother tongue (isiXhosa) when they found the need for it. On the downside the use of a translator might come to challenge the data as I could never be completely certain that the right translation actually occurred. I truly appreciated the ability to have direct contact and interact with the participants throughout the interviews. This was slightly impaired in the interviews where the translator was present as they could communicate in a language I did not speak.

Although I experienced the participants to be very open and willing to share their stories and viewpoints on the various topics, I might also have benefitted from conducting interviews outside of the school setting. A different location could have created a more stimulating environment when talking about certain issues, although I do not consider this as creating major limitation for my findings.

I was also concerned that teachers in Public school 1 - who were treated as highly respected authorities – might have created a threat to the participants and unable them to be fully open in their responses. I therefore carefully informed the pupils that no teachers or others would have access to the information they shared. An example of a situation where I was concerned with what responses could be influenced by the teachers, was when the questionnaires were handed out at public school 1. Although I said I could hand them out myself, one of the teachers insisted he would go with me and help. Granting his intentions might be good, I found it to be a bit strange as he spent more time explaining the questionnaire to only one of the three classes (the "faster" learners). The teacher went trough all of the questions before handing them out, pointing out

examples on how to answer. Although his intention was probably good, I found it peculiar that he chose to do this for only this class. I experienced it somewhat uncomfortable myself as the questionnaire was designed for the pupils and not the staff. I was unhappy with the way he tried to influence pupils in terms of exemplifying how to answer. E.g. he read out the question about challenges in school, and followed up by commenting "I don´t see what could be difficult in this school". Despite this incident the responses I got seemed to be open and honest and not necessarily affected by what the teacher said, but I cannot be certain of this authenticity to apply to all cases.

4.8.2 Sampling

It is difficult to predict your sample of participants beforehand and limitations occur when it comes to how and if the sample will meet the criteria of qualitative research. The three schools I visited varied in size and number of pupils. Number of Grade 7 pupils in the two public schools was more or less the same (110 and 135), while the Waldorf school had only 19 pupils in Grade 7, and 300 pupils in total Grade R-7. School size and number of pupils may have an influenced the participants´ experience and responses.

I wanted to compare the responses from the participants in the three different schools to point out similarities and differences and see if I could find a pattern among them that would allow me to point out the main challenges teenagers´ face in this kind of community. Similar responses to the topics occurred in all the interviews, which could indicate that my sample for this particular topic was sufficient (Bryman 2008). Bryman refers to this phenomena as similar to *theoretical saturation*, meaning the researcher will continue data collection until he/she has reached a saturated amount and no new data seem to emerge on the topic (Bryman 2008).

4.8.3 Role as a researcher

My role as a researcher in the field – and outsider and a stranger – also poses limitations of study as you will not be certain whether your observations actually relate to reality (credibility). Pupils as well as teachers might be influenced by my presence. I could not be certain that the everyday school life they presented when I was around was in fact their reality. I experienced at the first public school that certain responses on the questionnaire did not match the "reality" I was observing, and some of the questionnaires gave me a direct answer on what was going on when they don´t "have visitors" as the pupil expressed.

Being an outsider may also limit your objectivity as a researcher, as your own views and experiences will come to influence how you interpret the environment you are studying. The data might be read and understood differently by other researchers. This creates a threat to objectivity – or what Lincoln and Guba (1994, cited in Bryman 2008) would explain as *confirmability.* Complete objectivity is impossible in social research, but the researcher should not allow personal values or theoretical preferences interfere with the data (Bryman 2008). I was very aware of the importance of keeping my views and opinions as objective as possible throughout the research process as a whole. As I often was reminded of my role as an outsider this also served as a reminder of the importance of objectivity.

The data collected from the field will be presented in the following chapter.

5   Data Presentation

In this chapter I will present the data mainly collected from Public school 1 and the Waldorf school. The data presented here is raw data that will be followed up with discussions and analysis in chapter 6.

Chapter 5 consists of two parts; the first part presents the data collected from interviews with teachers at Public school 1 and the Waldorf school. I will present the teachers' responses first, as they underline the ideology of the schools which might be helpful in order to get a better understanding of the pupils' responses presented in the second part. The responses from both teachers and pupils will be presented as they relate to the research questions and themes. As mentioned in section 4.4, chapter 4, the majority of data derives from the interviews although some responses from the journals are presented in certain sections in order to provide richer data. Responses in both sections (both teachers' and pupils') will be presented as raw data and are categorized in different tables representing questions on various themes. In the tables, responses from both schools are compared to highlight the similarities and differences among the participants. Where similar responses were given on the same question, only some of them will be displayed in the tables. Additional data will be presented below the tables where needed, in order to highlight the themes that were discussed. My study focuses on Public school 1 and the Waldorf school, but since interesting data i.e. concerning gangs occurred in Public school 2 these responses will be presented where they were found relevant. The responses from Public school 2 will not be displayed in the tables but where needed, they will be presented as part of the additional data presented below the tables.

5.1   The Teachers

This section will present the responses from two teachers at Public school 1 and two teachers from the Waldorf school. The two teachers at Public school 1 were interviewed in a group as they felt more comfortable in this situation, whilst the two teachers at the Waldorf school were interviewed individually. The teachers were asked what they recognized as main challenges in their surroundings, and the role of school when it comes to dealing with the challenges youth are facing. The responses from each school will be portrayed in table 5.1 and 5.2, presenting two different themes.

5.1.1 Main challenges recognized by teachers

In both schools the first part of the interviews revolved around the difficulties and challenges in their community and how it affected their school as well as students. We talked about what they recognized as the main challenges that teenagers in their community were facing, and how this might affect the teenager's school experiences.

Table 5.1 Community challenges affecting the schools

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"I believe the.. the HIV/AIDS, I believe is one of the things [challenges recognized at school] Because most of the children here they`ve lost their parents due to that disease."	"They [students/teenagers] are constantly surrounded by fear, because even if they come to school, they are chased by gangsters, people want to rob them."
"It`s high level of unemployment in the area that we are working in."	"Some of the parents they are not even aware that their children are doing such things [robbing,drugs] because they very early go to work, leave the children thinking they are going to school and instead.. they go around corners."
"Some [children] you will find out they don`t have.. clothes.. like the others (..) you will find out that this one doesn`t have anything of what he needs."	"The challenges that we`ve got is unemployment of parents. Seeing that our school is a private school, we got some fees that are being paid. So parents, because of unemployment, they struggle to pay the fees for their children."
"It [challenges] makes it more difficult for us as educators, to work. Before you can start doing anything, you need to be a social worker, you need to be some kind of security, all the stuff. But you find out that now you`re out of what you`re supposed to do as a teacher, now you`re doing something else."	"(..) economic health problems (..) most parents are sick and all that, with HIV and AIDS."
"We got a big school as it is but we don`t have the facilities in terms of a playing ground and all."	"The school is in demand, but we are unable to expand and say maybe we will have double classes, because our plot is very, very small. We are still negotiating with the government for the extension of length."
"There's some shacks, that are built in our yard..and it`s difficult for us to chase those people away, because it`s their home."	"And the other challenge we´ve got is theft. We´ve been facing burglary a lot. (..) I mean, that is what is happening in our surroundings."

The teachers in both schools recognized poverty and crime as some of the main challenges in their surroundings and at school. Poverty and crime was identified by factors like high unemployment, HIV/AIDS, and lack of resources at school. Among the challenges they identified that youth are facing, one of the Waldorf teachers pointed out the fear surrounding the pupils every day in their community, and the threat of gangsters stealing their possessions and taxi-fares. She also pointed out how getting robbed of transportation fees could create an even higher exposure to crime as they would have to walk home. She said that it's not just other people in the streets who rob them:

> What is also surprising is that they are not only robbed by people in the street, they are robbed by other children that come from other schools, wearing school uniforms. There are children that are smoking these drugs and other things; they want money to buy these drugs or whatever (Female teacher, Waldorf school).

The teacher found it especially disturbing that there are peers and people their own age robbing the pupils and doing drugs, pointing out anti-social behaviour among youth. The public school teachers also pointed out how challenges in the community may influence the pupils especially in the teenage years:

> And also, the community that we are in.. yah, there is crime. Some of it does influence them. More especially their age, you know the children in their age they are so easily influenced by things happening around them (Male teacher, Public school 1).

He points to the teenage years as a sensitive stage of a human's life, and highlights crime as one of the things in their surroundings that might influence them. One of the teachers at the public school pointed out that many pupils have lost their parents to HIV/AIDS, and that such circumstances may lead them to misbehave ("behave like this and that"). The public school teachers expressed how their role as teachers can change when dealing with pupils like these and their challenges, saying that it makes their job as educators more difficult. They expressed how their role as teachers often becomes more than just educating and transfer knowledge related to the curriculum when dealing with youth in their community because of the many difficulties surrounding them.

5.1.2 Role of school

Interviewing the teachers, I wanted to emphasize the role of school when dealing with challenges recognized among youth. The teacher's at both schools were asked what they personally thought the school could do to help the pupils when it comes to the difficulties they face at this stage in their community. The Waldorf teachers pointed out how they thought the Waldorf approach specifically could benefit the pupils compared to traditional teaching.

Table 5.2. How can school help teenagers deal with the challenges they face?

Public School	Waldorf School
"I believe that school is a tool where.. we can use to eradicate anything that is.. improve ah.. on the school and also in the community. So I believe that it plays a very, very big role.As much as our parents are not that much educated.. but (..) all of them want their children to be educated.. not to suffer like they were suffering, to break that cycle."	"I think they [values and knowledge they get in school] can help them in life, to become independent human beings. They would go for education because they know that education is the source of everything in life, to be successful now in our days you need to be educated. (..) We always talk about teenage pregnancies, we talk about drugs, we talk about alcohol."
"They [parents] want to see their children out of the street. They want to see them at school."	"As much as we have vulnerable children (..) they´re welcome here, they are happy, we are happy to be with them. And (..) we haven´t got uniforms. Children wear whatever they are comfortable in, and they are accepted the way they are (..) in our school there is no discrimination, we are here, we work together as a family, they feel secured and comfortable. "
"If there's a problem we consult the community, we consult the police. They come to school and we try to solve the problem."	"We do everything in three-foldness. The way we present our lessons, artistically (..) So we reach all types of children, even children who are slow learners, they don´t feel that because they are reached in so many ways. So we´ve got ways of letting children to express themselves in their own way that they have been created by God. (..) [to build] Their self-esteem yes. Because we do presentations, we do plays. Children they got to do drummer exhibitions, ..they will be confident individuals. Because they are not scared to stand up and speak, and speak what they think, they can ask whatever question they want to ask.Yah, so I think it´s the right way."
"we usually invite people to come and talk about all this crime and all the stuff, what are the consequences of this."	
"Another thing that can help is to ask if they can come, to ask the ..maybe the soccer players, the guys who are playing professional, to come to school, motivate them,.. yah. Tell them that they must come to school, try to play sport even in the township, – involve themselves in something that is positive."	"I had a piano at home (..) I could play for 2-3 hours non stop, just getting all my energy into that, and it actually helped me to cope with a lot of things. I also played the saxophone, so that musical part was there for me as a release-valve. And that is one aspect of the type of teaching that I think Waldorf is actually creating for the child today. Not just because it´s music or crafts, but it´s a different way of relating to things, it actually opens the mind, I would say, more in hence of ways of finding a release-valve. So I think that the Waldorf approach is a very good way to teach the child that it got other tools that he can use, and also how to use them and access them."
"They might have plenty of time without doing anything (..) but the moment they are kept busy with schoolwork (..) they manage by all means not to get involved [in gangstarism]."	" I´ve got a few friends who are government teachers, at high schools, and they are complaining now that there is a very big difference in the type of child (..) at the school now, than to when we were at school. Because when they are faced with challenges, they can´t think for themselves (..) they can´t think outside the box. Because they have been trained in this way that they have to think in a certain way. And I think that the Waldorf conquers that."

