

THE INFLUENCE OF VIOLENCE ON YOUTH CLUB ACTIVITIES

BY

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S U M M A R Y

A literature review and qualitative study was undertaken to ascertain the influence of violence on social youth club activities, and youth as individual members of society. The purpose was to determine the involvement of youth in the ongoing political violence as well as to ascertain youth's needs and anxieties during periods of violence.

Politically aligned, social and church youth groups were studied. Group discussions were held with different groups in an effort to probe into youth's activities and personal lives during periods of violence. The researcher also relied upon perusal of media, unobtrusive observation of youth's behaviour during incidents of violence, and informal discussions with the parents.

The study found that political violence hinders the activities of youth, but that politically aligned youth feel empowered by their involvement in the liberation struggle. Youth referred to their own acts of violence as counterviolence against the violence of apartheid. They saw themselves as victims of violence, rather than perpetrators of violence.

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THE INFLUENCE OF VIOLENCE ON YOUTH CLUB ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

The need to research any subject cannot be completely divorced from the personal experiences of the researcher and this study is no exception. The researchers assumptions about the impact of violence on youth and possible findings were to a certain extent stimulated by her own personal experiences and observations of youth while interacting with them in the community, both as a consultant for social youth clubs and an organizer of workshops for youth in the prescribed area of Tembisa.

The researcher, like today's youth grew up in a socio-economic and politically deprived community. Her youth was, however, unlike today's youth characterized by feelings of happiness, contentment and lack of political awareness. Exposure to university life in the late 60's sensitized her to stressful situations which black people, especially its youth are exposed to. Consequently, the researcher always had a wish to learn about the youth's personal experiences of living in deprived communities. The escalating violence in the country which appeared to be involving the youth compounded this need.

In this study the youth perceived themselves as having grown up in a violent society which in turn, has influenced violent tendencies in them. The youth preferred to refer to this kind of behaviour as counter violence.

Kratscoski's (1985 : 46) theory of stress and youthful violence describes a violent delinquent as a person who is subjected to high levels of stress whose natural defenses against its effects are inadequate.

In the face of hostile, oppressive and repressive state laws, the community members, particularly the youth are pushed to resort to various forms of antisocial behaviours in an effort to communicate their rejection of discriminatory social order. The youth see themselves as victims of gross poverty. Lodge (1983 : 21) writes about poverty, "Poverty manifests itself in such abnormal pathological phenomena as a loss of confidence, inferiority complex, a feeling of frustration ..., all these are symptoms of a pathological mind."

The youth's vulnerability to stress-provoking situations and their low level of stress tolerance have influenced them into being at the centre of violence. In South Africa, their involvement in acts of violence can be traced back to 1976 Soweto uprisings, which saw black youth protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. These protests were characterized by gruesome acts of necklacing (killing of perceived suspected sellouts with a burning tyre, which would be placed around the target's neck). The 70s, 80s and 90s saw black youth being in the forefront of acts of resistance against unpopular black local authorities. Acts of arson against local authorities' property were perpetrated by youth in an effort to communicate the community's rejection of imposed local authorities. It is against this background that the researcher wishes to establish the impact of violence on youth club activities, and how the youth as individual members of the society, have influenced and survived the ongoing violence in Tembisa.

Lack of political education, unpreparedness for the changes, gave rise to political intolerance. The youth began to reorganize themselves into youth leagues, which served as alliances of different liberation movements. The social youth clubs began to feel uncomfortable as the

pressure to align themselves with the liberation movements mounted. They identified with the cause, but felt need to be law abiding. This created a considerable degree of dissonance.

In writing about rebelliousness and non-fearing acts of youth in 1976, Sole (1991 : 185) maintains that there is a striking sense in the events of 1976 in that they marked the beginning of a process which heralded a new life despite all sufferings that may have occurred.

The researcher considers that active resistance by the black people and especially youth themselves prepared the ground for subsequent political changes which among others include release of political prisoners namely Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Clarence Makwethyu and late Zephania Mothopeng and many others during 1990. In writing about the prevailing political changes Suzman (1990 : 10-11) states that she always believed that internal factors such as the irresistible tide of urbanisation, the vast cost of trying to maintain segregation in an integrated economy and the escalation of black resistance are mainly responsible for the political changes in South Africa.

2. Problem formulation

The problem has been formulated around youth club activities, and the ongoing violence in the country. Central to the study was the need to establish the impact of violence on youth and youth clubs they ran. The study also sought to determine the contribution which can be made by youth clubs during periods of violence.

3. Parameters of the study

3.1 Geographical area

The study was confined to the geographical area of Tembisa (a black residential area in the magisterial district of Kempton Park, east of Johannesburg City). The Tembisa Town Council records reflect that Tembisa was established in July, 1955 through the efforts of Germiston, Kempton Park, Edenvale, Olifantsfontein and Bedfordview local authorities, who were faced with the problem of squatter communities in their respective neighbourhood. The planned black residential area, which was to be called Tembisa, was allocated 2575 hectares of land. The first families from the mentioned local authorities were resettled in Tembisa in 1957. The Tembisa Community thus, has suffered from the pain which goes with resettlement.

In the absence of recent population census report, the Tembisa Town Council Office provided the following estimations regarding Tembisa community:-

Table 1: Tembisa Statistics

POPULATION	n	%
Children 0 - 18 years	51000	8
Hostel Dwellers	26000	4
Squatter Camp Residents	16000	3
Adults living in the Township	510000	85
TOTAL	603000	100%

The abovementioned figures are only an estimation of Tembisa population. The total record of Tembisa population on record with Tembisa Town Council Office as reflected on their monthly statistics for February 1991 was given as 158271 a grossly inadequate figure compared to the half million estimation of Tembisa population.

The Tembisa Town Council attributes their unreliable figures to Act No. 81 of 1988 which converted certain rights to leasehold as well as phasing out of Influx Control Act which no longer compelled issuing out of residential permits and registration of tenants with their local Town Council Offices. Consequently registration of newly born children in the community was affected in that parents were no longer compelled to register the births of their children with the Town Council Offices. Only deaths are reported because of the need to have the deceased allocated a piece of ground wherein to be buried.

The negative attitude of residents towards local Town Council Offices was also reported to have influenced registration of residents with institutions of this nature.

3.2 Target community

The target youth clubs are :-

- * Social and church youth clubs who participated in a workshop on violence, change and conflict resolution during March 1991. The liberation movements and political youth leagues involved in the study included African National Congress Youth League, Pan Africanist Congress Youth and Azanian Youth Organization, which is a youth wing of Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO). The year under review will be March, 1991 - October 1991.

4. Motivation

The study was motivated by the ongoing political and criminal violence in the country, which has claimed lives of many people, including youth. The active involvement of youth in the liberation struggle against apartheid,

resulted in the formation of politically aligned youth organizations and the youth maintained that this created a generational tension between youth and adults in black communities, as well as tension between the youth themselves. In this regard, The New Nation, (November 1, 1990 : 25) writes, "As a youth movement of the African National Congress, the youth league has a historic duty to prepare and harness the energy and resourcefulness of the youth to achieve the shortest possible advance to the threshold of a people's democratic victory."

The researcher observed that the acts of arson by the youth against the property of local authorities, such as town councillors, had a tendency to fuel the tension in the black communities. The overexposure of youth to acts of violence appeared to be desensitizing youth. In this regard, Barlow & Hill (1985 : 7) write, "It has been found that, while young children are emotionally aroused by watching violence, the strength of arousal decreases with repeated exposure to displays of violence."

The instability in the education system, which often drove the pupils out of the classrooms, compounded acts of criminal violence in the community.

The increasing number of youth clubs in the community seemed to communicate a message that youth are in pursuit of meaningful activities. The findings from the workshop on violence indicated that in the wake of political youth organizations, social youth clubs were pressured into aligning themselves politically, and that this resulted in youth tensions and dissonances, which negatively affected the enthusiasm and commitment of youth clubs. The Natal Witness, (November 22, 1990 : 2) noted that of the ANC Youth League, "We are in the process of phasing out local structures, such as Imbali and Edendale Youth

organizations, and replacing them with an ANC Youth League branch." The youth were faced with enormous pressure to make a political commitment. It took strong commitment to remain affiliated with the social club.

This pressure appeared to be causing concern among youth clubs, who felt they had a role to fulfil in the community. Moroke (1981 : 14) writes regarding youth services and young people, "The primary purpose of participation in youth services is to give the young individual a sense of belonging, a sense of identity, and the skills, confidence and assurance needed to participate, not only in his centre, but also in society at large." This study attempts to answer the question of how the youth and the youth clubs they ran were influenced by the ongoing violence.

5. Objectives

The aim of the study was to ascertain the influence of the ongoing political violence on youth club activities and youth, as individual members of the society/community.

The objectives were to:-

1. Ascertain the involvement of youth in the ongoing violence.
2. Establish the youth's opinions regarding the ongoing violence in terms of what they think has triggered the violence.
3. Ascertain how the youth have attempted to curtail acts of violence.
4. Establish youths' needs, anxieties and areas of concern during periods of violence.
5. Determine the appropriate direction that should be taken by helping professionals, such as social workers, in their efforts to give guidance to youth.

6. Researcher's assumptions regarding possible findings

- * Feelings of uncertainty, fearfulness and insecurity regarding the future.
- * A tendency for politically aligned youth to make the nonpolitically aligned youth feel uncomfortable in their youth club activities.
- * Need for political education inside youth clubs.
- * Willingness for social youth clubs to participate in anti-violence projects.
- * Secrecy of politically aligned youth regarding the subject under study.
- * Openness of social youth clubs regarding the subject under study.

7. Research design

The research worker decided on exploratory design. The method of participant mode was used in order to address the research worker's curiosity and imperfect knowledge regarding the activities of youth clubs during periods of violence. The purpose was also to gain new insights into the phenomena of youthful violence (Montenx Marais 1988 :43).

In writing about exploratory design, Collins (1987 : 256 - 257) states, "The main condition for exploratory research is imperfect knowledge ..." In this study, the research worker acknowledged the existence of imperfect knowledge regarding the activities, needs and anxieties of youth, youth clubs, and their members during periods of violence. In deciding on the participatory mode the researcher took into consideration that, "... whatever method is chosen, it must be used flexibly ..." (Leedy 1980 : 53).

The researcher relied on unobtrusive measures in order to look for clues of social behaviour when the subject of violence was discussed with youth. In this regard, Babbie (1989 : 293) states, "In a sense, everything you see represents the answer to some important social scientific question ..."

The participatory mode enabled the researcher to document youth's anxieties, worries, concerns and perceptions regarding the subject under study. In this regard, Grinnell (1985 : 343) writes, "Participant observation is a research method the social worker can utilize to learn about the lives of those being studied from their own points of view." In this study, the researcher also sought to establish from the youth the extent to which they have been influenced by the ongoing violence, and how youth have contributed to the ongoing instability in Tembisa.

7.1 Process followed by the researcher

Sampling method : A non-probability sampling method was used, in order to involve the following groups of youth:-

- * Social and church youth leaders who, in March, 1991 participated in a violence workshop. The workshop was presented by the Southern African Association of Youth Clubs, on behalf of Bush Boake Allen (SA) (Pty.) Ltd., the sponsoring company. The Association, Witwatersrand University Centre for the Study of Violence, and the researcher served as facilitators. The workshop marked the beginning of data collection.

The researcher considered the following variables in drawing a purposive sample for further data collection.

Leadership qualities, such as, ability to:-

- * express one's feelings and wants honestly
- * express one's needs clearly
- * listen to others' points of view.

The sample was chosen by the group leaders using researcher's criteria from youth groups with diverse political ideologies, in order to include a wide range of opinions. The sampling was done between March and April, 1991. It included ages between 15yrs -30yrs. The sample was composed as follows:-

- 10 Social youth club members
- 10 Church youth club members
- 5 African National Congress Youth League members
- 5 Azanian Peoples' Youth members
- 5 Inkatha Freedom Party Youth members (IFP)
- 5 Pan Africanist Youth of Azania members
- The total number of participants was 40.

The researcher decided on 10 social and church youth club leaders respectively, in order to encourage representativeness of the youth clubs which are in existence in Tembisa.

7.2 Research tools

The researcher decided on the following tools, which helped to facilitate the data collection.

- (i) A researcher-designed labelled diagram which depicted youth and environmental factors that are likely to exert pressure on youth, and factors which, when in interaction with youth, can explode into violence due to youths' low level of stress tolerance.

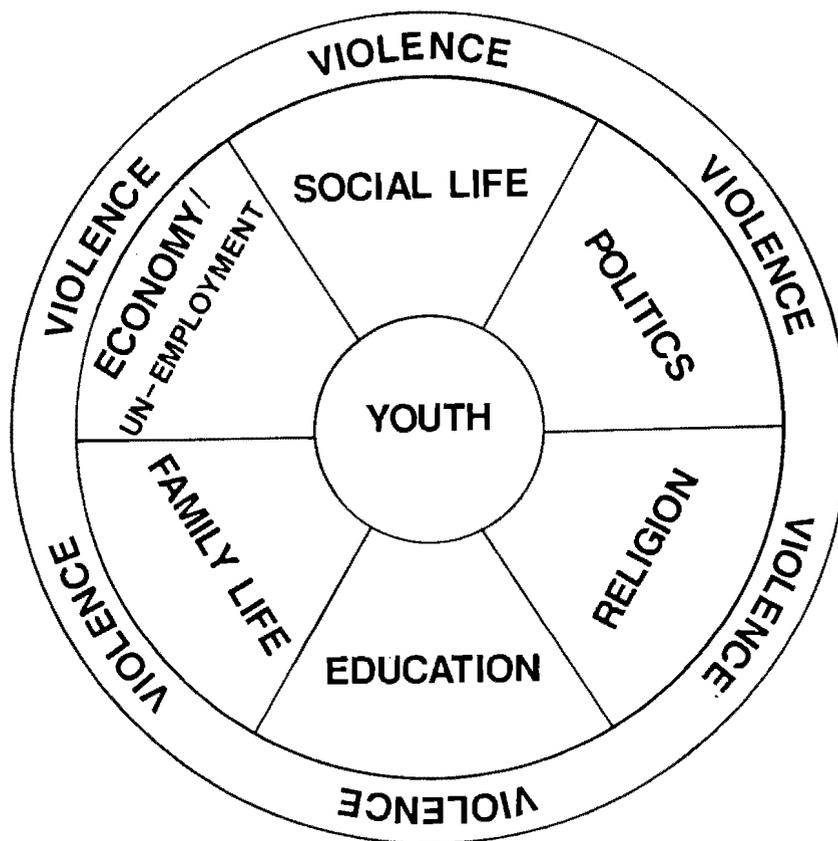


FIGURE 1.
RESEARCHER DESIGNED DIAGRAM ON
VIOLENCE

The presentation of Figure 1 was able to stimulate the discussion. The youth identified themselves well with the diagram, in that they also saw themselves as having been encapsulated by stressful environmental factors as reflected in researcher's literature review. Figure 1 made it easy for youth to open up regarding issues which they think have influenced youthful violence. They talked about how the discriminatory policies of the South African Government have influenced their social and family lives. In this regard, they made reference to their poverty stricken communities, which is a result of racial discrimination over forty years of apartheid.