When discussing the role of school, the teachers recognized the importance of education for future opportunities. The teachers mentioned how especially parents emphasize school, providing their children with opportunities they never had themselves.

When discussing the role of school in responding to challenges facing their pupils, the teachers from the public school pointed out how the school could cooperate with other people in solving

their issues. The following quotation deals with the issue of gangsterism and how they at the school work in order to respond to it:

> Now we get more learners that are coming to school, (..) and there's even food that they get, from school. But, even though they are coming in big numbers to school (..) yes, it does change them, from moving away from gangsterism, even though here at school we have some problems when it comes to gangsterism. But at school we try a lot to (..) fight it. If there's a problem we consult the community, we consult the police. They come to school and we try to solve the problem. Otherwise, in the past few years, we never had a problem, whereby [in other schools] it's full bloom (..) someone is stabbing in the other school or whatsoever, at least we manage to solve it, as a school (Male teacher, Public school 1).

The teacher acknowledged the issue of gangsterism at school, but that compared to other schools where this remains a major challenge, they have managed to decrease it. The teachers pointed out collaboration with parents and other actors in the community as a strategy to solve the issue of gangsterism and violence and crime at school:

> We ask the parents to come. If you see that boy is a problem, or the girl is a problem, we write a letter, we ask the parents to come. And then we sit down, and we discuss. If it's beyond our control, we call the police to intervene (Male teacher, Public school 1).

The teachers at the public school said they would invite social workers, the police, and other community members to come and speak about crime and the consequences of it at school:

> There are people who come to motivate them. (..) The government is only saying that education is free, as long as they do learn and continue [education] (..) and they will be able to learn free. Then it's at least the foundation that they get at this present moment. (..) We usually invite people to come and talk about all this crime and all the stuff, what are the consequences of it. Then some of them they relate to this kind of stuff (Male teacher, Public school 1).

One of the teachers also believed that as long as the pupils attend school, it will reduce the risk of becoming involved in gangs:

> I believe it can eradicate gangstarism, in terms of.. from the effect that they [pupils] do come to school. Then some [pupils] they may not come across such things because.. they might have plenty of time without doing anything, but the moment they are kept busy with schoolwork (..) they manage by all means not to get involved [in gangsterism] (Male teacher, Public school 1).

According to the teacher, pupils' school attendance provides a diversion from consuming time with gangs in the streets and that as long as school could occupy them this would reduce involvement in anti-social activities.

One of the Waldorf teachers introduced me to the values that are represented in Waldorf education before she expressed how she thought these values and the teaching itself could respond to pupils regarding the challenges they are facing in community.

> It doesn´t mean because the child can not count maths the child is not capable of doing a beautiful picture, of making a beautiful craft (..) Because what I have noticed is that some children are good in maths, some children will be good in English and writing, and speaking it, some may not be good in speaking but be good in writing. So I think the way we do things reach children in so many different ways (Female teacher, Waldorf school).

Her response emphasizes the importance of reaching pupils in different ways according to their abilities and interests, and that though pupils might be slow learners in some subjects, they might be strong in others. The Waldorf school teachers were asked similar questions regarding the role of school in teenagers' lives, and both teachers shared their vision of teaching and the values represented in Waldorf education. They expressed how they thought this approach to teaching and learning could benefit the pupils in life:

> Our values in the Waldorf is to teach children in threefold – the thinking, feeling and willing aspect[17]. So when we present our lessons, we make sure that we try and reach all those. (..) the slogan of our school is to educate with love. (..) We focus on children; they need to be independent. They need to learn freely, they must be free. They must not be scared in the classroom, they must be able to speak to the teacher (..) They [teachers] must encourage that they [pupils] must know that learning is about research. It is about curiosity, about knowing things, it's about talking, it's about communicating (..) I think it can help them in life to become independent human beings (Female teacher, Waldorf school).

The teacher emphasizes a strong pupil-centered approach and how education can help them develop into free, independent human beings by stimulating their curiosity, responding to their creativity and various skills and interests, and encourage them to express themselves freely. The teacher also explained the importance of being a human and, as a teacher, not be afraid to show humanity. She emphasizes the freedom of expression in class, and the importance of encouraging pupils to ask questions and seeking knowledge, even though you might not always have the answers:

> (..) they must know that if they ask they are going to get the information they are looking for, and if the teacher is not sure about the answer, the teacher is free to tell the child that 'ok fine, I will go and look at that and come back with it', you see. Cause they need to know that you are also a human being (..) (Female teacher, Waldorf school).

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[17] Waldorf education believes in the inner education of the child, focusing on the *threefold social organism*. In order to succeed, the school must be "inspired by the Spirit that aspires toward the threefold nature of the social organism". Inner education can not be achieved out of the needs of the cultural life and not through something imposed from outside (Steiner 1995).

The Waldorf teachers also stress the importance of making the pupils aware of the different abilities they have:

> I think that the Waldorf approach is a very good way to teach the child that it got other tools that he can use, and also how to use them and access them (Male teacher, Waldorf school).

The teacher emphasized the role of the Waldorf teaching in helping the pupils to be aware of the tools and abilities they possess, and how the Waldorf approach can do this by stimulating various ways of relating to things and help pupils to be open minded. One of the Waldorf teachers shared his own experience of school, saying that back in the 1980s, more subjects related to crafts and music was offered. He told of his interest in music as a child and how playing the piano and saxophone helped him cope with a lot of things as it provided a release valve in where he could put all his energy. He referred to teaching with music and crafts as a way to open the mind and relate to things differently. The Waldorf teacher explained how things in public schools have changed and become limited by referring to his mother and friends who are government teachers saying that there has been a change in the type of children in school now compared to before. The critics he referred to related to lack of independent thinking and "thinking outside the box", and he points out this as an issue when it comes to dealing with teenage challenges. He said he believes that the Waldorf approach to teaching conquers this as it provides a release valve, teaching pupils various ways of relating to things.

5.2 The Pupils

The tables presented in this part show some of the responses on the main topics that were discussed during the interviews with the teenagers at the schools. Several questions received similar responses from the various participants.

5.2.1 The experience of being a teenager

Table 5.3 shows some of the responses on how it is to be a teenager in general. The topic presents the first question asked in the focus group interviews and deals with the teenage stage (transition childhood-adulthood).

Table 5.3 How do you experience being a teenager?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"Things have changed now (..) [we] no longer think like the foundation phase, we even developed feelings for girls. It's a new experience now."	"It`s good to be a teenager, I can decide for myself."
"[we have] grown (..) [we are] more disciplined now."	" I don`t think teenager is good, because some children when they are 13,14,15,16 years old they think that they can do what they want. (..) yes, control.. The families, they can smoke, use drugs, alcohol.. those things are bad."
"They used to smoke in front of us, but now we are feeling that we must smoke too, just to try to see the taste of it."	"You see, if I`m 21 then I`m an adult, then I can do what I want, sometimes."
	"I hear what my mother says. (..) I follow her rules."
"When we were still young, if there was a fight, we wouldn't be involved. But now it's different, because our friends will call us names and "moffis" as if you are nothing.Its a pressure (..) from our friends. (..) We don't like to be called names, it doesn't make us feel good."	"It's difficult. Because I have like, little girls [sisters] that are younger than me, but the elder people take them like they are older than me, but they're younger."
	"There are many things that start with girls."
	"Some of the teenagers, they bang school."
"Because I'm older now they listen to me, what I advice them. I take the advice I've been given here at school, and take it to the communities. I take the advice such as people must use condoms. and I advice the people in communities. Now i am able to stand in the eyes of more people. Now I am able, but long time I was not able."	"Being a teenager I have experienced that there are so many challenges in life."
	"Being a teenager is tough and challenging."
	"To be a teenager is nice cause you learn a lot about life and the challenges of it."

The responses presented in Table 5.3 illustrate how the participants feel about being a teenager. In both schools being a teenager was related to changes. During the interviews the participants' often referred to "before" and "now" in terms of how they view things, and how they relate to their environment and peers. They identified curiosity about girls, and trying new things such as smoking. Some of the responses suggest how they view themselves now compared to before. One of the participants from the public school expressed that "now I am able to stand in the eyes of more people". According to him, his role has changed from childhood as he now has more knowledge to share with his community. He also said that because he is older, he has access to the library, where he can gain more knowledge. In the Waldorf school some of the discussion revolved around decision making and whether or not teenagers are old enough to make decisions on their own. One of the participants referred to decision making among teenagers in his community saying that:

> ..they think that they can do what they want (..) smoke, use drugs, alcohol.. all those bad things (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf).

The question on how it is to be a teenager immediately brought up the challenges related to this specific stage, most often in regards to peer pressure, gangs and drugs. One of the boys from the public school expressed how difficulties regarding group pressure and gangsters could affect him when he wrote in his journal that:

> My self esteem becomes low and I don't trust every single person around me, even though others are all right (Boy Grade 7, Public school 1).

Gangs and gangsters stood out as the main challenge in their community.

5.2.2 Gangs and gangsters

Table 5.4 presents some of the responses on what challenges the boys are facing as teenagers. The responses mainly revolved around the issue of gangs and gangsters. The responses answer Key Research Question 1 presented in section 1.2.3 in chapter 1.

Table 5.4 What kind of challenges do you experience as a teenager?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"Most of the teenagers are gangsters. The teenagers now, because of the new stage, then there's smoking, there's gangsters."	"The things that are difficult and challenging are drugs, crime and gangsters.There are gangsters anywhere now. They like to fight with others."
"There is alot of crime, and youngster are using drugs and drinking alcohol. I have fear that anything can happen to me, to get hurt."	"There are some guys, I think they are 16,18. almost every day they sit there at the container.. They always chase us."
"Maybe sometimes when you go to the shop they'll ask you for 50 cent. When you don't have they will beat you up."	"There are groups, you see, of gangstas. They have names."
"They will call you names and say that if you not join the gang you will stay at home."	"They want money to buy drugs, cigarettes.. All that bad stuff. (..) They stab people, to give them money."
"..It's hard to say no, because our friends will just go, you stay alone."	"If you're wearing nice clothes, they rob you. They even take your shirt, your pants.. You end up going in your underwear, you see. And everyone outside they will laugh at you, you see.."
"Our other friends, they force us to smoke and we don't want to smoke (..) We feel bad cause we don't like it."	"I don't think it's nice, living in this area."
"And boys are having the amakhubalos, the evil spirit, to turn into animals. They buy chicken and alcohol..to give to the witch doctor. and he will give them the evil spirit."	"If you live in [X], you will not get in to [Y]. They will stab you."
	(P3):"The difficult thing for me is that..You see in my street I have to be in a group of gangsters, just because when we go to another section of a place, yah, there is a group there. So they ask "which group are you in?" and if you're not in a group they're gonna beat you up first and then you gotta join the group."
	(P1):"If you want to go somewhere, you must stick with your gang. Because they won't do anything if there's many of you. Then they will do nothing."
	"The others..that they buy in the train station, the amakhubalo.. Like devil-thing, inside you. Yeah, they have powers. There is this medicine, they are called "ompti". They will come with chicken, a rock, and brandy, yah, to the witch doctor."

The challenges were recognized early in the interviews. The responses I got from the schools were similar, and revolved around the issue of gangs and gangsters, crime and violence, group pressure, drugs and alcohol. Data collected from Public school 2 revealed the same challenges among boys as the other two schools:

> Like for us boys it is difficult challenges, cause let me tell you like what we face as boys; gangsters, everything around. We can't like, say that we're not in gangsters. We can't get ourselves out of it. We'll be hunted by other people. Like.. we don't even know how to stop it, prevent it from happening (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

The challenges were discussed throughout the interviews as they related to different aspects of their environment and lives as teenagers. In Public school 2 the boys' challenges were associated with fear, mostly related to gangs and gangsters in ways like "you never know if they will come and kill you" (Boy grade 7, Public school 2). The same participant revealed his involvement with gangsters and the risk associated with it:

> When you're joining gangsters, you don't know what will happen to you. They might kill you so you can't say 'naa I'm safe where I am', they might find you anywhere you are. They even take you out of your home. (..) Like you fight one of their friends, and beat him, they will come back, alot of them, many of them. There's no guarantee that they will not kill you (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

The notion of group pressure came up in all the interviews. Several of the participants in all three schools expressed limited choices when it comes to the issue of gangs, in ways like "if you say no, you will just stay at home" (Boy Grade 7, Public school 1), and that "it's hard to say no because our friends will just go, you stay alone" (Boy Grade 7, Public school 1). Some of the responses also revealed more serious consequences by saying no to gangs:

> You have to say yes. If you say no they will stab you to death (Boy grade 7, Waldorf school).

> They will come after you.. and kill you (Boy grade 7, Waldorf school).

In several incidents the difficulties of saying no gangs related to the pressure from their peers and how they are bullied and excluded if they say no, but the Waldorf boys also described how belonging to a gang can create a "safety net":

> If you want to go somewhere, you must stick with your gang. Because they won't do anything if there's many of you. Then they will do nothing (Boy (P1[18]), Grade 7, Waldorf school).

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[18]Two of the participants from the Waldorf school had previously attended public schools and had joined the Waldorf school in Grade 6. In some of the quotes they will be referred to as P1 and P3.

He talked about how affiliation with a group can provide protection, even though "his" group were not considered as gangsters. He expressed how the group itself can keep gangsters away although the boys described being afraid of going to certain areas of their community due to "gang territory" and threat of being beaten up if they were spotted on the "wrong" side of their neighbourhood:

> In the road you will get that feeling that, or I can see someone, someone can come and kill me, you see. You will get that feeling that you are.. yeah, afraid (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The boys revealed difficulties in saying no to gangs, and that in order to avoid involvement they have to stay at home. When asked whether these challenges could come to affect their lives, one of the Waldorf boys said he chose to avoid his previous friends, but that their presence in the community still limited his freedom to move around where he wanted:

> It's not gonna affect mine because we don't go out open a lot. (..) We just stay away from them. (..) Now we no longer challenge them, now we just stopped. But we still don't go to certain sections (Boy (P1), Grade 7, Waldorf school).

He acknowledged previous involvement with gangs, and pointed out how schoolwork can help him stay away from them:

> The only thing that gives me time away from friends is homework (..) yeah, if I have homework I don't have time to go out (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

He said that he prefers staying home doing schoolwork over being with his friends, a feeling shared among the boys at the other schools. One of the boys at Public school 2 revealed similar responses on how to stay away from gangs and danger, but in comparison to the Waldorf boys, he decided not to:

> It's not much I can do. Not much. Unless staying at home.. but I don't do that (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

When discussing gangs and challenges, a phenomenon described as the *amakhubalos* came up in both the Public school and the Waldorf school. According to the participants, the amakhubalos is "the evil spirits" you get from the witch doctor in exchange for items such as chicken and alcohol. The boys described how the chicken and alcohol is used in some kind of ritual, in order to elicit evil spirits, which will give you strength and power to fight and provoke fear. The Waldorf participants explained how people in possession of these powers and evil spirits could act:

> (..) that thing will come out and beat you with its hands.. If you eat pork they will come out and beat you and beat you and beat you.. We don't even see them, but they are beating you. And you can hear the kill.. (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

They mentioned how certain things like pork meat could provoke the evil spirits, and that they could only eat bread and drink water. They also said that being around people in possession of the amakhubalos you need to act calm to prevent release of the evil spirits:

> (..) and someone who has those things.. If you are shouting [at him] you can hear that sound [makes screaming sound]. You must not shout, you must talk (..) and you must laugh. If you change your face, the things [evil spirit] can come out and then you can beat your mother to death (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The boys at the public school used similar explanations to describe the amakhubalos:

> (..) and boys are having the amakhubalos, the evil spirit (..) to change into animals. They buy chicken and alcohol to give to the witch doctor, and he will give them the evil spirit (Boy Grade 7, Public school).

They said that gangsters would take the evil spirits (amakhubalos) so they could change into animals and help them fight their enemies (other gangs). They also said that they could pray for the people with amakhubalos at a Christian organisation at school:

> (..) and here in school, the SCO [Student Christian Organisation] are praying for the people who have the amakhubalos. I can pray, because I am a Christian. (..) if you pray for him, the evil spirit will go out (Boy Grade 7, Public school).

Stories about the amakhubalos were attributed gangs and gangsters. The participants also revealed how gangs identified themselves with different names and the use of symbols.

Gang identification

Several of the participants pointed out different sections of their community as unsafe due to gang territory. They revealed how gangs would have different names, signs, and belonging to different areas of their community:

> There are groups of gangs, they have names (..) and signs. So there is this sign [show sign with his hand] and this sign. The Italian signs is like.. must I show it? It's not nice (..). The Voras[19] and Vatos are enemies. So if there is a boy who is Vora, he pass by and say 'vato vato vato vato', they will come and stab you because they think you are coming to attack them (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf).

The boys said that by showing certain signs, you revealed yourself as a gangster. Certain signs were also symbolic in the way that they could provoke fights between gangs. Which gang you "belonged" to, depended on what area of the community you lived.

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[19]*Vato, Vora* and *the Italians* are names of gangs operating in the community. Each gang operates in their own section of the community (territory).

5.2.3 Community Violence

All the boys shared stories about various factors they find difficult in their lives. As the above data shows, their stories revolved around gang-related crime such as robbing and fighting, but they also discussed crime committed by adults, like homicide and rape. Other stories related to superstitious beliefs and witch doctors occurred in the Waldorf school where the boys told of men dismembering young children and "cutting of their private parts" in the belief that the witch doctors would give them medicine and monetary wealth in exchange for the body parts:

> There are even men that rape boys, and kill them. If they want something, they go to the witch doctor, and then the witch doctor tells them that you must have a 3 year old..ahm..private parts. (..) they want to be rich (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

> (..) They will look for the three year old boy and cut their private parts, and take their brains, and make medicine for amakhubalo (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

> (..) Last week, there was a foreign man (..) he first rape the child and took him and put him in the suitcase, the body parts (..) And the suitcase was full of blood. And then someone noticed there was a child there (..) and he said he was going to give to the witch doctor.. to be rich (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

One of the boys from the Waldorf school elaborated further on the topic regarding witch doctors in his journal where he wrote that:

> The witch doctors are the ones who are murders because if.. [you] want something from them, sometimes if you want a medicine they'll say 'come with a 3 year old boy/girl'. They want their private parts, they do this to children alive, they actually want that moment when they cry, they want that sound of screaming (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

Other stories related to victimization of children came up in the Waldorf interviews where one of the boys told of unwanted children:

> You see, even mothers who doesn't want the child.. She gets pregnant. She goes to the doctor and have a baby, and at night, when the people are asleep, she takes the baby and put it in a suitcase, or a black bag, and throw it away (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The participant told of his unpleasant experience when he found a dead baby in his neighbourhood:

> I think it was last month.. Me and my friend were looking for a place to play soccer. And then we passed this plastic bag. And then we checked it and said 'aah no man, its not a baby it's a.. ehm.. like puppy', you see. And then I came back and I know this is not a puppy, it's a baby. Then it was a baby. It was dead. Then we called the police.(..) I didn't even sleep at night. If I was sleeping I will just think.. the baby.. is here next to me, and I wake up (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

He repeated the story in his journal where he referred to it as crime:

They also commit crime because they put their babies into black bags and throw it away I the drain or the dustbin (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

5.2.4 Gender differences

A topic that was raised during the interviews related to gender. As the participants mainly talked about boys' involvement in gangs, I wanted to look at what reasons they identified as explanatory for boys behaviour compared to girls. Table 5.5 displays some responses on whether or not being a teenager differ in terms of gender when it comes to the challenges they are facing.

Table 5.5 Is being a teenager different for girls than for boys?

Public school 1

"Yah, it's different, because girls they don't like to fight, like boys."

"The girls don't use drugs, like boys do."

"Most of the girls are not smoking, but most of the boys are smoking. And they don't do gangstarism. Most boys do gangstarism."

"because they say that.. the boys are stronger than the girls, and the girls are weak, and then they are not able to be gangsters."

"And boys, are having the amakhubalos, the evil spirits."

Waldorf school

"it's different. (..) because (..) Like in gangs, they don't worry about girls, they let the girls go."

"even girls [are gangsters], they are strong."

"there is vato girls, they call themselves the 'vato babes', 'vora babes', 'italian babes'.."

"they even stab people. They always have knifes in their pockets."

"And there is girls who wants uhm.. young children. Like, when you are 14, then you get a older girl than you, with six years. Like, when you are 13, and she is like 19.. And it will be a 'sugar-mom'. She want to use you, to take money from your parents to have.. She will buy for you something to eat and expensive clothes and then you will be 'wow, she loves me' (..) And if she say 'can I borrow the car?'.. of parents, to go to the supermarket, you see. And she will get the car, tell girlfriends that 'he has a car..let's go and take that car. And they will kill you."