They talked about political intolerance in the black communities and economic deterioration which continue to frustrate youth's lives. They stated that non-availability of jobs for both youth and their parents contributed a lot to criminal violence in the community which involves youth. The policy of separate education (Bantu education) was blamed for the ongoing instability in schools. They also stated that the ongoing violence is slowly spilling over into churches. The youth shared a feeling that the identified environmental factors are interrelated, and that pressures from these factors easily erupt into violence, which affect the young people the most.

- (ii) A diagram with youth in the centre, and arrows that are pointing at youth (obtained from Southern African Association of Youth Clubs)

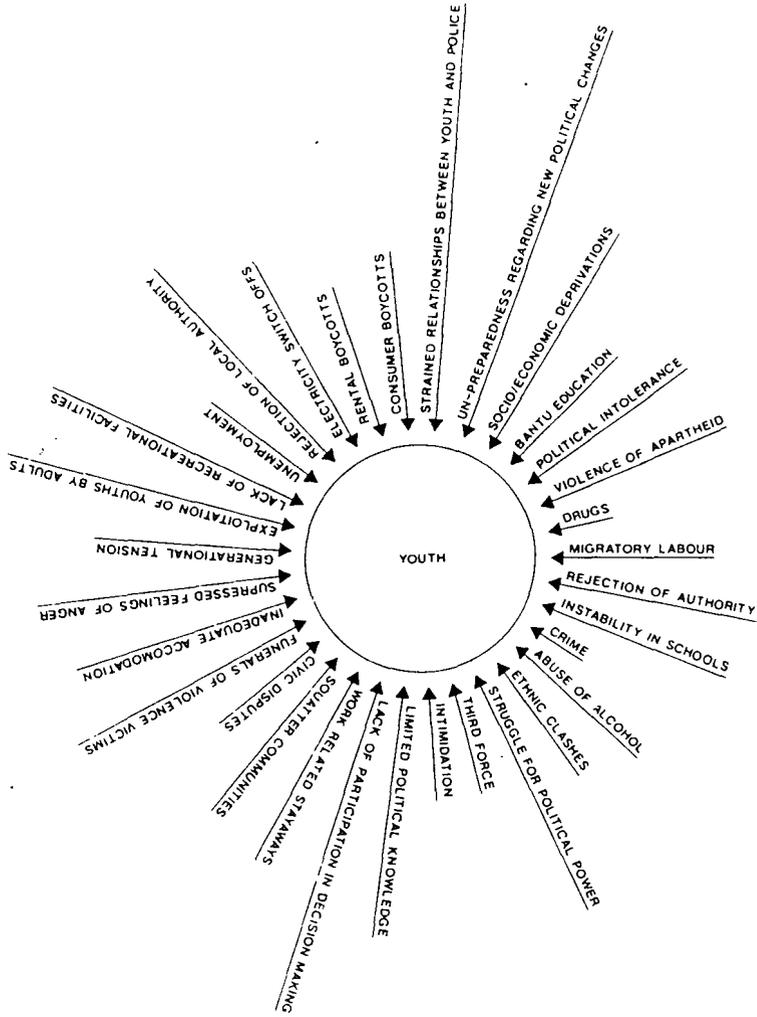


FIGURE 2.
PRESSURES ON YOUTH

This aimed at enabling the youth to identify and specify pressures facing them as youth, and which, in their opinion, have resulted in the ongoing violence. (See Figure 2).

The youth would, on their own, give labels to all arrows pointing at youth, by way of giving an indication of pressures facing youth.

A discussion would then follow.

8. Process of data collection

A process of data collection as portrayed in figure 3 was adopted:-

Recruitment of youth club leaders to a residential workshop on violence.

|

Residential workshop on violence, held in a secluded area
outside of Tembisa

|

Extending the invitation to politically aligned youth in Tembisa to
participate in the study

|

Researcher's participation in a careers day, by way of dispelling
further feelings of suspicion in both youth and parents.

|

Designing of visual aids, in order to facilitate
the data collection process.

|

See Figure 1 and Appendix 1

|

Doing a pilot study with familiar children,
and Thusong Youth Club in Alexandra

|

Holding discussions with the target groups in the community.

|

Ongoing media perusal.

|

Report writing.

FIGURE 3.

SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

A selected group of youth leaders in Tembisa were invited to participate in a residential workshop on violence, transitions (life, social, economic and political) and conflict resolutions, in order to expand their knowledge of the subject, activate their interest in participating in anti-violence projects, as well as to get their opinions regarding the ongoing violence in the country. Figure 3 gives an illustration of the process followed in the collection of data.

The Southern Youth Association of Youth Clubs was requested to present the said workshop, on behalf of the researcher's employer and sponsoring company.

The researcher opened the workshop, by presenting a paper on "Transitions and turning points in human beings' lives: how to transcend, and still be able to maintain good mental health."

The paper was aimed at highlighting that life transitions can be both negative and positive; that change threatens one's stability, power and authority; that change can be planned and unplanned. Change brings about losses. It shakes peoples' values, and has a tendency to immobilize people. The findings and commitments made by youth were reviewed during follow-up meetings with the target group.

During this residential workshop, the researcher had an opportunity to talk to ANC Youth League, Tembisa Branch, which had attended a different workshop. This contact alerted the researcher to the need to extend the parameters of her study to politically aligned youth. During April, 1991, the researcher reached out to politically aligned youth in Tembisa through her personal contacts.

The findings, recommendations and commitments of the workshop were recorded for the purpose of reviewing them during follow-up meetings with the target group.

The workshop was then followed by in-depth interviews and discussions with the target group. The different youth groups were interviewed separately.

The researcher kept close contact with the target group by availing herself as a resource to them, and this enabled her to strengthen relationships which were established during the workshop. The target group was assisted in organizing a careers day in Tembisa.

The ANC Youth League was assisted in drawing up a proposal for the funding of an Anti-crime Conference in Tembisa.

Other than the formal discussions with the target groups at venues and times decided by them, the researcher was also able to talk with them on an informal level during various meetings held with the youth.

The formal discussions would be preceded by the researcher's brief talk on the concept of violence by way of joining with all. The talks covered:-

- * definition of violence
- * modes of violence
- * actors involved, namely the perpetrator and the victim
- * periods during which violence is likely to occur
- * feelings likely to be suffered by the people during periods of violence.

The talk aimed at expanding youths' knowledge regarding the concept of violence. The sensitive nature of the subject under study influenced the researcher to be innovative and

creative, in order to stimulate the discussion. The validity of the tools was pre-tested with Thusong youth club, in Alexandra, and other children familiar with the researcher. The researcher would give the diagrams to the pilot group, and then invite a discussion regarding the youths' perception of the diagrams. The tools were effective in stimulating discussion in the pilot study.

- * Talks would then be followed by the presentation of Figures 1 and 2.
- * Open discussion would then follow.
- * Youth would also be asked to role play incidents of violence if they felt comfortable to do so.

The researcher also relied upon the following:-

- . Perusal of media (See Appendix 1)
- . Unobtrusive observation of youth's behaviour during incidents of violence
- . Informal discussions with the parents

The process of data collection was guided by the following participant observation phases:-

- (i) Gaining entry into the group. The researcher gained entry into the target group through having organized annual workshops for the youth in Tembisa since 1990. The workshops aimed at equipping youth leaders with leadership skills. The researcher also offered her services as a consultant to one group of youth in order to get involved in the youth's activities.

Access to politically aligned youth was gained through local political leaders, whom the researcher came to know through her community work

involvement in the community. The process of organizing leadership workshops for the youth as well as the residential workshop enabled the youth and the researcher to relate to one another on an informal basis. The trust gained from the ongoing relationship with the youth, enabled the researcher to enter into a deep discussion with the youth.

- (ii) **Autonomy:** The right to self-determination of the target group was respected. The researcher did not impose her beliefs and values on the target group. She reserved her opinion, instead acknowledged the youths experience in as far as the problem under study is concerned. The knowledge that systems are closed to information and that experience is subject guided the researcher.
- (iii) **Neutrality:** The researcher was verbally open to all views, without aligning herself to any specific view. Her sympathies, however, associated themselves with the feeling of oppression which the youth experienced.

Feelings of mistrust and suspicion were dispelled through allowing the youth members to ask questions pertaining to the researcher's choice of this particular subject and the decision to focus the study on youth

- (iv) The data collection process was guided by the theory of behaviour ecology, which focuses on an individual/group behaviour, while taking into account the macro environment. The researcher expressly refrained from an exclusive and reductionistic approach.
- (v) **Recording:** The youth under study did not allow the use of audio aids. They stated that audio aids make them feel uncomfortable and that this inhibits

the flow of information. The researcher relied on her own recording during and after group discussions. The intention was to do own recording of emerging themes and any other relevant observations. The permission to record salient points which emerged from the discussions was obtained from the group.

- (vi) Ending the study: The study was terminated as soon as the researcher felt she had obtained the information which is central to her study. The target groups were prepared in advance regarding the termination.

9. Shortcomings

The subject under study appeared to be volatile and sensitive which impeded full expression of opinions as affected in the following ways:-

- * Social youth clubs expressed an opinion that antiviolence projects were likely to expose them to further violence in the community; that their humanitarian efforts were likely to be misinterpreted by political organizations with different political ideologies, and that their involvement might draw the attention of police to youth clubs.
- * There was prevention of gaining access to one politically aligned youth group, despite the assistance of the researcher's personal contacts inside the political organizations. The obstacles in gaining access can be attributed to the following factors:-
- * The escalating violence made youth feel personally inhibited by fear and mistrust. Parents' own fears compounded the youths' feelings of uneasiness.

The researcher's assumptions about the impact of violence on youth tempted her to explore youth's opinions as regards these. The researcher attributed this shortcoming to being a member of the community that one is studying. This subjectivity influenced the interpretation of the findings of the study. Validity and reliability of the study must be considered with researchers perceptions in mind.

* There were delays in gaining access to politically aligned youth, despite the assistance of the researcher's personal contacts inside the political organizations. The delays can be attributed to the following factors:-

- The screening process which is undertaken by the political organization, before one can be allowed to hold a discussion with the organization, postponement and cancellation of appointments by the organizations.

- Inability to make use of audio aids made it difficult for the researcher to record all points which came out of discussions with the various groups. The researcher only recorded salient points and themes which came out of the group discussions.

9.1 Overcoming of shortcomings

The researcher reduced the problem of mistrust and suspicion by availing herself as a resource to the youth. She accepted an invitation to serve as the youth's consultant regarding their activities. In the absence of meaningful education in the community, the youth was assisted in organizing a careers day, and the researcher featured as one of the speakers. Personal contacts inside political organizations were used as a means of facilitating access to the organization. This was with a

view to dispel feelings of suspicion and fears attached to the topic of violence. Parents of the target youth were invited to a careers day before data collection, and this reduced possible suspicions about the researcher and the subject of study. The researcher relied on self awareness in an effort to control expression of her own views.

The researcher decided to change her initial subject of her study from, "a social work guided approach to curbing of youthful violence" to "the influence of violence on youth club activities". This was influenced by a tendency for youth to be sensitive to being labelled as perpetrators of violence. The escalating violence in the country also made them feel uneasy about being involved in violence related discussions. Parents also seemed to be of the opinion that inviting youth to discussions of this nature labels them as violent.

The youth appeared to be receptive to the subject, both social youth club members and politically aligned youth stated that they did not perceive themselves as perpetrators, but rather as victims of violence. The researcher was always careful not to label youth as perpetrators, but as survivors of violence. The youth also appeared to like the idea of talking about the effects of political changes in the country on youth activities. Talking about political changes in the country influenced the youth to readily discuss violence. In this way the youth, and not the researcher would introduce the term violence into the discussion. During the study, the researcher became aware of the importance of the use of language and choice of words, as a collector of data in South Africa's prevailing political climate.

The researcher was conscious of using her position as youth leader to empower the youth and to facilitate open discussion. The violence was brought closer to the youth

by preceding the discussions with a brief exposition of the various modes of violence. This appeared to be eye opening, and was successful in broadening the youth's perception of violence and its impact on the youth and their activities.

Except for one youth league which failed to avail itself for an interview, the researcher succeeded in gaining access to the politically aligned youth through her personal contacts inside the political organizations. It became difficult to overcome this problem due to the youth leader's tendency to give the researcher a hope that the set appointments would be honoured. Sound reasons were always given for their failure to honour the appointment. This gave the researcher the impression that she needed ample time to build up the relationship between herself and the organization, and that this particular political party is inclined to be closed to outsiders.

10. Definition of concepts

1. African National Congress (ANC). : It is a liberation movement which was founded in 1912 and is recognized by the United Nations of America as an authentic representative of African people in South Africa. ANC campaigns for the recognition of African people's political rights by the government. It participated in the drawing of the Freedom Charter document in Kliptown, Johannesburg in 1955. The Freedom Charter serves as a blueprint for the ANC's envisaged democratic South Africa and this document is believed to be the most democratic expression of the people's needs for a non-racial and a democratic South Africa.

The ANC and other liberation movements were banned in 1960 following Sharpeville protest against pass laws

which claimed the lives of 27 people. The ANC was unbanned in 1990 and is now under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.