"They [girls] kill you.. And then they took the car, they take the car and go away."

The discussion on gender differences related to the challenges discussed in the previous section and some of the boys in the Waldorf school could tell of incidents where girls' behaviour were comparable to boys' in that also girls could be gangsters. They acknowledge a majority of boys to be gangsters, but that also girls engage in this type of behaviour as they refer to themselves as the "babes" of different gangs, carry knifes and can act as a threat to other people. In Public school 1 the respondents confirmed differences when it comes to their challenges, supported by responses from Public school 2. In Public school 2 one of the boys said that it is harder for boys to deal with the challenges as resigning from a gang might cost him his life, whereas the girls faced different challenges such as pregnancy which they could deal with as long as they took care of them selves:

It's different. Because like, when you're joining gangsters, you don't know what will happen to you. They might kill you (..) yeah, and the girls (..) they know what to do. They can't just fall pregnant. If a girl takes care of her self, she can't get pregnant (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

Some of the Waldorf participants shared the same view as the boys from the public schools, saying that gangs will leave the girls alone. Other Waldorf participants revealed how girls[20] can take advantage of younger boys by pretending to love them when they're after material goods like his parent's money or belongings. According to the participants these types of girls can cause a risk to the boys they get involved with as they might end up killing them after getting what they want in terms of material goods.

5.2.5 Reasons for boys involvement in gangs

Due to the semi-structured form of a focus-group interview with open-ended questions parts of the discussions varied in the different schools and within the different groups. In the Waldorf school we talked about reasons behind joining gangs, whereas in Public school 1 we discussed reasons for dropping out of school which were linked to the issue of group-pressure and gangs. Because two different topics were raised in the different schools, Table 5.6 and Table 5.7 deal with the schools separately. Table 5.6 presents some of the responses from the Waldorf school on why boys join gangs.

Table 5.6 Why do teenage boys fall into gangstarism?

Waldorf school

"(..) because they will respect them more [peers]."

"You have to say yes [to gangsters]. If you say no, they will stab you to death."

"They don't like to be poked, like someone to poke on them. And they can't do nothing with it".

"Some of them [teenagers] they don't really want to be gangsters you see. Let me make an example: My mother and father drinks alcohol, so they don't really care about me. So you do those things because they don't really care. Every day they come home drunk, or they buy alcohol and drink, you see (..) They end up drinking alcohol, like their mothers. They think that is right."

The Waldorf boys said that some boys would join gangs due to peer pressure, but also in order to gain respect among their peers. One of the participants told of his own experiences:

When I saw my friend, my friend is going to turn 16. You see, he`s a gangster too. And I said 'I wish I could be a gangster too', this kind of gangster vato, because (..) vato, they are,

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[20]The girls described in this section are girls associated with anti-social behavior, some of them are involved with gangs. The quote illustrates behavior these types of girls can have.

they live in my area. So you can`t be a vora, because if you`re a vora they will caught you anytime. And my friend he was stabbed here on his neck, to death, so then is when I started to say 'aa, I don`t want to be a gangster..'. Now I can see why. He`s my friend, and see, now he`s dead instead (Boy (P3) Grade 7, Waldorf school).

He revealed an understanding of how it is to wanting to become a gang-member as he shared similar desires him self until he experienced the loss of his friend. This made him realize the serious consequences gang involvement can have. Another story was shared in the journals where one of the Waldorf boys explained the difficult choice in leaving his previous friends:

My friends they had a group, they said to me I must join them but I said 'NO!' They said I'm a coward and I'm a chick. After they formed the group they left school, 3 left school. The other ones they are smoking daga[21], ganja, tik, glue, panads, ARV's and many more. My mom just shout and she said I must leave them but when I left it was hard to leave because they were good friends. I still remember last year, it was 2010, I went to G-section and I saw two boys and they came to me and I was walking with another girl. They came to us and they said 'who is this bitch' and we didn't answer them and they slap her and I fought them. After 5 minutes I saw my friends, I call them to help me, that is why I love them. If they want 20 cent I will give them R10 and share it with others (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

His story points to several of the issues discussed in the interviews such as peer pressure and the risk of being bullied if you say no to gangs; how some leave school when they join gangs; the support a gang can provide; and drug abuse among youth (teenagers). The participants associated gangsters and gang related activity to drugs and alcohol and talked about these issues in relation to each other. One of the Waldorf boys gave an example on how parents' drinking habit may influence children, and that they end up drinking like their parents. Reasons for joining gangs were also discussed in Public school 2 where the boys pointed out lack of adult guidance: "their parents don't guide them" (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2). They also said that past experience of abuse could provoke violent behaviour towards other children, seeking revenge:

yeah, they're always angry and they beat up other children at school, and they fall into gangstarism (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

In Public school 2, other reasons for joining gangs were related to group pressure, the feeling of not having a choice, and, as discussed above in section 5.4, how gangs or "being in a group" can provide a safety-net:

In gangsters, there is no in and out in gangsters. If you are in a group, then they will do nothing (Boy grade 7, Public school 2).

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[21] Different names on drugs circulating among youth in their community.

The responses indicate lack of alternatives and the risk they put themselves in if they should decide to leave the gang. The Waldorf boys shared similar view on how belonging to a group could increase their safety when going to certain sections and other neighbourhoods:

> We do nothing with the communities. When we are in our community it's [we're] like children. And like people, normal people. But when we are out of community, then we start to be in gangs. In a group.(..) Yah, outside the community. So maybe someone wants to go somewhere, so they will be more safe here [in a group].. Like you want to go to the mall, you can call your friends up and then go to the mall with them, and then nothing will happen (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The participant said that although his group of friends were not gangsters, the group itself provided protection.

5.2.6 School drop-outs

In Public school 1 we discussed pupils who had dropped out of school as the participants were familiar with this issue whereas in the Waldorf school only two of the participants recognized the issue of drop-outs as they had experienced it at the previous school they attended. Further than that the issue of drop-outs was not discussed in the Waldorf interviews. Table 5.7 shows some of the responses from Public school 1 and deals with why pupils drop out:

Table 5.7 Why do young boys drop out of school?

Public school 1

"Others who have dropped out because .. When they come to school there were fighting in the school (..) and outside school. And when they come to school they were followed up (..) by those gangsters, and then they decide to leave school..because they were enemies."

"yes, there are some children who have dropped at school because of financially and they end up to be gangsters."

"yes they drop out of the school because their enemies came to school to look [for] them in the school."

"[they drop out] because of gangsters and drugs, because they afraid to another gangster."

In the Public school 1, reasons for dropping out of school were related to gangsters. They told of pupils who dropped out because of gangs – forced or by free will – and that pupils who drop out of school often end up joining gangs as life outside school left them with few options. They told stories about gangsters following boys to school, forcing them to join the gangs. They also report that children have dropped out of school due to financial problems, and that they end up joining gangs instead. A story related to drop outs came up in the Waldorf school where one of the boys

told of an incident from his previous (public) school where one of the pupils were expelled when he threatened his teacher for giving him a bad grade:

> Like.. my friend said.. he got a fail [grade], so he gathered up his gang to go to the teacher. So they wanted to beat up his teacher. They didn't beat him up, they wanted to beat him. So the teacher called the police and then they said they're gonna be back. And then they expelled him. (..) That was another school (Boy (P1) Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The story in this case implies that the pupil himself and his involvement with a gang caused a threat to the teacher which consequently got him expelled. Two of the Waldorf boys shared their experiences from the public schools they previously attended where teenagers often dropped school to do other things like "gangstarism" and "use drugs". They revealed that gangsters would come to school and harass other pupils:

> Some [teenagers/gangsters] they just do their own things, and then they come back to school. (..) gangsta`s, smoking..drinking (..) like all those bad things at school.. Beating children (..) yeah, it`s bullying (Boy (P3) Grade 7, Waldorf school).

The boys pointed out how teenagers involved in gangs would drop out of school, but still come and "visit". Sometimes they would come to recruit new gang members, and other times they would come just to harass pupils.

5.2.7 Vision of school

Several questions related to school and education was discussed in all the focus group interviews. The main questions will be presented using different tables.

Positive outlooks

Table 5.8 show some of the responses on what the boys thought was positive about their school. Some of the participants in the Waldorf school had previously attended public schools, and they told of differences between the two schools.

Table 5.8 What do you like about school?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"we get information that we don't know."	"I like it because it's different from the others. (..) So we end up going to grade 12, grade 11, knowing things."
"[X] is one of the best schools when it comes to teaching and learning. (..) teachers are doing their job.(..) so when we are at school, they try their best to put pressure on us. So we are safe at school (..) and we wont have enough time to spend with them, the gangsters, cause we are at school."	"There are so many things that they are teaching us that other schools they don't know. Like fractions, other schools they don't know fractions."
"Yes because we must focus in school and education to improve the dreams that we dream and to impress our parents."	"The school is creative. "
"I like what we learn and the food we eat. (..) Because we are learning about what's going on in our country."	"I don't like it, I looove it!"
"..Because it's a feeding school!..fruit and vedges, we get it. Healthy food, to build muscles."	P1:"They [teachers] do not beat you. So that's cool."
"and we have computer-lab, and we enjoy it."	"We like groups. love it!"
"..and other classes have whiteboard.. smart-board."	
"If we do well in school we get a bursary."	

The participants recognized the importance of education and school. They showed appreciation of the knowledge they gain, and the future opportunities it will provide. In Public school 1 the boys enjoyed having access to resources such as "smart-board" and computer-lab, as well as getting food every day (see section 1.3.1 chapter 1 about the NSNP). The discussions in the Waldorf school were more related to what they learn in school, and how it differ from the knowledge pupils get in public schools. Their responses revolved around learning certain things like fractions, which according to them, other pupils their age had not learned. They told of things they learnt at Grade 6 and 7 which pupils at other schools would not learn before Grade 10 or 11.They also enjoyed that the school is creative, they loved group-work, and one of the boys expressed his joy of doing poems in school. The boys who previously attended public schools said they appreciated not being beaten at this school, in comparison with their previous teachers who according to them provoked fear and threats by beating the pupils and punish them. Among other things we discussed as positive in school, all participants revealed their favourite subjects which showed great variations among them and their interests. In both schools, the participants presented school as a safe place:

> We are safe at school.(..) and we won't have enough time to spend with them, the gangsters, cause we are at school (Boy Grade 7, Public school).

The responses suggest that school is seen as a safe place as well as an alternative to spend time on the streets with gangsters. The boys at the third school appreciated school as it gave them the opportunity to gain knowledge and how they could learn about things their parents could not teach them:

> .. and school.. [gives us] more things, that we never had from our homes (..) That schooling know more things that we never had from our parents. But our teachers taught us (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

All the participants had positive viewpoints to share in regards to their school experience, but they also identified aspects they thought of as negative.

Negative outlooks

Table 5.9 deals with things pupils recognized as negative aspects of school.

Table 5.9 What do you dislike about school?

Public school 1

"They beat us. If you make a noise, the leaders will write your name down, and when the teacher comes back, will beat you. (..) and other teachers, if you don't know the answers they will beat you."

"(..) and last year, here in school, there was a school evaluation.. what is happened here in school. and they said there will be a change..but they still beat us."

"And some of us will bring cellphones to the school, but they took them.(..) But the principal will not take the [school staff]'s phones, it is unfair. (..) And end of the year we bring money to the school, a hundred rands, and we get our cellphones back, if we bring a hundred rand."

"There is no encouragement for people who are going in the scholar patrol, like certificate."

"(..) and we don't have a playground. As boys we want to play soccer, and we don't have a playground."

Waldorf school

"Yoh! It's hard..Like, when you are waking up in the morning, six o'clock, in the middle of your dream.."

"Sometimes our friends learning in government school will tease our school, they say it's a crash school, because we don't have uniforms."

In the discussion on what they thought was negative about school, the responses were similar in Public school 1 and Public school 2. Most of their critiques were related to punishment, and ways of being punished[22]:

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[22] Beating as punishment was also prevalent in a majority of the questionnaires from Public school 1 and Public school 2. Some of the responses from the questionnaires revealed that whenever they had visitors, the teachers would "hide the pipe".

> If we come late the teachers are beating us with chops and.. Here at school (..) they will teach you a lesson (Boy Grade 7, Public school 2).

The participants with experience from both public school and the Waldorf school pointed out being beaten as one of the things distinguishing between the schools:

> In there [previous school] were threat.. teachers (..) they can threaten you.. they will beat you, with a pipe. And then tell you that after school you gotta sit for two hours for detention and write the same thing over and over and over again (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

Participants in Public school 1 talked about a school evaluation that had been conducted at the school last year and expressed their disappointment that nothing yet had improved. What kind of improvements they were waiting for were not further discussed, but they said that "we told them everything", but pointed out that they were "still beaten". The Waldorf boys did not have many complaints regarding their school, but they did not like that others would make fun of the school because it's different. They told stories of how pupils from other schools would bully them and criticize their school because they don't wear uniforms.

Freedom of expression

The responses displayed in Table 5.10 deals with another aspect of how the participants experience school and are related to whether or not they feel confident and free to raise questions and concerns they might have.

Table 5.10 Do you feel free to express yourself in the classroom?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"Naa.. we are taken for granted whenever we try to raise any concerns.. we are taken for granted. we must keep quiet"	"yeah, I feel confident"
"Sometimes we are afraid, because others, once you give the wrong answer they will laugh at you. Especially when you are not smart enough, they know already that you are not going to give the right answer, the correct answer. That makes us afraid to speak openly at times."	"..sometimes..if you are swearing.. yah. Then they will stop you."
"yah, you pull up your hand, and you can talk"	"sometimes they laugh [classmates], sometimes. But it's not that bad."
	"..and it's only the class that is laughing, it's not the whole school. If it was the whole school you will feel ashamed".

The responses varied among the participants in the different schools on the question on freedom of expression in class. The question may have come to be misinterpreted by some of the participants, and I note this as one of the limitations regarding this topic. The participant who said that " you

just pull up your hand and you can talk" might suggest his level of confidence, while amongst others it was not as easy because they feared being laughed at and others judging them for not being smart enough. In both schools where the participants expressed fear of being laughed at, this concerned being laughed at by their classmates, none of the boys said that teachers would laugh at them. Misinterpretation may also have occurred as some of the boys in Public school 1 said they were not afraid to give the wrong answer, but said earlier in the interview that giving the wrong answer was a reason to get beaten. Some of the boys in Public school 1 expressed concerns regarding speaking freely in class, saying that whenever they tried to raise any concerns they were taken for granted and told to keep quiet. The boys in the Waldorf school responded to the question a bit different and said that the only time they would stop them from speaking freely in class was if they were swearing.

Role of education

Education seemed to play an important role in the lives of all participants. Table 5.11 shows some of the responses on how the boys viewed the role of education. Similar responses were given by all the boys but only a few of them are presented in the table.

Table 5.11 Is education important to you?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"Yees, veeery important."	"my mother says it's the key to life."
"Is the basic need."	"..cause you can go far places with education."
"Because, if you don't have the matric certificate, you are not qualified to having a job. You'll go to the kitchens.. and the contract sites, and you'll work hard. (..) yeah, like a slave."	"you see, if someone doesn't have like grade 10, you won't go to.. When you are unemployed, you want to be employed, they won't take you because they want people that has grade 10."
	"every time I write a test, my mother always told me that I must just think of one of my cousins, like the smallest one. Think of them, driving a car, a fancy car.. And I'm sitting there doing nothing at all. So I get like.. I want to do more when I write a test, I want to be better than someone. So I get like sometimes high marks."

The boys pointed out the importance of education as it was seen as the only way to get a job and have a future. Their responses indicated that they were familiar with the issue of unemployment, and the value of education in avoiding this issue.

5.2.8 Vision of future

Table 5.12 deals with the boys' aspirations for the future. Like the responses in Table 5.11, the responses suggest agreement about the role of education for future opportunities. When asked about what they wanted to be when they grow up and why, the responses showed some variations in choice of profession, but similarities regarding what they could do for their communities.

Table 5.12 What do you want to be when you grow up?

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"I want to be an engineer."	"I want to be a police, to help stop crime in my community."
"..business man"	"I do have a dream.(..) to owe South Africa.. you see, now these days they don't know how to handle the robbers, I do. I do know how to handle the robbers. When maybe if I'm president, you gotta see. I'm gonna take care of every robber that has been caught, and put them in war.. So they know how it feels to be.. like to fight, they must fight for the country rather than steal from the country. That's what I'm gonna do."
"..a soldier."	
"I want to be a laywer. because I want to help the people in trouble (..) want to help the people whon can't speak for themselves."	"I want to be a rapper and owe my own company, A business man.."
"I want to be a pilot, because that job is risky, I will get paid alot of money..and help my family.. if he want something in my community, yeah, and sponsor them. and my friends [help]."	"I want to be a business man, I want to be like my father/ I like maths and I can count money. I want to be rich and raise my family with my money."
"I didn't think about it, I will decide when I'm in Grade 9.. Engineer maybe."	"a laywer (..) to help people. To bring justice."/ so that I can help and stop crime in my community."
	" I want to be a soldier..because I like..[his peer interrupts] "..[because] he's brave."
"I want to be a traffic officer. because long time when I stay in the informal settlements, I saw many cars are getting to the houses, and they don't do anything. So I want to do it. and..it's what I like. Because here in school I'm in the scholar patrol."	"When I finish school I want to be a doctor and help my/our community and people."

The participants showed no lack of ambition when discussing their future roles. Some responses on future roles were related to their interests and what they like to do. Several participants pointed out difficulties and limitations in their communities and expressed how they can contribute in order to improve it. Among the areas they recognized as in need of their help were crime prevention, healthcare, social work and justice. Several of the participants also wanted to get a job where they could earn money to help their families, friends and their community in general, whereas other participants acknowledge that they wanted to work in areas where they had skills and interests.

Guidance in life

When talking about choices and ambitions for the future, I asked the boys who they thought of as important people in their lives and who they could go to if they needed help and guidance with personal choices and issues. The topic was also touched upon in the journals by the participants. Table 5.13 present some of the responses.

Table 5.13. Who do you consider as important people in your life? (Guidance in life)

Public school 1	Waldorf school
"My mother, because I like her style, how she encourage her child, and take them to the church."	"My parents."
"It's my grandmother , because she raised me . When I was young when my mother died, she promised her that she will [look] after me and my brother, and she look after us"[respons from journal and interview]	"My teacher.(..) what I like about her..because [she] is giving us education and she is nice..[she] will give advice."
"My father. Because he always told me not to do wrong things, like smoking, drinking alcohol.."	"I go to my neighbor. He listens, when he's not busy."
"My mother. Because we attend the church (..) attend the teenagers project."	"I will trust my father. he understands me. I tell him something, he can fix it without shouting or fighting. He loves me and I love him too."[respons from journal]
"My big brother (..) because he taught me to respect others."	"The important people in my life is my family, they are there for me no matter what happen in my life."
	"My parents, they take care of me everyday. And my tecaher."
	"My mom plays a big role in my life cause she is a single mom and she manage to raise me, she's very important in my life"[respons from journal].

When we talked about who the participants would go to if they needed help with personal problems, two of the Waldorf participants said during the interview that they would not tell anyone and that they would forget about their problem, but in the journals they acknowledged family members and their teacher as people they would consult. In the journals from the Waldorf boys, they elaborated further on who they considered as important people in life, also referring to teacher and family members. In all three schools, the people recognized as important and who could give them guidance in life were family members, friends, and teachers. Reasons for why they were important related to how they could give them guidance in decision making and teaching them about what is right and wrong in life. They attributed in them values such as trust and love, and were described as people providing them "the gift of life", education, and guidance. One of the Waldorf boys wrote about his mother and teacher in his journal:

> The very important people in my life are my mother and my teacher. My mother because she is the one who gave birth to me and showed me everything in life. She's a single parent and she is not working, sometimes things are difficult because of her unemployment, [but] she never think to abandon me or gave me up for an adoption, she raised me to be the person I am today. My teacher is the one who taught me everything since Grade 1 to the grade I am today. She's very important to me, she disciplines me at school, she's the one I spent most of my time at school with, she knows me better than my mother. I am so proud to have a teacher like her. She's a wonderful person (Boy Grade 7, Waldorf school).

All the boys revealed having at least one family member as care givers. One of the boys from the public school said he lost his mother at a young age, but that his grandmother raised him and his brother. One of the Waldorf boys pointed out his father as an important figure in his life after he stopped drinking alcohol.

This chapter has presented some of the responses on the various topics that were raised in the different schools. In the next chapter I will summarize the main findings and responses, analyse them and discuss them in relation to literature.

6 Data Analysis

This chapter will discuss and analyze the data presented in chapter 5. The discussion revolves around the main themes deriving from the data presentation, and will be discussed in relation to literature and research questions. In section 6.4 I will present my analytical framework. The framework will be presented towards the end of the chapter as it will summarize some of the main areas and findings discussed in this thesis.

Literature presented in this thesis has argued how the setting in which young South Africans grow up can affect their individual development. Burton (2008) argues that "it is perhaps not surprising that youth resort to violence given the lessons they learn within their own neighborhoods, communities and country where violence has become a norm" (Burton 2008, cited in Gevers & Flisher 2012:176). What role does school play in a community where violence has become a norm? What lessons are they taking from their neighborhoods, and how can school facilitate their learning and individual development to reach their full potential? Some of the focal areas that have been kept in mind during the analysis and discussion of the findings is problem solving, and how individuals are equipped to deal with the challenges they face in their environment. Literature presented in this thesis (section 3.3, chapter 3) has touched upon concepts such as belonging, respect, and development of the individual's full potential and abilities when discussing quality education. These concepts will be pointed at when discussing factors that can influence youth and the role of education.