2. Apartheid : The policy of apartheid came up as a result of the Population Registration Act of 1950 which is discriminated against black race groups on grounds of race and culture: The said law gave whites access to privileges, opportunities and social networks that blacks do not have. The Nationalist Government which came to power in 1948 became the agents of this separate development system.
3. Azania Youth Organization (AZAYO). : It is a youth formation of Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) which was formed in 1978 after the banning of the first generation of black consciousness movement. The philosophy of AZAPO is total emancipation of black people through psychological and physical liberation. Among other objectives AZAYO is committed to mobilizing politicizing and uniting the population of the unemployed and working youth around the philosophy of black consciousness.
4. Bantu Education : Act of 1953 which legislated separate education for separate race groups on grounds of colour and culture. Except for the English and Afrikaans languages, the act required that all black schools should use their home languages as a medium of instruction at primary level. The law was designed for black people of South Africa. The separate state of Bantu Education laid foundation for conflicts in the education system.
5. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). : It emerged from Inkatha Yakwazulu a cultural organization established by a zulu

king, Solomon kaDinizulu in 1928. It later on became inactive, efforts to revive it in 1959 did not succeed until 1975 when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was successful in reviving it. They renamed it Inkatha Yenkululeko Yezizwe. Inkatha Freedom Party was formed in 1990. In December 1990 it transformed itself into a fully fledged political party to be known as Inkatha Freedom Party which called for devolution of power on a regional basis. Inkatha Youth Brigade is the youth formation of the IFP.

6. Job reservation : Reserving of certain jobs for certain racial groups. This was done with a view to keeping South African blacks away from lucrative jobs, and to confine them to labour and domestic work.
7. Necklacing : Killing with a burning tyre, people whom political activists believe to be spies. A burning tyre is usually put around their necks.
8. Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). : It broke away from ANC following a feeling by disgruntled ANC members that ANC was too liberal and would take time to achieve significant results in the liberation struggle. A need was felt for a much more resistant liberation movement. The late Robert Sobukwe was its first leader. His congress was not violent, yet it was not pacifist. He believed that confrontation with the Government had to come and that when it came blacks had to accept it. PAC's philosophy is Africa for Africans. It was also banned in 1960. It re-emerged with the unbanning of other political organizations in 1990.
9. Sellouts : People whom political activists believe are collaborating with government structures, otherwise called spies.

10. Single hostels : Place of residence, which is offered to black male migrant labourers in urban areas. In South Africa the occupants of single hostels are black men from rural areas. Single hostels are considered a humiliating and degrading form of accommodation which deprives the occupants of the comfort of family life. They also fail to meet the occupants' physiological needs, such as sex. Single hostels are often crowded, and they lack privacy which all human beings need.
11. Squatter camps : Setting up of homes in plastic, cardboard and iron shacks, either legally or illegally in informal settlements or wherever space can be found. In South Africa, such families are generally black, poor and often unemployed people.
12. Third force : Suspected connivance of police, defence and security forces in the ongoing violence.
13. Townships : Black residential areas in urban areas which are exclusive to blacks. These areas are known for lack of infrastructure, which makes life in the townships unpleasant.
14. Youth : The term youth will in this study refer to the youth under study.

11. Presentation of contents

This study is divided into four parts, as follows:-

Chapter I - The reader is introduced and oriented to all important aspects of the study. The researcher commences by giving an outline on macro issues that are central to the ongoing violence in the country, and how these have influenced the lives of young people. The rebellious

behaviour is traced far back to the 70s with emphasis on 1976 Soweto uprisings. The problem area has been formulated around the researcher's need to establish how the youth clubs and their members have survived the ongoing violence which has, to a certain extent, been brought about by political changes in the country.

Chapter II. This chapter includes a theoretical background of the subject under study, with emphasis on the following:-

- * Definition of violence
- * Modes of violence
- * Youth Clubs
- * Causes of violence
- * Guidelines regarding methods to curb violence
- * Theories of violence

Chapter III. Data analysis and presentation of findings.

Chapter IV. Conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Bibliography.

Appendix.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this study, the researcher has reviewed literature which expands on major factors at play in violence torn communities and the implication of these on youth. A description of the apartheid regime is given to understand the context of the study. The history of apartheid is obtained from Gunn (1991).

2.2 Definition of violence

Hoffmann & McKendrick (1990 : 3) state that "Violence ordinarily implies the use of force to harm, injure, or abuse others It occurs on an interpersonal and on an intergroup level."

In any violent situation, there is bound to be a perpetrator and a victim of violence. The perpetrator is always driven by an intention to destroy property, to injure or harm the victim emotionally, physically and psychologically. The perpetrator is usually very intolerant of the next person, group or organization. The feelings of intolerance are often accompanied by incompatibility of ideas and ideologies.

In human life, the victim suffers from humiliation, degradation, loss of life support system and trust. Violence occurs during periods of social, political and economic transitions. People begin to feel uncomfortable about the existing social order; efforts to challenge it result in violence. The political changes in South Africa influenced the escalating violence in the country. Violence is also accompanied by feelings of uncertainty, insecurity and mistrust.

Thornton (1990 : 38) indicates that, violence by its very nature happens suddenly, but it comes into being and acquires its meaning as a result of a process. It comes into being over time, and through time. It is time bound.

In South Africa, the 1990s have seen an escalation of violence, which is traced back to the apartheid regime and the Nationalist Government, which implemented precluding and racist laws. Bantu Education, imposition of local authorities to black communities, rental boycotts, electricity switch-offs, and lack of employment opportunities did, to a great extent, influence the ongoing violence.

The new political changes which were announced by President de Klerk on February 2, 1990 influenced the instability which all South Africans have experienced in the 90s. The new political changes evoked feelings of resistance in the conservative white political groups. The black liberation groups began to compete for political power. There was a sudden fear of reversed discrimination from the conservative whites. They feared for their property as talks of redistribution of wealth from ANC mounted. There was a fear of losing out, when democratic elections eventually take place. In this regard, Suzman (1991 : 9) writes, "There is a hard core within the white minority which deeply resents any changes to their long-standing privileges and protected status, and which is even prepared to resist these changes by violence." The black people, who for a period of forty years had not known democracy, had difficulty adapting to the process of political change in the country, and this resulted in what was to be known as black on black violence.

In writing about political intolerance, Cargill (1990 : 5-6) highlights the following characteristics of political

intolerance:-

- * Lack of culture of debate
- * Tendency for communities to find it difficult to accept the right of the existence of other political parties.
- * Building power bases, and weakening others.
- * Third force, or hidden hand drawing support from the right wing and elements of the security forces.
- * Abuse of the liberation struggle by the Comtsotsis (an assertive criminal element).
- * Community impatience and anger with activists who disregard democratic processes.
- * Tribalism and ethnicity.
- * Squatter communities who identify themselves with leaders of specific political groups.

The liberation movements have, during the ongoing violence, been blamed for failing to promote a culture of debate among themselves. Instead, they weakened one another's power bases. The political leaders weakened each other's power base through their inflammatory public speeches. The white right wingers felt threatened by the emerging new political groups. They found it difficult to accept the unbanning of liberation movements. They also blamed the Nationalists for showing leniency towards ANC.

Violence was expressed towards the following targets:

Train commuter killings and the escalating rate of killings in the townships began to be associated with a third force such as, South African Defence Force, Police and right wingers.

Squatter camps, such as Mandela Squatter Camp in Katlehong, which assumed names of political leaders of specific political groups became targets of violence.

Tribalism and ethnicity became prominent in Tembisa through

the taking over of Vusumuzi Hostel by Zulus, and Sethokga Hostel by Xhosa speaking people, following acts of violence between Zulus and Xhosas.

The imposition of local authorities onto black communities, which gave rise to rental boycotts and electricity switch-offs also contributed to the escalating violence against town councillors and their properties.

Safro (1990) writes, "Since 1984, with the increased role of mass mobilization as a political instrument, black town councillors and municipal police have been among the victims of political violence in South Africa." Non-acceptance of these structures was demonstrated through rental boycotts, electricity switch-offs and acts of arson against houses of black local authorities.

2.3 Features of human violence

Hoffman & McKendrick (1990 : 22-23) highlight the following features of human violence and further state that, recognition and study of such features deepens the understanding of violence as a phenomenon and provides valuable directions for intervention.

- * Conflict is central to almost all forms of violence. The longer the conflict, the greater the discomfort. Recognition of conflict is required if conflict is to be addressed effectively. There is also a need to guard against long-term conflicts.
- * Force and aggression are features of violence, whether the force denotes the use of strength, or physical or mental power.
- * Whether repressed or not, fear is evident in episodes of violence.
- * Violence is a means of communication. The ongoing violence in South Africa conveys a message of

uncertainty and anxiety regarding the transitional phase.

- * A violent act may be dispassionately planned and executed, or may occur spontaneously, as an impulsive outburst.
- * An act of violence violates the dignity and rights of an individual, whether adult or child. The regime of apartheid in South Africa violated the dignity and rights of black people, and this can be highlighted in the following discussion of factors which have influenced violence in South Africa.

2.4 A description of the apartheid regime :

Central to ongoing violence in South Africa is the apartheid regime which dates back to 1950 when racial discrimination became statutory. Apartheid had always been a feature of South African life, since the beginning of European settlement in 1652, but it was not constitutionally defined. The Nationalist Government, which came to power in 1948, has always been an agent of the apartheid system.

Sole in Clingman (1991 : 191) states that apartheid is characterized by, "The Principle of Exclusion which gives whites access to privileges, opportunities and social networks, blacks do not." It is a system which is designed to inflict harm on black people, a system which apportion resources such as land, education, money, unequally among people of different races.

The system is further characterized by:

- * Ethnic discrimination practices.
- * Job reservation legislations which seek to reserve certain job skill categories in favour of whites, thereby preventing the economic upward mobility of blacks.

- * Domination of majority groups by minority groups.
- * Constitutionally approved racism which advocated for separate residential places for blacks.
- * Labour relations act, which discriminated against blacks.
- * Exclusion of blacks from decision-making.

Bernstein (1967) in writing about discrimination against black Americans states that their society is trapped in racial prejudice which is contrary and dangerous to basic human needs of the large number of Americans. South African black communities, especially the youth, suffered the effects of an oppressive government the most. They are victims of gross socioeconomic deprivations, which find expression in precluding racist laws such as recently abolished group areas, pass laws, mixed marriages and university acts. Racial prejudice also found expression in migratory labour, land acts and separate education.

Serenne (1988 : 1) writes, "South Africa is born of a long and complex history of state repression, which finds its most salient expression in the policy of apartheid." The apartheid system preserved culture at all costs. It implemented a tricameral system of government, in order to accommodate cultures of different races, in an effort to perpetuate apartheid. It discriminated against South African citizens on the basis of colour and culture. All these discriminations, together with the failure of blacks and whites to adapt to new political changes, have now unfolded into the ongoing violence, which has hit the black communities and mostly their youth.

In highlighting racial division in South Africa, McKendrick (1987 : 20- 21) writes, "In terms of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983, coloured people and Indians became enfranchised alongside whites. The Act created three houses of parliament, one for whites (the House of

Assembly), one for coloured people (the House of Representatives) and one for Indians, (the House of Delegates)." This was referred to as a tricameral system. Each house approves legislation that relates to "common affairs", such as budget, while every house is individually empowered to enact legislation related to the own affairs of its constituent group. Section 14 (i) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act defines own affairs as "matters which specifically affect a population group in relation to the maintenance of its identity and the upholding and furtherance of its way of life, culture, traditions and customs."

Urban African people, who are not enfranchised, and who do not have their own House of Parliament, have their needs handled by a separate Department of Education and Development Aid, with the Minister in charge of the Department being answerable to the (white) House of Assembly. The rural communities are taken care of by the Self Governing African National States. People who oppose racial division criticized the tricameral system on the following basis:-

- * Human beings have important common needs whatever their cultural outlook.
- * Separate services cannot be equal. Lack of parity between black and white welfare services in South Africa can be cited as an example in this regard.
- * Co-ordination cannot be guaranteed.
- * Efficacy, effectiveness, and humanity can be promoted by a nonracial policy. (McKendrick & Dudas, 1987 : 49).

Gunn (1991 : i) writes, "Culture in a way became a political enemy. Preservation of culture became a polite way of perpetrating racial discrimination."

All the above-mentioned unpleasant experiences of apartheid

laid the ground for conflict. In making reference to President de Klerk's efforts to dismantle apartheid since 2nd February, 1990, Suzman (1991 : 1) writes, "We should not delude ourselves that racism per se will disappear as discriminatory laws are repealed." She points out that, racism will diminish, but there will always be deeply ingrained prejudices and these will influence the behaviour of South Africans for some time.

In writing about poverty, Donnison (1987 : 7) highlights the following:-

- Poverty means a standard of living so low, that it excludes people from the community in which they live. It is found among low paid workers and unemployed. Racial division and discrimination in South Africa resulted in hardships and misery. Black people were exposed to gross poverty. They found themselves trapped in poverty, and their lives are always in a cycle of poverty.

Victims of poverty are often hit by hardships, misery and destitution. Poverty is further characterized by inequality, exclusion, discrimination, injustice and relative poverty. He further states that subsistence protests by the poor in the 1950s against escalating bus fares and beer halls, which were threatening their source of income, marked the beginning of self advocacy and resistance against discriminatory laws.

2.5 Migratory labour

Gunn (1991 : 31) writes, "To blacks, apartheid was a tragedy They lost their South African citizenship, and inherited rights in a barren and undeveloped homeland." He proceeds to describe how the state violence also became conspicuous in the migratory labour system, which is well known for separating husbands from their wives and fathers

from their children. The barren nature of rural areas has always made it difficult for rural communities to be gainfully employed inside rural areas. Job seekers from the rural areas were forced by poverty to search for gainful employment in urban areas, which did not offer them decent accommodation.

In writing about life in the hostels, Manganyi & du Toit (1990: 46 - 47) state, "hostel life is missing the warmth of family life the migrants are forced to fend for themselves in a harsh and actively hostile white dominant world." The Group Areas Act of 1966, Land Act of 1913 and Influx Control laws denied black people the permanence of residence in urban areas. The migratory labour compelled migrant labourers to live in single quarter hostels, which deprived them of the warmth of family life. The hostel life alienates the hostel dwellers from community life, and community members tend to push hostel dwellers to the periphery of decision making. In this regard, The Star (September 25, 1991 : 20), writes, "The failure to properly consult hostel inmates during boycotts and stayaways is a major cause of the resentment and anger which fuels violence. The African National Congress is culpable to a degree." Manganyi & du Toit (1990 : 47) state that, "it is barely surprising that many migrants turn to drugs and alcohol for solace; or that their frustrations spill over into anti-social activities, male chauvinism and violence." The 1990s saw how single hostels can perpetrate violence.

2.6 Bantu education

In writing about blacks and Bantu Education, Gunn (1991 : 31) states, ".... Separate and different educational facilities brought the clear message that they were not to aspire to the same level as whites" a limited number of blacks have, however, made it, despite all these difficult

In writing about Bantu Education, Suzman (1991 : 12) states, "Inferior education and training has resulted in a bitter and frustrated youth with little respect for law and order and with diminished opportunities for gainful occupation."

In writing about Nationalists as agents of apartheid, Gunn (1991 : 31) states, "In all of this, the majority of whites may never have intended the outcomes that evolved, but blacks could not believe that they ever intended anything else." It is thus popular talk amongst white liberals and black people that violence associated with Bantu Education will remain long after the education system has been changed.

2.7 Modes of violence

Degenaar (1990 : 7 - 11) highlights the following modes of violence which youth are often exposed to.

2.7.1 Psychological violence : It is the kind of violence which is not accompanied by physical harm. An experience of emotional injury in the form of humiliation can be cited as an example. The use of abusive language and inciting statements by political leaders whose organizations are competing for power has been common during the ongoing violence. Intimidation was also used as a means of ensuring conformity during mass actions.

2.7.2 Structural violence : It is perpetrated by structures against other structures. Discriminative and oppressive acts of the Nationalist Government against black people of South Africa are examples of this kind of violence. Degenaar (1990 : 11) states that, "...violence is structural when the force is not exerted by a person but by a structure ..., for example by custom or by law in a political context."

Hoffman & McKendrick (1990 : 6 - 14) identify the following modes of violence:-

- 2.7.3 Legitimate violence : Acts of discipline by parents which convey to the child the message that adults have special authority over their bodies and personal space. They can invade their personal space and inflict pain on them as they wish. Raiding of private homes by police during the old pass law days gave the police a right to invade black people's personal space as they wished. Laws of repression and security legislation are other forms of legitimate violence.
- 2.7.4 Illegitimate violence : These can either be directed at persons or property. Those directed at the person include violent crimes such as murder, assault, battery and illegal acts of violence directed at property, comprising burglary and motor vehicle theft.
- 2.7.5 Intergroup violence : Acts of violence directed at certain groups of persons denote intergroup violence. The groups may be racially or ethnically defined, or may be groups constituted around a common goal, such as a political group. Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress political groups can be cited as examples in this regard. This form of violence is characterized by incompatibility of attitudes, beliefs and values of persons in different groups.
- 2.7.6 Family violence : This refers to child, wife, sibling and husband abuse. Winship in McKendrick & Hoffman (1990:203) states that 'many children are injured in the turmoil of violence occurring among families.
- 2.7.7 Political violence : Structural violence of the apartheid system in South Africa gave rise to political violence. Manganyi & du Toit (1990 : 2) identify the following components of political violence in the South African context.

- * horrific necklace killings of 1987 which were directed at people who were suspected of being sellouts.
- * the struggle against apartheid system
- * the struggle for equal political rights
- * the state's coercive powers
- * security legislations/emergency regulations
- * severe curbs on media

Manganyi & du Toit (1990 : 2) describe how state-perpetrated violence such as security legislations, emergency regulations, severe curbs on media, detention without trial and other coercive powers have influenced political violence in South Africa. The black youth perpetrated reactive violence through necklace killings, which amongst others, claimed the life of Maki Skosana, the first female victim of necklace killings on the East Rand.

Cock (1990 : 38) defines political violence as, "any act of destruction which impacts on the power relations of society. Its main incidence is twofold - violent action by the white group to enforce and maintain unjust social order and reactive violence by others, mainly black, against the injustice and determination of whites who attempt to impose apartheid."

In 1990 political violence in South Africa expressed itself in the form of black against black violence. In this regard, Scholstak (1986 : 14) writes, "Now that we have given political power we must not wait any longer to give them education." The escalating violence in the 90s indicated a need for political education if black communities and their political organizations are to adapt to the new political changes. The police were identified as a third force. In talking about the suspicions of the connivance of the police and security forces in the violence, Suzman (1991 : 13) states that, "This suspicion of course, has been fortified by the ugly events at

Swaniesville, a squatter camp on the West Rand, where on 12 May this year, 27 people were killed, 30 injured and 82 shacks were destroyed, allegedly by Inkatha dwellers, who, according to the sworn affidavits of witnesses, were escorted by the security forces."

The political violence was also marked by active involvement of youth. The youths' struggle against political violence presented itself in the form of street barricades, monitored stayaways and boycotts. The youths were victims of police bullets, teargas and detentions. In this regard, Manganyi & du Toit (1990 : 6) state that, political violence tends to raise basic and complex questions about the legitimacy of the political order itself.

2.8 Youthful violence

2.8.1 Definition of youth : Youth will, for the purpose of this study, be defined as young people between the ages of 15 - 30 years. Black people of the latter category of age classify themselves as youth, due to the fact that most of them reach ages 25 - 30 years without the status of a married person; some of them might have illegitimate children, but their inability to find jobs makes it difficult for them to take up the responsibility of maintaining their children. They are dependent on their parents for support. Most of them leave tertiary institutions late. The definition will thus include school-going youth, young people who are looking for work, youth at tertiary level and young people who have entered the world of work.

2.9 Factors which influence youthful violence

2.9.1 Violent society

Youthful violence in South Africa is rooted in the violent nature of South African society. Youthful violence can

thus not be separated from the apartheid laws and their harassment of the human rights of black people. In writing about South Africa, Marks & Anderson (1991 : 29 - 30) state that South Africa is a very violent society. Overt violence is present in different forms and contexts; overt violence by and against the state has become much more conspicuous in recent years. Political violence in South Africa is rooted in racial domination which is embodied in racially defined laws. In writing about alienated youth in America, Bernstein (1967 : 11) states, inability for youth to share in its affluence, opportunities, and hopes of its country often brings with it a distorted self image, lack of basic self-confidence, and need to fight for a sense of worth as human beings.

In the face of all these pressures, youth have no alternative but to resort to anti-social behaviours in an effort to build their own significance, and to retaliate against a hostile and oppressive society.

Bernstein (1967 : 12 - 14) gives the following profile of an alienated youth:-

- * They are distant from, and hostile to most of the predominant institutions and mores of the community.
- * They have negative attitudes towards their own neighbourhoods and families.
- * They are angry about the police.
- * They feel out of the mainstream of the economic, political, and social life of the community.
- * They suffer from lack of trust.
- * They resist authority.
- * They have least hope for a legitimate future.

Youthful violence cannot be separated from the environment in which the youth live. It is an expression of environmental problems and is a reaction to extreme

frustrations. It is a way of asking for help. In South Africa, violent behaviour has claimed many lives of young people. The Star (February 26, 1991 : 14) states that, "Teenage violence is a universal phenomenon and similar factors have resulted in this form of behaviour in many countries." A review of American literature which focuses on youthful violence of black Americans who were discriminated against, confirms that similar factors result in this form of behaviour (Bernstein 1967).

2.9.2 Lack of employment opportunities : Economic and social deprivations are basic reasons behind youthful violence. Hyslop (1984 : 79) states that, "Since the mid 70s, employment opportunities for Africans seem to have been more stagnant than for other racial groups. But at the same time, the numbers of black youth passing through the school system have soared."

The youth's inability to get absorbed in the world of work laid the foundation for anti-social behaviour such as criminal violence. In this regard Hyslop (1984 : 80) further writes, "... the crisis of youth and education is also, crucially a crisis of employment."

Hoffman & McKendrick (1990 : 16 - 20) identified the following psychological and socia-cultural factors as other causes of violence:-

2.9.3 Psychological factors : Violence is associated with the human need to be aggressive. Young people are prone to aggression following powerful and unpleasant environmental stimuli (Sauer 1989 as cited in McKendrick & Hoffman 1990 : 16). In supporting this statement, Gibson (1989 : 663) confirms that this may lead youth into situations for which they are emotionally unprepared, for example, court cases or detention. Black youth have been exposed to inferior social circumstances which have destroyed their feelings of self worth, and these are aggravated by poor education, poor housing and lack of political rights.

Black youth suffer from feelings of hopelessness and apathy.

2.9.4 Socio-cultural factors : Shared beliefs that men are more powerful than women may help to perpetrate violence in the home. Parents' and teachers' authoritarian attitude towards own children may help fuel hostile behaviour in youth.

2.9.5 Mobbing : In writing about the motivation for violence among adolescents, Hemming (1983 : 324 - 329) states that, mobbing among adolescents mainly takes the form of domination which includes, of course, hatred which arises from envy. School-going youth may mob against a pupil who is performing well at school. The need to mob against others motivates acts of violence in youth. Mobbing occurs in all classes of society, and is influenced by the following:-

- * Excessive sense of inferiority, a tendency to be a loner and a low threshold for aggression.
- * It is characteristic of low achievers. * Inability to hit back effectively.

Vogelman (1990 : 6) states that, crowds reduce self-awareness and can decrease moral restraint. In crowds, people feel more powerful and they develop a tendency to go along with the crowd, either because of fear, or a wish to be accepted.

Adolescence is a time of great insecurity and change. Lack of emotional support at home influences the adolescents into looking for one outside the home. Teenagers need stability and security at home, in order to be able to cope with life's demands (Hemming 1983 : 327).

Cleminshaw (1987 : 37) attributes youthful violence to

"growing up within a structure of unacceptable values, born to mothers who are, themselves, psychologically traumatized." The youth in rural areas grow up in homes which are physically and emotionally torn apart by the violence of migratory labour.

They are deprived of the much needed emotional support from their fathers.

2.9.6 The Soweto uprisings of 1976 : This marked the beginning of youthful violence. The youth challenged repressive laws and participated actively in the liberation struggle. Their liberation struggle was characterized by acts of violence such as necklacing. In this regard, Gibson (1991 : 2) writes, "children have been socialized to find violence completely acceptable, and human life cheap."

The 70s saw students in Soweto challenging and rebelling against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools. It was also during the 70s that the job market started to become insensitive to the school leavers. The education system started to become a battlefield. The 90s saw law-abiding teachers beginning to participate actively in the battlefield of education.

2.9.7 Police and youthful violence : In writing about the 1976 uprisings, Manganyi & du Toit (1990 : 2) state, more often it was youth who manned the street barricades, swelled the protest marches, monitored stayaways and boycotts and were primary targets of police bullets, tear gas and detention. The youth/police clashes can thus be traced to the 70s when youth began to challenge the injustices of apartheid. Youth also witnessed acts of violence from municipal police, who harassed their parents during times of pass laws for failure to produce reference books with endorsed residential permits. All of these experiences made police the target of youthful violence in South Africa. In this

regard, Gibson (1991 : 12) states that, children who have been victims of violence in the 1970s and 1980s now as youth adopt violent methods of resolving all political differences. South African black youth's past unpleasant experiences have made them to be restless, aggressive and rebellious. Moller (1991 : 5) writes, every age associates youth with rebelliousness against the old order and that the restlessness of pupils in 1976 preceded the decision to drop Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the schools. The restlessness of youth in the 80s preceded the unbanning of political leaders and their political organizations in the 90s.

2.10 Theories of youthful violence

Kratcoski (1985 : 146 - 147) examines the following three theories, which pertain to youthful violence:-

- (i) Culture of violence : Communities from lower socioeconomic classes tend to resort to overt expression of violence as a means of resolving their problems and these are referred to as learned responses to the pressure of survival. Youth from low socioeconomic classes grow up in a subculture of violence, which is goal-oriented and problem-solving.

Contrary to the above-mentioned theory, the researcher's perusal media coverage during the period of this study confirmed incidents of violence by privileged white youth against underprivileged black youth. An incident of violence which on 24th November, 1990 was perpetrated by whites from the right wingers against black Sunday school youth who were enjoying a picnic in Louis Trichardt, Eastern Transvaal, can be highlighted in this regard. (Sowetan, 6th

September, 1991 : 4). The researcher is thus of the opinion that both exposure to high levels of political violence and pressure for survival by political groups of different ideologies can influence acts of violence in both privileged and under-privileged communities.

- (ii) Stress theory : In contrast to the subculture of violence theory, stress theory regards a violent delinquent as a person subjected to high levels of stress, whose natural defenses against its effects are inadequate. In such a person, violent behaviour may develop as a means of coping with intolerable stress.

With reference to this theory, Gama (1990 : 58) highlights the following dimensions of stress among youth:-

- 1) Lack of interpersonal skills such as communication, assertiveness and conflict resolutions.
- 2) Lack of confidence.
- 3) Inability to cope with emotions.

- (iii) Social learning theory : With reference to Kratcoski's third theory, Hoffman and McKendrick (1990 : 17) state that, people acquire behaviour not only through trial and error learning and the process of reinforcement of successful behaviour (instrumental conditioning) but also through the process of modelling.

Parents shape their children's behaviour. A child who witnesses parental attempts to solve family problems or release frustrations through aggressive

behaviour is likely to incorporate this into his or her own behaviour patterns. Barlow & Hill (1985 : 9) confirm an increase in potential aggression, due to viewing of violence.

- a) The learning of aggression : Sunday Times, (September 22, 1991 : 6) showed a picture of children imitating acts of Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress violence. In this regard, it writes "All too real ... a young ANC soldier brandishes a home-made toy AK-47 as an Inkatha foe plays dead."

- b) The increased arousal effect : Barlow & Hill (1985 : 8 - 10) state that, filmed violence may elicit aggressive behaviour by increasing the level of arousal in the viewer, and this increases the probability of aggressive behaviour, especially if the individual is already angry or frustrated. There is thus a link between violent acts, and watching scenes of violence on TV films. Violent behaviour in youth is believed to be influenced by violent films on TV. Barlow & Hill (1985 : 8 - 10) give the following exposition of the effects of media violence on the viewer:

- c) Desensitization : Barlow & Hill (1985) further state, that while young children are emotionally aroused by watching violence, the strength of arousal decreases with repeated exposure to displays of violence. It is a common incidence in the black townships to see youth milling around to witness incidents of violence. In this regard, The Sunday Times (March 31, 1991 : 7) writes, "what has gone

wrong that we have seemed to have lost our reverence for life, when children can dance round someone dying the gruesome death of necklacing."