6.1 Experiences of Youth

The majority of South Africa's youth live in marginalized black communities where they face increased exposure to violence due to poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and weak social cohesion (Panday et al. 2012). As pointed out in section 1.2, chapter 1, in order to understand what adolescence is, we need to understand what is meaningful for them (Pinnock 1997). The data presented in section 5.2.1, chapter 5 showed responses on how the boys experienced being a teenager in their communities. The data revealed different aspects of the boys' lives as they discussed changes, difficulties, vision of school and future, and people they considered as important in their lives.

6.1.1 Transition stage

Flanagan and Syversten (2005) argue that "the onset of puberty is a distinct biological marker associated with the end of childhood and the beginning of adolescence, but of itself is not enough to confer adult status" (Flanagan & Syversten 2005, cited in Panday et al. 2012:96). The findings in section 5.2.1 pointed out the transition stage between childhood and adulthood as the participants recognized changes (new feelings and new way of thinking), new areas of interests (such as knowledge, girls, drugs), and responsibility. The boys discussed how their role had changed from childhood and how they now, in the new stage, would be involved with things like fighting. Both positive and negative aspects about being a teenager came up in the interviews. Some of the responses suggested a positive self-image with regard to knowledge and becoming an adult; becoming someone who people will listen to and take advice from. Although their role had changed from childhood, some of the data revealed how they have not yet reached an adult status, especially when it comes to decision making. The data suggests how various factors related to decision making in the teenage years becomes crucial when dealing with challenges. Some of the boys from the Waldorf school indicated that teenagers are not yet mature enough to decide on their own when it comes to certain choices, which related to some of the replies in Public school 1 where participants revealed difficulties in decision making especially when it comes to gangs, smoking, drugs and alcohol. Pinnock (1997) discusses the transition stage between childhood and adulthood as "something confusing". Jansen (2011) (see section 2.1.1, chapter 2) argues that important decisions are made at this stage, and my findings suggest how certain choices, like joining a gang, can have severe consequences.

6.1.2 Challenges: The issue of gangs

Though the participants expressed various forms of crime and violence in their surroundings, the major challenges recognized among all the boys were the issue of gangsters, strongly combined with fear, threat, group pressure and drugs. Curry and Decker (1998) define a gang as "a social group using symbols, engaging in verbal and non-verbal communication to declare their 'gangness', a sense of performance, gang identified territory or turf, and, lastly, crime" (Curry & Decker 1998, cited in Cooper & Ward 2012:242). My findings suggest how young people already in the age of 12 can engage in anti-social behavior, often forced by peers. Literature presented in chapter 2 (section on gangs) pointed out how gangs linked to organized crime in South Africa recruits new members as young as age 12 (Cooper & Ward 2012).

The participants in my study revealed difficulties of saying no to gangs, and illustrated the consequences of being an "outsider" as well as an "insider". Either option would put them in risk

of being bullied, beaten, or killed as well as the increased likelihood for doing drugs. Peer pressure was given as a reason why young boys join gangs. Other reasons related to the safety a gang can provide; lack of guidance and parenthood; experience of abuse in the past; parents' alcohol consumption influencing their children; and the longing for respect. Pinnock (1997) argues that young people create their own rituals in their transition to adulthood. He also maintains that gangs are related to warrior energy, search for respect and rites of misconduct, and that "in the absence of learned moral codes and social restraints we are a creature which kills" (Pinnock 1997:30). Stories from both the Waldorf school and Public school 1 revealed how young gangsters consulted witchdoctors in order to receive the "amakhubalos", described as a ritual where evil spirits gives them power to fight and provoke fear. Do young boys seek evil powers to release their warrior-energy? Can the amakhubalos symbolize a ritual created by young boys themselves in their search for respect and peer admiration, and in their transition to becoming a man? Pinnock's discussion of gang-rituals relates to young boys' need to test their courage, to become heroes, and to be accepted (Pinnock 1997). His study also shows how gangs distinguish themselves from "others", using symbols to identify their gang. Stories related to gang identification came up in the interviews with the Waldorf boys as they revealed different gangs having their own names, territories, symbols and signs. Pinnock argues how gang identification symbolizes "stories of belonging" and acceptance:

> Acceptance of gang boundaries is another prerequisite for acceptance into a gang. This often necessitates gang fights to defend or appropriate territory. (..) Territory defines clearly to the community who belongs to the group and who 'owns' a particular neighbourhood or street corner. So the performance on the street corner seems to be both a performance of ownership and one of belonging (Pinnock 1997:38).

Whereas Pinnock argues rituals, the need of belonging and acceptance as reasons why young boys join gangs, Ward and Bakhuis' study (2010) pointed out access to material goods as the main reasons for joining gangs. My study portrays the viewpoints from boys where most of them were not involved in gangs themselves, and additional data collected from gang members could have provided more accurate data regarding this topic. In my study, however, the participants suggested several reasons for why boys will join gangs and although some of the findings suggest financial issues as one of them, it did not stand out as the main reason. Regarding involvement in gangs, my study suggests explanations mostly related to group pressure but also how gangs can provide a "safety-net". My findings suggest how belonging to a gang can provide protection, but also how it can get them killed. Standing (2005) argues that "(..) gang membership has some very specific risks – for instance, while in some cases it is easy to leave the gang, in other cases, young people may risk death at the hands of their own gang if they leave" (Standing 2005, cited in Cooper &

Ward 2012:247). The latter assumption is supported by my findings as the boys reported that once you're involved in gangs, you can't get out.

Bly (1990) argues that "adolescence is a time of risk for boys, and that risk-taking is also a yearning for initiation. Something in the adolescent male wants risk, courts danger, goes out to the edge – even to the edge of death" (Bly 1990, cited in Pinnock 1997:8). Are male youth more likely to engage in gangs and risky activities than females? Glanz et al. (1992) say that "as the level of violence increases, the involvement of females decreases" (Glanz et al. 1992, cited in Foster 2012:35). Foster (2012) argues that the concept of masculinity is strongly connected in violent acts. Although some of the Waldorf participants revealed that also girls could be involved in gangs – as "babes" or gang members – the participants from the public schools attributed gang involvement and fighting to boys. The responses indicate that even in gangster societal relations, gender roles are prevalent. Some of the boys regarded teenage pregnancy as the main challenge girls are facing but in contrast to the boys this was something that could be avoided as long as they "took care of themselves". The boys expressed difficulties of controlling their involvement and resistance to gangs as they risked getting killed. The findings indicate that both involvement and non-involvement in gangs is risky. In order to resist gangs, what options are available? My findings indicate limited alternatives to keep safe.

6.1.3 Alternative activities to gangs

Examining youth's involvement in gangs and risky activities, Ward and Bakhuis' study (2010) point out limited or lack of recreational opportunities like sports and that where these opportunities were present, it too was presented as risky. Their findings report the stark choice of "either to lock themselves into their homes after school or knowingly to put themselves in danger" (Ward & Bakhuis 2010:55) which is comparable to my data as the participants revealed attending school and staying home as the only way to keep their distance to gangs and be safe. Though the findings point to the risk of saying no to gangs, they also indicate that staying at "safe places" such as school and home might help them. Similar responses were given at both the public schools and the Waldorf school, but one of the boys from Public school 2 reported that although staying at home would keep him away from the gangs, he choose not to do that. The respondent revealed his involvement with gangs and the risk of getting killed if he resigned from the gang. Some of the boys at Public school 1 noted involvement in positive social activities like church, dance, choir and sports. Due to the scale of this study, my data is not sufficient enough to point out whether or not the boys' engagement with these activities could explain their non-engagement in gangs and

crime-related behavior, they can however be seen as a positive reinforcement in that the boys had options outside school hours.

My findings support the importance of early intervention in dealing with gang-involvement, and that preventing teenagers in joining gangs in the first place might be "easier", as the boys reported that once you are involved, you can't get out. It might be easier to prevent children from joining gangs than to rescue them once they have joined (Cooper & Ward 2012).

Although gangs and gangsters stood out as one of the main challenges youth are facing, other forms of violent conduct came up in the interviews.

6.2 Culture of Violence: Community

The participants stories (Table 5.2) illustrated different factors related to crime and violence and how they influence their lives by creating fear as well as threatening them into joining gangs. As discussed earlier in this thesis, contextual dimensions needs to be under consideration in analyzing possible risk factors when it comes to youth challenges. Literature has argued that violence has become institutionalized in the South African society (Mandela 2002; Pelser 2008; Jansen 2011; Ward et al. 2012).

van der Merwe et al. refer to several authors when they point out multiple levels for antisocial, violent behavior, and the relationships between them, arguing that:

> Most explanations for the development of these [antisocial, violent] behaviour emphasize that risk factors operate and interact on a number of levels, typically at individual, familial and community levels, with contributions from peers, schools and other 'everyday' settings in which children and young people interact regularly and frequently (van der Merwe et al. 2012:53).

van der Merwe et al. argue that the South African context consists of various contextual drivers to antisocial and violent behavior among youth, pointing out consequences of the long-term and deep poverty in their upbringing as one of the major drivers (van der Merwe et al. 2012). They maintain that poverty and inequality play a role in rates of violence (van der Merwe et al. 2012). The teenagers participating in this study revealed how poverty could make people conduct violent acts like rape and killing of small children. Stories about exchanging children's "private parts" for monetary wealth from the witch doctors, as well as stories about the "amakhubalos" suggest an existence of an embedded superstitious belief, resulting in violence that may occur in this context. An analysis of these phenomena opens a wider discussion on social, cultural beliefs as well as the extreme consequences of poverty and a culture of violence in general in the society. Although this

study does not explore all of these aspects in detail, it is important to point them out as they emphasize the various forms of violence represented in youth's everyday lives and how they contribute to a culture of violence in these communities. The findings point out other factors influencing youth into anti-social behavior and violence such as parents' neglect and alcohol abuse. Group pressure was also recognized as a strong factor influencing them in their community.

With the exception of some responses from the public schools reporting bullying at school and how gangs could show up at school "recruiting" new gang members, school was considered as a safe place among the participants. Literature presented in chapter 3 points out how school should provide pupils a safe and supportive learning environment (UNESCO 2004; Presidency 2008) but that this is not always the case (Pelser 2008).

6.2.1 Violence in school

In chapter 3 I looked at literature exposing school as a key site for violence and crime, where Pelser (2008) argued how school portrays an extension of crime and violence saturating the environments. The studies Pelser (2008) refers to showed that many of the crimes were committed in areas that normally would be considered as safe places, namely schools and homes. Gevers and Flisher (2012) point out that:

> school-related violence is often perpetrated by fellow learners or school staff, and at times perpetrators from the community or other schools enter the school specifically to commit violent acts. This violence takes many forms, including corporal punishment, bullying, gang-related behavior, sexual abuse, physical assault, verbal abuse, theft, robbery and threats (Gevers & Flisher 2012:177).