2.11 Role of youth clubs :

Youth clubs enable young people to test their talents. The ongoing instability in the education system, the political instability and the declining economy has influenced young people from deprived communities coming together for the purpose of using their spare time constructively and meaningfully. In this regard, Letsebe (1982 : 2) states that, "most youth clubs or organizations among the oppressed are ad hoc strategies of survival." The 1980s and 1990s saw a noticeable increase in the number of youth clubs in black communities. In the face of limited resources, young people try to develop themselves and their communities through relevant projects of their own choice. These youth clubs are often faced with a number of constraints such as lack of suitable venues, and guidance from people with relevant expertise. The black youth is also faced with a problem of lack of exciting events in their lives.

The politically aligned youth, unlike social youth clubs and church youth groups are committed to challenging the injustices of the apartheid regime. In this regard, Moller (1991 : 15) states that, "while political participation may be considered essential for contemporary youth, rank and file, youth wish to avoid becoming involved in the violence accompanying the political tensions of the times. Youth clubs are seen as havens of peace and stability in the midst of strife and confusion."

Youth clubs see their leisure activities as a vehicle for

social advancement in the face of political, economic and social deprivation. The youth club members embark on projects which boost their self esteem. It is in these youth clubs that youth do altruistic activities for the deprived members of their communities. Moller (1991 : 11) states that, "Youth clubbers hold aspirations of growing rich and famous."

2.12 Rationale behind young people's active participation in youth clubs:

In this regard, Moroke (1989 : 14 - 16) highlights the following:-

Participation in youth service strengthens young persons' self identity. It facilitates self understanding and self acceptance.

Youth work helps youth to be more conscientious of their environment. It promotes a sense of responsibility, which is required in adult life. The youth begin to get involved in community matters.

Participation in youth club activities enables young people to talk about their inner feelings within a receptive environment.

Youth activities give young people an opportunity to nurture the value of humanness "ubuntu" which is a well respected value in black communities. The youth learn rational ways of resolving their conflicts.

2.13 Curbing of violence :

McKendrick & Hoffman (1990 : 467 - 472) identify three categories of prevention which may help prevent violence

from occurring, viz:-

2.13.1 Primary prevention : This is with a view to promoting nonviolent means of conflict resolution. The following four principal target areas have been identified in this category.

2.13.1.1 Reduction of structural violence : The ongoing process of dismantling of statutory apartheid can be cited as an example in this area. In this regard, McKendrick & Hoffman (1990 : 474) state that, "If the state is to discourage the use of violence in society, it must model nonviolent ways of conflict resolution to its citizens, based upon justice, lack of prejudice and the ideas of civilized humanity." Structural violence in the form of racial and gender discrimination should be done away with.

2.13.1.2 Promotion of public accountability : The South African government's decision to do away with the Civil Co-operation Bureau, which was blamed for the deaths of political activists during the apartheid regime can be mentioned as an example of the South African Government's efforts to curb state violence.

2.13.1.3 Education : Failure to recognize violence, results in its tendency to thrive. People need education regarding how to recognize violence. Children need to be educated as to how to recognize acts of violence at home. Employees are often victims of psychological violence, which is perpetrated by their employers. It is thus necessary that both employers and employees should be made aware of these acts of psychological violence in order to prevent this form of violence.

Helping services need to address the need to render primary prevention, instead of treating the victims of violence.

2.13.2 Secondary prevention : The emphasis is on early identification of violence, and the provision of a speedy and appropriate response to it. In this regard, McKendrik and Hoffman (1990 : 467) write that timeous intervention has the possibility of preventing the violence from becoming chronic and/or breaking the violence cycle.

The following matters need to be taken into consideration in this category:-

- * Alternative sentencing to reduce the use of legal violence, such as death sentence.
- * Doing away with inhuman legislation, like detention without trial.
- * Early identification of acts of abuse by family members. There is also a need to do away with secrecy which surrounds acts of abuse in families. Reporting of violence should be made less difficult for the victims, and helping services should be easily accessible to the victims.
- * Impartial investigation of allegations of violence. The political connotation which goes with the acts of violence may hinder the process of investigation by the welfare officer.

Fears surrounding violence have resulted in lack of services for perpetrators and victims of violence. The escalating rate of violence demands that there should be formal services to treat and rehabilitate the victims and perpetrators of violence.

Gama (1990 : 59) gives the following guidelines regarding curbing of violence by professionals:-

- (i) Recognition and identification of stress in children.
- (ii) Team work : Professionals need to recognize the

potential and the important role of interdisciplinary approach.

- (iii) Awareness of community needs : Professionals need to be in touch with the current needs and problems experienced by people in their communities.
- (iv) Unity : Professionals need to speak with one voice in addressing themselves to policy makers. Individual political leaders also need to speak with one voice in addressing the issue of violence in order not to generate confusion in their followers.

The approach adopted in this study is that, the culture of violence in the society influences further acts of violence in community members, especially youth who are known for their low level of stress tolerance. In order for the youth to disengage themselves from participation in the culture of violence, they need to acknowledge their own views towards violence, and identify their own coping strategies within the society.

2.14 Conclusion

The theoretical background of this study has helped to expose the researcher and hopefully the reader to the phenomenon of violence in South Africa and other countries. There seemed to be some similarities in the way the black Americans and black South Africans have tried to deal with racial discrimination. The researcher, however, found that there is limited literature which has dealt with the impact of violence on social youth clubs, church youth groups and politically aligned youth groups. This study has thus made an effort to address the identified gap.

CHAPTER 3

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

In analyzing the data, the researcher was guided by Wolcott (1990 : 28) who suggests that a narrative qualitative research report should, in the absence of a more compelling alternative, relate the story according to events as they occurred, or events as youth learned about and recorded them.

This chapter will give an exposition of the circumstances under which the study took place, as well as major categories, which in the opinion of youth, have a bearing on the ongoing instability in the township.

Central to this study is the researchers commitment to remain in touch with salient points and themes which emerged in various discussions with the you under study.

3.2 Youth clubs and their objectives

Thirteen social youth clubs have been registered with Tembisa Town Council Youth Co-ordinating Section. This, however, is not a true reflection of the number of youth clubs which are in existence in Tembisa. A number of these youth clubs are not registered. The Tembisa Co-ordinating Youth Committee has committed itself to co-ordinating the activities of all social youth clubs in Tembisa. The social youth clubs are involved in a variety of activities, which all centre around constructive use of their spare time. The ultimate goal is to develop the members as individuals and groups.

The activities are also aimed at benefiting the disadvantaged members of the community, such as aged,

mentally handicapped and all needy children. In meeting this goal, the youth engage themselves in fund-raising activities, in consultation with registered welfare organizations. In writing about youth club activities, Moller (1991 : 6) states that spare time pursuits become particularly significant, where young people reject the existing social order. This is the experience of the youth groups in this study.

The following politically aligned youth organizations are in existence in Tembisa, :-

- * African National Congress Youth League
- * Pan Africanist Congress Youth of Azania
- * Azanian Youth (Azayo)
- * Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade
- * Communist Party Youth
- * Nationalist Party Youth

The Inkatha Youth is slowly showing itself, but it is still difficult to identify their members, as they do not wear their T Shirts. The Communist Youth came to the notice of the researcher very late, and are known as ANC alliances. Very little is known about the Nationalist Youth in the community. The other youth groups were easily identifiable and accessible.

The objectives of all politically aligned youth centre around the liberation struggle, and the desire to bring about a democratic South Africa. They also address the problems which have been brought about by apartheid, such as separate housing, illiteracy and Bantu Education.

The objectives of the Southern Methodist Church Youth Clubs centre around Christianity, and are guided by four 'C's' viz:-

- * Consecration - spiritual development of members
- * Comradeship - friendship and concern for one another
- * Culture - need to develop sensitivity towards one's environment
- * Christian service - taking Christianity into the community, through active involvement in community projects.

3.3 Description of venues wherein discussion took place and their impact on the researcher and the target group

3.3.1 Alpha Training Centre

This was a residential workshop venue, situated in the vicinity of Magaliesburg, a country town on the outskirts of Johannesburg, about 40km from Tembisa.

The reason for choosing this venue was that it provides adequate accommodation and training facilities. It also provides a recreational facility in the form of a swimming pool, which serves as a source of entertainment for the youth. The workshop was facilitated by Southern African Association of Youth Clubs, Witwatersrand University Centre for Study of Violence, and the researcher. The workshop alerted the researcher to other ideas of how to go about her study. It also enabled the researcher to build a rapport with the target youth, as well as to relate to the youth at both formal and informal levels. The concept of violence was examined in a relaxed atmosphere.

3.3.2 Church hall

The discussion with the local Methodist Church youth clubs was held inside the church hall, which is a venue used for meetings on a weekly basis by youth clubs from the Tembisa circuit. This being a church-oriented group, the discussion was opened with a short prayer, and then followed by gospel songs which were enjoyed by all. The

venue did not present any constraints to the discussion that followed. The researcher felt comfortable in the company of the church youth.

3.3.3 Tembisa social youth clubs venue

The discussion with the social youth clubs was held in the garage of the home of one of the youth members. Another discussion was held at Multi Purpose Centre, which is a local community centre. The venues were conducive to open discussion, but the youth expressed a need for a youth centre in Tembisa. They stated that they preferred holding their discussions away from their homes, in order to feel more relaxed. They, however, stated that their parents did not hesitate to make their garages available to them, because they were always happy to see the youth constructively engaged, rather than idling around. This also gave the parents satisfaction that their children were kept away from the ongoing violence.

3.3.4 Tembisa ANC Youth League premises

The discussion with the ANC Youth League was held at the first level of a double storey building. The ground level is occupied by a butchery. The youth share a floor with Tembisa Careers Centre, which played a vital role in linking the researcher with this particular group. The floor is also occupied by the Congress of South African Students (COSAS).

The open steel staircases, leading to the first level have been erected against the outside wall of the building. Ascending the stairs made the researcher fear for her physical safety, owing to the unusual way in which these staircases have been constructed. The interior and exterior walls of the offices are filled with ANC liberation posters. Occasionally, one hears the sound of

toyi-toyi songs from the COSAS offices. The context is clearly one of a liberation struggle. The Careers Centre strives to maintain a businesslike atmosphere, and seemed well informed about the activities of the researcher's target group. On entering the ANC Youth Offices, one is struck by impenetrable facial expressions, which soon relax into more friendly facial expressions, once the introductions have been made.

3.3.5 PAC Youth League premises

This group shares offices with other PAC alliances at the first level of a shopping centre, called Tembi. Like ANC Youth League offices, their office walls tend to be full of liberation posters, and the environment is that of a liberation struggle. Trade Unions are also accommodated on this floor level. An interview with the PAC youth leader during a visit paid to the office gave the researcher the hope that penetrating this group would not be a problem, but the researcher failed to persuade the group to avail itself for a discussion. It was not possible to explore reasons behind their non-availability, because the leaders continued to indicate willingness to meet with the researcher, but failed to honour the appointments. The conclusion drawn from this behaviour, is that some youth leagues set up obstacles to revealing their opinions, values and intentions.

3.3.6 Azanian Youth Organization Premises (AZAYO)

The discussion took place at Village Shopping Centre, Kempton Park District, in the boardroom of Tembisa Taxi Association. The person who linked the researcher with AZAYO runs a Lebohang Resource Centre at the same premises. The venue was comfortable and no posters could be seen. The group was open and generous with information. A summary of a violence workshop held by politically aligned

organizations at Alpha Training Centre held from 9 - 11 August, 1991 was shared with the researcher.

3.3.7 Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade Premises

The discussion was held at a shopping centre, a venue where IFP Youth Brigade sometimes hold their meetings. Their recognized premises were reported to be in one of the hostels which was eventually occupied by Zulu speaking people, and some families from the community, following tribal faction fighting in the hostels and homelessness. The suggested venue reassured the researcher's safety, as opposed to holding the discussion in a hostel. The centre is approximately five metres away from Vusumuzi Hostel. In order to approach the venue, it was necessary to drive past the hostel which is barricaded with barbed wire, in an effort to communicate a message that the area is unsafe.

The shopping centre appeared deserted, compared to what it was prior to the ongoing violence. The youth confirmed this by stating that the centre is now mainly patronised by Vusumuzi Hostel residents, and this includes families from the community, who have moved to the hostel - either for accommodation, or security reasons.

The leader of IFP Youth Brigade escorted the researcher into the venue for the meeting at about 17:30. The first sight of the leader gave the researcher a feeling of being in safe hands. He was friendly, neat and polite. The discussion was held in one of the disco rooms. To the researcher, some of the youth appeared a bit frightened, but were soon set at ease, when she was able to engage the group in a discussion, and for this, she relied on her intention to relate to all levels of people.

3.4 Key Findings

3.4.1 Impact of violence on relationships between target groups

The study established a tendency for social relationships to be strained between politically affiliated youth themselves as well as between social youth clubs and politically aligned youth. This was attributed to the problem of political intolerance which was associated with politically aligned youth.

The problem of political intolerance amongst the politically aligned youth was highlighted by the youth themselves. In an effort to resolve this problem, the political organizations in Tembisa organized a violence workshop, held at Alpha Training Centre in August, 1991, which was targeted at all political organizations in Tembisa. This residential workshop was sponsored by concerned companies in Isando, the industrial area in the neighbourhood of Tembisa.

The various political organizations, with the assistance of facilitators, looked at the following aspects of violence:

- * Causes of violence.
- * Psychological effects of violence.
- * Social effects of violence.
- * Remedies to prevent violence.

The workshop was followed by a community based youth summit in Tembisa, which was organized by youth from different political organizations - all in an effort to resolve the problem of political intolerance.

The summit was held during October, 1991, at a community hall. At this summit, the youth shared their different political ideologies. They also discussed how the

negotiations affect peace in the country, with a view to preventing violence, which was often triggered by the negotiations about negotiations.

The social youth clubs indicated a tendency for politically aligned youth to make them feel uncomfortable, by pressing them to align themselves politically. A feeling was shared that ANC Youth League has a tendency to undermine the activities of other youth organizations, that they sometimes demand that all youth clubs should consult with them regarding their activities. This appeared to be not well received by the youth.

On pursuing the issue with politically aligned youth, they were of the opinion that social youth clubs need not affiliate themselves politically as a group. They all acknowledged that social youth clubs have worthwhile projects, which seek to benefit both the individual member and the community. The pressure to have church youth affiliated politically, was not reported, but this group told of pressure to have individual members politically affiliated.

3.4.2 Factors contributing to violence in Tembisa

In a discussion with the target groups, the youth identified a number of community life pressures which appear on Figure 2 as some of the factors which contributed to the instability in the community. They stated that there is an interaction between these pressures; that some may take precedence over others, and that different environments produce different combinations of pressures.

3.4.2.1 Rejection of local authorities

The town is being run by the Tembisa Town Council. This is a source of conflict, in that 99% of the community members

are of the opinion that local authority has been imposed upon them by the Nationalist government. The youth showed resistance to local authorities, through acts of arson against their property, and the personal properties of Town Councillors.

3.4.2.2 Rental boycotts

Rental boycotts which were subsequent to rejection of local authorities was identified as one of the factors which caused instability in black communities.

The late eighties and nineties saw rental boycotts by the community members by way of undermining the local authority, as well as to draw the attention of the Government to lack of infrastructure and proper roads in the community. The social action by the community was followed by electricity switch offs, and refuse removal problems. This was followed by acts of arson against the property of town councillors. Some of them received death threats. The electricity meter boxes were vandalised by thugs.

3.4.2.3 Conflicting civic bodies

The existence of two civic bodies in Tembisa was also identified as a significant factor in the perpetration of violence.

The town has two civic bodies, Tembisa Civic Association, and Tembisa Residents' Association, which both appear to be jockeying for leadership in the community. These two bodies have, in turn, divided the community into two opposing sides.

The Tembisa Civic Association is opposed to rental boycotts, whereas the Tembisa Residents' Association is

opposed to payment of rentals, and is engaged in negotiations with Tembisa Town Council and Transvaal Provincial Administration, which repeatedly fail to reach consensus regarding the problem. The conflict which was brought about by these two compelling civic bodies confirmed the existence of power struggle in this particular community.

3.4.2.4 Unbanning of political organizations

The unbanning of political organizations in 1990 was reported by youth to have influenced political intolerance, and resulted in what later came to be known as black on black violence. In this regard, the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth League stated that their parent organization was tolerated as a non-political liberation organization, and that their decision to become a political organization evoked feelings of threat in the liberation movements such as African National Congress, and Pan Africanist Congress which influenced conflicts amongst political organizations.

3.4.2.5 Hostel dwellers

Tembisa Township, like all other black townships, has for many years been providing accommodation for migrant labourers from the homelands, such as Transkei and Natal. In the absence of suitable single hostels, Tembisa Township made provision for these workers to be accommodated in the traditional four-roomed houses. This was not well received by urban families who were without accommodation. The decision in the eighties to accommodate the local deserving families in the said four roomed houses caused friction between families and hostel dwellers. The hostel dwellers reacted with resistance to this decision.

The unbanning of political organizations, which resulted in the formation of Inkatha Freedom Party branches in the

urban areas, was cited by youth as a major factor which gave rise to black on black violence. The Inkatha Freedom Party supporters began to fight with ANC supporters inside the hostels, and this spilled over into neighbouring families. The youth attribute this to failure by political leaders to give political education to their followers which can promote political tolerance in the wider community. It was also reported that there was a noticeable tendency for political leaders in the community not to consult hostel dwellers whenever major decisions had to be taken. This pushed hostel dwellers into the periphery of decision making, which was to influence their lives. The black on black violence inside hostels influenced the automatic occupation of Vusumuzi Hostel by Zulus, and Sethokga Hostel by Xhosas.

The escalating violence inside hostels and within their neighbourhood influenced other hostel dwellers who were occupying company hostels around Vusumuzi to desert their hostels, and seek refuge elsewhere. These once ideal hostels were then vandalized by the community members. The door and window frames were taken away for the purpose of erecting shacks in safer areas.

In talking to youth who maintain close links with hostel dwellers the researcher heard messages which said hostel dwellers are tired of being marginalised community members. They have a need to be consulted instead of having decision imposed on them.

3.4.2.6 Stayaways

The stayaways from work and school exposed the community members to acts of intimidation and violence. This influenced militant tendencies in some youth, all in an effort to protect their parents who wanted to go to work. The hostel dwellers undermined the calls for stayaways, on

the grounds that they are never consulted regarding these decisions. Most of the time, the United Workers' Union of South Africa, which enjoyed support from Zulu speaking workers was opposed to the Congress of South Africa's Trade Unionists' decision - which was construed to be an imposition on other Trade Unionists and this influenced further acts of violence.

3.4.2.7 Crisis in education

The discriminatory education system, which gave rise to Bantu Education, remained a sore point during the ongoing violence. The youth reported that Bantu Education had always been a demotivating factor to them, and that they had always felt the need to challenge it.

The perceptions of youths were that:

The Bantu Education produced an incompetent work seeker, which made him a perpetual subordinate in the work situation. The youth craved for a rich education, which, hopefully, would be able to boost their feelings of self-confidence, competence, and self-worth, which Bantu Education deprived them of. Some youth, especially those who are non-politically aligned, reported to have been victims of 'chalk downs' by teachers - (teachers' decision not to teach, in protest against unacceptable working conditions, which made teaching unpleasant). The non-politically aligned youth perceived this means of protest as a violation of a pupil's right to learn. The politically aligned youth saw it as a rightful protest against unpleasant working conditions.

The infiltration of the school system by politics, immediately after the unbanning of political organizations, was reported to have contributed a lot towards the instability in schools. The non-politically aligned youth found it difficult to accept and adjust to infiltration.

This finding alerted the researcher to feelings of dissatisfaction which were brought about by the Bantu Education and how the world of work has made adults who were victims of Bantu Education realize the inadequacy of Bank Education. The rejection of Bantu Education made radical youth use education to fight the evils of apartheid.

3.4.2.8 Rumours of violence

The escalating violence in the neighbouring black residential areas, such as Katlehong, Tokoza and Alexandra had a tendency to spill over into Tembisa. The youth believed that rumours of violence in these areas contributed greatly to the instability and confusion in different schools, more than the observed acts of violence. Incidents of violence in the said residential areas were often followed by incidents of violence in Tembisa. Hearsay reports of violence in the neighbourhood kept the Tembisa community tense.

3.4.2.9 Attitudes towards police

The youth confirmed that the history of police involvement in the hated pass laws aroused negative attitudes towards the police. This influenced the strained relationship between police and the community, in the sense that police have always been perceived as agents of apartheid laws.

The 1976 uprisings also strained the relationship between youth and the police. These adverse relationships influenced acts of violence against the police.

The following suggestions were made by the youth regarding the police:

- * their non-restrictive power should be reduced

- * they should be trained to be receptive to the community suggestions
- * they should not be free to shoot under all circumstances
- * their homes should not be isolated into specific residential areas
- * abolish unpopular laws, which are enforced by the police

On the whole, youth were of the opinion that their trust in the police has eroded.

3.4.2.10 Attitudes towards teachers

The infiltration of politics in the school system influenced the tendency for pupils to defy teachers. Teachers began to be seen in the light of their political affiliations, more than in their capacity as figures of authority.

3.4.2.11 Housing backlog and lack of infrastructure

The youth were of the opinion that the housing backlog which resulted in squatter camps has caused friction between squatter camp residents and other community members. This was attributed to lack of infrastructure in the squatter camps. The privacy of four roomed owners was often interfered with by squatter camp residents who came in to ask for water and toilet facilities.

It was also reported that squatter camp residents were often targets of acts of ambush from unidentified and unseen enemies.

3.4.2.12 Apartheid laws

The youth argued that all racist laws, such as Land, Group Areas, Population Registration, Separate Education and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Acts were all forms of state

perpetrated violence against other race groups. Detention without trial, banning and banishing of political organizations were also identified as forms of state violence.

The youth were of the opinion that these unjust laws resulted in conflicts which have erupted into the ongoing violence. The white minorities began to dominate black majority groups. The latter group ended up having no say in all levels of decision-making which pertains to the land, education, economy social life and economy of the country. The Land Act which pushed black people to the barren rural areas, gave rise to migratory labour, and unpopular single hostels, which had now become a fertile ground for violence. The researcher noticed that history of the past continued to affect the attitudes of the present despite the fact that apartheid laws have been scrapped from statutory books.

3.4.2.13 Unemployment

The youth argued that unemployment has always been a problem to the black South Africans and that reservation compounded the violence of unemployment. The Department of Manpower, Benoni, gave the following figures regarding the state of unemployment in South Africa during January, 1992. The number excluded unemployed people who had exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits. It only reflected the number of people who were still receiving money from the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Table 2: Unemployment statistics

n	Area
227774 28188	South Africa Pretoria, Witwatersrand Vereeniging area.

A decrease of 3197 in the whole of South Africa was reported between December, 1991 - January, 1992.

The criminal violence in black communities was attributed to unemployment which was sometimes manipulated by businessmen. Unemployed youth were bought by businessmen for the purpose of engaging them in acts of criminal violence such as hijacking of mini buses for business purposes. Some youth, who became thugs were paid for their criminal violence, all in an effort to boost the taxi industry. In this regard, the youth shared a feeling that the culture of violence in the community was being commercialised by business people.

3.4.2.14 Sanctions

The youth under study had different opinions about sanctions. Those whose parent organizations support sanction were of the opinion that sanctions cannot be held responsible for unemployment, because black people have known unemployment since time immemorial due to job reservation and meagre resources of the land. They saw sanctions as a solution to the unjust laws. The youth whose parent organizations are against sanctions blamed them for the state of increased poverty in the country.

In this regard the researcher was of the opinion that sanctions compounded the unemployment of black people especially in urban areas, but they had an impact on the need to consider dismantling of apartheid laws.

3.4.2.15 Defence units

Some youth were of the opinion that the creation of defence units, which were defined as defence structures, established by political organizations for the purpose of defending and protecting defenceless people against an

unknown enemy, tended to make youth militant. The defence units were sometimes used against the very community they are intended to protect or defend, because of the difficulty of identifying the enemy by the defence units. In pursuing the problem of defence units the politically aligned youth whose parent organizations did not support formation of defence units stated that defence units influence militant tendencies in youth. Guns were suddenly in the hands of wrong people and this resulted in the formation of gangsters.

3.4.2.16 Apathy

The apathetic state of parents was reported to have influenced the youth into engaging themselves in acts of militancy, in an effort to liberate their own parents. The youth admitted that there was now a generational tension, which had been brought about by the liberation struggle, and that this problem can be resolved through instilling a sense of respect for parents in radical youth.

The researcher was of the opinion that parents did identify with the liberation struggle (morally), but the fears of losing their jobs and property made them to appear apathetic in the eyes of the youth who unlike the parents had nothing much to lose.

3.4.2.17 Power struggle

Youth admitted the existence of a power struggle in their parent organizations. They stated that arrogant speeches by political leaders, who are jockeying for power, as well as their subordinates, arouse acts of violence in the community. The subordinates were often provoked by arrogant speeches against their leaders and these influenced acts of violence amongst the followers. Arrogant speeches by leaders against one another influenced

militant tendencies in their followers.

3.4.3 Impact of violence on youth club activities and individual members

3.4.3.1 Psychological Impact

The violence had an emotional impact on the individual members of the youth clubs. They all suffered from feelings of fear, insecurity and loss of trust. They worried about the possibility of war, and the implication of this in their future.

3.4.3.2 Intimidation

The social youth clubs suffered from acts of intimidation from politically aligned youth, who pressure them into aligning themselves politically. They admitted to having lost members to politically aligned youth leagues, but on the whole, they experienced growth in as far as the number of youth clubs was concerned. The violence conscientised the youth into coming together to do projects intended to benefit the community and the individual members of the clubs by offering support systems and enabling the youth to be aware of personal strengths and vulnerabilities. The study revealed a tendency for some political organizations to use intimidation as a strategy to build their political organizations.

3.4.3.3 Impact on youth club objectives

The social youth clubs had an initial need to involve themselves in anti-violence projects, but the escalating rate of violence influenced them into deciding against this. This was with a view to keeping safe, as well as to ease parents' concern. Generally, the youth continued to meet their objectives regarding keeping themselves

constructively busy with club activities during their spare time. They, however, avoided evening activities in protection of personal safety.

The politically aligned youth reported to have become much more committed to the liberation struggle. They worked closely with their political organizations, which were committed to bringing about a democratic society, free of all forms of racism. They received fulfilment from within their youth leagues and saw themselves as engaged in necessary liberation struggles which sometimes require counteracts of violence.

These were not labelled as deliberate acts of violence but involuntary reaction to an enforced situation. Despite participating in the violence, the youth saw themselves as victims and not perpetrators of violence. The newly introduced political changes (unbanning of political organizations) empowered them. They also experienced a shift in their thinking - they realised the need to equip themselves with education. They gave priority to education, without abandoning their liberation-related goals.

3.4.3.4 Church youth

The church youth stated that their faith was tested. In some cases, their faith was strengthened, and there were cases where the trauma of violence caused members to question the existence of God. Comradeship was adversely affected by different political ideologies, which individual members were now exposed to outside church youth activities.

Efforts to take Christianity into the community were hampered by the community's disregard for life, which put the lives of all community members at risk. The youth thus

had a fear of falling into a trap which endangered their lives whilst attempting service to their own community.

3.4.3.5 Work

The youth expressed frustration with the declining economy, which had made it difficult for them to find work, after completing matric. They stated that they needed job-related skills, in order to be able to market themselves. They also reported to be direct victims of parents' increasing rate of unemployment.

The state of unemployment was said to have been brought about by the violence of apartheid, which introduced job reservation, sanctions waged against the South African economy, and Bantu Education, which failed to prepare the school leaver for the world of work.