Based on the data collected from the teacher interviews, the findings can indicate that crime related issues were less apparent in the Waldorf school compared to the public school. The Waldorf school teachers reported never having had problems with gangs nor drugs at school since they established the school in 1999. The teachers in Public school 1 said they had less crime incidents compared to other schools, and that they managed to deal with these kinds of issues at school though they had experienced incidents of gangsters. These tendencies relate to these two schools specifically and are not necessarily representative for other schools. This study acknowledges that there might be other factors influencing the participants' various exposure to crime and violence in school, for instance the vast difference in student population. While the Waldorf school had 300 students in total, the public schools had 1200 which can therefore allow for greater risk and exposure to violence.

My findings point to the school rather as a "safe" environment both in the public school and the Waldorf school, but the route to school and the areas around school were reported as unsafe. Some incidents of gangsters and robbery at school were reported at the public schools, but none at the Waldorf school. The teachers at both schools reported a larger scale of violence at other schools in the area, pointing out their own school as more safe.

Though most of the boys perceived school as a safe place, another aspect of violence can be discussed when it comes to punishment in school. The responses presented in Table 5.9 suggest differences in the two types of schools when it comes to ways of discipline the pupils. Although corporal punishment is prohibited in South Africa (South African Schools Act NO.84 of 1996), the findings suggest that this form of punishment is still practiced in public schools. Respondents from both public schools reported being beaten by the teachers which stood out as one of the major things they disliked about their school. Corporal punishment in school can be seen as one factor contributing to the normalization of violence discussed in the chapter 1 and 3. Burton argues that there is a strong relationship between levels of corporal punishment in school and levels of pupil violence in the same school (Burton 2008, cited in Gevers & Flisher 2012:181). Do teachers who use corporal punishment in school underestimate the effect this can have on the pupils? van der Merwe et al. (2012) refers to international studies pointing out physical punishment and abuse as a key factor in developing anti-social and violent behavior (van der Merwe et al. 2012). School as an institution is pointed out as an arena where holistic development of children should take place and a site where they should feel accepted and belonging to. The important role of teachers is pointed out both by the DoE:

> Teachers play a significant role in the upliftment and transformation of our society. They bear the weight and responsibility of teaching, and, apart from parents, are the main source of knowledge and values for children (DoE 2012: section on educators).

As seen in chapter 1, educators as role-models and transmitters of democratic values among learners have been pointed out by the DoE (2001) (Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy). The South African Constitution points out freedom and security of the person and that "everyone has the right to (..) be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources" (Section 12 of the Bill of Rights, 1996). The Constitution also states that "a child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child" (Section 28 of the Bill of Rights, 1996). Pupils' cognitive development, decision making on what is right and wrong, and critical creative thinking can be challenged in schools where threat of being beaten and punished is a reality. Does corporal punishment and violence in school challenge development of democratic values and human dignity among pupils? DoE (2001) points out that school should be a safe arena

to learn and teach in. Among fundamental values and their relevance in education, the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy point out respect as the essential quality (DoE 2001). Waldorf Education points out respect, acceptance and love as central values and core focus in their teaching. Their humanistic approach allows openness among teacher and pupils and freedom of expression. The Waldorf teachers pointed out that their pupils must not be afraid to ask questions and express themselves, and that they encouraged pupils to seek knowledge. These teachers also emphasized how their approach to teaching could be a way of responding to the challenges youth are facing.

6.3   Dealing with Youth challenges

The NYP states that "disadvantaged youth must be empowered to overcome conditions which disadvantaged them", and that youth who have fallen out of the economic, social and educational mainstream must be reintegrated through second-hand measures and supportive actions" (Presidency 2008:7). The pupils who participated in this study were all attending school, but they acknowledged factors that could define them as disadvantaged in terms of opportunities to live a free life. My findings point out crime, violence, and poverty as some of the external factors that can challenge youths' well-being. The boys are put at risk every day by external factors in their community, depriving them of the freedom to move around.

The literature has pointed out positive family relations and support as a factor contributing to positive development of youth and preventing youth from engaging in antisocial conducts (i.e. van der Merwe et al. 2012). Several participants from both schools acknowledged positive relationships with parents and pointed to them as people they would consult if they needed help. At the Waldorf school, teachers were pointed out as people they valued in life and whom they could consult in difficult situations.

While the NYP discusses how the different sectors and key role players must cooperate in order to respond to and address the needs of youth and promote youth development; this study focus specifically on the school as one of the key role players in addressing the needs of youth.

6.3.1 The Role of School

As seen in section 3.6 in chapter 3, Gardner (2004) emphasizes the interaction between the individual and his/her immediate environment when he discusses his idea of distribution. His definition of intelligence entails the ability to solve problems, and he argues that "intelligences are always expressed in the context of specific tasks, domains, and disciplines" (Gardner 2004:xxx).

The NYP has pointed out the importance of making opportunities available for young people to enable them to deal with challenges such as poverty, inequality and unemployment (Presidency 2008). My study emphasizes the importance to also enable youth to deal with challenges such as gangs and violence in their communities, pointing to school as a key role player in providing these opportunities. Gevers and Flisher (2012) point to school as a prime site when it comes to intervening in young people's lives. School represents an arena which should provide opportunities for each individual to develop the abilities they value in order to live the life they want. Gevers and Flisher (2012) argue that school is "a powerful socializing agent [which] shape youths' lives and prepare them for adulthood through affecting their cognitive, social, emotional and cultural development" (p.185). They argue that for this reason, "violence prevention in this setting [schools] can have an impact even beyond the school itself" (Gevers & Flisher 2012:185). The findings presented in table 5.2, chapter 5 suggest some of the ways in which school can help youth respond to the challenges they face in their community. Cooperation with other sectors and people in community was pointed out as one of the strategies to solve issues related to gangsters and crime at Public school 1. Literature emphasizes multilevel interventions (Ward et al. 2012) and a positive collaboration between school and other stakeholders in creating a healthy and safe school environment to address youths' needs (Gevers & Flisher 2012).

The findings discussed in section 6.1.3 point out how schoolwork can prevent youth from engaging in gangs and anti-social behavior by keeping them occupied with other activities. These data agree with findings conducted by Ward and Bakhuis (2010) who found that out-of-school time increases the risk for joining gangs. Ward (2006, cited in van der Merwe 2012:74) point out lack of after-school activities as a risk factor for youth joining gangs. Participants in Public school 1 told of incidents where children who drop out of school ended up joining gangs. Whether or not this was seen as the only activity to engage in outside school was not clear. Data collected from the Waldorf school suggest that the boys preferred doing homework over being with "friends"[23]. The data indicate how school "keeps them busy", providing them with an option to spend time off the streets where exposure to gangs and crime are higher.

My study wanted to examine the schools' vision of education and how school could (or could not) respond to the challenges experienced by youth. The two approaches to teaching indicate differences in ideology among teachers and how they relate to the challenges youth are facing. The teacher responses revealed some of the values in teaching, as well as strategies to solve problems when facing issues related to youth crime and gangs. The public school teachers had an

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[23] The Waldorf boys who previously went to government school revealed formerly engagement with gangs, and the "friends" they referred to were mostly gang members.

"external" view on the issues, discussing the role of partners in the community when dealing with problems and challenges at school. The public school teachers foremost talked about school as an institution and how they would cooperate with people in the community in order to solve problems. They emphasized the role of other people (i.e. parents) and sectors (police) and that inviting people from the community to come and talk at school would help. They also thought inviting professional soccer players could help to motivate the pupils and involve them in positive recreation such as sports. Social and recreational activities are pointed out as factors that can promote positive youth development and preventing them from gangs and crime related activity (Ward & Bakhuis 2010). In comparison to teachers in Public school 1, the Waldorf school teachers expressed more of an internal approach when discussing the role of school by focusing on the way of teaching and the values that are shared in their approach to teaching. The Waldorf teachers emphasized the values and their specific approach to teaching itself as a way of helping teenagers. They pointed to independent, creative thinking, search for knowledge, and teaching with love and respect as crucial focal points in a child's development. The Waldorf teachers expressed a firm belief that their approach to teaching would benefit the pupils by giving them the freedom to express themselves in various ways and help them to become aware of the tools they possess. In doing this, they believed in developing critical, independent individuals capable of problem solving and better equipped to meet challenges in life. Similar viewpoints is shared by former president of the World Bank, McNamarara (1980) who argues that "development is (..) something much more basic: it is essentially human development, that is the individual's realization of his or her inherent potential" (McNamara 1980, cited in Gardner 2004:369).

The teachers at Public school 1 did not reflect upon their vision of teaching specifically, neither did they elaborate on their way of teaching. In comparison, the Waldorf school teachers expressed how they value and encourage the different abilities of their pupils by creating a school environment where there is "no wrong answers" and where pupils should feel free to express themselves according to who they are. The Waldorf approach to teaching is consistent with the fundamental principles in Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences. Humanistic values such as respecting nature, respecting each other despite differences and accepting the children as they are were emphasized by the teachers in the Waldorf school. The Revised National Curriculum Statement's (RNCS) vision of what kind of learners education should create is highly concentrated around creative, critical thinking and ability to solve problems (DoE 2002). These values were strongly represented in the Waldorf school. One of the Waldorf school teachers reported lack of critical thinking and problem-solving among public school pupils and that they "are told what to think". He considered this as a problem when it comes to dealing with youth challenges.

Emphasizing creative teaching methods and learning pupils various ways of relating to things, the Waldorf school teacher thought this could provide a "release valve". When he grew up, music was there for him as a release valve, giving him outlet for his energy which helped him cope with difficulties he faced. Section 6.1.2 pointed out how gangs are related to warrior energy (Pinnock 1997) and asked whether or not the amakhubalos could symbolize some kind of ritual where young boys can get outlet for their energy. As this opens up for a broader field of discussion the question will in this thesis remain unanswered for now. However, if school and teaching can provide a release valve – as suggested by the Waldorf teacher – and thereby helping youth to deal with challenges, maybe this can prevent them from seeking it elsewhere i.e. gangs. Alternative ways of releasing their "energy" may allow pupils to express themselves, develop their full potential, and stimulate their different intelligences and abilities.

This thesis has presented literature discussing youth's need for belonging, acceptance, respect and self esteem, which has been recognized as important aspects in quality education and for positive youth development. In section 6.4, I will present my analytical framework as to summarize the main areas of investigation combined with some of the main themes deriving from literature and findings, but first I will revisit my research questions and look at whether or not my study has been able to answer them.

Main research question: *How can school respond to teenagers´ needs in a crime-affected context? (alternative teaching compared to traditional teaching).*

Key research questions:

1. *What challenges are teenage boys facing in urban townships in Cape Town and how do they affect their lives?*

2. *What role does education play in the lives of teenage boys in these communities?*

The data presented in table 5.4, chapter 5, answers my key research question 1. The findings point out some of the main challenges teenage boys face in their community where the issue of gangs was the most prevalent. Key research question 2 received responses in regards to the value of education as the findings pointed out education as a tool to strengthening the boys' future opportunities (table 5.11). As discussed above (section 6.1.3 and section 6.3.1), school also played a role in preventing boys from gang activity as schoolwork kept them occupied and kept them off the streets. These findings contribute in answering the main research question. As discussed above, the two schools differed in their view on how to respond to teenage challenges. The comparison will be highlighted in figure 6.