The researcher noticed that youth who supported sanctions were also fully aware of their own unemployment problem, but they preferred to blame apartheid rather than sanctions which was used as a tool for dismantling apartheid.

3.4.3.6 Alienation

The youth state that their efforts to resist the violence of Bantu Education which they associated with failure to prepare them for the world of work through lack of technical education, and failure to develop English competency in them, influenced the community to perceive them as alienated youth. They responded to this label by stating that this label is exclusive of other significant contributions that had been made by youth in the liberation struggle. It was only confined to the unstable state of education, which pushed the youth out of school. The youth were therefore of the opinion that they were not a lost generation and that in the absence of an acceptable system

of education they directed their energies towards liberating themselves from the unacceptable system of education.

3.4.3.7 Perpetrators of violence

The youth perceived themselves as victims of violence, as opposed to being perpetrators of violence. They felt that their violence was more of a counterviolence or reactive-violence which was directed at agents of apartheid system such as, town councillors, police and all who were believed to be collaborating with the racist government.

3.4.3.8 Impact of rumours of violence on schools

Rumours of violence within the school's neighbourhood were sufficient to keep the pupils away from school. It also affected the pupil's concentration in the classroom, and in most cases, pupils would demand that they be granted permission to go home early. Teachers often yielded to requests of this nature, in an effort to keep violence away from school premises.

The pupils' tendency to take violence related rumours seriously, was attributed to an incident of taxi owners/drivers at Katlehong, within the Transvaal province, which spilled into Katlehong schools. In this instance, the Katlehong Taxi Association had a dispute between themselves, and Germiston and District Taxi Association, (a (SABTA) South African Black Taxi Association group) regarding taxi routes. Taxi operators clashed at Natalspruit Hospital Taxi Rank, leaving more than eighty taxis damaged. In the following two weeks, up to fifty people died, and three hundred and fifty people were injured as the feud spilled over into the community.

School pupils became victims of the feud, as they travel to

and from school. Taxi operators, supported by vigilantes, attacked pupils and teachers in schools. Fights broke out between school pupils and taxi operators.

The youth also stated that the ongoing violence made it difficult for them to make use of libraries in the evenings, because they felt unsafe after dark. They had to study within their crowded homes, which were without study rooms, and electricity. The youth felt uncertain regarding their future. They feared not being able to attain their goals - either through a complete collapse in the education system, or through loss of a parent, and the associated financial support.

Rumours of violence outside Tembisa did to a great extent influenced feelings of insecurity and panic inside Tembisa.

3.4.3.9 Intimidation

The social youth clubs confirmed that intimidation played a significant role in perpetrating violence. They were backed by IFP Youth Brigade who complained about how hostel dwellers were intimidated during periods of violence. The youth reported that fear of possible dangers made their parents to comply with intimidation which followed calls for stayaways from work. In this regard the study revealed that intimidation and knowledge of past experiences in cases of non compliance did, to a large extent, ensure compliance whenever there was a call for class boycotts, work stayaways and which tended to be sent from student organizations and trade unions.

In some cases it made people militant, bitter and revengeful.

3.4.3.10 Victims of acts of violence in schools

The youth confirmed that incidents of violence in schools

were often directed at the school property, teachers and pupils. This drove a number of pupils out of local schools. A number of pupils became enrolled at unregistered private schools in the city of Johannesburg. These schools often embody only a profit motive, not an educational motive; they were called "fly-by-night" schools. Pupils from homes that could not afford private schooling with the escalating fees charged by these schools, ended up roaming the streets. Parents often expressed feelings of helplessness regarding the fluid state in the education system.

The researcher interpreted youth's tendency to direct their acts of violence to property and victims of the system itself as an expression of anger towards an unacceptable system of education. Parents withdrawal of their children from the local to private schools also communicated messages of dissatisfaction with their children's education.

3.4.3.11 Go back to school campaigns

Efforts by the Pan Africanist Students' Organization and other concerned civic organizations to encourage children to return to school yielded no positive results. The school environment became dominated by fear for own safety, and general feelings of uncertainty. Youth reported a tendency of parents becoming protective of them. They monitored their movements, and gave warnings regarding going out during times of violence.

3.4.3.12 Family life

Other than the parents' fears regarding their children's safety, the youth also reported to have been fearful of their parents, and other family members' lives. They, however, resisted parents' protectiveness, because of the

need for adventure and experience of what was going on outside.

The stayaway calls from their parents' work situations, as well as consumer boycotts, caused them to fear for their parents' lives. They experienced militant feelings, and contemplated counterviolence against activists who block their parents from going to work in an effort to protect their parents from possible attacks.

The family members chose their words when speaking about violence when in interaction with strangers, in order not to be perceived to be aligning themselves with a specific political group/organization, as this had a potential of inviting acts of violence against the family. They also chose their words when speaking to neighbours for the same reasons.

Youth from families who had been affected by violence through loss of a family member, loss of property, death threats, stated that their families spoke little about their experiences of these acts of violence, as they brought to consciousness the trauma of past experiences.

The study revealed how family life was negatively affected by violence and the manner in which choice of words when speaking to strangers becomes important during periods of violence.

3.4.4 Losses suffered by youth

3.4.4.1 Security

The youth reported to have suffered from varying degrees of insecurity regarding their physical safety both inside and outside their youth clubs. Church youth clubs reported that feelings of insecurity were to a certain extent

controlled inside their youth club activities through prayers and gospel songs, which made them feel hopeful. Seeing the significant ones in their primary system going out to work during periods of violence intensified their feelings of insecurity.

The researcher concluded that parents' feelings of insecurity and fear in parents further influenced feelings of fear in youth.

3.4.4.2 Trust

Feelings of trust in relationships outside primary groups were reported to have been shaken by violence. The youth did not feel safe in their dealings with others. There was a high level of suspicion, which inhibited their tendency to talk about the ongoing violence.

Xhosa speaking youth reported a tendency to feel fearful to express themselves in their own home language, for fear of possible ethnicity violence. The IFP Youth Brigade admitted to having lost community trust following ethnicity frictions, which labelled their organization as the perpetrators of violence. They thus decided not to wear their IFP T-shirts (an important symbol of political identity) as they move around the township for fear of being attacked by other political organizations. They felt safe in their T-shirts only during IFP rallies.

The researcher noticed that the escalating violence made youth to lose trust in their community members. They became suspicious of almost all relationships and this indicated a need to have these feelings of trust restored in youth.

3.4.4.3 Support systems

The youth reported loss of financial and emotional support following the death of significant ones within their family circles. The parents have suffered loss of source of income, and they no longer felt free to trade along the streets. This, in turn, had a negative impact on the youth who depended on their parent for financial support. The work-related stayaways were reported to have left families with insufficient money to run the home.

The ANC Youth League saw these work-related stayaways as an effort to bring justice to the world of work, which over the years had made their parents victims of discrimination. The stayaways were seen as part of the struggle for equity.

The IFP youth stated that they did not support work-related stayaways, and that in most cases, the decision to stay away from work was not arrived at democratically, that intimidation by other political organizations was used as a means of enforcing compliance.

The study reflected difference of opinions regarding how youth especially politically aligned youth perceived work related stayaways. It was, however, interesting to note that both groups were aware of the negative financial implications of stayaways.

3.4.4.4 Loss of guidance from known leaders in the community

The youth, especially social youth clubs, reported loss of guidance from teachers, priests and social workers in the community. They stated that helping professional are reluctant to come forward and participate in youth activities, because of the youths' tarnished image which was associated with the liberation efforts which were completely justified by politically aligned youth. They further stated that the political affiliation of certain

leaders did, to a certain extent, make it difficult for the youth to identify with them.

The study revealed that youth yearned for guidance from helping professionals and that political affiliation of leaders especially teachers created feelings of conflict in them. This view was more pronounced in social youth clubs

3.4.4.5 Loss of respect

Youth reported loss of respect towards themselves following their tendency to become involved in criminal violence, which the youth believed was influenced by the instability at schools, lack of employment opportunities, poverty, and a tendency for adults, especially businessmen, to abuse youth in their efforts to attain unethical goals.

The youth appeared to be concerned about their tarnished image in the eyes of the community. They made the researcher realize the need for youth to be assisted to rebuild their image.

3.4.4.6 Loss of members

A high rate of absenteeism, and loss of members was reported by social youth clubs. The politically aligned youth reported an increase in their membership. This was attributed to the empowering nature of their political organizations, and a tendency for their organizations to keep them informed regarding political developments. The process of challenging their economic, political and social deprivations made them feel in control. It also enabled them to rebuild their sense of significance. Social youth club members needed a strong commitment for them to remain inside their youth clubs.

The social youth clubs attributed decreasing membership to feelings of insecurity within their clubs, and non

-availability of political education.

3.4.5 Youth's coping strategies

In the face of the ongoing violence, the youth, especially social youth clubs, relied on their ability to come together and do projects which sought to develop them as groups, individuals and pupils. They also involved themselves in worthwhile community projects including Career Guidance, Leadership and Life-Skills Workshops. They also aligned themselves with Welfare Organizations which seek to help the disadvantaged community members like the aged and needy children all in an effort to redress their bad image. The social youth clubs avoided anti-violence projects. They felt that violence had become a national problem, and that political leaders were the ones who could resolve the problem. They shifted the responsibility to national political leaders.

The local IFP youth reported to have used the local newspaper for conveying messages of peace to the community. Particularly with a view to making the community realise that they support peace, and that the community members, who also included youth, should not come and seek protection from them.

In the event of being approached by the community members for protection, especially youth from other political organizations, they tried to communicate directly with the leaders of concerned political organizations, and appealed to them to resolve whatever problem that might have come to their attention. They avoided being drawn into township conflicts, and in this way, they claimed to have contributed a lot towards containing violence in Tembisa - hence, all youth in Tembisa admitted that there were incidents of violence in Tembisa, but they were not as rife as in the neighbouring townships, such as Alexandra, Katlehong and Tokoza.

In trying to cope with the ongoing instability in education, social youth clubs organized career guidance days, in order to supply information regarding various careers and job opportunities in South Africa. They attended a workshop on violence, in order to expand their knowledge regarding factors involved in violence torn communities.

The church youth redirected their activities towards building bridges and calling for conciliation in and outside the church. They committed themselves to strengthening their faith through prayers and gospel songs. They also participated in church peace initiatives.

The ANC Youth League made an effort to organize an anti-crime conference. The intention was to bring criminal violence to an end.

Other politically affiliated youth also attended workshops on violence. They organized a youth summit, all of which were aimed at promoting political tolerance.

The youth under study were not completely happy to see violence escalating. They developed coping and survival strategies which were directed at reducing the rate of violence as well as improving their image. The politically aligned youth could also not afford to sit back and watch the escalating violence in the end they made efforts to curtail acts of violence.

The social youth clubs organized careers day and workshops. These were done in consultation with the Youth Development and Guidance Programme, a service which has been organized by the East Rand Industrialists and Tembisa community members for youth.

In an effort to cope with unstable community life, brought about by all forms of violence, the youth participated in

the following activities designed to promote constructive behaviour and lifestyle guidance:-

- * Careers day, which exposed the youth to a wide range of available careers.
- * Subject choice at matric level.
- * Prerequisites for admission to a tertiary education institution.
- * Avenues for promotion inside the selected careers.
- * Workshops - which included the following life skills:- communication skills, self-confidence and self-concept development and conflict resolution, preparing youth for tertiary education institutions and bursary interviews and study and examination skills.

3.4.6 Conclusion :

The youth under study identified a wide range of factors which in their opinion have contributed to youthful violence. They all shared a feeling that these factors came about as a result of growing up in a violent society which alienated black youth from the country's resources.

In the face of the ongoing violence the politically aligned youth reported to have derived satisfaction in their active involvement in the liberation struggle and this made them feel in control of their feelings of helplessness.

The politically aligned youth, however, stated that politically aligned youth were vulnerable to attacks from other political organizations following lack of political tolerance among the political organizations.

The escalating violence, however, made politically aligned youth realize the need to organize workshops and youth summits which began to appeal for political tolerance among political aligned youth.

The youth and church youth clubs committed themselves to developing themselves and to participating in community projects which sought to benefit other disadvantaged community members. Different social youth clubs began to associate themselves with various welfare organizations in the community in an effort to be of service to the disadvantaged community members. The study established that social youth clubs were faced with enormous pressure to identify with the liberation struggle.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The study has indicated that violence hinders the activities of youth, but that youth clubs under study continue to fulfil a significant role in the social lives of black youth. They keep youth constructively busy, and provide a platform where youth can talk about their experiences of the ongoing violence. The increasing number of youth clubs in black communities and youth's desire for guidance inside their youth clubs, indicates a need for professionals, such as social workers, teachers and priests to come forward and avail their services to the youth clubs in order to develop their sense of direction and help them adapt to the socio-economic and adapt them political transformations of the country with minimal stress.

4.2 Objectives

The aim was to ascertain the influence of the ongoing political violence on youth club activities, and youth as individual members of the society.

The objectives were to :-

1. Ascertain the involvement of youth in the ongoing violence.
2. Establish the youth's opinions regarding the ongoing violence in terms of what they think has triggered the violence.
3. Ascertain how the youth have attempted to curtail acts of violence.
4. Establish youth's needs, anxieties and areas of concern during periods of violence.

5. Determine the appropriate direction that should be taken by helping professionals, such as social workers in their efforts to give guidance to youth.

4.3 Conclusions :-

Over and above the findings which have been highlighted in the previous chapter the researcher established the following which pertain to the objectives of the study:-

4.3.1 Objective 1

Youth's involvement in the ongoing violence.

The research under review confirmed that the youth were involved in the ongoing violence in their capacities as both perpetrators and victims of violence. The research alerted the researcher to the sensitivity which surrounds the concept 'violence'. the youth resented being labelled as perpetrators of violence, they instead, prefer to be referred to as victims of violence. The researcher associated this resentment with the volatile and sensitive nature of the subject under study and that referring to youth as perpetrators of violence made them feel like outcasts.

The study highlighted the following :-

- * That despite youth's resentment of being labelled as perpetrators of violence, they were involved in counteracts of violence which were targeted at state-perpetrated discrimination and exclusion against developing black youth. In this regard, the youth cited education as an example of state perpetrated violence. They reacted to this violence by destroying school property.
- * The youth also reported to have resorted to

counterviolence in the form of arson against imposed black local authorities, in an effort to serve as a mouthpiece for their parents, who, over the years, were not involved in decision making, which sought to influence their lives.

These acts of counterviolence confirmed the literature review, which states that violence happens suddenly, but it comes into being and acquires its meaning as a result of a process. In this case, the process perceived as being the apartheid regime and its after effects.

- * The violence of intimidation by political activists was used as a strategy to ensure compliance, but there were incidents where youth themselves reacted with militancy to acts of intimidation against their parents who failed to comply with stayaway calls from work. This militancy was aimed at protecting parents, but they study also found that youth felt uncomfortable about own parents' tendency to be protective of them when they felt the need to be adventurous in the face of the ongoing violence. The finding indicated that violence of intimidation did to a certain extent influenced militant tendencies in youth.
- * The liberation movements used the youth as a vehicle for their liberation struggles, and thus fuelled feelings of militancy in the youth. In this regard, the literature review was confirmed regarding the need to harness the energy and resourcefulness of the youth to advance to the threshold of a peoples' democratic victory of a united non-racial non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The study also found that the community defence units, which were created by some of the liberation movements also promoted militancy in youth. The defence units consisted of members of the community whose briefing was to react with counterviolence to cases of violence against community members.

Businessmen and other adults took advantage of the culture of violence by remunerating unemployed youth for perpetrating acts of criminal violence against their enemies in business. In this regard a literature review states that violence also implies abuse of others, and it is also a crises of unemployment. This finding confirmed a tendency for adults to abuse youth in order to meet their unethical needs.

The social youth clubs reported to have experienced acts of verbal harassment from politically aligned youth, which aimed at pressing them into aligning themselves politically, in order to build the power base of the political organizations. This reflected lack of recruitment skills which ideally should use persuasion as a strategy of winning new members.

4.3.2 Objective 2 :

Youth's opinions regarding what they think influenced youthful violence.

The youth persistently put the blame at the door of the apartheid government, and this was consistent with the literature review, which saw the apartheid regime as having influenced poverty, homelessness and strained relationships between police and black youth. The researcher was thus of the opinion that the effects and experiences of apartheid laws remained in the minds of youth despite the scrapping of these laws.

Rumours of violence in the neighbourhood of black residential areas was said to have contributed a lot towards a state of confusion and panic in the schools, and would, in most cases, keep the youth/pupils away from schools.

The imposition of black local authorities elected by a minority of community members on black communities was identified as a factor which influenced youthful violence, because these structures were seen as agents and symbols of apartheid.

The existence of two civic bodies in Tembisa was mentioned as another source of conflict inside the community. The political intolerance which was compounded by lack of political education among black people, as well as an ethnic power struggle between Zulu and Xhosa speaking people was also said to have made a major contribution in the ongoing political violence. The ethnically related violence became prominent in Tembisa when single hostels became associated with certain ethnic groups. The researcher is of the opinion that both organizational and ethnic intolerance played a significant role in destabilizing the community in Tembisa.

4.3.3 Objective 3 :

Youth's efforts to curtail acts of violence

The politically aligned youths made an effort to curtail violence by participating in a workshop for violence, which was organized by political organizations and their alliances in consultation with concerned industrialists in the neighbourhood of Tembisa. This workshop looked into the causes of violence and psycho-social effects of violence, and how they could be curtailed. A youth summit was organised in Tembisa by politically aligned youth. The youth addressed the issue of political intolerance and talked at length about their different political ideologies, in order to promote some understanding among themselves. At the summit, the youth became aware of the need to improve their tarnished image in the eyes of the community without sacrificing the need to liberate

themselves from the evils of discrimination. They acknowledged the need to consult with all, instead of resorting to intimidation. The youth warned one another against criminal violence.

The highlight of the youth summit was the youth's success in engaging the participation of local IFP Youth Brigade. The youth believe that this participation contributed a lot towards reducing the acts of violence in the township. All youth shared a feeling that there was violence in Tembisa, but it was not as rife as in the neighbouring black residential areas.

In trying to improve its image in the eyes of the community, the IFP Youth Brigade used Tembisan, the local newspaper for conveying messages of peace to the community members. This was with a view to making the community realize that IFP Youth Brigade is in favour of peace.

In the event of being approached by the community member for protection against acts of violence from other political organizations, IFP Youth Brigade offered the victims of violence temporary accommodation at a hostel. They then tried to communicate directly with the leaders of concerned political organizations, in an effort to mediate for the victims. The IFP Youth Brigade reported to have avoided being drawn into township conflicts, and in this way they felt that they did a lot to contain the violence in Tembisa.

The social youth clubs avoided getting involved in anti-violence projects for fear of victimization by political organizations and police, whom they felt they could no longer trust. This confirmed the literature review, which maintains that some youth deliberately avoid becoming involved in the violence accompanying political tensions of the times. They strive to retain youth clubs as havens of peace and stability in the midst of strife and confusion.

The study found that social youth club members channel their energies towards doing joint projects with community organizations such as Child Welfare Society and Care of Aged in an effort to prepare themselves for adult responsibilities. They shared a feeling that political violence is beyond their control, and that this should be left in the hands of politicians. Their decisions were based on the fact that political violence has become a national problem and that they are not well equipped to deal with it.

In trying to cope with the instability in the education system, social youth clubs organized career guidance days, in order to become informed about various careers and available job opportunities. The careers day workshops were organized in consultation with other community centres.

4.3.4 Objective 4 :

Youth's needs, anxieties and concerns during periods of violence

With the exception of politically aligned youth who felt empowered by the liberation struggle, the research found that youth suffer from extreme feelings of fear and insecurity. Those who are aligned politically, tended to feel in control of the situation, but they were also not completely free from feelings of fear, because they maintained that their political attachment exposes them more to the dangers of the liberation struggle.

The youth feared for their lives, and those of significant family members. They felt physically insecure both inside and outside their homes, There was a general feeling of mistrust in their own community environment. They felt anxious about their future, which is threatened by the

school instability. The youth identified a need for education in politics, as well as in the country's economic system. This need came through strongly from social and church youth clubs, who felt that lack of this knowledge makes it difficult for them to participate in any politically and economically related discussion; that lack of this vital information makes them lose their self-confidence.

They stated that they needed to be prepared for the envisaged new South Africa; that the required political education was not being made available to them, neither at home, school nor in their social/church youth clubs. The researcher realized that almost all youth suffer from feelings of anxiety during periods of violence and that there is a need to empower youth with information during periods of instability.

A feeling was shared by the non-politically aligned youth that politically aligned youth appear much more knowledgeable about politics than they do and that their organizations empower them with politically related information. They also hoped to be empowered by exposure to the following:-

- * types of government
- * how a government operates
- * how a constitution is formulated, and main areas of concern when drafting a constitution
- * racist acts, which precluded racial integration
- * understanding the economic systems, with emphasis on South African systems.

The social youth clubs felt the need for guidance regarding how to handle relationships which have been strained by different political ideologies. They expressed a need to maintain good peer relationships in the face of distrust which has been evoked by political violence.

4.3.5 Objective 5 :

Determine the appropriate direction that should be taken by helping professionals such as Social Workers in their efforts to give guidance to youth

The youth acknowledged their having lost respect in the eyes of the community following acts of violence which were a result of their involvement in the liberation struggle. They stated that they needed guidance regarding how to direct their energies towards community projects without abandoning their commitment to the liberation struggle which also, like all other community projects, seek to benefit their disadvantaged communities. The social and church youth clubs acknowledged that they find themselves in a conflict situation in the prevailing political context in South Africa. They are fully aware of the consequences of apartheid violence which has pushed black people to the periphery of all forms of decision making in the country, but are hesitant to involve themselves in acts of counterviolence. They also acknowledged their limited knowledge regarding politics and that they envy politically aligned youth because they are knowledgeable about politics compared to themselves. The youth expressed a need to be guided regarding how to :-

- * redress their tarnished image in the eyes of the community
- * handle relationships which have been strained by different political ideologies.
- * maintain good peer relationships
- * relate to politically aligned youth
- * handle intimidation
- * obtain political education
- * identify and involve themselves in other relevant community projects

Career counselling was mentioned as one of the pressing needs. The youth identified a need to be linked with resources which can provide them with bursaries, need for life skills in the form of communication and assertiveness, in order to promote in them feelings of competence and selfworth. The youth also identified a need for recreational centres, and youth centres, where youth can pursue their activities and receive guidance regarding how to involve themselves in community projects. The researcher noticed that there is a need for social youth clubs to be provided with a reference group with whom they can identify with, preferably in the form of helping professionals.

4.4 Assumptions

4.4.1 Feelings of uncertainty, fearfulness and insecurity regarding the future.

The youth confirmed feelings of fearfulness for their lives, regardless of their political and non-political affiliations. The politically aligned youth stated that their lives are much more at risk than the lives of non-politically aligned youth. They saw themselves as targets of third force and political organizations of different political ideologies. They, however, stated that they enjoy feelings of fulfilment in participating in the liberation struggle. The researcher interpretation of this was that the youth saw themselves as creating part of the solution, and this gave them a feeling of being in control of their situation.

All youth reported feelings of fearfulness, regarding the safety of their loved ones, and that this feeling became much more intensified during periods of work-related stayways. They also attributed feelings of uncertainty to the instability in the education system.

4.4.2 A tendency for politically aligned youth to make non-politically aligned youth feel uncomfortable in their club activities

The assumption was supported by social youth clubs, who felt that there is a tendency for politically aligned youth to want youth clubs to be politically aligned. The researcher interpreted this as an effort by politically aligned youth to force social youth clubs to make a political commitment or perhaps identify themselves with the liberation struggle.

The politically aligned youth refuted this by stating that youth clubs have an important role to fulfil in the community. They can thus not be expected to align themselves politically, that, however, individual youth club members can exercise their own rights regarding whether to affiliate with political organizations or not.

The assumption was thus not supported by politically aligned youth. This indicated to the researcher that politically aligned youth unlike during the early stages of liberation struggle were now beginning to be conscious of the need to be tolerant of other organizations in the community regardless of their affiliations.

4.4.3 Need for political education inside youth clubs

This was supported by social youth clubs. They further reported feelings of envy towards politically aligned youth, for being knowledgeable regarding political matters. Politically aligned youth admitted that they obtain political education from their political organizations.

4.4.4 Willingness for social youth clubs to participate in anti-violence projects

This assumption was not supported. The study found that social youth clubs have a fear of involving themselves in anti-violence projects. They felt that anti-violence acts were likely to expose them to further incidents of violence. They also expressed a fear of drawing the attention of perpetrators of violence to their social youth clubs.

4.4.5 Secretiveness of politically aligned youth regarding the subject under study

Except for one political youth league which did not make itself available for this study, the assumption was not supported by the political youth groups. The politically aligned youth that the researcher interviewed appeared free to talk on the subject of violence. The researcher attributed this to the belief that knowledge empowers and liberates the mind. There was a general feeling that the ongoing violence was subsequent to the violence of apartheid, hence their tendency to prefer to refer to the ongoing violence as counterviolence. The study gave the researcher an impression that the bitter experiences of apartheid laws remained vivid in the minds of youth and that politically aligned youth were more exposed to information pertaining to the apartheid regime. It was also noted that politically aligned youth have reference groups (parent organizations) to identify with and that their perception of what is going on tends to be influenced by the perceptions of their parent organizations.

4.4.6 Openness of social youth clubs regarding the subject under study

The assumption was not supported by the study in that social youth clubs had a tendency to associate a discussion of this nature with being seen as perpetrators of violence. It took some time for them to respond to a discussion of

this nature in a meaningful way. The researcher needed to be actively involved with them before they could express their attitudes and feelings. Their limited knowledge regarding political matters and their belief that the problem of violence was beyond their control made them fearful and hesitant to talk about violence. The researcher noticed that social youth clubs are without reference groups which influence their perceptions of what is going on around them.

Both politically and non-politically aligned youth felt insecure and fearful in the face of the ongoing violence in the country, but these feelings were much more pronounced outside rather than inside political organizations. The pressure to make a political commitment influenced other social youth club members to join politically aligned youth leagues. It took strong commitment to remain inside social youth clubs. Those who remained inside the social youth clubs committed themselves to community projects which aimed at benefiting the disadvantaged members of the community. They also made an effort to expose themselves to lifeskill programmes for the purpose of developing themselves as individuals and groups.

On the whole the politically aligned youth appeared to be in control of the ongoing instability in the country compared to social youth clubs. They reported to be enjoying feelings of fulfilment in identifying themselves with the liberation struggle. They considered themselves to be contributing something to the solution of what they referred to as violence of apartheid.

4.5 Recommendations

Findings indicated that there is a need for helping professionals, such as, social workers, teachers and priests to avail their services to youth clubs during

periods of violence - the purpose being to :-

- * Enable the youth to come to terms with the harsh realities of the South African environment which often makes them sad, frustrated and isolated.
- * Enable the youth to be aware of their feelings of fear, uncertainty and insecurity.
- * Enable the youth to communicate their feelings, instead of resorting to acts of violence.
- * Encourage the youth to come to terms with their feelings within the existing South African political context in order for them not to become disillusioned, but instead turn violent experiences into learning experiences.
- * Empower the youth by providing them with relevant and needed information such as political education, the intention being to expand youth's limited knowledge regarding politics.
- * Expand the youth's knowledge regarding the economic system of our country following common knowledge that economic factors determine the kind of government, laws and society a country has.
- * Help the youth with the management of youth clubs by volunteering consultancy services to youth clubs.
- * Educate the youth regarding factors involved during transitional periods with emphasis on how to handle loss and relationships.
- * Devise means of bringing youth together through leadership and conflict resolution workshops in order to enable them to share common experiences in a relaxed and supportive environment. It is a common belief that well managed conflicts can initiate growth, open up issues, improve problem-solving skills, and strengthen relationships.

The services of professionals should be aimed at enabling the youth to cope with different negative feelings which are evoked by unpleasant experiences of violence, in order

for them to remain competent and confident in their efforts to pursue their objectives. Social workers and all other helping professionals need to make their services available to youth clubs in order to pass on their wisdom to inexperienced youth, in an effort to empower youth with information and their own adult life experiences. The purpose would also be to provide social youth clubs with a reference group that they can identify with.

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