6.4 Analytical Framework

Figure 3 represents my analytical framework and is developed in order to gain an overview of the main areas that has been examined in this study. Gardner's idea of contextualization and distribution has been adopted in the framework as it deals with contextual dimensions emphasized in this study.

Figure 6. Analytical framework modified from Research Framework (Figure 2.2, chapter 2).
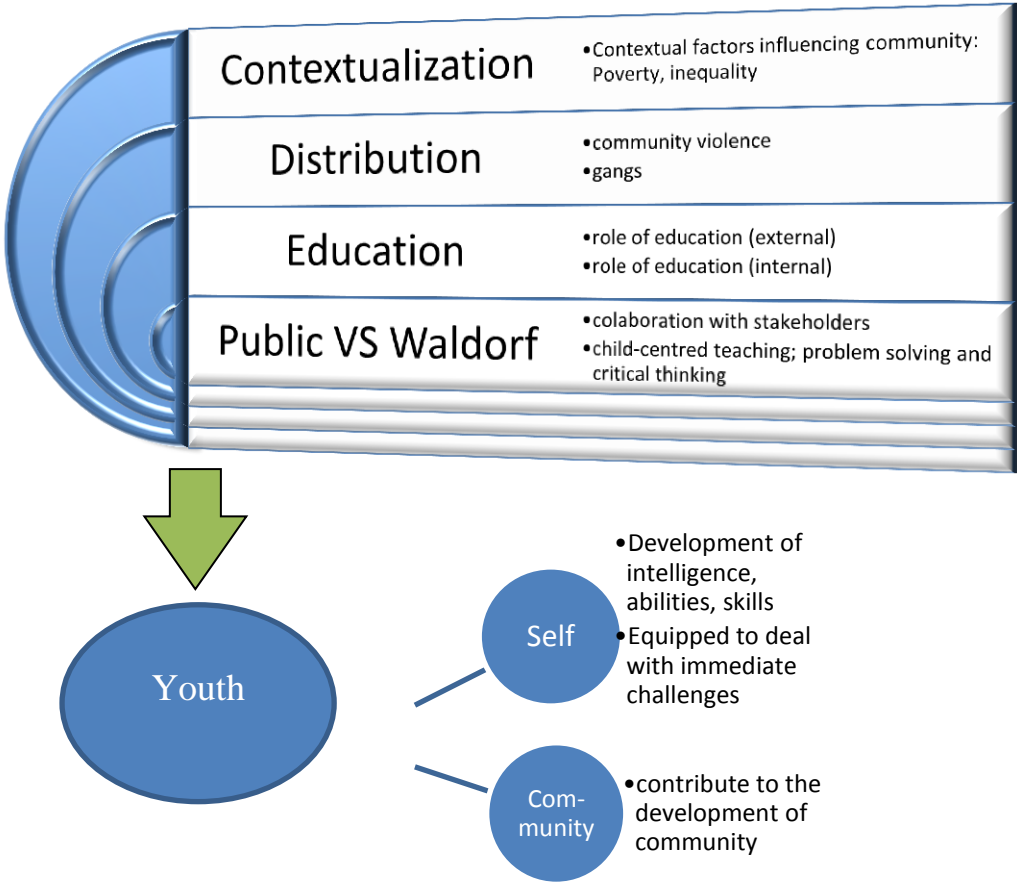

Figure 6 presents a modified framework based on my research framework presented in Figure 2.2, chapter 2. With the circles presenting the contextual and educational dimensions, Figure 6 aims to point out some of the main areas that have been discussed in this thesis and view them in relation to the findings. The outer circle in Figure 6 presents the contextual factors evident in an underprivileged, post-apartheid township community in South Africa. The main factors influencing this setting have been pointed out by the findings as well as literature presented in this thesis and revolves around poverty and inequality. Literature has pointed out how poverty and inequality can have an effect on youth's immediate environment as it can influence community violence and the existence of gangs (i.e. van der Merwe et al. 2012). Gardner argues that a person's intelligence must be viewed in relation to the environment and how the two affect each

other. A distributed view deals with how a person relates to the objects that exist around him/her. Adapting Gardner's idea of distribution to my study, it can be viewed in relation to how youth are equipped to relate to their context and deal with the challenges (community violence and gangs) they face in their immediate environment.

As this study focuses on the role of education when helping youth deal with their challenges, education is presented in the third circle. Literature presented in this thesis has discussed and emphasized the need for quality education when developing critical, democratic citizens to benefit the individual (internal) as well as society (external). My study has focused on the role of education in responding to immediate challenges facing youth, as dealing with them may come to be crucial for keeping them on the "right path".

The inner circle in figure 6 deals with the comparative aspect in this study. As the findings show, the two schools differed in their view on how to deal with youth challenges. The Waldorf school teachers emphasized their approach to teaching itself as beneficial when dealing with youth challenges and are presented as an internal approach in the framework. The teachers at Public school 1 focused on how the school could cooperate with other stakeholders in community, presented as an external approach.

The second part in figure 6 illustrates how the contextual and educational dimensions can have an effect on youth. The figure suggests how positive youth development can benefit youth themselves as well as their community. The findings presented in section 5.2.8, chapter 5, revealed high aspirations among the boys, and suggested how they could contribute to the development of their community.

6.5 Conclusion

Decision making and problem-solving can be viewed as crucial factors when it comes to being a teenager in township communities in South Africa. This study points out aspects of the violent nature in two urban South African townships, and how it can come to challenge youth's lives on a daily basis. Literature has pointed out the important role of school when it comes to developing independent, creative, democratic citizens, and giving everyone the opportunity to develop their full potential (i.e. UNESCO 2004; Presidency 2008). Provision of quality schooling where meaningful learning outcomes can be fostered, represents an essential point in reaching the full potential of each individual so that they can benefit themselves as well as society. School can create not only freedom of future opportunities and work, but can also be a place where pupils can explore what freedoms they possess within themselves; freedom to create, freedom to think,

freedom to express themselves and freedom to seek and gain more knowledge. Waldorf educators stood out as important actors in transmitting these values to their pupils both on a policy level and in practice. This study's findings indicate that despite poor resources and a criminal environment where pupils are robbed and beaten up on their way to and from school, the Waldorf school manages to provide quality education for the pupils as well as creating a safe, positive school milieu. Emphasizing independent, creative thinking and the ability to think "outside the box" as main aspects of their teaching and development of their pupils, the Waldorf teachers believed that their approach could be a strategy to deal with the challenges teenagers are facing in their surroundings. The public school teachers on the other hand, discussed how the school could collaborate with other people in their community when solving issues related to gangs, crime and violence. They pointed out education as important for future opportunities as well as the role of school in keeping them away from gangs. However, viewpoints regarding teaching methods and how teaching could contribute to the development of pupils within were inadequate.

Providing youth with an opportunity to develop in their own direction and help them to become aware of their own potential and how to solve problems, school can contribute in providing the sense of freedom they have to live the life they want to live. Gardner (2004) has argued the need for developing all types of intelligence; respond to them and learn how to use them in order to prepare young people to meet the needs of society, as well as responding to their immediate challenges. This study agrees with Gardner's emphasis on considering the different intelligences and various abilities in relation to the context. By focusing on a humanistic individual-centered approach to teaching, my study has tried to bring forward some of the values shared by Waldorf education in responding to the challenges youth are facing in underprivileged communities of South Africa. Overall, these humanistic values should not only be emphasized in dealing with youth challenges; they can also play a role in developing democratic citizens benefitting the future of the society at large.

As final words I will quote The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy describing the African concept of Ubuntu (human dignity) which I think relates to the essence of this study:

> (..) while equality requires us to put up with people who are different, and non-sexism and non-racism requires us to rectify the inequalities of the past, Ubuntu embodies the concept of mutual understanding and the active appreciation of the value of human difference (DoE 2001:3).

Due to the limited scale of this study, I am in no position to put forward any recommendations for future research. Nevertheless, it is my hope (and belief) that this study has illuminated and contributed to an increased understanding of what young South African boys experience in their township communities, as well as pointing out the importance of education in providing and strengthening youth's development and future opportunities.

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Attachments

1. Interview guide

Focus group interviews

School:	Date:	Gender:
Number of respondents:	Grade:	

Participant: 1.   2.

                      3.   4.

Section A. Life as a teenager

1) Can you tell me a little bit about how it is (how you experience) to be a teenager in

   _____?

   a. What do you like to do on your spare time?

   b. Transition – notice any differences in responsibilities?

2) What are some of the challenges of being a teenager?

3) Do you think it´s different for girls than boys (being a teenager)?

   a. Why/ How? (Give examples).

Section B. Context/ Community

4) What do you *like* about your community?

5) What do you *dislike* about your community?

6) What are some of the challenges in this particular community?

   a. How does it affect your life?

7) Do you know of anyone who dropped out of school?

   a. What were the reasons for dropping out?

Section C Vision of Education

8) Do you enjoy school?

9) What do you think about this school?

    a. What do you like about this school?

    b. What do you dislike about this school?

10) Do you feel free to engage, express your thoughts and ideas, in class? (with teacher?)

11) Is school/ education important to you?

    a. Why?

12) Do you think there is anything your school can do in order to help teenagers deal with some of the challenges that we have talked about?

13) Do you have a role model/ someone in your life you consider as important/ someone you can go to if you need help?

    a. Who and why is this person a role model to you?

Section D Vision of Future

14) Where do you see yourself in 10 years?

    a. What kind of life do you want/ value?

15) What do you think you have to do in order to reach your goal, to live the life you want to live?

16) Is there anything else you would like to discuss that we have not talked about?

Thank You!

2. Questionnaire

Questionnaire, Grade 7.

1. Your gender

    _____

2. Your age

    _____

3. Your grade

    _____

4. Who do you live with?

    _____

5. What is difficult in your home?

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. What is good in your home?

    _____

    _____

    _____

7. What do you do in your spare-time?

    _____

    _____

8. Do you enjoy school? (Explain why/ why not)

    _____

    _____

9. What do you like most about this school?

    _____

    _____

    _____

10. What is your favourite subject? (Explain why it is your favourite subject)

    _____

    _____

11. What is your worst subject? (Explain why it is the worst subject)

_____

_____

12. Do you feel free to express your thoughts and ideas in class?

_____

13. Do you feel that the school can help you if you have any (personal) problems?

_____

- If so, in what way can they help?

_____

_____

14. What challenges do you experience in school?

_____

_____

_____

15. What challenges do you experience outside school, in your community?

_____

_____

_____

16. Who will you ask for help if you have a problem?

_____

- Why this person?

_____

_____

17. What do you want to be when you grow up? (and why?)

_____

_____

_____

18. Who do you think can guide you on the right path in life? (For example: Who do you feel can teach you what is right and wrong in life, and teach you how to become and be a responsible person)

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much!